

GILLES MASSOT AND LUDVIK KALUS

Between Legend and Reality: The Bukit Batu Cemetery of the Island of Bintan, Riau Archipelago

The core of this research concerns oral traditions surrounding the Gunung Bintan.¹ This mountain, or rather hill, stands at the heart of the Indonesian island of Bintan, a natural focus of the island's identity. These traditions, mixing facts and legends, were recorded by Gilles Massot during a first round of research conducted between 2001 and 2004 and during a second round conducted between 2008 and 2010, with Mr Abdul Zaman, better known as Pak Atan, the knowledgeable keeper of the hill's secrets and head of the village of Bintan Bukit Batu located at the foot of the hill.² Some aspects of these traditions relate to characters also found in the Malay text *Sejarah Melayu*, among others. As such, they pertain to a story largely regarded as one of the founding myths of Malay culture and identity, while at the same time coming from an island that played, according to the narrative, a decisive part in the shift of that same culture from Sumatra to the Malay Peninsula.

The research was initiated by Gilles Massot and Marc Thalmann for a book project on Bintan and the Riau archipelago, *Bintan, Phoenix of the Malay Archipelago*, published in 2003.³ Fieldwork then mostly consisted of

1. The authors would like to thank Geoffrey Benjamin for the edition of the language of this paper.

2. Gilles Massot is much indebted to Marc Thalmann for his involvement as a translator throughout this research.

3. Singapore, Editions Gunung Bintan, 2003.

numerous conversations conducted in Pak Atan's home – conversations in which the congenial *kampung* leader slowly unfolded the secrets of a narrative that according to him had never been told to the world. These conversations were complemented by the observation and photographic documentation of two annual festivals celebrated at Bukit Batu.⁴ This information was then published in various parts of the book.⁵ In 2008, Massot was asked by the Asosiasi Tradisi Lisan⁶ to present a paper on Bukit Batu's oral tradition for a conference dealing with aspects of Indonesia's oral tradition in the 21st century.⁷ John Miksic, who had followed and advised on much of Massot's initial research, kindly proofread the paper and suggested that the topic deserved further attention. The cemetery of Bukit Batu was known by a number of scholars, including himself, as a potentially significant historical site, but a formal survey had yet to be conducted. Massot then embarked on a new round of field research focusing solely on the Bukit Batu cemetery, which eventually revealed an Islamic inscription on one of the graves. When deciphered by Ludvik Kalus, the inscription proved to contain a date that indeed confirmed Miksic's opinion.

Most of the material resulting from the second round of research makes up the first part of this article, which gathers together factual information concerning the cemetery. The second part deals with the content and structure of Bukit Batu's oral history and compares the local narrative to other known versions of similar stories.⁸ The third part looks at the role and future of this cemetery in today's society.

Lastly one word has to be said here as well about the perception of time in Pak Atan's version of the Bintan Tale. Vivienne Wee addressed this question in her thesis, in part devoted to the understanding of the temporal configuration of the people living in the Riau Archipelago.⁹ Based on the information of her Penyengat informant, she mentions a configuration made up of five eras, the current being the "era of Indonesia" and the oldest one

4. The first one directly concerns the cemetery that is the subject of this article and is developed in the third section. The other, known as *Mandi Safar*, is an annual cleansing ritual celebrated during the Muslim month of Safar that sees the village's population go to bath in a local river, after which Muslim prayers are conducted by Pak Atan on the grave of Tun Puteri Cempaka, mentioned in the Annex 2.

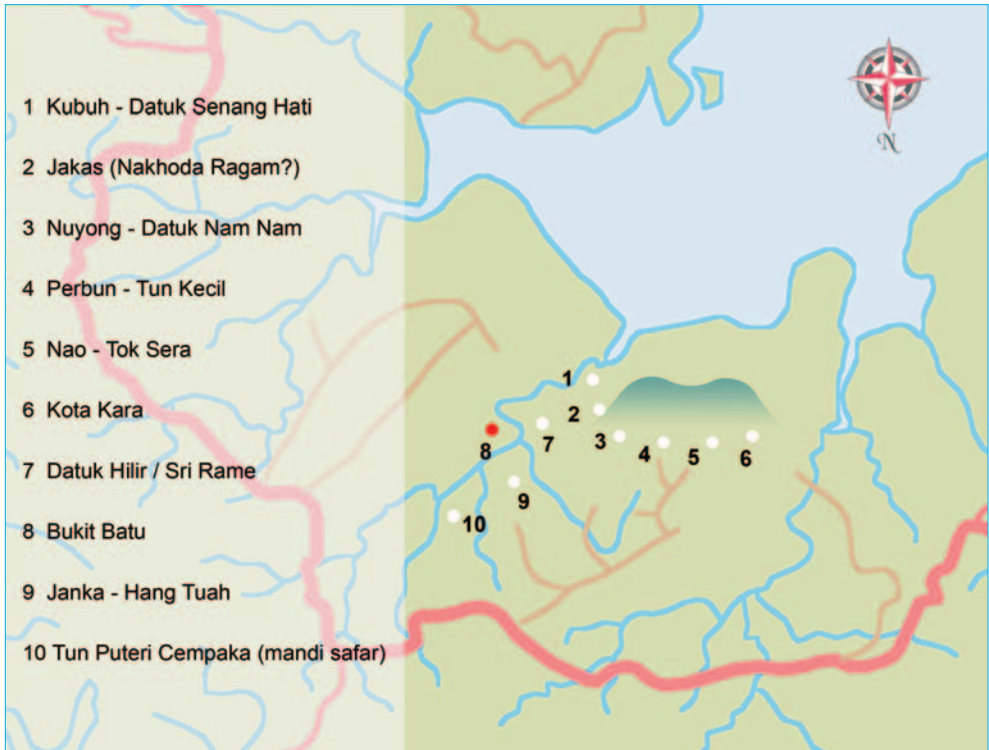
5. Massot, 2003, pp. 9-10, 64-66, 102-103.

6. ATL or Oral Tradition Association, http://tradisilisan.blogspot.com/2008/07/asosiasi-tradisi-lisan-atl-or-oral_05.html.

7. *Oral Tradition as Cultural Strength to Build Civilization*, Wakatobi, Sulawesi Tenggara, 1-3 December 2008.

8. A comparative table of the different versions is provided in Annex 1 to facilitate the comprehension of this section.

9. Melayu: Hierarchies of Being in Riau, Australian National University, Canberra, unpublished PhD thesis, 1985.



Map of the old graveyards sites near Gunung Bintan. (G. Massot)

the “era of the Chief”.¹⁰ Pak Atan’s conversation indeed does follow a similar construct, one in which the word “date” makes less and less sense the further back we go in time. While events of the recent past can be associated with a calendar date, events begin to take on a mythological dimension in the “era of the Sultan”. Most importantly, Pak Atan’s configuration of time is not linear in any way. The characters in his stories of the “era of the Chief” are often the subjects of multiple incarnations. They come and go across time and space with great fluidity, repeatedly changing names in the process. While a convinced Muslim, his stories carry on consciously the older voice of the Hindu-Buddhist past.

