Of *Rajuk*, *Durhaka* and Demasculinization. Examining class inequality and gender representations in Hussain Haniff's *Hang Jebat* (1961)

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ABSTRACT

During the Golden Age of Malay cinema, Hussain Haniff was a prolific filmmaker who made 12 films within a period of five years. Started as an extra, escalated to editor, Hussain Haniff's films mostly questioned the powers advocating the subject of rebellion and class injustice. Known as a rebel with modernist approaches, Hussain Haniff made films with rebellion being the theme within its narratives. This can be seen in his first directorial debut Hang Jebat (1961) that tells the story of how the warrior Hang Jebat stood up for his comrade Hang Tuah who was unjustly sent to the gallows. Hang Jebat in defying the orders of the Sultan and thinking that Hang Tuah had been executed, went into a fit of rage and as an act of rebellion ran amok while killing several villagers. In the Malay culture and Malay purbawara films, this treasonous act of rebellion known as "durhaka" is caused by an expression of "rajuk" - the sulk, or "merajuk" – the act of sulking, and occurs when a servant or warrior rebels against the act of injustice of his master. This paper aims to discuss the act of *merajuk* which often stereotyped as a feminine trait but in *Hang Jebat* it can be understood as a form of rebellion against feudalism and can be further attributed to understanding issues related to marginalisation and class oppression. Through an intertextual study of this film, this paper unravels how the *rajuk* of Hang Jebat represents an act of rebellion that challenges class inequality and gender representations. This article analyses rajuk in two main focuses; firstly on how explosive rajuk which is an allegory to the anti-feudal nature is expressed by Hang Jebat and how rajuk resulted an implication in his more feminine character compare to his rebel character at the beginning of this film.

Keywords: rajuk, class struggle, rebellion, gender.

INTRODUCTION

The *hikayat* is a Malay epic narrating the myths and legends with Islamic, Arabic and Persian influences. Written between the 14th and 17th centuries, the *hikayat* reflects on the splendours of the Malay kingdoms of that period (Norman Yusoff, 2013). The most famous amongst these is the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (The Epic of Hang Tuah), which narrates the heroics and bravery of Hang Tuah, an admiral and close confidante of the Sultan of Malacca. In the Malay culture and literature, *Hikayat Hang Tuah* can be seen as a national

epic, similar to how *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have been to the Greeks of old (Kassim Ahmad, 1966) and the narratives of Mahabharata and the Hellenic legends of ancient Greece and Egypt (Farish A. Noor, 2010). While Hang Tuah is portrayed as a character epitomising all of the qualities of a traditional Malay hero, the narrative of the *hikayat* is centralised around the conflict between Hang Tuah and his comrade Hang Jebat and their relationship with the Malacca Sultan (Van der Heide, 2002).

In *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the narrative revolves around how Hang Tuah became the favourite of the Sultan after proving his loyalty and bravery by defeating a man who ran amok in the Kingdom of Malacca. Patih Karma Wijaya and other jealous officials however accused Hang Tuah of socializing with a palace courtesan. This act, which was deemed as "*durhaka*" or treason, caused Hang Tuah to be sentenced to the gallows. When Hang Jebat heard that Hang Tuah had been sentenced to death he ran amok. Armed with the Taming Sari keris (Malay dagger), its immense power makes no one capable of stopping him. When the Sultan however discovered that Hang Tuah was still alive, he ordered Hang Tuah to kill Hang Jebat (Kassim Ahmad, 1966). In Malay literature and culture, Hang Tuah and Hang Jebat represent the embodiment of heroism and treason. Based on the *hikayat*, Hang Tuah as the hero represents the pinnacle of Malay heroism while Hang Jebat is essentially a rebel and revolutionary whose ideas were too radical at that time (Kassim Ahmad, 1966).

Murat (as cited in Kavita, 2017) pointed out that most of the Malay films in early 1960 were made in the Malay language and characters were based on the 'bangsawan' style or Malaysian musical orchestra. During the days of the bangsawan (Malay theatre), Hikayat Hang Tuah was popularly adapted and became the most frequent story for plays that attracted large audiences (Farish A. Noor 2010). In 1956, the film Hang Tuah was produced by the Shaw Brothers owned Malay Film Productions (MFP) and directed by Phani Majumdar. Hang Tuah became one of the early Malay films to be made in colour and was adapted from The Adventures of Hang Tuah, written by M. C. ff Sheppard who was to become an influential figure in Malay historical/cultural affairs (Van der Heide, 2002). Acknowledging that 'many details [were] imaginary', Sheppard confined his narrative to some of the major adventures of Hang Tuah, by using characters from the story from the bangsawan version (Van der Heide, 2002). The film however remained faithful to the original text by valorising Hang Tuah as a hero due to his undivided lovalty to the Sultan. The screenplay for the film was however loosely based on the Hikayat Hang Tuah and Malay Annals (Norman Yusoff, 2013). The film and Hikayat Hang Tuah then inspired other films such as Tun Tijah (1960, L. Krishnan) and Puteri Gunung Ledang in 1961 by S. Roomai Noor and in 2005 by Saw Tiong Hin to be produced (Norman Yusoff, 2013). In 1961, rival studios Cathay-Keris produced a film based on the Hikayat Hang Tuah directed by Hussain Haniff.

