

Hidden Tales of the Bujang Valley

Maznah Wan Omar (Corresponding author)

Fakulti Pengurusan Perniagaan

Universiti Teknologi MARA Kedah, Malaysia

E-mail: maznah199@kedah.uitm.edu.my

Syakirah Mohammed

Akademi Pengajian Bahasa

Universiti Teknologi MARA Kedah, Malaysia

E-mail: syakirahmohammed@kedah.uitm.edu.my

Razanawati Nordin

Akademi Pengajian Bahasa

Universiti Teknologi MARA Kedah, Malaysia

E-mail: razanawati@kedah.uitm.edu.my

Alauyah Johari

Akademi Pengajian Bahasa

Universiti Teknologi MARA Kedah, Malaysia

E-mail: alauyahj@kedah.uitm.edu.my

Syazliyati Ibrahim

Akademi Pengajian Bahasa

Universiti Teknologi MARA Kedah, Malaysia

E-mail: syazliyati@kedah.uitm.edu.my

Abstract

Legends thrive, but there is little tangible evidence about dozens of Malay kingdoms, which are said to have flourished long before the emergence of Melaka in the late 14th century. The Bujang Valley in South Kedah, for one, is Malaysia's richest archaeological site. The valley is the guardian of countless hidden tales which are waiting to be unveiled. Here, the beliefs of the Malay ancestors were centred upon nature and the spirits which permeate every aspect of their lives. These beliefs have been passed down to the next generation by the elderly. They have valuable information to share about their families and ethnicity of which written evidence is often scarce. Such tales may perish if they are not well documented. Oral history, adopted as its testimony, permits us to gather data not available in written records. Oral history techniques are able to elicit facts, feelings, and descriptions, contributing to social history. Moreover, this technique is able to reveal how individual values and actions shaped the past, and how the past shapes present-day values and actions. Findings include offerings made to appease the spirits of the rivers and lands. Other findings include the revelation of the Bujang Valley as the centre of knowledge. The establishment of madrasah – “**sekolah pondok**” brought about a better understanding of Islam resulting in the inherent beliefs in the supernatural to slowly diminish. All these recollections form a body of knowledge that is priceless and worth recording. Knowledge published in tangible forms is a key factor to worldwide recognition. Therefore, these efforts to safeguard oral history and family stories should be a top priority for new knowledge development and commercial enhancement for generations to come.

Keywords: The Bujang Valley, Oral history, Malay tales, Nature, Spirit, Islamic influence

1. Introduction

The Bujang Valley in South Kedah is Malaysia's richest archaeological region. It extends from Mount Jerai in the north to the Muda River in the south and the Straits of Melaka in the west. Apart from the Muda, the other principal river is the Merbok, while the 1,217-metre Mount Jerai is the highest landmark in the area. Situated in the rice-bowl region of Kedah, the valley was home to a prosperous kingdom around the 4th century A.D.

With the increase of trade in the Straits of Melaka, the Bujang Valley developed into a collecting centre for the products of the Malay Peninsula, and by the 7th century it had evolved into an entrepot. In 670 A.D, the Bujang Valley kingdom fell under the influence of Srivijaya, but regained its power with the weakening of the Srivijaya Empire at the end of the 11th century. It was still in existence in the 14th century but declined with the coming of Islam and the rise of Melaka as an entrepot.

The early Malay communities in Bujang Valley believed that Nature was controlled by spirits. The belief in the immortal human soul and its survival after death dates back to prehistoric times and is common to almost every culture in the world. These animistic practices are slowly diminishing among the Malay community of Bujang Valley in Merbok, Kedah with better understanding of Islam, leaving only the remnants and reminiscences of days gone by.

2. Malay Tales

Traditional Malay culture might be unfamiliar territory for the majority of Western readers; however, this collection succeeds in resurrecting the magic found in these tales, as well as creating a new, humorous take on how, with a little stretch of the imagination, they might just relate to the here and now Malay Tales: A Contemporary Retelling offers a tongue-in-cheek version of ten selected tales, and will certainly make its readers see this genre in a whole new light.