Pak Atan Abdul Zahman is a member of a line of keepers said to have looked after the graves of Bukit Batu for eight generations. He was born in 1935 and became keeper on the death of his father Pak Sman, in 1984 at the

10. *Zaman Batin* “the era of the Chief”, *Zaman Sultan* “the era of the Sultan”, *Zaman Belanda* “the era of the Dutch”, *Zaman Jepang* “the era of the Japanese”, *Zaman Indonesia* “The era of Indonesia” (Wee, 1985, p. 118).

age of 67. His grandfather, Pak Dogel, passed away in 1962 at the age of 93. Back in time, the keepers were Pak Salleh, Pak Talib, Pak Subuh, Tok Long Duana, and finally Sri Mayang. Assuming an average of 25 years per generation, this line would thus go back to the turn of the 19th century, a decisive time in Riau marked by the foundation of a British free port in Singapore. However, when taking this most important event as a marker, Pak Atan still places Sri Mayang further back in time, at a time when the notion of reincarnation begins to emerge.¹¹

A Survey of Bukit Batu Cemetery

The Bukit Batu cemetery is located at a latitude of 1° 04' N, and a longitude of 104° 28' E. It can be accessed overland via a road branching off the main road linking Tanjung Pinang to Tanjung Uban at km 42, or by boat up the Bintan river that wends its way south from the northern foot of the mountain Gunung Bintan to reach the Bintan Bay, passing by the village of Bukit Batu, east of the hill. This way of access has the merit of taking the visitor closer to the original spirit of the place, much of Bintan early history, its port¹² being linked to this axis of communication.

Situated on a little hill¹³ overlooking the river, the cemetery is reached via a flight of steps crossing a plantation of rubber trees mixed with overgrown bushes. The site of the cemetery nowadays shows two constructions of recent origin, a sheltered gallery surrounding the cemetery proper, and an adjacent *pendopo* used at the time of festivals. Inside the perimeter of the gallery, the cemetery area is rectangular (about 8 x 7 meters), and is in turn surrounded by a low wall of volcanic stones. According to Pak Atan, these stones were taken from a 16th century fort built there after the shift of Malay power from Melaka to Riau. Today, the cemetery proper shows six graves, each marked by two stones and delimited by a low wall covered with white ceramic tiles. All the graves are oriented in a north–south direction with the head to the north. Four graves are situated in the northern half of the enclosure, whereas the other two are located at each corner of the southern half. According to Pak Atan, the surrounding stone wall was erected in 1944, the cement enclosure constructed in 1976, whereas

11. In the conversation concerning this topic, Pak Atan hinted at the idea that Sri Mayang was indeed the reincarnation of someone else.

12. In the 1980s, Pierre-Yves Manguin researched the Bukit Jakas wreck immersed in the river, southeast of the hill. He found out that it was a 15th century vessel of Southeast Asian origin, the largest of its kind preserved in the region at the time (See Manguin & Nurhadi, “Perahu Karam di Situs Bukit Jakas, Propinsi Riau. Sebuah Laporan Sementara”, in *10 Tahun Kerjasama Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional dan École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Jakarta, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, EFEO, 1987, pp. 43–64).

13. Its altitude is estimated at some 43 meters.



The graveyard of Bukit Batu in 1989. (Courtesy of Geoffrey Benjamin)



The graveyard of Bukit Batu in 2010. (G. Massot)

the structures made of tiles around the graves were sponsored by a Singaporean lady in the late 80s.¹⁴ The shelter was built in 1999 and the most recent round of renovation dates to 2008.

These six graves are *keramat*, five of them marked by stones known as *batu Aceh*, both elements being highly representative of traditional Malay culture. A *keramat* does not necessarily hold the physical remains of the deceased. It is rather the burial or the memorial of an individual who, for various reasons, acquired a certain aura or role of importance in his or her community. This lends to the deceased the power to provide guidance in difficult times, a belief that turns these *keramat* graves into pilgrimage destinations. The highlight of Bukit Batu calendar is a particularly good example of this function in the local community. Celebrated on the 27th of the month of Rejab, the festival of Bukit Batu gathers a crowd of people from the wider Johor-Riau region, for a ceremony of thanksgiving that sees the ground of the cemetery covered with colourful offerings of shimmering paper flowers, yellow rice and red eggs. The visit to the graves is also the occasion for further consultation in which Pak Atan serves as an intermediary between visitors and resident spirits.

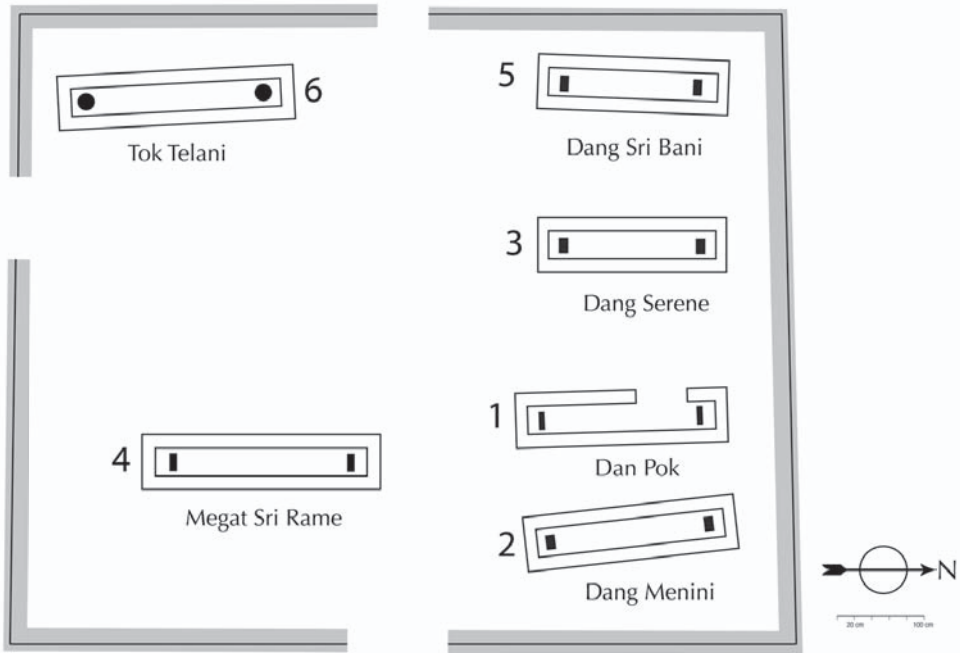
Keramat graves are often identified by pieces of yellow clothes tied around the stone markers (*batu nisan*) as a sign of reverence and thankfulness. *Keramat* graves can also, but not always, be associated with *batu Aceh* markers, an elaborate and decorated type of stones, sometimes engraved with inscriptions. The texts of these inscriptions are usually of a religious nature but sometimes they bear data of historical importance. This artistic tradition seems to have appeared during the fifteenth century in the northern part of Sumatra and from there spread to the Malay Peninsula and several regions of Maritime Southeast Asia.¹⁵ Originally studied by British and Dutch scholars for the content of their inscriptions,¹⁶ these gravestones, which are specific to the Malay world, were then analyzed by Othman

