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SARI

TERBITAN TAK BERKALA NO. 1

INSTITUT BAHASA KESUSASTERAAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN
MELAYU, UNIVERSITI KEBANGSAAN MALAYSIA.

Occasional Papers No. 1

Institute of Malay Language Literature and Culture,
National University of Malaysia.

Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
Kuala Lumpur
1975

Dicetak oleh
Art Printing Works Sdn. Bhd.
Kuala Lumpur

Contents

TAGO, IPUGAW MATAGO*

(A Phenomenology of Kalinga Man's Conception of Himself)

by ESTEBAN T. MAGANNON

I. INTRODUCTION:

This paper attempts to give a phenomenological account of the Kalinga's notion of the nature of man. Since this paper is a phenomenological description of one Kalinga village, it purports neither to be a general Kalinga theory on man nor to be objective. It is a subjective description of man's being as conceived by the Lubo Kalinga of the Tanudan River, Southern Kalinga, Northern Luzon, Philippines.[1] The implications of this conception of man's being in the actual life situation of the Kalinga are varied and multiple. It is the foundation which underlies, for instance, the Kalinga's medical theory and practice, his political and social behaviour, and his religious psychology. But ultimately it is the philosophy or, if one wishes, the ideology supporting the Kalinga's whole cultural system.

In the terminology of Kalinga language (better languages), man is *tago* (life), he is *ipugaw* (humanity), and his whole existential business is *matago* (to live).[2] The attention of this paper is focused on these notions.

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* This article is a slightly revised version of Chapter 2 of a draft monograph by the writer entitled *The Power of the Word: An Anthropology of Kalinga Traditional Medical Practice*. (Completed October 1972, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia).

1. Throughout the paper *The Kalinga* and *Kalinga Man* refer to the Lubo Kalinga. For the precise geographical location of the Kalinga in the map of Northern Luzon, the reader is referred to Felix Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962, and to F.L. Wernstedt and J.F. Spencer, *The Philippine Island World: A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

2. By etymology and Kalinga usage these terms have the following nuances of meaning: (a) used as a noun the singular form *sa tago* refers to a person, a human person as distinguished from other species of being; the plural form *da tago* means the people, human beings and its derivative, *da katagoan* refers either to the outside mass or crowd, multitude or to other groups outside one's group i.e. family, clan, tribe, society, etc. (b) a nominative adjective derivative *kenatatago* refers either to an individual's or group's social status and/or prestige or life situation or to the same's moral status or integrity. (c) the verb form *matago* denotes both the biological necessity of self-preservation through nutrition and nurture with primary emphasis laid on how one makes his living and the moral dimension of one's manner of making a living and one's moral standing in general. (d) The word *ipugaw* is solely used as a noun and its usage is more recurrent in the ritual myths, myths of origin, legends and folktales. In its singular form, *at ipugaw* it refers to the mythical first man who is *Kabuniyan*, the maker of all beings. In its plural

II. Tago (Life):

Tago is a person who has a *long'ag* (body) and who is aware of himself. This body is framed by bones which are held tight together by tendons and ligaments. It is given shape by flesh and muscle; made distinct by the varied distribution of hair over parts of the body; kept alive and warm by the flow of blood continuously pumped by the heart, and nourished by food and drink. *Tago* has a figure or form, an identifiable countenance, and a name that distinguishes him from any other human personality. By reason of the construction of man's *long'ag*, his upright posture, and his unique face, he is distinct and unmistakeably different from the lower animals and from the higher beings above him i.e. deities, dead ancestors and relatives, *Kabuniyan* and the culture heroes. Because *tago* is and has a *long'ag*, he is capable of growing and maturing physically, of getting wounded or hurt, of getting sick, of weakening or losing strength, of aging, and finally of dying. Because of his body too, man is a physical presence in the material universe.

Man, especially in contra-distinction to the lower animals, is also *tago* because he is capable of thought, of thinking or reflection, especially of deep and wise thinking, thought—*som'somok*,[3] the verb being *mansom'somok*, the adjective *nasomkan*, meaning somebody endowed with wisdom, wisdom derived from life experiences and from knowledge of the traditional mores and custom laws. Through thought *tago* is capable of becoming *a'linawa*, *kalidod'wa*, and *kiya'kiyao*. As an *a'linawa* he can be conscious of himself, for example following himself as he travels along mountain pathways or through rice-fields or being aware of himself while working or engaged in other activities.

As an *a'linawa* also he can send his thoughts and feelings to another person, perhaps to his loved one, to his mother or to some other relation. As a *kalidod'wa* he is capable of getting out of himself and can actually encounter himself in a dream or he can see himself in communication with *aran*, *kak'karading*, *paniyao*, *ngilin*, etc.[4] also through the medium of a dream. As a *kiya'kiyao* he is capable of leaving his self in a place; for instance, when he falls into a ditch or pit he can leave himself as *kiya*, *kiyao*, in the hollow of the ditch or pit.

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form *da ipugaw*, it means the community of man, mankind, humanity — the product of *Kabuniyan's pu'gaw* (breath), the creative power or principle. These nuances of meaning should be borne in mind in the reading of this article.

3. There is another term used by the Kalinga to designate thought. The word is *angos*, the verb form being *mangangos*, *manangos*, the adjective *na'angsan*, also meaning somebody endowed with wisdom. However, in this paper, preference is given to the word *som'somok* because it is less ambiguous because the word *angos* also means breath, the verb being *umangos* (to breath). Breathing is what man has in common with the lower animals. But thinking, reflection, and wisdom are capabilities only *tago* (and perhaps the beings above him) possesses. These qualities distinguish him from the lower animals.
4. For the definitions of these concepts, see below.

III. IPUGAW (HUMANITY):

In Kalinga religious belief and tradition—passed on from generation to generation through word of mouth in legends, folktales, myths, ritual prayers, and other forms of oral literature — *Ipugaw* is the prototype man. He is the ideal primordial human personality embodying all the physical and moral qualities, virtues and values and all other predicables to their highest and most excellent degree desirable in man. Kalinga oral tradition has it that he was the most generous, kindest person that man ever knew; the hardiest and most industrious grower of grain and vegetables who ever lived; the best and luckiest hunter and fisherman; the most honest and trustworthy human personality; the producer of the most excellent wine; the most benevolent and compassionate warrior-victor that any vanquished enemy has ever met in the field of battle, etc. *Ipugaw* is the paragon of beauty, goodness, truth, and justice. Name any human attribute and he has it to its highest degree of development and fulfillment.

In fact, *Ipugaw*, the ideal prototype man is no other than *Kabuniyan*, the 'creator' of everything that is in being. For Kalinga oral tradition goes on to relate that in the ancient past, *Kabuniyan* lived and toiled with man. He lived in the community of men because he had to teach them the art of living (*matago*) in this hard and harsh world.

Kabuniyan taught man how to grow grains and vegetables; he taught him how to build and cultivate *uma* (mountain swidden) and how to construct rice-fields, irrigation and dike systems; he taught him how to grow sugarcane and how to make sugar and wine out of the cane juice; he taught him how to grow corn; he also taught him how to cultivate camote and taro; he taught him how to cultivate tobacco; he taught him how to plant cocoa and coffee; he also taught him how to domesticate animals — he showed man how to pasture the cow and the carabao, how to raise pigs and chickens, and how to tame the dog; he taught man the various ways of catching fish and trapping wild game; he also taught man how to make tools, domestic utensils and other facilities; he taught him how to brew wine from glutinous rice, etc. In short, *Kabuniyan* or *Ipugaw*[5] taught men every form and method of human trade and labour that man now knows and moreover exemplified his teachings by his own life while he lived in the community of men in the very ancient past. Man, therefore, is *ipugaw* because in order to live he must labour and engage in all kinds of trades, following the model of *Kabuniyan*. He must provide for his continued existence in this world.

5. The *Kabuniyan* of the Kalinga has an ambivalent personality. First, he is conceived as Supreme Being, the maker of everything that is. Second, he is conceived as a culture hero, the personification of everything that is humanly ideal, who in the ancient past lived with men and taught them by concrete deeds and actions everything that they ought to know and do, in order to live. It is in the latter sense that *Kabuniyan* becomes the mythical first man, *Ipugaw*. See also E. Magannon, *Religion in a Kalinga Village*. University of the Philippines (CDRC—PACD Publishers), 1972, pp. 15–16.

Most important of all, *Ipugaw* taught man the principles and the rules of authentic human existence and living. He taught him the moral and religious life. He taught man the rituals which he needs to perform to make his life *mal'linawa* (comfortable) and meaningful, render his works fruitful and less burdensome. *Ipugaw* taught man the life cycle rituals which assure every parent the proper physical and mental growth, the moral and spiritual development and maturity of every human being born into this world. He taught him the agricultural rituals so that man's labour may not go to waste and so that man the labourer may not become the slave of his labour. He taught him the hunting rituals so that man the hunter may always go safe and be lucky in his hunt for game. He taught man the healing rituals that he may rid himself of the pains of illness whenever he gets afflicted by disease. He taught man the construction rituals so that whatever man builds may last and stay safe for his security and comfort. He taught man the transaction rituals so that what man alienates from himself and transfers to another may not become the cause of human injustice and unhappiness. He also taught man how to read signs, symbols and omens so that he may be properly guided in his travels or at least have an inkling of what may imminently happen. After *Ipugaw* had taught man all the things which he needs to know and do in order to lead a happy, prosperous, moral and religious life, he went back to his own dwelling place leaving man to apply what he had learned. Thus, man is *ipugaw* because his existence and life is grounded on a moral and religious metaphysics and carries with it the weight of a 'categorical imperative.'

IV. Matago (To Live):

Man, indeed, has at his disposal — in the folklore, folkways, mores, traditions, and most especially in the all important custom laws, religious beliefs and practices of the tribe — the whole corpus of knowledge which he ought to know in order to meet the harsh challenges of life. To acquire this knowledge, he must open wide his eyes and observe the flow of life of the tribe and open wide his ears and listen to the wisdom of the elders who have experienced life. The community is the repository of knowledge and wisdom. Acting thus and adding his own life experiences to such a body of knowledge he will grow in wisdom and maturity.

In the concrete historical existence of man what he must do is to act out the example of *Ipugaw*. Only in that way can he experience the deep meaning of life, the experience which pierces right into the bowels of man's being. It is all a question of action or practice. To be man is to live, *matago*. *Matago* is an historical novel of sweat and arduous labor, from beginning to end, from birth to death, in space and time, in the community of men both living and dead, and in the community of *Kabuniyan* and the deities.

A phenomenological description of the life of the Kalinga can be given briefly and simply. First the Kalinga is born — and his parents take meticulous care that all the rituals of the *kontad* are performed so that he may grow up a healthy child. Not very long after birth, he begins to participate consciously in the social life of the tribe or community. From the age of seven to twelve the Kalinga child does not participate in the manual labour going on in the rice terraces and in the mountain swiddens. He takes care of his younger siblings while the older folks do the manual work. Whenever he is freed from this primary duty, he may join his peers catching fish in the river or in the nearby brooks. Or he may go with them to gather firewood in the forests and hills not too distant from the village; or he may perhaps go trapping birds with rubber gum among trees laden with ripening fruits at the early months of summer; or he may catch *maya* birds with hair loops in the rice-fields ripening for harvest. Before long this Kalinga boy is already an adolescent ready to assume the roles of adults. At this juncture in the life of the Kalinga, parents again see to it that the young adolescent is properly initiated. The rite which initiates him into adult life is the *igam*. It is the climax of a series of rituals performed to highlight the important stages of childhood called the *kontad*. In the olden days when tribal war was common between Kalinga tribes, the young initiate was brought along to fight in a tribal war. Upon the return of the warriors, the *igam* is celebrated where the initiate(s) is publicly confirmed as an adult member of the tribe or community in a dance. During the dance the medium performing the *igam* ritual bestows on the initiate the headgear and plumage of the warrior, clamps on his arms the *baskong*[6] of the *mingor* (invulnerable warrior). Nowadays in the relative absence of tribal wars, the young initiate is taken on a hunting safari. Upon the return of the hunting party, the *igam* is performed on the young initiate in just the same way as it was previously performed for the initiate who returned home from a tribal battle.

The next stage is that almost without knowing it the Kalinga finds himself a married man. Either the parents have arranged the marriage, or, if this has not been done, he has found a bride for himself. Marriage further confirms him as an adult member of his tribe or community. Again, in marriage he and his wife must undergo the marriage ritual requirements. As a married adult, his whole life is one of gruelling labour with minimum time for rest and leisure. Thrice a year he and his wife plant rice, the main staple food of the Kalinga, for the maintenance of his family — twice in the rice terraces and once in the *uma*. In preparing his paddy fields for planting, he has to clean and soften their floors by driving water buffaloes around and around the fields until the rice stalks and weeds from the previous harvest are trodden underneath. He has to clean and repair water dikes and irrigation canals. He has to weed paddy lanes. He has to grow

6. The *baskong* is an armlet made of wild boar tusks and plumated with black, red and yellow feathers, the colours of a great warrior.

and tend the rice seedlings which he will plant on his fields in a separate paddy field — a job which in itself requires much time and effort. For the planting done during the dry season, he has to grow and tend his rice seedlings in a plot cleared on the side of one of the nearby hills. The work done on this hillside plot is no easy task either. Before he finally plants the seedlings on his rice-fields, he has to further clean and soften their floors with his own hands and feet. Then he plants his fields, a task requiring a lot of bending under the hot sun or cold rain for days on end. The discomfort of this bending posture when planting rice has been immortalized in the lyrics of a Filipino folksong whose opening lines go like this: "Planting rice is never fun, bent from morn till the set of sun/cannot stand, cannot sit, cannot rest for a little bit". Before harvesting time comes around, he does two more rounds of paddy cleaning and repairs the dikes and irrigation canal once more. Then he harvests the rice — another arduous task.

To build and cultivate a mountain swidden, or *uma* as the Kalinga call it, he has first to clear a whole mountain side, cutting down trees, underbush shrubs, wild bananas, lianas of all sorts, etc. Then he waits for all these to dry. Once they are all dry, he sets fire to the whole mass. After the fire, he clears and cleans the place of whatever is left unburned by the fire. That over, he weeds out the new undergrowth which is just sprouting from where the old weeds have been uprooted. All that finished, it is just about the beginning of the rainy season, early June. When the rains come, he plants his *uma* with rice and other secondary staple foods i.e. vegetables, peas, melons and other edible plants which grow in the wet season, covering the months between June and November. In November he harvests his *uma* almost simultaneously with the second harvest in the rice terraces. The first harvest in the paddy fields which is the harvest of the *oyac* rice planted in the preceding month of February occurs in the middle of June and is finished by the end of July or at times by the beginning of August. The second harvest which is that of the *onoy*[7] rice planted during the month of August occurs in the month of November.

When not engaged in the planting and harvesting of rice either in the paddy fields or in the mountain swidden, the Kalinga does other tasks, some agricultural, some not, like growing vegetables in a small garden plot on a hillside, cultivating tobacco on a portion of his already harvested *uma*, growing corn, planting sugarcane to produce the native wine called *bayas*. Sometimes he travels to neighbouring villages or to more distant places like Bontoc, Ifugaw or the Cagayan Valley to sell valuable antiques like chinese jars called *gosi*, porcelain plates and bowls, agate beads, in order to gain some extra income. At other times — like the occasion of a wedding feast, an *igam* rite, the inauguration or renewal of a *podon* (peace-pact) which are rare and one of the few chances for him to relax and get drunk to boast of his industry, his brilliant war records,

7. See below for more details.

and of his glorious ancestry — he may indulge in extravagant festivity. Or he may have to quarrel with his brother, sister or neighbour or perhaps wage a war against another tribe to defend his territorial interests or even to revenge a hurt sense of justice, etc.

Such is the way a Kalinga lives the days, months, and years of his life until one day it is announced that death came to claim him. If he dies at a ripe old age, people dance and make merry at his passing away because he has had a full life. But if he dies young, people will mourn his death because, for the Kalinga, there is nothing more evil and unfortunate that can befall a man than premature death. In any case, wherever and whenever death comes, Kalinga man is appropriately buried according to the rites and rituals of his ancestors so that he may join the dead in peace.

The life of the Kalinga is indeed a swift phenomenon spent in hard and arduous labour. The Kalinga accepts such a life with dignity. And if he is able to surmount the difficulties of life and live more or less comfortably because his sweat and honest labour have allowed him to accumulate some wealth for the patrimony of his descendants and enjoy a certain degree of social prestige among his people, then he feels fulfilled and happy. For, in truth, his was a life well spent. However, the life of a Kalinga can only be considered well spent, if on the day of his burial, his tribe or community and, as a matter of fact, the whole of heaven and earth pronounce over his bier the epithet: He was a good man.

Matago does not only mean to labour. It also means to be moral and religious. For *Ipugaw*, the ideal prototype man, is a highly moral and religious personality. But morality and religion make sense only in community life, because their meaning and value lie in interpersonal relations between man and *Kabuniyan*, the deities, culture heroes, and the dead ancestors and relatives.

Man lives in space, in time, in community with his fellow men, with *Kabuniyan*, the deities and culture heroes, and with the dead ancestors. Such is the existential structure of Kalinga Man's existence and life. The movement of his life is governed by the laws of this existential structure. For the universe is grounded on an immutable cosmic order.

The world of the traditional Kalinga is a moth ball compared to the universe known to twentieth century scientific man. Historians, ethnographers and other writers nowadays speak of Kalinga land as if it were one single, whole portion of territory occupied by a homogeneous group of people. This manner of speaking derives from a political and externally imposed identity conferred on the region and its inhabitants first by the people living in the immediately neighbouring regions, then by the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines, and perpetuated by the American colonial government. This concept of the Kalinga is still dominant today, and in fact people in the region, especially the educated elements and the politically ambitious, have also adopted

this manner of speaking. Originally, however, and to a great extent even today, the people in the region have never thought of themselves as one group and one territorial entity called the Kalingas. They have always thought of themselves as belonging to their respective *ili* or villages, and when they introduce themselves to outsiders they identify themselves by mentioning their personal names followed by the name of the *ili* from where they come. Thus, for example, someone from the *ili* of Lubo would say I am Kayo from Lubo. It is more in line with the perception of the Kalinga to see and consider the political territory designated by Philippine Government law as comprising several *ili* or villages, each *ili* inhabited by a single tribe and defined as an autonomous piece of territory.

The Kalinga *ili* or village consists of the *ili* or community itself, the paddy fields scattered over the nearby mountain valleys and plots of gradient flat lands on hill nooks, the mountain swiddens and vegetable gardens on the side of mountains and hills farther distant from the community, the fishing and hunting grounds of the tribe, the pasture lands where the tribe tends its cows and carabaos, and the forest reserves of the tribe. This is the universe of the Kalinga. The limits of this universe extend horizontally and vertically as far as the Kalinga can see and as far as his two feet can carry him. It is indeed a very small world. However, the Kalinga feels happy, safe, and secure in this small universe. In short, it is his home. And for him that is all that matters.

Moreover, for the Kalinga, there is only one world, this world. He is not aware of any other world or even possible worlds. He is not familiar, for instance, with concepts like heaven or hell where people continue their existence after this life. The *after world* for him is also this world, the world of space and time. For the fate of man after this life is all a question of a *new modality of being*. Death for the Kalinga is a process of translation into a new manner of existence and life, that of the *kak'karading* or dead ancestors in the places allotted to the dead in the cosmos.[8]

Death corrupts and decomposes the *long'ag* of man, the constitutive elements—bones, blood, hair, muscles, viscera, etc. — which gave him frame, mass and weight. The corruption of these elements leaves only the figure or form and the shape of the countenance of man. Freed thus from the frame, mass and weight which bound him to the material universe and made him experience the wants and needs and the whims of material life, he assumes the mode of being and life of a *kak'karading*, a 'spirit'.

Cohabiting the universe with Kalinga man are a number of non-human entities. These non-human beings are conveniently categorized as deities in the present paper. Western writers have used the term 'spirit' to designate them. However, the writer feels reluctant to follow this usage since Kalinga man definitely perceives these non-human

8. The allotment of the various places of the cosmos to the respective beings is explained in the following sections.

beings as having some corporeal form, a quality excluded from the concept 'spirit'. The preference for the word 'deity' in the present paper to designate them is based on the fact that the Kalinga regards them as existing on a higher plane of being since they are apparently freed from the determination imposed by space and time; moreover, the term 'deity' does not necessarily exclude the denotation of possessing a corporeal form.[9]

The deities cohabiting the universe with Kalinga man are of two types: the dead who are called by the Kalinga *anani* and *kak'karading*, and the deities of the natural world called by the Kalinga *pinaing*, *paniyao*, *ngilin*. The Kalinga refers to these deities generically as *aran*, first, to indicate their non-human nature; second, to emphasize their inherently antinomous function as regards man's existence and life, especially in the case of deities belonging to other villages and tribes. Deities of other tribes and other distant lands are always regarded as malevolently intending evil for men who are strangers to the places where they dwell. They are *aran* because of this malevolent function. However, as regards the village or tribe where they are the local deities, they act as protectors against the malevolent stranger *aran* from other villages and tribes. In the same way that they are called by the Kalinga *aran* because of their malevolent attitude towards strangers, they are collectively called *alimot* because of their protective function vis-à-vis the local inhabitants of the villages or places where they dwell.

To this list of deities cohabiting the universe with man must be added the name of *Kabuniyan*, the Supreme Deity of the Kalinga, he being the 'creator' of everything that is in being, and those of another group of non-human entities who, in the perception of the Kalinga, are neither to be called deities of the natural world nor are they dead human persons elevated to the status of deity — in which case they would be called *anani* and/or *kak'karading*. What the Kalinga know of them is that as *Kabuniyan* had done, they taught man some of the rituals which he must perform in life to be successful and comfortable. They are conceived of and felt to be always around, ever prepared and ready to come to the aid of man when the need arises. However, their abodes are mythical places whose locations in the cosmos Kalinga man does not know.

As the nature and location of their dwelling places are enveloped in mystery and myth, in like manner the nature of these beings is more mythical than real. Kalinga folklore always conceives them as benevolent old men and women who taught man this and that. These mythical beings include in their number, for example, *Mad'an ad Manganodan* (Old woman at where things can be drowned), who taught man the *kaykayapo* or ritual for the newly harvested rice, *Mad'an at Ipos Danum* (Old woman at the end of water), who taught man the ritual for the retrieval of lost things called *lipon*, *Morong'ag ad Pooli* (Old man at the point of return), who taught man the transaction rituals, *Morong'ag ad Dangogan* (Old man of Dangogan), who taught man the hunting

9. Cf. E. Magannon, op. cit., 1972, p. 17 fn.no.18.

rituals, etc. For this reason, they have been collectively called mythical culture heroes in this paper.

Man and the deities respectively inhabit specific places in the Kalinga universe. The *pinaing* and their domestic animals i.e. all the wild game in the forests, fish and other forms of aquatic life in the rivers and brooks, dwell in the forests, big trees, mountain tops, rivers, brooks, cliffs, big rocks, mountain springs, etc. The *ngilin* and the *paniyao* and their domestics occupy the lakes, swamps, and river banks. The *kak'karading* and the *anani* inhabit graves, ricefields, curves of pathways, entrances to the *ili*, groves, etc. Man and his domestic animals live on the plains and flat lands. *Kabuniyan* lives somewhere above; the precise location being unknown to the Kalinga and not of interest to him. The mythical culture heroes, as already indicated above, are felt to be present somewhere around in some mythical places concerning the location of which the Kalinga is also not certain.

This distribution of the various domains in the universe to man and the deities may be called the spatial order. For it does not only locate the beings in their proper places and indicate their relative positions with regard to each other but also sets the fundamental principle of interaction between them, namely, that there can be no crossing over or incursion of boundaries without disrupting the harmony of the universe. Man cannot approach the places of the deities without inviting illness and eventually death upon himself. The deities likewise cannot enter the habitation of man without the risk of causing sickness or death to man. Here lies the rationale of the existence of sacred or taboo places in the theory and practice of Kalinga religion. For this reason, each group sticks to its own domain with an absolute sense of territorial imperative — i.e. each defends its own domain or space as an exclusive preserve and appears to be endowed with the inherent inward compulsion to possess and defend such a domain or space.[10] Thus, each group leads a community life of cooperation and intentionality within its own domain or space proper to its mode of being. Hence, just as the whole of Kalinga land can be seen as a conglomeration of numbers of villages or *ili* inhabited by different tribes, the *ili*, the universe of Kalinga man is a conglomeration of communities inhabited by deities and man. And in the interaction between these communities, just as it is also in the interaction between Kalinga tribes and villages, each individual member of each community assumes the status of corporate personality. This means that members of each community can stand for or represent for good or ill their community vis-à-vis other communities.

The world of the Kalinga, unlike the world of scientific man, apparently does not expand, neither does it evolve, but it is nevertheless in a state of flux. The flow or move-

10. Cf. R. Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative*. London and Glasgow: Collins, Fontana Library, 1970, p. 13.

ment of the universe is manifest in the movement of time or, to put it another way time is the movement of the universe.

The Kalinga's knowledge of time derives from the facts of recurrence and of change. The unalterable phenomenon of recurrence in the universe constitutes the temporal order. The occurrence of change within the recurrent pattern of the movement of the universe is man's guarantee of progress and moral goodness. The unending movement of time consists in the eternal coming and going of the years. Its recurrent pattern consists in the circular winding and unwinding of the twelve months of the annual cycle, the quarterly augmentation and diminution of the appearance of the moon's face each month — every quarter being approximately seven days or a week in the Gregorian calendar,[11] the unchanging pace of the sun in its travel through the sky each day, the alternation of dry and wet, cold and warm seasons, and finally, the daily alternation of light and darkness, daylight and night. The temporal order sets not only the pattern and pace of the cosmic movement but also the pace, order, and times for man's activities and interactions with the deities. It is in following and doing his work according to this temporal order that man can hope to achieve his ends and expect abundant fruit from his labour. Obedience is the cornerstone of human morality and religiosity. Acting thus is the fundamental meaning of *matago*.

In relation to the harmonious and peaceful co-existence and communication between man and the deities, the temporal order specifies the times during daylight and night when each group can wander in the pathways and crossroads without fear of encountering the other. A chance meeting would not be propitious for either side — on the side of man such an encounter, whether contemplated or occurring by chance, always means illness or/and death. In the day time, deities are on the pathways and crossroads from *ma'ayadang* to *ar'aranat mamatok* (9.00 a.m. to 11.00 a.m.) and *ag'agao* (2.00 p.m. to 3.00 p.m.). In the night time, they are believed to be going around from *kosop* to *madama'an* (8.00 p.m. to 4.00 a.m.). These are the hours when men are well settled in their work in the paddy fields or in the mountain swiddens or are taking their rest within their community. The other hours of the day and night not alloted to the deities are reserved for men to go and return from their work or from their travels.

Just as the temporal order specifies the times when deities and men can go out of their habitations and be found in the pathways and cross-roads, it also determines and specifies, for man, the proper times to do his various activities. It specifies the proper times for planting and harvesting, fishing and hunting, travelling and fighting wars, constructing domiciles, weaving baskets, etc.

In the Kalinga area, as in the case of the rest of the island of Luzon and of the Philippine Islands in general, the year has two seasons: the dry and wet. In the terminology

11. The Kalinga follows a lunar calendar. See E. Magannon, op. cit., 1972, pp. 36–44.

of the Kalinga, he speaks of the *dagon*, dry season, but more appropriately summer time, which covers the months of March to June. He speaks of the *agilid*, the rainy or wet season which covers the months from June, the month of the start of the summer rain, to February, when the dry days of summer begin. It should be noted, however, that there is no fixed and fast rule as to the exact beginning and end of the dry days and rainy days. The activities of the Kalinga are very much dependent on the conditions of the weather and on the flow of the seasons. As has already been indicated above, the main occupation of the Kalinga is the production or cultivation of rice. During the dry season, he plants rice both in the paddy fields and in the mountain swiddens. On this occasion, in the paddy fields, he plants the *oyac* rice variety which, in his long experience as an agriculturist and farmer, he has found to be the best suited, bearing the most fruit and most abundant harvest, for this time of the year. This rice variety includes the *porot*, *oyac*, *ibo*, *binangad*, and *wagwag*. In the mountain swiddens, Kalinga man plants either variety of rice — *oyac* or *onoy*, depending on the type of soil and climatic condition obtaining in the particular mountain area. During the season of *agilid*, the Kalinga plant the *onoy* rice variety in the rice paddy. It not only yields the most abundant harvest but it seems to be more resistant to the comparatively unfavourable climatic conditions of the rainy season than the *oyac* variety. The *onoy* rice variety comprises *minaducayong*, *sagontar*, *dokligan*, *goyod*, *ipos*, *lagoyloyan*, *abbanga*, *buwaowa*, *burgatan*, *porpog*, *tokpar*, *dagoydoy*, *tawaki*, *kiyatan*, *korot*, *domalingan*, *oknor*, *podawan*, and *gongkawan*. With this seasonal planting of rice goes the planting of vegetables which also grow during that particular season.[12]

In between the planting and harvesting of rice, he has other secondary agricultural preoccupations like cultivating tobacco during the month of December, planting sugarcane in November, planting bananas or coffee trees during the months of August and September or even November and December, etc. At other times, he is engaged in weaving baskets, hats, pottery making and other types of home industries especially during the rainy days when he is forced to stay home. During the dry season he may get out of his village to other villages, trading antiques of value, carabaos, gold earrings, etc.[13]

Thus, man must not only follow the natural flow of the universe in general but must also see to it that he does the activities proper to each season. In short, the meaning of the temporal order for man is that there is proper timing for everything under the sun. And it is this proper timing which accounts for human progress and well being. On the other hand, proper timing implies that there is also such a thing as wrong timing. Doing one's work at the wrong times would only mean wasted sweat and

12. See also above.
13. See also above.

effort. Wrong timing is one factor which accounts for human retrogression or lack of progress and development. It is always the cause of human ills and, more specifically, it is often the direct cause of death.

Since the spatial and temporal orders account for the harmony and functioning of the universe, they may be considered as constituting the cosmic order. While it is fundamental for harmonious co-existence with the other beings, for prosperity in his economic pursuits, for his health and well being, that man obeys this cosmic order and adapts his activities to it, in the performance also of his works, it is not enough for man just to follow the natural flow and structure of the cosmic order. For, as *ipugaw*, he is duty bound to perform the rituals which have been taught to him by *Kabuniyan* and the culture heroes to initiate and complete his every endeavour. These rituals performed before and after each and every human activity 'sanctify' the work, thus conferring on it a peculiarly human quality. Apparently man on his own is impotent. Labour — sheer human sweat and toil — by itself does not assure him of any reward. Such labour must be 'infused' by the power of the 'Creator', the power which wrought everything in the beginning. This power is mediated by the performance of the ritual. Because of the ritual also, human labour becomes a moral and religious act. Thus, man must perform the agricultural rituals, the fishing and hunting rituals, the life cycle rituals, the construction rituals, the healing rituals, the war rituals and all the other rituals which have been taught to him by *Ipugaw*, the teacher of men.[14]

Although Kalinga man and his community — his *ili* — are all members of the universe of the cosmos, nevertheless his being, movement and behaviour are not governed solely by the cosmic order, for above all Kalinga man and his fellows are members of a human community, the tribe. He is participating in a life style, working towards the achievement of the aspirations and objectives of such a life style, and, more importantly, is actively and potently involved in forging the wills and decisions of his community. In so doing, Kalinga man is not only governed by the mores, folkways, customs, traditions, and laws of his tribe. He himself is a concrete embodiment of the values accruing from everything which the community believes. Thus, in the eyes of all other Kalinga tribes, he is a corporate personality who can, even though acting individually, take upon himself the responsibilities and liabilities of his community and people. The consequence of this can be appreciated in a sociology of Kalinga man's life.

In the first instance, the Kalinga is a member of a family, a kinship group or an extended family.[15] The organizational bases of his membership are birth and sanguinal

14. Cf. E. Magannon, op. cit., Chapter 5.

15. As a gross generalization, it may be said that the Asian in general and the Southeast Asian in particular, when he speaks of the family, refers to the extended family or kinship group, not to the nuclear family as in the case of a Westerner. It is in the Asian sense that the term is being used in this article.

affinity. By his membership the Kalinga not only shares the biological or genetical virtues and defects of his ancestral line, but he also takes on himself the social and political responsibilities, obligations, and liabilities and any other commitment which his family may owe to the community, other tribes, and to the world at large.

Within the family circle, by virtue of familial love, filial piety, self-respect and pride, the Kalinga, most especially the young, render deference and reverence to parents and other elders. Every member of such a kinship system, especially those who have the means, are also duty bound to come to the aid of any other member who is in need. In fact, one may say that the obligation of those members who are of means is much greater than the obligation of those members who are less well-off. But in any case each member is expected to contribute to the amelioration or satisfaction of any form of *debt* that the family may owe to other families, tribes, and even to itself. The Kalinga must likewise defend the name and honour of the clan at whatever cost, and should his family be engaged in a feud with another family, he must be prepared to avenge the wrong done. For in Kalinga culture there is no shame to the family name or slight to its honour comparable to that incurred when one of its members is wounded or killed by an outsider. Such injuries and the shame or slight to the family name which they bring, if not avenged for a long time, make the family concerned lose its social standing or prestige. As the Kalinga puts it, such a family loses its *count* in the community or tribe. Losing count in the community or tribe has less to do with the members of the slighted family being considered by the other members of the tribe as social outcasts than the male members of the family, because of their inability to revenge, being downgraded as weak females, emasculated of their virility. Should conflict arise among members of his own family, the Kalinga must help in arbitrating between them and perhaps forcing a settlement on them if needs be. On occasions when one member of a Kalinga family has to entertain or look after the welfare of guests for extended lengths of time, all the other members must help in the care and entertainment of such guests, if not materially, at least with their availability for doing errands. All other festive occasions like weddings, peace-pact inaugurations and renewals, *igam* celebrations, etc. are always cooperative kinship undertakings.

The solidarity of the Kalinga family is also exhibited on occasions of alienation by sale of family properties like heirlooms, rice fields, carabaos, etc., and the settlement of feud indemnities with one or other family group. In the case of the alienation by sale of family properties, there is a practice which the Kalinga calls the giving of *so'or*. The buyer of the piece of property being sold, aside from paying the real value of the property, has also to give to each member of the kinship group selling the property — from the oldest member of the family down to the third degree of vertical consanguinity of the genealogical line of descent of the seller of the piece of property, and, if the buyer

is rich or generous, it may even extend beyond the third degree of affinal consanguinity to include those who, out of curiosity, come to witness the proceedings of the deed of sale-gifts which are the *so'or*. The values of these *so'or* follow proportionally the position or status in the genealogical line of descent of the family selling the property of those persons to whom they are given. The closer relations of the person or couple as the case may be in the family selling the property get *so'or* of higher or greater value, while the distant relations further down the line of descent get ones of relatively less value. However, the *so'or* given out are not considered part of the real value which must be paid of the piece of property being sold. Therefore, they cannot be counted as part of the purchase price. However, in case the sale is discontinued, all the *so'or* must be returned.

In the Kalinga area, it is indeed relatively expensive to buy pieces of property like real estate, or valuable possessions such as family heirlooms, work animals, etc. because of this *so'or* system. On the other hand, however, this system is also the guarantee for the buyer that indeed his newly acquired piece of property is there to remain with him, unless of course he in turn sells it to another, and he can rest assured that no legal suit will ever deprive him of it, because the acceptance of the *so'or* by the members of the family group selling the property is evidence that they have forfeited all claim, right, and attachment to that particular piece of property. Since it is assumed that all objections to the sale of the property would have been sufficiently satisfied before the decision to sell is made and that all demands have been met by the buyer — that is why *so'or* have been accepted. Later dissatisfaction with the whole transaction by any member of the seller family would be socially unacceptable and would be open to public censure. Likewise, the buyer, should he later have feelings of regret, would be the object of community reproach or outright rebuke.

In the case of the payment of indemnities to settle feuds of long standing between Kalinga families, the same principle followed in the giving of *so'or* is applied. All the members of the aggressor family, or, if there has already been a series of woundings and counter-woundings, or of killing and revenge, the family with the greater balance on its side are to be *madosa* (penalized). This only happens, however, if the family agrees to pay the *dosa*. If they so decide, all of them must pitch in with items of their property in payment of the required indemnity. The quantity and value of their *dosa* (penalty) is proportionate to their kinship nearness or distance from the person who is the principal *madosa*. The pieces of property which they contribute to the total indemnity as their personal *dosa* are given to their genealogical counter-parts in the kinship system of the aggrieved and recipient family. If, as sometimes happens, the aggrieved family takes revenge for the wound or killing which they have sustained, then, all the properties constituting the *dosa* of the former aggressor family must be returned. It should be noted that it must be the very same pieces of property which were given to them which

are to be returned. They cannot be substituted by other items of property or by another piece of the same type of property. If the balance of woundings and counter-woundings is considered to be more or less equal after such a revenge, no new *dosa* negotiation between the families takes place. But if the balance is thought to have shifted to the side of the avenging family, then its members may have to decide to pay the *dosa* in turn if only to procrastinate for a while the taking of revenge by the other side. The other occasion when the properties given as *dosa* have to be returned is at the time when the two families decide to settle once and for all their feud. This they do by contracting a marriage between their children. Such a marriage is called by the Kalinga *piya* (peace marriage). In this case, however, not all the items of property given as *dosa* are returned. The property of the principal characters in the feud is given to the married children. This property, passed on to the couple, serves as their inheritance and as the guarantee of their parents' and their respective families' desire for permanent peace between them. All the other pieces of property contributed by the relations must be returned to their respective owners. All these responsibilities and liabilities, though very often burdensome to the individual Kalinga, are assumed by him with dignity and pride.

If by familial love, filial affection, umbilical and sanguinal affinity, the Kalinga is a member of a family or extended family system, by geographical location, citizenship, and a sense of patriotism (loyalty to his community and tribe), he belongs to a tribe and an *ili* (village). And to other villages and tribes, these are his credentials for identification. With such a status of membership and identification with his *ili* and tribe, the Kalinga incurs certain social and political responsibilities and obligations towards not only the people and deities of his own village but also towards those of other villages and tribes, especially those immediately neighbouring his community. And just because he is a corporate personality and is considered representative of his tribe and community any failing on his part in the performance of his duties has immediate repercussions on the life of the people in his community.

Roy Franklin Barton made the observation that among the various ethnic groups of the Philippines prior to the coming of the Spanish colonizers into the islands, the Kalinga of Northern Luzon and the Muslims of Mindanao in the South had the most developed political organizations — namely, the *podon* system of the Kalinga and the sultanate of the Muslim.[16] The Kalinga and the Mindanao Muslim political organizations are on the threshold of the development of a nation state. Both systems have as their principle of organization originally real blood tie and later fictive kinship called by the Muslim *agama*.[17] The Kalinga *podon* comprises only two lineages or tribes who

16. R.F. Barton, *The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.

17. The Mindanao *agama* comprises all the families and lineages so fictively related to one another, and with the coming of Islam in the Southern Philippines the *agama* came to include also in

decide to enter into such a fictive brotherhood or relation. Unlike the Mindanao Muslim *agama* which apparently does not include territory in its essential conceptual definition, the Kalinga tribe requires territory as an essential definition. This territory is the *ili* which has already been discussed above. The maintenance of the separation of the territories of the two tribes who conclude a *podon* seems to be the main obstacle to the unification of the two *ili* and tribes into one political and administrative entity as in the case of the Muslim *agama*. Instead, one finds in the Kalinga *podon* two parallel political administrations, in each of the partner *ili*. Thus, the *podon*, although based on the principle of fictive kinship, is more of an alliance treaty formally entered into by two Kalinga villages or tribes. In the treaty of agreement both tribes define in a set of provisions their respective territorial boundaries, the extent of trade and commerce between them, their respective social and political responsibilities and obligations towards each other, and an inventory of punishable crimes and their penalties. Once a *podon* is concluded, the partner tribes become fictive blood brothers. In more positive and concrete terms, this means from previous relations of mistrust, virtual[18] or actual enmity,[19] now, with the establishment of the podon, the inhabitants of the two *ili* can trust one another, can come and go freely in the territory of the other, doing business or engaging in whatever activity they wish without fear of being harmed, cheated or, in the case of women, being molested. For this reason, the value of the *podon* for the Kalinga is inestimable and, consequently, any violation of it or any one of its provisions is severely punished. For any such infringement is considered as an invalidation of the bond of fictive kinship, a withdrawal of trust in one's brother or, as the Kalinga puts it, *eating of one's flesh*.

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its connotation people belonging to or believing in the same religion (*ugama* or also *agama*). Politically, the *agama* social organizations is governed or ruled by a *datu* or, in its widest organizational extension and highest level of bureaucratic development, the sultanate by a *sultan*.

18. The Kalinga is always suspicious of the outsider or stranger i.e. a person or individual who comes from villages or other distant lands with whom his village has no *podon*. For the Kalinga, this person is a virtual or potential enemy because his real personality and intentions are not yet known or disclosed. Once these are known, then, the Kalinga will deal with him accordingly. If he wants peace and friendship, the Kalinga will offer to him the brotherhood of the *podon*. If he wants war, the Kalinga will offer him a good fight in a tribal war.

19. Distinguished from the ordinary stranger or potential enemy is the Kalinga's actual enemy i.e an individual who belongs to a tribe with whom the *Kalinga's ili* has a standing feud or one who belongs to a tribe from whom *podon* relation has just been severed. The Kalinga has no doubt whatsoever as to the personality and intentions of such a person. Once given a chance, he will avenge his hurt personal and tribal integrity by severing a head. Under no pretext or any circumstance will the Kalinga be persuaded to trust this person. The only relation possible with this person is: *I either get his head first or he gets mine*. In contrast to this situation of hatred and bitter enmity is the situation of peace and friendship established between Kalinga tribes by the conclusion of a *podon*. This condition of peace and friendship leads also to the development of personal friendships, social intimacy and inter-marriage.

The persons entrusted by their respective tribes with the authority to enforce the provisions of the *podon* in the two *ili* and to ensure the continuance of friendly relations are called the *nangdon attey podon* (holders of the *podon*). As such, they may be considered the principal brothers in the kinship bond established between the two *ili*. In the ceremony concluding the *podon* treaty, they are the first — followed by their respective people — to partake of the *tomangad*, the wine prepared for common partaking by the two tribes to signify, as in the common partaking of food in the family, their kinship unity and communion. After this, they exchange their tinder boxes and spears. The tinder box is the instrument for making fire, the natural element which provides warmth, used by man to cook his food, and therefore, for the Kalinga, the principle of peculiarly human and civilized life in contrast to brute or animal life. The spear is one of the Kalinga's instrument of war. These symbolic acts in the ceremonial ritual signify the duties and the responsibilities which the *pangdon attey podon* will assume. First, as the principal brothers in the new and bigger family which has just been formed, they are the political leaders of their brothers. They possess the powers to decide, arbitrate, judge and punish. Second, by virtue of their keeping the ceremonial tinder box, the symbol of the fire in the hearth which cooks the food of a Kalinga family and provides the warmth for the house, it is to their houses people from the other *ili* go when they visit that village. There they can lodge and eat for as long as they need to stay in the village. Third, by virtue of their keeping the spear, the symbol of the cessation of war and the existence of peace between their two *ili*, it is to them people from the other *ili* go to lodge their complaints or to ask for the redress of some wrong done to them by members of their partner village. The *nangdon attey podon* are expected to enforce the provisions of the *podon* honestly and justly. If they fail or are remiss in the performance of their functions, they must sustain the shame arising from *bog'oy* (verb form, *mabog'oy*) and *boto* (verb form, *mabotoan*). *Bog'oy* and the shame it carries with it is the consequence of *eating one's flesh*. For example, if Kayo the son of Poron who is the *nangdon attey podon* in *ili* Dorawon rapes Anagon the daughter of Par'ong, the *nangdon attey podon* in *ili* Kanapaan, this case would constitute a *bog'oy* for Poron and his people because, in the *podon* fictive kinship, incest has been committed, not rape. Or, Bannanayo from the tribe of Poron murders Dallawagas from the tribe of Par'ong. By virtue of the *podon* kinship relation between the two tribes and podon customary law, Poron, not Par'ong must take revenge on Bannanayo or on any of his kins. If Poron does not take revenge or he fails to do so, then, he is under *bog'oy*. The reason being that he is lacking in masculine virility and self-respect, familial love, family pride and integrity to avenge the death of a kinsman. *Boto* refers to the enlargement of the male genitalia which is supposed to be the natural, one may say, almost ontological consequence of such social, political, and moral shortcomings of the *nangdon attey podon* and his tribe. And because there is no

shame comparable to that of a *bog'oy* or *boto* in Kalinga political organization and inter-tribal relations, it is imperative on every member of an *ili* to observe and follow the provisions of the *podon* very religiously. The Kalinga must do what is expected of him as a member of the human community with honesty, truthfulness, dignity and pride for such is *matago*.

A discussion of the being of man would not be complete if nothing were said about the function of the lower animate and inanimate beings in the life of man and in his social relations with the deities. For *matago* refers also to the idea of the proper utilization of objects by man to achieve his ends. Misuse and unnecessary waste of things by man is not within the proper order of the universe neither is it compatible with a proper way of life.

The meaning and importance of animate and inanimate objects in the historical life of Kalinga man is comprised by, or contained in, a comprehensive concept of utility: in his quest for self-preservation and survival he needs objects for his nutrition, nurture, and medicinal needs; in his desire for shelter, protection, and comfort he utilizes them to make his tools and utensils, to construct his dwelling, his granary and other conveniences which he requires in his everyday life. In the interaction between man and the deities, both sides use inanimate objects and the behaviour of animate beings like birds, dogs, snakes, etc., to signify a truth, a request which man should fulfil, or a forthcoming event of great importance or import for the life of man: The deities, at times, use objects, plants, and animals; for instance, when a snake bites a man, or a tree trunk falls on some one passing through a mountain pathway, to bring accidents and misfortunes to man so that he may realize his moral faults which need atonement. The *aran*[20] makes use of plants, animals, and objects to camouflage himself against the watchful eyes of the village *alimot*[21] so that he can more easily enter the village or villages which he intends to invade. Man offers objects, plants, and animals — pigs, chickens, rice and wine in the healing ritual, for example — as sacrificial tokens and gifts to *Kabuniyan* and the other deities. Finally, sorcerers make use of objects, plants, and animals as mediums to inflict illness on their enemies and to carry out their profession in general.

V. SUMMARY:

Man is *tago* because he is and has a *long'ag* (body) and mind. As *long'ag* he is endowed with strength and vigour, the powers by which he can maintain his existence through labour. As mind, he is endowed with rationality and wisdom, the powers by which he directs himself as *ipugaw*, the ideal moral and religious human personality. Because of his body he is physical presence in the world, bound to the determinations

20. See above.
21. See above.

imposed by the cosmic order defined in terms of the spatial and temporal realms. With his mind he is able to transcend the limits of space and time by the power of the teachings which the 'Creator' has taught him, learning and understanding by practice and action. When he acts thus in unison with the structure and movement of the cosmic order and with the structure and patterns of social being, he may expect not only the material blessing of a wealthy and prosperous life, but also the comfort of a life lived according to proper moral and religious precepts. If he does not act in unison with the order which he perceives, he has everything to lose. His whole world will be a sick one, a painful span of life to be endured before death. All this is what is meant by *matago*.