Malay Tales is defined as a cultural expression in a particular community shown through spoken language and common parlance. The expression is germane to various cultural aspects comprising religion, belief system, customary law, economic activities, family system, social stratum, and social values within the community.

Folk tales are evergreen stories that have been handed down from generation to generation. Malaysia offers a large collection of wonderful folk tales that have been the interest of many generations.

2.1 Nature's Influence on the Malay Community

Located along the equatorial line, Malaysia is a country lush with rainforests and swamps. Studies have indicated that such an environment has specifically influenced the lifestyle of early Malay communities (Dobby, 1942; Jeyamalar 2005). As concurred by Dobby (1942), both jungle and swamp dominate the natural landscape of the country and have rigidly ruled the patterns and manner of man's settlements. Malay villages or *kampung* used to be confined mainly to the lower river valleys and coastal plains most suitable for paddy cultivation (Jeyamalar, 2005). The river became the sources of food and means of transportation to them. As for the forest, it provided the Malays with timber for the houses, household goods, home remedies and potions which were utilized for a myriad of purposes (Long, 1928 in Jeyamalar, 2005).

Nature also influences the social aspects of the Malay life. For instance, many names of places are taken after elements which are taken from nature. The name *Merbok*, the district where the Bujang valley dwells is actually based on the name of a bird (Wan Shamsudin, 1992). Kampung Bujang, one of the villages in the Bujang valley is either named after the phrase *Telaga Getah* (means the rubber well) which was taken from Siamese, or *Bhujangga* (means snake) which was taken from Sanskrit (Asal-usul, 2008). Hence, it can be concluded that nature plays a crucial role in various aspects of the Malay life, particularly the early Malay communities.

2.2 The Beliefs in Spirits among the Malay Community

The Malays in the Malayan Peninsula adopted Islam in the fifteenth century. However, though the main teachings of Islam were accepted by them, the Malays retained many of the former pre-Islamic beliefs and customs. Among others, a body of superstition and ritualistic practices having to do with the spirits persisted among the people up to the mid 20th century (McAmis, 2002).

According to McAmis, a typical Muslim at that time would perceive God as a powerful king who is far removed from the everyday business of the common folk. To them their daily lives were more connected to the spirits whom they viewed as their guardians. Thus, the Malays would do their best to ensure that these spirits were not affronted by their doings. Winstedt (1951) attested that in many hamlets, the *pawang* or magician kept the repository of ancient faith and superstition alive through rituals and offerings particularly those related to economical activities and medication. In almost all part of Malaya, great respects were paid to local spirits

believed to inhabit trees, rocks, rivers and lakes. They believed that some spirits were good-natured while some were malevolent. Offerings of rice and flowers were made at ‘holy’ places marked by white flags or *panji* to appease the good spirits. Whereas, evil spirits such as *Bahdi*, *Seligi Bota* and *Langsuye* were feared and carefully avoided (Hotchener, 1932). The Malays also held the beliefs that diseases were caused by the four classes of genies. They attributed wind-borne diseases, dropsy, blindness and insanity to the doings of the genies of the air. The genies of the black earth were responsible for vertigo and blackness of vision whereas hot fevers and jaundice were associated with the evil doings of the genie of fire. White genies were claimed to inhabit the seas and believed to cause chills, catarrh and agues. (Laderman,2001).

To accommodate to the new faith, the Malays intermingle the teaching of Islam and the practice of the old. For example, the Hindu word ‘*om*’ used to invoke the spirits was replaced with the Arabic word ‘*Kun*’ –meaning let it be. Another example of how the Malays distorted the Islamic teaching to assimilate their older belief was their story of Luqman Hakim. According to them, Luqman Hakim was the first magician who lived in the sky. He was the descendent of Adam and Eve, and the Brother of Siva. Once, God commanded the Angel Gabriel to upset him as a punishment for his vanity. Pages of his books were scattered at sea and the founders of those pages were given knowledge and later became medicine men in the country (Winstedt, 1951). The teachings of Islam were distorted and intermingled with the rites of the old faith, leading to the beliefs in spirits and super naturals continuing to permeate the lives of the Malays in the olden days.