14. Photographs of the site taken by Geoffrey Benjamin in September 1989 still show the graves without enclosures.

15. For recent studies on *batu Aceh*, see Claude Guillot & Ludvik Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel 37, 2008; Daniel Perret, "Some reflections on ancient islamic tombstones known as batu Aceh in the Malay World", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 35(103), 2007, pp. 313-340; Elisabeth Lambourn, "The formation of the *batu Aceh* tradition in fifteenth-century Samudera Pasai", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 32, 2004, pp. 211-48.

16. The first study by the Dutch scholar J.-P. Moquette was published in 1912 ("De grafsteenen te Pasè en Grisseë vergeleken met derdelijke monumenten uit Hindoestan", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 54, pp. 536-48), whereas the first study by the British scholar R.O. Winstedt appeared in 1918 ("The tomb of Mansur Shah, Sultan of Malacca, 1459?-1475 A.D.", *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 78, pp. 46-48).

Mohd. Yatim who suggested the first typology.¹⁷ This classification was refined in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 2000s following studies conducted by Daniel Perret and Kamarudin Ab. Razak in Peninsular Malaysia.¹⁸ Their latest typology, which consists of 17 different types,¹⁹ is used in this article to classify the tombstones observed at Bukit Batu.



Plan of the graveyard of Bukit Batu in 2010. (G. Massot)

A signboard at the bottom of the stairs gives the name of the six individuals said to be buried or commemorated in this cemetery (see plan): 1. Dang Pok, 2. Dang Menini, 3. Dang Serene, 4. Megat Sri Rame, 5. Dang Sri Bani, 6. Tok Telani. We will follow this classification in the description below:

17. *Batu Aceh: early Islamic gravestones in peninsular Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur, Muzium Negara, 1988.

18. Daniel Perret, Kamarudin Bin Ab. Razak & Ludvik Kalus (epigraphic study), *Batu Aceh: Warisan Sejarah Johor*, Johor Bahru, Yayasan Warisan Johor/EFEQ, 1999; Daniel Perret, Kamarudin Bin Ab. Razak & Ludvik Kalus (epigraphic study), *Batu Aceh Johor Dalam Perbandingan*, Johor Bahru, Yayasan Warisan Johor/EFEQ, 2004.

19. Daniel Perret, Kamarudin Bin Ab. Razak & Ludvik Kalus, 2004.

1. Dang Pok

Located in the northern half of the cemetery, the supposed grave of Dang Pok is associated with a peculiar opening in the encircling tiled enclosure. This opening allows Pak Atan to sit on the ground to officiate at the time of the festival. According to Pak Atan, Dang Pok is the easiest to contact. The tombstones are of type A, a simple slab of grey limestone with an inverted trapezoidal shape and no decoration other than a bulging line at the top (height: 48 cm; width: 24 cm; thickness: 10 cm; distance between the tombstones: 172 cm). These stones do not feature any inscription.



North tombstone of Dang Pok. (G. Massot, 2010)

2. Dang Menini

East of Dang Pok is the supposed grave of her sister, Dang Menini. The tombstones are of type E1, one of the most common in Peninsular Malaysia. While they share similar generic style and dimensions, the carved decorations greatly differ and the state of the south marker gives the impression of being older than the one at the north. The presence of two different stones therefore raises the question of the history of that grave. According to Daniel Perret, old tombstones are frequently displaced and it is quite possible that one of them was brought from somewhere else to replace a lost one, which means that the present “grave” could be made of elements

belonging to two different monuments²⁰ (height: 54 cm; width: 20 cm; thickness: 14 cm; distance between the tombstones: 170 cm). These stones feature some decorative motifs, but no inscription.



North tombstone of Dang Menini & south tombstone of Dang Menini. (G. Massot, 2010)

3. Dang Serene

West of Dang Pok is the supposed grave of Dang Serene. Once the fabrics covering the stones were taken off, this grave revealed inscriptions in Arabic engraved on all four sides of each tombstone. The tombstones are made of grey limestone and belong to type D. They are rather well preserved (height: 43 cm; width: 24 cm; thickness: 8 cm; distance between the tombstones: 145 cm). The readings below are suggested by Ludvik Kalus based on photographs by Gilles Massot (2010).

- I – South gravestone: - A – South side; - B – West side; - C – North side; - D – East side. A and C: (a) in a small cartouche to the top of the side, panel; (b) in the main field of the side, two lines. B and D: a vertical panel.

²⁰ Pers. comm., May 2010. This observation fits with Wee's records from the early 1980's, when her informants told her that Dang Pok and Dang Menini shared the same grave (1985, p. 375).



A: South side



B: West side



C: North side



D: East side

- II – North gravestone: - A – South side; - B – West side; - C – North side; - D – East side. A and C: (a) in a small cartouche to the top of the side, panel; (b) in the main field of the side, two lines. B and D: a vertical panel.



A: South side



B: West side



C: North side



D: East side

- ١ - أ - (أ) يا رحمن
 (ب) - (١) اللهم صل على محمد
 (٢) و على آل محمد و سلم
 ب - المسلمين و المسلمات
 ت - (أ) يا رحيم
 (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله
 (٢) محمد رسول الله
 ث - و صل على جميع
 ٢ - أ - (أ) يا الله
 (ب) - (١) رحمها الله تعالى و من ...
 (٢) نقل (نقلت؟) من دار الفنا إلى دار البقا
 ب - و ثمانمائة
 ت - (أ) يا محمد
 (ب) - (١) وقت العصر يوم الثلاثاء
 (٢) ثلاثة عشر مضت من شهر الشوال
 ث - سنة أربع و سبعين

Epitaph:

II - A - (b) - (1-2); - II - C - (b) - (1-2); - II - D - ; - II - B - :

May Allah the Almighty take her into mercy and... He (or she?) left the perishable mansion for the mansion of eternity in the middle of the afternoon, on Tuesday, when 13 days from the month of Shawwâl had passed (= the 14th of Shawwâl) of the year 874/16 April 1470.

(According to the tables of Wüstenfeld, 14 of Shawwâl 874 was a Monday).

Religious texts:

- I - C - (b) - (1-2): *Shahâda*.