RECENT TRENDS IN MALAY-INDONESIAN POETRY

by MUHAMMAD HAJI SALLEH

Continuous contact with the west since the early years of colonialism has created Indonesians and Malaysians with values progressively alien to their own traditions. While making them very conscious of the values and achievements of other countries, especially those from the western hemisphere, this contact has also given them a sense of guilt about their present situation and culture. Colonialism and the disintegration of the traditional way of life after Independence have made cultural schizophrenics of the present descendents of people who once had a rich and integrated culture.

The modern Indonesian or Malaysian has a comparative mind, one that is often biased against the old ways, because they are old and do not satisfy the new needs of modern life. Helped along by the relentless bombardment of bits and pieces of contemporary culture and counter culture from the aggressive and showy west, the younger generations have finally begun to leave their traditions. If they have not left their traditions they may, on the other hand, have learned to perceive them through eyes that are no longer indigenous.

Generally more sensitive than most members of their society, the artists of Indonesia and Malaysia are even greater cultural schizophrenics. Hounded by both worlds, by conscience and guilt, by the lack of identity and the need to improve and change, they have gone out of the bounds of their heritage to find solutions for their own dilemma. There have been many attempts at various solutions. As it is, there is no one solution and perhaps there can never be.

The personality of the poet, his environment, his contact with the traditional way of life and his own degree of westernization, all help to determine the direction that his works take. Generally, a choice of direction clearly shows what elements and issues he has had to grapple with. In a great many cases, the works of these poets are a confluence of many influences. For example, the free verse of Chairil Anwar shows traces of the *pantun*, the *mantera*, of the Dutch poets Marsman and Saluerhoff, of Amir Hamzah and Hsu Chih-Mo. Sitor Situmorang, too, was under the influence of many cultures. His early poems are reminiscent of the Batak songs of Sumatra, while the poems written in Europe show an existentialist approach and his *Zaman Baru* ones can be called socialist realistic.

The cultural heritage of the Indonesians and Malaysians is fast disintegrating or, to be more accurate, the younger generations are drifting away from it. A lack of mag-

netism of the older ways and the strong pull toward the new have combined to create the present state of culture.

In such a situation, the poets, like their colleagues in the other arts, have come forward to work out new directions. In the 1950's, for example, after the Independence in Indonesia, we witness a flowering of nationalism and pride in the return to regional cultures. However, although much of this return was promising, as is evident in the works of Ramadhan K.H., the reality of Indonesia is forever split between the rich native and the assimilated western influences. Faced with this dilemma, once again the newer generation had to work out its own solution. For them, this solution took the form of creating a poetry that could reflect the duality of their world.

In my opinion, the assimilation or synthesis of the different influences is found in the works of the better poets of the sixties in Indonesia and those of the later sixties in Malaysia. After the initial choice of the free verse form in the thirties, there was a sharp turn toward the west, as in the works of the *Angkatan 45* writers. In the fifties, however, both as a reaction against these writers and also as a result of nationalism, poets returned to their regional cultures. In the following decade, young writers were fortunate enough to benefit from the works of the three preceding generations, and what is more important, the presence of a new literary tradition which their predecessors did not have but had to create. One cannot overstress the importance of a strong, live tradition for the young poet. It provides him with roots to develop from and consequently helps him to find his own style and identity, especially at a stage when his whole civilization is in the midst of a transition. To be able to recognize the permanent figures in the past during a time of change is also to know the achievements that have been attained by those preceding oneself, and to have a level against which to measure oneself and possibly to improve on. The past is part of the poet's present. As T.S. Eliot puts it, 'No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists.'[1] In an indirect way the dead poets help to determine what direction the contemporary poet takes, because it was they who have laid down the main roots for this growth. Without them the new poet would be in the middle of foreign influences alone. If the root are indigenous, the new offshoots are yet untested in the short time that is the life-span of the new literature. At the moment a writer still needs to look to his traditions and to the achievements of writers from other countries to learn from. In short, he needs to seek a proper balance of influences.

The poets of the sixties and early seventies did have a tradition of new poetry, however limited it may be, that they could fall back on without having to look to Slauerhoff or Marsman or Lorca for inspiration or for the measurement of their achievement.

1. T.S. Eliot, *Selected Essays, 1917?1932* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1950), p. 4.

They had some solid pioneers like Amir Hamzah, Sanusi Pane and Chairil Anwar to follow. Malaysian poets, too, look to the achievements of these poets as their models.

The synthesis of the classical and the western literary influences that Ajip Rosidi spoke about began in the fifties. In the forties this synthesis was obviously west of center, and in the fifties it was, in fact, east of center. It is only in the following decade that the poet stopped worrying about his position with respect to both cultures, because with the help of his predecessors he seemed to have found an identity as an Indonesian or Malaysian. The poets then wrote from this vantage-point. The medium itself, the free verse form, was made flexible by experiments in the past so that these new poets were able to use it more naturally. Products of this new writing are extremely interesting — some of them are indicators of a promise of greater achievements, while others carry within them warnings of the present disintegration not only of poetry but also of Indonesian society. It is with these works that we will concern ourselves in this paper.

Since the advent of the European in the Malay Archipelago, the conditions of Indonesian and Malaysian life have become progressively westernized. Contemporary directions in education, politics and the arts are manifestations of this change. Speaking about western influence on the contemporary Japanese, Armando Martins Janeira writes that it has 'changed not only the literary material but the writers themselves.'[2] This phenomenon seems to be also true for the writers of Indonesia and Malaysia. They live in an Indonesia or Malaysia that is different from the one of Amir Hamzah or Pungguk. Their environment had become progressively more technological, their cities have taken on more and more the shape and appearance of western models. The problems they have to face were almost unknown to their predecessors. These environmental, social and psychological changes have consequently created a very different consciousness in the generations since World War II.

The cities of Indonesia and Malaysia, where most of the poets live, are big and generally cosmopolitan. Many are large enough to even drown the poet in the dense populations. Unlike the traditional poet, the contemporary one is no longer a leader of his society. The problems he faces likewise are different too. He is seen sometime to be no more than a mere face in the crowd, fighting for his own small space and identity. In these cities the machines of modern technology have put to death the human values that held together traditional villages. Solidarity is lacking. Both the poet and his neighbour are mere fragments of this breakdown. As far as the poet is concerned, the reality of his existence does not go very much further than his personal problems. As he looks into himself he notices that, like his world, he too is made up of fragments that do not make up a whole. And there is no escape to the world outside because it can neither

2. *Japanese and Western Literature* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1970), p. 143.

console nor bring faith. Only he alone can decide and struggle for the survival of his individuality in the face of the indifference of the city.

While Chairil Anwar consciously tried to be an individual in a conservative society, the contemporary poet, if he is to write real poetry, can be nothing else but an individual. Modern consciousness tells him that he must be totally sincere with himself if he wants to live in the new environment. He has to look at himself for his themes, use his own tone of voice and his own everyday language. In short, everything that he writes about has to be true to his personality, emotions and existence.

This naked sincerity is a new dimension to the Indonesian or Malaysian. It also involves a new kind of freedom in his relations to his own person and his society. For the first time he is faced with great, even threatening, freedom and is called upon to use it. It is a freedom never envisioned by his parents, whether they were traditionally or western educated. He is left almost entirely to himself without the consolation of friendship or society. Faced with such a predicament he must exist and find a meaning for his existence. As a poet, poetry can provide part of the means to realising his own meaning. From it he may be able to achieve some measure of personal satisfaction. He may be able to slowly discern himself and analyse his own situation. In his small way he may also be contributing to his society by thinking and offering solution for its problems.

Looking at this new conditions of life one senses a growing tendency among the younger generation to embrace the religion of individualism to its very extreme limits. The poet tends to become more and more a speaker for his own personal dilemma. Therefore, the student of modern Malay-Indonesian literature needs to look at the lines, style and thought of a poet not so much in their relation to his society as to his own existence. It would be wrong to say that he is irresponsible to his society; quite often he is. The grand traditional concept of poetry that speaks in terms of the history and development of the race has given way to a more personal idea of what a poet should say and do. Contemporary poets find it difficult to write about grand themes or for that matter about society in general without being accused either of being rhetorical or romantic poet. Besides, the world of the Malaysian-Indonesian poet has become progressively more introverted and deeply psychological. The obsession now is with things personal. The modern poet is learning to be aware of himself. He looks into his own weaknesses, limitations and also his uniqueness, begins to be skeptical of generalizations whether they are made by himself or by other people. He refrains from making them and looks upon those who do with disapproval. In my opinion, this is a direct result of the scientific urban method of looking at the world and also the post-Freudian self-awareness that has come to be important in society in general.

If we examine the new writings, we are bound to see that they become vehicles of expressions of this new reality and consciousness. One of the most obvious characteristics

of recent poetry is that it is the product of experimentation. It is adventurous and searches for new ideas, shapes and sounds. Each poem is a thrust into the 'unknown.' To discover, to create new poems becomes an ideal. This is of course different from the practices of the past, when a poet is prescribed by the mould, the form and the language for his thoughts. Thus to find his own place the young poet continually experimented with his mode of expression, in order to make it his personal medium, form and style. Unlike the works of his predecessors, what he and his colleagues have found are often novel and sometimes even wild. There are no limits to the possibility of experimentation. Each poet seeks his own style, form and language.

Experimentation itself points to a certain dissatisfaction with the present state of poetry. To experiment is to search for something more suitable or satisfying. The experimenter hopes to improve or add to the media and forms that have evolved to the present day, if not to entirely transform it. The search itself is significant whether the object is achieved or not. It is the basis of literature itself. He may be said to live in the center of a vicious circle. The searcher is usually restless. And this restlessness drives him to seek new things. However, as new things do not always satisfy for long they once again make him the restless man that he initially was. So he continues to experiment.

The literary scene in both Indonesia and Malaysia at the moment shows a moderate amount of experimentation. Comparatively, there is more experimentation in poetry than any of the other genres. These experiments are not done in mere imitation of the fashion of fads or the west, but more from a real need to find the right medium and form for each individual poet.

In the past, traditional literatures have borrowed verse-forms from various cultures. The *kakawin* from Sanskrit and the *syair* from Arabic are cases in point. But these forms were employed according to native literary practices. Thus, after a few decades, only the external form remained foreign while the very fundamental concepts and techniques of poetic composition were essentially native. This mode of assimilating foreign forms depended on experimentation. A great many attempts were needed to make the forms flexible enough to fit the local traditions. Besides these foreign ones, the local forms themselves offer opportunities for experimentation, especially with new images, diction and the like, as long as the experiments are done within certain limits. The creation of the *pantun berkait*, linked verse, (better known in the west as *pantoum*,) and the *tembangs* point to the presence of not only literary innovators in the region but also of real genuises, who experimented and created new forms.

Literary innovation was known before, during and after the advent of the European. The western literary influences were more of a catalyst than a true revolutionary inspiration. However, it is evident from the poems and novels that with closer contacts with the west the pace of experimentation was greatly accelerated.

This paper proposes to consider these new directions in the poetry of the younger writers in Indonesia and Malaysia. We shall be concentrating on some of the more obviously experimental works of the poets of the sixties in an attempt to trace the general flow of the literature of the Indonesian and Malaysian peoples in recent years. For the purpose of this study it is perhaps helpful to approach the question of experimentation from three different aspects, i.e., firstly, innovations in forms; secondly, innovations in language; and, thirdly, experiments with new subject matter.

I

The free verse form that was initially borrowed from the west has been with the Indonesians and Malaysians for about fifty years. It has gone through different stages of assimilation, rejection and synthesis. The early poems of the thirties and the forties were more or less experiments in using the form itself. However, few poets accepted free verse entirely. Rather, the traditional elements were present along with the free verse. Where the mixture was naturally blended and the talent of the poet was substantial, good poems were created. The works of Amir Hamzah and Sanusi Pane are among the outstanding examples. Understandably, there was a great deal of bad verse. The form was something entirely new. Poets had to go through all the stages of literary development to reach maturity. Free verse had to be slowly acculturised and suited to the language and literary traditions of the Malays.

Chairil was the first writer to really be at ease with the free-verse form. This is perhaps because he was better versed in European and American poetry than in his native literatures. He was comfortable enough with it to begin experimenting. The first to master it, he was also able to find variations of the form to express his different moods, subject matter and personality.

Though Chairil is much quoted by critics, I am once again quoting here a section of the poem called '1943', which is an avant garde product of his experiments. Incidentally, it also illustrates how he has broken the free verse form down into a more simple and bare one.

Tumbang
Tanganku menadah patah
Luluh
Terebenam
Hilang
Lumpuh.
Lahir
Tegak
Berderak

Rubuh
Runtuh
Mengaum. Mengguruh
Menentang. Menyerang.[3]

Fallen
My hopeless fractured hands
Shattered
Sunk
Lost
Paralyzed
Born
Upright
Cracking
Ruined
Collapsed
Roaring. Thundering
Confronting. Attacking.

Each line explodes like gun-fire. Short and sharp, it breaks its meaning in the reader's mind and ear. We approach the poem through our eyes and ears. From the point of view of structure it is also a very new experiment. These one-word line is unique in Indonesian and Malaysian poetry, especially at a time when the influence of regularity and musical balance of the traditional forms was still strong. Formally, it is a very interesting experiment as it tries to break away from the song-like poetry of the past and use the rhythm of spoken language. The poet had also found a form to accommodate his intensely choppy emotions. These are compressed into only a few words. We notice that Chairil tries not to bury his subject matter under the language. By the arrangement of lines the reader is also visually helped along in his experience of the verbal explosives before him. The form and the theme are thus important elements in bringing home the meaning of the poem. This is only one of Chairil's experiments. Looking through his works we cannot escape noticing that almost every one of his poems is a search for form. 'Cerita Buat Dien Tamaela', 'Doa' and 'Cintaku Jauh diPulau' are examples of this. It is no exaggeration to say that modern experimentation in poetry in the region was forcefully pioneered by Chairil Anwar.

From this very bare outline of the background of experimentation in the poetry of Chairil, I would like to now consider the later works of Subagio Sastrowardojo and

3. H.B. Jassin, *Chairl Anwar, Pelopor Angkatan 45* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1956).

W.S. Rendra and those of the newer poets Toeti Herati Noerhadi, Latiff Mohidin and Baharuddin Zainal.

Unlike Chairil, who was very much affected by moods and thus always changing, Subagio Sastrowardojo as a person is very stable and self-assured. He is a Javanese par excellence in his restraint and *kehalusan* or refinement. In the world of his poetry this aspect of his personality is reflected not only in his techniques but also in the whole sensibility. His total approach seems to me to be one that is extremely mature. He is generally calm, always confronting a theme with a rare unity of thought. The poet does not try to stress the outward form of the poem too much, instead he concentrates on what he wants to say.

Approaching literature this way is also approaching it with a sense of both sureness and modesty. These characteristic are obvious in his poems. In his later works, the form seems to settle down to a regular pattern showing that the poet has achieved a comfortable medium for his voice. Visually they do not distract the reader from the main discussion or thought.

It seems to me that in this later form, Subagio was able to dovetail his voice to his lines. The regularity reminds us of traditional forms, but it is also an evidence of a development toward the perfection of his own form to suit his own voice and personality. This form also accommodates his style of discourse or description, which from time to time shows more than a tinge of the orderly academician. For example, take this first section of a long poem called 'Pembicaraan' (Discussion):

> Dimana berakhir pembicaraan? Diruang
> dalam atau jauh dilarut malam atau
> waktu duduk belunjur menanti api mati ditepi tungku
> Apakah tanda pembicaraan? Puntung
> rokok yang belum habis dihisap atau sisa kopi dicangkir atau
> suara tamu terakhir yang meninggalkan ambang pintu
> Apakah hasil pembicaraan? Pertengkaran
> mulut atau bual sombong sekedar membenarkan perbuatan atau
> omong kosong mengisi waktu tak menentu
> Ah, baik diam dan meneruskan keramahan
> pada tangan yang menjabat dan mata merindu
> Dalam keheningan detik waktu adalah pilu yang
> menggores dalam kalbu[4]
>
> Where's the end to discussion? In the inner room
> or far into the night or

4. Subagio Sastrowardojo, *Daerah Perbatasan* (Jakarta: Budaya Jaya, 1970), p. 48.

when you stretch your legs waiting for the fire to die out
What are the signs of discussion? Cigarette
butts or cold coffee or
the voice of the last guest at the doorway.
What are the results of discussion? Verbal
quarrel or proud words to justify actions or
empty talk to fill empty time
Ah, it's better to be quiet and continue the politeness
in the hand that shakes and eyes that remember
In the clarity of the moment is a sadness
that touches the heart.

The most important formal quality of this poem is its freedom of movement. The struture of the poem allows the poet to maneuver his thoughts and argument with ease and naturalness. This is especially significant when the poem is a monologue, where the need for flow of authentic speech patterns must be preserved. It takes on some of the elements of prose. For example, the lines themselves are longer and smoother than in a typical sixties poem. In the first, fourth and seventh lines where the poet asks questions, we are even invited to a dialogue. The language itself is prosaic, while its tone modest. The poet tries to find the poem in the prose of everyday language and living. Among them we can name 'Salju' (snow) and 'Manusia Pertama di Dunia' (The First man on Earth). Their lines are also orderly and neatly arranged, and are unmistakable products of his clear and careful talent. The poet is present before a real audience with which he wants to communicate. For that reason probably he chose the smoothest form so as not to distract his audience from the content.

Generally, Subagio employs this verse-form for his monologues. However, there is another which he tends to favour when describing events or experiences. Most of the poems making up the 'Salju' section of his book *Daerah Perbatasan* are in this form. These are small poems, usually modest and bare. They may even be called 'skinny' poems, as they are stripped of all decoration, inessentials and superficialities. Visually, they are made up of as few words as possible. As an illustration, let us take the poem 'Diujung Ranjang' (At the Edge of the Bed):

waktu tidur
tak ada yang menjamin
kau bisa bangun lagi

tidur
adalah persiapan
buat tidur lebih lelap

diujung ranjang
menjaga bidadari
menyanyi nina-bobo[5]

when you're asleep
there is no guarantee
you will awake again

sleep
is getting ready
for deeper sleep

at the edge of the bed
watching the nymphs
singing lullabies

This is a typical skinny poem. It is built on hard bricks of words which support the whole structure. It is words and their substantial meanings and not images that really make up the frame and the content of that structure. Running through it is a voice that speaks to us but at the same time also asks us, in a sense, to complete the meaning through our own responses. What Subagio is trying to capture in this thin form is the essential experience — the flash of his subconscious — as he calls his poetic subject matter, in all its brilliance and delicate impermanence.

Again as in the larger form, this smaller one is simple and clear. It quietly develops an idea or experience without unduly attracting the reader's attention to its visual or internal form more than is necessary. This unostentatious mode is seen in much of the later poetry of Subagio Sastrowardojo which also points toward simplicity of form and presentation. In the meantime the subject matter becomes progressively more intense. These later works are generally much simpler in their visual or spatial design than the earlier ones which show the traces of a young poet's experimentation. The change is toward the essentialization of both form and content — to say the profoundest things in the smallest space and the simplest structure. The forms of his poems are tight and are very much self-sufficient units. As one reads them one senses their unity and wholeness. In the experiments of Chairil there is obvious evidence of the breakup or disintegration of the form. On the other hand, the physical structures of Subagio's poems drift to the center to create truly unified poems. His experiments in the fifties have resulted in the concentration of form in the sixties. The poet has been wise in his experiments and not been carried away by them. In the late sixties Subagio settled down to formal achievements that seem to satisfy him still.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Subagio speaks of the contemporary scene both in Indonesia and in the United States where he lived for a few years. He is sensitive to the fragmentation of the traditional world and the horror of modern disintegration. But the poet himself is a man intact both intellectually and emotionally. The forms that become moulds for his themes are also intact and are in opposition to the external disintegration. He looks on his world with a stable and unified perspective. In many of his verses attempts are made to capture impermanent events and through the poetic art make them permanent. Things are unified in these poems, the pieces of the broken world are brought together. Moreover, the poet seeks out the universal and the common rather than the unique or the dividing elements. As he speaks of human values his themes remain in the mainstream of the classical themes, and therefore also timeless.

Like Subagio's, W.S Rendra's later poetry is also progressively simpler and more life-like in its forms and flow. This is a decided improvement over his first two books *Empat Kumpulan Sajak* (Four Collections of Poems) and *Ballada Orang-orang Tercinta* (Ballads of the Beloved People). The general nature of these later works is less complicated and more mature. From the point of view of form there is a similar tendency towards maturity and simplicity.

The most recent formal structures that seem to be so distinctively Rendra's are a development from his earlier ones. They are not really concerted experiments, but are perhaps better described as further developments towards the perfection of a poetic style. From the point of view of tone and language one does not really feel that Rendra is a restrained or careful talent. Instead, it is more impulsive and overt. His forms do not seem to come from painful experiments like those of Subagio. We can perhaps draw a parallel between Rendra and Chairil whose experiments came with the impulse to express things rather than to merely shape them. The form is born with the theme as an integral part of it. Therefore, when we notice the variations and changes in outward design in Rendra's poems we can perhaps conclude that it is the subject matter that demands such a form rather than it being a calculated experiment. It comes as naturally as the insight into the experience itself. Notice the variation in the formal design and structure of the following verses from the poem, 'Nyanyian Angsa' (Swan's Song):

Waktu.
Bulan.
Pohonan.
Kali.
Borok.
Siplis.
Perempuan.
Bagai kaca

kali memantul cahaya gemilang.
Rumput ilalang berkilatan.
Bulan.

Seorang lelaki datang diseberang kali.
Ia berseru: 'Maria Zaitun, engkaukah itu?'
'Ya,' jawab Maria Zaitun keheranan.
Lelaki itu menyeberang kali.
Ia tegap dan elok wajahnya.
Rambutnya ikal dan matanya lebar.
Maria Zaitun berdebar hatinya.
Ia seperti pernah kenal lelaki itu.
Entah dimana.
Yang terang diranjang.
Itu sayang. Sebab ia suka lelaki seperti dia.[6]

Time.
Moon.
Trees.
River.
Sores.
Syphillis.
Woman.
Like a mirror
the river reflects brilliant light.
Ilalang grass shines.
Moon.

A man approaches from across the river.
He calls: 'Maria Zaitun, is that you?'
'Yes,' replied Maria Zaitun, surprised.
The man crossed the river.
He is well-built and his face handsome.
His hair is wavy and eyes wide.
Maria Zaitun's heart is throbbing.
She feels she knows the man.
Somewhere.
Obviously in bed.
That's a pity. Because she likes men like him.

6. W.S. Rendra, *Blues untuk Bonnie* (Ceribon: Cupumanik, 1972), p. 36.

It is obvious that the variation in design from verse to verse is functional and considerably helps the elements of suspense and rhythm of the narration. The form thus follows the story at hand. In the first verse quoted above, for example, we are given a series of single images in single frames, which describe or imitate the semi-delirious mind of the sick woman walking through the countryside with the consciousness of her condition mixing into what she sees or passes through. The reader sees the moon, trees, and river and suddenly the next words are 'sores' and 'syphillis'. This mode of mixing is effective and better represents the world of the prostitute.

However, when the poet returns to describing actions instead of impressions, he returns to the prosaic narrative, which is clear and dramatic. In this poem and other long narratives like 'Pesan Pencopet Kepada Pacarnya,' (The Pickpocket's Advice to his Girl), Rendra uses refrains between the verses of narration. In the latter poem, for example, the refrain is repeated throughout the poem, but subtle changes are made every time it is used. The first refrain reads:

(Lelawa terbang berkejaran
tandanya hari jadi sore.
Aku bernyanyi dikamar mandi
tubuhku yang elok bersih kucuci.
O, abang, kekasihku
kutunggu kau ditikungan
berbaju renda
berkain baru.)[7]

(Bats fly chasing each other
Evening has come.
I sing in the bathroom
Washing my clean pretty body.
O, *abang*[8], my love
I'll wait for you at the road junction
wearing a lacy blouse
wearing a new *sarong*).

Compare this to the third refrain:

(Lelawa terbang berkejaran
tandanya hari jadi sore.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
8. A form of address used by a girl to call her beloved.

Hari ini kamu mesti kulewatkan
kerna lelakiku telah tiba.
Malam ini
badut yang tolol bakal main akrobat
didalam rangjangku.)[9]

(The bats fly chasing each other
Evening has come.
Today I must by-pass you
because my man has arrived.
Tonight
the stupid fool becomes an acrobat
on my bed.)

These refrains are very creatively employed. Besides giving the narrative a song-like rhythm, they also act as the conscience of the poem and when sandwiched between two opposing situations, they cut through with a bitter irony. However, they are not repeated in full like normal refrains but contain subtle changes in their lines. Thus, every time they appear they contribute to the narration and the dimensions of the story as the usual ballad refrains are not able to. This is one of the more successful experiments with poetic form in Rendra's works.

The other poet whose experiments have gained wide respect in the literary circle is Goenawan Mohamad. His poetic form is not very much different from Subagio's. It is usually a narrative or a monologue. Like those of Subagio and Rendra it is decidedly contemporary, simple and utilitarian. Furthermore, it reflects a sobriety and maturity of experience not found in the works of other poets. The tone is clear and smooth, at times intellectual but of other times also personal or confessional.

Subagio, Rendra and Goenawan are the new pioneers on the contemporary scene. The development of the structure of their poetry points to a similar direction — a more natural structure with language closer to speech. These poets have come a long way from the lyrical or traditional forms that tended to bind the personality of the poet and prevent him from fully expressing it. Form, like style, can be a very personal thing. It is expected to reflect the character of the poet and the way he looks at the material of his poetry. While the traditional poet had to write within a common literary form and the ready mould of the old poets, the new poets were free to create their own for their own tone of voice. With this freedom they have built different types of verse and rhythms. However, it must be said here even in all these experiments there is still a sense

9. Ibid., p. 26.

of coherence in the structure. The wild fragmentation of Chairil's '1943' is still a rare occurrence. It is still safe to say that the poetic form has not broken down as it has in Europe and North America. The comparative harmony in society finds its presence in the arts too.

The development in the use of the free verse form in Malaysia is erratic and without a clear direction. It is experimental although it has not added much to the establishment of a solid form. In the fifties and sixties Abdul Samad Said was fairly adventurous. In his poems one finds a vigorous sense of pioneering in experimentation. Unfortunately though it cannot be said to be an experimentation that is directed toward the perfection of a single form. Instead, it illustrates a tendency to make experimentation an ideal in itself. It is never clear exactly which poetic form the poet was searching for as he tried several and never continuously worked on any specific one.

Among the earlier formal experiments of Samad Said is one that contains romantic and narrative elements. It is flowing and rhetorical; visually it sweeps across the page. The lines throb with emotion. They seem unusually long as if to stretch themselves out to augment their lyrical and verbal qualities.

In the beautiful poem "Kepulangan Perahu Layarnya" (Return of the Boat of Independence), each line describes a segment of the scene:

> Langit cerah didaerah ini ada kemesraannya dimalam hari
> perahuperahu layar bersaingan dikaca ombak pecahan bulan
> dan gadis manis yang kemanjaan menunggukan kepulangan kekasih sayang
> ah, dimatanya kemarau cahaya, dihatinya kemarau cinta
>
> Angin datang begitu mesra, ombak pula begitu manja
> perahuperahu layar yang bertunda semakin dekat keteluk rindunya
> dan gadis manis yang menunggu hatinya terlalu terharu:
> 'Ada hendaknya terunaku pulang dari pelayaran itu!'
>
> Perahuperahu layar berlabuh semuanya—menari2 diombak manja
> pulanglah kelasikelasi membawa pengalaman dan hatinya sendiri
> tapi gadis manis yang kemanjaan masih mencari kekasih sayang
> tiada, tiada terjumpa ia, perahuperahu layar kosong semuanya.[10]
>
> The sky is bright in this region there is tenderness in the night
> the sailing boats come in a shoal on the broken waves of the fragmented moon
> and a sweet maiden poignantly awaits the return of her dear love.
> oh, in her eyes is the lightless drought, in her heart a loveless drought

10. A. Samad Said, *Liar di Api* (Kuala Lumpur: Federal Publications, 1967), p. 141.

The winds come kindly, and the waves are intimate,
the long row of sailing boats approaches the port of longing
and the sweet waiting maiden is moved.
"Will my man return from his voyage?"

The sailing boats drop anchor, all of them — dancing on the playing waves
The sailors return with experiences and their own hearts
but the sweet maiden is still seeking her beloved longingly
no, she does not find him, the sailing boats are all empty.

This is a solid form, compact with details taken from the external world of nature and also the private world of the protagonists' thoughts and emotions. Furthermore, the images are panoramic. We notice, as the poem progresses, the wide screen is fast being filled up with events. For example, the first line paints a large bright sky and colors it with tenderness and love. The second line introduces sailing boats on a calm sea. With the third line the human protagonist has entered the scene, 'a sweet maiden' awaiting the return of her lover. The last line of the first verse puts the poet's focus on the girl when he describes the drought in her eyes and heart.

This form is also found in another poem 'Liar di Api' (Wild in the Fire) though in a thinner and less rhetorical version. The general character of its images, the symbolic significance of oblique reference and the brooding mood remind us of "Kepulangan Perahu Layarnya." The main techniques of romantic description are made use of to the best of his poetic ability.

After 'Liar di Api' Samad's poetic form becomes progressively thinner and less romantic. In 'Kepulangan' quoted above we find the poet as a nationalist with an eloquent and magnificent voice narrating the protagonist's love-affair with his beautiful country. In later poems, however, the tone is more conversational. The themes too are on a smaller scale; generally about common personal experiences. Similarly, the rhythm, too is more casual, imitative of the spoken word. In the following example 'Pertama dan Terakhir' (The First and the Last) the rhythm (and also the rhyme) flows naturally with prosaic diction. This is also one of his better poems of this style.

Jauh kita berjalan
mendukung semua kepercayaan
pertama dan terakhir
sekarang kita sampai
kepuncak tiada tercapai
keazaman pantang cair.[11]

11. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

We have gone far
carrying our beliefs
the first and the last
now we have arrived
at the unattainable summit
ambition never diluting.

The rhyme is modern. It is casual, but at times predictable, flowing more with the language and sense rather than with the division of lines. Some of the lines do not have complete end-rhymes, thus further diminishing the rhyming effect of the form. The design of sound is to be felt unconsciously as the reader experiences the poem.

After this period of development there is a further thinning process. There is even the suggestion of a break-up in the form itself. The words are sparse in comparison to 'Kepulangan Perahu Layarnya.' 'Arah' (Direction) is a case in point.

Sampai disini keunguan senja
    yang sinemaskopis
kemerduan angin puncak mesra
    yang stereoponis
    terhenti
    dibawah keningmu
    ...

Sampai disini kehitaman malam
    yang trajis
kesumbangan badai tualang jalang
    diharmonis
    memburu
    dibawah tapakmu
    kemana?[12]

Up to here the purple of dusk
    is cinemascopic
the melody of the breeze, summit of tenderness
    is stereophonic
    stopping
    under your brows
    ...

12. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Up to here the blackness of sight
    is tragic
untimely storms tramping, wandering
    in disharmony
    hunting
    under your soles
    where to?

The form of design of 'Arah' is terse. In its structure there is evidence of a variation, from not only the traditional Malay forms, but also that of the free verse. It presents a new dimension of complexity. No longer content with the ordinary arrangement of lines, the poet varies it by shifting the short, emphatic lines to the center to give them a dramatic importance. The visual effect of this is to enhance the meaning of the poem itself. Spatially, the result is interesting for the Malay reader who is not accustomed to unusual line arrangement. It shocks him out of his normal response. He must now respond not only to the content, diction and music, but also to the visual form which challenges his sight.

Elsewhere I have discussed the effects of city-life on the traditions of Malaysians and Indonesians. I have also touched upon the question of the fragmentation of the poet's world. This fragmentation has resulted in changes in not only the vision of life of many poets but also in the external and internal shapes of their poetry. Their rhythms are rougher and the lines staggered. While in earlier works the end rhymes used to pleasantly complete the rhythm, in many of the new poems we find that the line division is no longer coupled with the division of the sense. Each line flows freely with the other and mix naturally into subsequent lines. Among new poets, rhymes have lost their popularity. Again what we see here is the attempt of the poets at perfecting a form that can catch their personal voice and at the same time also reflecting the mood of the times. The mood of poetry says a great deal of the mood of the times. A regular traditional form like the *pantun* or *kinanti* would presuppose a unified and ordered vision of the world. On the other hand, the broken-up form of a contemporary poem likewise hints at the nature of contemporary environment, its happiness or its despair.

Like the poems of Samad Said, some poems of Baha Zain also show a general fragmentation. It is evident that the poet is experimenting from time to time with poetic form, especially when the themes offer opportunities for new structures and arrangements. The poem 'kolaj "gerakan moden",' (a 'modern movement' collage) captures a certain city mood and illustrates this point well.

bau petrol, asap trektor
rumah pangsa, massage parlour

perempuan & hotel = pelacur
maskara, eye-shadow = floor show

Beware of Dogs/rumah banglo
akuariam & orkid, poodle & piano
kerusi antik, musik klasik
status — simbol = moden — maju
'cheap sale' Supermarket baru

---

kad jemputan
resepsi
R.S.V.P.
lounge suit
cocktails
b.g. ale
wiski soda
et cetera

---

dilorong kota
pelukis bertanya
mencari galeri
menggantung kolajnya

seorang tuan
membeli lukisan
dikamar indah tamu
terpamer kolaj palsu[13]

gas fumes, tractor smoke
flats, massage parlors
women & hotel = prostitutes
mascara, eye-shadow = floor show

/Beware of Dogs/ & bungalow
aquarium & orchid, poodle & piano
antique chairs, classical music
status — symbol = modern — progressive
'cheap sale' new Supermarket

13. Baha Zain, *Perempuan dan Bayang-bayang* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1974), p. 7.

---

invitation card
reception
R.S.V.P.
tel: 8891
lounge suit
cocktails
b.g. ale
whisky soda
et cetera

---

in the city lane
an artist asks his way
looking for a gallery
to exhibit his collage

a gentleman
buys his painting
in the beautiful hall
hangs the false collage

This poem is made up of bits and pieces from the modern environment, all thrown together to give a collage effect. The form itself is built up from this heap of bits and pieces as a kind of satiric imitation of the faddish reality of the Malaysian middle-class in the cities.

In another poem simply called "69" Baha Zain makes use of the journalistic device of subheadings. Every verse is subtitled at the beginning like a newspaper report. The general effect of this technique is to summarize the topic of the verse beforehand. Take these two verses for example:

tugas.....
PENYAIR 69
kita petugas zaman
ucapkan dengan segala keangkuhan
bersama tuhan
merobah
hukum etika
estetika
manusia
cakerawala
...

kebebasan...
PENYAIR 69
katakan semau-maunya
dengan segala keangkuhan
dengan segala kebesaran
sajak ini bosan airmata
sonder seni sonder bahasa
sonder hukum sonder tradisi
kita petugas revolusi.[14]

function.....
POETS OF 69
we are artisans of the age
speak out with arrogance
with god
to change the rules of ethics
aesthetics
humanity
universe
...

freedom...
POETS OF 69
say all that you desire
with pride
with grandeur
this poem is tired of tears
without art without language
without laws without traditions
we are the workers of the revolution.

These are fairly interesting experiments which add new dimensions to Malaysian poetry. However, they are only moderately successful, for the poet has not discovered profound forms that can really accommodate the contemporary world without changing the structure of the forms every time a new theme is dealt with. Baha Zain is a young poet, he has many years before him for development and further discoveries.

Perhaps the most interesting of the poets now experimenting with new forms in Malaysia is Latiff Mohidin. He is also an accomplished painter. In his works we find an

14. *Ibid.* p. 3.

intensive mixture of both the insights of the poet as well as of the painter in matters concerning form. His images play an important role in the poems' structure. In some verses the images comprise the very meat of his poetry. This is perhaps an influence of the painter's perception of the world — through the images and events rather than words or language. This artist's formal sense is comparatively sharper and very much better developed. His earlier poems, written in the sixties, are not revolutionary, but they sufficiently illustrate this artistic point of view.

pohon cemara
mati menanti
angin utara
dipinggir kali
angin utara
dihujung hari

Gagak tua
menanti mati
pohon cemara
dipinggir kali
pohon cemara
dihujung jari.[15]

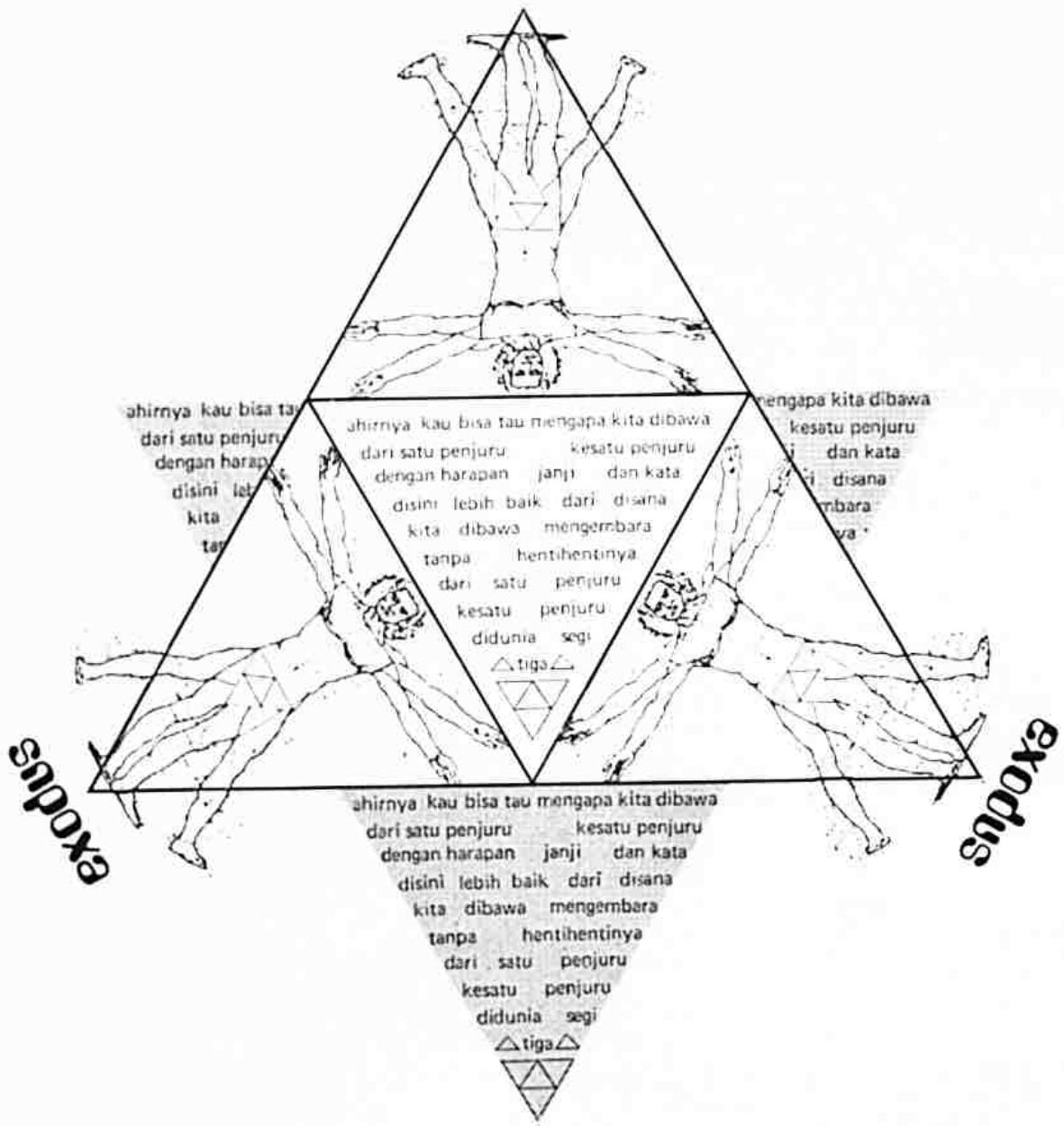
casuarina tree
dies awaiting
north winds
on river's edge
north winds
at day's end

old crow
awaiting death
casuarina tree
on river's edge
casuarina tree
at finger-tips.

The style here has some of the characteristics of Subagio's later poetry, which approaches toward an essentialness of form. The structure of 'pohon cemara' is so essential that there is neither space nor tolerance for the superfluous.

15. Latiff Mohidin, *Kembara Malam* (Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa, 1974), p. 19.

exodus



latiff mohidin

This poem is made up of two stanzas, each a careful parallel of the other. The symmetry between the two is perfect. In the first stanza the images are neatly presented and appear as though calculated to fit into the intricate arrangement of the lines. Each image and word has a proper place. The images are carefully selected to sketch the clearest outline of the poet's emotions. Each detail adds towards the completion of the picture. In the second stanza, the images are as neat and balanced as in the first. This stanza complements the first and completes the meaning of the poem. Whereas we find the casuarina tree as the introductory image in the first verse, in the second its place is taken by the forboding image of an old crow. The crow sharpens the sense of waiting already introduced; it is also given a quality of age. The general situation, too, is a little different in this half of the poem. It is no longer that of 'mati menanti', dies awaiting, but has become 'menanti mati', awaiting death. In the last lines the image of the north wind is interchanged with the casuarina tree. The dynamics of the poem and its formal success depends on this subtle repetition of echoes and interchanges in both imagery and sound.

In the poem 'sungai mekong', however, there is a relaxation of this taut and perfectly geometric form. In contrast to 'pohon cemara', which is an imagistic description, this poem is a quietly flowing monologue. The most suitable style needed for it would be one that fits the quiet words suggestive of meditation. Furthermore, it must be flexible and free. The style of 'sungai mekong' allows a great deal of freedom for Latiff. However, it is not a freedom that is wild and uncontrolled. On the contrary, there are elements of traditional compactness and modesty. The poem is quietly dramatic. The restrain is not too obvious because of the subtle artistry of the author. But it is these elements that hold the poem within a style that echoes Malay elements.

In another poem, 'exodus', both Latiff's poetic and artistic talents are placed side by side for full employment. It appears to me to be an experiment towards the achievement of the best combination of art and poetry for the expression of an idea. It cannot be said to be an irresponsible or whimsical joining together of two different arts. A closer look will tell us that it is a careful meeting of two creative forces. Here the form is both the medium and the meaning:

at last you can understand why we are taken
from one corner to another
with hope promise and words
it's better here than there
we are on the road
without end
from one corner to another
in a three cornered
world

The design of the poem is based on a set of triangles. Latiff allows two big triangles to intersect thus creating many smaller ones. At the center of this intersection is the poem itself. Whichever is our vantage point we begin from a triangle that seems to breed others. This is an eloquent illustration of the three-cornered trap, which is the world of the poem. And the poet is a wanderer eternally on the move from one corner to another.

"exodus" is a visual poem, one that must not only be seen for its design but also read for its words. It presents a direct contrast to the greatest works in traditional Indonesian and Malay poetry which are fundamentally verbal, appealing to the well-taught ears of the audience. It belongs to the age of the printed word and seems to be influenced by American "concrete poetry". The poem illustrates a shift of stress from the verbal to the visual. The experiments with form which we have been considering in the preceding paragraphs are powerful illustrations of the progressive change toward the visual. The experiments of Latiff have undoubtedly stretched visual poetry to its furthest limits.

The influence of western civilization on the peoples of Indonesia and Malaysia has left obvious marks on their life-styles. Modernization and industrialization, especially in the urban areas, has created generations that are sensitive to both the native and imported cultures which at times intermeshed. The languages themselves reflect these new developments. Both the Indonesian and the Malaysian languages show profound effects of the Dutch and English languages after centuries of colonization.

The nature of literature itself is changed. For most of the audience it comes in printed form. In the past traditional literature depended heavily on the verbal medium, not only for its composition but also for the total means of communication. The style of an oral or dominantly oral literature is of course vastly different from that of the written one. In the former, the composer-poet is in personal contact with his audience, as in the shadow theater for example. Because the communication is predominantly oral he is called upon to use a clear language, to repeat information, to use recurring motifs and in general to concentrate on devices that will bring home his story more fully. In the written literature of today this personal contact is no longer present. The poet becomes a voice behind his works, usually one that is recreated by his audience. Unlike the oral work, the written one has a certain advantage in that it does not disappear after it is received. The composer can, and usually does, abandon devices like repetition, and clarity of images. The advent of the obscure or difficult poems is proof of this progressive influence of the printed form.

In the early sixties one sees in the works of the better poets new beginnings of a contemporary poetic language that is much used in the later sixties and early seventies. Language came not to be used for its involved connotations, symbolic meanings or romantic echoes. Instead, words were taken out of the contexts of their verbal tradition and rearranged on the page so that their more practical or prose meanings were high-

lighted. It was a move towards paralleling the existing language with urban sensibility. The poets and their colleagues in other genres were attempting to free themselves from part of the traditional dimension of Indonesian poetic language.

The word, as used in traditional poems, or for that matter, those of the thirties to the fifties can be compared to a magnet. It attracts around it symbolic meanings, echoes of other words and their connotations. It surrounds itself with involved emotional implications. On the other hand, poets like Subagio and some of his colleagues are attempting to remove this magical pull and replace it with a more of prosaic meaning. We can easily recognize that their language is intensely conscious of the new scientific-urban method of approaching things. The language has felt the impact of the new environment and faithfully reflects this style of thinking. It is now more objective and less passionate. For the contemporary poet it needs to be more responsible and honest to his personal reality. Therefore, he must write with restraint, measuring every word against his experience.

The diction in the verse quoted below attempts to capture the poet's experience without working on the emotional susceptibility of the reader. It is more objective and relates the matter at hand without much external manipulation.

Dimuka pintu masih
bergantung tanda kabung
Seakan ia tak akan kembali —
Memang ia tak kembali
tapi ada yang mereka tak
mengerti — mengapa ia tinggal diam
waktu berpisah. Bahkan tak
ada kesan kesedihan
pada muka
dan mata itu, yang terus
memandang, seakan mau bilang
dengan bangga: — Matiku muda — Ada baiknya[16]

On the doorway still
hangs a sign of mourning
As though he will not return —
It's true he'll not return
but there's something they do
not understand — why he remained quiet
while leaving. In fact
there were no signs of sadness

16. Subagio, *Daerah Perbatasan*, (Jakarta: Budaya Jaya, 1970), p. 62.

on his face
and eyes, that looked on, as though to say
with pride: — I die young — It's better

Subagio's language is entirely without pretension. It is low-keyed and modest. He tries to avoid words that can bring overly emotional responses. His words are small and bare for a theme of mourning that traditionally calls for passionate rhetorics and sympathy.

The logic of the language is no longer like the imagistic logic of the old poetry which creates meaning through conscious or unconscious linguistic and psychological association. Here the development of meaning is similar to that of prose. The description of the scene is built by gradually adding details to other details. The total meaning found in the poem is achieved by this process of careful construction. The poem has no world other than that to which it refers. In the final analysis we see that it exists on its own form, language and meaning.