Hussain Haniff or his real name Muhamad Hussain Bin Muhammad Hanif was born in 1934. There are contradictions in where he was born, some said that he was born in Pakistan, and other information stated that he was from Johor (Danial Abd. Aziz, 2017). Hussain Haniff migrated to Singapore with his father (M. Haniff) when he was a child. In Singapore, his father worked as a set designer in Malay Film Production (MFP) owned by Shaw Brothers.

Hussain Haniff started his career as a supporting actor in MFP and appearing as an extra in *Bapa* Saya (1951) and Juwita (1951). He also helped his father to design film set and backdrop for MFP films back in early 1950. After a few years, Hussain Haniff started to learn film editing from his master, H.R Narayana and in late 1950, he moved to Cathay-Keris Film (CKF) and started as a full time film editor. Among the films that he edited were *Che Mamat Parang Tajam* (1958), *Orang Minyak* (1958), *Jula Juli Bintang Tiga* (1959), *Raden Mas* (1958), *Rasa Sayang-Eh* (1959), *Bawang Puteh Bawang Merah* (1959), *Noor Islam* (1960), and Sri Mersing (1961).

He directed a total of 12 films in his short career, including *Hang Jebat* (1961), *Dang Anom* (1962), *Mata Shaitan* (1962), *Korban Kaseh* (1962), *Masok Angin Keluar Asap* (1963), *Gila Talak* (1963), *Dua Pendekar* (1964), *Kalong Kenangan* (1964), *Istana Berdarah* (1964), *Chinta Kaseh Sayang* (1965), *Jiran Sekampong* (1965), and *Udang Disebalek Batu* (1966). He died in 1966 at the age of 32 and his legacy continues as he is known for his radical directing style as well as one of the early masters of Malay film editor.

His debut *Hang Jebat* (1961) was based on the 1959 play of Ali Aziz, *Hang Jebat Menderhaka* (Hang Jebat Commits Treason), which was itself part of a broad re-interpretation of the Tuah/Jebat relationship (Van der Heide, William, 2002). The film focused more on the character of Hang Jebat as an anti-hero due to his rebellious and anti-feudal qualities that deconstruct the classical representation of Malay masculinity.

Unlike *Hang Tuah* directed by Majumdar, *Hang Jebat* appeared somewhat darker due to its emphasis on fighting and violence and the downplaying of music and romance. The film accentuates psychological realism and individual characterisation by focusing on and exploring the relationship between two male comrades (Norman Yusoff, 2013). The film also portrays the most explosive form of *rajuk* (sulking), which cannot be alleviated or reconciled. It was also the act of *rajuk* that led Hang Jebat to run amok and commit violence (Anuar Nor Arai, 2002).

RAJUK IN THE MALAY CULTURE

Rajuk is a form of sulking that can be seen as a melodramatic emotional expression and is quite acceptable for a person to feel hurt by the tiniest slight (Norman Yusoff, 2013). While *rajuk* is a significant phenomenon that exists in the socio-political lives of Malay men and women, this disposition is often regarded as feminine. In reality, however in the Malay culture both men and women may express *rajuk* (Anuar Nor Arai, 2002). The solution to this predicament is by attempting to *pujuk*, or to flatter with compliments and to caress with tender words (Marsden, 1984).

Within the Malay community, *rajuk* involves verbal and non-verbal communication that includes longing, lethargy, weakness, distortion, anger, hate, love, sorrow and separation (Mahdi Abas, 2010). *Rajuk* also refers to the showing of displeasure by refusing to speak, cooperate or mingle. *Rajuk* and *pujuk* are both important phenomena in the social and political lives of the Malays as these acts not only allow them to respond instinctively to their surroundings within confrontational or non-confrontational situations (Anuar Nor Arai, 2002). *Rajuk* and *pujuk* also trigger spontaneous thoughts and feelings that can either be acceptable or unacceptable as *rajuk* and *pujuk* unconsciously act as an interplay of feelings that transcends the intellectuality of human. In the Malay society, the cultural-bound form of emotion caused by *rajuk* is one of the manifestations that would cause the individual to emotionally seek internal solutions (Mahdi Abas, 2010).