Prayers:

- I - A - (b) - (1-2): O Allah! Bless Muhammad and the family of Muhammad and greet (them)!

- I - D - ; - I - B - : And bless All the Muslim men and women.

Invocations:

- I - A - (a): O the Merciful!

- I - C - (a): O the Forgiving!

- II - A - (a): O Allah!

- II - C - (a): O Muhammad!

4. Megat Sri Rame

The said grave of Megat Sri Rame is the only one not marked by *batu Aceh*. In fact, originally this *keramat* was not part of the Bukit Batu cemetery. In 1947, the keeper Pak Sman had a dream in which Megat Sri Rame requested to have a *keramat* built on the hill. A new grave was therefore added to the existing five, marked by two stones taken from the slopes of the hill and given a rough rectangular shape. The north one is bigger than the south one (respectively 56 cm x 27 cm and 35 cm x 25 cm) and they are 190 cm apart. The original grave of Megat Sri Rame is located further downstream, on the opposite (western) side of the river, on a site flooded at high tide, which has yet to be surveyed. According to Pak Atan, the markers there are of the *batu Aceh* type and are inscribed. The location of this grave results in Megat Sri Rame being known also by the name of “Datuk Hilir”, *hilir* indicating “the lower reach of the river”.

5. Dang Sri Bani

The supposed grave of Dang Sri Bani is located in the northwest corner of the enclosure. The two stones are of type D, very similar in style to those found on Dang Serene's supposed grave, albeit without any inscription (height: 33 cm; width: 19 cm; thickness: 8 cm; distance between the tombstones: 140 cm).



North tombstone of Dang Sri Bani. (G. Massot, 2010)

6. Tok Telani

The supposed grave of Tok Telani is located in the southwest corner. The stones are of type O and as such are the only pillar type in the cemetery. This is also the only grave said to belong to a man. The north tombstone is badly damaged with about half of it missing. The south tombstone is in much better condition. The lower half of both stones show clear signs of erosion, a possible indication that they might have been buried for a long time before being placed as they are today. This impression is further emphasized by the pink coloration given by laterite to the original beige limestone (height: 74 cm; largest diameter: 20 cm; distance between the tombstones: 180 cm). They do not carry any inscription or calligraphy.



South tombstone of Tok Telani. (G. Massot, 2010)

The style of the tombstones of grave 3 (Dang Serene) and the date given in its inscription fit very well. Very similar 15th-century tombstones have been found at the Sayong Pinang site, in the neighbouring State of Johor, Peninsular Malaysia.²¹ As grave 5 (Dang Sri Bani) shows similar tombstones, albeit without any inscription, we suggest that they may also

21. See SPDP3 and SPDB5 dated respectively 1453 CE and 1452/3 CE, in Perret, Kamarudin Ab. Razak & Kalus, 1999, pp. 125-8, 359-362; Perret, Kamarudin Ab. Razak & Kalus, 2004, p. 125.

date to the 15th century. The two different tombstones of grave 2 (Dang Menini), along with the erosion seen on the tombstones of grave 6 (Tok Telani), suggest a progressive development of the site with possibly the bringing together of stones from different places and at different times. The recent case of grave 4 (Megat Sri Rame) is proof of this probable centuries-long dynamic. Lastly, the commonly accepted idea that the gender of the deceased would be reflected in the shape of the grave markers²² seems to fit with Pak Atan's version of the oral tradition. However it has not been always the case. In the early 1980s, Wee gathered a list composed of two men's and four women's graves,²³ one of which was supposed to be the combined Dang Pok/Dang Menini grave. The differences between Wee's observations and the one done by Massot around 20 years later will be further developed below as part of the interpretation.

Case Study

Five of the six names mentioned in relation to the Bukit Batu "graves" are also present in the *Sejarah Melayu*. However the roles and social positions of these individuals in the narrative told by Pak Atan differ from those in the various documented versions of the well-known Malay text. We will begin with a recapitulation of events related to Bintan found at the beginning of the *Sejarah Melayu*. Among the various versions of this classic of Malay literature, the one chosen here as main reference is the manuscript known as *MS Raffles No. 18*.

MS Raffles No. 18 recounts the miraculous apparition of three brothers one night on Bukit Siguntang in Palembang. Adorned like kings and riding white elephants, they present themselves as descendants of Iskandar Zulkarnain (Alexander the Great) to Wan Empok and Wan Malini, two widows growing rice on the hill. Taken to town by Demang Lebar Daun, the ruler of Palembang, Bichitram, the older brother, is invited to rule the Minangkabau country. Paludatani, the second, is called upon to rule Tanjung Pura. The third, Nilatanam, becomes king of Palembang with the title of Sang Utama, later also known as Sri Tri Buana.

22. Based on Malay oral tradition, early scholarly studies of *batu aceh* have suggested an association between the shape of the stones and the gender of the person buried, the pillar shape being used for men and the flat slab being used for women. However, Othman Mohd. Yatim prefers to regard "the evidence, supplied by these earlier writers on the subject, [as] circumstantial" and in conclusion to his study remarks that "sexing based on certain decorative feature could not be justified". Dr. Othman Mohd. Yatim, *Batu Aceh: early Islamic Gravestones in Peninsular Malaysia*, Museum Association of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2006 (1st edition 1988), pp. 48-51.

23. Wee, 1985, p. 375.

Sri Tri Buana marries Wan Sendari, the daughter of Demang Lebar Daun, and reigns for a while at Palembang, before leaving in search of a suitable place to found a new settlement. The news of the coming of his fleet reaches the palace of queen Wan Sri Benian in Bentan²⁴ who sends her ministers Indra Bopal and Aria Bopal to meet him at sea and take him to Bentan. There, “she had him installed as her successor to the beat of the drum of sovereignty”.²⁵ The miraculous deeds of Sri Tri Buana carry on with an eventful crossing of the Singapore Strait, during which he is forced to throw his crown overboard in order to lighten the load of his boat during a storm. He finally reaches a white sandy beach at Temasek where the sight of a strange and swift animal with red body, white breast and black head entices him to choose the island as the site of his new kingdom. The port of Singapura grows strong and prosperous under his reign and that of his descendants. During the reign of Iskandar Shah, Singapura’s fifth ruler, the port falls under a Javanese attack and Iskandar withdraws to the Malay Peninsula where he founds the port of Melaka.

According to the local oral tradition, the Bukit Batu cemetery holds the final resting places of Dang Pok, Dang Menini and Dang Sri Bani, in whose name we can recognize Wan Empok, Wan Malini and Wan Seri Benian of the *Sejarah Melayu*. Tok Telani also appears in *MS Raffles No. 18*, with the spelling Tun Telanai, but only in a later part of the narrative and as an official of the Melaka court. If the queen Megat Sri Rame doesn’t appear in *MS Raffles No. 18*, we will see later that her profile matches that of other published versions of the *Sejarah Melayu*.²⁶ As for Dang Serene, she contributes to an altogether different version of the generally known story of the coming of Sri Tri Buana to Bintan.