This prosaic language is non-rhetorical and in effect also 'non-poetic' if considered from a traditional viewpoint. Subagio's voice is not that of a traditional poet or one who has to fulfill the role of a social or moral leader. For many poets writing in the sixties moral or social leadership was something progressively awkward. They were for the most part trying to share their personal experiences or a piece of their vision of life with their readers. Poetry was no longer strictly an instrument for changing society or improving the human condition. It was instead trying to capture as authetically as possible the moments of life that the poet thought worthy of preservation.

This is the predominant approach and tone of voice seen in a considerable number of the most recent poems written in Indonesia. In Malaysia, however, this approach is still at its first stage of development. The poet speaks, ruminates and meditates. He writes partly for an audience and partly for himself. The audience is important, although it is not the audience that he must please. It is not his function to please anyone. The process of creation comes first, with its stress on authentically and sincerity. Here lies the object and pleasure of the poet.

Goenawan Mohamad's poetic diction has not reached the impersonality and nakedness sometimes seen in Subagio's works. It seems that this is not his goal. Instead, he tries to combine traditional linguistic practices with the modern sensibility. As a result we see elements from both worlds. His language is modern but the connotations of words recall the warmth and ease of flow of traditional works. Let us take an example in order to illustrate the point:

Diluar salju terus. Hampir pagi.
Tubuhmu terbit dari berahi.
Angin menembus. Hilang lagi.
Nafasmu membayang dalam dingin. Mencari.

Panas katulistiwa itu
gamelan perkawinan itu
tak ada kini padaku.
Adakah kau tahu?

Hanya ingin, hanya senyap, hanya rusuk
darimana engkau ada.
Hanya dingin. Lindap. Lalu kantuk
darimana engkau tiada.[17]

Outside the snow continues to fall. Almost morning.
Your body appears from desire.
Penetrating wind. It disappears again.
A shadow of your breath in the cold. Searching.

The tropical heat
the marriage gamelan
are not with me.
Do you know?

Only the wish, only the silence, only the rib
from where you appeared.
Only the cold. Fades. Then sleepiness
from where you disappear.

Here the protagonist is thinking of his wife in a room in the cold of winter. She appears to his mind through the snow, his desire for her and the memory of their marriage. Goenawan is being as concrete in his description as the subject matter permits. He first described the situation around him, the falling snow and the desire for his wife. It is this mood and his loneliness that bring up concrete pictures from the past. Like Subagio's 'Dan Kematian Makin Akrab' this poem turns away from abstraction and anchors itself in particular details. The language is personal or even 'confessional'; he is imaginative in his description and is sensitive to the possiblities of word-order without using emotive words. Careful arrangement and choice of language on the part of the poet produces a gentle poem which is effective in translating the poet's experience to the reader.

In Indonesia the stylistic influences of Subagio and Goenawan are extremely important. The most talented poets Toeti Noerhadi and Abdul Hadi W.M., who came to full bloom in the latter sixties, show certain similarities to these two poets. They repre-

17. *Pariksit* (Jakarta: Litera, 1971), p. 18.

sent a continuation of the trend toward a looser form and the speech-like language in poetry.

The poetic diction of Toeti Noerhadi has a freshness when juxtaposed with the works of the poets before her. While Subagio and Goenawan use language with an intellectual or even academic sensibility, she has chosen to base her language on ordinary speech and on natural rhythms. Her poems are not written in the language of the academic, but in that of the educated person which mixes the colloquial and the formal-intellectual. Listen to her treatment of the Heraclitean theme of 'panta rei'.

'kan selalu begitu!!
kita bicara ini dan itu
sebenarnya kesempatan ditunggu-tunggu
untuk mulai

sekali mulai, tak ada henti-hentinya lagi
lubuk-lubuk hati, danau, kolam
gua dan lautan
melontarkan isi, mengalir mengalir
— panta rei —

cuba hentikan, bekukan adegan
tangkaplah saat itu kembali sebentar saja!
tapi, bagaimana?'[18]

It's always like that!!
we speak of this and that
we wait for the right moment
to begin

once begun, there's no stopping it
the depths of the subconscious, the lake, the pool
the cave and the ocean
hurl their contents, flowing, flowing
— panta rei —

try to stop it, freeze the act
retrieve the moment for a second!
but, how?

8. *Budaya Jaya*, January 1970, p. 46.

The monologue is louder and the rhythm faster. It is not meditative in the sense that Goenawan's 'Meditasi' is. The flow of the lines, as a whole, is closer to everyday speech. The lines themselves are short and broken. They give a sense of unpolished speech.

The colloquial *kan* (from *bukan* 'it is not') and *tak* (from *tidak*, 'not') and the construction of phrases like 'kan selalu begitu!!' and 'kita bicara ini dan itu' are illustrations of the closeness of the poem to common speech. Her goal is not the finished effect of a smooth poem. It is in this roughness that we find life represented.

This comparatively rough texture is also found in her other poems like 'suatu kata' (one word) and 'pria' (man). As in the poems of Subagio and Goenawan, the world of Toeti's poetry also has its structure, rhythm, and diction tightly attached to the concrete and physical world of ordinary things. She does not present herself as an intellectual in her poems, but she emerges as an intelligent woman dealing with common problems and themes with which a poet might be concerned.

The poetry of Abdul Hadi W.M., has a great deal of similarity to Toeti's. In influence, it echoes the poetry of Goenawan and Subagio. In style, he too attempts to balance the intellectual and the emotional. His language is generally more muscular than the of most of today's poetry. The lines are often short and to the point. Considerable movement is evident in the poems; they are full of physical action. Take, for example, the poem 'Prelude', where Abdul Hadi describes fishermen from the island of Madura:

I
Diatas laut. Bulan perak bergetar
Suhupun melompat
Dibandar kecil itu. Akupun dapat
menerka. Seorang pelaut mengurusi jangkar

II
Siapakah bertolak bersama pelaut-pelaut itu?
langit yang biru, bisik-bisik. Sesekali bayang2 negeri jauh
Siapakah yang berseru bersama pelaut2 itu?
langit yang biru, bisik2. Sesekali bayang2 negeri jauh

III
Dua nelayan Madura terjun kesampannya
angin tak menyeru mereka, dingin yang baja
seperti kata nenekmoyangnya, mereka lepaskan mantera
seperti kata nenekmoyangnya, engkau hanya menawarkan angin utara

IV

Angin akan kembali dari bukit2, menyongsong malam hari
angin yang tidur siang hari, yang kedengaran membetulkan kemarau
angin yang tahu, seperti engkau, kemana arah musim ini mati
kelaut: membujuk2 nelayan. Suara yang lirih sekali[19]

I

At sea. Silver moon shivers
In a small town
Temperature jumps. I can
guess. A seaman works on the anchor.

II

Who left with the seamen?
a night wind from the continent. Once in a while the sound of anchor
Who is calling with the seamen?
blue skies, whispering. Once in a while the shadow of a distant country

III

Two Madurese fishermen jump for their boats
the wind does not ask them to, the steel cold
as their ancestors said, they recited an incantation

IV

the wind will return from the hills, welcoming the night
the wind that sleeps during the day, that seems to undo its drought
the wind that knows, as you do, where the seasons die
to the sea: the fishermen persuade. A most plaintive voice.

The language vibrates with the wind, with the sea and the fishermen. Yet it is well controlled by the poet. It is not rhetorical as in traditional narrative, but comparatively plain and practical. He uses few images or metaphors in an effort to keep close to the events themselves.

Modest as it is, the language is fairly imaginative. Abdul Hadi makes use of many poetic potentialities offered by ordinary language. The first verse, for instance, is made up of short phrases, giving it a sense of rapid movement. The scene sketched is compact.

19. Abdul Hadi Widji Muthari, *Laut Belum Pasang* (Jakarta: Litera, 1971), p. 3.

The sea, the shivering moon, the town, the narrator and seamen repairing an anchor are compressed into four short lines. In addition, the arrangement of the short phrases creates a suspense that helps to tighten the texture of the description; it breaks up the harmony of the picture and presents us with fragments.

There are also interesting turns of phrases like 'angin tak menyuruh mereka' the wind does not ask them to, and 'angin yang tahu, seperti engkau, kemana arah musim ini mati' the wind that knows, as you do, where the seasons die. From these two examples we can also see that the poet is sensitive to the juxtaposition of sounds and words. In general, he is creative in his use of language.

In Malaysia, there is little substantial experimentation with the Malaysian language. Many of the practising poets are unable to free themselves from a romantic and oversentimental language. The one outstanding exception is Latiff Mohidin, whose diction is quite similar to that of the Indonesian poets we have been discussing. Linguistic style is not only the result of experimentation. It is essentially a mature response to language and literature. And for most of the writers writing in the country at the present moment this maturity has not been reached.

In the works of Latiff Mohidin we see a way out of the language of *Asas 50* and its followers. Latiff is a unique personality not only in his dual talent of poetry and painting but also in his quiet personal voice that puts to shame those who write with the giddy rhetorics of a world which no longer exists. Yet these are the poets whose works crowd the shelves of books and magazines.

Latiff approaches Bahasa Malaysia from a fresh perspective instead of subscribing to the traditional idea that poets must use language appropriate to poetry he finds his own personal language. This traditional practice of course was the result of the concept of literature as a vehicle for social criticism. The poet Latiff has no ambitions of being a social critic. He harbors no romantic or social pretensions and he has never attempted themes beyond his personal experience. All his poems, as far as I can tell, seem to be based on his personal life — in both style and subject matter. His diction reflects this very well. Take, for example, the first verse of 'Sungai Mekong':

sungai mekong
kupilih namamu
kerana aku begitu sepi
kan ku benamkan dadaku
kedasarmu
kaki kananku kebulan
kaki kiriku kematari
kan kuhanyutkan hatiku
kekalimu

namaku kemuara
suaraku kegunung.[20]

mekong river
I choose your name
for I am so desolate
I shall plunge my breast
down to your bed
my right leg to the moon
my left leg to the sun
my heart shall drift
with your water
my name to the sea
my voice to the mountains.

In this language he is able to bring to life his frustration, dreams and loneliness through an imaginative monologue. His lines are short and taut although the flow of the language veils this fact. There is a tension in the verse that is worthy of the theme. Latiff 's introduction to the theme is very personal. We are given slices of his actions and frustrations. There is a sense of mystery concerning the poet's loneliness and his resolution to unite himself with nature. However, this is no immature frustration. It is one that quietly resolves itself without showy or loud rhetorics.

A comparatively quieter poem is 'Dengan Lidah Berdarah' (With a Bloody Tongue) which speaks of his mother and her influence on the poet's life. His tone is almost inaudible. The language seems to flow between the conscious and the subconscious. The words are small and ordinary but are arranged to bring out their alliterative and assonant qualities.

Because of the scarcity of words and the careful selection of them, each particular word is burdened with a great weight of meaning. Each one resounds with metaphysical associations.

aku tahu
kau selalu berada
didepanku

sebentar
sebagai rumpunan pandan
disudut desa

20. Latiff Mohidin, *Kembara Malam*, p. 16.

dan aku pengembara
meraih sempadan
dengan dada penuh kaca

sebentar
sebagai unggunan garam
dipelabuhan

dan aku pelaut
meramas pasir
dengan lidah berdarah

kau tau
aku selalu berada
didepanmu.[21]

I know
you are always there
before me

once
as a cluster of *pandan* leaves
in a village corner

and I a wanderer
groping for boundaries
with a breastful of torment

once
as a heap of salt
at a harbour

and I a sailor
kneading sand
with a bloody tongue

you know
I am always there
before you.

21. *Ibid.* p. 45.

Like his sense of form, Latiff's sense of language is also artistic. The situation of the mother always being there before him (introduced in the first verse) twists to a symmetrical but pleasantly surprising end in the last verse which is: you know/I am always there/before you. He captures this through a subtle shifting of word order.

In short, the poet's language is one to which he is entirely responsible and sincere. The poet wants to be answerable to every word in his poem. It is a language that is flexible enough for any given theme, even a big one like that of 'sungai mekong.' In a single poem, Latiff can be energetic as well as soft and subtle.

III

The changed conditions of life in Indonesia and Malaysia have also changed the literary materials that poets use. And as has happened in other literatures, different times have their own particular issues and problems. In these two countries, after 1945, anti-colonialism, the revolution, nationalism and social values became the important themes. Although some of these themes were written to death by poets who concentrated on only one of them, or by those who could find no other subjects, their adoption still represented a continuation of the traditional concern of earlier poets, who wrote for their society and not for a small and select audience. However, in the forties Chairil Anwar, and to some extent Rivai Apin, introduced personal poetry to the area. It survived for a few years only to die out in the years when the Revolution was at a critical stage. It is only in the sixties that his type of poetry was again revived and grew progressively popular among younger poets.

The sixties were a critical time for the Indonesian people and their intellectuals There was a slow but sure shift of foundation both in the community and on the literary scene. This was a shift from a social view of life to a personel basis for existence. The Indonesian society, troubled by violent politics and disintegrating economy, broke down in a terrifying confrontation of forces in the form of the September 30, 1966 Uprising. It saw the change of power and the death of hundreds of thousands of victims. In Malaysia, racial tensions were building up because of the imbalance of wealth among the different communities. Industrialization too was an important factor in the alienation of writers from the rest of their community and its issues.

Generally, in both countries, life became more difficult. Personal survival superceded all other concerns. Poets began to write about themes that they knew best — those that were close to their heart and mind. If they wrote about the society, it was only from a very personal viewpoint, which was also usually cynical or satirical. So the direction was towards the individual world rather than the common one.

In the eyes of some contemporary poets the social concerns of their predecessors had not saved Indonesia from the west or from her own enemies. They despaired over

such involvement which tended to bring riches to the already rich and to the politicians who claimed to be the writers' friends. They began to disbelieve the big themes and loud voices. As a reaction and the only possible way of exit they looked into their own lives and tried to describe their own experiences, problems, and dilemmas.

It is from this standpoint that the poets of the sixties looked at their world and consequently at their literary materials. For them, reality was circumscribed by the actual and the perceived — the actual thought, the felt emotions and the perceived events. Because these were actual experiences and because the works were based on actual things, they resulted in poems that were generally more solid and therefore more easily shared with their readers. The focus was on a smaller area of human experience. Furthermore, the immediacy of their themes and their environment gave their poems a concreteness and personal relevance that was new to the poetry of the area.

Speaking of the modern western literary situation Irving Howe observes that with modernism 'there is a turn from truth to sincerity, from the search for objective law to a desire for authentic responses. Sincerity becomes the last-ditch defence for men without belief.'[22] This shift has been occuring in western literature for a few decades now. In Indonesia this turn towards sincerity and authenticity really began with Chairil and is at present achieving a new kind of development.

There are very few statements made by Indonesian and Malaysian poets on their works. Generally, the reason for this is modesty. However, from random interview or talks we get a glimpse of the directions that their words are taking. W.S. Rendra, for example, at one point seems to be turning to a literature that is sincere and authentic. When asked what he wants from a good work of art, he unhesitatingly answers, 'Keindahan dan keotentikan'[23] (beauty and authenticity). Rendra's Indonesian and Javanese literary traditions are very influential on this point. The authenticity that Rendra desires is one that does not separate itself from the aesthetic aspects of poetry. This I think is a critical issue because what is happening in the west is a desperate drive towards total authenticity even to the exclusion of beauty.

Another poet, Subagio Sastrowardojo, approaches the question less directly than Rendra. He defines the world of his poetry as 'feelings, thoughts and sense experiences which are appealing to me.' He writes, he says, about 'solitude, sexual love or the vicissitudes of life.'[24] However, from his definition of his subject matter we see quite clearly that his poetry is based on things about which he has personal experience or knowledge. It is *his* feelings, solitude, sexual love, that he talks so concretely about.

22. *The Idea of the Modern* (New York: Horizon, 1967), p. 1.
23. Wing Kardjo, 'Wawancara dengan W.S. Rendra, '*Dewan Bahasa*, January, 1969, p. 19.
24. 'Why I Write Poetry', Talk delivered at a Seminar of the joint Committee of Fellowship of Australian Writers and the Australian Society of Authors, University of Melbourne, Victoria, Oct. 1972 (Unpublished).

These are the themes that are ultimately the most immediate and even the most important to the life of an individual.

Authenticity of experience and response then is the cornerstone of these new poets. Younger poets like Taufiq Ismail, Abdul Hadi W.M. and Toeti Noerhadi also write poems from this standpoint. I would like to quote a poem from Taufiq's work as a further illustration of this point:

Ada sesuatu terjadi, perlahan tengah jalan
Ada langit. Ada tambang. Ada air. Ada hijauan
Ada leher. Ada cakar
Mata yang sayu memandangmu. Memandangku
Seorang anak tukang sate pukul duabelas malam
Berumur sebelas dan bersepatu abu-abu
Dia memandang malam diluar kafe, dia memandangku
Dia memandangmu
Suara-suara malam metropolitan
Cahaya yang melintas-lintas
Lelaki tua itu, ayahnya, atau pamannya barangkali
Sedang memadamkan bara api
Didepan kafe yang mulai sepi
Ada bayang dijendela flat germain
Bayang-bayang hitam, bayang-bayang nyaris ungu
Beberapa garis cahaya natrium
Dan tiga lagu Mandarin[25]

Something happened, slowly in the middle of the road
The sky. The mines. The water. The greenery
The neck. The scratch
Eyes that looked at you so sadly. At me.
The son of the *sate* seller at midnight
Eleven years old and wearing grey shoes
He looked into the night outside the cafe, he looked at me
He looked at you
Sounds of a metropolitan night
Passing lights
The old man, his father, or uncle perhaps
Was putting out cinders

25. *Taufiq Ismail Membaca Puisinya* (Jakarta: Dewan Kesenian Jakarta, 1972), p. 4.

In front of the cafe that was beginning to be quiet
There was a shadow in the apartment window, playing,
Black shadows, shadows that were almost purple
A few scratches of natrium
And three Mandarin songs.

In Malaysia Latiff Mohidin is almost the only poet who distinctively and consistently writes about himself. We see how loneliness, frustration, death and life in the poem 'mekong river' come directly from the poet and his own experiences. In another poem called 'malam' (night) he struggles to sleep off his worries:

biarlah kutiduri jua
malamku ini
malam
bulan terhimpit
dibawah kaca
bintang tersepit
didaun jendela
malam
sungai mengalir panas
dilumpuran desa
asap mengalir ganas
disebuah kota
malam
biarlah kutiduri jua
malamku ini
debar dadaku
menggelut
lautan yang rata
getar bibirku
membalut
tanaman yang luka.[26]

let me still sleep
this night of mine
night
a squashed moon

26. *Dewan Bahasa* XVI, ix (September, 1972), p. 429.

under the mirror
a squashed star
between the shutters
night
a river flows warm
in village mud
smoke flows aggressively
in a city
night
let me still sleep
this night of mine
throb of my heart
struggling
a flat ocean
shiver of my lips
bandaging
the hurt plants.

Here again the subject matter is personal and concrete. In fact, as far as I can tell, he has not written any social poems. The limit of his themes is drawn by the immediacy of his existence. Whatever social relevance his poems might have come from the universality of his personal emotions or situation.

The poets we have been examining, especially Latiff Mohidin and Subagio, generally do not offer solutions or suggest answers to problems. Instead they present the dilemmas in which they find themselves. There is no attempt at solutions because they do not pretend that they can even find keys to their own conditions. The reader, too, when he reads these poems is brought into the complexity of the dilemma and dark predicament. In the above poem, we are merely presented with the poet fighting his sleeplessness and suffering over the ruined crop. There is no beginning or end to it within the limits of the poem. That is all the poet is prepared to present before us.

This presentation of mere dilemma is seen in many other poets including Abdul Hadi W.M. In the poem 'Sebuah Solitude' (A Solitude) for example the poet is trapped in a lineliness from which he cannot escape.

Dan bunyi loceng bergayutan
dalam permainan. Jalanan gelap
Dan memanggil sukmaku jauh
pergi keujung, kepantai tak berujung

tiada angin membangunkan nyiur
dan pasir. Jejak nelayan dalam denyut muara
sungai
dan kumainkan kebosananku!
sepi
sepi
sepi
SEPI![27]

And the hanging bells ring
in their play. Dark roads
And call to my distant soul
to the end, to the endless shore

no breeze wakes the coconut palms
and sand. Footsteps of fishermen in the river
estuary
and I play with my boredom!
alone
alone
alone
ALONE!

Personal poetry is interesting when it takes the form of travel poems. To travel is to displace oneself from a place one is used to physically and culturally. The change of environment, events and culture creates new issues and situations the poets might not have encountered before. For example, Rendra's stay on the east coast of the United States has helped to provide themes for poems like 'Kepada M.G.' (To M.G.), 'Rick dari Corona' (Rick from Corona) and 'Blues untuk Bonnie' (Blues for Bonnie). The first poem is about the protagonsist's love affair with a New York woman, the second an imaginative response to a graffito in a subway tunnel and the last deals with a blues singer in a cage in Boston. The following are the introductory verses from the last poem:

Kota Boston lusuh dan layu
kerna angin santer, udara jelek,
dan malam larut yang celaka.
Didalam cafe itu
seorang penyanyi tua

27. *Budaya Jaya*, July 1971, p. 415.

bergitar dan bernyanyi.
Hampir-hampir tanpa penonton.
Cuma tujuh pasang laki dan wanita
berdusta dan bercintaan didalam gelap
mengepulkan asap rokok kelabu,
seperti tungku-tungku yang menjengkelkan.

Ia bernyanyi
Suaranya dalam.
Lagu dan kata ia kawinkan
Lalu beranak seratus makna.
Georgia. Georgia yang jauh.
Disana gubug-gubug kaum negro.
Atap-atap yang bocor.
Cacing tanah dan pellagra.
Georgia yang jauh disebut dalam nyanyinya.

Orang-orang berhenti bicara.
Dalam cafe tak ada suara.
Kecuali angin menggetarkan kaca jendela.
Georgia.
Dengan mata terpejam
si negro menegur sepi.
Dan sepi menjawab
dengan sebuah tendangan jitu
tepat diperutnya.[28]

Boston is tired and faded
because the wind is strong, the air dirty,
and the late night is unlucky.
In that cafe
and old singer
sings with a guitar.
Almost without an audience.
Only seven couples
lying and loving in the dark
blowing grey smoke
like upturned stove stones.

28. Rendra, *Blues untuk Bonnie*, p. 12.

He sings.
His voice deep.
He marries song and words.
To bear a hundred meanings.
Georgia. Distant Georgia.
There the shacks of negroes.
Leaking roofs.
Earthworms and pellagra.
The Georgia in his poem.

The audience stops talking.
In the cafe there is no sound.
Only the wind shaking the panes.
Georgia.
With eyes closed the negro
greets the stillness.
And the stillness answers
with a perfect kick
in the belly.

The poet tries to put himself in the shoes of the old black singer and creates a poem out of this touching predicament. He is able to capture the scene in the cafe and also some of the singer's background. Rendra is a master of situations and issues.

Subagio, Goenawan, Taufiq Ismail, Latiff and Baha Zain have travelled in other countries. Some of them have discovered themselves in the contrasts of cultures and environments. In going away from their local literary scene they also escape from the predominant styles and concerns, which when they are home sometimes tend to sweep them along with the others, leaving them little individuality or room to be different. Generally, travelling or living in another culture can give the poet a better perspective on his own country upon his return.

The search for subject matter goes on. Besides self-discovery the poets also discover the new technological environment. Poems like Subagio's 'Manusia Pertama di Angkasa Luar' (First Man in Space), consider not only the environment itself but also the meaning of that new environment. The awareness of this new world is evident in many of the poems we have already quoted, like Baha's 'kolaj "gerakan moden"' (a 'modern movement' collage) and Abdul Samad Said's 'Arah', to name only two. Images and metaphors are created from this technological environment, replacing the rivers, mountains and the birds.

Much of the subject matter is now contemporary. For many poets the issues of nationalism and social commitment in the old sense are things of the past. They are delving into their ownselves, their experiences and their thoughts in order to be as sincere and authentic as possible.

IV

The poets of the thirties wrote under the influence of European romanticism. Those of the late sixties and early seventies reflect forms and moods that seem to be universally shared. Many have achieved their own identity and are totally at ease with the form that their predecessors borrowed from the west. This development from romanticism to the contemporary modes of the seventies took forty years in Indonesian and Malaysian literature, a development that took more than a hundred years in Europe. The question that arises from this comparison is 'Is Indonesian and Malay literature going the way of European (and American) literature?' It is a very difficult question to answer.

On the one hand, the whole world is being swept along by a mad march of technology which leaves behind in its wake the rubble of distinctiveness of cultures. The result is the creation of an environment that is similar from one country to another. Consequently, the human predicament is also fast becoming a common one, both for the Indonesian-Malaysian and the originator of this technology, the westerner. Most non-western nations and cultures have adopted western technology and initially also western free verse. If the early modern Indonesian and Malaysian poets had not initiated free verse in the thirties, the nature of modern society and its scientific technology would have broken the rigid traditional forms and freed the poets. Thus, the contemporary poets are following the west only because their society is changing to look more like the western one.

On the other hand, the direction of post-Independence poetry in the two countries is not towards imitation. Instead, it is learning from other cultures in order to find ways of confronting its situation and rebuilding its own identity. The early poets borrowed the free verse form and turned it into their own medium. The form remained outwardly western for a time but the internal techniques, image-making and diction were much influenced by their own literary tradition.

When society changes, literary practices tend to change too. However, in both society and literature, elements that make up the foundation and main structure are often retained as happened in Indonesia and Malaysia. Foreign influences are, when they are properly assimilated, new grafts on old stocks. Chairil Anwar, Subagio Sastrowardojo, W.S. Rendra and Latiff Mohidin without doubt write under western influences. However, at the same time they are Indonesians or Malaysian at heart. Their views of the world have unmistakable native perspectives. As I have tried to show elsewhere

Chairil could not free himself completely from the need for society, as his environment and family had taught him. In his work he drew upon the *mantera* and Amir Hamzah, the traditionalist. Subagio's *halus* or subtle style and quiet restraint are proofs of a strong Javanese identity, while Rendra's narrative and imagistic talent must be seen as part of the Javanese poetic tradition. For all his travels and contacts with different cultures, Latiff is basically a Malay in his unified and balanced idea of nature.

On the negative side, we see that there is perhaps too much hurry in the development of modern Indonesian and Malaysian poetry. Generations of writers appear and disappear too fast, before they are able really to discover the dimensions of their theories and talents. The *Angkatan 45* was active for about five years, *Asas 50* for about as long. It is not only the movements that last that long, the poets too stop developing after a few years. What all this points to is that poetic careers are usually short, and consequently real development of style and thought is impossible. Furthermore, the literary scene has been very unfortunate. The most talented poets, Amir Hamzah and Chairil Anwar, died very young, while some less talented ones continued to write.

These are two of the main factors that have hindered the writing of great poems. The dedication of Amir Hamzah and Chairil Anwar is repeated only in Subagio, Rendra and Latiff at the present moment. What is needed of them is a more intense development, a continuity of their careers and a sharper vision of life.

In conclusion, one can say that Indonesian poetry has attained an identity and a maturity that can rightly be called Indonesian. Malaysian poetry of the modern age is still striving for this and is showing hints of similar achievement with the talents and confidence of Latiff Mohidin and Baha Zain. In fact, the most promising trend in Malaysian poetry is that it is learning from its sister-poetry in Indonesia and the two streams are coalescing into one single poetry. It is promising because this has been the ideal of writers who want to bring together again the peoples who are ethnically and culturally one. Malaysia has only about six million people who speak the Malaysian language while Bahasa Indonesia (which is rooted in the Malay language) has 125 million speakers. Bringing these two literatures and languages together will not only give both literatures a bigger audience but also a sense of Malaysian or Malay identity not known before, and a development in literature conscious of and drawing on common traditions.

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COMMITMENT AND LITERARY CRITICISM

by C.W. WATSON

Anyone endeavouring to discover what constitutes a Marxist theory of literature is immediately struck by the number of mutually contradictory texts which purport to describe and illustrate such a theory in practice. On investigation it becomes apparent that this lack of uniformity springs from the divergence of two critical traditions within the Marxist corpus. The first tradition originates in Marx' concept of the relation between the economic base and the ideological superstructure. The forms which the elements of the superstructure take are determined by the particular economic conditions dominant at any historical point. Art and ideology being two such elements come under the influence of this economic determinism. This concept, most strikingly expressed with regard to ideas in the *German Ideology*, — existence determines consciousness and the ruling ideas of any age are the ideas of the hegemonic classes — besides raising the familiar issue of the relativism of knowledge leads directly to a consideration of a Marxist theory of art.[1] In this latter case another text often quoted — the locus classicus according to some[2] — is to be found in the *Preface to the Critique of Political Economy* where Marx writes: *The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men which determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.* Taking their stand upon the implications of this statement for aesthetics Marxist critics have striven to elucidate the socio-historical background against which a particular work was written. Their work has then been to demonstrate how the form and content of a work of literature is determined by environmental influences on the writer or, in more sophisticated accounts, by the more subtle pervasive agency of the dialectic in which numerous factors are involved in a complex scramble of action and interaction, the starting points of which are the limitations of the historical moment. In fact the fortuitous use of the word moment illustrates how similar this concept of literature is to the formula of Taine, "race, milieu and moment". This similarity can perhaps be explained by both theories relying heavily on what has since become known as social

1. Marx's scattered references to ideology and super-structure are conveniently collected in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*, edited T.B. Bottomore and Maximilian Rubel (Penguin edition, London, 1963).
2. John Cumming, "Garden or Wilderness: Georg Lukács and the Novel", *Slant*, vol. 2, no. 1 (February–March 1966).

Darwinism.[3] But the point to be noted here is that in placing critical emphasis on the factors which determine literature and the extra-literary origin of the works both theories, Marxist and Taine inspired, as has often been noticed, tend to devalue literature. They simply do not engage with the idea of literature as a statement of experience which, to be fully understood, has to be treated by considering elements such as structure and thesis, form and content, logical consistency, not historical relevance. The consequence of this deterministic approach is often, at least in the case of Marxist critics who adopt it, to represent as good those literary works which are at one and the same time exemplars of the determinist formula and sympathetic to progressive movements in any particular period. The obvious failing here is the inadequacy of historical perspective as a criterion to evaluate literature.

The second mainstream of Marxist literary criticism which is more open but, as Raymond Williams and Peter Demetz have shown,[4] more questionably Marxist, derives from the writings of Engels, in particular the well-known letter to Joseph Bloch modifying the Marxian model of structure and superstructure, and the letters to Minna Kautsky and Miss Harkness[5] which elaborate a tentative theory of the novel. The substance of what Engels says in these letters is that the ideological components of a historical period have a more relative autonomy than some misguided 'Marxists'[6] conceive — although in the 'final analysis' the economic structure is the *primum mobile* — and second, that a work of art should somehow capture the spirit of its age in the aesthetic dimension peculiar to it, and should not mistake literature for political propaganda. As Williams[7] points out, once even relative autonomy is conceded to literature, the necessity to abide by a determinist thesis is lifted, and although the difficulty of reconciling Marx and Engels may perplex subsequent theorists such as Plekhanov, the literary critic following Engels has more scope in which to develop a critical vocabulary which is appropriate for analysing literature qua literature.

The remarks of Engels are generally considered to have contributed a more original

3. For an interesting discussion of the influence of Taine's ideas on late nineteenth century aesthetics see Peter Demetz, *Marx, Engels and the Poets* (Chicago and London, 1967) pp. 146–150.
4. Raymond Williams, "Marxism and Culture", in *Culture and Society 1780–1950* (Penguin edition, London, 1961). Demetz, op.cit., p. 143.
5. These letters can be found in any of the standard compendia of the writings of Marx and Engels on literature; vide Marx and Engels: *Über Kunst Und Literatur*, edited Manfred Kliem, (Frankfurt, 1968) and *Sur La Litterature et L'Art*, edited Jean Freville. (Paris, 1937).
6. The reference is to those Marxists whom Marx disparaged when he said he was not a 'Marxist'. See also Engels' letter to Paul Ernst in which he writes, *Quant à votre tentative d'expliquer la chose d'une façon matérialiste, je tiens à vous dire, tout d'abord, que la méthode matérialiste se transforme en son contraire si, au lieu de servir de fil conducteur dans les études historiques, elle est appliquée comme un modèle tout préparé sur lequel on taille les faits historiques. Et si M. Bahr croit vous avoir pris en faute, il me parait avoir un tout petit peu raison.* Freville, p. 153.
7. Williams, op.cit., p. 260.

and fruitful approach to literary criticism than the determinist tradition. George Steiner,[8] summing up the original insights which Marxist literary theory has developed, mentions first the concept of the work of art forged out of the interplay between the politico-philosophical allegiance of the writer and his material, the overt content of his work; and second, the distinction between realism and naturalism used as a critical tool. Both these points were established by Engels in the correspondence already mentioned. The third emphasis to which Steiner alludes, which is Marx' contribution, is the placing of literature in a socio-historical context. Later we shall see how particular, substantial Marxist critiques evolve from the perspectives of all three of these insights, but first one other source for a potential Marxist aesthetic should be mentioned.

Throughout the Marx-Engels corpus there are scattered references[9] to works of art and literature, and from these random statements it might be possible to construct an aesthetic theory. In most cases, however, these references are used to substantiate either one of the two positions already outlined. Secondly, in addition to the writings of Marx and Engels, the pronouncements of Lenin and Gorky, in Russia at least, have been assumed into the Marxist canon of writings on literature. What distinguishes them from Marx and Engels is the programmatic role which they lay down for literature and the stress on the function of literature as a stimulus to political action. This latter-day Marxist theory and the writings to which it gives rise, that is, the theory and practice of socialist realism are excluded from considerations here, principally because they are neither consistent with the theoretical statements of Marx or Engels nor are they in keeping with the local assessments of literature which Marx and Engels made.

The English Marxist writing between the wars relied heavily on the Russian version of Marxism and their writings on literature suffered from this oppressive influence. Writers such as Ralph Fox and Edward Upward[10] argued for socialist realism and insisted that contemporary literature of any worth had to be written from a Marxist perspective. But the kind of partisanship which they advocated is strongly criticised by Engels.[11] That it is partisanship which they are pleading for and not a more acceptable representativeness can be seen from their arrogant rejection of writers such as Lawrence, Joyce and Proust, who are criticised because they have not grasped the political reality of contemporary life. The assumption here is that a correct political analysis must precede any literary undertaking. There is no suggestion that perhaps literature conceives

8. George Steiner, "Marxism and the Literary Critic", *Language and Silence* (London, 1967).
9. All these scattered references have been brought together in the collections already mentioned.
10. Ralph Fox, *The Novel and the People* (London, 1937. Second edition, New York, 1947); Edward Upward, "A Marxist Interpretation of Literature", in *The Mind in Chains*, edited C. Day Lewis (London, 1937).
11. In his letter to Margaret Harkness Engels writes, *Je mehr die Ansichten des Autors verbogen bleiben desto besser für das Kunstwerk*, U.K.U.L., vol. 1, p. 158.

the reality of the times through a different medium of experience and that perhaps literary world-views cannot be pinned down by conceptual models of reality relying on the vocabulary of politics. The question whether political criteria are adequate to assess literature, as many (vulgar?) Marxists would claim, is one which persists in the debate over a Marxist interpretation of literature and we shall return to it later, but here it is to be noted that for the English Marxists of the Thirties there was little doubt that since literature and political analysis both dealt with empirical reality, they were both reducible to the same set of propositions, and, since Marxism was for them largely economic determinism, it was natural that economic categories should have primacy over any literary schema.

The most impressive Marxist criticism of this period was Christopher Cauldwell's *Illusion and Reality* (1937) and, at a slightly later date, George Thomson's *Aeschylus and Athens* (1941) which owes much to some of the ideas thrown out by Cauldwell. *Illusion and Reality* attempts to show precisely how and why particular genres of literature arose, and to relate the specific content of literature to a historical materialist evolution. Although the conclusions which Cauldwell comes to often seem specious and the argument simplistic, a number of ideas which he suggests are provoking and require further investigation. Thomson's book complements Cauldwell's study by providing a close analysis of Athenian society and identifying Aeschylus' writing in the context of that society. Thomson's originality lies in his organisation of the material. The non-Marxist scholar either confines himself to only that detail which is necessary to clarify the meaning of lines in the text, or indiscriminately provides a wealth of facts most of which are only tangentially relevant to the text. Thomson writing from a Marxist belief in materialism organises historical and social facts into a hierarchy of significance and having done this proceeds to elucidate the text by reference to what is important. Distinguishing in this way between what is central and peripheral, he gives the reader a finer vantage point from which to examine the text than most commentators.

Thomson's book is a model for the way in which the Marxist emphasis of locating literature within a historical environment can help to a better comprehension of the literature. Studies in English Literature owe much to this kind of approach. One thinks immediately of L.C. Knights' *Drama and Society in the Age of Johnson*, but this practice has become so commonly accepted in English scholarship that the debt to Marxism is rarely acknowledged.

Nevertheless, even though the advantages gained from historical insights are great, the difficulties of a Marxist interpretation still persist. It is facile to imagine that once a work of literature has been 'placed' within a historical context, that it has been sufficiently explained. There is for example a tendency to suggest that once Shakespearean drama has been explained in terms of the history of Elizabethan dramatic conventions

or historical events, then the reader is fully in possession of the work. But this aesthetic solecism is relatively minor compared to the kind of manipulation which sometimes occurs when, working from historical evidence, scholars force texts and writings wrenched from their literary context into a pattern which conforms to their extra-literary analysis. This latter practice is one to which Marxists are particularly prone and is rooted in the same epistemological flaw discussed earlier, the subordination of literature to politico-economic categories. Although most scholars would concede that there is a relation between literature and society, they would probably argue that the Marxist model of base and superstructure does not do justice to the complexity of this relation. The task of assessing influences and determinants and weighing the relative importance of numerous biographical, psychological and historical factors is, they would suggest, more subtle than some Marxist critiques allow.

It is the awareness of this subtlety which distinguishes the modern Marxist literary critics from earlier writers. In their writings the argument has been taken one stage further and instead of critical exegesis within a historical context they return to much more general aesthetic ideas which owe as much to Hegel, Kant and nineteenth century German and Russian philosophers writing on aesthetics, as to Marx. Peter Demetz defining the modern approach writes: *The sociological background of the author and his political opinions are ignored, and critics concentrate on questions of inner structure of the work, the social implications of its form, or the development of genres in the stream of historical processes.*[12] The most well-known figure writing in these dimensions is Georg Lukács, the instructive characteristic of whose work is, as many critics have pointed out, the Hegelian tradition in which Lukács works. Like Hegel, Lukács has a nineteenth century fondness for typology and in a style reminiscent of Hegel's *Philosophy of Fine Art* Lukács distinguishes between types of writing and defines the essence of each. The relationship between artefacts and society is arrived at through a discussion of different literary genres and their reflection of dominant world views. The vocabulary used to evaluate literature is Hegelian. Words such as universality, specificity, totality are criteria to measure the achievement of the writer. The ideal for which the writer must strive is the representation of the 'concrete universal' since it is through such representations that the idea becomes conscious of itself.

This kind of analysis is patently un-Marxist but nevertheless it is the background against which all Lukács' writings on aesthetics[13] must be set. Lukács' standpoint after

12. Demetz, op. cit., p. 236.

13. The most significant of Lukács' early Hegelian writings are usually taken to be: *Die Seele und die Formen* (German edition, 1911) and *Die Theorie des Romans* (1916). The later writings on literature include, Studies in European Realism, trans. Edith Bone (London, 1950), *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (London, 1962) and *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism* trans. John and Necke Mander (London, 1963). For a symposium on Lukács' work see *Georg Lukács: the man and his work*, edited G.R. Parkinson (London 1969).

his adoption of Marxism follows Marx' own example by turning Hegelian aesthetics on its head and giving it a materialist foundation. Whereas in Hegel universality and typicality had turned upon the relation, broadly speaking, between the Zeitgeist and the Absolute Idea in which the Idea was gradually brought to self-consciousness, Lukács now links the Hegelian terms with historical moments. One of the most interesting examples of this practice is his work *The Historical Novel* in which he praises Scott because of his ability to perceive the essential evolutionary pattern of history and describe it, despite his conservative outlook. Lukács arrives at these conclusions on Scott after an interesting, though sometimes tortuous, digression on the difference between drama and epic. One of his points is that the historical novel (the bourgeois epic) must not have as its hero a famous historical person since this would demand too strict an adherence to facts which would mar any sharp focus on the essential forces of historical evolution. Here again Scott is to be praised because he understood the necessity for following this formal practice.

Lukács' later writings continue to employ a synthesis of Hegelian and Marxist concepts to analyse literature, but the Hegelian models are always the most controlling critical concepts to which the Marxism plays the ancillary role of bringing the idealistic detail down to historical reality. And the critical advances which are thus made show how correct such an approach is. Marx and Engels did not develop any general theory of aesthetics, and yet any local critique of a poem or a novel ultimately depends on being able to locate the work within a more general theory of the nature of literature and its value. This is in fact what Lukács attempts to do.

His early writings work out some general theories dealing with the novel and drama. Later, having established the theory he analyses specific works of literature and criticises them in the light of the principles which he has already arrived at. The Marxist emphasis in his writings comes when he accommodates his aesthetic theory into a Marxist, materialist perspective often using references to Marx and Engels to substantiate the validity of what he is doing. In *Studies on European Realism*, for example, he puts forward the thesis that Balzac in his novels was a progressive in as much as he depicted with great clarity the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system as he saw them at that time. He points out that in this respect Balzac was going much against his own political principles which were reactionary. Using numerous examples from the novels Lukács explains how Balzac in his desire to be as faithful as possible to the integrity of the work of art reached conclusions about the historically significant elements of the period which were in violent contrast to his own conservatism. Lukács' analysis identifies particular features in the novel with the crises of the period, and in this respect he is faithful to his Hegelian-Marxist heritage, but this point about the discrepancy between Balzac the Legitimist and Balzac the novelist had of course been raised much earlier by Engels.

Hostile critics[14] tend to dismiss this covert respect for Engels' dicta by maintaining that Lukács is simply covering up what is essentially a post-Hegelian critique with superficial references to Marxist scripture in order to satisfy the Zhdanovites who had doubts about his 'orthodoxy'. If one reads the book, however, it is clear that its whole thesis rests very much upon Marxist assumptions and although the vocabulary and the aesthetic theory is often Hegelian it is a Hegelianism which meshes very smoothly into a Marxist complex.

Lukács' primary concern in all his critical writings is to formulate a general theory concerning the evolution of artistic forms which will provide a framework in which any particular work can be discussed. The difference between the writings antedating his conversion to Marxism and the later essays seems to be that the evolution of forms in the later work is connected much more closely with historical events. There is no radical change of commitment involved since Hegel too had always linked aesthetic forms with historical development but had never connected it closely with the development of political and economic conditions.

Reading Lukács' criticism one gets the impression of a series of brilliant general remarks on the nature and function of literature and these seem indicative of a much broader aesthetic theory than any one single work suggests. Unfortunately when one comes to examine the competence of this theory in the face of specific literary texts one is startled by the evaluations which Lukács makes. In the essays on Balzac and Scott, for example, he ignores everything which does not pertain to his thesis on the writer's perception of historical change, and the reader hoping for a thorough critique of their works is disappointed. One might perhaps be led to the conclusion that the impoverished local critiques demonstrate the inadequacy of the general theory, but it seems more the case that the essays of practical criticism are often incomplete and that had more time been spent on them they would have read better. Certainly the general theory of aesthetics which he has been engaged upon most recently seems to clarify his philosophical position and suggest a more definitive Marxist aesthetics.[15]

Among contemporary Marxist literary critics most acutely aware that the relationship between literature and society is more complex than had previously been assumed was the late French critic, Lucien Goldmann, an admirer of Lukács. Goldmann shares Lukács' fascination with the constituents of literary forms and to a study of these he brings the discipline of structuralism. In one of his essays[16] where he sets out his meth-

14. George Lichteim, for example, does not think much of Lukács' later works of literary criticism as he makes clear in his book *Lukacs* (London, 1970) and in an article, "An Intellectual Disaster" in *Encounter*, XX, (May, 1963).

15. Roy Pascal discusses the *Aesthetik* in his essay included in G.R. Parkinson, op. cit. Another account of it can be found in "An Aesthetic Manifesto", *Language and Silence*.

16. Lucien Goldmann, "The Sociology of Literature: Status and Problems of Method", in *The Sociology of Art and Literature* edited Milton C. Albrecht, James H. Barnett and Mason Griff (London, 1970).

odological approach to literary criticism most succinctly he makes a special point of distinguishing between a vulgar Marxist approach to literature and his own method which he calls genetic structuralism. The fault of the vulgar Marxist is to equate too easily the surface content of a novel with the historical context in which it was written. His own method is similar to structuralist anthropology: first to look for the deep structures in a work of literature which will then enable one to understand the work; second, to locate the work as one element within a more encompassing structured system. The latent structure of a great work of art is always found to be homologous with the structure of the larger set in which the work is placed. It is difficult to convey in paraphrase the interesting possibilities for research which these ideas open up for literary criticism, but the book in which he puts theory into practice, *The Hidden God*, is an example of how fruitful such an approach can be.

In his critique of Racine, for example, he shows how the tragic vision which controlled the writing of the tragedies worked through various propositions concerning the nature of man's relationship to God which can only be understood if set against the Jansenist ideas of Port Royal and the historical circumstances connected with the latter. For Goldmann Racine appears to be arguing on a literary level the same theological problems which engaged Port Royal. Hence an understanding of the tragedies demands a prior acquaintance with the complexity of various theological dialogues, for example that concerned with God as immanent in the world and God considered as far removed and inaccessible to man. Having described the theological position of Port Royal and discussed the tragic vision which sees the impossibility of being both in the world — living authentically without compromise — and of the world — inescapably caught by one's humanity in the limitations of life — he then shows how Racine explores this vision in his plays. In doing this he contributes much to our understanding of Racinian tragedy by focussing on the identity and divergence of Racine and Port Royal and on the progression of thought and arguments in each of the plays. By thus setting the plays in the context of a contemporary world vision and then discussing each play individually using the same framework of reference, Goldmann seems to get far closer to the plays than the more popular academic critiques which tend to discuss Racine in terms of seventeenth century aesthetic theory, its origins in neo-classicism and the difference between French and Classical tragedy.

In his methdological writings Goldmann sketches out a very elaborate procedure by which to go about a sociology of the novel, requiring an inter-disciplinary explication and using the principles of structuralism. But the very complexity of the procedure lays it open to intellectual abuse,[17] and one still feels that the sociological critique

17. See, for example, Jacques Leenhardt, "Psychocritique et Sociologie de la Litterature", in *Les chemins actuels de la critique*, edited Georges Poulet, (Paris, 1968) in which using a genetico-structuralist approach he demonstrates the homologous structuration of Charles Mauron's critique of Racine, based on Freudian principles, and Lucien Goldmann's *Le Dieu Caché*.

has been developed to the neglect of the work of literary appreciation. Goldmann himself, I think, would have confessed the unsuitability of his sociological approach for this task,[18] but he would, however, have insisted that the sociology of literature with its instrumental use of the concept of world vision puts us in closer touch with a work.