2.3 Islamic Influence on the Malay Community

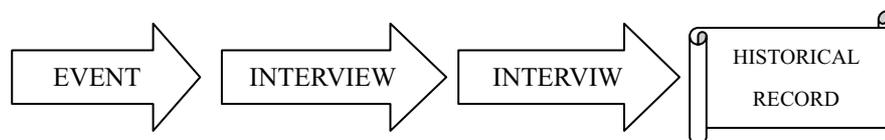
The true understanding of Islam in the country is attributed to the active efforts of voluntary organizations which were given high level of autonomy despite the existence of the Malay Sultanate. With both moral and material backing from the local communities, Islamic education institutions – notably the *pondok* – flourished throughout the country. *Waqf* and *zakat* funds (public endowment) enabled the religious scholars or *ulama* to concentrate on performing their duties as preachers. (Nakamura, Siddique and Bajunid, 2001)

The relentless efforts of the religious scholars were successful in increasing Islamic awareness among the Malays and guided them towards more realistic and scientific knowledge, leaving behind their beliefs in superstitions and the super naturals. This had slowly changed the Malays’ perception towards religion, culture and knowledge. Al-Attas in his book entitled *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu* (1972) similarly posited that the most significant teaching of Islam is the concept of *Tauhid* which acknowledges Allah S.W.T. as the only true god and simultaneously rejects the worships of deities and the supernatural beliefs. The introduction to *Tauhid* was the most significant contribution as it created awareness among the Malays of their own intellectual abilities befitting their role as *Khalifah*, thus leading them to discard the animistic beliefs that once were inherent part of their culture. Al-Attas further explained that the concept of ‘*Taqwa*’ further strengthened the Malays’ faith in Islam and this was reflected by their discontinuation of rituals and practices related to the spirits and super naturals.

3. Methodology

3.1 Description of Methodology

Oral history method is an alternative instrument used for research in history, anthropology, and folklore (Truesdell, 2009). It is employed in this study as it is the systematic collection of living people’s evidence about their own experiences. Oral history accumulates information about the past from observers and participants. It gathers data which is scarce in written records about people, events, decisions, and processes. The tools of the data collection can vary from taking notes by hand to capturing the session via audio and video recordings. During the interview session, an interviewee recalls an event for an interviewer who records the recollections and creates a historical record (Moyer, 1999). Below is the summary of the process:



In addition, Dr. Barbara Truesdell (2009) claims even though oral history may reveal how individual values and actions defined the past, and how the past defines the present-day values and actions, it has limitations. The obvious limitation is the interviewer can only go back one lifetime with each generation; and secondly, the interviewees may be able to reveal partial of the subject matter. Furthermore, the interviewer solely depend on human memory and the spoken words of the interviewees. Nevertheless, once the project completes, researchers

have successfully caught and held something valuable from the receding tide of the past; and this gives an ultimate sense of accomplishment (Moyer, 1999).

3.2 Research Design

An exploratory research design is adopted in this study where a qualitative approach is more useful for discovering the hidden tales in Bujang Valley. Qualitative approach is able to provide in-depth (deeper understanding) information on the characteristics of the Malay tales that we need to unveil. Furthermore, it allows us to discover “hidden” motivations and values.

This kind of research design makes it possible for us to use more unstructured data collection techniques as the nature of oral history methodology requires subjective interpretation of the information collected from the community who is willing to share hidden Malay tales around the Bujang Valley.

With qualitative approach, researchers will have to exercise a form of trustworthiness on the respondent and qualitative approach permits us to give strong emphasis and full trust on the information provided by the respondents.

Qualitative data method permits us to collect information using unstructured interviews or observation. Focus groups of 1 to 5 respondents will be identified and in-depth interviews will be conducted in this research approach i.e. qualitative research approach. The number of respondents required depends on whether the researchers are satisfied that the story has been thoroughly investigated.