According to Pak Atan, Dang Sri Bani was the daughter of the high priest at the court of Megat Sri Rame, the queen of Bintan. The queen was married to a prince from the Peninsula and she had three daughters, Dang Menini, Dang Pok and Dang Serene. Since their childhood, these three daughters shared a deep friendship with Dang Sri Bani, and although not of royal blood, the fair Dang Sri Bani was regarded as part of the family. She also showed a predisposition towards the metaphysical world that lent her an undisputed aura.

24. The spelling used by C.C. Brown for Bintan in his translation (C.C. Brown, “Sejarah Melayu or ‘Malay Annals’. A translation of Raffles MS 18 with commentary”, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXV(2/3), 1952, pp. 1-276).

25. Brown, 1970, p. 19.

26. An individual with the name Megat Sri Rama appears also in a totally different context in several Malay texts (*Sejarah Melayu*, *Tuhfat Al-Nafis*, *Hikayat Johor dan Pahang*), that is as the murderer of Sultan Johor Mahmud Shah II at the end of the 17th century. See Malay Concordance Project, ANU.

During a trip to Palembang, Megat Sri Rame was killed at sea when pirates attacked the royal boat. The three sisters managed to continue their journey, reaching Palembang in time to witness the apparition of the three brothers on Bukit Siguntang. Meanwhile in Bintan, the charismatic Dang Sri Bani had assumed leadership of the kingdom in the town of Kota Kara and was getting ready to welcome Sri Tri Buana, the Malay king sent from Heaven. The youthful king was indeed crowned by her, enthroned to the sound of the *nobat* and married to Dang Pok, before moving on to Temasek (Singapore).

When compared to *MS Raffles No. 18*, the most noticeable difference in this version is the presence of a third sister on Bukit Siguntang, with three sisters then welcoming three brothers. Also noticeable is the significant rise in social status of the three ladies, as the farmers become princesses. As the daughter of the high priest and an accidental charismatic leader, the spiritual role of Dang Sri Bani is clearly emphasized. Interestingly enough, the presence of a queen in Pak Atan's version other than the Wan Seri Beni of the *Sejarah Melayu* matches the earliest published version and translation of the *Sejarah Melayu*, that of John Leyden.²⁷ In Leyden's version, Wan Seri Beni is described as the daughter of queen Paramisuri Secander Shah.²⁸ Wan Seri Beni marries Sang Nila Utama, in turn the son of Raja Sangsapurba, one of the brothers who appeared on Bukit Siguntang. So while the characters do not quite fulfil the same functions, the presence of a queen and the marriage of her daughter to Sri Tri Buana are elements found in both Pak Atan's and Leyden's versions.

In the early 1980s, Wee had already been told about the presence of a queen and her two daughters Dang Pok and Dang Marini. However, the man she met then, who must have been the father of Pak Atan, was not very talkative about Bukit Batu secrets, saying that they "did not know very much and were not able to organise the story".²⁹ She mentions that her informants from Penyengat seemed more familiar with the stories of the *Sejarah Melayu* and most of the details given concerning Bukit Batu seem to have come from them.³⁰ The list of the individuals related to the cemetery then given to her was as follows: Dang Pok/Dang Marini, Orang Tua Besar, Puteri Melor, Puteri Cempaka, Datuk Hilir and Datuk Telanai.

27. On John Leyden's role in making the *Sejarah Melayu* widely known, see the introductory essay by Virginia Matheson Hooker and M.B. Hooker to *John Leyden's Malay Annals*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS Reprint 20, 2010, pp. 1-67.

28. *John Leyden's Malay Annals*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS reprint 20, 2010, p. 35.

29. Wee, 1985, p. 382.

30. This might explain the many differences between our list and its explanation given to us directly by the cemetery keeper.

Wee's list and our list recorded twenty years later show a permutation of roles and characters. She was told then that Dang Pok and Dang Marini were the daughters of a queen (then said to be the Orang Tua Besar or Great Elder), with Datuk Hilir and Datuk Telanai as her ministers. However, we have already mentioned above that Pak Atan states that the queen Megat Sri Rame is Datuk Hilir, from the name of her "original" grave further downstream. Most noticeably, Wan Seri Beni is not mentioned in Wee's list. The presence of two names not present in Massot's list and the gathering of the two sisters as one entity is also most noticeable, while on the other hand, Wee's list does not mention a third sister. We will see later that Pak Atan locates the graves of the two princesses bearing flower names, Puteri Melor and Puteri Cempaka, in other places. Tok Telani remained a mysterious character in Wee's list with no other precision given to her than his being "the datuk with the title Telani".³¹ In his conversations with Massot, Pak Atan too remained at first very mysterious on Tok Telani's identity. However over the years, details were progressively fleshed out, sometimes directly about him, sometimes about other characters who later proved to be "incarnations" of Tok Telani. Bit by bit a picture unfolded in which Tok Telani eventually became the paramount figure of Pak Atan's mythology – one could almost say the pivotal axis of his cosmogony – and a clear sign of the Hindu-Buddhist influence from the past in the midst of today's Islamic context.

In the published versions of the *Sejarah Melayu*, Tok Telani is a character of secondary importance. He is not mentioned in chapter 3 of *MS Raffles No. 18*, which recounts the shift from Palembang to Bintan, then to Singapura. But the name appears in chapter 8 as Tun Telanai, an envoy from Melaka to the Siamese court, and in chapter 9 as envoy to China.³² On the other hand, the character does appear at the end of chapter 3 of the Leyden's version³³ that concerns the founding of Singapura by Sang Nila Utama. Tun Talani is then a son of Damang Lebar Dawn and becomes *raja* of Banten at the death of Raja Paramisuri Secander Shah and Demang Lebar Daun.³⁴ As

31. Wee, 1985, p. 375.

32. *Malay Annals*, translated by C.C. Brown from *MS Raffles No. 18*, MBRAS Reprint 28, 2010, respectively p. 70. and p. 91. The name last appears on p. 191 when it is given as a possible choice for an honorific title to be bestowed on Tun Mahmud by Sultan Mahmud Shah. The Bendahara then comments: "the title 'Tun Telanai', traditional thought it may be, is a title of the backwoods". In footnote 788 Brown mentions "Evidently a very old title: it appears in an ancient inscription from Siam". In regards to a possible connexion between Talanai and Siam, see D. Perret, "Réflexions sur l'émergence du sultanat de Patani", in D. Perret, A. Srisuchat & S. Thanasuk (eds.), *Études sur l'Histoire du Sultanat de Patani*, Paris, EFEO, 2004, p. 32.

33. *John Leyden's Malay Annals*, MBRAS Reprint 28, 2010, p. 45.