Both Lukács and Goldmann seem to me to be overfond of general theory. In getting away from the naive Marxist demands for a programmatic literature of fictionalised political theory and from an evaluation of literature based on its overt content, they have inevitably had to search for a more secure theoretical perspective from which to conduct practical criticism. This has necessitated a concentration on categories and typologies and regrettably this desire for epistemological purity seems to have become an obsession. Although both abhor formalistic literary criticism, they have tended to succumb to a version of it.[18] Thus, for example, Lukács having made his distinction between drama and epic goes on to state that by his criteria *Rosmersholm* is undramatic drama.[19] What one sees here is the rigidity to which dogmatic theory can lead. Although agreeing with them that any approach to literature must be organised from a more enveloping philosophical position, one condemns the situation where they apparently mystify themselves and engage in literary criticism solely by analysing how far the works conforms to the formulae. The ideal is surely that there must be a dialectical reciprocity between literature and critical canons, in which the meaning of literature is negotiated through critical concepts but in the very act of being negotiated by the critic modifies the original critical stance. Any other approach falls into the same trap as critical dogmatism: being insufficiently flexible because of having excluded the literature per se. The result is not only that extra-literary criteria are brought in to assess a work — and this demands relegating and subordinating it to other kinds of statement — but essential elements in the construction of a work are excluded from analysis and ignored.

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18. Goldmann referring to this distinction between a literary and a sociological critique writes, *The task of what one might call a sociological aesthetic would then be to bring out the relationship between one of the world visions and the universe of characters and things created in a particular work. That of the more literary aesthetic would be to bring out the relationship between this universe and the specifically literary devices used by the writer to express it.*

    Obviously these ideas would be complementary, although in the course of this book I am myself almost always using the first of these two aesthetic levels, that of the relationship between a world vision and the universe created by a writer. I shall only treat the second level, that of the relationship between this universe and the literary devices used to express it, in a fairly superficial manner. The Hidden God, trans. P. Thody, p. 316.

18a. After completing this paper I read Miriam Gluckmann's article, "A Hard Look at Lucien Goldmann" in *New Left Review* no. 56, which is very contemptuous of Goldmann's approach to literature. This point about the formalism in the practice of Lukács and Goldmann is one where we agree. See op. cit., p. 58.

19. *The Historical Novel.* (Merlin Press), p. 125.

Both Lukács and Goldmann are deductive in their attitude to literature: they work from elaborate general theories to specific local examples, often, it seems to me, especially in the case of Lukács' distorting elements of particular works to accommodate them within their theories. In two recent critical works, *Shakespeare and Society* (1968) and *Exiles and Emigres* (1970) Terry Eagleton has, with an instinctive English preference for inductive method, worked from a number of close critical analyses towards an implied Marxist theory. Where he is successful is in never allowing the theory (made conspicuous by his use of class perspectives in his critique) to obtrude irrelevantly in his detailed criticism where it might obscure his judgement. The arguments which he outlines are Marxist to the extent that he argues that there is a much closer connection between literature and history than say Goldmann would, and second he employs terms such as partisan and representative in a manner similar to Engels' classic distinction, and totality and totalisation, which point to the influence of Continental schools of philosophy. It is worth examining Eagleton's work in some detail because these two Marxist emphases suggest the two diverging traditions, the first perhaps transmitted through the English Marxists Cauldwell and Thomson, the second from Lukács and phenomenology. His latest work, *Exiles and Emigres*, seems to be attempting a synthesis of the two positions by playing down the dogmatic vocabulary of each and substituting less objectionable critical terms, and is an interesting example of the application of Marxist categories to literary criticism which doesn't damage the totality of literature.

In his introduction to the book he acknowledges that a number of English novelists of the nineteenth century wrote from a position of liberal reformism, but for him this does not vitiate their work since their writing is representative rather than partisan and to that extent captures the historical reality of their time. Consequently their work is valuable since it is the product of the confrontation between the representativeness of the writers and the social forces which they witnessed. There is a dialectic at work in the encounter between commitment and the 'typifying problems' of the period. Writing about Blake, Wordsworth, Dickens and Eliot he says: *In the best work of these writers the shape and structure of an entire culture can be elicited by an alert sensitivity to the general forces and significant movements of their societies, from the focussed detail of local and concrete experience.* And a little later: *The creation of great literature, as the work of Pope and Jane Austen sufficiently illustrates, has no inevitable connection with the surmounting of* [*one-sided*] *concrete social attachments; but it does seem to demand enough interaction between those convictions, and the typifying problems and developments of the whole culture in which they are set, for them to appear as representative rather than as narrowly partisan.* Two things are immediately to be noticed. The distinction between the partisan and the representative writer follows Engels who acknowledged the value of the representative writer able to describe accurately the evolutionary forces at work in the dynamics of historical change and

who focussed on typical, characteristic situations in which the essence of a period could be distilled. Further Eagleton's concept of *general forces and significant movements* being *elicited* from *the focussed detail of local and concrete experience* is very similar to the Hegelian notion of the 'concrete universal' as explained in the introduction to the *Philosophy of Fine Art* in which Hegel stresses that the writer should try to find a formula whereby the distinctive characteristics of an age can be represented in a situation or a character wholly individual and not a reified abstraction.

In the conclusion to the book Eagleton makes explicit the thesis which he has been demonstrating with respect to the class bias of several English writers. Discussing the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century he writes: *It is that (representative) status which can be seen in a process of collapse towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the major realist tradition is transmitted into new forms. The novel is forced to examine areas of private consciousness and this gives rise to the kind of personal novel with which we are all familiar.* Here Eagleton's commitment to a Marxist viewpoint is spelt out clearly. The decline in the realist tradition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries signals the growing inadequacy of categories of bourgeois thought to describe the transformation of society and the increasing contradictions and disparities which have emerged with the development of capitalism. It is this inadequacy which Eagleton has examined in the writings of Orwell, for example, who he sees as being acutely aware of the malaise of English society but who is caught unconsciously in the trammels of a bourgeois world-view which prevents him from analysing the phenomena in a distanced way.

This conceptualisation of the breakdown of a literary tradition is reminiscent of Cauldwell's view and is open to the same criticism as the latter: it states rather than demonstrates. The thesis is certainly attractive: that the decline of the novel derives from the breakdown of bourgeois ideology, itself the consequence of changes in the social structure, but Eagleton never provides the close analysis of social change necessary to substantiate his argument. He might perhaps claim that this has already been done within limits in Raymond Williams' chapter on realism and the novel in *The Long Revolution* to which he clearly owes an intellectual debt. It is true that Williams too describes the decline of the realist tradition pointing to the fragmentation of realism into the social documentary and the personal novel, but he is much more tentative than Eagleton in assigning reasons for this breakdown. He observes the inherent limitations of forms of realism and suggests that changes in form might be accounted for by the pressing necessity to say something new demanding a different formal structure. Hence the social documentary and the Angst novels represent a period of experimentation with new forms and are inadequate simply because they have not yet passed the experimental stage. Certainly this argument would hold quite well if applied to the breakdown of

realism in drama which runs parallel to the decline of realism in the novel, from Ibsen through Strindberg and Wedekind to Brecht.

Eagleton is much more forthright in associating the decline with social change and in this seems to be making the very error which he warned against in the introduction. The movement which connects literature to society is less tangible than the simplistic yoking together of the two implies and the distinction between representative and partisan is not sufficiently analytic to handle this complexity. The terms are never really defined sharply enough to be used convincingly, and the reader is left to question exactly what constitutes representativeness and whether the exclusion of writers such as the Brontës and Trollope from Eagleton's list of representative writers implies that a writer is representative only when discussing the whole spectrum of social phenomena (totality in Eagleton's vocabulary) and making a radical, critical assessment of all the social complexities (totalisation).

This is my most serious criticism of his approach. By suggesting as criteria, representative and partisan, and focussing on class perspectives, he suggests that the personal novel, say *Portrait of the Artist*, which does not explore social phenomena, is very minor. At one point he refers slightingly to the kind of novel which postulates that the isolation and alienation of man is an ontological characteristic of humanity. Presumably he mean the kind of novel made fashionable by Colin Wilson's *The Outsider*. But then there is a whole range of novels not to be confined under a pseudo-existentialist classification which are nevertheless personal novels which are generally considered good. One thinks immediately of novels like *Wuthering Heights, Portrait of the Artist, Wolf Solent, Herzog*. Are these to be summarily dismissed or redeemed by suggesting that they are representative in so far as they reflect the peculiar Angst of the middle class in conflict with encroaching reality and trying to escape?

In fairness it should however be mentioned that in his detailed criticisms of individual writers Eagleton makes more use of 'concrete universal' notions than the classic Marxist terminology. In particular instances he shows how a writer fails to sustain a viable critique of society through the agency of a protagonist, because at crucial moments the autonomy with which the writer has patiently endowed his character breaks down. What should have been valid universal criticism is transformed into the personal prejudice of the writer and the character is reduced to a *ficelle*.

Eagleton fails to convince when he uses the narrow Marxist tradition of literary criticism because nowhere are the connections between literature and society unequivocably exposed, but his fresh use of the broader tradition relying on Hegel as transmitted through Lukács enables him to criticise the novels in a recognisably literary way, at the same time as he is making salient points about the novel and the political perspective of the novelist.

In all Marxist critiques which we have examined so far there is one persistent emphasis which is both a strength and a weakness, that is, the constant reference to history as the ultimately validating criterion. Works of literature are analysed to discover how closely they reflect the contemporary conditions in which they were written. The upshot of this critical approach is that considerable scholarship goes into locating a text within a particular socio-historical context and verifying the viewpoint of the novel against historical conditions. Consequently a book is held to be good or bad according to whether its content reveals the truth about history and aligns itself with the progressive moment at any time; subjects such as construction and characterisation are considered relatively insignificant. But while this type of study with its emphasis on socio-historical context seems to me important it is only one part of a Marxist critique of literature and it is a mistake to take this part for the whole business of criticism. Although much is to be gained from penetrating the deeper structures of a work and comparing them with the structuration of society, this process still has not dealt adequately with the literature as such, that is with literature considered as an expression of man distinct from his other artefacts whether technological achievements, socio-political systems or philosophies. Even critics like Lukács and Eagleton who examine critically specific texts find it necessary in the final analysis to resort to history to corroborate the arguments reached through textual criticism. This hesitation between the historical and the literary appears to be part of the confusion as to the purpose of Marxist literary criticism. What is needed is to define more closely in what respect Marxist criticism of literature can be both Marxist and literary.

One of the distinguishing features of Marxism as a creed is that it encompasses the whole range of human activity. It is, as Runciman[20] among others has pointed out, a 'closed' system in which nothing is excluded but in which all phenomena are totalised, brought within one conceptual, cohesive framework. Hence there must be some place for an aesthetic in Marxism and it must be a place which is logically connected to other more clearly defined components of the system. It is assumed by dialectical materialism that all phenomena are interrelated and can be explained by a determining agent, the economic system, which controls the organisation of all other phenomena. The way Marx expressed this was in terms of base and superstructure, but recently this particular heuristic model had lost ground to the more refined one of structuralism. In structuralist terms each element of social life is rendered significant only in relation to other elements within a relatively autonomous system which in turn is seen to exist within a larger macro-system. The Marxist would claim that the principles regulating this structuration are dialectically materialist.

Adopting *faute de mieux* this structuralist interpretation of dialectical materialism it

20. W.G. Runciman, *Social Science and Political Theory* (Paperback edition, Cambridge, 1965), p. 162.

should be apparent that the study of aesthetics is the study of a relatively autonomous system and in consequence research into a work must explicate the organisational structures which make the work coherent in itself and link it with other works of the same kind. But having dealt with the problem of coherence this same work has to be explicated according to other 'grammars' to which it subscribes in its content and subject matter, its attitude to reality, its relation to a historical period, its reception by the reader. Clearly to pursue the 'grammars' of all these elements is not the domain of the literary critic; but it must also be stressed that even if this work of elucidating the strutural links has been done, the work has still not been grasped in its unique wholeness.

This distinction between the acts of analysis and understanding is crucial. The inherent fault of a structuralist approach which derives perhaps from its origins in strutural linguistics is that it forgets that in elaborating the structures which bind elements together it has only fulfilled part of the function of criticism. The next step which is beyond the province of structuralism per se is to assign significant meaning to the structures. Many of the critiques so far examined fail to appreciate this sufficiently; having explained thoroughly and systematically how a work of literature fits into a particular intellectual and historical pattern they fail to consider the book as a whole, a unique totalisation. The structure having been taken apart is not put together again: leaving the same cavernous gap which divides semantics from structural linguistics.

In the same way having applied structuralist techniques to literature in order to analyse it according to the theory of dialetical materialism, there still remains the necessity of providing an account of the literature in artistic terms, which would enable us to construct a theory of artistic value to distinguish between gradations of literary merit. The starting point for any theory of literature must be its competence to handle the whole universe of a literary work, dealing the aspects such as form, content, etc. and offering an account of it as literature. Traditionally Marxist critics have used the concept of realism as a touchstone to test the merit of a particular work, but the increasing difficulty of using realism as a viable critical concept — since on all occasions it has to be redefined and carefully distinguished from idealism, naturalism, theories of mirror-reflection — has made contemporary Marxists search for other concepts. These will have to perform the dual function of appreciating literature and linking this appreciation to the sociological analysis of the kind described above, and be Marxist in orientation.

The task of practical criticism, therefore, is first to execute a classic *explication de texte* so that we can observe how elements within the composition are bound together and are logically consistent. But clearly any such 'explication' which sets out to be definitive must further locate the text in a historical period, with relation to other works of the same kind and in view of the artistic conventions and special vocabulary which it employs. This study of convention and vocabulary leads the critic to examine the

work before him from the perspectives of ideology current at the time the work was written, theories of art, religious and political systems, all of which impinge more or less on the work. To take an example: an examination of the devil-Machiavel convention in Elizabethan drama forces us to pursue the origin of this dramatic form in Medieval and Renaissance theatre and its evolution and development till it reaches the Elizabethan stage, but the idea of the devil-Machiavel demands also that we explore the philosophico-religious concepts which it assumed and, as suggested by the bipartite name, this requires an understanding of both the theology and political philosophy of the time. We are then left to compare the Elizabethan figure with the earlier form and suggest reasons for any significant difference in characterisation or the attitude of the dramatist to this particular convention. Searching for reasons which would enable us to explain the similarity and the differences between say, Titivillus, Barabas, Iago, Polonius, Vindice (*The Revenger's Tragedy*) and Flamineo (*The White Devil*), we are compelled to look into the history of the period and establish the most significant events which led to social change and modifications of consciousness. (The Reformation is one such event.) Parallel with this we have to look into the socio-economic conditions which would help us for example to make more sense of the academic division of Elizabethan dramatists into university and non-university playwrights, or to account for the rise of bourgeois drama.

The feature unique to Marxism in this approach is that the research into the historical context of the literary work assigns crucial significance to the material elements. A critique based on the principles of psycho-analysis, for example, would order the facts of reality around the controlling principle of the psychology of the writer, and thus would dismiss or minimize the significance of many phenomena which a Marxist would see as highly relevant to an understanding of the work. The underlying assumption of the Marxist organisation of significant elements is that a work of literature is never the product of a writer in isolation, but that it is the expression of a writer's experience formed by the encounter between his capacity to reflect and the universe of thought common to his contemporaries on literary, religious, political and philosophical levels. The Marxist critic with his commitment to an idea of collective consciousness selects out what is important in historical data and renders it significant in a way substantially different from critics of other persuasions.

Locating literature within an historical context which throws some light on how the text should be read concludes the first part of the critique. The critic must now set about evaluating the text with the aid of the information which he has acquired. The logical follow-up of the first part of his study would be to examine how a particular text relying on contemporary traditions nevertheless manages to say something original; in other words how the ideas of a prior body of literature have been subsumed in the

text examined and the argument taken one stage further. This kind of evaluation would appear to be distinctly Marxist in two ways: it assumes that there is a progressive literary evolution, that literature is not the expression of recurrent ontological problems in any age, but a medium for the continual refinement of consciousness; it complements the philosophy of knowledge of Hegel and Marx that man grows more aware of himself with the progress of history.

With regard to this last point, that it is the originality of a text in the history of literature which suggests a criterion for evaluation, Marx' elusive references to Classical Literature in the *Grundrisse* become clear.[21] He writes of the impossibility of writing Classical epic and tragedy in the nineteenth century since historical circumstances have changed, but the value of the works of Aeschylus and Homer lie in their being a record of an important stage in the evolution of consciousness. On analogy they are comparable to the relation of a child's vision to an adult's. What he appears to be saying is that the greatness of literature lies in its being both the reflection and the expression of growing self-consciousness in which man becomes aware of his alienation and begins to think of the full expression of his humanity.

Although in describing what constitutes a Marxist critique I have divided the procedure into two parts, loosely, analysis and evaluation, it should perhaps be recalled that there is a danger in regarding this as a rigid dichotomy. The works of Lukács and Goldmann are an illustration of this, since both writers have become so absorbed in sketching out a theoretical framework in which to place literature, that they ignore the most distinctive feature of literary, as opposed to sociological, discipline: the problem of distinguishing in aesthetic terms between major and minor works of literature. It should therefore be reaffirmed that for the Marxist any work aspiring as literary criticism must consider both the functions of criticism and demonstrate how they complement each other.

My argument has been that the tradition of Marxist literary criticism deriving from very sketchy and unsystematic accounts of literature by Marx and Engels has never been certain about what should constitute Marxist criticism. Early critics seemed to think that it lay in the alignment of literary work with the underdogs of progress in history. Later critics devoted more attention to the deeper structures of literature and associated these with philosophical notions from Hegel and Marx. Both schools seem to me to

21. *Aber die Schwierigkeit liegt nich darin, zu verstehn, dass griechische Kunst und Epos an gewisse gesellschaftliche Entwicklungsformen geknüpft sind. Die Schwierigkeit ist, dass sie für uns noch Kunstgenuss gewähren und in gewisser Beziehung als Norm und erreichbare Muster gelten.*

Ein Mann kann nicht wieder zum Kinde werden, oder er wird kindisch. Aber freut ihn die Naivetät des Kindes nicht, und muss er nicht selbst wieder auf einer höhren Stufe streben, seine Wahrheit zu reproduzieren? Lebt in der Kindernatur nicht in jeder Epoche ihr eigner Charakter in seiner Naturwahrheit auf? Warum sollte die geschichtliche Kindheit der Menschheit, wo sie am schönsten entfaltet, als eine nie wiederkehrende Stufe nicht ewigen Reiz ausüben? U.K.U.L. vol. 1, p. 125.

have made the mistake of frequently taking methodology to be criticism, not always appreciating that Marxist criticism besides pursuing research into extra-literary influences on literature must deal adequately with the work itself, taken as a meaningful whole, a coherent interpretation of reality. One possible concept which could perhaps be used to make an adequate assessment is the Marxist notion of the evolution of human consciousness. Hegel and Marx in his early writings both stressed the alienation of man from himself and the world and both saw progress as the developing reintegration of man brought about by the agency of theory and praxis. It therefore seems valid to require of great literature that it is part of this agency. Marxist criticism building upon the methodology of Lukács and Goldmann should therefore start from the examination of world-visions contained in the structures and typological characteristics of genres and apply such insights to particular texts in detail, showing the dynamics by which a writer constructs his composition in conformity with, or in opposition to, the essential constituents of literary forms, and how in this way through the literary formulation of particular concepts of man and society there evolves a growing awareness of what man is and what he has the potential of becoming.

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THE CONDUCT OF THE HAJ FROM MALAYA, AND THE FIRST MALAY PILGRIMAGE OFFICER*

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Accurate information about the Malay pilgrimage to Mecca is hard to come by until well after the First World War. The reasons are fairly straightforward. Malay pilgrims were not in the habit of writing about themselves or their fellows, and British administrators — whether in the Straits, in India, or in the Hejaz itself — though for political as well as humane reasons perpetually concerned about conditions of passage and curious about what went on in the Holy City, did not for the most part find it worthwhile (or possible) to distinguish pilgrims by place of origin.

Because of its legendary exclusiveness Mecca attracted spies of many sorts, and the nineteenth century saw numerous non-Muslim visitors in disguise, from the Basque Badia y Leblich in 1807 to the Frenchman J.C. Gervais-Courtellemont in 1894. For students of Southeast Asia the most important of these clandestine sojourners was Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, whose six month stay in Mecca in 1885 resulted in lengthy and careful description of the city and its residents.[1] Because Snouck was there in the interests of the Dutch, whose possessions (and hoped for possessions) in Southeast Asia were inhabited by some forty million Muslims, he paid particular attention to the community known as the "*Jawah*". Though the term then (as in more recent times) denoted all Southeast Asian Muslims, he seldom singles out for mention peninsular Malays, so that valuable as his remarks are they refer to the peninsula mainly by inference. British visitors, such as Burton and J.F. Keane, tell one even less.

Permanent British diplomatic representation in Jeddah dates from 1838 (though there had earlier been a succession of East India Company local agents), with the appointment by the Foreign Office of the Company's then packet agent as British Vice-Consul, unpaid.[2] The half century that followed saw a succession of officials in the post

* I am grateful to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for a Fellowship which, during 1973, made possible the research in New Delhi and London reflected in much of this paper. A more extended study of the Malay pilgrimage is in progress.

1. C. S. Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1931; repr. 1970). Originally published in German as Vol. II of *Mekka* (The Hague, 1888-89).
2. Memorandum by Sir Andrew Ryan (first British Minister to Saudi Arabia), "British Representation in Jedda up to 1930", 22 Mar. 1936, Encl. 10 in FO 905/37. Inspection of the records proves the early part of this account wrong in some particulars.

(which was raised to a Consulate in 1860 and a First Class Consulate in 1878), some from the ranks of Company and commerce, some from orthodox consular careers, the same ambiguity reflected in their manner of reward, remuneration (whether as salary or allowances) being met in part by India and part by the Crown. India's interest was manifest, for the Consul reported in 1861 that there were in "Jeddah district" (by which he appears to have meant the Hejaz as a whole) at least 3,000 resident British Indians (mainly small traders and craftsmen), their number increasing for four months of the year to 10,000.[3] A few years later, during an uncertain period in which the Foreign Office contemplated abolishing the post altogether, the erstwhile Governor of Bombay wrote that the interests the consuls looked after were "almost exclusively Indian", and referred to the "strong religious element...which cannot be safely disregarded either in Aden or in India. The Hejar [sic] is the natural asylum for fanatical moslem exiles from India, and they may there pass their lives in a congenial atmosphere of fanaticism...."[4]

If these remarks were, necessarily, based largely on hearsay, so were the observations and actions of successive British Consuls charged with looking after the interests not merely of the Indian and Home governments (subversion) but of British subjects and protected persons engaged in the pilgrimage (sanitation), for they were no more able to visit Mecca than he. It was this handicap, and the questions of public health and epidemiology which loomed so large and for so long in relation to the Imperial pilgrimage, that led to the appointment of the first Muslim Vice-Consul. Assistant Surgeon Abdur Razzack, of the Bengal medical service, was deputed to make the pilgrimage in 1878 specifically to enquire into public health. As a result of his lengthy report, which contained in addition a variety of recommendations of a more general kind for pilgrim welfare, the Government of India gained Foreign Office approval for his appointment as Vice-Consul at Jeddah in 1882. He was instructed, among other things, to consider the desirability of establishing a hospital for Indian pilgrims, and to afford "protection and aid" to British subjects performing the pilgrimage.[5] Though considerations of health care and general welfare predominated, others were not absent, for as the British Ambassador at Constantinople had remarked the previous year, there was a good case for having a "secret paid agent resident at Mecca", and the proposed Vice-Consul could

3. Consul to F.O., 8 Jan. 1861, in G.E. Stanley's Letter Book, FO 685/1 (Pt. I). In 1879 the figures given were "above 1,500" British Indians resident in the area, with thirty to sixty thousand British subjects (clearly including those from Malaya) coming in annually as pilgrims (Consul to F.O., 24 Mar. 1879, Cons., in J.N.E. Zohrab's Letter Book, 1879, FO 685/1 (Pt. II).

4. Sir B.H. Frere to F.O., 28 May 1873, in (Indian National Archives) For. Dept. Proc., Pol. A, Mar. 1874, No. 302.

5. Sec. to Govt. of India to Abdur Razzack, 14 Aug. 1882, For. & Pol., encl. in Govt. of India to Govt. of Bengal, 14 Aug. 1882, FO 685/1 (Pt. III, Miscellaneous).

perhaps be useful in more ways than one.[6] Dr Abdur Razzack's official instructions accordingly contained an intimation that Consul "may wish to avail himself of your assistance in obtaining trustworthy information regarding the course of affairs, and of public opinion in Mecca and neighbouring places".[7]

Throughout these negotiations there was little enough reference to Malaya, though the Colonial Secretary at Singapore did ask for and obtain a copy of Abdur Razzack's 1878 report, and there was some exchange of correspondence in the 1870s between the Straits Settlements, London, Jeddah, Aden and Bombay concerning overcrowding of pilgrim ships, passports, quarantine, return of destitute pilgrims, and allegedly malfeasant pilgrim *shaykhs* visiting Malaya[8] — all matters that were to be of continuing concern to the colonial and metropolitan authorities and hence to the consular staff in the Hejaz. There is, moreover, no way of gaining anything like an accurate notion of the numbers of pilgrims originating from peninsular Malaya at this period. Abdur Razzack's appointment nevertheless meant that he was able to provide reasonably accurate totals of "Indian" (including Afghan and Turcoman) pilgrims arriving by sea, and his reports do as a rule tabulate in addition the numbers of "Javanese" taking ship from Singapore, together with total "Javanese" arrivals. Thus in 1883–84 (the first season for which figures are given) 3,324 Javanese are recorded as leaving Singapore, out of a total of 7,716 arrivals in Jeddah.[9] The balance of 4,392 marries well enough, on the face of it, with the official Netherlands East Indies figure for pilgrims obtaining passports in the Indies, 4,540,[10] but as the supplier of this last figure emphasizes, it is highly approximate, and one certainly cannot conclude that the 3,000 or so "Javanese"

6. Earl Dufferin to Sec. of State for For. Aff., 10 Dec. 1881, For. Dept. Proc., A, Pol. E, Oct. 1882.
7. Sec. to Govt. of India to Abdur Razzack, Conf., 25 Aug. 1882, For. & Pol., in FO 685/1 (Pt. III). Abdur Razzack was described by one official as "an excellent man for your purpose and altogether *separated* from the Delhi and Wahabi schools" (Minute, 2 June 1882, in For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., A, Pol. E, Oct. 1882).
8. E.g., Pol. Resident, Aden, to Consul, 15 May 1875, For. Dept. Proc., Genl. A, Nov. 1887, No. 127; C.O. to F.O., 15 July 1875, encl. in F.O. to Consul, 4 Aug. 1875, F.O 685/1 (Pt. III); Consul to Pol. Resident, Aden, 27 Apr. 1881, For. Dept. Proc., Secr., July 1881, No. 193, and Supt. of Police, Singapore, to Insp. Gen. Police, S.S., 5 May 1881, No. 196 in *ibid.*; F.O. to Govt. of India, 11 Aug. 1881, For. Dept. Proc., A, Pol. E, Oct. 1882, No. 123, encl. corresp. from Govt. of S.S.; and Consul to F.O., 25 July 1881, encl. in F.O. to Govt. of India, 29 Sept. 1881, For. Dept. Proc., A, Pol. E, Oct. 1882, No. 147.
9. Encl. I in Abdur Razzack to Consul, 10 Jan. 1885, For. Dept. Proc., Extl. A, June 1885, No. 152.
10. J. Vredenbregt, "The Haddj, Some of its Features and Functions in Indonesia", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 118 (1962), p. 148 (App. II) (but cf. the slightly higher figure given at p. 140 (App. I)). As Vredenbregt makes clear (p. 146), the problem is in fact a good deal more complicated than is suggested here, principally because large numbers of Indonesians travelled by way of Singapore. One must in addition remember that in the 1880s the larger part of "British Malaya" and a sizeable part of "Indonesia" were still outside colonial jurisdiction.

taking passage from Singapore were all peninsular Malays — though a proportion undoubtedly were.[11]

Though in Jeddah itself the Netherlands Consulate (which had been opened in 1872) seems in some ways to have interested itself in Malay pilgrims quite as much as did the British,[12] there were nonetheless enough "British" Malay pilgrims to warrant, it was felt, a Malay clerk for Dr Abdur Razzack, or at least an Indian clerk with a knowledge of the Malay language,[13] and the Straits Government was naturally not averse to using Abdur Razzack as a means of looking after and keeping an eye on Malay pilgrims entitled to British protection. The appointment by the Government of India of a second Indian doctor as Vice-Consul at Hodeida (in the Yemen) and Kamaran — the recently established island quarantine station in the southern Red Sea through which all pilgrim ships from the East had to clear — opened the possibility of similar assistance without additional trouble or expense.[14]

This situation obtained, in essence, until well into the twentieth century. During this period, such legislation or regulation concerning the pilgrimage as was introduced in the Straits Settlements and Malay States was directed to controlling shipping conditions and, in the 1890s and early years of the century, to relaxing the passport rules while requiring intending pilgrims to purchase return tickets on departure. In short, the pilgrimage was conceived of largely as yet another aspect of Straits Settlements

11. Three years later it was estimated (in the course, however, of an argument designed to minimize Straits Government responsibility for pilgrim ship conditions) that only some 15 percent of pilgrims "arriving in Singapore to go to Jeddah" were from the peninsular Malay States, and fewer than 1 percent British subjects (Minute by Master Attendant, Singapore, to Col. Sec. S.S., 17 Mar. 1887, Encl. 5 in "Selected Papers respecting the Regulations for Ships Carrying Pilgrims to or from the Mohammedan Holy Places. 1888–90", Conf. Print, FO 424/170.

12. Lloyd's Agent in Jeddah complained in 1888 that every pilgrim from "Java or the Malay States of whatever nationality, British, Dutch, or Independent", was forced to deposit his return passage money with the Netherlands Vice-Consul, who was also agent for Dutch shipping lines and for Blue Funnel, the last-named carrying most of the pilgrims to and from the Straits. The Agent alleged that this monopoly was participated in by the Netherlands Vice-Consul, the chief pilgrim *shaykh* of the Malays, Sayyid Omar Alsagoff (a leading Singapore Arab engaged in the pilgrim trade), and the British Consulate Dragoman. On enquiry this proved to be the case, though Lloyd's Agent had omitted to say that he himself had been a member of the monopoly until he had fallen out with his partners (Govt. of India to Consul, 11 Sept. 1888, and draft reply, 12 Mar. 1889, For. Dept., in FO 685/2 (Pt. IV, Miscellaneous)). The previous British Consul had reported in 1884 that no such monopoly existed (Govt. of India to Consul, 3 Nov. 1884, and reply, 26 Nov. 1884, For. Dept., in FO 685/2 (Pt. IV)), and it seems likely that he too had been implicated.

13. Minute, 1 Sept. 1881, in For. Dept. Proc., A, Pol. E, Oct. 1862.

14. Sec. to Govt. of India to Asst. Surgeon Shaikh Atta Muhammad, 22 Aug. 1884, For. Dept., in FO 685/2 (Pt. IV).

entrepôt trade.[15] While India, with some 13,000 pilgrims annually at the turn of the century, contributed £400 a year towards the cost of the British Consulate (plus the salary of the two Vice-Consuls), and while the Netherlands, with about half as many pilgrims, maintained a Consulate of its own, and from 1906 an Indonesian Dragoman who, like Abdur Razzack's successor, certainly assisted Malay pilgrims from time to time,[16] British Malaya, with some 2,000 pilgrims a year,[17] felt able to leave looking after them to others. This attitude was assisted by relative lack of interest in the supposed political implications of the pilgrimage — a matter of considerable concern to British India and not significantly less to the Netherlands East Indies. Though in point of fact neither of the latter governments seems ever to have obtained much political information of consequence through their establishments in Jeddah, the British in India kept talking of the need to do so, and the Dutch remained wary of Mecca while showing perhaps more immediate concern with pan-Islamic influences emanating from Constantinople itself.[18]

15. This was made the more explicit between 1887 and 1890 when, under pressure from the Government of India (and from Ottoman Government health requirements), the Straits Settlements strongly (and successfully) resisted the introduction of greater space and minimal food regulations for pilgrim ships sailing from Straits ports, on the ground that this would raise fares and drive non-British (i.e., Netherlands Indies) pilgrims away from British ships ("Selection of Papers respecting the Regulations for Ships Carrying Pilgrims to and from the Mahommedan Holy Places", Conf. Print, FO 424/170.

16. The first such official was Haji Agus Salim (later prominent in Syarikat Islam), who served from 1906 to 1911.

17. The first "hard" figures for British Malayan pilgrims so far discovered appear early in the century. In 1902–03, 2,278 "Malays, mainly British" were enumerated ("Report on the Pilgrim Season at Kamaran for the Year 1902–03", encl. in Consul to Sec. to Govt. of India, For. Dept., 17 Aug. 1903, For. Dept. Proc., Extl. A, Dec. 1903, No. 36). In 1907–08 the description becomes "British Malays" (though there is a lingering doubt that pilgrims from Straits ports may simply be intended), with 2,139 enumerated (Report, encl. in Vice-Consul, Hodeida, to Sec. to Govt. of India, For. Dept., 15 Feb. 1909, For. Dept. Proc., Extl. A, Apr. 1909, No. 7). In 1908–09 the figure is 3,229 (Report, encl. in Consul to Sec. to Govt. of India, For. Dept., 22 Apr. 1910, For. Dept. Proc., Intl. A, June 1910, No. 100). And in 1911–12 (a *Haj Akbar*, or Great Haj, year, in which the principal day of the pilgrimage was expected to fall on a Friday), there were no fewer than "30,000 Malays, 5,000 of them British subjects" (Report, encl. in Consul to Sec. to Govt. of India, For. Dept., (date not recorded), For. Dept. Proc., Intl. A, Oct. 1912, No. 1).

18. In 1888 the Government of India, observing that the Muslim Vice-Consul was in a position to acquire useful information on politico-religious movements, Wahhabi propaganda, circulation of seditious papers, the Caliphate, activities of Muslims from Central Asia, and other matters, asked whether he could supply a quarterly report. Told that this would require more frequent visits to Mecca, acquisition of a house there to disarm Turkish suspicions, and an allowance for "presents", these were agreed to (For. Dept., Simla, to Consul., Conf., 27 July 1888, FO 685/2 (Pt. IV)). Whether these plans were pursued is not clear. There are no quarterly reports in the records examined, though information about Hejaz politics and occasional other items figures in the annual reports. In 1897, the establishment of "an Indian Mohammedan Detective Agency at Constantinople, Mecca, Jeddah and Baghdad" was suggested, but it was agreed that

With the entry of Turkey into the European war in 1914, the British Consulate in Jeddah was forced to close (followed a year later by the Dutch) and though the Straits and Indian Governments in particular were anxious that the *haj* be interrupted as little as possible, for fear of internal political repercussions, the number of pilgrims fell off drastically during the next few years. This did not, however, prevent the sending to Mecca for the 1916 season and thenceforward of a sub-inspector of the Bombay Criminal Investigation Department to gain information about "seditious Indians".[19] The secret agent approach to the Meccan pilgrimage, already present in embryo if not much in actuality in the nineteenth century, now came into its own, and though welfare considerations reasserted themselves in some measure after the war, "subversion" remained a prominent concern. With the success of the British-assisted Arab revolt in 1916, and the establishment in the Hejaz of Sharif Husain's regime. overt British representation at Jeddah was resumed, but in the form of a military and political mission led by Lieutenant-Colonel C.E. Wilson of the newly formed Arab Bureau. Wilson's successor as "British Agent" in 1919 was another military and intelligence officer, Major W.E. Marshall, and although the Arab Bureau was finally closed down in October 1920 (and a career Vice-Consul appointed to Jeddah to assist Marshall in pilgrimage matters shortly afterwards), reversion to full Foreign Office control did not take place until mid-1923.[20]

The years from 1916 to 1923 involved the British Malayan governments in Hejaz affairs for the first time, in a variety of ways. The absence of previous direct or even token responsibility for the administration of the pilgrimage was brought home in 1916 when more than eight hundred destitute Malays — for the most part, it appears, *mukim* or temporary residents who had decided to leave Mecca — managed to reach Bombay in Indian ships, but found themselves stranded there and had to be repatriated at Malay-

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the desired objects were likely to be better achieved by "occasional deputation of secret agents", or probably best of all by the provision of a "secret service grant" to the Consul at Jeddah. There is no evidence that any of these measures was pursued prior to the First World War (For. Dept. Proc., Secr. E, Jan. 1887, Nos. 138–42). Cf. also For. Dept. Proc., Extl. B, Aug. 1897, No. 249, on the possibility of full consular representation in Mecca itself. For the Dutch attitude, see A.J.S. Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaya", *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVI (1967), esp. pp. 279–83.

19. The appointment, and its eventual continuance, was at the instance of the Arab Bureau in Cairo, but from 1919 the Government of India met half the cost (For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Secr.-War, Feb. 1920, Nos. 255–57).

20. The Foreign Office view in September 1920 was that when the Arab Bureau closed in October, representation at Jeddah should "revert to its pre-war scale (i.e. a British Consul, assisted by an Indian Vice-Consul paid for from Indian funds), with the addition of a British Agent and staff", the latter necessitated by "the rise in importance of the Sherifian family...[which] now exercises a very great influence upon political and religious movements throughout the Middle East..." (F.O. to Treasury, For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Extl. B — Secr., July 1921, No. 138).

an government expense.[21] The politics of the overthrow of the Turkish Government in the Hejaz, the Caliphate question that ensued, and the practical problems of providing wartime shipping for the pilgrimage, encouraged fears of local Arab disaffection (already pronounced in the Netherlands Indies) and its spread to the Malays, and prompted public expressions of desire to assist the pilgrimage and see to the welfare of pilgrims.[22] When in 1918 the British Agent in Jeddah proposed the appointment to Mecca of an accredited British Muslim representative and the establishment there of a pilgrim hostel, the Malayan governments readily agreed to pay a third of the estimated annual cost of the representative, and a share of the capital and recurrent expenditure on the hostel, based for the first five years on a (very conservative) average of 600 pilgrims annually from Malaya.[23] Though the hostel plan had to be shelved because of opposition from King Husain, and the representative (an Indian military officer, Captain Nasiruddin Ahmad) was permitted by Husain, and by fears that his presence would be suspect in India, to spend only one pilgrimage year in Mecca (1920), British Malaya had clearly come round to a recognition of both the need to share in pilgrimage administration and the wisdom of doing so.

This recognition doubtless came the more readily as the result of a long and persuasive memorandum on the pilgrimage prepared in 1920 by R.J. Farrer (a Malayan Civil Service Officer with considerable experience of Muslim matters) and W.H. Lee-Warner (head of the Far Eastern Section of the British Secret Intelligence Service, originally seconded from the Arab Bureau). Addressing themselves to what they understood to be the principal needs of Malay pilgrims, they proposed that were local hospital services to be established in the Hejaz (as contemplated) a "round subscription" by the

21. For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Secr.-War, Aug. 1917, Nos. 352–96. From the lists supplied it is possible to derive for the first time a rough distribution by state, though the figure for Singapore is clearly inflated, and must include many who simply sailed from there, especially perhaps Johoreans. Of the 817 accounted for, 215 were described as from Singapore, 165 Kelantan, 137 Patani, 78 Selangor, 74 Penang, 55 Perak, 25 Johore, 25 Kedah, 13 Pahang, 11 Malacca, 9 Sarawak, 8 Perlis, and 3 Terengganu.

22. On Arab feeling: "Arabs in the East Indies", *Arab Bulletin*, 70, 21 Nov. 1917, pp. 460–63 (FO 882/26), and Memorandum on a conference on local Arab affairs, by R.J. Farrer and W.H. Lee-Warner, 27 Nov. 1919 (encl. in Govt. S.S. to C.O., Conf., 8 Jan. 1920, CO 273/498). On attitude to pilgrimage: Col. Sec. S.S. to Sec. to Govt. of India, 3 Apr. 1918, and G.O.C. Singapore to Consul-Gen. Batavia, 2 July 1918 (For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Secr.-E, Nov. 1919 No. 6 and encl. to No. 26).

23. For the lengthy negotiations over the two schemes, see For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Secr.-Extl., July 1921, Nos. 18–84; on the S.S. response, see esp. *ibid.*, Nos. 34, 37 & 54, and Govt. S.S. to C.O., Telegr., 12 Feb. 1920, CO 273/498. On the numbers of British Malay pilgrims: though it was estimated that only 400 travelled in 1919, the pre-war figures had been much higher (see above, Note 17), and there appear to have been at least 2,000 out of the total of 11,655 "Malays" in 1920 (Director, Kamaran Lazaret, to Military Administrator, Kamaran, 16–27 Aug. 1920, encl. in For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Extl., No. 173).

Malayan governments would be much appreciated, that the handling of receipt of Hejaz quarantine dues by Blue Funnel be improved, that passage monies be reduced, and that (as with Netherlands Indies lines) pilgrims be provided with food en route. They recommended, finally, that the Straits and F.M.S. governments grant free passage annually to a "fixed number of poor Muslims, due regard also being had to the importance of granting a proportion to well-deserving but not affluent penghulus and others, whose superior education or services under the Government in however lowly a position, would render them exceedingly useful on board, and while at Mecca, as "Eyes" for His Majesty's and the local Governments".[24] Such eyes would be especially useful in circumstances in which "increasing references to Bolshevism" were already to be found in the Meccan press.[25]

Renewed (or new) concern for the health and social welfare of Malay pilgrims was also evidenced in the early twenties when, as the result of recommendations made in London by the Inter-Departmental Pilgrimage Quarantine Committee in February 1921, the Malayan governments agreed to assume full responsibility for the maintenance and repatriation of their own destitute pilgrims in Jeddah, "in such cases as are proved by the British Consular authorities to be genuine", and to bear a share (proportionate to numbers) of the expenses incurred by Malay pilgrims using the proposed new Indian hospital or clinic.[26] In December 1921 the pre-war system by which the Government of India appointed an Indian doctor to Jeddah (with the rank of "Indian Vice-Consul") was resumed, and he was provided with extra equipment, drugs, and ancillary help during the pilgrimage season, benefitting Indian and Malay pilgrims alike. And the following year saw the beginnings of an attempt to deal with a problem that had for long been of real concern to Malay pilgrims — proper provision for recovery of the unused return passage money of those who died in the Hejaz (108 in 1922). Discussions of this, together with a number of related issues, led directly to the appointment of the first Malay Pilgrimage Officer some eighteen months later.

Characteristically, concern over the property of deceased pilgrims was first expressed in terms of expediency (in relation to the political fear that existing dissatisfaction would swell) rather than simple justice or humanity. A despatch to the Colonial Office in October 1922, outlining the situation, described the difficulty, often the impossibility, of getting assistance "satisfactorily to establish the legal fact of the decease of Malay pilgrims while performing the Hajj", as a result partly of problems with the Hejaz

24. Memorandum encl. in Govt. S.S. to C.O., Conf., 24 Nov. 1920, FO 371/5094, P[aper]. 16311.

25. Jeddah Report, 10–20 Nov. 1920, Secr., FO 686/26.

26. Govt. S.S. to C.O., Conf., 9 Feb. 1921, and F.O. to Govt. of India, Telegr., Ed. Dept., 23 Mar. 1921, FO 371/6249, P. 3426 & 3745; and cf. Col. Sec. S.S. to Sec. to Govt. of India, Ed. Dept., 14 Sept. 1921, For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Genl., 1923, File 1099-G.

authorities but also of inadequate rules made by the Malayan governments and absence of supervision of pilgrims at Jeddah. Without legal proof of decease, next of kin were debarred from receiving the refund due on the return coupon of the deceased's ticket, this coupon having as a rule been deposited with the deceased's *muṭawwif* (pilgrim guide), the latter often illiterate. To confuse matters further, pilgrims were in the habit of assuming Arab names during their stay in the Hejaz, and the Bayṭ ul-mal (Treasury) authorities often failed, it was said, adequately to deal with tickets turned in by *muṭawwif*. Accordingly, the despatch continued, rules were under consideration to provide for photographs to be attached to return ticket coupons, for deposit of the coupons with the British Agent at Jeddah within 24 hours of arrival, and insertion on the ticket of a clause stating that if unclaimed within a year a refund would be payable to a person named. The matter was felt to be of some urgency. The Director of the Political Intelligence Bureau and "certain officers who are specially interested in Muslim affairs", held strongly that it was the duty of the Colonial Government to ameliorate the conditions of pilgrims at once.[27] Enclosed with the despatch were two letters to Singapore from the British Agent at Jeddah, the first saying, inter alia, that although the Indian Pilgrimage Officer (of whom more shortly) tried to look after Malayan pilgrims as well as Indian, in practice he saw very few of them, and the second recommending adoption of the Dutch system of pilgrimage passports, with counterfoils and immediate registration and deposit of counterfoils at the Consulate. The Agent noted that he had on his own staff no-one who knew Malay, but that the Dutch Consulate employed clerks who came and went with the pilgrims each season.[28]

The germ of what followed was thus laid out, but a number of considerations remained. In reply to the foregoing, the Colonial Office noted that for the annual Egyptian pilgrimage (as previously the Syrian) "a commander is appointed called the Amir-ul-Haj", and suggested that the Straits Settlements might propose to their Muhammadan Advisory Board that the latter appoint a similar official to travel in the first ship each season and set up an office in Jeddah at which all Malay pilgrims would be obliged to deposit, on arrival, their return tickets. At the end of the pilgrimage he would take back to Malaya all unused return tickets together with the effects of deceased pilgrims.[29] It was envisaged that the proposed *Amīr ul-haj* would hold office in an honorary capacity only, and that any Malay clerks he might employ "would be paid for either by the Malay community or the Government of the Straits Settlements, no cost falling on the

27. Govt. S.S. to C.O., Conf., 24 Oct. 1922, encl. in C.O. to F.O., Conf., 14 Dec. 1922, FO 371/7710, P. 14055.
28. Br. Agent to Col. Sec. S.S., Conf., 27 Mar. 1921, and 11 July 1922, Encls. 1 & 2 in Govt. S.S. to C.O., Conf., 24 Oct. 1922, *op. cit.*
29. C.O. to F.O., Conf., 14 Dec. 1922, *op. cit.*

British taxpayer".[30] The British Agent at Jeddah, for his part, expressed himself in favour of sending to the Hejaz "a responsible Malay representative with knowledge of English, and if possible Arabic", who would work at the Agency on registration of pilgrims and associated matters, but advised against using the title "*Amir ul-haj*", "as it suggests a holy carpet...and armed force". He proposed "Pilgrimage Officer" instead.[31] In the result, the Foreign Office wrote that it was, accordingly, "prepared to approve the appointment of a Malay Pilgrimage Officer to be unofficially attached to the office of His Majesty's Agent at Jeddah...."[32]

An added element of need was lent to the Malayan appointment by reason of the fact that on 6 March 1922 the Government of India had announced in the Legislative Assembly that it would be obliged by financial stringency to abolish the post of Indian Pilgrimage Officer at Jeddah from 1923, leaving only the Indian Vice-Consul. The latter, it will be recalled, was the medical officer deputed, principally, to attend to Indian pilgrim health. The former was the political agent first appointed in 1916, at the instance of the Arab Bureau, to seek out sedition. The incumbent in 1922, Inspector Said Hassan, was, like his predecessors a member of the Criminal Investigation Department, and appears to have held his post (visiting the Hejaz each season) since the end of the war. His impending removal led to the convening of a special meeting of the Inter-Departmental Pilgrim Quarantine Committee (proving that quarantine may be of more than one kind) in December 1922, at which the Secretary of State for India, while formally approving the change, expressed alarm that, "failing payment from Imperial funds" the post of "police inspector and pilgrimage officer at Jeddah should be suppressed".[33]

30. G.L.M. Clauson of the Colonial Office, reported in the Minutes of the 19th meeting of the Inter-Departmental Pilgrimage Quarantine Committee, 18 Dec. 1922, encl. in F.O. to I.O., 8 Jan. 1923, in For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Genl., 1923, File 1099-G. The India Office, in trying to persuade the Government of India to a similar scheme, said that it was understood to be the view of the Colonial Office that the post, "being one of great dignity and prestige need not necessarily carry any remuneration..." (I.O. to Govt. of India, 1 Feb. 1923, FO 371/8943, P. 1695).