One of the issues that need to be addressed in this type of study is the ethics in qualitative data collection. The researchers will ensure that the interviewees understand the purpose of the interviews and how the researchers intend to use it. The informant will be informed that the interviews will not be treated as a private conversation. The issue on ethics can be solved with ‘Informed consent’ from the researched.

3.3 Research Questions

- a-How does Nature influence the Malay community in the Bujang Valley?
- b-How do the beliefs in Spirits influence the Malay community in the Bujang Valley?
- c-How does Islam shape the lives and practices of the Malay community in Bujang Valley?

3.4 Research Objectives

This study embarks on the following objectives:

- a-To investigate how nature influence the Malay Community in the Bujang Valley.
- b-To examine how the beliefs in spirits influence the Malay Community in the Bujang Valley.
- c-To identify how Islam shapes the and practices of the Malay community in Bujang Valley.

3.5 Samples for the Study

Adopting a qualitative approach in our research design makes in-depth data collection possible especially when the sample size is small. Snowballing sampling is used in this study starting with the researchers identifying the key informants. The key informants, Mak Ngah Wa and Mak Ndak Om, assisted and identified other informants living in the Bujang Valley. 10 core respondents who agreed to participate in this study were identified. From these core respondents, the samples snowballed into a bigger number of respondents. Interviews were conducted with several focus groups consisting of 1 to 5 respondents per group. They were people who either have blood ties or live in the same community where the tales originated. In total 18 respondents were interviewed.

3.6 Data collection method

Informed consents were obtained from informants to conduct interviews and other recordings. Data were collected using audio and visual recorders. These recordings were then transcribed and analysed.

4. Limitations

The Bujang Valley or Lembah Bujang covers an area of approximately 224 square km. Situated near Merbok Kedah, between Gunung Jerai in the north and Muda River in the South. This study is based on respondents who are still alive and living in the Bujang Valley to tell or reveal according to what he/she remembers from previous experience and tales which are handed-down by the previous generation. Their stories are based on events which happened as far back as the 1900.

5. Findings and discussion

Findings of the study show that the Malay community of Bujang Valley relied heavily on nature for their livelihood. This heavy reliance on nature also helped shape their way of life at that time. The full-time occupation of the villagers was paddy planting. In the olden days when the ties between the members of community were strong, the villagers co-operated by taking turn working each other's paddy field. This concept, called '*berderau*', ensured that work could be done faster particularly for tasks that required huge man-power such as transplanting and harvesting. This practice of '*berderau*' is described as being a common traditional practice among paddy planters by M.Z. Azmie in his book entitled '*Sepakat Daripada Perspektif Pengurusan Organisasi*' (2006). According to him, the practice involved an exchange of labour based on number of days spent or nature of tasks done in one's paddy fields. Reliance on nature is also seen in the use of animals to work the field. Buffaloes were used to plough the earth while the animals' dropping and dung were used to fertilize the soil. This concurs with the research done by Kato (1988) which reported how the farmers in Negeri Sembilan let their cattle loose in the paddy fields after harvesting seasons to keep the grass short and to enrich the land with the dung dropped by the cows.

The spirit of community was again displayed came the harvesting seasons. The villagers would take turn holding a feast of newly harvested rice (called *kenduri beras baru* in Malay). Dishes of fresh-water fish, caught from the very same paddy field they worked on, would be served together with the rice during the feast. It was the practice at that time for a pond to be dug in each plot of paddy field. This pond was popularly known as a fish-well (loosely translated from the word *telaga ikan* in Malay). Towards the harvesting season, as the paddy fields dried up, fish that inhabited the plot would be driven to seek shelter in the pond. Once harvesting was done, the men-folk would dry up the pond to catch the fish. The respondents described fish such as *haruan* (mudfish) and *keli* (catfish) being as big as a man's calf. Other fish to be found are *puyu* (*Anabas scandens*) and *sepat* (*Trichopodus*). These ritual feasts and trapping of fish in fish-wells were similarly reported practised by paddy planters in Negeri Sembilan (Kato, 1988)

Unlike the practice of these days, the harvested paddy was not sold to outsiders. Each family would keep the harvested paddy in a small granary called *bekas padi* built in the compound of their houses. From time to time, the women-folk with the help of the younger male family members would de-husk the paddy to turn it into edible rice. As Ramadan approached the womenfolk would work hand in hand to mill the rice and glutinous rice into flour so that they could enjoy a brief respite from the manual labours during the fasting month. The villagers would prepare delicacies in huge amount during Ramadan so that they can share the food with their neighbours. This again proved the spirit of community that permeated the everyday lives of the simple kampong folks.