34. Wee mentions the same references in her analysis of the character (1985, p. 379).

mentioned above, Pak Atan gave at first very few details on the identity of Tok Telani and no specific role was assigned to him in the local version of the story. But right from the start, Pak Atan made it clear that Tok Telani was to be perceived from an esoteric point of view. For a long time he was defined as a mighty warrior, a human incarnation of Sultan Kuna Ini, in turn a human aspect of Supreme Reality. This taste for metaphysic is most prominent in Pak Atan's way of presenting Bintan's history in the form of metaphors. It is even more perceptible in a series of stories concerning a mysterious "Javanese" from whom the whole Bintan saga would have sprung. In the course of the recent researches and new conversations with Pak Atan, it turned out that the two characters are linked.

We will now look at Bintan's early mythological tales as told by Pak Atan. This is where the *Hikayat Bintan* (in Massot's terminology) told by Pak Atan takes on a clear mystical dimension that requires a perception of time outside the historical frame, one that should take into account the natural fluidity of the mangrove environment in which these stories were born.

According to Pak Atan, the Javanese mentioned above was originally from Banten in West Java. He had accessed powerful mystical secrets of the higher kind but felt that the time had not yet come to share them with his fellow men in Java. He then "ran away" (the meaning of *melayu* in Javanese according to Pak Atan), in search of the "white island". The boat he embarked on took him first to China, then to the Malay Peninsula, then to Srivijaya-Palembang and finally to Bintan. There he founded a settlement he named Kota Seggara or Kota Kara at the eastern foot of Gunung Bintan. According to the legend, he named the island "Bentan" in reference to his place of origin. One might ponder on the reason for such a legendary origin for the name, but the fact remains that the name of the island itself derives from the area encompassing Gunung Bintan and Sungai Bintan where the word Bintan is always part of the appellation of a place. The name only came to designate the whole island later when Western navigators started using it to designate the island on their maps.

The Javanese character resurfaces on various occasions and in the guise of various 'incarnations' in Pak Atan's version of the history of Bintan and the Malay world around it. One of the most intriguing of such occurrences pertains to the making of the keris *Tamengsari*. While the origin of the keris is still unclear, its earliest representation seems to be found at Candi Sukuh, a Hindu temple near Surakarta, Central Java, dating to mid-15th century AD, based on several dated inscriptions found in situ.³⁵ According to Pak Atan,

35. See Edward Frey, *The Kris: Mystic Weapon of the Malay World*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 2010 (1st ed. 1986).

an incarnation of the “Javanese” living in Majapahit would have in fact manufactured that first keris. Reputed for his powerful esoteric knowledge, the man was approached by a later king of the then vanishing kingdom of Srivijaya to create a magical weapon that would carry the knowledge of their civilization. This request sent him back to Bintan “to collect soil from the island”. Back in Java, he used this soil to forge the blade of the first keris, which he named *Tamengsari*. The keris was then handed to the Srivijaya king who in turn gave it to an early “incarnation” of Hang Tuah, the quintessential Malay hero.³⁶

During the last round of conversations conducted in 2010, Pak Atan finally fully expanded on the nature of Kuna Ini/Tok Telani. He developed the identity of the characters as five “incarnations” spanning a hazy duration of time. The five names given to that character are Kur Naini (Orang Kayanan dari Java), Mau Lana (*guru*), Sultan Tunji (the first king of Kota Kara), Tok Telani and Sultan Kuna Ini.

But after further discussions, it turned out that Kuna Ini/Tok Telani was in fact the combination of two characters, two brothers whose respective story lines were to be read as one. The two brothers were heavenly creatures, the older, Dewa Sapri represented the sun, the younger Kur Naini represented the moon. They came down to earth, in Java, as respectively Mau Lana and Mau

36. A few facts can be gathered to make this legend an interesting if not likely hypothesis. Shortly after the publication of Massot’s book on Bintan (2003), Peter Borschberg (National University of Singapore) informed him that he had noticed an interesting element on a map of Eredia’s *Description of Malacca* (pers. comm., Feb 2004). The map and its analysis are featured on p. 219 of *Eredia’s Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS reprint 14, 1997. It shows the tip of the peninsula and the northern part of the Riau Archipelago in an unusual orientation with the south and the island of Bintan at the top of the page. Besides places names, the map features hardly any other kind of information except the mention *mina do ferro* in a location that basically corresponds to Bintan’s heartland around the hill. The existence of such iron ore mine on the island must therefore have been important enough for it to be almost the sole factual information on that map. Leonard Andaya in his study on the history of Johor mentions that in the 17th century “smith work and the making of weapons [for Johor] were the sole preserve of the Orang Suku Mantang”, a tribe of Orang Laut identified by the name of a small island south of Bintan (L.Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor, 1641-1728: A Study of Economical and Political Developments in the Straits of Malacca*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 44). This iron mine therefore might have well been the one used by the Orang Laut to make their weapons and most probably keris. The only modern mining activity in Bintan concerns bauxite and so far Massot has not come across the mention of this mine in local oral history. However, one should consider that today Bintan’s soil is primarily made up of laterite, a type of soil formed by decaying rocks rich in iron oxides. Daniel Perret mentioned to Massot that a high content of iron in laterite might have led to the extraction of metal in former times (pers. comm., May 2010). Lastly, legend has it that the *Tamengsari* was forged out of twenty different types of iron. If one takes into account that iron ore is relatively scarce in the whole Indonesian archipelago, and that its exploitation might have well taken place in Bintan in the past, then the alleged journey of the Javanese to “collect soil from the island” suddenly takes on an altogether more possible meaning with much more realistic implications.

Lani. Mau Lana went to the south and eventually took retreat on Gunung Semeru. Mau Lani went to the north, to Gunung Selan, a mountain with nine summits covered in snow, “further north of Malaya”. Finally, after an undetermined amount of time, Mau Lani returned to Java and the two brothers met on Gunung Semeru. But both had forgotten about the past and the fact that they were brothers. At some point, Lana refused to share his knowledge any further. He then left... in search of the “white island”! His journey then becomes that of the Javanese mentioned above. As Sultan Tunji, he had a daughter of marriageable age. She was to become the wife of an “incarnation” of Mau Lani, whose later “incarnation” would be Hang Tuah.

Growing Interest and Growing Concerns

However esoteric the stories of Pak Atan might sound, the fact remains that until now the “graves” of Bintan Bukit Batu and the various sites in the area relating to these stories (see annex 2) still play an important role in the cultural tradition and identity at a regional level. This role was given a new lease of life during World War II when a series of events led to the creation of a local festival now fulfilling a growing spiritual function. We will now look at the recent role played by the cemetery.