31. Br. Agent to F.O., Telegr., 7 Jan. 1923, FO 371/8934, P. 308. The Egyptian *Emir el-haj* accompanied the caravan which brought the symbolic decorated palanquin from Cairo to Mecca, often thought (wrongly) to contain the *kiswa* or covering cloth for the Ka'ba (here referred to as a carpet). See E.W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, Everyman's Library, 1914), pp. 444–46.

32. F.O. to C.O., Conf., 29 Jan. 1923, FO 371/8934, P. 1281.

33. Minutes of the 19th meeting of the Inter-Departmental Committee, *op. cit.* In the event this proved to be a false alarm, for a "temporary, acting" Indian Pilgrimage Officer was in fact sanctioned annually from 1923 to 1925, and in the latter year, as a result of representations by successive British Agents, M. Ihsanullah, an Indian merchant in Medina before the war who had been recruited to British Intelligence in Damascus and thereafter served as "clerk" to the Indian Pilgrimage Officer in Jeddah, was himself elevated to the post (with effect from 1926) (For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Estab., 1925, File No. 482-E).

Discussion of the Malayan alternative followed, and it is clear that the arrangement just referred to promised to fill at least part of the gap left by Inspector Said Hassan's departure.

Though Foreign Office approval for his attachment had come early in 1923, the Straits authorities felt unable to appoint the new Malay Pilgrimage Officer for the ensuing season, because of the need to devise the regulations by which he would operate.[34] A special committee (chairman, the Director of the then newly formed Political Intelligence Bureau; members, the chairman of the Muhammadan Advisory Board in Singapore, the Solicitor General, the Secretary to the High Commissioner for the Malay States, and two leading Malays from the F.M.S. — Raja di-Hilir of Perak and Dato' Setia di-Raja of Selangor) — already appointed late in 1922 to consider a variety of matters relating to the pilgrimage, decided that compulsory possession of the new style pilgrim passports was inadvisable and would in any event become unnecessary once pilgrims recognised the advantages that would accrue from their possession. The Government agreed, noting in April 1923 that the basic problems of ticket refund and absence of a Malay-speaking officer at the Jeddah Agency were, hopefully, now disposed of. The Foreign Office was asked to arrange through the British Agent to pay the salaries of Abdul Majid bin Zainuddin, selected as Malay Pilgrimage Officer, and of his clerk Wan Yusuf bin Wan Husein Temenggong, starting from 1 January 1924.[35] The British Agent and Consul at Jeddah noted in due course that "The Malay Pilgrim Officer has arrived and is preparing to deal with pilgrims from British Malaya. The authorities he represents have not found it possible to introduce compulsory registration of pilgrims this year, but a good beginning has been made by the introduction of a satisfactory form of passport and by the decision to advise all British pilgrims to report at the British Agency at Jeddah...."[36]

II

Abdul Majid bin Zainuddin, on whom the tasks of Malay Pilgrimage Officer were to fall for the next sixteen years, might not immediately have been thought to be especially well qualified or prepared for the job, though he had an excellent official record in other capacities. At the time of his appointment to Jeddah he was serving as Assistant Inspector of Schools (Malay) in Lower Perak, at or near the summit of a highly successful career with the F.M.S. Education Service. Born at Pudu, on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur, in March 1887 (and thus aged 36 in early 1924), he attended

34. Govt. S.S. to C.O., Conf., 3 Apr. 1923, FO 371/8943, P. 4640.
35. Govt. S.S. to C.O., Conf., 16 Apr. 1923, FO 371/9999, P.E-4868. The Pilgrimage Officers salary was $400 p.m., but only $130 of this was to be paid in Jeddah, the balance going to his wife in Malaya.
36. Jeddah Report, 1–29 Jan. 1924, encl. in Br. Agent to F.O., Secr., 29 Jan. 1924, FO 686/29.

the local Malay school as a child and then, in 1895, became one of the few Malay pupils at the newly opened English-language Victoria Institution.[37] In 1902, as the result of a double promotion, he successfully sat the Cambridge Junior Certificate examination, and wanted to continue his education and go eventually to an English university (an unheard of thing at the time) to become a doctor. His father, however, a Sumatran provision shop owner (from Bonjol in Minangkabau), had other ideas, and made him leave school to become a clerk so that he might earn the means to go to Mecca to study religion. Abdul Majid dutifully joined the Selangor Government clerical service, but the desire for further learning persisted and after two years he wrote privily to R.J. Wilkinson, then Federal Inspector of Schools, to ask whether he might attend the proposed Malay Residential School at Kuala Kangsar in Perak. Accepted, he went to Kuala Kangsar with the first intake (and as one of the relatively few commoners, for the school had been devised for the sons of the traditional Malay ruling class) in 1905.[38] Partly, no doubt, owing to his earlier education at the Victoria Institution, he did well academically and in January 1907 passed out first in the school's final (Standard Seven) examinations. Such was his performance, and evident ability, that he was at once engaged as Assistant Master at the school (the first Malay to be so employed), to teach Malay to the younger boys.

Abdul Majid taught at the Malay College (as it became in 1909) from 1907 until 1918, twelve years during which the college established itself as the leading educational institution in the country for Malays, and in which Kuala Kangsar, the royal town of Perak, became a place of recourse for a wide range of notable residents and visitors, Malay and British. 'Cik Gu' Majid was familiar with or to a great many of them, and through this and more than a decade of teaching the sons of the Malay elite he became well known throughout the peninsula. The years up to 1920 also saw him make for himself a modest but substantial reputation as a writer, chiefly on didactic subjects. His newspaper articles — initially in the Malay paper *Utusan Melayu* and later as Kuala Kangsar correspondent for the English-language *Straits Echo* (Penang) and the *Times of Malaya* (Ipoh) — were often written under nôms de plume, but he published in addition a number of educational works that brought his name before the public. The first of these, *Jalan Belajar Inggeris yang Senang* (Learning English the Easy Way) appeared from the Methodist Publishing House in Singapore about 1910;[39] and *Rahsia Mengajar* (Secrets of Teaching), translated and adapted from one of the works of the then popular

37. Victoria Institution had been opened the previous year, with 201 pupils, 10 of whom were Malay.

38. See Khasnor bte Johan, "The Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, 1905–1941" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Malaya, 1969), Chap. II.

39. A seventh edition was published in 1941.

A.H. Garlick, was first published in Muar in 1912.[40] A perhaps similar book, *Anak Kunchi Pengetahuan* (Key to Knowledge) was published by the Methodist Publishing House about 1914. Around this time also, commissioned by the then Director of Education, Abdul Majid translated into Malay C.H. Phillips' *A Textbook of the Malay Peninsula* (publication details unknown), and later A.H. Keir's primer on gardening, *Ilmu Tanam-Menanam* (Horticultural Science), published about 1920 and reprinted in 1924 in the Malay School Series.[41] He also wrote several essays and stories included by R.O. Winstedt in the Education Department's "Malay Readers". His long experience as *munshi*, or Malay tutor, to a generation of British officials was embodied in a little book entitled *Malay Self-Taught*, published in London in 1920 by E. Marlborough & Co. in their "Self-Taught" series.[42]

Though in this manner a literary man, he was also a gregarious and sociable one. Besides playing centre-half for the Kuala Kangsar football team, he was an habitue of the two "Asian" clubs, the Ellerton and the Kastan Zarian, where he won prizes for billiards, became an enthusiast at skittles, and was frequently called upon to arrange curry dinners or compose the valedictory addresses for British officials leaving the district. At the centre of most public affairs, he represented the *anak dagang* (non-Perak Malay community), the Kastan Zarian Club (as Secretary), *and* the Malay Football Association (whose illuminated address he read) at Sultan Idris' Silver Jubilee celebrations in 1912, and six years later organised on behalf of the Old Boys the farewell dinner for the college's first headmaster, W.H. Hargreaves, whose departure coincided with his own.

Some little time earlier, R.O. Winstedt, appointed Assistant Director of Education (Malay) in 1916, had written a report on Malay vernacular education which recommended, among other things, the establishment of a Malay-personnel school inspectorate. Abdul Majid, first in so many other things, now became the first Assistant Inspector of Schools (Malay), appointed early in 1918 and taking up his job on leaving Kuala Kangsar at the end of the term that year. He was sent initially (after some training in Kuala Lumpur) to Telok Anson, to take charge of the district of Lower Perak, and this remained his substantive post until 1924. In the interim, however, he spent two periods totalling some 22 months as acting headmaster of the Malay Teachers' College at Matang in Perak — again, the first Malay to hold a post of this seniority.

40. The original is uncertain. It appears to have been either or both Garlick's *A New Manual of Method* (1896, frequently reprinted) and *A Primer of School Method* (first published 1905). A revised edition of *Rahsia Mengajar* was published by the Methodist Publishing House in Singapore in 1914.

41. See Abdullah Sanusi b. Ahmad, *Peranan Pejabat Karang Mengarang dalam Bidang Pelajaran Sekolah2 Melayu dan Kesusasteraan di-kalangan orang ramai* (The Role of the Malay Translation Bureau in the Fields of Malay Education and General Literature) (Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka, 1966), p. 23.

42. This, astonishingly, remains in print, the fourteenth impression having been published in 1958.

It was after Abdul Majid's return to Telok Anson in 1922 that he applied, as Malay government officers were entitled to do, for leave of absence the following year to fulfil the duty laid upon every able-bodied and financially capable Muslim, the pilgrimage to Mecca. Before his application could be approved, family circumstances (principally the impending marriage of his daughter) intervened and forced postponement. It was at this point that he was approached by the head of the Criminal Investigation Branch of the F.M.S. Police, and asked whether he would reconsider his decision, "as the Government wanted someone trustworthy to do something for them".[43] Abdul Majid, rather flattered, agreed, advanced the date of his daughter's wedding, and, supplied with $1,000 in expenses (including passage money), sailed from Singapore early in 1923. He travelled by one of the newly introduced Namazie ships,[44] in the belief that unlike Blue Funnel they provided food, but discovered to his consternation that this was true only for Netherlands Indies pilgrims picked up at Batavia. Though he found friends to assist him, his later recommendations as Malay Pilgrimage Officer that all ships leaving Malayan ports be required to feed pilgrims became correspondingly emphatic. His administrative comments and recommendations in 1923 are not recorded, but extracts from the political section of his report (credited to an unnamed "intelligent Malay") were included in the November issue of the *Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence*. He was described as having mixed freely with people of all classes during the pilgrimage, "and had there been anything really important afoot at any stage of his travels it is felt that he would have become aware of it". He reported that none of the pilgrims "seemed eager to discuss or criticise national affairs, or to talk politics, all being thoroughly engrossed in the adventure of the pilgrimage itself and in memorizing the ritual required of pilgrims on the various stages of their journey inland. This ritual, though easy enough for an educated person, appears to present great difficulties for the ordinary Raiat". He expressed himself as certain that in Mecca itself "there was no attempt at political propa-

43. Unpublished manuscript autobiography of Haji Abdul Majid, copy in possession of the present writer. Though what passed between Abdul Majid and the Head of the CIB is unknown, it is clear that he must have been asked to make an exploratory report on pilgrimage conditions, administrative and political. A strong position had been taken on the need for this by the Director of Intelligence in Singapore a month or so earlier (cf. above, Note 27). Available official records suggest that Abdul Majid's mission may not have been known of at higher levels of government, and fairly certainly not in the Hejaz.

44. Ships of the Oriental Navigation Co., owned by Haji Muhammad Hassan Namazie, with headquarters in Hongkong and Haji Muhammad's nephew, Muhammad Ali Namazie, J.P., as Singapore agent, had entered the pilgrim trade only in 1922. Their passage rates were slightly lower than those of Blue Funnel. They came under increasingly heavy criticism from pilgrimage and consular officials with respect to conditions of passage, were banned by the Dutch in 1925, and left the Southeast Asian trade altogether in 1929, when the ships were sold to a Bombay firm (Netherlands Consul-Gen., Singapore, to Col. Sec. S.S., 1 July 1929, encl. in Govt. S.S. to C.O., 11 July 1929, FO 371/13717, P. 4499).

ganda for the masses either from without or by local influence".[45] The Bureau pronounced itself well satisfied with the "negative nature" of the report, and with the capacity to achieve results so anodyne it is perhaps small wonder that Haji Abdul Majid (as he had now become) was appointed to the post of Malay Pilgrimage Officer when it was initiated the following year.

At this point it may be as well to say that although Abdul Majid was clearly, from the point of view of the government, a trustworthy and able public servant, no-one could have thought him to possess any other special qualifications for the job. His English was excellent but he did not (as the British Agent in Jeddah had suggested was desirable) know Arabic. He was unquestionably interested in matters Islamic — indeed, as with a number of other English-educated Malays he had recently become caught up in the fervours of the Ahmadiyya movement during the visit to Malaya in 1921 of Khwaja Kamal ud-Din[46] — but he was not especially well versed in Islam. As a boy he had learned, as other Malay boys did, to "read" the Kuran, had imbibed the *'aqā'id al-imān* or elements of the faith, and learnt how to pray. His parents are said to have been devout Muslims, but as is evident his father, though at one time desirous that the boy get a proper religious education in Mecca, had not persisted in this. Abdul Majid's newspaper articles appear often to have been on moral subjects — he was a man somewhat given to moral pronouncements — but there is no suggestion he pretended to theological expertise beyond that of the interested layman. His very ordinariness and uprightness — in these terms — were probably what commended him, together with

45. *Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence* (henceforth *MBPI*), 18, Nov. 1923, Item 100, CO 537/919. It may be added that Abdul Majid himself was, naturally enough, thoroughly engrossed in the adventures of the pilgrimage, and was in addition twice laid low by illness, probably due in part to the appalling heat of the Hejaz summer. The *MBPI*, printed monthly from 1922 and distributed to a restricted list of some sixty recipients, contained a wide variety of classified political reporting. I am grateful to Dr Alan Jones for drawing my attention to the whereabouts of the *MBPI* in the CO537 and CO273 series of Colonial Office records.

46. This had the effect of bringing Abdul Majid's name before the authorities. One of the results of the Khwaja's visit was the establishment in Singapore of an Anjuman-i-Islam. In June 1923 the *MBPI* reported that its Indian and notedly anti-British secretary had "praised" Zainal Abidin b. Ahmad (Abdul Majid's successor at the Malay College, who had since been transferred to Kuala Lumpur for alleged anti-British activities among the boys), Muhammad Zain b. Ayob (Assistant Inspector of Schools (Malay) in Province Wellesley, and Abdul Majid's son-in-law), S.M. Zainal Abidin (a teacher at Penang Free School), and Abdul Majid himself. The *Bulletin* noted, "We can now trace the first thorough effort in Malaya at an association to cover the whole Peninsula with the object of furthering Khilafat activities and a Muslim Empire (Pan-Islamism)" (*MBPI*, 15, June 1923, Item 83(3), encl. in Govt. S.S. to C.O., Secr., 19 June 1923, CO 537/913). Much of this was pure imagination, as events were to show. As for Abdul Majid, he was already at this time engaged on his first mission to the Hejaz for the Political Intelligence Bureau, despite the fact that he was a known subscriber to Khwaja Kamal ud-Din's Woking *Islamic Review* and the Anjuman's monthly *Genuine Islam*, and had written articles for the Malay press defending the Khwaja against allegations of "Qadianism".

the chance fact that he had in 1923 applied for official leave to make the *haj* on his own.

Haji Abdul Majid, together with his clerk, left Singapore on his first official pilgrimage early in January 1924. On arrival at Jeddah he set up office at the British Agency and Consulate and proceeded to register arriving Malay pilgrims. Though possession of the new form of passport, and deposit of the passport counterfoil and the return ticket with the Pilgrimage Officer, were not yet compulsory, 2,324 pilgrims (representing 3,317 individuals) complied,[47] and another 76 supplied Letters of Identification in lieu. An estimated 100 additional passport holders were prevented from depositing their counterfoils by an instruction to *mutawwif* by King Husain (shortly withdrawn) not to permit them to do so.[48] In addition to the 3,393 pilgrims so accounted for, it was judged that close to another 3,000 made the pilgrimage from Malaya, making a total of nearly 7,000 in all — the larger number than usual (5,000 at this time being reckoned the average) accounted for by the expectation of a *Haj Akbar*. For the 3,317 with deposited passports, Abdul Majid was able to provide an analysis by state of issue — the first accurate figures of the kind ever made available for the Malayan pilgrimage.[49]

The fruits of Abdul Majid's first official pilgrimage were embodied in a long and detailed report made to the authorities on his return to Malaya in September 1924,[50] a report full of comments and recommendations concerning the conduct of the *haj* for Malay pilgrims, from problems associated with the issuance of the new passports in Malaya, the continued rapaciousness of pilgrim *shaykhs* at ports of embarkation, the extortions of functionaries in Jeddah (connived at by King Husain) and of the Bedouin en route, and the costs of making the pilgrimage,[51] to observations about taking care of one's luggage and dealing with Hejazi customs officials. Concerning one of the principal objects of his appointment, he was able to report that 540 of the 3,317 registered pilgrims were known to have died in the Hejaz (some 16 percent, a rate not untypical of the time) and that proper arrangements had been made to return their tickets and effects to next of kin through the persons named on the ticket counterfoils. In the case

47. Dependents could be included on a single passport.
48. King Husain's objection appears to have been a largely token one, for the purpose of emphasizing Hashimite control over the pilgrimage, and was withdrawn when it was pointed out that the Dutch Consulate had operated a similar system with Netherlands Indies pilgrims for many years. See Jeddah Report, 20 Jan.–24 Feb. 1924, encl. in Br. Agent to F.O., Secr., 29 Feb. 1924, FO 686/29; and the telegraphic exchanges in FO 371/9999, P. 1789, 2138 & 2203.
49. See Appendix I.
50. "Annual Report on the Pilgrimage During the Year 1924 A.D. (Season 1342–1343 A.H.)", encl. in Director, Political Intelligence Bureau (henceforth PIB) to person unknown, 10 Oct. 1924, copy in Kelantan "K" (British Adviser's Office) File 1039/24 (Arkib Negara Malaysia).
51. The cost in Straits Dollars (including return fare and quarantine dues of $105) was reckoned at about $290, not including food while in the Hejaz (except for the brief period at Arafat and Muna).

of 110 registered pilgrims who were neither known to have died nor to have declared an intention to remain in Mecca for an additional year (there were 137 of the latter), details had been left with the British Agency and Consulate in case later assistance should be required.[52]

It is noteworthy that not a word is said in the report about matters touching upon political intelligence, though as the *Bulletin of Political Intelligence* remarked, "If the advent of a Malay Pilgrimage Officer is new to Jeddah, so is the appearance of a Russian Soviet representative.... The political dangers of this new Soviet base in advancing communist propaganda amongst the pilgrims of the N.E.I. and Malaya cannot be belittled."[53] The Director of the Political Intelligence Bureau, in forwarding the report to the government, was evidently delighted with it, noting that "the appointment was by way of an experiment and it is the unanimous opinion of the Secret Intelligence Community of this Bureau that it should be made a permanency". He wrote extensive comments, drawing attention in particular to Abdul Majid's varied recommendations and discussing the new legislation that seemed to be required — principally to make pilgrim passports compulsory, to make shipping companies provide food, to further regulate pilgrim *shaykhs*, and to establish the permanency of the post of Pilgrimage Officer.[54] True, in listing the duties of the latter he included (as sixth out of seven items) "Assistance in detecting and countering any political movement, e.g. the possible communist activities of the newly established Soviet agency at Jeddah," but for the moment at least this was evidently not high on the list of priorities.

More than fear of Soviet intentions was agitating the Hejaz in 1925. Ibn Sa'ud had at last moved against Sharif Husain, prompted in part by the latter's assumption of the title of Caliph after the Turkish Government's abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate in March 1924. In August of that year, just after the pilgrimage, Ibn Sa'ud's Wahhabi tribesmen took the southern town of Taif, and in October Husain abdicated in favour of his son Ali, and Mecca itself fell. Though Ibn Sa'ud announced that he would place no obstacle in the way of the *haj*, prohibitions upon non-Wahhabi teaching in Mecca, restrictions on the use of theological materials, and a climate of painful spiritual austerity, drove many Malay (and other) *mukim* away to Jeddah in the hope of taking ship for

52. "Annual Report...1924", *op. cit.*

53. *MBPI*, 22, 30 Sept. 1924, Item 127, Encl. 1 in Govt. S.S. to C.O., Secr., 15 Oct. 1924, CO 537/925. There is, it should be said, no evidence (rather the contrary) that a separate or secret report had been submitted by Abdul Majid. The Soviet Russian Agent and Consul-General, a tartar Muslim called Kerim Khakimoff, had arrived in Jeddah in August. He was described by the British Agent as "a fanatical communist", who, in view of the fact that there had been no Russian pilgrims since the war, was clearly concerned only to disseminate propaganda and suborn pilgrims from elsewhere (Br. Agent to F.O., 18 Aug. & 25 Nov. 1924, FO 686/60).

54. Director, PIB, to person unknown, 10 Oct. 1924, *op. cit.*

home,[55] and the disruptive effects of the conflict put the following season's pilgrimage in doubt. Early in 1925, the Straits Settlements decided to postpone returning Haji Abdul Majid to the Hejaz, and issued warnings to intending pilgrims about possible dangers to personal safety.[56] From Jeddah, the British Consul sent the Indian secret agent Ihsanullah to Mecca, partly in order to find out what the Soviet Consul, making his first call upon Ibn Sa'ud, was up to,[57] and partly to see to the welfare there of remaining British subjects. On hearing of Khakimoff's visit the Straits Settlements had telegraphed offering to despatch the Malay Pilgrimage Officer to Mecca "with a view to counteracting this propaganda", to which the Consul replied that for the moment this was neither necessary nor desirable.[58] Ihsanullah it was, then, who made way to see the leading Malays left in Mecca, and took from them letters and telegrams to be sent home and a list of relatives who should be asked to send funds to those beleaguered there.[59] Jeddah itself was under siege, totally cut off except by sea. Only those pilgrims who could reach Wahhabi-controlled ports — there is no indication of Malays among them — were able to make the *haj*. Towards the end of December 1925 Ibn Sa'ud was finally able to force Ali from Jeddah and enter the town himself. A fortnight later, on Friday, 8 January 1926, in the Great Mosque of Mecca, he was proclaimed King of the Hejaz and Sultan of Nejd and its dependencies.

Haji Abdul Majid resumed his tasks as Malay Pilgrimage Officer shortly afterwards, travelling to Jeddah early in February (a little late because of last minute uncertainties about whether the *haj* would take place), and returning, as far as is known, in August. This became the pattern for the future; seven months or so in the Hejaz, and the remainder of the year in Malaya. Precisely how he was occupied during his annual spell in Malaya is little known, but (still on secondment from the Educational Service until his appointment as Pilgrimage Officer was confirmed in 1931) he was officially a liaison

55. *MBPI*, 24, Dec. 1924, Item 133, Encl. 1 in Govt. S.S. to C.O., Secr., 31 Dec. 1924, CO 537/927.

56. Govt. S.S. to C.O., Conf., 18 Feb. 1925, in For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Secr., 1924–25, File No. 161-N, No. 57. Fearing accusations of interference in Muslim affairs, the Malayan governments forebore to prohibit the pilgrimage, but did what they could to discourage it. The two principal steamship companies engaged in the pilgrimage cancelled their sailings.

57. Ihsanullah reported that Sa'ud had told him that Khakimoff had tried to "enlist him in the Soviet Union's scheme for a great revolt in the East against the 'imperialistic' and 'colonialistic' powers, especially England", but that Sa'ud had referred to Khakimoff in his, Ihsanullah's, hearing as "this miner who pretends to be a consul-general" (Consul to F.O., Secr., 18 May 1925, FO 686/145).

58. Govt. S.S. to Consul, Telegr., 13 May 1925, and Consul to Govt. S.S., Secr., 3 June 1925, FO 686/145.

59. Consul to F.O., Secr., 18 May 1925, in For., & Pol. Dept. Proc., Secr., 1924–25, File No. 161-N, No. 233. Ihsanullah also compiled a list of all British Malays left in Mecca. None of the lists exists in the records examined. Mecca was not properly speaking "beleaguered", but, cut off from Jeddah, there was a considerable shortage of food and other necessities of life.

officer with (or agent of) the Political Intelligence Bureau, attached for administrative purposes to the Criminal Intelligence Branch of the F.M.S. Police.[60] In this capacity he is known to have kept an eye on a variety of Malay and Muslim movements, though impressions are that, for whatever reason, he was not in fact a very energetic or successful spy.[61] Even in the Hejaz, as will be seen, his activities appear to have been confined very largely to strictly pilgrimage matters, despite the opportunities for espionage offered in the years that followed.

The first such opportunity arose during the 1926 pilgrimage itself with the holding in Mecca of a world Mu'tamar Islam (Islamic Congress), called by Ibn Sa'ud in June to consider questions relating to the governance of the *haj* and of the Holy Places in general. Though no delegates from Malaya are mentioned,[62] several Indonesians were present — most importantly Tjokroaminoto (of Syarikat Islam) and Kiyayi Haji Mas Mansur (of Muhammadiyah). Already in April, at a feast given to 150 "natives of the Netherlands East Indies", Tjokro had "discoursed on the desirability of combining all Malayan territories and the Hejaz under Muslim rule, directed by a real Khalifa with his seat in the Hejaz...." As leader of the Syarikat Islam and an envoy from Java to the Caliphate conference (due to be held in Cairo in May) Tjokroaminoto repeated that it was his duty to meet all Malays and explain to them the necessity of expelling the White races from the East".[63] The *Bulletin of Political Intelligence*, reporting this, added that "it seems

60. Cf. Alun Jones, "Internal Security in British Malaya, 1850–1941" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 1970), p. 124.

61. The *MBPI*, for example, in all its discussions of Indonesian and Malay communist activity in the late 1920s, never once refers to him, even obliquely. The present writer, some years ago, came across scattered instances of Abdul Majid investigating such organisations as *Sahabat Pena* (Friends of the Pen) in the 1930s, and doubtless there were others (Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 216, fn. 11, and 218, text and fn. 17).

62. If there were Malayan delegates, failure to mention them in the Intelligence material seems odd. But it should be recorded that at least four Malayans — Sayyid Hasan b. Abdullah Alatas of Johore, and three Arabs from Singapore, Sayyid Muhammad b. Yahaya b. Agil, and Sayyid Ahmad b. Omar (Alsagoff?) with his two sons Sayyid Muhammad Ali and Sayyid Abdullah — had attended the Caliphate conference held in Cairo in May, described by the Egyptian press as representatives of Malaya (*MBPI*, 37, Mar. 1926, Item 226(c), CO 273/534; and 39, May 1926, Items 256 & 257, in *ibid.*) As it is highly likely that the Singapore Arabs had been supporters of the deposed Sharif Husain (see *MBPI*, 34, Dec. 1925, Item 191, CO 273/534), their presence as delegates to Ibn Sa'ud's congress is improbable.

63. *MBPI*, 38, Apr. 1926, Item 247(c), 273/534. Also present on this occasion, and at the congress, was the Sumatran Djanan Taib, president of the Indonesian-Malay students' association in Cairo and editor of their journal *Seruan Azhar* (Call of Azhar), whose goal was an independent Indonesian-Malay Union — not, however, including the Hejaz, embraced here by Tjokroaminoto as a concession to Pan-Islamic sentiment and a compliment to his host. For participation by the Cairo students in the congress, see William R. Roff, "Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920s", *Indonesia* (Ithaca), 9 (1970), pp. 73–79.

that a number of Sumatran Malays are to visit Malaya after the Haj in order to stir up anti-British feeling amongst the Malays...."[64] Later, during the Congress itself, "a British Afghan spy" reported that the Indonesians were constant visitors to the Soviet delegation, and added that he had heard talk among the latter that the Netherlands Indies and Malaya constituted "a great field ready to receive their principles, and that they were now about to concentrate on that part of the world", the *haj* offering an excellent means to this end.[65]

How much Haji Abdul Majid was aware of all this is unclear. Internal evidence strongly suggests that he was not the author of any of the intelligence reports quoted, and his lack of Arabic must have confined him for gossip to Malay- and English-speaking groups. On the other hand, Mecca in 1926 was manifestly in turmoil, and however involved one was either in administration (some 5,500 British Malays passed through Jeddah between late February and late May) or in the rituals of the *haj*, it could not have been possible to ignore this. In his report, later, Abdul Majid noted simply that Wahhabi zeal had been irksome to some Malay pilgrims (though as Shafi'i, less so than to many others), and that great irritation had been caused by the no-smoking regulation and by the prohibiting in the Great Mosque of all but Wahhabi *imām*.[66] The British Consul, it may be observed, was mildly critical of Haji Abdul Majid, remarking that he had "noted a disposition on the part of the Malay Pilgrimage Officer to avoid as much as possible co-operation with the agency staff." Afghan spies and Indian secret agents obviously did better in some respects, and it is just possible that Abdul Majid, who was no fool, recognised that the relationship between Indonesian nationalists (with whom he probably shared little), Soviet communists (whom he understood even less), and Wahhabi reformers (with whom he rather sympathized) could not be reduced to simple equations of the kind required for security reports. In an article on Wahhabism written for the *Malayan Police Journal* a year or two later he made at least a stab at stating his own position. The rationality of Wahhabi doctrines, he declared, appeals to everyone as the real Islam, and followers of Wahhabism were to be found in numbers in every Muslim land, "even backward Malaya". But Malay Wahhabis had to suffer the stigma of being styled "*Kaum Muda*", the Young Party, especially by the *Kaum Tua* or Old Party, "who try to insinuate in revenge that the 'Kaum Muda' are the

64. *MBPI*, 38, *loc. cit.*

65. "Report on the Activities of the Soviet Delegates to the Moslem Conference held in Mecca, June 1926", encl. in Br. Agent to F.O., Secr., 3 July 1926, FO 371/11446, P. 1426; and cf. Ruth T. McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1965), p. 420, fn. 23. For more extended discussion of the effect of the congress on Muslim groups in Indonesia, see Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Movement in Indonesia, 1900–1942* (Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 223–25.

66. Annual Report on the Pilgrimage, 1926, FO 371/11436, P. E-5238.

undesirable Communists which they certainly are not. Islam in any form is essentially opposed to any and every aspect of Communism...."[67]

If Abdul Majid scarcely passed full muster as an intelligence agent, he was a first rate pilgrimage officer. His reports always contained sound, practical advice about real pilgrimage problems of the moment, and he provided a great deal of personal assistance to those in distress, even to the point of lending them money or buying them food or drink out of his own pocket. One of the most attractive pieces he wrote about the pilgrimage was not in an official report at all, but in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, published just after the 1926 season but written earlier.[68] It is, in fact, the best descriptive pre-war account we have of what performing the *haj* meant to someone from Malaya, and is correspondingly valuable.

The year 1927 saw the largest pilgrimage ever undertaken from Malaya, still unsurpassed in size.[69] No fewer than 12,184 Malays landed at Jeddah between December 1926 and May 1927. The reason for this great upsurge in numbers (equally marked from the Netherlands Indies — Indonesian and Malay pilgrims together accounting for more than half of all seaborne arrivals)[70] is usually given as a combination of high rubber prices at home and a new sense of pilgrim security in Ibn Sa'ud's Hejaz. The work involved for Abdul Majid in dealing with more than double the previous year's numbers was compounded by the fact that, for the first time, possession of passports (and registration and ticket deposit at the Consulate) was obligatory for all pilgrims.[71] The Director of the Malayan Political Intelligence Bureau, in his capacity as "Protector of Pilgrims", made the voyage to Jeddah in a pilgrim ship (en route for home leave) in order to report on conditions on board and in the Hejaz, and as a result recommended to the government the appointment of a permanent (that is to say, year-round) Malay Pilgrimage Officer and clerk, and of a "dresser" or medical assistant to supplement the

67. "H.A.M.", "Wahabism", *Malayan Police Journal*, III, 11 (1930), 430–31 (reprinted in Haji Abdul Majid, *The Malayan Kaleidoscope* (Kuala Lumpur, Selangor Press, 1935), p. 23.

68. Haji Abdul Majid, "A Malay's Pilgrimage to Mecca", *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, IV, 2 (Oct. 1926), pp. 269–87. It is clear that it was written sometime after the 1924 pilgrimage and before that of 1926.

69. In recent years, numbers for Malaysia (i.e., pre-war Malaya minus Singapore and Brunei but plus Sabah and Sarawak) have reached ten thousand but have not much exceeded that (see, e.g., *Berita Harian*, 15 May 1973, editorial). Singapore and Brunei figures are not available but would still make the comparable total well below the 1927 one.

70. Total seaborne arrivals at Jeddah, as given in British sources, were 132,109; Indonesians and Malays numbered 69,308 (Report on the the Pilgrimage, 1927, encl. in Consul to F.O., 24 Sept 1927, For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Est., 1930, File No. 19(10)). Vredenbregt, "The Haddj", *op. cit.*, p. 149, gives slightly different figures, using Dutch sources.

71. Pilgrim Passes (as they were described in the legislation) were made compulsory by Section 3 of S.S. Amending Ordinance No. 28 (Merchant Shipping), 1926, and "Rules for Pilgrim Passes" were promulgated accordingly.

staff of the Indian doctor during the pilgrimage season.[72] The British Consul, supporting the first in particular, said that the advantages of a permanent pilgrimage officer would be many, for although the pilgrimage ended for the pilgrim with the departure of the last ship, "as far as the Agency is concerned it does not end until the next season's pilgrimage is well under way". The presence of the Malay Pilgrimage Officer and his clerk, either in Mecca or in Jeddah, "during what may be termed colloquially the 'cleaning up period'" would accordingly be most useful.[73] To lend force to his argument, the report noted that in 1927 there were no fewer than 1,492 Malay pilgrim deaths in the Hejaz, and unusually large numbers of Malays decided to remain in Mecca to study — both circumstances resulting, as we have seen, in considerable residual work for the Consular staff.

Approval for the year-round appointment of the Malay Pilgrimage Officer was not forthcoming (though questions of his status were shortly to be discussed), and the experiment of appointing a medical assistant proved something of a disaster. Bureaucratic consideration of the proposal took a year, and even when the Malay dresser selected, Ungku Sayyid Ibrahim, arrived in Jeddah with the first ship of the 1929 season, under the impression that he would go straight to Mecca to open up the (Indian) hospital there, he was prevented from doing so, the understanding in Jeddah being that he was merely an assistant to the Indian doctor, who had still to arrive in the Hejaz. As one of the principal arguments for Malay medical assistance had been that the Indian doctor never did leave Jeddah until just before the actual date of the pilgrimage, and that in the interim thousands of Indian and Malay pilgrims languished in Mecca without medical attention, the situation became absurd, with the British Consul arguing that the Malays could, as hitherto, take advantage of the Netherlands East Indies clinic there, and Haji Abdul Majid (from whom a Singapore letter of instruction, telling him to use his own discretion about where Ungku Sayyid Ibrahim should be employed, was being withheld) urging his despatch to Mecca.[74] The position in the following year seems to have been no better, but in 1931 all attempts to combine forces with the Indian doctor were abandoned, and the informal arrangement with the Netherlands Indies clinic was put on a formal footing, with the Malay dresser attached to the staff in Mecca for the duration of the season.[75]

72. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1927, *op. cit.*

73. *Ibid.*

74. See correspondence and papers in For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., 1928, File No. 166-N, and 1929, File No. 228-N; and cf. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1929, in FO 371/14456, P.2421.

75. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1931, encl. in Br. Minister to F.O., 26 Nov. 1931, For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., 1931, File No. 566-N; and "Memorandum of Observations and Comments [by Haji Abdul Majid on suggestions made by the Dato' Menteri of Kelantan]", 26 Jan. 1931, Encl 7(B) in Kelantan "K" (British Adviser's Office) File No. 1958/30.

As for Haji Abdul Majid's status, the question that now arose concerned less whether the Malay Pilgrimage Officer should spend the whole year in the Hejaz (a matter that appears not to have been pursued) than whether the post should be raised to Vice-Consular level. Abdul Majid himself had suggested this as early as 1926, only to have it quashed by the then British Agent and Consul.[76] He returned to the matter the following year, during which pressure of work had more than doubled (as has been seen), and in which the Indian Pilgrimage Officer (and secret agent) Ihsanullah had been promoted "Indian Vice-Consul".[77] As the Indonesian assistant at the Netherlands Consulate was also styled Vice-Consul, Abdul Majid felt entitled to claim that both his opposite numbers were now senior to him in rank. Discussing the matter with the Foreign Office, the Consul wrote that the Government of India had wished, in the case of Ihsanullah, to recognise his "signal services" over many years, as well as to rationalise the position between the Indian doctor and the Indian pilgrimage officer.[78] Where the Netherlands was concerned, the Consul (a Dutchman) remained in Jeddah only for the Pilgrimage season, so that his Vice-Consul (the Indonesian) was in effective charge of the mission for the rest of the year. There was, accordingly, no direct analogy between Abdul Majid and either his Indian or Indonesian counterparts.[79] The Consul said, however, that Haji Abdul Majid performed his duties "thoroughly conscientiously", and added, "He is well-educated and has an exceptionally good knowledge of English, both written and spoken. His functions are similar to those of his Indian colleague, and there is no objection to his being given a similar title, on condition that he understand quite clearly that his title would be that of British (Malay) vice-consul and that he would be a member of the staff of the agency and not an independent representative of Malay interests in the Hejaz".[80]

Responding, the Foreign Office said, in effect, that there appeared to be no reason to take any action unless and until a proposal came from the Straits Settlements Government, duly forwarded through the Colonial Office, and suggested awaiting the Straits reply to Abdul Majid's request. This was the proper procedure, and the one already followed in relation to the promotion of the Government of India's Ihsanullah. Only the Foreign Office was competent to make consular appointments; it would appear that

76. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1926, in FO 371/11436, P.E-5238.

77. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1927, *op. cit.* The British Agent and Consul, like his predecessor in 1926, again recommended against the proposal, on the ground that it would give added work to the Agency "without much resultant benefit". The same man's views appear to have changed by the time he came to address the Foreign Office on the question a few months later.

78. Consul to F.O., 18 Feb. 1928, Consular, FO 369/2005. On the confusions arising in relation to the two Indian officials, see For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., Estab., 1928, File No. 338-E, esp. Minute dated 29 Apr. 1928.

79. Consul to F.O., 18 Feb. 1928, *op. cit.*

80. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1928, in FO 371/12999, P. 4867.

at present there were scarcely a third as many Malay as Indian pilgrims, but if the Malay Pilgrimage Officer's work were to grow to the same importance it might indeed be proper to make him His Majesty's Vice-Consul (*not* "British (Malay) Vice-Consul"), should the Malayan governments so desire.[81] For the the time being the matter rested there, the decision in the Straits presumably going against the appointment, for whatever reason. Though the question came up again briefly a decade later, in a different context, the Malay Pilgrimage officer did not, before the war, attain the rank of Vice-Consul.[82]

There remained for policy decision, before the eventual collapse of numbers that signalled the depression years (there were 12,000 Malay pilgrims in 1927, 80 in 1932), only two substantial matters affecting the welfare of Malay pilgrims, both related to the sea voyage. Much the longer-standing of these was the question of provision of food on board ship, recommendations concerning which, it may be recalled, had been made by Haji Abdul Majid as early as 1923. In his first official report, on the 1924 season, he drew attention in particular to the fire hazard arising from pilgrims cooking their own food (a vessel from India, the *Frangistan*, having burned to the waterline in the Red Sea in 1924, from causes unknown),[83] but there were many other problems. Pilgrims who took food from home but were delayed at the port of embarkation sometimes ran short before the voyage was over; returning pilgrims who had spent all or most of their money before leaving the Hejaz often travelled back in a state of near starvation; there was a constant health problem as a result of perishable foodstuffs going bad; and sanitary conditions on board ships in which individuals kept caches of food in living quarters left much to be desired. Netherlands Indies regulations had for long required all pilgrim ships to feed their passengers (the price of the food becoming, of course, part of the passage money), and finally in 1927 a committee was set up in Malaya to recommend on the matter. Under the chairmanship of the Secretary to the High Commissioner its members were the Raja Muda of Perak and Dato' Setia di-Raja of Selangor; Dato' Haji Muhammad Nasir b. Haji Salim, Chief Kathi of Johore; and Haji Abbas b. Haji Muhammad Taha, Kathi, of Singapore. They examined written evidence from the Malay Pilgrimage Officer, the Blue Funnel Shipping Company (which, predictably, said that most pilgrims preferred to take their own food), the British Consul in Jeddah, and the Political Intelligence Bureau (as the agency charged with protecting pilgrim interests), and decided unanimously that most pilgrims would in fact prefer not to have

81. F.O. to Consul, 25 June 1928, Consular, FO 369/2005, and Minute dated 15 Mar. 1928 in *ibid.*

82. The British Consul in 1938 suggested that Abdul Majid be made Vice-Consul, "partly for [the] reason" that attestation of documents in Saudi Arabia required, under British Malayan law, the signature of a duly appointed British Consular Officer, and it would be useful to have a Muslim in Mecca for this purpose. The problem was solved, however, simply by providing that Abdul Majid's signature (and that of his assistant) be recognized as legal attestations (Consul to Govt. S.S., 14 Feb. 1939, Encl. 2(b) in Kelantan File D/SUK 1:716/39.)

83. "Annual Report on the Pilgrimage During the Year 1924", cited in full in Note 50, above.

to take their own food, provided that they were allowed to have with them a reasonable quantity of non-perishable spices and the like, and have access to supplies of hot water.[84] A draft bill to provide for this, and to make shipping companies responsible for supplying and cooking food, was introduced in the Straits Settlements Legislative Council in July 1929 and passed into law in October, in time for the 1930 pilgrimage.[85]

Opportunity was also taken in the 1929 Rules to legislate afresh for a variety of other matters affecting pilgrim welfare (especially in relation to the provision on board ship of adequate medical personnel and drugs), and to compel prior immunisation against smallpox and cholera. Though immunisation had been required by the (then still unratified) International Sanitary Convention of 1926 (Part III of which dealt with pilgrimages in general and the Mecca pilgrimage in particular) and by an Anglo-Dutch Agreement of the same year, at least as cogent an argument for its implementation, it was felt, was the inconvenience and unpleasantness visited upon Malayan pilgrims at the Kamaran Quarantine Station. While Indonesian pilgrims (who under Netherlands Indies regulations had been compulsorily vaccinated for some years) were permitted to pass through Kamaran without disembarking, Malay pilgrims were required to spend 24 hours being "quarantined' on the island — a matter of understandable resentment that figured largely in Abdul Majid's reports. The new Rules meant that from 1930 Malayan pilgrims, like their counterparts from the Netherlands Indies, were able to proceed direct to Jeddah.[86]

By the beginning of the 1930s, then, British Malayan administration of the pilgrimage from its own shores was being taken very much more seriously than had been the case a decade earlier, and the degree of responsibility assumed for pilgrim welfare was greatly increased. In the Hejaz itself, the stable regime of Ibn Sa'ud had rescued the pilgrim from most of the lawlessness and danger of the past, and a start had been made at improving health and other amenities, or allowing others to do so.[87] A good deal of

84. Report (untitled) of committee set up to consider compulsory provision of food on board pilgrim ships, printed *Jawi* copy, dated 9 January 1925 (in error for 1928) in Pejabat Sultan Files, Pekan, Pahang, No. 193/27. Permission to use this is gratefully acknowledged. Cf. also *Report of the Haj Inquiry Committee* (Calcutta, Government of India Central Publications Branch, 1930), p. 92. Blue Funnel ships were by far the most important carriers from Malaya, employing 26 ships in 1928 compared with 3 Namazie and 1 Straits Hejaz Steamship Co. (Report on the Pilgrimage, 1928, *op. cit.*).

85. "Rules for Pilgrim Ships made by the Governor in Council under Part IV of Ordinance No. 125 (Merchant Shipping), 1929". Daily rations per pilgrim were set out in Section 21.

86. The Hejaz Government were also exerting some pressure on the British at this time, as witness two Notes from the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs to the British Consul, encl. in Consul to Civil Secretary [sic] S.S., 18 Feb. 1929, FO 371/13716, P. 1298.

87. See, e.g., Abdoel Patah, *De Medische Zijde van de Bedevaart paar Mekkah* (Leiden, Drukkerij 'Luctor et Emergo' (Proefschrift), 1935), esp. pp. 22ff and 51ff. Abdoel Patah, an Indonesian, was in the Hejaz from 1926 to 1932.

the credit for drawing the attention of British officials in both Jeddah and Malaya to matters of particular concern to Malay pilgrims had undoubtedly to go to the Malay Pilgrimage Officer, Haji Abdul Majid — as was recognised by more than one distinguished Malay pilgrim. The Menteri Besar (Chief Minister) of Kelantan, who made the *haj* in 1930, wrote on his return: "Last but not least I desire to bring forward the claims of Haji Abdul Majid...to public recognition for the exceptionally meritorious work which he has done both at Jeddah and in Mecca in promoting the welfare of pilgrims from British Malaya. I have personal knowledge of the great tact, unfailing courtesy and self-sacrificing spirit displayed by this officer in his dealings with the high and low among the large congregation of pilgrims in Mecca and I cannot speak too highly of his abilities."[88] The Dato' Menteri, in summarizing his own experience of the pilgrimage, spoke of four areas in which, he felt, it was still for Malays more onerous than it need be. They concerned the uncertainty of expenses for the intending pilgrim, problems of dealing with the *shaykh* system, difficulties associated with pilfering of imported belongings, and inadequate medical facilities while in the Hejaz.[89] Concerning the first and the last, answers were fairly straightforward. It was wise, said the Malay Pilgrimage Officer in his written comments, to allow not less than $500 for the pilgrimage, or $600 if one intended visiting Medina; as for medical attention, this was now available through the Netherlands Indies doctor in Mecca. The problem of pilferage was a relatively small, if irritating, one, and representations had been made to the Hejaz authorities.[90] Where *shaykhs* were concerned, however, matters were a good deal more complicated.