The villagers relied on nature to support their lives as illustrated in the respondents' stories. The respondents admit that at that time, money was hard to come by. At times, they did not even have fifty cents in their pockets. However, they never felt want for anything as food was easily found in their surroundings. Fish were caught either in the paddy fields or the many tributaries of Sungai Merbok that ran behind the village. Clams and other shellfish were dug from the muddy mangrove swamps, while vegetables were grown in the compound of their houses and young shoots were gathered from the wild plants that grew in abundance in the village.

The men-folk, aside from working on the paddy fields, made a living by depending on Sungai Merbok. Some regularly went out to the river to fish while some would chop down the mangrove trees to collect woods for various purposes. The men would peel the bark of *nyirih* trees (a type of mangrove trees) and gathered them to be sold in the nearest town - Sungai Petani. The liquid extracted from the bark of *nyirih* trees was used to preserve fishing nets. Apart from that, they also collected the fronds of *nipah* plants to be made into roofing materials or *attap*. Some of the braver ones worked as crocodile hunters and trapped crocodiles that once multiplied in abundance in the tributaries of the Sungai Merbok. This is concurrent with Jeyamalar Kethirithamby-Wells' conclusion that the Malays' lives and economy were dependent on their surroundings. From them the Malays extracted a variety of plants for culinary and medicinal purposes as well as materials for constructions of buildings or dwellings and firewood to be used as fuel (2005).

Another aspect of life closely associated with the Malay community of Bujang Valley was the beliefs in the supernatural. Beliefs in supernatural elements were embedded in the Malay community of Bujang Valley for many generations. Spirits were the elements worshipped with the intention of making them as the village protector or performer of manual labours. Some respondents described the practice of keeping *hantu raya* or the 'supreme demon' mainly for working the fields. Evidently, the Malays believed that *hantu raya* was used by its keeper to protect his house and property (Haji Mokhtar Mohd Dom, 1979). Another famous tale of supernatural being recited by the respondents was the tale of Salih - the ring leader of a clan of *hantu raya* owned by the late

village head of Mukim Bujang. The name Salih was derived from the Malay word '*bersalih*' – referring to the demon's tendency to assume the form of its owner. Such ability to assume diverse forms and shapes by the *hantu raya* was reported by Haji Mokhtar Mohd Dom in his book "*The Bomoh and The Hantu*" (1979).

Salih and his minions were kept mainly to serve the duty of protecting the villages under the care of the Penghulus. Being a protector to the villages encompassed the duty of safe-guarding the community and the villagers' farms, and performing manual labours especially those beyond men's natural ability to complete. Salih would often stir trouble for newcomers to the village, perhaps to ensure the safety of the villagers. In one such incident, a newly operating tin-mine at Getah Sepokok – an area that leads to Mukim Bujang - would experience electrical circuit break for a few consecutive nights causing power failure to the mines. The Penghulu settled this matter by ordering the owner to hold a feast with the help of the villagers. The goat's head and ears were later offered to Salih as a peace offering. McAmis (2002) described the spirits as being comparable to the local police and the Malays of the olden time avoid offending the spirits by presenting offerings to them. Parallel to that Winstedt (1951) stated that the beliefs in the super naturals among the Malays often concerned with fishing, hunting, agricultural, mining and traditional cures of the sick.