World War II reached Bintan on 21 February 1942. The Japanese, seen as liberators from the European colonial power, were at first welcomed in most parts of Indonesia. The memory of the 19th century visit of Raja Khalid Hitam, a local Bugis aristocrat, to Tokyo³⁷ in order to seek support against the Dutch made this state of affairs even more prominent in Bintan. With the help of the nobility’s influence, the Japanese enrolled over 600 voluntary youths to form a local army corps known as *Gyu Tai*. A lasting contribution of this group was the opening of the first inland road linking the towns of Tanjung Pinang and Tanjung Uban. Things however deteriorated when these youths found themselves sent as forced labour to Siam to take part in the construction of a railway line. The anxious parents then turned to legendary Wan Seri Beni and her companions for help. The local population prayed at the *keramat* graves for the safe return of their young men and promised to hold an annual ceremony of offerings should all the youths return alive. Their wish was fulfilled and every year since then, on the 27th of Rajab, that is Isra’ Mi’raj, a rather colourful affair brings a surge of life to the usually quiet village. According to Pak Atan, the crowd now coming to Bintan Bukit Batu has grown even bigger since the publication of Massot’s book. People nowadays come not only from Bintan and the nearby islands, but from Singapore and Johor as well. The festival has become the opportunity for a

37. Barbara Watson Andaya, “From Rūm to Tokyo: the Search for Anticolonial Allies by the Rulers of Riau, 1899-1914”, *Indonesia*, 24, 1977, pp. 123-156.

yearly gathering of the regional Malay community. They come to pay respect to their spiritual ancestors and present requests through the intermediary of Pak Atan, who officiates by communicating with Dang Pok's spirit, said to be the easiest to contact among the three sisters.



Pilgrimage at Bukit Batu cemetery. (G. Massot, 2010)

But the peaceful rural life of Bintan Bukit Batu is on the verge of drastic changes. With the new-found autonomy of Indonesian regional powers and the saturated urban centre of Tanjung Pinang, the need arose a few years ago for the construction of an office complex to house the administration of the *kabupaten* (district) of Bintan. Until then, Bintan Bukit Batu had been kept away from any form of modern urban development. In order to improve the living conditions of the village, Pak Atan gathered the inhabitants of Bukit Batu and had each of them contribute a piece of land. Pooled together this amounted to substantial number of hectares that were offered to the regional government to build the new administrative town. This implied in a way that the capital of Bintan was coming back to its original location at the foot of the *gunung*. In line with the local tradition of naming places in the area, this new *kapupaten* capital will be known as Bintan Buyu.

The project has been marred by a number of corruption cases publicized in the national press. Despite this, construction work leading to the rise of

Bintan Buyu is transforming the landscape, leading to the emergence of a new era for Bintan's heartland. The long-term consequences of this radical transformation for the ecosystem and cultural homogeneity of an area that has so far seen few changes to its ancestral agrarian way of life can be of course the source of major concern. The administration of the historical site of the *keramat* graves will be handed over to the local government, which plans to develop it as a touristic destination. Questions can certainly be raised on the cultural implications of this evolution. The sites of Kota Segara and the ancient Bintan port too are to be reconfigured. Ideally, this should not be done without prior archaeological excavations needed to document such historical sites. But again, the urge for fast development might ignore these considerations. On a more positive note, this should also result in the construction of a Balai Adat in Kota Segara that will hopefully invigorate the preservation of local traditions. The site of Bukit Batu is the focus of a wider region that encompasses the heart of the island, all around the majestic Hill.

Conclusion

Following Wee's earlier indications of Bukit Batu's historical relevance in 1985, it can be said that Massot's recent round of field researches firmly establishes it from both archaeological and ethnological perspectives. Most importantly, the discovery of an inscription dated 16 April 1470 on a *batu Aceh* contributes meaningful information to the knowledge currently available on this type of grave marker. Within the region, Islamic inscriptions from the 15th century are rather rare outside Aceh. This new inscription is thus a valuable addition to the existing list.

Furthermore, and on a local level, this discovery was made in an area where no such discovery had been made previously. So far, the oldest known Islamic inscription in Bintan and the Riau Archipelago was an inscription dating to the 17th century on a Bugis grave in Kampong Bugis. Of course, there are indications showing that the site had evolved over many centuries and that some of the stones probably came from other places. The inscription thus cannot be considered as an absolute dating for the site itself. However, it should be reminded here that the boat wreck surveyed during the 1980s in the Bintan River was also dated to the 15th century.

One also has to take into account that the date of the inscription and the time frame of the person supposedly buried there do not match. The Sri Tri Buana episode, which Dang Serene is supposed to have been a part of, is meant to have taken place at the turn of 14th century. But no *batu Aceh* is known to predate the 15th century.

However the fact that the information given by the inscription does not corroborate the oral tradition is not surprising either, and the authors of this article do not claim to have identified at Bukit Batu the graves of individuals

mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu* or other Malay texts. Many of the burial sites around the archipelago are known to be the result of a long evolution that has seen markers from different locations gathered in one central symbolic site. As in the case of many other sites as well, and given the Hindu connotations found in Pak Atan's narrative, it is likely that Islamic practices have appropriated a pre-Islamic site. In 1992 and 1993 John Miksic conducted field trips during which he identified a number of pre-Islamic sites around Gunung Bintan dating back to at least the early 14th century.³⁸ In light of the current ongoing physical transformation of the Bukit Batu district, it would seem indeed appropriate, if not urgent, to conduct a series of systematic surveys in the area to clearly identify any such sites and eventually protect them from drastic disruptions.

From an ethnological point of view, the legends and ritualistic practices found in Bukit Batu form an important corpus of ancient oral and folk Malay traditions that remain alive in today's context, on an island known to have played an important role in regional history. The evolution of this corpus can now be followed over a period of more than two decades, a study that can hopefully be the basis for further in-depth research. If anything, Pak Atan's version of the Sri Tri Buana episode of the *Sejarah Melayu* is a clear and contemporary validation of the statement made by Matheson Hooker and Hooker in their recent introduction to Leyden's *Malay Annals* when they say that "There are thus strong grounds for believing that at various times and in a number of places, elements of the *SM* narrative were selected for incorporation into other narratives and 'localized'".³⁹ Interestingly enough too, Pak Atan's tale of the creation of the *Tamengsari*, which we found at first to have overtly strong ethnocentric implications, proved to be later unexpectedly supported by several pieces of historical information that lend it an altogether different perspective. Lastly, the complex esoteric dimension of Tun Telani expanded by Pak Atan over years of conversation eventually revealed a very specific local mythology that carries the voice of an ancient spiritual tradition certainly worth further attention in its relation to the regional context, or as part of a wider comparative study of founding myths.