This expression of *rajuk* can also be found in old Malay literary such as the *hikayat* and *pantun* (poems). In a romantic *pantun*, *rajuk* is expressed by a girl to the boy she is in love with and is considered one of the 18 steps or elements in love and courtship (Muhammad Haji Salleh, 2011). *Rajuk* is also present in old (and new) Malay films (Anuar Nor Arai, 2002). Serious forms of *rajuk* can also be seen in several family-oriented *purba* melodramas, which were loosely adapted from didactic folktales. For example, *Batu Belah Batu Bertangkup* (1959) directed by Jamil Sulong revolves around the craving for fish roe by a single mother that was left unfulfilled as her hungry son finished off the roe. Feeling hurt, she expresses *rajuk* by running off into the deep jungle towards a man-eating boulder.

In old Malay films, a servant (traditional warrior) expresses *rajuk* towards his master, which is often the Sultan, when the former must confront the injustice of feudalism. This is present in *Hang Jebat*. *Rajuk* can also be attributed to socially marginalised or oppressed individuals who experience suppression and repression (Norman Yusoff, 2013; Anuar Nor Arai, 2002) that reflects on the character of Hang Jebat who has been used by the Sultan to fulfill his own interest. Many old Malay melodramatic films foreground *rajuk* in their depictions of 'the fictitious adventures of human relationships' to reflect a culturally familiar form of behaviour and to generate 'drama' in Malay films (Anuar Nor Arai, 2002). *Rajuk* can be seen as evident in the culture-bound form of emotion that characterises the Malays and this emotive mode can also be found in Hussain Haniff's Hang Jebat.

THE SYNOPSIS OF HANG JEBAT

Hang Tuah is sentenced to death after being slandered by Patih Karma Wijaya. Sultan Mansur Shah who passes the sentence orders the Datuk Bendahara to execute the sentencing. The Sultan refuses to rescind his order despite the pleas from the Datuk Bendahara and Datuk Temenggung to not hastily punish Hang Tuah. Despite Hang Jebat trying to stop the execution, Hang Tuah insists that the Sultan's orders must be carried out.

Hang Jebat then conveys the news of Hang Tuah's death to his wife and promises to avenge his death. In a twist of events, the Sultan then appoints Hang Jebat as the new Dato Laksamana replacing Hang Tuah. The Taming Sari Keris that makes its user immortal and a symbol of bravery was also given to Hang Jebat. This seemed to present Hang Jebat with the opportunity to execute vengeance for the death of Hang Tuah. The appointment of Hang Jebat as Dato Laksamana also irked Patih Karma Wijaya who was eyeing the position. Patih Karma Wijaya's hatred and anger worsened when Hang Jebat killed his nephew who was trying to rape Dang Baru. He then falsely accused Hang Jebat of kidnapping Dang Baru from the Datuk Bendahara's house.

With the Sultan away, Hang Jebat took advantage of his absence by inviting villagers to eat at and loot the palace. When the Sultan heard of this, he ordered the Datuk Bendahara to kill Hang Jebat. As Hang Tuah however could only defeat Hang Jebat, the Datuk Bendahara finally revealed that Hang Tuah is still alive. Upon learning this, the Sultan immediately pardoned Hang Tuah and ordered him to kill Hang Jebat. During the duel, Hang Tuah managed to wrest the Taming Sari Keris from Hang Jebat and managed to kill him.

METHODOLOGY

In unravelling the act of *merajuk*, this article employs intertextual film analysis to consider the concept of *rajuk* that resulted changes to the character's emotions due to marginalisation in class struggle. However, to what extent are internal process of *rajuk* represent in *Hang Jebat* (1961)? In this study, the *rajuk* of Hang Jebat is more appropriately observed using the film's anti-feudal narrative as a text. In this regard, text is not limited to interpretation of dialogues, it will also look at the elements of mise-en-scène such as camera shots, camera angles, and blocking. Those elements will be used alongside with the concept of *rajuk* to analyse and interpret the emotions of Hang Jebat that, upon deeper analysis, subversively articulates the act of rebellion that challenges class inequality. In this particular context, the process of data analysis which involved the relationship between the concept of *rajuk* and the film text will enable to explain the emotional of Hang Jebat beyond its explicit critique of feudalism in the film's narrative.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

HANG JEBAT, RAJUK AND CLASS CONTESTATION

The film opens with a sequence of the Sultan's foot on the people's heads. This opening sequence is an indication of how Hussain Haniff contests class differences between the palace institution that represents the upper classes/aristocrats and common people that are representative of the working classes. Hussain Haniff thus attempts to contest class differences by showing how the common people have been oppressed by the upper classes. As such, the rebellious behaviour (*durhaka*) of Hang Jebat towards the Sultan and of leaving the palace is reflective of his political stand of that time and simultaneously represents his contestation of class differences.