Another female respondent shared the story of how, when she was still a child, the mothers in the village taught their children to give salute to Salih when they passed by two places known to be his favourite haunts. The belief was that by doing so, the children would not be spooked by the demons and would not be inflicted by diseases. When the villagers were in need of medical help, they would worship the supernatural element to seek help and assistance. This was done by offering a feast made of eggs and yellow rice, often placed underneath big trees such as tamarind and *keriyang* trees that grow in the villages. Such offerings were quite commonly done by the Malays especially before a séance by shamans or medicine men in the past (Hotchener, 1932). Peace offerings were also made to appease the spirit of water ghost. Done annually by a village elder the peace offering was to ensure the safe passage of the villagers as they travel down the Sg. Merbok or as they navigate the myriad tributaries looking for fish and resources from the mangrove forest or even hunting the crocodiles.

These beliefs in the supernatural though inherent in the early century began to diminish towards the last half of the century with better understanding and appreciation of Islam. This came about with the proliferation of Islamic religious schools better known as *madrasah* or *sekolah pondok*. One of the earliest *sekolah pondok* was built in Kampung Batu Hampar by Haji Muhammad bin Haji Othman or also known as Haji Ahmad Tampong. Haji Ahmad Tampong received his early Islamic education from his father at a *madrasah* in Langgar, Kedah. Later, he pursued his religious study in Mekah, Saudia Arabia. In his mid-twenties, he moved to Batu Hampar, Merbok hoping to settle down and start planting rubber trees on his land (Ismail Restu, 1996). However, due to the continuous demands and enthusiasms from the locals to study Islam, Haji Ahmad Tampong was encouraged to build a *madrasah*. In 1893, *Madrasah Sa'adatud-Darain* was completed and ready to welcome only the male students. Somewhere in the mid 1940s, the *madrasah* opened its door to the female students into the teaching and learning of Islam. Due to the flourishing awareness of Islam, the locals, unexpectedly, embraced the idea and sent their daughters to the *madrasah*.

The success of the *Madrasah Sa'adatud-Darain* led to another *madrasah* known as *Tarbiyatul Auladiyah* being built in Kampung Bendang Dalam. Another Islamic scholar, Haji Ahmad B. Haji Yahya married one of the scions of Haji Ahmad Tampong's family and upon the request of the villagers, a similar *madrasah* was built in the next hamlet with Haji Ahmad B. Haji Yahya as the teacher. The land used to build the *madrasah* was paid in half with donations from the villagers, whereas the other half was given as *waqf* by the owner. With trainings under the famous Kelantan scholar Tok Kenali and education received in the city of Mekah, Haji Ahmad was able to convey the true teachings of Islam to the villagers in the surrounding areas. His kindness and courteous manner which earned him the nickname Haji Ahmad Baik – meaning Haji Ahmad the Good- had attracted many people from all over Kedah to come to receive his tutelage. The *madrasah* flourished and at one point there were around forty small *pondoks* built around the *madrasah* to accommodate the students who came to study from him.

Government's effort of organizing *Kelas Dewasa* or adult literacy classes after Independence also helped to raise better understanding of Islam. Religious education classes held together with the reading classes enable the villagers to truly grasp the belief system in Islam. This had led to the animistic beliefs to slowly diminish among the villagers of Bujang Valley. The ritual practices also came to an almost complete stop and nowadays they can only be heard in the reminiscence of the older generation but rarely seen in actuality.

6. Conclusion

Once, the Bujang Valley was presented as one of the world's hectic seaport and trade center. Sailors, traders, businessmen who arrived from all over India, China, and Middle East, had brought great influence to the valley. Somehow, after the 13th century, the busy Bujang Valley stopped breathing and embracing its new found silence and emancipation. Today, the Bujang Valley still retains its calmness and appeal of the utter physical splendour. With its majestic mountainous countryside and its fair share of powerful flow of rivers and streams, the valley is proud with its enormous paddy fields, assorted fishing boats and wild mangrove trees. Even though the valley is in its slumber; it has long exerted a peculiar power to seduce and to stir the ardent imagination and the richly complex lives of its community. Only the local residents are able to present their creativity to share the tales that once define the valley. The tales which influence and shape lives as we know today come from the past now revealed in the Hidden Tales of the Bujang Valley.