One of Bukit Batu's most interesting aspects, however, is maybe the way in which this site relating to ancient beliefs has remained relevant in today's world. The trauma of WW2 brought about a re-actualization of these beliefs that resulted in their transmission to the younger generation. The growing interest surrounding the annual festival says that, far from falling into oblivion, Bukit Batu is now more than ever a focus of spiritual life for the

38. Pers. comm., Dec. 2011.

39. *John Leyden's Malay Annals*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS reprint 20, 2010, p. 40.

regional Malay community. Together with the mosque in Penyengat, Bukit Batu cemetery has become a destination for regional Muslim pilgrimages, a phenomenon representative of a growing spiritual need in today's society. The fact that Bukit Batu speaks of a distant past highly conducive to a sense of local identity in a globalized world makes this function even more invaluable. We therefore hope that this article will generate enough interest for further researches to be conducted in all these different directions.

ANNEX 1

The characters and their various roles

Characters	MS Raffles N.18	Leyden's translation	Pak Atan
1 Dang Pok/Wan Empok	Palembang farmer	Palembang farmer	Daughter of Megat Sri Rame Marries Sang Nila Utama
2 Dang Menini/Wan Malini	Palembang farmer	Palembang farmer	Daughter of Megat Sri Rame
3 Dang Serene/Wan Serna	na	na	Daughter of Megat Sri Rame
4 Megat Sri Rame	na	na	Queen of Bintan
5 Dang Sri Bani/Wan Seri Beni	Queen of Bintan	Daughter of Paramisuri Secandar Shah, queen of Bintan. Marries Sang Nila Utama	Daughter of the High Priest
6 Tok Telani/Tun Telanai	Official at the Melaka court	Son of Demang Lebar Daun, king of Palembang. Becomes king of Bintan at the death of Paramisuri.	Incarnation of Sultan Kuna Ini and central figure of Pak Atan's mythology.

ANNEX 2

Neighbouring sites

Bukit Batu (no. 8 on the map) is not the only site to preserve old tombstones in the area. Of the ten sites known to Pak Atan, six are located along an arc spanning the north east of the hill. The other four, including Bukit Batu, are found on the plain, within the network of small rivers that makes up Sungai Bintan. The first six sites located on the *gunung*'s slopes or at its feet will be described first, followed by the other four located on the plain.

1. Kubuh – Datuk Senang Hati or Tuan Puteri Melati

This “grave” is located southeast of the *gunung*, near the river’s estuary. The request for more precision on the identity of the individual related to this grave opened a new Pandora’s box with the emergence of seven sisters, all named after flowers.⁴⁰ However one of them, Puteri Cempaka, is already familiar to us and will be described under nr. 9.

2. Jakas – (Nakhoda Ragam?)

This “grave”, located east of the *gunung*, is said to be related to the wreck found in the river below and mentioned earlier. The gravesite, located further up on a slope, is a terrace surrounded by a low wall made up of stones. There are in fact two graves in Jakas, both showing an unusually long distance (near three meters) between the opposite tombstones. These *makam panjang*, or long graves, are taken as the sign of a person having developed supernatural powers.⁴¹

3. Nuyong – Datuk Nam Nam

This “grave” is located northeast of the *gunung*.⁴² Datuk Nam Nam also goes by the name of Datuk Pande Begendang. She is said to be an Arabian queen who could sing, dance and play of many instruments with great virtuosity. Her husband having been taken prisoner by enemies, she went on a quest to free him. Dressed as a man to travel freely, she eventually found him in China where she used her talents to liberate him. They then came to Bintan.⁴³

4. Perbun – Tun Kecil

This site, not yet visited by Massot, is located a little more to the west than site nr. 3. The individual supposed to be buried or commemorated here establishes a new connection with the *Sejarah Melayu*, as Tun Kecil is said to be the clever boy who appears in Singapura’s swordfishes episode.⁴⁴

40. Melur, Melati, Cempaka, Mawar, Si Tanjung, Raya, Kenanga. From personal observations, the similarity between these seven sisters/flowers and the flowers found in Javanese folk offerings, in which the flowers are meant to represent the body’s chakras, is most noticeable.

41. A picture of this grave has been published in Massot’s *Bintan, Phoenix of the Malay Archipelago*, p. 15. The type(s) of the tombstones has yet to be identified. Another *makam panjang* can be found on Pulau Hujan just off the coast (pers.comm., Jan van der Putten, 01/2012).

42. Massot also visited this grave during a walk in the forest with Pak Atan, but did not take a picture of it and unfortunately cannot remember the type of the stones.

43. This is the story of Zubaidah from the *Syair Siti Zubaidah* (pers.comm. van der Putten, 01/2012).

44. In this episode of the *Sejarah Melayu*, swordfishes are creating havoc along the shore of Singapura by jumping out of the sea and attacking people. A clever young boy thinks of using banana trunks to erect fences in which the weapon of the fishes gets stuck.

5. Nao – Tok Sera

East of the *gunung*, the “grave” in Nao is said to be that of a village head who had developed special powers.

6. Kota Kara

The ancient capital of Bintan is the site furthest west. It is marked by a complex of “graves”, three of which are now enclosed with modern tiles. Two of them are found within the same square enclosure, whereas the third is located a few meters away.⁴⁵ The names of the individuals related to these monuments, as given by Pak Atan, are Tok Sumiawati, Tok Raya, Tok Mbi and Tok Kavi. No other precision was given except that Tok Kavi was the assistant of Tok Mbi. Wee visited the site in the early 1980s and indeed saw four graves with tombstones made of “big, crude, irregularly shaped granite rocks, quite unlike any other gravestone that I have seen in Riau, or elsewhere for the matter”.⁴⁶ She also collected a wealth of data on local oral history, including the idea that Mecca was in Kota Kara and another about a golden fish that gave its name to the complex known as Keramat Datuk Bujuk,⁴⁷ *bujuk* being the name of a fish.

7. Datuk Hilir – Sri Rame

This is supposed to be the original grave of Megat Sri Rame, located on the western bank of the river, downstream from Bukit Batu. The grave is apparently under water at high tide and the 11th and 12th day of the lunar month are the best time to reach the site. The tombstones might be of *batu Aceh* type and Pak Atan mentioned the existence of an inscription.

9. Janka–Hang Tuah

In the famous *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the young Hang Tuah leaves Melaka to follow his father to Bintan and the place-name Bintan is mentioned several times in the text. It is therefore not surprising to find a *keramat* related to Hang Tuah in Bintan.⁴⁸

10. Tun Puteri Cempaka

This is the second grave dedicated to one of the seven “flower princesses”. This grave is part of a complex Massot visited in 2001 during the annual Mandi Safar festival. Fulfilling the function of annual cleansing, this festival sees a large gathering of people coming to bathe in the nearby river, and then perform a communal prayer on the grave of Puteri Cempaka. The type of the tombstones has yet to be identified.

45. At the time of our visit, all grave markers were covered with cloths but they appeared to be uncarved stones.

46. Wee, 1985, p. 384.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386.

48. See Kassim Ahmad (ed.), *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka/Yayasan Karyawan, 2008.