The *shaykh* or *muṭawwif* system (the former term in more general use by Malays, the latter in the Hejaz), as old as the *haj* itself, was based on the need of all pilgrims to possess a guide both to the rituals of the *haj* and to the more mundane particularities of getting to and from Mecca (and Medina) and subsisting in Jeddah and en route. For obvious reasons patterns had been established which ensured that certain *muṭawwif*, of whom in 1930 there were some hundreds in Mecca, licensed by the government and under chiefs of their own, looked after all or most pilgrims from certain areas. Many *muṭawwif* originated from their own pilgrim catchment area, and most in any case employed *wakil* (representatives) — also and indifferently known as *shaykhs* or *muṭawwif* — from these areas, either to travel overseas to recruit pilgrims or simply to pick them up in Jeddah. The Malay pilgrim, then, might first meet his *shaykh* in Singapore or Penang (or even in his village on occasion), and have his lodging and ticket procured by him there; alternatively he might, as many did, acquire his *shaykh* on stepping ashore in

88. Dato' Perdana Menteri to British Adviser, Kelantan, 6 Nov. 1930, Encl. 1 in Kelantan "K" (British Adviser's Office) Files, No. 1958/30.

89. *Ibid.*

90. "Memorandum of Observations and Comments in Reply to the Remarks and Suggestions put forward by the Dato' Perdana Menteri of Kelantan", Encl. 7(B) in *ibid.*

Jeddah. Once engaged — and the complex set of fees, porterage dues, Hejaz taxes, and other subventions paid — the contract became irrevocable, and the pilgrim remained with his *shaykh*, or with the latter's principal in Mecca, for the remainder of the pilgrimage. It was a system that, manifestly, lent itself to cheating the ignorant, and few figures in pilgrimage literature are more reviled. On the other hand, one's *shaykh* was a necessary guide, philosopher, and even friend, and like many other indispensable institutions was by no means always as exploitative as common tale made out.

The activities of *shaykhs* and "pilgrimage brokers" in Malaya had more than once been the subject of legislation, especially in relation to extortions at ports of embarkation and to the system of compulsory return tickets, upon which *shaykhs* sometimes tried to get themselves entered as next of kin,[91] but there was relatively little that could be done in the Hejaz. The Menteri Besar of Kelantan's proposals amounted to a suggestion that in order to circumvent cheating during the pilgrimage itself all *muṭawwif* (and *muṭawwif*-collected) fees payable in Jeddah at the start of the pilgrimage be disbursed by the Malay Pilgrimage Officer to *shaykhs* nominated by the pilgrims, or alternatively that all sums be paid even further in advance to the Passport Officer in Malaya, for remittance to and disbursement by the Pilgrimage Officer in due course. Haji Abdul Majid, in response, said that while the Dato's portrayal of the pecuniary hardships of pilgrims towards the end of the season was "in no wise exaggerated", the matter of selecting and dealing with one's *shaykh* was too much a question of personal and religious liberty to be readily interfered with by authority.[92]

What the British did do, however, though more often for political than other reasons, was to compile, along with the Dutch representative from the Netherlands East Indies, a "black list" of "undesirable" *muṭawwif* who should be denied visas for the East.[93] Though the list was started only in 1930, the *Malayan Bulletin of Political Intelligence* in the mid-1920s had contained numerous reports purportedly implicating pilgrim *shaykhs* in the dissemination of communist propaganda,[94] and the mid-1920s saw revived

91. Defalcation of a general kind was inhibited by the requirement that "pilgrim brokers" in the Straits deposit substantial securities with the authorities; the problem of *shaykhs* claiming ticket refunds as "next of kin" was overcome to some extent by applying strict Muslim law to the division of property after death, thereby excluding non-kin unless specially provided for.

92. "Memorandum of Observations and Comments", *op. cit.*

93. The first list of twenty names was compiled at the instance of the Netherlands Consul, and appears to have contained mainly *shaykhs* desiring to visit the Netherlands Indies (though as a rule many travelled by way of Singapore). Appended to the "combined Java–Malaya" list was one containing the names of two persons "exiled from Malaya and not to be allowed to leave the Hedjaz", Ishak b. Abdullah and Mohamed Nasir (Br. Agent to Col. Sec. S.S., 23 June 1930, in For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., 1930, File No. 137-N).

94. See, e.g., *MBPI*, 36, Feb. 1926, Item 223; 38, Apr. 1926, Item 251; 41, July 1926, Item 286; and 51, July 1927, Item 350. The report last cited gives details of the establishment of a "Society of Sheikhs of Indonesia", allegedly formed to conduct propaganda among Javanese pilgrims.

concern over the financial misbehaviour of certain *muṭawwif* associated with Malaya.[95] At this point the government of Saudi Arabia (as it had become in 1932) decided to introduce stringent controls of its own, first by prohibiting all *muṭawwif* and their agents from going abroad (a measure said to have been introduced at the request of the head *muṭawwif* for the *Jawah*, Shaykh Hamid Abdul Manan, but later withdrawn) and then by requiring from them substantial financial guarantees.[96] These measures are thought to have remained in force until the war, and although complete pilgrim satisfaction seems unlikely to have been achieved, the combined efforts of governments within and without the Hejaz undoubtedly did something to relieve one of the last serious problems facing those making the *haj*.

One of Haji Abdul Majid's own last accomplishments, before his forced retirement in 1939, concerned not pilgrims as such but the *mukim*, those who elected to stay in Mecca for a number of years for the purpose of study. As has already been remarked (and as is clear from the figures in Appendix I) the economic depression had a devastating effect on the Malayan pilgrimage, reducing the total of those making the *haj* from some 2,600 in 1930 to a low of 80 in 1932, a figure recovered to fewer than a thousand by 1936. Economic conditions in Saudi Arabia itself were little better. Despite this, numbers of Malays continued to live and to study in Mecca. A rough census taken in 1933 by Haji Abdul Majid's clerk suggested that there were about 500 "permanent" Malay residents in the city.[97] Though a few were repatriated at Malayan government expense, on the grounds of hardship, most stayed on, and it was on their behalf that Abdul Majid sought and was granted audience with Ibn Sa'ud. He submitted to the king a "private" (that is, not ex-officio) memorandum, proposing the establishment in Mecca of hostels for Malay students, to be run under Saudi government control but maintained by contributions from parents and by *wakf*.[98] Two years later it was reported that Abdul Majid's proposal had been taken up by a committee of a newly opened school for "Jawi" (Malay and Indonesian) students, the Darul-'Ulum'uddīniyah, and circular letters sent to Malaya and the Netherlands Indies to solicit donations to meet building costs.[99] The following year, 1936, the committee, reporting that students at the school had increased

95. See, e.g., the 1935 memorandum by Haji Abdul Majid on "The Zabedi Family", in FO 905/25; and the correspondence concerning one Abdullah Rawa of Singapore in late 1934 in FO 905/9 and early 1935 in FO 905/25.

96. Abdul Majid to Chancery, Jeddah, 5 Apr. 1935, and later Minutes, in FO 905/25; cf. also the remarks in the Report on the Pilgrimage, 1935, encl. in Chargé, Br. Legation, to F.O., 4 Aug. 1935, in For. & Pol. Dept. Proc., 1935, File No. 680-N.

97. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1933, in FO 371/16587, P. 4704.

98. *Ibid.* *Wakf* are endowments for religious purposes.

99. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1935, encl. in Chargé, Br. Legation, to F.O., 4 Aug. 1935, *op. cit.* The President of the committee was Tunku Mokhtar, "a younger brother of the wealthy Sultan of Langkat".

from the 100 with which it had started to more than 400, decided to send deputations to Southeast Asia to collect funds.[100] Though no further report of progress is on record, and it is indeed possible that the approaching European war intervened, the *Jawah* community in Mecca was at least indebted to Abdul Majid for his initiative.

Abdul Majid's career as Malayan Pilgrimage Officer came to an end with the season of 1939, following which he retired from the public service, probably because of the illness that ultimately laid him low.[101] His replacement as Acting Malay Pilgrimage Officer, Cik Pin b. Jusoh of the F.M.S. Police, was able to do little more than preside over the wartime eclipse of the *haj* from Malaya, for although the 1940 pilgrimage did take place, pilgrims in the first ship were turned back at Colombo, and those who persisted and finally arrived at Mecca were only 45 in number.[102]

III

This paper has tried to give, in outline and from the sources available to the writer, a brief account of the Malay pilgrimage to Mecca from the Straits Settlements and peninsular Malay states during the period in which there was British (and eventually British Malay) representation in the Hejaz to report on it. Necessarily, it has concerned itself largely with the administrative detail of the pilgrimage, its conduct and care. Very little has been said about the spiritual experience afforded to the individual Malay pilgrim (peasant or prince), or to the collective, by the *haj* — or about its social and economic significance for Malay society. Though these are matters of great intrinsic interest and importance, concerning which the writer hopes to make a contribution in the future, it seemed desirable in the first instance — indeed unavoidable — to get as clear an idea as possible of the lineaments of the pilgrimage as it was administered from British-controlled Southeast Asia.

When one speaks of pilgrimage "administration" one may, of course, be referring to one of two things. To the process by which, in the 1840s, say, more than four thousand pilgrim vessels — most of them Arab-owned and few of more than 100 tons bur-

100. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1936, encl. in Br. Minister to F.O., Conf., 3 Aug. 1936, FO 371/20055, P.E-5367.

101. Abdul Majid b. Zainuddin died in March 1943. He had suffered from diabetes for some years, and his death at the relatively early age of 56 was almost certainly caused by the privations (especially of food and medicine) of the Japanese occupation of Malaya. He had not, however, been inactive in the interim, and in particular had published (and largely edited) for 18 months from May 1940 an English-language monthly *The Modern Light*, strongly Islamic reformist in character. In addition he wrote during his last years an unpublished work entitled "Factors for World Peace in Islam", of which there was also a Malay version. The manuscripts of both have since been lost.

102. Report on the Pilgrimage, 1940, encl. in Supt. Special Branch, S.S. Police, to Col. Sec. S.S., 31 May 1940, copy in Kelantan File D/SUK 1:489/39.

then or carrying more than a handful of passengers[103]— sailed annually from Singapore on a four or five month voyage to Jeddah, and eventually (for those who did not die or remain by choice) returned. And to the process, bound in with this, by which pilgrim *shaykhs* from the Hejaz, or their agents, came to the Malay states to collect pilgrims, organize their passage, land them at Jeddah, and conduct them to the Holy Cities, taking responsibility throughout for their spiritual and physical welfare. The economics of the business were complicated, but largely self-sustaining.[104] Governments were involved at neither end — not the Ottoman Turkish in the Hejaz, principally concerned with its garrisons, nor the British in the Straits — though the government of Mecca itself, represented by the Sharif, possessed an intricate internal organisation, in part related to the *haj*, which remained very much the same a hundred years later.[105] Many aspects of "intra-pilgrimage" affairs, too, remained substantially unaltered, and co-existed, as we have seen, throughout the period of what I have referred to loosely, for the purposes of the present paper, as the "Imperial" pilgrimage.

Under this rubric occurs the second form of pilgrimage administration, the process by which, in the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the British authorities in Southern Asia (ruling the lives of some 75 million Muslims in 1900) and the Dutch in the Indies (with some 40 million Muslim subjects) took an increasing legislative and regulatory interest in the conduct of the pilgrimage and in what went on during the *haj*. At the heart of this lay an ambiguity that was never totally resolved — between concern over possible subversion emanating from the essentially private (to Christians) proceedings in the Hejaz (successively Pan-Islam, the Khilafat movement, and Soviet Communism); and that between social welfare (overcrowding of pilgrim ships, health facilities, exploitation of the innocent by the wicked). Most administrative measures swung between the poles of subversion and sanitation, but it is no accident that for the most part pilgrimage supervision was in the hands of Directors of Political Intelligence and Criminal Investigation, or of Inspectors of Police and Secret Agents, rather than doctors or civil servants. It is equally significant that for a great many years it is difficult, from the records, to distinguish pilgrims originating in one place from those originating in another. In part, of course (though largely by accident) this reflects one of the more important features of the *haj* itself — that all, standing before God, are one. But it is also part of the Imperial pilgrimage, whether the Malayan–Indian pilgrimage or the evolution of the Netherlands Indies–British Malaya one. Until well into the twentieth century (in effect until the First World War), British Malayan

103. Govt. S.S. to Govt. Bengal, 24 Mar. 1849, encl. in Sec. to Govt. of Bengal to Sec. to Govt. of India, 19 Apr. 1851, For. Dept. Proc., Polit., 9 May 1851, No. 2.

104. For details of some aspects, see Vredenbregt, "The Haddj", *op. cit.*, pp. 127–28.

105. An excellent description of Meccan government and local administration is given in an Intelligence Report by Ihsanullah to the British Agent, 19 May 1920, in FO 686/12 (Pt. 2).

pilgrim interests were taken care of, for good or ill, by Indian officials in the Hejaz (as well as by the all-embracing Foreign Office Consul there). And until almost the same date, the entrepôt trade in pilgrims from the Straits Settlements saw no need to distinguish between those many Indonesians who came to Singapore to take ship, and those Malays who came down from the peninsula. In the Hejaz itself, after all, Muslims from Southeast Asia — whether from Dutch, British, American (Filipino), or Siamese territories — were known alike as the *Jawah*.

All that has been attempted here then, has been to disentangle, for the purposes of description and analysis, some of the separate strands that formed the *Jawah* and Indian pilgrimages during the heyday of Imperial control. That throughout the pilgrimage retained a life of its own should not need stating, nor that in most respects 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.

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APPENDIX I

Malay Pilgrims by State, 1924–1940

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Singapore	86	NO PILGRIMAGE	288	1,637♦	621	243	577	65	17	5	9	46	37	35	71	38	1
Penang & P. Wellesley	287		124	490	193	123	114	43	6	26	23	45	53	87	170	95	0
Malacca	182		125	1,086	211	64	139	29	6	4	9	21	12	65	98	76	7
Labuan	n.a.		n.a.	n.a.	15	4	3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0	0	3	0
Perak	654		1,167	3,006	658	224	431	106	13	15	36	89	131	475	652	439	7
Selangor	247		602	1,418	324	92	246	46	17	1	2	53	40	214	498	187	0
Negeri Sembilan	216		126	760	254	52	134	23	1	11	17	31	72	113	240	119	11
Pahang	310		120	393	147	61	79	29	5	9	20	27	48	215	348	149	2
Johore	187		173	2,499	704	168	403	47	8	20	30	187	168	166	938	400	8
Kedah	423		202	519	448	160	189	50	4	3	11	41	92	195	498	164	8
Perlis	108		4	7	40	33	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	10	32	19	0
Kelantan	518		142	230	570	142	190	54	3	5	8	63	190	544	938	254	1
Terengganu	99		0	128	217	76	63	10	0	0	7	14	62	80	156	97	0
Brunei	n.a.		n.a.	11	16	14	22	4	n.a.	n.a.	1	n.a.	1	25	50	18	0
TOTAL	3,317* (7,000)		3,073* (5,500)	12,184	4,418	1,455	2,590	506	80	101	173	617	906	2,524	4,589 (4,725)+	2,059	45

*Nos. incomplete, as pilgrim passports not yet compulsory; estimated total in parenthesis.
♦Singapore figure inflated by pilgrims from other states obtaining passports there.
+No. in parenthesis includes infants, and travellers via India.

Source: Annual reports on the Malayan pilgrimage in For. & Pol. Proceedings, Indian National Archives, New Delhi; Jeddah Records, Public Records Office, London; and Kelantan State Records, Arkib Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

POINTS OF COMPARISON IN THE FIELD OF RELIGION MALAYSIA-BALI

by C. HOOYKAAS

At first impression the thought of making such a comparison between Malaysia and Bali seems absurd, since the religions appear to be opposites. On the Malaysian side we find monotheistic Islam with stress on obedience to the demands of the one God to Whom the creature has to show his submission, Islam. No ordained clergy; believers who without exception must make their own contact with God by showing their obedience in words and movements, at least once weekly, quite apart from their other religious duties. On the Balinese side we have, to begin with, the *pamangku*, temple-priest or village-priest, who, on the occasion of a temple's anniversary, has to coax down the gods from their residence above Gunung Agung, the Great Mountain.[1] To that purpose he uses *mantra* (formulas) in 'Sanskrit', Javanese and Balinese (*sĕhŏ*, *sasontèng*), his bell, and incense, the smoke of which forms the means of descent for the gods. He addresses the gods on behalf of his co-villagers, who are satisfied with their being given holy water.

This attitude of the villagers is not easily changed when people are converted to Islam; initially they are inclined to continue leaving the *salat/sembahyang* to one man whom they have appointed to that purpose, now called the *imam*.

The brahman *padanda*, belonging to the highest of the four Hindu *warṇa* (castes), has a very elaborate and sophisticated daily ritual, directed towards the god of the sun, who, consequently, descends into the priest himself and into the beaker of water in front of him. This now becomes holy water, much sought after by the Balinese, both as a curative and as a preventive means against evil.[2] By means of his *mantra* and *stuti/stawa* (litanies in honour of the gods),[3] his immovable *yoga*-position and his *mudra* (gestures of the fingers),[4] the use of his perishable and imperishable cult-instruments (petals, unblemished rice-grains, bell, lamp and censer), he causes the god of the sun to come down to him and the bowl of water in front of him.

1. Jane Belo, 'Bali; Temple festival,' Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, XXII, New York, 1953.
2. C. Hooykaas, 'Surya-sevana, the way to God of a Balinese Siva-priest,' Amsterdam, 1966.
3. T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas, 'Stuti and Stava (Bauddha, Saiva and Vaisnava) of Balinese priests,' Amsterdam-London, 1971.
4. Surya-sevana; 'Balinese Bauddha Brahmans' of the same author and publisher, 1973.

A third kind of priest is the *sĕngguhu*,[5] a fourth the *amangku dalang*,[6] a fifth the *balian*,[7] a sixth the *dukuh*.[8] In his litany of unparallelled length, called *purwa bhumi kamulan/tua*, the *sĕngguhu* narrates that the supreme god's four first-born sons, having been told by their father to create, plead ignorance and disobey, as a result of which they are cursed to become a devil and the ferocious animals tiger, snake and crocodile. Later, when pardoned, they become the gods Siwa, Brahma, Mahadewa and Wisnu, residing in East, South, West and North.

To what extent are the Hindu-Balinese conversant with the doings and sayings of their *pamangkus* during their ritual performed once in 210 days during the temple-anniversary? Or of their *sengguhus* at *nyĕpi*, during their observance of silence to mention only their most spectacular activity. Or of their *padanda* during their daily worship cum preparation of holy water, performed daily at home but on many occasions in full public and even often on an estrade, clearly visible and audible, but neglected or ignored. It is still possible to follow the first form of worship, be it not analysed; but the last-mentioned might be not too understandable even to the priests themselves who, according to a happy formula coined by Clifford Geertz, master orthopraxis more than orthodoxy. Absence of knowledge, and orthodoxy, however, do not preclude true religious feelings of respect and devotion and there is no reason to suppose that the Hindu–Balinese are less convinced of the value of their religion for them than other people are of theirs. Nevertheless, apparently, we have to do with polar opposites and the possibility of comparison seems to be far away.

A treatment of Balinese religion, if restricted to the very short remarks about priests made in the preceding paragraphs would, however, give one an incomplete and unbalanced picture. Balinese religiosity certainly has its culmination-point in temple festivals, held once in 210 days,[9] but of daily importance for the whole population are the daily offerings to be presented to the forbears, to the protective gods in request for their help, and to the evil spirits in the hope that they may let themselves be sent away without doing harm. The simplest offering consists of a few grains of steamed rice and a petal on a tree-leaf, but soon *busung* (young palm-leaf) is needed, to make containers for more substantial and more varied offerings. Quite a few of these receptacles contain

5. Same author: 'Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese tradition,' Bibliotheca Indonesica, the Hague, 1974.
6. Same author: 'Kama and Kala, materials for the study of shadow theatre in Bali,' Amsterdam-London, 1973.
7. Wolfgang Weck: 'Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali,' Stuttgart, 1937.
8. He is the main person in 'Dukuh Siladri', repeatedly printed in Bali; up to the present day, however, research on this rather rare and dying-out type of priest, nowadays only to be found in the province of Karang Asem, is still lacking. Cf. now my paper to be published in Journal of S. E. Asian studies, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya.
9. Jane Belo, op. cit.

Offerings at Panglêpas Ceremony.

'Têbasan Padjégan'.

Pamlaspasan ceremony Tabanan.

nothing at all and owe their gracious form to the fantasy and dexterity of the *tukang bantĕn*, the (female) makers of offerings. Those non-Balinese who have had the privilege of witnessing a temple festival or preparations are flabbergasted on seeing the variety and the number of offerings.[10] Rituals then may be left to the care of the various priests, who need their hours, but the people themselves daily express their religious beliefs and feelings in the offerings they present to the gods and the demons in their retinue. And on the occasion of a temple festival this is a matter of days, for men and women alike.

Until fairly recently the religion of Bali was called *agama tirtha*,[11] the religion of holy water, and this was a fair characterisation for a religion in which the importance of *tirtha* seems to be so preponderant. Of more recent origin is the term *agama Hindu Bali*, another fair description, whether one wishes to stress the Balinese version of Hinduism or the Hindu element in Balinese religion.[12] But I am inclined to point to the endless variety of Balinese offerings and the unlimited fantasy underlying them, the frequency in which they are made and the incredible quantities thought to be necessary. This must beset numerous women to such an extent that it would be justified to characterise Balinese religion as one of offerings. This point of view finds its corroboration, if not even its proof, in the fact that the Balinese, to express 'worship to' or 'worship on behalf of', for which everybody knows the Sanskrit word puja, are nevertheless in the habit of distinguishing several kinds of yajña, offering. Rightly so, for it is the number and the fantastic elaboration of the offerings for a ritual of which one is proud when he has succeeded in defraying the costs, whether in honour of the forbears, *pitĕr-yajña*, or to the advantage of the offspring, *manusa-yajña*.

Malaysia is the happy country about which, three quarters of a century ago, before the discovery of anthropology, the classic treatise 'Malay Magic' was written. The illustrations are not abundant but sufficiently numerous and clear to give an impression of a considerable variety of offerings. These pre-Islamic offerings, perhaps still to be found in hooks and nooks of the great peninsula, are comparable to those in Bali. They are neither Muslim nor Hindu but pre-Muslim and pre-Hindu, belonging to the many centuries old substratum, common to that (culturally speaking) Indonesian world which begins slightly to the north and ends slightly to the west of the present political boundaries. Form, colour, perhaps even the names of the Malaysian and Balinese offerings may be comparable. Nowadays both Malaysia and Bali have their Faculties of 'Own Culture'; their students are now invited and expected to tackle the problem of comparability of offerings.

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10. *Ibid.*
11. C. Hooykaas: 'Agama Tirtha, Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion,' Amsterdam 1964.
12. Same author: 'Religion in Bali,' Iconography of Religions XIII, 10, Leiden, 1973.

The Sanskrit *mantra* and the obviously Indian *mudra* have been studied to some extent;[13] to those in 'Old Javanese' and Balinese scant attention has been given till the present day. About offerings, *yajña* (Sanskrit) or *bali/bantĕn* (Balinese), their contents and form, their material and colour, their compass directions and number, next to nothing has been investigated, though the subject is not entirely ignored.[14] This fate is shared by a second subject of proposed comparison: drawings. I do not mean something like 'Balinese Children's Drawing' by Jane Belo, recently republished,[15] but the drawing of syllables, things, animals, ogres, men and gods, which has as its purpose the health or the illness and even destruction of the person for whom it is meant. This is magic, right hand and left hand, and counter magic, difficult not to mention in one breath with religion.

Let me give some examples. When the *padanda Siwa* prepares *tirtha*, holy water, at a certain stage he draws the syllable OM on the water which is in the process of being transformed into holy water. The *pamangku* does the same. As he has borrowed several *mantra* and *stuti/stawa* from the *padanda Siwa*, there need be no doubt that the OM would not also originate from him. But since Diehl in his 'Instrument and purpose',[16] when dealing with the nearest Indian relation to the Balinese *surya-sewana*, worship of the sun, does not mention such a drawing, the conclusion is likely to be that drawing with magical purpose is an Indonesian enlargement.

It is to the merit of Dr. Paul Wirz that in his book. 'Der Totenkult auf Bali' (Culture of the Dead)[17] he presents a not inconsiderable number of photographs of drawings which are an indispensable part of the spiritual care bestowed on a deceased person by the *padanda Siwa*. During my last but one stay in Bali, having the opportunity of collecting death rituals of these priests, I was given a number of such drawings.

The Balinese, rich in rituals, classify them into *dewa-yajña*, *pitĕr-yajña*, *rĕsi-yajña*, *manusa-yajña* and *bhuta-yajña*.[18] First worship of the gods, next that of the forbears on their way to become gods, next the heavenly seers, about whom I hitherto failed to collect materials. As an example of the numerous *manusa-yajña*, on behalf of mankind, *rites de passage*, I might point to *mawintĕn* or *diksa*, that is, initiation, not necessarily restricted to priests of any denomination. Any serious private person can receive it, and

13. 'Mudras, the ritual hand-poses of the Buddha priests and the Shiva priests of Bali' by Tyra de Kleen, with an introduction by A.J.D. Campbell; London 1924.

14. Dr. R. Goris gave lists of *bantĕn* in the Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk Singaradja; before the war. Several MSS dealing with offerings are accessible in the Kirtya.

15. In 'Traditional Balinese Culture, Essays selected and edited' by Jane Belo, Columbia University Press, New York-London, 1970.

16. Carl Gustav Diehl, 'I & P, Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India,' Lund, 1956.

17. Stuttgart, 1928.

18. A number of MSS and cyclostyled treatises deal with them.

here the writing of the syllable OM, done with honey on the tongue of the recipient, should be drawn to the foreground.

Bhuta-yajña, worship of the ogres, has caused the most elaborate and expensive ritual ever held in Bali, the Eka-dasa-Rudra of 1963 in Pura (Temple) Bĕsakih on the Gunung Agung.[19] Apart from the onslaught of offerings in all directions of the compass there was one central *tĕpas*, a rectangular solid mass of (soil and?) stone, provided with drawings. Here is a drawing of Yama-raja, Lord of the Judgement, and there is a drawing of his weapons/emblems. A third drawing depicts the endeavour by Kala, god of evil, to devour Bhattara Guru, the uppergod, a fourth the same but now with as the potential victim Dewi Uma, spouse to Bhattara Guru. This homage to Yama-raja, the most dreaded of gods, it would appear, must serve to frustrate Kala in his doings.[20]

That treatises on the shadowplay are illustrated with drawings of the 'basic figures', *panasar*, is only natural, but one might not have expected that in treatises on behalf of *dalangs*, *panĕrangan*, 'the causing of clearness of the sky', vital as it is for him, not only relevant *mantras* are found, but also prescriptions for the drawings to be made. *Pĕngujanan*, the art of making rain, is no different in this respect.

All of this is in the sphere of well-wishing or restoration and counter-magic. Drawings, however, are not restricted in their field of activity to these right-hand practices, *panĕngĕn*. Left-hand practices, *pangiwa*, may be expected to be less accessible, if not kept secret; the library of palmleaf MSS, the Kirtya of Singaraja (Bali), nevertheless, has some of them. Before the Second World War I had the greater part of these MSS typewritten, making several copies, one of which has been given to the Library of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, now Perpustakaan Pusat, Jakarta, not too far from Malaysia. More MSS than one would expect contain 'magical drawings' as we may call them, thus establishing a close link with 'Malay Magic'. Recently I received considerably more and better drawings with other typewritten texts; they are only available at the Kirtya in Singaraja.[21]

Judging from the drawings in 'Malay Magic' and those having come to light in Bali I have the feeling that as many as possible of both kinds should be collected and then be compared, both from the aspects of their appearance and application. It is not

19. Ch.J. Grader dealt with this ritual in a paper in the Liber Amicorum Professor Allard, Nijmegen 1970; his approach is from the sociological/anthropological side. In my 'Balinese Bauddha Brahmans' the text of the ritual as elaborated by the Buddhist priests of Bodha Kling (Karang Asĕm) and translated by me has been included.

20. Drawings in second part of 'Balinese Bauddha Brahmans'.

21. They are products of my project of conserving the Balinese MSS by having them typewritten in several copies before they are sold to tourists or neglected due to Education (with capital). This is an expensive enterprise; fortunately some University libraries, interested in Indonesian studies, appreciate the opportunity of availing themselves of copies before the originals have found their exit.

mere coincidence that in Bali *titiwa* and in Kalimanten *tiwah* is used for care of the dead, that in Malaysia *gambor* is the name of a dance and in Bali *gambuh* is used for a metre, for a kind of shadowplay and for a theatre using actors — to restrict myself to merely a couple of examples. Plate 17 in 'Malay Magic', the *anchak*, sacrificial tray used by the medicine man, reminds one strongly of plaited Balinese offerings as found in several illustrated books on Balinese culture.[22] It seems worthwhile to begin research and try to make a comparison; I hope it is still possible in Malaysia. As to Bali, one should know that plastic is making its glorious entry here as an alternative to *busung*, young palmleaf, the material for *jajahitan*,[23] plaited offerings: the future is unforeseeable. Therefore: no time should be lost.

The Hague, 29.11.73

C. Hooykaas

22. 'Bali, Cults and Customs; Dr. R. Goris (text), Drs. P.L. Dronkers (photography) (Djakarta, 1951 or thereabout).
23. Detailed drawings of *jëjahitan* in J.H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp: 'Ritual Purification of a Balinese Temple', Amsterdam, 1961.

A JAVANESE-ENGLISH WORD LIST OF 1771 AD

by A. Hendrato & Russell Jones[1]

Captain James Cook's famous voyage to the South Seas in the *Endeavour*, in 1768–1771, was productive in many fields of learning, and volumes have been published about it. But some of the results remain locked up in manuscripts; these include word lists collected by Sir Joseph Banks during the voyage.

Banks was born on 13 February 1743 in London, and belonged to a well-to-do Lincolnshire family.[2] As a result he was able to study at Harrow and Eton, before going on to the University of Oxford in 1760. During his four years there he showed no love for the classics, but developed the interest in Botany which he had shown as a boy.

In 1766–67 he was engaged on a voyage to Newfoundland, with the objects of inspecting Esquimaux and collecting plants.

By August 1768, although he was only 25 years old, he had sufficient influence to secure berths for himself and his staff in the *Endeavour* on her voyage of discovery. The official objects of the voyage were "the observation of the transit of the planet Venus across the disc of the sun, and for the investigation of the great continent which was alleged by a number of theoretical geographers to exist in the more southern and western parts of the Pacific, and probably in high latitudes in the Atlantic as well — the *Terra australis incognita* of long tradition."[3] The voyage could be described as unsuccessful as regards its first object; its success with the second is too well known to need comment.

After leaving Plymouth the *Endeavour* sailed southwards through the Atlantic, rounded Cape Horn, and put in at Tahiti to make the intended observation of Venus. Thence to New Zealand, to Australia, up the coast of Queensland and via New Guinea and the south coast of Java to Batavia, where they arrived on 9 October 1770. Circumstances obliged the vessel to spend two and a half months in Batavia. One indirect consequence of this delay was the compilation by Banks of a Javanese and English word list which is offered here.

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1. Dra. Hendrato is Head of the Javanese Section, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta. Dr. Russell Jones is Lecturer in Indonesian, School of Oriental & African Studies, London.
2. Biographical details can be found in the Introduction to Beaglehole's edition of his Journal, pp. 1–50; (see *Sources* on p. 132 of this article.)
3. Banks, *Journal*, I 19.

Banks at Batavia.[4]

When she dropped anchor in the Batavia roads on 9 October the *Endeavour* was in urgent need of repairs. After some delay she was 'hove down' on the island of Onrust and the necessary repairs were carried out by the Dutch shipyard there. By 14 November the repairs had been completed, but she was held up for as long again by another circumstance, the effect of the unhealthy place on the health of the crew. Batavia was sited on low swampy ground, intersected by sluggish canals, (a paradise for mosquitoes), which "made the town one of the deadliest places on the face of the earth."[5]

Banks was in fact for a time optimistic that the experience and "invariable temperance in everything" which had protected their health during the two years of the voyage would likewise save them in Batavia. This optimism was unfounded. By the end of October many of those who remained on board, and all who had taken up their residence in the town, had fallen sick. Among the latter were Banks himself, his Swedish colleague Dr. Solander, and Banks's servants Peter and James. On medical advice Banks and Solander moved to a house two miles away from the town, a house which though small was "situate on the banks of a briskly running river and well open to the sea breeze." For some time, being deprived of their own servants, they "resolvd to buy each of us a Malay woman to Nurse us, hoping that the tenderness of the sex would prevail even here, which indeed we found it to do for they turned out by no means bad nurses."

There the two men remained, enduring their bouts of malaria, until 24 December 1770, when they returned on board the *Endeavour* preparatory to sailing.

The Javanese word list

In his account of their stay in Batavia Banks does not devote much space to questions of language. He makes no reference to the compilation of the Javanese word list, and there is only passing mention of Sander. The first mention comes in connection with a discussion by Banks of supernatural notions of crocodiles; while the servant is not named, the reference to him is unambiguous. "While I am writing this my Servant, who I hired at Batavia and is a mongrel between a Duch man and Javan woman, tells me that he has seen at Batavia a crocodile of this kind ..." Sander refers to the crocodiles in question as "Sudara Oran" (Malay *saudara orang*, the relatives of people), suggesting that possibly Malay was the language in which he and Banks communicated.

It is possible that this account was written up by Banks after the *Endeavour* had sailed (to the great relief of those on board) from Batavia on 25 December 1770. For Sander accompanied Banks on the onward voyage to England, and until they passed

4. See Banks, *Journal*, II 184ff; also Cook, *Journal*, I 432ff.
5. For comments by Banks see *Journal*, e.g. II, 184.

out of the Indonesian area would have been a useful informant. When she was clear of Batavia they sailed towards the southwest, again passing through the Straits of Sunda. From 6th to 15th January 1771 they lay off "Princes Island" (Pulau Panaitan, off the south western tip of Java) and there in addition to botanical specimens Banks was able to collect yet another word list in the local language.[6]

In his entry for 11 January in the *Journal*[7] Banks mentions his servant for the first time by name "My Servant Sander who I had hir'd at Batavia having found out that these people had a town somewhere along shore to the Westward and not very far off, I resolved to visit it ..." In the small vocabulary from Princes Island given in his Journal, Banks includes the "Java" and Malay equivalents, explaining "What I call the Javan is the Language spoke at Samarang ...." The note appended to the Javanese word-list (with modernised English spelling and punctuation) reads:

> "Taken from my servant Sander,
> hired at Batavia, who was born
> at Samarang of a Javanese
> mother and a Dutch father."

It is clear that Sander participated in the collection of the Princes Island vocabulary, since he was born at Samarang, and it is likely enough that he would have elicited the Princes Island words and have supplied the Malay equivalents as well as the Javanese. The Javanese word list is dated January 1771; since the *Endeavour* sailed from Batavia on 25 December, it is evident that the Javanese word list was not written down in Batavia, but during the onward voyage. It may be that Banks's transactions with Sander at Princes Island raised in his mind the possibility of drawing further on Sander's knowledge to compile the Javanese word list.

The question arises as to how Banks communicated with Sander. Sander may have known some Dutch;[8] but there is no evidence that Banks knew Dutch. Sander may have known some English, but again there is no evidence to that effect. Sander would have known Malay; but how much Malay did Banks pick up? He had no knowledge of Malay when he arrived in Batavia;[9] It would be surprising if he did not learn some Malay during his stay in the Archipelago. A partial answer may be that Banks selected words which would give least trouble in translation, for example numbers, colours, identifiable objects. Some support for this supposition can be derived from a remark

6. It is hoped this will be published later.
7. II, 234.
8. A single Dutch word, *bleaw*, occurs in the Javanese list.
9. Banks, *Journal*, II 185, 190, 226.

which Banks makes in connection with the Princes Island list: "As for the parts of the Body which I have made the subject of this and all my specimens of language, I chose them in preference to all others as the names of them are easily got from people of whose Language the enquirer has not the least Idea."[10]

Finally, what became of Sander? We are not told his surname, but his real name appears as "Alexander" on his entry to the muster-roll of the *Endeavour* on 6 November 1770.[11] He receives no further mention in the Journal during the remainder of the voyage, but remained in Banks's service for the return to England. The following year Sander had the prospect of returning to his homeland; in May 1772 Banks included Sander's name amongst those of six servants whom he proposed to take on a voyage in the *Resolution*. The plans fell through. We do not know whether Sander was ever able to return to Java, or whether he was obliged to spend the rest of his life in England.

After a very distinguished life Sir Joseph Banks died on 19 June 1820, and was buried at St. Leonard's Church, Heston Road, Hounslow, Middlesex, (near London). His life is commemorated by a plaque on the wall of the church, but the exact site of his grave is no longer known.

The manuscripts

The word-list occurs in two manuscript collections of vocabularies preserved in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, numbered 12153 and 12156. This article is based on the earlier one, which will be described first:

MS. no. 12153

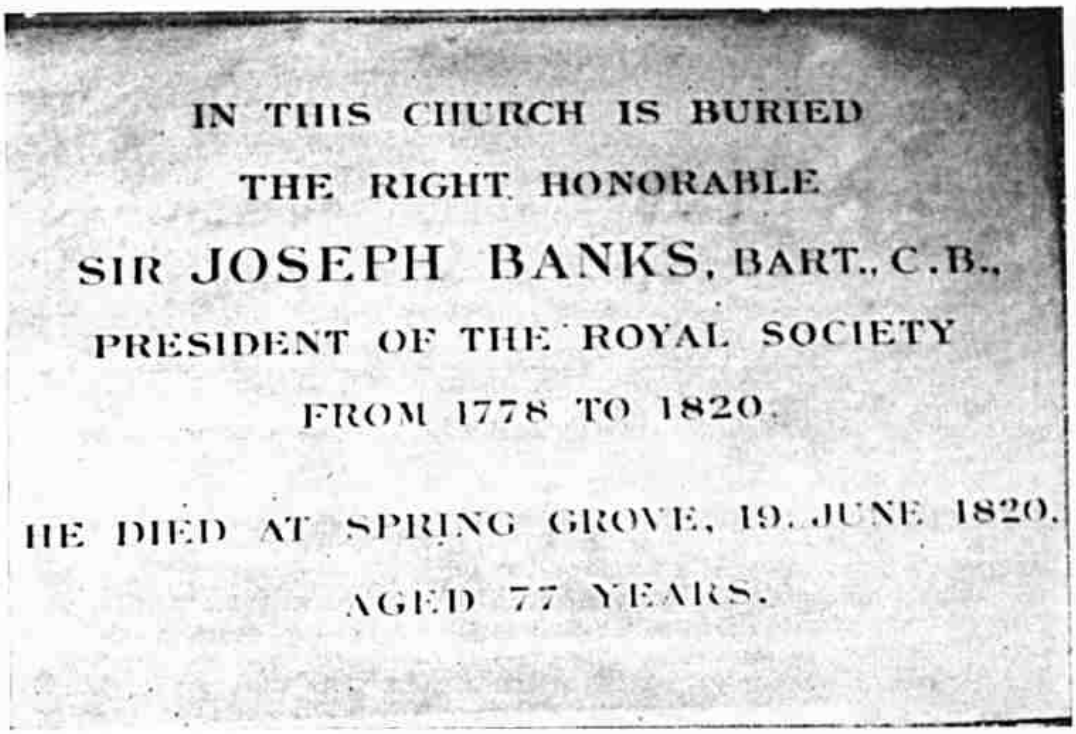
The bound volume measures 20,5 × 33,0 cm. A typed note inside the front cover reads:

> "Banks (Right Hon. Sir Joseph), Bart.
> [Vocabularies of the languages of Tahiti, Prince's Island, Sulu, New Holland (i.e. Australia), Samarang, Savu etc. Manuscript. Circa 1780 A.D.]"

Within the volume are bound manuscript word-lists written on sheets of paper of various sizes and types. The paper is of good quality; from a cursory examination nearly all of the lists could have been collected on the *Endeavour* voyage ca. 1770, though not all by Banks himself.

The Samarang list occurs on four consecutive pages which in fact consist of one large sheet folded in half and attached down the middle. The sheet measures 28,2 cm x

10. Banks, *Journal*, II 239.
11. Banks, *Journal*, II 234, n. 4; Cook, *Journal*, I 600.



The wall plaque in the church where Sir Joseph Banks is Buried.

No. 3.

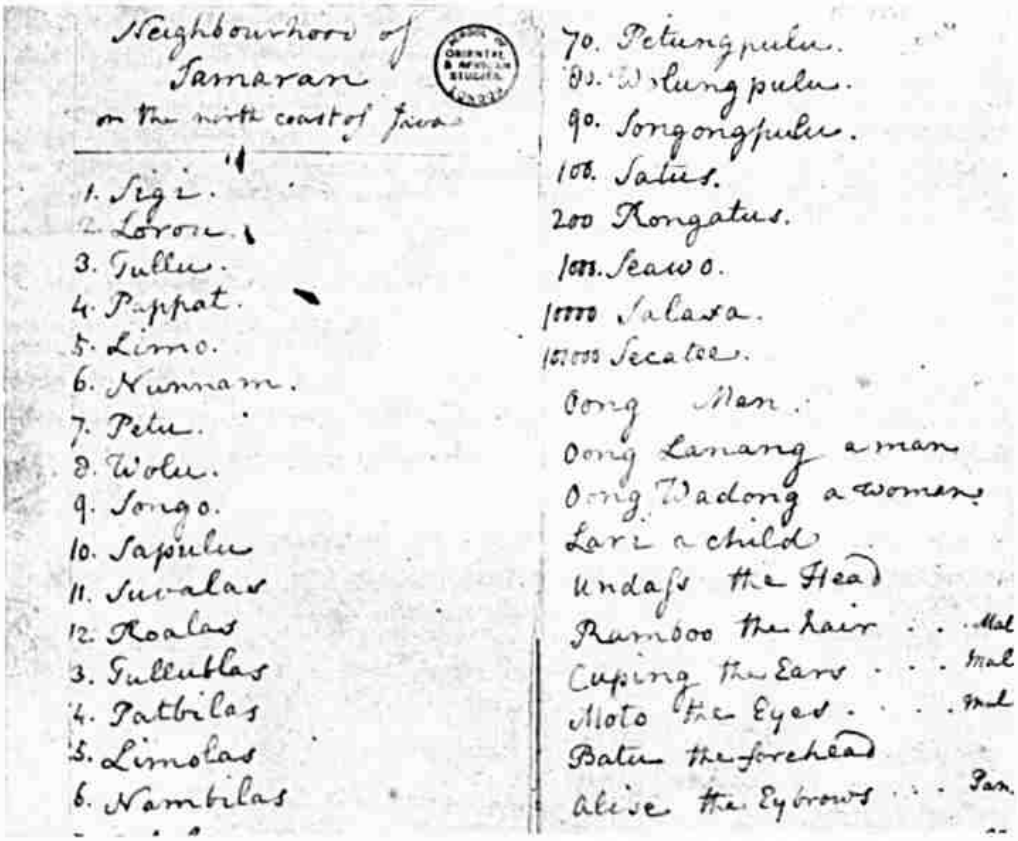
Neighbourhood of Samaran on the North coast of Java

Numbers.

1. Sigi.
2. Loro
3. Tulu.
4. Pappat.
5. Limo.
6. Nunnam.
7. Pitu.
8. Wolu.
9. Songo.
10. Sapulu
11. Suwalas
12. Roalas
13. Tulublas
14. Patbilas
15. Limolas
16. Nambilas
17. Pitulas.
18. Wolulas.
19. Songolas
20. Rongatus.
100. Satus.
200. Rongatus.
1000. Ceribo.
10000. Salaxa.
100000. Secatoe.

Man

Reproduction of the first part of the list in S.O.A.S. Manuscript no. 12156.



Neighbourhood of Samaran on the north coast of Java

1. Sigi.
2. Loro.
3. Tulu.
4. Pappat.
5. Limo.
6. Nunnam.
7. Petu.
8. Wolu.
9. Songo.
10. Sapulu
11. Suwalas
12. Roalas
13. Tulublas
14. Patbilas
15. Limolas
16. Nambilas

70. Petungpulu.
80. Wolungpulu.
90. Songongpulu.
100. Satus.
200 Rongatus.
1000. Seawo.
10000 Salasa.
100000 Secatoe.

Oong Man.
Oong Lanang a man
Oong Wadong a women
Lare a child
Undass the Head
Rambou the hair . . . Mal
Cuping the Ears . . . Mal
Moto the Eyes . . . Mal
Batu the forehead
Alise the Eybrows . . . Pan.

Reproduction of the first part of the list in S.O.A.S. Manuscript no. 12153.

43,5 cm.; strong "ledger-type" paper; water mark chain-lines 2,7 cm. apart; only watermark is a (partly obscured) IV. The pages are numbered E 26, E 26a, E 27, & E 27a.

MS. no. 12156

This manuscript is bound, of large format, 27,0 × 44,0 cm. The pages and paper are of uniform size and type. It compromises 50 folios. A typed note at the beginning reads:

> BANKS (Right Hon. Sir Joseph)
> A collection of vocabularies of the languages of Otaheite (Tahiti), New Zealand, Savu, Prince's Island, Samarang, Sulu, Madagascar, the Mandingos, the Eskimos, Malabar, and Peru, some of them collected by Sir J. Banks during Captain Cook's first voyage and others obtained from other sources.
> (Circa 1770–80.)

The manuscript appears to be a fair copy of the vocabularies contained in MS 12153 (though the two may not correspond in every case). The Javanese word list is written very neatly in a clear hand, and deviates from the original only slightly:

a) A note at the head of the list "Sr. J.B." indicates that this is one of the lists collected by Banks himself.

b) The heading "Numbers" has been inserted at the beginning of the first part of the list.

(c) The word order of two entries ("Oong Lanang" and the following one, on fol. E 26) has been reversed.

d) It does not consistently follow the earlier manuscript in the use of capital letters.

e) It makes occasional, mostly minor, copying errors:

fol. E 26, gives "Loron" for "Lorou";
fol. E 26a, "Buffaloe" for "a Buffaloe"; "finger" for "fingers"; "Lingtang" for "Lintang";
fol. E 27, "sit" (which is probably more correct) for "set".

The Javanese list occurs on folios 37, 37a, 38 & 38a.

In the following pages the Javanese and English entries have been copied exactly as they appear in the original MS no. 12153. The words within parentheses are the presumed modern Javanese forms of the words in Banks' list; these forms were inserted by Dra. Nj. A. Hendrato, who also drafted the Notes after the list.