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Table 1. Data Collection Form

		
<p style="text-align: center;">HIDDEN TALES OF THE BUJANG VALLEY INTERVIEW SESSION</p>		
INTERVIEW NO:		Notes/ remarks
NAME(S):		
DAY / DATE:		
TIME:		
DURATION:		
VENUE (ADDRESS):		
CONTACT NO:		
YEARS OF LIVING IN BUJANG VALLEY:	Ice-breaking followed by questions leading to the tales from the Valley.	
THEME(S):		
TITLE OF STORY:		
CHARACTER(S):		
PLOT / SUMMARY: [State keywords]		
Other contacts	Snowball from contact person. Follow-up story.	
RESEARCHER:		
SIGNATURE:		

Table 2. The Map of the Bujang Valley, Kedah, Malaysia

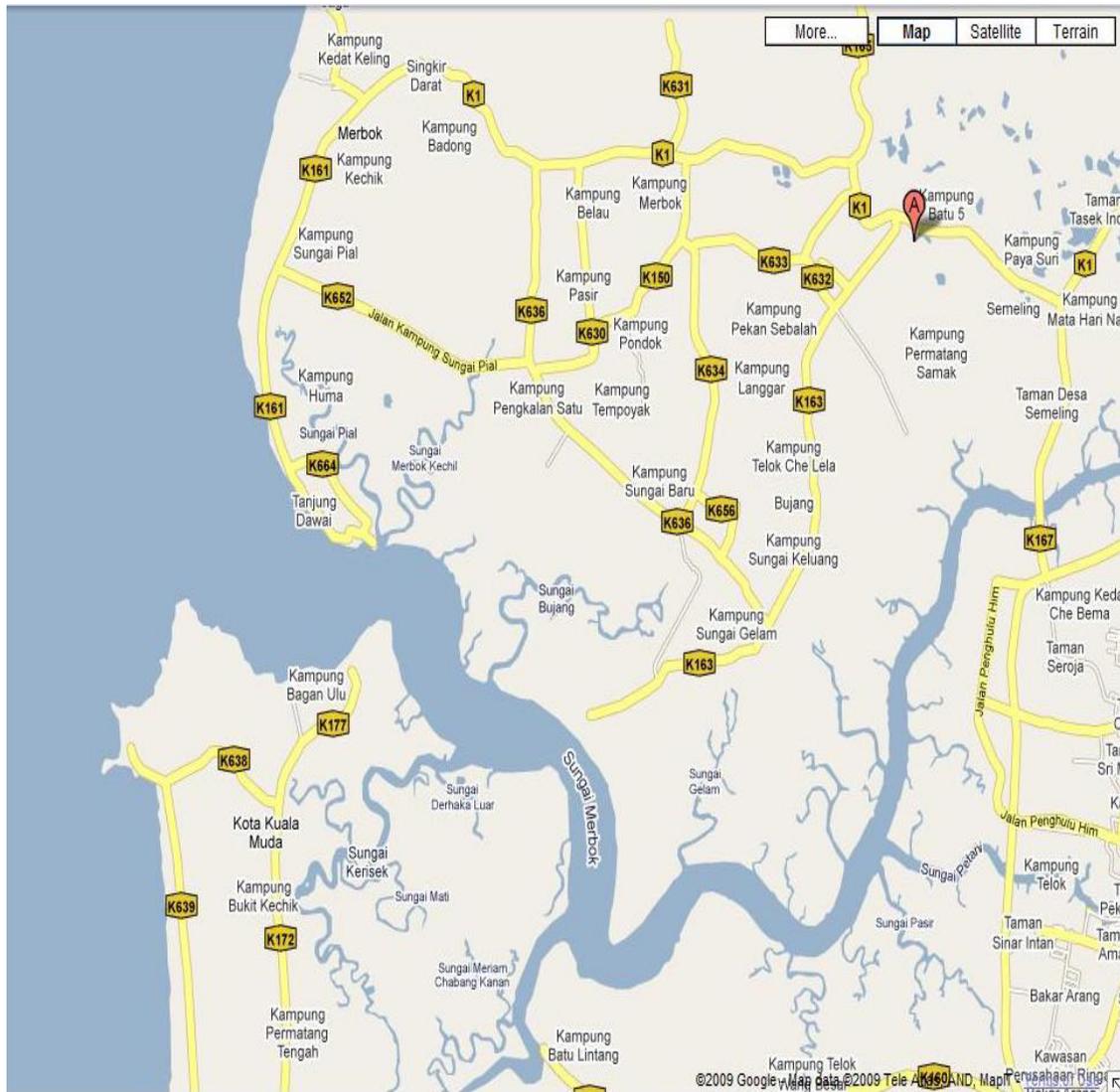


Table 3. Biography of Respondents (Hidden Tales of the Bujang Valley)

<p>Respondent One</p> 	<p>Known as: Ngah Wa Full Name: Siti Hawa Bt. Hasan Age: 74 years old Year of Birth: 1936 Occupation: Housewife – mother of 11 Current address: Kg. Langgar Mukim Bujang, Bedong Kedah, Malaysia</p> <p>Educational Background: Primary education – Sekolah Melayu Kg. Bujang (Standard Four)</p>
<p>Respondent Two</p> 	<p>Known as: Mak Long Saodah Full Name: Mariam Bt. Ahmad Age: 70 years old Year of Birth: 1940 Occupation: Retired religious teacher Current address: Kg. Candi, Pengkalan Bujang, Bedong kedah, Malaysia</p> <p>Educational Background: Primary education – Sekolah Melayu Kg. Bujang, Sekolah Rakyat Pengkalan Bujang, Madrasah Tarbiyattul Khairiyah, Bendang Dalam.</p> <p>In-service training with State Religious Affairs Department</p>