A. Hendrato & Russell Jones

THE JAVANESE – ENGLISH WORD LIST

MS. no. 12153

(fol. E 26)

Neighbourhood of Samaran on the north coast of Java

1. Sigi	(siji)	18. Wolulas	(wolulas)
2. Lorou	(loro)	19. Songolas	(sangalas)
3. Tullu	(tĕlu)	20. Rompulu	(rongpuluh)
4. Pappat	(papat)	21. Rompulu sigi[1]	(sĕlikur)
5. Limo	(lima)	30. Tullungpulu	(tĕlungpuluh)
6. Nunnam	(nĕnĕm)	40. Patongpulu	(patangpuluh)
7. Petu	(pitu)	50. Limongpulu[2]	(sèkĕt)
8. Wolu	(wolu)	60. Unnampulu[3]	(sĕwidak)
9. Songo	(sanga)	70. Petungpulu	(pitungpuluh)
10. Sapulu	(sĕpuluh)	80. Wolungpulu	(wolungpuluh)
11. Suvalas	(sĕwĕlas)	90. Songongpulu	(sangangpuluh)
12. Roalas	(rolas)	100. Satus	(satus)
13. Tullublas	(tĕlulas)	200. Rongatus	(rongatus)
14. Patbilas	(patbĕlas)	1000. Seawo[4]	(sèwu)
15. Limolas	(limalas)	10000. Salaxa	(salĕksa)
16. Nambilas	(nĕmbĕlas)	100000. Secatee	(sakĕthi)
17. Petulas	(pitulas)		

Oong	(wong)	Man
Oong Lanang	(wong lanang)	a man
Oong Wadong	(wong wadon)	a woman
Lari	(laré)	a child
Undass	(ĕndhas)[5]	the Head
Ramboo	(rambut)	the hair ..... Mal
Cuping	(kuping)	the Ears ..... Mal
Moto	(mata)[6]	the Eyes ..... Mal
Batu	(bathuk)	the forehead
Alise	(alis)	the Eyebrows ..... Par.
Pepe	(pipi)	cheeks ..... S.S.
Jangoot	(janggut)[7]	chin
Chancam	(cangkĕm)	mouth
Lambe	(lambé)	lips

Elat	(ilat)	tongue
Untu	(untu)	teeth
Erung	(irung)	nose ..... Mal.
Gulu	(gulu)	neck

(fol. E 26a)

Dodo	(dhadha)	Breast ..... Mal.
Sousou	(susu)	Breasts ..... Mal.
Lambon	(lambung)	sides ..... Mal.
Wuttong	(wĕtĕng)	Belly
Udul	((w)udĕl)[8]	Navel
Pingan	(pinggang)	hips
Pili	(pĕli)[9]	Pud vir.
Turoh	(turuk)[10]	Pud mul.
Celit	(silit)	Backside
Poopoo	(pupu)	Thighs
Duncul	(dhĕngkul)	knees
Sickil	(sikil)	Leg
Tapa-an	(tapakan)	foot ..... SS.
Umpol[11]	(jĕmpol)	great toe
Jari	(jari)	3 Next
Jinti	(jĕnthik)	little toe
Tangan	(tangan)	Arm & hand ..... Mal.
Siccot	(sikut)	Elbow
Umpot[11]	(jĕmpol)	thumb
Jari	(jari)	3 Next fingers ... Mal.
Jinti	(jĕnthik)	little finger
Cucu	(kuku)	Nails ..... Mal.
Assu	(asu)	a dog
Cabo	(kĕbo)	a Buffaloe ..... Mal.
Sappi	(sapi)	a Cow Beast ..... Mal.
Djaran	(jaran)	a horse ..... Jav.
Cheling	(cèlèng)	a hog
Waddoos	(wĕdhus)	a goat
Gimbal	(gèmbèl)	a sheep
Machan[12]	(macan)	a Tyger ..... Mal.
Gadja	(gajah)	an Elephant ..... Mal.
Munjangan[13]	(mĕnjangan)	a deer ..... Mal.

Cuching	(kucing)	a cat
Piti	(pitik)	a fowl
Babe	(bèbèk)	a duck ..... Mal.
Bania	(banyak)	a goose
Singingi[14]	(s(r)engéngĕ)	the Sun
Ramboulan	(rĕmbulan)	the moon ..... Mal.
Lintang[15]	(lintang)	a star ..... Mal.
Angin	(angin)	wind ..... Mal.
Singingi[14]	(gĕni -?)	fire
Baniung	(banyu)	water
Sagoro	(sagara)	the sea
Lading	(lading)	a knife
Wussee[16]	(wĕsi)	Iron ..... Mal.
Slauko	(salaka)	silver
Mas	((ĕ)mas)	gold ..... Mal.
Tambogo	(tĕmbaga)	copper ..... Mal.
Cuningan[17]	(kuningan)	brass ..... Mal.
Timah	(timah)	Lead ..... Mal.

(fol. E 27)

Pote	(putih)	white ..... Mal.
Abang	(abang)	red
Cuning	(kuning)	yellow ..... Mal.
Edjou	(ijo)	green ..... Mal.
Bleaw[18]	(biru)	blue ..... Mal.
Erung[19]	(irĕng)	black ..... Mal.
Guddi	(gĕdhe)	great
Chilli	(cilik)	small
Accă	(akèh)	many
Steti	(sathithik)	few
Kaukian	(kakèhan)	too many
Undocor[20]	(ndhuwur)	above
Nesor	(ngisor)	below
Stinga	(sĕtĕngah)	half ..... Mal.
Ayu[21]	(ayu)	handsome
Aulau	(ala)	ugly
Bitche	(bĕcik)	good
Ora	(ora)	no

Ono[22]	(ana)	yes
Lungo	(lunga)	to go
Tucco	(tĕka)	to come
Marine[23]	(maréné, mréné)	come here ..... Mal.
Acoo } Esun }	(aku, ingsun)	I
Coon	(kowé, ko-ĕn)	you
Reco } Deco }	(rika,[24] dika)	he[25]
Turu	(turu)	to sleep
Tangi	(tangi)	to awake
Gnaduck	(ngadĕg)	to stand
Lungo	(lungguh)	to set
Baring[26]	(baring)	to lie
Umpano Dammar[27]	(empan-a damar)	to light a Candle
Dammar	(damar)	a candle ..... Mal.
Undungo[28]	(ĕndĕnga (?))	to see
Croomoo	(krungu)	to hear
Wangi[29]	(wangi)	to Smell ..... Mal.
Checul	(cĕkĕl)	to catch
Gowo	(gawa)	to Carry
Lărin	(lèrèn)	to stay
Munga	(munggah)	to go up
Moodun	(mudhun)	to come down
Mătte	(mati)	dead ..... Mal.
Mangan[30]	(mangan)	to eat ..... Mal.
Gnumbi	(ngombé)	to drink
Mannu	(manuk)	a bird ..... SS
Iwa	(iwak)	a fish
Urang[31]	(urang)	a lobster ..... Mal.

(fol. E 27a)

Capeting	(kĕpithing)	a crab
Ruma	(omah)	a house ..... Mal.
Peturon	(pĕturon)	a bed
Dinkeley	(dhingklik)	a bench
Pitti	(pĕthi)	a chest ..... Mal.
Calam	(kalam)	a pen

Mangsee	(mangsi)	ink
Deluang	(d(a)luwang)	paper
Putatan	(pĕthètan)[32]	a tree
Combang	(kĕmbang)	a flower ..... Mal.
Godong	(godhong)	a leaf
Wöe	(woh)	fruit
Colit	(kulit)	Bark ..... Mal.
Cayu	(kayu)	wood ..... Mal.
Lauwang	(lawang)	a door
Djero gnuma	(jĕro ngomah)	inside of house
Clopo	(klapa)	Cocoanut ..... Mal.
Jambi	(jambé)	Areca
Soro	(coro)	Beetle
Undjet	(ĕnjĕt)	lime
Po[33]	(poh)	mangha
Praw miang[34]	(pra(h)u)	small prow
Punyew	(pĕnyu)	Turtle ..... N.H. Par.
Gutte	(gĕtih)	Blood
Cringat	(kringĕt)	sweat ..... Mal.
Hati	(ati)	the Heart ..... Mal.
Sudo	(suduk)	to stab
Tucarran	(tukaran)	to fight or quarrel
Geger	(gègèr)	to fight with weapons
Jandon	(kandhan)	to talk
Munnung	(mĕnĕng)	to be silent
Malaiyu	(mlayu)	to run away
Jeolo	(jala)	a net
Carnong	(krĕnĕng)	a basket
Caboh	(kĕba)	a mat bag

Taken from My Servant Sander Hird at Batavia who was born at Samarang af a Javan Mother & a Duch father, *Jan. 1771.*

Note

[fol. E 26]

1. *rompulu sigi* — Is this a dialect form?
2. *Limongpulu* — This was used formerly in the Pesisir areas; has it been influenced by the Malay *lima puloh*?
3. *Unnampuloh* — Influenced by the Malay *enam puloh*?

4. *Seawo* — cf. Old Jav. *sa iwu*; by Sandhi becomes *sèwu*.
5. (ĕndhas) — This word is now used only for the head of an animal (for humans the word being *sirah*).
6. (mata) — This is also now used for animals (for humans the word used is *mripat*).
7. (janggut) — Chin in Javanese, beard in Malay and Bahasa Indonesia.

[fol. E 26a]

8. ([w]udĕl) — i.e. both *wudĕl* and *udĕl* are possible.
9. (pĕli) — Pud vir. (Pudendum virile or penis).
10. (turuk) — Pud mul. (Pudendum muliebre or vulva).
11. *Umpol*,great toe, and *Umpot*, thumb: 'Umpol' could stand for Javanese *jĕmpol* which means both 'big toe' and 'thumb'; the form 'Umpot' (the final 't' being clear) is less easy to explain.
12. *Machan* — is the Javanese word for tiger, but is not the usual Malay word as the note 'Mal.' seems to imply; *macan* is however used in the Jakarta dialect.
13. *Munjangan* — Not the usual Malay word for 'deer', though again *menjangan* is used in the Jakarta dialect.
14. *Singingi* — This word occurs twice, and is confusing. The modern Javanese word for 'the sun' is *sengenge* or *srengenge*. The modern Javanese word for fire, *gĕni*, could not easily produce the form *Singingi*.
15. *Lintang* — The usual Malay word for "star" is *bintang*.
16. *Wussee* — The Malay word is *bĕsi* .
17. *Cuningan* — (kuningan) is the Javanese word for brass, but Malay uses a different word.

[fol. E 27]

18. *Bleauw* — The "blue" used for washing clothes is sometimes called "blauw" in Javanese.
19. *Erung* — The usual Malay word for 'black' is *hitam*; *erang* does occur in Malay with the meaning 'dark in colour'.
20. *Undoeor* — "to go up" had been originally written for the English column, but erased and "above" written over.
21. *Ayu* — In Javanese *ayu* is used for women (*bagus* for men), and so 'beautiful' would have been a better translation here.
22. *Ono* — (ana) = Malay *ada*, and would mean 'yes' only in specific contexts; the more usual Javanese word for 'yes' is *iya*.
23. *Marine* — The nearest Malay equivalent would be *Marilah*!
24. (rika) — This is used in Central Java.
25. *Reco* / *Deco* — Both these words are modern Javanese (Krama Madya) for 'you', singular or plural, not for 'he'.
26. *Baring* — The usual Malay word for 'to lie [down]', and possibly occurs in some Javanese dialect, but the usual Javanese word for this is *turon*.
27. *Umpano Dammar* — The imperative in Javanese, i.e. 'Light a candle!'
28. *Undungo* — (ĕndĕnga) means rather 'to stare at'.
29. *Wangi* — In both Javanese and Malay this means 'fragrant' rather than 'to smell'.
30. *Mangàn* — The Malay for 'to eat' is *makan*.
31. *Urang* — A less usual variant of *udang*, which occurs in the Malay terms for 'lobster'.

[fol. E 27a]

32. (pĕthètan) — in Javanese means 'plants'.
33. *Po* — The mango fruit (*mangga* in Malay).
34. *Praw miang* — *Prau* or *prahu* is modern Javanese for 'ship' (cf. Malay *perahu*); *miang* not identified.

The abbreviations in the right hand column

These occasional abbreviations evidently mark words which occur in similar forms elsewhere.

Mal. = Malay. Not Peninsular Malay, but Batavian (or Jakarta) Malay.

Par. Presumably refers to a vocabulary collected by Sydney Parkinson.

N.H. Par. Probably refers to "A Vocabulary of the Language of the People of New Holland" [= Australia] in Parkinson, *Journal*, pp. 148ff.

S.S. Possibly = "South Seas", and may refer to the Otaheite (Tahiti) word list in the manuscripts.

Jav. = Javanese. But it is not clear why the word should be so marked.

The Javanese words are in *ngoko*, with the exception of (laré), on folio E 26, for which the *ngoko* form would be *bocah*. Ngoko was used especially in the Pesisiran areas (i.e. outside the principalities). The occurrence of *ngoko* forms here would be consistent with Sander's being not highly educated.

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SOURCES

Banks: *Journal* — *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768–1771*, ed. J.C. Beaglehole (Sydney 1962). Vol. I, xxvii + 476 p. Vol. II, xvii + 406 p.

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TOKOH RAJA KECIL DALAM SEJARAH SIAK

oleh R. Roolvink

Pada tahun-tahun belakangan ini sejarah bangsa Melayu kurun kedelapan belas dan kesembilan belas telah semakin mendapat perhatian dari pihak para penyelidik sejarah dan sastra Melayu, baik di Malaysia maupun diluar negeri, dan siapa sebetulnya Raja Kecil itu tak perlu lagi saya jelaskan di sini sekarang: Raja Kecil ialah tokoh yang terkenal dalam sejarah Melayu yang pada permulaan kurun kedelapan belas, yaitu pada tahun 1717, mula-mula berjaya memecatkan Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil Ri'ayat Syah Sultan Johor dan menggantikannya atas takhta kerajaan Kesultanan Johor, tetapi pada akhirnya ia tak dapat mempertahankan kedudukannya dan terpaksalah ia mengaku kalah dan menarik diri ke Siak. Peristiwa-peristiwa dan kejadian-kejadian masa itu yang penuh kekacauan dan yang merupakan masa sengsara akibat peperangan yang tak henti-hentinya itu diceriterakan dengan panjang lebar dalam sejumlah teks sejarah seperti *Tuhfat al-Nafis* karangan Raja Ali Hajji dari Riau dan *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan sekalian Raja-rajanya*, yang juga menurut anggapan umum menjadi karangan Raja Ali Hajji.

Dalam *Tuhfat al-Nafis* Raja Ali Hajji, apabila sedang menceriterakan perkembangan sejarah permulaan kurun kedelapan belas, iaitu zaman peperangan Raja Kecil dengan Johor, berkali-kali menyebut tentang sumber-sumber yang telah dapat dipakainya, di antaranya suatu teks yang dinamakannya *Siarah sebelah Siak*, dan kepada *Siarah sebelah Siak* ini saya hendak minta perhatian para pembaca dalam makalah ini.

Menurut pengetahuan saya, sampai sekarang belum diketemukan suatu teks yang berdiri sendiri dengan nama ini dalam katalog-katalog naskhah Melayu. Biarpun demikian, teks ini ada terdapat, tetapi dalam bentuk *sambungan* pada sebuah naskhah *Sejarah Melayu* atau *Sulalatu'l-Salatin*, karya sejarah yang termasyhur itu. Naskhah itu disimpan di Museum Pusat (Museum Negara) di Jakarta, sedang Perpustakaan Universiti Leiden mempunyai dua buah salinan daripadanya.

Dalam katalog Naskhah Melayu kepunyaan Museum Pusat (dahulu: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) naskhah ini telah disifatkan oleh Van Ronkel di bawah nama: *Sjadjarah Radja-radja Melajoe*. Bahagian naskhah yang mengandungi teks *Sulalatu'l-Salatin* itu telah disadur dan di sana-sini diringkaskan sedikit kalau dibandingkan dengan edisi-edisi yang telah dicetak, sedang bahagian yang mengandungi sambungan itu, menurut Van Ronkel dalam katalognya, menceriterakan tentang masa kemudiannya, yakni mangkatnya Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil, Sultan-sultan Johor, Riau, Lingga, Siak, Palembang dan seterusnya, sedang bahagiannya yang terachir sekali merupakan

ceritera tentang pembicaraan antara Gubernur-jenderal Merkus dengan Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil Syah, Sultan Sikudana (di Kalimantan) dan mangkatnya di Riau (ini salah, semestinya di Sikudana), tempat ia sedang berada untuk bertemu dengan Tuan Residen. Puteranya menggantikan dia atas takhta kerajaan dengan bergelar Panembahan Anom Sikudana, sedang seorang puteranya yang lain diangkat menjadi kepala Pulau Karimata. Sekianlah Van Ronkel.

Pensifatan yang telah dibuat oleh Van Ronkel bukan tidak tepat, tetapi pada pendapat saya isi bahagian pertama dari sambungan ini dengan lebih tepat dapat kita sifatkan sebagai *Sejarah Siak*, atau mungkin lebih baik lagi hikayat raja-raja Siak dan keturunan mereka pada kurun kedelapan belas dan pada bagian pertama kurun kesembilan-belas. Biarpun dalam teks ini diuraikan tentang daerah-daerah yang agak berjauhan, tetapi ceritera ini mempunyai satu thema atau ciri yang khas, ya'ni Siak dan segala raja-rajanya, sedang bahagiannya yang terakhir seluruhnya berisi riwayat hidup dan peristiwa-peristiwa Tengku Akil, seorang keturunan Raja Kecil, Sultan Siak yang pertama.

Raja Akil ialah seorang tokoh yang luar biasa dan riwayat hidupnya sangat mentakjubkan, dan saya berharap supaya dimasa depan tokoh Raja Akil akan dibuat tajuk penyelidikan yang tersendiri, tetapi sekarang kita tak sempat meneruskan pembicaraan kita tentang beliau,—baiklah kita kembali kepada bahagian pertama sambungan ini yang berisi riwayat Raja Kecil, dan yang seterusnya akan saya namakan *Sejarah Siak*.

Penting di sini untuk mencatat bahawa *Sejarah Siak* ini tidak menyebut tarikh atau tahun-tahun, suatu sifat yang juga terdapat dalam segala naskhah-naskhah *Sejarah Melayu*. Tarikh itu terdapat dalam naskhah-naskhah lain, yang nanti akan saya sebutkan lagi.

Teks Sejarah Siak itu seperti yang telah tadi saya katakan, dulu pernah mendapat perhatian dan dipakai orang. Selain oleh Raja Ali Hajji untuk karangannya *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, teks ini pun dipakai oleh E. Netscher dalam bukunya yang terkenal *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak, 1602–1865* (Orang Belanda di Johor dan Siak). Netscher menyebut teks ini dengan nama "De Groote Maleische Kroniek", ya'ni Tawarikh Melayu yang Besar, suatu nama yang mengenangkan kita kepada nama "Tarikh al-Kubra", "Tarikh al-Wusta" dan "Tarikh al-Sughra" yang terdapat dalam salah sebuah naskhah sejarah karangan orang Melayu/Bugis, tetapi nas-nas sejarah yang mana sebetulnya dimaksudkan dengan nama-nama ini pada pengetahuan saya masih tetap kurang jelas.

Kalau kita memperbandingkan hal-hal yang diceriterakan oleh Netscher tentang Raja Kecil dengan riwayat Raja Kecil dalam *Sejarah Siak*, tak dapat tidak kita menarik kesimpulan bahawa Netscher telah mendasarkan ceriteranya atas teks *Sejarah Siak*. Di samping itu Netscher telah dapat mempergunakan sumber-sumber Melayu yang lain, yang dinamakan oleh beliau sumber-sumber Bugis, dan dengan sumber-sumber Bugis dimaksudkan oleh Netscher kitab-kitab sejarah mengenai zaman itu, yang dikarang de-

ngan bahasa Melayu dan yang berasal dari kalangan istana Raja-raja Muda Kesultanan Melayu Riau.

Antara kira-kira tahun 1720 sampai tahun 1737 Raja Kecil menjadi lawan yang dahsyat terhadap orang Bugis dalam perebutan kuasa di Kesultanan Melayu.

Barangkali pada tempatnya di sini untuk memberikan — secara ringkas sekali — ikhtisar perkembangan sejarah Melayu semenjak jatuhnya Melaka ke tangan orang Portugis.

Setelah Melaka dapat diduduki oleh Portugis pada tahun 1511, Kesultanan Melayu mendapat pusat baru dan ibu kota baru di Johor. Pengetahuan kita tentang sejarah Kesultanan yang berpusat di Johor ini pada bahagian kedua kurun ke-enambelas dan kurun ketujuhbelas sangat nipis. Kurun ke-17 seluruhnya pada pengetahuan saya sebetulnya dapat dikatakan tidak disinggung dalam kitab-kitab sejarah Melayu, dan mungkin hal ini disebabkan oleh kerana zaman itu merupakan zaman kemunduran, kerana pada masa itu Kesultanan Melayu Johor berturut-turut menghadapi serangan musuh dari luar, terutama orang Portugis dan Aceh, yang justeru pada permulaan kurun ke-17 sangat tampil kemuka di atas panggung sejarah dan mengalami masa kejayaannya; dan dimasa kemudian Kesultanan Melayu di Johor menghadapi pula serangan dari Sumatera Tengah dan Sumatera Selatan.

Pada tahun 1677 Sultan Mahmud Syah naik takhta kerajaan. Pun mengenai Sultan ini pengetahuan kita tak berapa besar. Kita tahu bahawa ia mati dibunuh. Oleh kerana kelakuannya yang bengis orang besar-besar Melayu berpendapat bahawa Yang Dipertuan sudah berubah wataknya, sehingga mereka tak lagi hendak bertuankan Sultan Mahmud Syah. Pada tahun 1699, hari Juma'at, waktu Sultan Mahmud Syah sedang berangkat ke masjid, ia dibunuh oleh Seri Rama, dan dimasa kemudian Sultan itu terkenal dibawah nama Marhum yang mangkat dijulang.

Sebagai diketahui, Sultan ini tidak beristeri dan tak ada puteranya, maka Bendahara Johor, yang terlibat dalam perkara pembunuhan itu, menggantikan Yang Dipertuan, bergelar Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil Ri'ayat Syah. Baginda memerintah dari tahun 1699 sampai 1718, dipecat oleh Raja Kecil, dan beberapa tahun kemudian, ya'ni pada tahun 1721, ia mangkat di Pahang. Pada tahun sesudahnya, tahun 1722, puteranya Raja Sulaiman menggantinya dan menjadi Sultan Johor sampai tahun 1760.

Sampai kira-kira tahun 1718 pemerintahan Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil berlaku tanpa gangguan apa-apa kalau dibanding dengan bala bencana yang menimpa Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil dari pihak Raja Kecil dalam masa pendek sebelum kemangkatannya.

Asal-keturunan Raja Kecil kurang jelas: riwayat-riwayat mengenai asal-keturunannya untuk sebahagiannya tidak masuk akal, untuk bahagian yang lain bertentangan yang satu dengan yang lain. Ada berita yang mengatakan bahawa Raja Kecil 1) menjadi raja Minangkabau, yaitu menjadi anggota keluarga Maharaja Minangkabau; 2) bahawa ia

menjadi putera oleh Sultan Mahmud Syah Johor, Marhum yang mangkat dijulang, dengan Encik Apung, anak Laksamana, putera yang lahir sesudah ayahnya telah mangkat, dan kerana itu oleh kalangan istana Minangkabau ia dipandang sebagai raja yang berhak atas singgasana Johor, dan 3) ada pula yang mengatakan bahawa Raja Kecil adalah "anak raja kebanyakan", yang dapat dimaknakan bahawa ia sebetulnya seorang-orang yang tidak benar berbangsa raja, tetapi orang yang mencari untung untuk dirinya sendiri.

Sejauh mana kalangan istana Minangkabau betul yakin dan percaya bahawa Raja Kecil menjadi putera oleh Sultan Mahmud Syah yang mati terbunuh pada tahun 1699 tidak dapat dipastikan, tetapi sudah jelaslah bahawa istana Minangkabau menganggap Raja Kecil sebagai kakitangan yang sangat sesuai untuk dipakai guna maksud-tujuan politik mereka sendiri terhadap Kesultanan Johor.

Bagaimana juga, seandainya benar Raja Kecil telah lahir di Johor, ia menjadi besar di Sumatera. Untuk beberapa lamanya ia berhamba kepada Sultan Lumayang (Sultan Palembang) yang sedang berperang dengan saudaranya Sultan Anom. Setelah itu Raja Kecil mengembara, ia sampai di Rawan, kahwin dengan anak Dipati Batu Kuching, kemudian ia pergi ke Jambi, turut berperang di situ, mendapat luka, dan ia kembali ke Pagarruyung. Bunda Maharaja Minangkabau, Puteri Jilan, mengajak Raja Kecil untuk merebut Johor serta menuntut kematian ayahandanya. Ia dinobatkan dan kepadanya diserahkan tanda kebesaran dan alat kerajaan serta surat resmi (yang dalam *Sejarah Siak* disebut *cap*), yang isinya menandakan bahawa ia diberi kuasa atas segala orang Minangkabau di daerah-daerah pantai Selat Melaka. Pada upacara itu — dan sekarang saya nukilkan *Sejarah Siak*:

> 'Maka Puteri Jilan pun berdiri sambil beryang-yang: "Jikalau engkau asal putera saudaraku di Johor salasilah daripada Sultan Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain nasab Nusirwan Adil pancar Nabi Allah Sulaiman 'alaihi al-salam tiadalah dapat apa-apa".'

Benar tidaknya berita ini, tetap dapat dikatakan bahawa kerana penobatan ini dari pihak istana Minangkabau Raja Kecil telah berhak dan mendapat kuasa untuk memakai orang Minangkabau dan orang Melayu di Siak, Mengkalis dan lain-lain daerah dan untuk mengerahkan mereka.

Waktu Raja Kecil sedang membuat persiapan untuk menyerbu Johor — ini semuanya menurut *Sejarah Siak* — orang Bugis, diantaranya Upu Daeng Parani dan Daeng Celak, datang bertemu dengan dia. Daeng Parani dan Daeng Celak ialah dua orang Bugis dari antara lima orang bersaudara yang telah bersumpah untuk saling membantu dimana-mana pun dan dalam keadaan manapun juga, dan yang berkelana sebagai "soldiers of fortune" untuk merebut kedudukan yang baik. Mereka bersedia untuk memperhambakan diri kepada barang siapa yang dapat mempergunakan mereka dan yang sanggup membalas jasa mereka dengan harga yang tertinggi.

Bersama-sama mereka memperbincangkan rencana serangan terhadap Johor, dan Daeng Parani mengemukakan sebagai syarat untuk bantuan Bugis supaya, setelah Johor diduduki, ia akan diangkat menjadi Raja Muda. Setelah mereka setuju, maka Daeng Parani pergi ke Langat untuk mengerahkan orang Bugis di situ.

Pada waktu itu — kalau versi ini benar, tetapi saya akan kembali kepadanya nanti kelak lagi — Raja Kecil membuat kesalahannya yang pertama: sepeninggal Daeng Parani ke Langat guna serangan bersama terhadap Johor, Raja Kecil menyerbu Johor dan mendudukinya sebagai Yang Dipertuan yang berhak atas singgasana Johor, hal mana dalam *Sejarah Siak* dilukis dengan beberapa seluk-beluk yang tidak dapat dipercayai, diantaranya umpamanya bahawa "segala meriam Johor pun keluar air kepada mulut satupun tiada berbunyi."

Sultan Johor telah dapat melarikan diri, tetapi kemudian ia datang menyerah kepada Raja Kecil, dan menurut *Sejarah Siak*: '.....titah baginda (ya'ni Raja Kecil) kepada hulubalang baginda: "Tiada patut orang sudah menyerahkan nyawanya kepada kita tiada patut kita bunuh", dan tiada dibunuh baginda.' Sebaliknya, Raja Kecil menawarkan kepada Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil pangkatnya semula, iaitu pangkat Bendahara, dan Sultan yang telah kalah perangnya memang terpaksa menerimanya.

Kemudian Raja Kecil meminang Tengku Tengah, anak Bendahara yang baru diangkat lagi, dan bertunanganlah baginda dengan Tengku Tengah. Setelah itu maka Raja Kecil membuat kesalahannya yang kedua (dan sekarang saya nukilkan *Sejarah Siak* lagi):

> 'Dan kepada waktu hari raya dan semuanya anak bendahara masuk ke dalam menyembah baginda, hanyalah Tengku Tengah tiada datang. Setelah baginda melihat Tengku Kamariah yang bungsu sekali maka hati baginda pun hendak akan Tengku Kamariah, dan waktu menyembah itu diambil baginda cincin dijari Tengku Kamariah, maka Tengku Kamariah pun menangis mendapatkan ayahanda bendahara. Maka kata bendahara: "Apatah daya kita kerana Yang Dipertuan?" Maka baginda pun menyuruh kepada bendahara minta' Tengku Kamariah, tiada jadi dengan Tengku Tengah. Maka sabda bendahara: "Mana juga dengan titah hamba turut". Maka suruhan itupun kembali dipersembah seperti sembah bendahara itu. Maka baginda pun dirajakanlah di Johor bergelar Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil Syah Yang Dipertuan Besar. Dan baginda pun nikah dengan Tengku Kamariah'.

Sudah sewajarnya Tengku Tengah merasa dirinya dihinakan oleh Raja Kecil dan tak pernah ia memaafkan baginda, seperti akan jelas lagi nanti kelak.

Akhirnya Upu Daeng Parani sampai di Riau, dan ia minta janjinya, iaitu diangkat menjadi Raja Muda. Raja Kecil menolak, ia telah berjaya merebut Johor tanpa bantuan orang Bugis dan ia tak hendak akan seorang Raja Muda yang berbangsa Bugis disisinya.

Perkembangan kemudian dapat diduga: kedua belah pihak yang merasa dirinya dihina oleh Raja Kecil bersatu, mengikat perjanjian dan mengambil keputusan untuk men-

desak Raja Kecil dengan usaha bersama-sama. Dengan demikian telah terjadi aturan orang Melayu dengan Bugis, dan usaha bersama mereka pada akhirnya, biarpun dengan berbagai-bagai peristiwa untung baik dan buruk, membawa kekalahan Raja Kecil dan pendesakannya dari kepulauan Riau serta timbulnya Kesultanan Siak, yang dimasa dahulu pernah dibawah pemerintahan Johor, sebagai Kesultanan yang berdaulat.

Sekarang kita tak sempat menguraikan dengan panjang lebar tentang peristiwa-peristiwa perang antara Raja Kecil pada sebelah pihak dan orang Melayu dan Bugis pada lain pihaknya, sehingga saya singgung hanya beberapa hal sahaja, sebagai berikut.

Raja Kecil telah beristerikan Tengku Kamariah dan dengan demikian telah menjadi menantu Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil yang telah dipecat olehnya. Raja Kecil sekarang bergelar Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil, sedang bekas Sultan itu telah menjadi bendahara semula, dan memang jelaslah terbakarlah hati semua anggota keluarga bendahara, dan seperti yang telah tersebut tadi, mereka mengikat perjanjian dengan orang Bugis lima bersaudara itu. Tengku Tengah, tunangan Raja Kecil yang ditolak itu, bersuamikan salah seorang dari antara mereka, iaitu Upu Daeng Parani. Tengku Tengah telah bersumpah menghilangkan aibnya. Sekali peristiwa ia dapat membujuk Tengku Kamariah, isteri Raja Kecil, untuk meninggalkan suaminya dan kembali kepada ayahnya. Ayahnya, bendahara itu, takut akan timbul kesusahan dan berlepas dengan anak buahnya, dan pada akhirnya diam di Pahang. Raja Kecil menyuruhkan utusan kepada bendahara dengan permintaan supaya ia kembali ke Johor, dengan maksud supaya juga isterinya akan kembali kepadanya. Bendahara itu bersedia, tetapi timbul kegaduhan dan bendahara mati dibunuh. Anak-anaknya, diantaranya Tengku Kamariah, isteri Raja Kecil, dan Raja Sulaiman, dihantar kembali ke Johor.

Kemudian, pada tahun 1722, orang Bugis menyerbu Johor dan Riau dan mendesak Raja Kecil, yang berhasil merebut Johor kembali. Orang Bugis mengadakan perang diberbagai-bagai daerah, dan Raja Kecil turut melawan mereka. Ia meninggalkan Riau dengan membawa tenteranya dan orang Bugis bersama dengan orang Melayu yang setia kepada Raja Sulaiman dapat menduduki Riau. Tengku Kamariah jatuh ke tangan mereka. Raja Kecil tak sanggup mengusir mereka dari Riau dan ia menarik diri ke Siak. Ia tetap mempunyai alat kerajaan Melayu dan menolak menyerahkannya kepada Raja Sulaiman. Dalam peperangan yang menyusul ia dikalahkan, ia minta damai dan menyerahkan alat kerajaan itu. Sesudah itu Raja Sulaiman dinobatkan, bergelar Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-Alam Syah. Salah seorang dari antara orang Bugis lima bersaudara itu, Daeng Jaya Putera, diangkat menjadi Raja Muda.

Tengku Kamariah, yang dalam pada itu telah melahirkan seorang anak laki-laki (Tengku Buang, dimasa kemudian Sultan Mahmud Siak), diminta dengan sangat supaya bercerai dengan Raja Kecil.

Pada tahun 1724 timbul perang saudara di Kedah. Raja Kecil menyokong sebelah pihak sedang orang Bugis, diantaranya pun Upu Daeng Parani, membantu pihak yang lain. Daeng Parani tewas dalam peperangan ini.

Pada tahun 1725 dan 1726 Raja Kecil berturut-turut mengadakan serbuan ke Riau tetapi dengan tidak berhasil. Pada kesudahannya Raja Kecil beruntung baik mendapat isterinya, Tengku Kamariah, kembali dan ia menarik diri ke Siak. Dari Siak ia terus-menerus menyerang Riau. Serangan yang terakhir terjadi pada tahun 1737 di bawah pimpinan seorang puteranya dari perkahwinan yang dulu, Raja Alam, tetapi Raja Alam mengalami kekalahan yang sangat besar, dan peristiwa ini merupakan babak yang terakhir bagi Raja Kecil. Apabila isterinya Tengku Kamariah meninggal, ia 'sehari-hari pergi ke makam isteri dan tiada baginda perduli akan perintah negeri lagi dan beradu di makam isteri juga, dan baginda seperti orang gila', dan tidak berapa lama lagi Raja Kecil mangkat (kira-kira pada tahun 1740). Lebih dahulu Raja Kecil telah menyerahkan pemerintahan Siak kepada puteranya Raja Alam, yang kemudian berperang berebut-rebutan kuasa dengan saudaranya, Tengku Mahmud, anak Tengku Kamariah. Dan sejak itu Siak tidak lagi menjadi ancaman bagi Kesultanan Johor.

Sekianlah ikhtisar yang ringkas dari perang-perang Raja Kecil.

Mengenai peristiwa-peristiwa yang tadi saya lukiskan menurut riwayatnya dalam *Sejarah Siak*, terdapat pula teks Melayu lain lagi yang dapat disifatkan sebagai teks-teks Melayu–Bugis oleh kerana timbul dikalangan Raja Muda di Riau, umpamanya

1) *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan sekalian raja-rajanya*, suatu teks yang sangat penting, yang menurut anggapan umum telah dikarang oleh Raja Ali Hajji Riau dan yang tammat pada 8 hari bulan Ogos tahun 1865. Tetapi pada sangka saya Raja Ali Hajji menjadi "editor" teks ini dan bukan pengarangnya.

2) *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, karangan Raja Ali Hajji, bertanggal 22 hari bulan Disember tahun 1865, dan

3) satu teks yang ringkas, iaitu *Sejarah Raja-raja Riau*, juga dengan nama *Aturan setia Bugis dengan Melayu*. Bahagian pertama teks ini ialah rupanya karangan seorang yang semasa, mungkin seorang anggota keluarga Raja Sulaiman, yang hidup lebih lama daripada Raja Sulaiman.

Ketiga teks ini telah timbul dikalangan istana Raja Muda Bugis, dan memang dapat dimengerti bahawa perkembangan sejarah masa itu agaknya dipandang dari segi Bugis, tetapi biarpun demikian jangan kita lupa bahawa sejarah itu ialah sejarah Melayu, iaitu sejarah Kesultanan Melayu. Sebab untung dan kepentingan Raja-raja Muda Bugis, pada mula-mulanya orang kelana yang sedang mencari peranan baharu, telah bergabung dan menjadi sama dengan untung dan kepentingan Kesultanan Melayu; kepentingan Kesultanan Melayu telah menjadi kepentingan orang Bugis, mereka telah mendapat peranan baharu, peranan yang mereka cari di dunia Melayu.

Di samping teks Melayu–Bugis ini dengan pandangan-sejarah orang Bugis terdapat, pada pihak Raja Kecil, hanya *Sejarah Siak* sahaja, dengan pandangannya sendiri. Pandangan-pandangan itu agak bertentangan, agak menyimpang yang satu dari yang lain, ada perbezaan yang besar dan yang menyolok dalam menggambarkan jalannya peristiwa dan dalam soal-soal kecil-mengecil. Untuk menjelaskan hal ini akan saya beri beberapa contoh. Pada pihak Melayu–Bugis saya akan memakai *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, karangan Raja Ali Hajji, yang berkali-kali menyebut *Sejarah Siak* sebagai salah satu sumber-sumbernya.

1) Pengarang *Tuhfat al-Nafis* itu menolak dengan mentah berita *Sejarah Siak* bahawa Raja Kecil menjadi putera Sultan Mahmud Syah Johor, Marhum yang mangkat dijulang, putera yang lahir waktu ayahnya sudah mangkat.

2) *Sejarah Siak* itu memberitakan bahawa orang Bugis lima bersaudara itu mula-mula mengikat perjanjian dengan Raja Kecil untuk melanggar Riau dan Johor dan bahawa mereka telah mengemukakan sebagai syarat supaya salah seorang dari antara mereka akan diangkat menjadi Raja Muda, — syarat yang kemudian tidak dipenuhi oleh Raja Kecil. Tetapi *Tuhfat al-Nafis* menghidangkan ceritera yang berlainan sekali dan mengatakan bahawa Raja Kecillah yang berhubungan dengan orang Bugis mengajak mereka supaya bersama-sama melanggar Johor, tetapi orang Bugis menolak, dengan perkataan *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (ms. 42): 'Maka Upu-upu itupun berfikir maka tiadalah berbetulan dengan timu-timunya'.

3) Dalam *Tuhfat al-Nafis* dikatakan bahawa orang Bugis dalam menawarkan bantuan kepada anak-anak Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil yang telah dipecat oleh Raja Kecil, sama sekali tidak mencari untung mereka sendiri, malahan mereka enggan, sebenarnya mereka tak hendak akan tugas kerajamudaan yang berat itu dibebankan di atas bahu salah seorang dari antara mereka.

4) Pun ceritera Upu Daeng Parani tewas di dalam perang Kedah berlainan sekali. Perkenan saya nukilkan *Sejarah Siak* lebih dahulu:

> 'Dan sampailah dua tahun baginda di Kedah berperang dengan Bugis tiadalah bertentuan. Baginda pun dapat anak seorang laki-laki dinamakan Sultan Bekabut. Dan barang bila hendak berperang berbunyilah gendang perang dan keluarlah Bugis dengan Minangkabau, demikianlah sehari-hari. Maka mufakatlah hulubalang Bugis dengan Minangkabau. "Dan jikalau kita ikut kehendak raja kita ini sepuluh tahun kita berperang juga tiada berhenti. Apalah kesudahan kita tiada boleh mencari makan lagi ini, dan barang bila kita disuruhnya berperang kita diam-diam sahajalah, kita bunyikan bedil, jangan diberi peluru". Setelah putusnya mufakat orang kecil dibuatnya demikianlah dan Daheng Parani pun marah. Maka Daheng Parani berkirim surat kepada yang dipertuan: "Dan sudah puaslah kita mengadu ra'yat dan segala ra'yat kedua belah pihak pun tiada mahu perang lagi, dan baiklah

kita mengadu beraja sama seorang, barang siapa yang berasa(?) membangunlah dia". Maka surat pun sampailah kepada baginda mengatakan Daheng Parani hendak bertikam sama seorang, dan lalu dibalas baginda: "Barang bila Daheng Parani hendak datang, silakanlah". Maka Daheng Parani pun bersiaplah ghurabnya, lalu memberitahu baginda: "Kepada tengah hari esok paduka kakanda datang". Maka baginda fikir dalam hati baginda: "Jikalau aku lawan bertikam tiada tahan aku kerana ia besar panjang dengan baju rantainya, baiklah aku bedil dengan lela". Maka dicegakkan di rumah kepada bendul selasar sudah berisi peluru. Maka Daheng Parani pun datang berdayung mudik. Serta sampailah ghurab Daheng Parani dilahut rumah baginda maka Daheng Parani pun berdiri di atas beranda ghurab, maka baginda pun beryang-yang: "Jikalau janjiku belum mati di dalam Kedah ini dan hendaklah Daheng Parani mati kepada hari ini kena lelaku ini", maka lalu dipasangnya lela itu oleh baginda maka kenalah dada Daheng Parani, lalu mati, dan ghurab pun hanyut kehilir dan perang berhenti dan menanglah raja Kedah, adiknya menjadi raja. Dan baginda pun memberi tahu raja Kedah hendak pulang ke Siak dan baginda pun berlayarlah ke Siak'.

Pada anggapan kita orang sekarang saya rasa perbuatan Raja Kecil yang demikian ini kurang patut dan tidak memenuhi syarat seorang perwira yang mulia, tetapi pada perasaan saya pengarang *Sejarah Siak* itu sama sekali tidak berniat untuk mencela Raja Kecil, tetapi sebaliknya, ia hendak melukis Raja Kecil sebagai orang yang cakap, orang yang sanggup mengatasi kesukaran dalam keadaan yang genting, dan disamping itu: do'anya kepada dewa-dewa telah membawa bukti bahawa perbuatan Raja Kecil rupanya berpatutan dengan takdir: telah sampai ajal Daeng Parani, bukan ajal Raja Kecil.

Berlainan benar berita peristiwa ini dalam *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (ms. 67/8):

'Syahadan tiada berapa antaranya maka kelengkapan Yang Dipertuan Muda serta Upu-upu itu pun mudiklah hendak melanggar kubu Raja Kecil sebelah hulunya pada rumahnya. Maka apabila sampai ke kota hulunya itu, lalu berperang tersangat ramainya, berbedil-bedilan dengan meriam dan rentaka serta sorak tempiknya. Maka dengan Takdir Allah Ta'ala serta sudah sampai janjinya maka Upu Daeng Parani kenalah peluru meriam tentang dadanya. Maka iapun mangkatlah di atas beranda ghurabnya dengan nama laki-laki, kerana waktu ia tengah berperang besar itu ia bersiar-siar di atas beranda ghurabnya memerintahkan segala orangnya berperang itu.

Syahadan apabila Upu Yang Dipertuan Muda serta saudaranya Upu Daeng Celak melihat paduka kakandanya telah hilang itu, maka Yang Dipertuan Muda serta Daeng Celak pun naiklah ke darat lalu mengamuk kubu Raja Kecil dan Kubu Raja Kedah yang muda serta kampung-kampung keduanya, maka lalulah beramuk-

amukan dan berbunuh-bunuhan sebelah menyebelah. Maka seketika lagi tewaslah sebelah Raja Kecil itu kerana panglima-panglimanya banyak mati. Maka lalulah ia undur dan kampung-kampung itu pun binasalah, maka Raja Kecil pun larilah, lalu ia balik ke Siak.'

5) Pun caranya Raja Kecil mendapat isterinya Tengku Kamariah kembali sangat besar bezanya dalam kedua teks ini. Pada khususnya cara peristiwa ini dilukis dalam *Sejarah Siak* sangat menarik. Tatkala Raja Kecil tak berada di Riau, orang Bugis dan Melayu dapat menduduki Riau dan menawan Tengku Kamariah, isteri Raja Kecil dan adik Tengku Tengah. Sekarang saya nukilkan ceriteranya dalam *Sejarah Siak*:

'Syahadan tersebutlah perkataan baginda yang dipertuan sudah mendengar Riau sudah diambil Bugis. Maka baginda mufakat dengan segala hulubalang: "Baik kita langgar atau baik kita amuk?" Maka sembah hulubalang dan segala orang besar-besar: "Jikalau kita langgar niscaya tiada dapat paduka adinda, dan baiklah kita memberi surat kepada paduka adinda ke Riau. Akan duli yang dipertuan baiklah ke Siak membuat negeri dahulu akan tempat kita duduk barang bila sudah tentu. barang mana titah yang dipertuan patik kerjakan". Maka baginda pun berlayarlah ke Siak. ... Dan baginda memberi surat ke Riau mintak isteri baginda kepada Raja Sulaiman. Dan waktu itu Tengku Kamariah sudah berputera seorang laki-laki, dinamakan Tengku Buang. Dan ada bekas gundik baginda orang Jawa, itulah yang memeliharakan putera baginda itu dengan Tengku Kamariah. Akan Raja Sulaiman hendak memulangkan adinda baginda itu dan Daheng Parani tiada memberikan dengan Raja Tengah tiada melepaskan, niat Daheng Parani hendak didudukkan dengan Daheng Celak. Dan berapa dipujuk oleh Raja Tengah akan adinda baginda itu tiada juga ia mahu. Maka datanglah Daheng Celak dengan Daheng Parani mendapatkan Tengku Kamariah. Maka kata Daheng Celak, katanya: "Baiklah adikku berlaki dengan aku. Dan apa lagi adikku nanti Raja Kecik itu?" Maka Tengku Kamariah pun terlalu marahnya, maka iapun menangis, lalu jawabnya kata Daheng Celak: "Baiklah, abang, jikalau sudah janji daripada Allah Ta'ala. Dan sahaya mintak isi kawin sahaya, jikalau abang dapat kepala laki sahaya, jika dapat bolehlah kita nikah". Dan Daheng Celak pun diam, tiada terkata-kata lagi. Dan Daheng Celak pun kembali. Dan Raja Tuha hendak mengantarkan Tengku Kamariah. Maka Raja Tuha marah kepada Daheng Parani tiada patut satu raja-raja membuat yang demikian itu. Maka Tengku Kamariah memberi surat kepada paduka kakanda: "Dan jikalau paduka kakanda hendak mengambil paduka adinda hendak ambil dengan perang. Jika tiada diambil dengan perang tiada adinda mahu". Dan surat itupun sampailah ke Siak. Setelah dilihat baginda surat daripada paduka adinda itu maka baginda pun terlalu marah, lalu baginda mengumpulkan segala hulubalang berbicara hendak pergi dengan kakap. "Barang lima buah kakap, kita amuk sa-

haja". Dan dipilih baginda orang yang pilihan mahu mati dengan baginda yang ada bininya tinggal di dalam Riau. Dan dapatlah orang seratus lima puluh. Maka baginda pun pergi ke Riau, sampai di kuala Riau berdayung masuk ke Pulau Bayan, dan kakap pun dilanggarkan ke darat, baginda pun naik ke darat semuanya. Dan suatu perempuan dilepaskan baginda memberitahu kepada paduka adinda suruh turun ke perahu. Dan segala orang Bugis pun geger mengatakan musuh datang dari Siak. Dan lalu baginda melanggar kota Pulau Bayan, maka beramuklah dengan orang Bugis. Kepada waktu itupun perempuan yang disuruh baginda pun sampailah mendapatkan Tengku Kamariah mengatakan yang dipertuan menyuruh turun. Maka Tengku Kamariah pun lalu turun dengan segala dayang-dayang harta yang kemas-kemas dan bini segala orang yang kasih akan lakinya semuanya turunlah bersama-sama ke perahu dengan bini segala orang besar-besar hulubalang semuanya turun ke perahu belaka.'

Saya yakin bahawa para pembaca setuju dengan saya bahawa ceritera ini romantis sekali dan sangat merawankan hati.

Tetapi sekarang *Tuhfat al-Nafis*. *Tuhfat al-Nafis* pun memberitakan bahawa Raja Kecil mendapat isterinya kembali, tetapi di sini Raja Kecil tidak dilukis sebagai perwira yang gagah berani melainkan sebaliknya, terpaksalah Raja Kecil merendahkan diri. Beritanya dalam *Tuhfat al-Nafis* adalah sebagai berikut (di sana-sini saya ringkaskan sedikit):

'Pada tahun 1724 (1137H) Raja Kecil datang pula melanggar Riau, tetapi perang-perangan itu tidak bertentu, tak ada yang kalah tak ada yang menang, sebentar berperang sebentar berhenti, dan waktu berhenti perang terkadang Raja Kecil mudik ke hulu bertemu dengan isterinya Tengku Kamariah dan berjumpa pula dengan Upu Daeng Celak, makan minum sama-sama, maka apabila Raja Kecil berbalik kekubunya, berperang pula semula. Keadaan ini kira-kira tiga bulan lamanya, maka kesusahanlah atas segala isi negeri, dan pada akhirnya muafakatlah segala orang tua-tua dan orang-orang besar memohonkan kepada Yang Dipertuan Muda dan Raja Kecil supaya berdamai. — Setelah berdamai Raja Kecil berbaliklah ke Siak, tetapi setibanya di Siak ia terus menyiapkan kelengkapan perangnya untuk melanggar Riau lagi.

Pada tahun sesudahnya, tahun 1726 (1138H) diikat perjanjian antara Minangkabau dan Johor, hal mana memang sangat melemahkan kedudukan Raja Kecil. Setelah itu Raja Kecil datang ke Riau tiada dengan angkatan perang, menghadap Sultan Sulaiman dan bertemu dengan Yang Dipertuan Muda memohonkan isterinya hendak dibawanya ke Siak, dengan mengatakan bahawa tiadalah ia berniat salah lagi kepada baginda Sultan Sulaiman serta Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau, serta memulangkan ra'yat Johor dan teluk rantau Johor. Maka diterima oleh Sultan Sulaiman serta Yang Dipertuan Muda. Maka diajaknya oleh baginda serta Yang Dipertuan Muda bersumpah di dalam masjid. Maka

bersumpah Raja Kecil di dalam masjid, demikianlah bunyi sumpahnya: "Apabila ia berniat salah lagi, membuat perkelahian dengan baginda Sultan Sulaiman beserta dengan Yang Dipertuan Muda, melainkan ia tiada dapat selamat se'umur hidupnya hingga kepada anak cucunya binasa, hilang daulat kerajaan seperti tembatu dibelah serta dimakan Besi Kawi".

Setelah itu Raja Kecil berbalik ke Siak membawa isterinya, tetapi pada tahun sesudahnya, tahun 1727 (1138H) Raja Kecil mungkir akan sumpahnya dan melanggar Riau semula'.

Ada banyak lagi contoh yang dapat diberi untuk menjelaskan perbezaan antara *Sejarah Siak* dan *Tuhfat al-Nafis* dalam menggambarkan peristiwa sejarah.

Sebagai contoh yang terakhir — dan dengan ini saya akan mengakhiri makalah ini — dalam *Tuhfat al-Nafis* terdapat ceritera yang terkenal itu tentang Raja Muda Melayu sedang bermain catur waktu Johor diserbu oleh Raja Kecil, pada tahun 1718. Hal ini diberitahukan kepada Raja Muda tetapi tiada dihiraukannya sebab ia berlengah bermain catur. Terlalu lambat ia sedar akan keadaan bahaya yang mengancam Johor dan ia membunuh isterinya, kemudian baharulah ia keluar melawan Raja Kecil, kerana, menurut *Tuhfat al-Nafis* "fikirannya daripada isterinya diambil Minangkabau diperbuatnya gundik, terlebih baik hilang sekali". Raja Muda mengamuk menyerbukan dirinya ke pihak Raja Kecil dan kemudian tewaslah ia dalam peperangan.

Sejarah Siak menceriterakan peristiwa ini dengan cara yang berlainan sekali:

> 'Syahadan akan yamtuan muda pun mengamuk anak bininya, habislah mati dibunuhnya, tinggal seorang anaknya perempuan, niat hatinya sudah habis mati anak bininya hendak mengamuk ke dalam kota. Serta sudah ia membunuh anak isterinya datanglah takut hatinya, lalu ia terjun lari ke hutan kayu onak ia bersembunyi. ..... Maka orang pun datang membawa khabar mengatakan yamtuan muda sudah membunuh anak isterinya..... Akan yamtuan muda disuruh (oleh Raja Kecil) bunuh ... sebab durhaka membunuh anak isterinya tiada dengan izin baginda'.

Teks Melayu–Bugis yang lain lagi, iaitu *Aturan Setia Bugis dengan Melayu*, yang juga mengandungi berita peristiwa ini, tetapi memang dipandang dari segi Melayu–Bugis, masih dapat menambah lagi perkataan Raja Kecil: "Alangkah sayangnya ia telah membunuh isterinya! Kalau tidak, saya ambil dia akan isteri saya, kerana ia perempuan cantik yang tiada taranya diseluruh Johor ini".

Memang saya tahu, dilihat dari sudut sejarah, dongeng-dongeng yang seperti demikian ini barangkali tak berapa penting, tetapi toh dapat melukis dengan sangat baik pendapat-pendapat dan pandangan-pandangan yang berlainan sekali dalam teks-teks ini.

Jadi dalam teks-teks ini kita mendapat gambaran tentang Raja Kecil yang agak be lainan sifatnya.

Tokoh Raja Kecil Dalam Sejarah Siak

Dalam *Sejarah Siak* Raja Kecil dilukis sebagai seorang putera raja, seorang raja yang berhak atas singgasana Johor, seorang pahlawan yang gagah berani, yang tetap tahan dalam keadaan darurat, yang berbudi baik terhadap lawannya yang telah dapat dikalahkannya, seorang yang tajam akalnya, seorang suami yang baik, yang tetap dikasihi dan disegani oleh isterinya biarpun ia kalah perang dan terpaksa lari, dan terutama pula dipandang sebagai manusia, seorang tokoh yang tragis pada akhir hidupnya.

Dan pada lain pihaknya: oleh lawannya ia dipandang sebagai orang celaka, penipu, sombong, pintar busuk, yang tidak layak nikah dengan seorang puteri Johor, orang yang tidak kepercayaan, orang yang mungkir akan sumpahnya.

Tokoh Raja Kecil, peristiwanya dan perbuatannya pada pendapat saya adalah tajuk yang sangat patut diberi perhatian lebih lanjut, baik oleh penyelidik-penyelidik sejarah maupun oleh pengarang-pengarang nobel sejarah.

PAPERS ON AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS

by E. O. VAN REIJN

1. SEMANG LOANWORDS IN ACHINESE

Apart from recent loans from Dutch, Malay, Arabic and Sanskrit, and a few Austronesian words not found in Malay,* the vocabulary of Achinese contains a number of words whose origin can be traced back to the Mon-Khmer family. These can be divided into three groups:

(a) words found in the Malay Peninsula and in the Mon-Khmer languages of Further India, or only in the latter group (outside the Pen.)

(b) words restricted to the Malay Peninsula, found in the Semang and Sakai (included the Jakun en Besisi dialects) groups, or only in the latter group.

(c) words only found in the Semang (Pangan) group, or in the Semang group and a few Sakai dialects of Ulu Pahang (Jelai, Serau).

The occurrence of Semang words in Achinese leads to the question, whether Acheh was once inhabited by tribes related to the Semangs and Pangans of Kedah, Perak, Kelantan and the Patani States. (According to Blagden, the Semang dialects were originally not related to the Sakai dialects which belong to the Mon-Khmer family). Words grouped under category (b) also suggest an old relationship between the Malay Peninsula and North Sumatra. (dating back to a time when both areas were not yet inhabited by Austronesian peoples). As the Mon-Khmer words in Achinese were sufficiently treated by Cowan, I will restrict myself here to the categories (b) and (c).

(b) Words common to Achinese and several Aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula. (The references are to the Comparative Vocabulary in Skeat & Blagden, "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula").

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* ate = AN ataˡ, mate = AN mataˡ, pade = AN paɣaˡ (ɣ with variants g, d, r, l, h, zero), apuˡ = AN apuˡ, buˡ = AN babuˡ, udeb = AN uɣip, aʒɛᵉ = AN asu, lᵇ ɛᵉ = AN talu; these words are in Malay respectively hati, mati, padi, api, babi, hidup, anjiŋ, tiga. Compare also Cham hätaˡ, mötaˡ, apwəˡ, pabwəˡ = Achinese mate, pade, apuˡ, buˡ, udeb, aʒɛᵉ, lᵇ ɛᵉ respectively. Achinese sɔ ʔon< suhun = Jav. suhun (Susuhunan, sinuhun); for intervocalic -h-> -ʔ- compare sɔ ʔot = Mal. sahut. Gata "you"< gita = Jav. (Kawi) kita. Bambaŋ (-kuniŋ) "red" (-yellow)" = Jav. baŋ(-w ɛtan, etc.),abaŋ, baŋbaŋ. Achinese ŋɔn has preserved both the meanings of Toba dɔŋan "friend" and Mal. dəŋan "with"; adɔᵉ has preserved the meanings of both Mal. adiʔ "younger brother or sister" and Mal. ari-ari "placenta"; buɣoŋ "female demon endangering childbirth" (Malay punti-anaʔ) may be compared to Sundanese buruŋ), Jav. wuruŋ "to fail, to drop off (fruit), to die prematurely (foeuts)", Malay buruʔ "rotten".

anɔᵉ < * ani„ sand" Old-Javanese həni, Polynesian one.

1. deh : jeh "yonder", Sak. Jak. jih (T52).
2. ŋiəŋ "to see",, Sak. n ɛŋ (S75).
3. gɔˀ–gɔˀ "to shake", Bes. hɔˀ–gɔˀ (S130).
4. hu "flaming", Sak. hu "day" (D42, F162).
5. iɔ "water", Jak. i: (W33).
6. yɔˀ : yɔ "to shake", Serau yɔh (S130).
7. b ɛˀ "don't", Sak. Sem. Jak. b ɛ : b ɛˀ (F121).
8. kʰöˀn : kʰön "to say", Sak. kuˡ : kɔˡn (S364).
9. miˀt : mit "small", Sak. mit. (S281).
10. plɔˡh < * plus "to open, loosen", Bes. plɔs (R61).
11. tʰo "dry", Serting tˀhu: (D178).

(c) Words common to Achinese and the Semang dialects (sometimes also found in the Sakai dialects of Ulu Pahang):

1. ba "to bring", Sem. ba (B401).
2. baˀ "tree", Sem. baˀ (F232).
3. ban "like, kind", Sem. pan (T51).
4. bioh "dysentery" Sem. pia:s : piás,, sick" (S186)
5. bloh "to go", Sem. dloh, Jak. kloh (G49).
6. buˀ "monkey", Sem. bawe'
7. bɔˡh "to throw away" < * bus, Sem. bös (T108).
8. döˡh "clear", < * dös, Sem. di-s "day" (D35).
9. gɔb "man, human being", Sem. gɔb (M28).
10. wiˀ "left" < * wil, Sem. w ɛt, Jelai wil : w ɛl : win : w ɛˀ (L48).
11. tʰa "parents-in-law", Sem. ta:, ta:ˀ "father" (F41).
12. yub "under", Sem. kiyum (B165).
13. ka "finished, already", Sem. təkɔh (A46).
14. kömöŋ "to wish", Sem. gam ɛk (W15).
15. katɔk "ankle", Sem. kadɔg "knee" (K40).
16. lawɔˀ "to mix", Sem. kaluwaˡt: haluw ɛd (M117), but compare Central Nicobar kalawa (a=ā); lawɔˀ < * liwaˀ
17. pioh "to rest" < * pius, Sem. kəbus : kəbis "dead" (D50).

2. LES MOTS MON-KHMèRS DANS LES DIALECTES LI DE l'ILE DE HAINAN

Les dialectes Li de l'Ile de Hainan, qui sont apparentées aux langues Tai, ont conservé un certain nombre de mots qui n'appartiennent pas au vocabulaire du Tai commun.

Selon H. Maspéro, ces mots sont dérivés d'un groupe de langues n'appartenant pas à la famille Tai, et peut-être représentant un substrat austronésien. (BSL XXXIV, 3, p. 23).*

Cependant, il est évident qu'il s'agit des mots d'origine mon-khmère dans la plupart des cas, les mots dérivés de l'austronésien étant peu nombreux:[1]).

Bupäli lo°d "mourir", Pangan de Sam (Kelantan) hɑlod, Pangan de Kuala Aring (Kelantan) hɑlɑt, Pangan de Ulu Aring (Kelantan) hɑlut, Lebir (Kelantan) hɑlut, Kerbat (Trengganu, mais originaires de Pahang) hɑˈlut, Sedang (Vietnam) ʻlɑ (comparez Kenaboi de Negeri Sembilan ju-lɑt) Bahnar lɑɛt, Nicobar-central leɛt.

Li-Sud chɑ ʾm "aller", Sakai de Tanjong Rambutan (Perak) chɑp-chip. Jelai, Tembi, Serau (Pahang) chi ʾm, etc.

Damchiu kɑb, Tai commun*kˈɔb, "mordre", Semang de Jarum (Patani) kɑːb, Pangan de Ulu Aring (Kelantan) kɑb, Pangan de Sam (Kelantan) kɑːb, Sakai de Sungai Korbu (Perak) ᵃkɑ̂b, Serau kɑp, Semang Paya de Ulu Keriang (Perak–Kedah) kɑb, Semang de Bukit Berambar (Perɑk kɑ̃b, Semang de Kuala Kenering (Perak: en réalité, il s'agit des Sakai) kɑːb, Semang de Sungai Plus (Perak) kɑb, Semang de Kedah ŋɑb-ŋɑb, Sakai de Sungai Raya (Perak) kɑp-kɑp ("dent"), atchinois kɑb, laotien kɔb, Nicobar-central ɔp-kɑːp, chrau kɑp, bahnar, stieng, boloven, niahön, alak, lave, kaseng, halang kɑ̃p, khmer khɑ̃m, cham kɑˈk.

White Sand Loi bui (-siu), Shaved Head Loi boɔ (-ŋɑu), Double Cloth Loi bui (-biɑŋ), Small Cloth Loi bui (-biɑŋ), Limko (oɔ (-jan), "ivre", Sakai de Sungai Raya (Perak) bul, Besisi de Sepang (Selangor) bul "vomir, pris de nausées", bahnar bul "ivre", khmer pūl "poison, nausée", stieng binul "ivre", bahnar bɔŋul "vénéneux", mon bɑ̃ɓu: "empoissonneé", boloven bul, niahön bu, alak bɑŋu "poison"; comparez aussi malais mɑbɔ ʾ ou mɑbu ʾ "ivre".[2]

White sand Loi thɑk "couper", Besisi de Sepang tɸˈt, Besisi de Malaca tɔˈt, mon tɑ̃t, stieng tɑ̃h, kaseng tit ou tic, boloven-niahön tiet

Basadong-Li ɔᵏ, Bupä-Li (diŋ-) oᵘ, Li-Sud oc, White Sand Loi ok, Tembi eɑ́k, Serau ɲɔk, Darat (Pahang) ɲɔŋɔk "boire" (Senoi de Clifford, en réalité il s'agit des Sakai de Ulu Pahang) ɲuːk).

Limko lun "avaler", Semang Paya de Ulu Keriang (Perak–Kedah) hɑːlud, Semang de Bukit Berambar (Perak) hɔlud, Sakai de Ulu Cheres (Pahang) lūt, Sakai de Ulu Tembeling (Pahang et Trengganu) gɔlɸt, Besisi de Sepang gɔlɔˈt, bahnar luɸn, stieng luon, cham luɔn, tareng, jarai lɔn, suɛ̃ lün, chrau lūŋ, siamois klün (comparez aussi pour les langues austronésiennes: tagalog lɔnlɔn, bisaya tɔlɔn, toba-batak tɔlɔn, balinais lɔnlɔn, malais tɔlɑn, etc. "avaler").

* BSL = Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris.

Li-Central giɔm, Li-Sud ɔ ʔm, White Sand Loi jɔm, Dioi ɑm "avaler", Beduanda de Chiong (Negeri Sembilan) kec ɛm "manger", santali jɔm "manger, nourriture", muṇḍari, birhor, etc. jɔm, Ho jom "manger, nourriture", Bhumij jum, Juang jim "manger", sora jum ou jom, gutob som, Re sum "manger" (toutes ces langues appartiennent au groupe khervari), lawa so:m (appartenant au groupe palaung-wa), wa hsɔm, bahnar ʃɛm "nourrir", srē siɑm, stieng teim vieux- mon Ijnīm, mon phjɔ:m "nourrir", khmer cɔncīm ou cīncīm "nourrir".

Li-Sud tic "petit", Besisi de Malaca cet, Sakai de Ulu Kampar (Perak) bɑcit, Orang Tanjong de Ulu Langat (Selangor) mɑcet, Besisi de Sepang, cham ɑsit, jarai ϕset, atchinois cut ou bɑcut (bɑ- < bɑ ʔ "arbre", quelque chose").

Basadong-Li hwɑˡ , Li-Central hɑˡ, Shaved Head Loi hɑˡ, (Five-Finger Loi gɑˡ ʔ) "fer", Serting (Negeri Sembilan) wɑˡ, Sakai de Ulu Tembeling (Pahang) (pu:-) ɑˡ, ("cuivre"), Kenaboi (Negeri Sembilan) (ri:-) wɑˡ, Beduanda (Malaca) (u:-) wɑˡ, Sakai de Ulu Cheres (Pahang) wɔˡ.

Basadong-Li nɑ:m, Mefu-Li nɑm, Bupä:Li nɑm, Ki (dialecte de Nakai) nɑ̆m, Li-Central nɑ́m, Li-Sud nóm, Lakia nɑm (Lakia, dialecte de Seao, nom "eau", White Sand Loi nɑm (-khɑˡ) Shaved Head Loi nɑm (-khɑˡ), Double Cloth Loi nom (-khɑˡ), Small Cloth Loi nom (-khɑˡ) "rivière", Limko nɑm, Tai commun * nɑm, Pangan de Ulu Aring kɔnom "urine", Semang de Kuala Kenering (il sˡagit dˡun tribu sakai) kɔnɑm, Sakai de Sungai Plus nɑm, Senoi de Clifford (en réalité, un tribu Sakai de Ulu Pahang) nom, Sakai de Blanja (Perak) nɑm, Orang Besisi de Sepang num, Semang Paya de Ulu Kerian (Kedah-Perak) kɔnɑm "urine, uriner", Tembi kɑnɔm, Serau nɔmnɔm (Pahang), Sakai de Krau et de Kuala Tembeling (Pahang) ninum, Sakai de Ulu Kam'-par-uŋnom, Besisi de Ayer Itam (Selangor) mɑnu ʔm, mon nɑ́m ou knɑ̆m "uriner", khmer noʷm "urine", "uriner", bahnar num "uriner", dɑk num "urine" (dɑk = "eau"), stieng num "uriner", chrau dɑk nom "urine", srē 'doum < *knum, palaung hɲu:m, lawa nɑum "urine" (comparez aussi pour less langues khervari, sora ɑɲum "uriner", ɲum-ɲum "urine". Ngadju-Dayak dɑnum < * dɑk-num "eau" est évidemment un emprunt austro-asiatique (mais comparez fiji ndranu); pour malais minum < * um-inum Toba-Batak inum, etc. "boire", comparez malais i-kɑn "poison", mɑ-kɑn "manger" austronésien commun kɑn "manger, nourriture".

Mefu-Li bᵉé "sable", Sakai de Sungai Korbu sɑmbeˡ, Sakai de Sungai Raya (Perak) sɔmbeˡ, Besisi de Ayer Itam umbɑˡ, bahnar bϕbuˡ, Semang de Kuala Kenering (Perak, un tribu sakai) sibɔˡ, Kenaboi de Negeri Sembilan rɔbɔˡ, comparez aussi Li-Central pˡo, Li-Sud pˡɑu, Shaved Head Loi phou, Double Cloth Loi phϕ, Small Cloth Loi phɑu.

White Sand Loi koh, Shaved Head Loi kok, Damchiu kok "riz" (mal. pɑdi), Semang de Ulu Plus (he-) kɑ ʔ, Krau de Ulu Ketiar (Trengganu, mais originaires de Pa-

hang) (uŋ-) kuɔk, Krau de Kuala Tembeling (Pahang) (rə-) kuɑ ʔ, chong (Indochine) ruko, samrẽ, por rokho, cuoi ɑŋ-kɑu "riz" (mal. bərɑs) palaung lɑkɑu ou rekɑ́, khasi khɑu, khmer ɑŋ-kɑ khmus roŋko, rumai (groupe palaung-wa) tɑkɑo, wa kɑo, sue raŋkɑo.

Basadong-Li (tɑ -) më, Mefu-Li (tɑ-) meh, Bupä-Li bɸɔ, Ha (tɑ) mé, Damchiu, White Sand Loi mɑ¹; Besisi de Sepang et de Ayer Itam be, Besisi de Kuala Langat be, Besisi de Jirat Gunjai (Malaca, selon Hervey) beʔ, Orang Benua de Newbold biʔ, Sakai de Selangor (selon Daly) bi, Semang de Juru (Perak) be¹ "riz" (mal. pɑdi); phnong, prou (Indochine) Ka peh, boloven, niahön phæ, stinge phë¹, sedang phe¹, halang pe, alak pɑhe¹, bahnar phe, kaseng pɑ¹ "riz" (malais bərɑs), churu phe, chrau phe, proons pe "riz" (mal. padi); comparez aussi redjang (Sumatra du Sud) mə¹ "riz, nourriture".

Small Cloth Loi but, Limko mu, siamois mŏt, Dioi mot "fourmis"; khmer srɔmoc, alak sɔmoc, lave, niahön moc, tareng ɑmu¹, kaseng moc, sue smu¹h, sedang hmo:¹, bahnar hmo:c, theng hmujc, cham hmo:c, mon kh ʌ mot, laotien, khamti, shan mot (comparez malais sɔmut, sans doute un emprunt austro-asiatique, comme les mots Tai); comparez aussi Jakun de Sungai Madek, Jakun de Sungai Sembrong (Johor) mɔret, Jakun de Batu Pahat (Johor) mɔret, Orang Tanjong de Ulu Langat (Selangor) bræt, (*mut avec un suffixe -ɔr-) Tembi bet, Sakai de Sungai Raya (Perak), Mentera de Malaca, Jakun de Malaca sɔmut, Jakun de Kuala Lemakau (Johor) mɔsut.

Basadong-Li buŋ, Mefu-Li bum, Bupä-Li mŏ̃ŋ, Daki-Li bɑm, Ha bum, Li-Central bɑm, Li-Sud mom, White Sand Loi bom, (Limko bɑk, Tai commun *pɑk < * bɑŋ?) "bouche"; Semang de Bukit Jerai (Kedah) (selon Crawfurd) bɑn, Besisi de Kuala Langat (selon Bellamy) boŋ, Sakai de Blanjas (Perak) 'mpɑ:k, Serau (Pahang) ɔmpɑ ʔŋ, Besisi de Sepang et de Ayer Itam pɑ ʔŋ, Besisi de Malaca pɑ ʔŋ, Orang Bukit de Ulu Langat (Selangor) pɑ:ŋ, Beduanda de S. Chiong (Negeri Sembilan) pɑŋ, mon pɑ:ŋ (écrit pɑ¹ŋ), Nicobar-Central (ɑ)fɑ:ŋ, phnong ɑmbəŋ (comparez aussi Andaman Biada bɑ:ŋ-dɑ, Kede tɑ-pɔŋ).

Double Cloth Loi khɔk, Ha kĕŋ (Damchiu kieŋ) "gorge", siamois kho "cou"; Sakai de Tanjong Rambutan (Perak) kuɑ ʔ, Sömang (Sakai de Sungai Piah, Perak, selon De Morgan) kuɑ "cou", Semang de Kuala Kenering (en réalité, un tribu sakai de Perak) sɑkog "gorge", Semang Paya de Ulu Kerian (Kedah–Perak) hɑkkok ou sɔŋko ʔ, Sakai de Sungai Korbu (Perak) ke°, mon kʌ ʔ, khmer kɔ, stieng ko , bahner ɑko, vietnamien kŏ, churu ko, halang tɑku ɛ, jarai tɔko¹, cham tɑkuə¹, atchinois tɑkuɔ,: comparez aussi Semang de Jarum (Patani) tɔŋkɔg, Pangan de Ulu Kelantan tɔŋkɔk, Serau (Pahang) tɔŋkɑ́k, Jelai (Pahang) tɔŋkɔ ʔm, Darat (Pahang) tɔŋkɔp, Semang de Kuala de Kuala Kenering (un tribu sakai) tɔŋkok; malais tɔŋkɔ ʔ est évidemment un emprunt. Pour les langues khervari, comparez kharia kɔŋkɔ "cou", juang kuŋkɑ (sora sɑŋkɑ:?) Toba-Batak rukkuŋ (écrit ruŋkuŋ) < * kəruŋkuŋɑn < *kuŋ-kuŋ, malais kərɔŋkɔŋɑn, javanais gɔrɔ ʔ ou guruŋ < *guŋ < *kuŋ sont des emprunts.

Limko nu, Damchiu næ "sein", White Sand Loi nɑm-chi, Shaved Head Loi nɑm-che^{l}, Double Cloth Loi nɔm-chi, Small Cloth Loi nɔm-che^{l} "lait"; Wa ɲɑu, cuoi, srē ɲu (Tareng, Kon-Tum ŋɔ^{l}, suē ŋoɑ^{l}ʔ) "boire". Pour les langues khervari, comparez: kharia, santali, muṇḍari ho, birhor nunu "sein", santali ɲu, muṇḍari nu:, birhor, ho, kurku nu "boire". Jarai ɲum, cham mŭɲum, rhade minɔm, malais minum, Toba-batak inum, etc. sont des emprunts austro-asiatiques; comparez aussi les mots signifiant "eau, uriner" etc.

Basadong-Li lu, Bupä-Li lo, Ki luŋ, Ha luŋ, Li-Sud luoŋ, White Sand Loi loŋ "grand", khmer lū "dessus", stieng lω "dessus", khmer lŭk "élever", stieng lωk "élever", khmer lŭŋ "monter, s'élever", boloven lωŋ "dessus", niahön nùŋ "cours supérieur, Sakai de Pulau Guai (Pahang) (guɑ-)lɔŋ "dessus".

Mefu-Li bŏ^{u}, Ha bŏ, Li-Central poc, Li-Sud bóŋ, Shaved Head Loi bok, Limko, boh, tai commun * buŋ "ventre"; palaung (kīŋ-)pɔ:ŋ, suē puŋ, kuoi puŋ, vietnamien buŋ, khmer boh, khasi kɔ-poh. Pour les langues khervari, comparez: sora (kɔm-)puŋ et peut-être nahali pɑpo.

Basadong-Li mé^{l} (dialecte de Dakung), me^{l} (dialecte de Haimong), Mefu-Li hai:, Bupä-Li mai, Dogang-Li bɑ^{l}(-iɑ:), Ki bi:, Ha bai (-mo), Li-Central pi, Li-Sud mei, Lakia pee (dialecte de Seao mɑ^{l}, dial. de K'lai pɑ^{l}, dial. de Laokwang pɑ^{l} -yɑ), White Sand Loi mæ, Liamui bi, Damchiu mæ, siamois me "mère"; comparez Basadong-Li bɑ^{l4}-ko , Li-Sud mei-khau, Lakia pɑ^{l}-k^{l}o, White Sand Loi bæ -doŋ, Liamui bɑ^{l}- tɑ^{l}, Double Cloth Loi bɑ^{l}- tsɑ^{l}g, Damchiu mæ -ŋɸn, Limko mɑ^{l} -fo, Dioi mɑ^{l} -bɸk "femme"; Sakai de Ulu Tembeling (Pahang et Trengganu) mɸ^{l}, Mantera de Malaca, Jakun de Malaca mo^{l}, Beduanda (de Malaca) mo^{l}, Mantera de Malaca (selon Hervey) mbo^{l}, Blandas de Rembau (Negeri Sembilan) mu:i, Beduanda de Sungai Chiong (Negeri Sembilan) ɑ:mɑ^{l}, Jakun de Batu Pahat ɑmɑ^{l}, mon mi, khmer me, stieng me^{l}, samre, por miɲ, cuoi, rhade mik, cancho ɑmik, phnong me, chreai m ɛ, prou mok, bahnar m ɛ, vietnamien m ɛ, chong muɲ, ka-pi mɑ^{l}, chrau me, churu m ɛ, rhade mĭ Ka Pi ɑmĭ, boloven mɸ, alak mæ, lave, kaseng, sedang me, chong miŋ, jarai mi, suē mbɛ ou mpe "mère".

Liamui mɑ^{l}, Double Cloth Loi mɑ^{l}, Small Cloth Loi mɸe, Double Cloth Loi mɑ^{l} Small Cloth Loi mɔɔ "étranger"; mon tʌmī (écrit tɑmei), khmer thmi (écrit thmei), stieng me^{l} "nouveau", bahnar tūmo^{l} mon tmua^{l} (écrit tmui), ou kmua^{l} (écrit kmui) "étranger", srē tūme, khasi thɔmma^{l}, palaung kʌn-mɛ: "nouveau", Sakai de Sungai Plus (Perak) mo^{l}, "different", Sakai de Sungai Korbu (Perak) bimo^{l} "ennemi", Sömang (Sakai de Sungai Piah, Perak) (pi)mo^{l} "ennemi", Sakai de Sungai Plus pɑ^{l}, Senoi de de Clifford (un tribu sakai de Pahang) pɑ:^{l}, Besisi de Sepang (Selangor) ʻmpa^{l}. Pour les langues khervari, comparez sora tɑmme-, kharia tɔnm ɛ "nouveau". Toba-Batak

tamue, Ngadju-Dayak tamu ɛ[1], malais tamu, javanais tamu, balinais tamiu < * tamu[1], vieux-javanais tamwi < * tamu[1], lampong tamu[1] "hôte" sont des emprunts.

Les mots suivants sont probablement des emprunts de l'austronésien: (excepté les emprunts austronésiens au vocabulaire du Tai commun) .

Bupä-Li má "main", austronésien commun lima (Basadong-Li mou, Mefu-Li, mõ[1], Ha mo, Li-Sud mɸü, Limko mo, siamois mü sont un peu douteux).

Basadong-Li ho, Ki hu (dialects de Nakai ho) Ha ho (dialecte de Tjitsa hu:), Li-Sud hau, Lakia ho, White Sand Loi ho, Liamui ho, Double Cloth Loi hu, Small Cloth Loi ho, Limko hau, siamois ku:, Dioi ku "je", austronésien commun aku (-ku comme suffixe possessif).

Shaved Head Loi khan, Lakia kʾan, Limko kon, siamois kĭn, Dioi ken, "manger", austronésien commun *kan.

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AVERTISSEMENT AUX LECTEURS

Le signe ' suivi d'un consonant signifie que ce consonant est prononcé comme un "implosif", par exemple 'doum, 'mpa:k; le ø est la voyelle nasale écrit en atchinois par Snouck Hurgronje comme *eu*; la voyelle ɨ est prononcée comme dans turc *kɪzɪl* "rouge", par exemple en mon (*tʌmɪ* "nouveau").

3. LES EMPRUNTS DU VIEUX -MALAIS DANS LES DIALECTES AUTOCHTONES DE LA PéNINSULE MALAISE ET DANS l'ATCHINOIS

En dehors des mots nombreux empruntés récemment du malais, les dialectes semang, sakai et jakun ont conservé quelques mots qui sont inconnus du malais moderne, mais sont évidemment d'origine austronésienne. O. Blagden a supposé que ces mots sont dérivés d'une langue austronésienne apparentée au malais. Cependant, excepté quelques mots javanais,[1] l'origine des mots indiqués reste un peu douteux. Quelquefois, les dialectes autochtones ont probablement conservé des mots malais dans une forme plus archaique du point de vue phonétique que leurs équivalents modernes, par exemple:

Jakun de Simpai, Jakun de Kuala Lemakau, Jakun de Sungai Madek (Johor) *manta*[12] "enfant mort", austronésien commun *mata*[1] "mort", malai moderne *mati*.

Jakun de Sungai Madek, Jakun de Simpai *tɔɔt*, Jakun de Batu Pahat *tɔut* "genou", Madura *tɔɔt*, Toba-Batak *tɔt*, bisaya *tɔhɔd*, etc.; évidemment, le mot était originalement monosyllabique, mais était adapté à la structure bysyllabique, plus commun dans les langues indonésiennes. (Compare aussi balinais *antɔd*, Tidung-Dayak *atud*, Ngaju-Dayak *utut*) Le mot *lutut* du malais moderne est probablement dérivé de ulu tut; compare Toba-Batak ulu ni tut "genou" (litt. "tête du genou").

Orang Benua de Newbold *radaŋ* "chaud", tagalog *daraŋ*: *dandaŋ* "chauffé", Toba-Batak *dadaŋ* "grillé", javanais *dandaŋ* "marmite pour cuire le riz", malais moderne *rəndaŋ* "faire frire" (Besisi de Ayer Itam, Selangor du Sud, *ləndək* "faire frire"); en malais moderne, la signification de *radaŋ* est "enflammé, enragé," (compare Toumbulu *raraŋ* "chaud").[3]

Semang de Ulu Plus (Perak), Pangan de Ulu Aring (Kelantan), Pangan de Sam, Pangan de Galas (Kelantan) *tasɛg* "mur", malais moderne *masa*ʔ < t-ɔm-asak, Balinais, Cham, Vieux- Javanais, Toba-Batak tasak.

Semang de Ulu Selamar (Perak), Sakai de Ulu Plus, etc. manuk "poule", austronésien commun manuk "oiseau" (le mot est tombé en désuétude dans le malais de la Péninsule Malaise).

Semang de Ulu Plus *pənadɛŋ* "lumiere du jour", Pangan de Sam, Pangan de Galas *pənadɛŋ* "clair de lune", Semang de Bukit Berambar *pədɛŋ* "éclairer", javanais paḍaŋ "clair" (paḍaŋ bulan=mal. tərəŋ bulan "pleine lune", malais *padaŋ* "plaine" (compare hollandais loo "bois avec des prairies interposées", vieus- anglais leah "prairie", lituanien laukas "champ" allemand Lichtung, latin lucus "bois sacré" tous apparentés à latin lux, allemand licht, etc.).

Pangan de Ulu Aring (Kelantan), Semang de Jarum (Patani), etc. *asuʔ* "chien", austronésien commun *asu, malais moderne anjiŋ;[4] le mot anjiŋ est évidemment formé à l'exemple des mots "krama" en javanais, comme Pangan de Ulu Aring, Pangan de Sam, Pangan de Galas *sərəŋgil*, malais moderne sərigala (dérivé, comme le francais chacal, du sanskrit śṛgalau).

Les mots suivants, qui sont conservés dans un nombre de langues austronésiennes étaient probablement en usage autrefois en malais, mais sont tombés en désuétude depuis, lors:

Serau (Pahang) *barʔ*, Jelai (Pahang) *bari*: *ʔŋ*, Sunda, Makasar, Toba-Batak bari, Bugis wari, Madura (dialecte de Sumenep) baru[1] "gaté". (malais moderne basi).

Jakun de Malaca, Besisi de Sepang (Kuala Langat), etc. *kɔkɔt*, Semang de Kedah, Pangan de Ulu Aring, etc. *kalkɔʔ* "ongle", Madura *kɔkɔt* "sabot, corne, griffe", (atchinois *kukuɔt* "part du patte au dessus du sabot") Bugis, Makasar *kamuku*, Formosa *kaluŋkuŋ*

"sabo't', javanais (Krama inggil) *kənâkâ*.[5] (malais moderne *kuku* répond à autronésien commun *kuku "ongle").

Jakun de Sungai Madek, Jakun de Simpai (johor) *jokot*, Jakun de Batu Pahat (Johor) *jɔkɔt*, Bahasa Pantang kapur des Jakun de Johor *jɔku:t*, Orang Benua de Newbold *jɔŋkat* "porc", malais de Kerintji *jukut* ou *juku*ʔ "porc", Toba-Batak juhut "viande", Madura *juku*ʔ "viande", Makasar *juku*ʔ "poisson".

Semang de Kedah, Semang de Jarum, Pangan de Kuala Aring (Kelantan), etc. awe "rotang", Ngaju-Dayak owaeˡ, tagalog owaˡ, Cham *hawɸ*ˡ, Jarai *hawa*ˡ, atchinois *awe*; etc.

Semang de Kedah, Semang de Ulu Plus (Perak), etc., *sia*ʔ, Semang de Ulu Selamar (Perak) *siah*, "sel", austronésien commun *sira.

Semang de Juru (Kedah) *talilu*, "tremblement de terre", Toba-Batak renur, balinais linuh, javanais liṇḍu, tagalog lindɔl, etc.

Jakun de Malaca *mɔŋkɔ*: (<təmɔŋkɔ:) "voler", Toba-Batak tɑŋko, bisaya tɑkɑu, sampit-dayak tɑkɑu, Sibop-Dayak mɑkɑu< təmɑkɑu, etc.

Besisi de Hervey (Jirat Gunjai, Malacca Terr.) *bɔrua*ʔ, Besisi de Malaca *bɔwah*, *bɔruah*, etc. "vent", Narom-Dayak *bɑruˡ*, Murut-Dayak *bɑrio*, bisaya *bɑgio*, Formosa *bɑgiɔg*, etc.

Orang Rayat de Tanjong Sagenting (Johor) *kɔnkɑn*, Orang Benua de Newbold *kankɔt* (<*kɑnkɔ ʔn<*kɑn-kɑn) "nourriture", austronésien commun *kɑn, compare tagalog kɑin "nourriture" Ngaju-Dayak *kumɑn* "manger", *kinɑn* "mangé", Malagasy *humɑnɑ* "manger", fiji *kɑnɑ* (< *kɑn-ɑn*) "manger", *kɑni* "manger", etc. (Madura *kɑkɑn*, et aussi malai *mɑ-kɑn* "manger", *i-kɑn* "poisson", etc.)[6]

Besisi de Ayer Itam (Selangor) *padɔˡs*, *padaˡs*, *dɸˡs*, *dɸˡh* "commander": ce mot est d'un intérêt spécial, parce qu'il est conservé dans cinq langues indonésiennes ainsi que dans l'inscription vieux-malaise de Kota Kapur (Bangka) *mar-padah*, selon Prof. W. Aichele "tenir parole"; ("Eine fragmentarische Skizze des Redjangischen", manuscript inédit) en malais littéraire (classique), *bərmadah* signifie "parler"; compare Redjang *pad ɛa*ʔ "mot", Bugis *ada* "mot", Karo-Batak *pədah*, Toba-Batak *poda* "enseignement" (*marpoda* "enseigner").[7]

La situation de l'atchinois est comparable à celle des dialectes semang et sakai de la Péninsule Malaise: en dehors d'un grand nombre de mots empruntés récemment du malais, cette langue (qui n'apartient pas à la famille austronésienne du point de vue phonétique et morphologique) a conservé quelques mots austronésiens qui sont peut-être des emprunts du vieux-malais, excepté quelques mots d'origine javanaise, comme *sɸ ʔon*, javanais *suhun* "porter sur la tête":

atchinois *ate*, austronésien commun **ata*ˡ "foie" (mal. *hati*).

atchinois *mate*, austronésien commun **mata*ˡ "mort" (mal. *mati*).

atchinois *pade*, tagalog *pala*[1], Ngadju-Dayak pare[1], javanais pari, malagasy (tsimpari-) fari, malais *padi* "riz" (Oryza).

atchinois bu[1], tagalog babɔ[1], Ngadju-Dayak bawɔ[1], cham babɸ[1], Toba-Batak, javanais, malais *babi* "porc".

atchinois *apu*[1], austronésien commun *apu[1]. (malais *api*).

atchinois *udeb*[8], austronésien commun *(h)uḍip "vie, vivre". (malais *hidup*).

atchinois *ŋɔn* "avec", camrade", malais *dɔŋan* "avec", Toba-Batak *doŋan* "camarade".

atchinois *lhɛɔ* < tl ɛɔ[9], austronésien commun *təlu "trois".

atchinois *aθɛɔ*[10], austronésien commun *asu "chien".

atchinois *adɔɔ* "cadet (frere ou soeur), placenta", malais *adi*ʔ (Toba-Batak aŋgi, vieux-javanais ari javanais aḍīʔ, Ngadju-Dayak andi razandri) "cadet (frere ou soeur)", malais *ari-ari* "placenta" (javanais ari, malagasy zandri).[11]

atchinois *buɣoŋ* "fantome, femme morte dans l'accouchement" malais pɔntianaʔ), javanais wuruŋ, sundanais wuruŋ, buruŋ "tomber prématurément (fruits), échouer".[12]

atchinois *dɔmadɔɔŋ* "*se chauffer* auprès du feu" (femme, 40 jours après l'accouchement). dad*ɸ*ɔŋ "faire sécher au dessus du feu"; austronésien commun *ḍaŋḍaŋ "chaud, faire frire".

ANNOTATIONS

1. Pangan de Jalor (Patani), Semang de Kedah, etc. *badɔn*, javanais wadɔn "femme"; Pangan de Ulu Aring, Pangan de Galas (Kelantan) *bayul* javanais bajul "crocodile"; Orang Rayat de Tanjong Sagenting (Johor) *bətəŋ* "ventre", javanais wətəŋ; Sakai de ulu Tapah (Perak) *lalul* "moustique", javanais *l*alər (malais lalat); Semang de Bukit Berambar, (Perak) Mentera de Bukit Senggeh (Malaca) *bas* ɛŋ "singe" (mal. lutung), javanais bajiŋ "écureuil" (comparez balinais basɔŋ "chien", Murut-Dayak (dialecte de Trusan (basuk "singe).
2. La prénasalisation du t dans le mot "mantaˡ" est un exemple de hypercorrectisme, causé par la tendance à réduire -nt- à -t-, -mp- à -p-, -ɲc- à -c-, et -ŋk- à -k-, comme dans le malais de Kelantan.
3. Tous ces mots sont dérivés dˡun mot monosyllabique daŋ ou raŋ; Kharia dɛŋ, Sora diŋ "cuire' et Munḍari adiŋ "cuisine" sont peut-entre des emprunts austronésiens dans les langues khervari.
4. Dans tous les dialectes autochtones de la Péninsule, on remarque une tendance nette à affixer un -ʔ (hamzah) après la voyalle finale des mots.
5. -al- et -an- sont des infixes employés souvent pour désigner des instruments; dans un nombre de langues mon-khmères et austronésiennes, les consonnes finales deviennent -ʔ (hamzah).
6. tagalog kaˡn < kan est adapté à la structure bisyllabique, plus commun dans les langues indonésiennes; -um- et -in- sont des infixes verbals.
7. Besisi padɔˡs etc. un exemple de "hypercorrectisme": -s devient souvent -h dans les dialectes autochtones de la Péninsule.
8. Il n'y a pas de -p final dans l'atchinois.
9. -u devient -ɛᵘ en atchinois; pour lh-< tl-, comparez atchinois lhoʔ, malais təluʔ "baie".
10. "s"est toujours prononcé comme θ(ɵ) en atchinois.
11. Dans beaucoup de langues austronésiennes, les mots doublés désignent "quelque chose qui ressemble la chose indiquée par le mot non-doublé", par exemple malais anaʔ-anakan "poupée" de anaʔ "enfant".

12. "r"est toujours prononcé comme γ (francais "Paris") dans l'atchinois de Kotaradja (Banda Atjèh), mais en Pidië (à l'Est de Kotaradja) la prononciation originale (comme "r") est conservée.

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J. Kreemer, Atjèhsch Handwoordenboek. Leiden, 1931.

4. A PRELIMINARY REMARK ON SOME MON-KHMER WORDS IN REDJANG

J.L.A. Brandes drew the attention to the Redjang language in his thesis "Bijdrage tot de vergelijkende klankleer der Westerse afdeling van de maleisch- polynesische taalfamilie." (Utrecht 1884) On page 183, note 2, he says: "In de "Talen en Letterkunde van Midden-Sumatra" door A.L. van Hasselt, bl. 37 vlgg. (Midden-Sumatra, Deel III, 2e gedeelte) vindt men woordenlijsten van de taal van Boven-Rawas en Lebong, bl. 5 "Redjangs" geheten.... Hetgeen door de reizigers der Sumatra-expeditie wordt medegedeeld, prikkelt de begeert iets meer van deze taal te vernemen, sterk, en men kan het slechts betreuren, dat zij door de omstandigheden belet werden, meer nog te verzamelen, dan zij ons reeds geschonken hebben." Although this remark refers to the Redjang sound-system, it seems to me that the vocabulary would be equally interesting to comparative linguists of South East-Asia. As long as the three-volume Redjang-English-Indonesian dictionary to be published by Prof. Dr. M.A. Jaspan is not available to the public, the materials are restricted to the sources mentioned in P. Voorhoeve's "Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Sumatra" (the Hague, 1955), page 21. I would like to point out, however, that there are some Redjang words which have cognates in the Aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula: (1) Redjang *tia*ʔ "father", Ulu Indau *ita*, Semang of Jarum, Semang of Sungai Plus, Pangan of Ulu Aring, Pangan of Sam, Pangan of Galas *ta*:ʔ "(grand)father". (Skeat & Blagden, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, Comparative Vocabulary, page 598, F41) *(2) Redjang *bi* "already", Jakun of Batu Pahat *b*ɛʔ "finished", Ulu Tembeling *bɛh*, "no", Sakai of Ulu Ketiar *b*ɛ "don't", etc. (S. & B., page 604, F121, compare also Achinese *b*ɛʔ "don't".) (3) Redjang *ɲut* "thirsty", Serau *ɲ*ɔʔ, Sakai of Sungai Raya *ɲut*, Sakai of Ulu Gedang *ŋ*ɔ*t*, etc. "to drink". (S. & B., page 584, D165). (4) Redjang *kulo* "also", Besisi of Sepang *klo* "also, again" (S. & B., page 513, A71, compare also Redjang *kuno* "also".)

The numbers (1) and (3) also have Mon-Khmer cognates outside the Malay Peninsula. A little bit doubtful is Redjang *u*ʔ*ɛs* "to fall", compare Semang Paya of Ulu Keriang, etc. *hɛs* "to fall" (S. & B., page 595–596, F11).

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*Achinese $t^ha_{\prime\prime}$ parents-in-law".