<p>Respondent Three</p> 	<p>Known as: Mak Ndak Om Full Name: Amiah @ Che Om Bt. Ahmad Age: 69 years old Year of Birth: 1941 Occupation: Retired kindergarten teacher Current address: Kg. Langgar Mukim Bujang Bedong Kedah Malaysia</p> <p>Educational Background: Primary education - Sekolah Rendah Bujang, Secondary education -Maktab Masriyah Bukit Mertajam, Higher secondary education - Kolej Islam Kelang (Malaysian Middle Certificate of Education)</p>
<p>Respondent Four</p> 	<p>Known as: Cik Jah Full Name: Khatijah Bt. Mustapha Age: 65 years old Year of Birth: 1945 Occupation: Housewife, mother of five Current address: Kg. Bendang Dalam, Bujang Bedong Kedah, Malaysia</p> <p>Educational Background: Primary education - Sekolah Rendah Batu Hampar (Standard six)</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Respondent Five</p> 	<p>Known as: Mak Tam Yah Full Name: Rogayah Bt. Khamis Age: 77 years old Year of Birth: 1933 Occupation: Housewife Current address: Kg. Sungai Gelam, Mukim Bujang Bedong Kedah, Malaysia</p> <p>Educational Background: Primary education - Sekolah Melayu Kg. Bujang (Standard three)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Respondent Six</p> 	<p>Known as: Pak Long Daud Full Name: Daud B. Abdullah Age: 76 years old Year of Birth: 1934 Occupation: Paddy planter Current address: Kg. Candi, Pengkalan Bujang, Bedong Kedah, Malaysia</p> <p>Educational Background: Primary education - Sekolah Melayu Kg. Bujang (Standard five)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Respondent Seven</p> 	<p>Known as: Pak Long Wa Man Full Name: Abd. Rahim B. Ahmad Age: 79 years old Year of Birth: 1931 Occupation: Retired primary school teacher Current address: Kg. Langgar, Mukim Bujang Bedong Kedah, Malaysia</p> <p>Educational Background: Primary education - Sekolah Melayu Kg. Bujang (Standard Six) In-service teacher training – Malaysian Ministry of Education</p>