The opening sequence also shows how the Sultan has been out of touch with the common people and discusses political corruption. The first scene of the film showed the Sultan wanted Hang Tuah to be killed and this reflected his domination towards the common people as shown in his dialogue; *'Beta berkuasa untuk menghukum! dan berkuasa untuk mengurus segalanya!'* (lit. 'I have the power to punish and rules everything!', author's translation).

The dictatorship of the Sultan in his ruling can clearly be seen in the dialogue above and the order to kill Hang Tuah was not from the Sultan himself but was influenced by a palace official named Karma Wijaya who was jealous of Hang Tuah's position. This demonstrates how one individual control the politics in the palace by currying favour and dominating the audience with the Sultan. The character of Karma Wijaya clearly represents an act of corruption as he dominates the ear of the Sultan, thus causing other palace officials to lose their rights to voice out their concerns towards the decisions of the Sultan.

Hussain Haniff represents Hang Jebat's act of *rajuk* as their criticism towards class differences. The scene where Hang Jebat meets the Sultan shows how Hang Jebat is behaving in a character that remains full of *adab*, which is the act of respect towards one with a higher position in an institution. In this case, Hang Jebat shows his respect towards the position of the Sultan, despite expressing his *rajuk* and protest towards the corrupt practices in the palace institution and class differences. This can be seen in the dialogue below:

'Ampun tuanku patik menghadap/ Oh barangkali kerana kehilangan Dang Baru agaknya, tuanku/ Benar, tuanku. Apa salahkah patik mempadukan kasih pada yang berhak/ Ataupun, mahukah tuanku patik bersifat yang ditegah/ Ampun tuanku adakah lain-lain perkara yang tuanku hendak titahkan kepada patik? / Kalau begitu patik mohon diri. '(lit. 'Your Majesty/ Oh, probably because the loss of Dang Baru/ Is it wrong for me to be with woman that I truly love?/ Or, should I stop from doing such/ Your Majesty, is there anything else?/ Then I should leave now' author's translation).

Hussain Haniff uses the dialogue between Hang Jebat and the Sultan to represent how the Malays still display *adab* or their fullest respect towards their Sultan even in expressing their disappointment or disagreement towards the palace institution. The dialogue also showed that Hang Jebat constantly begs for forgiveness, for he humbly acknowledges that he is not worthy of speaking to the Sultan and is thus ready to be punished. When examined closely, it can be seen that Hang Jebat character starts to develop his *rajuk* and feeling of antifeudalism at this level when he questioned his act to the Sultan due to a system that he feels is oppressing him.

Hang Jebat's *rajuk* was considered as an explosive *rajuk* because he is against the Sultan and the oppressive corruption in the feudal system. It has finally turned to bloodshed during his act of amok. This also happened because of the corruption within the political system of the palace caused by jealous officials

who have manipulated the decisions of the Sultan. This resulted in Hang Jebat's *rajuk* that does not come with any form of *pujuk* (Mahdi Abas, 2010) for he had become inconsolable. Hang Jebat's *rajuk* was a reflection of him against the corrupt officials and corruption within the palace institution and made him change from a loyal servant to a rebel warrior. This act of Hang Jebat of standing up against injustice should see him as someone who is misunderstood, an antihero and not the antagonist.

In the film, Hang Jebat is however placed as the antagonist, as his *rajuk* clearly expresses that he wants to rid the palace of corruption caused by corrupt officers and contest class differences between the upper and working classes. Hang Jebat even during his *rajuk* with the Sultan places the needs of the people before his own and as antagonist should change into someone with selfish wants and demands. Hang Jebat however acts differently. In the scene when he invited all the citizens or *rakyat* of Melaka to dine in the palace and gave them all the belongings from the palace, the citizens started to worship him. Hang Jebat however refuses them and said:

'Jangan, jangan sembah aku. Aku bukan gila disembah. Aku bukan Sultan Melaka yang mengagungkan pangkat dan kebesarannya. Aku Jebat, rakyat biasa. Pangkat aku untuk kepentingan rakyat. Bergerak aku untuk membuat jasa kepada rakyat. Dan aku rela mati untuk rakyat. Aku mahu keadilan. Keadilan! Keadilan!' (lit. 'Don't worship me, I'm not that selfish Sultan, I'm Jebat and everything that I do is just for the sake of my people, I rather die for my people. I want justice! Justice! Justice!' author's translation).

In this scene, Hussain Haniff through the character of Hang Jebat discusses the class differences between the upper and working classes. Hang Jebat refuses to be worshipped as a royalty but states that all he has done is for the benefit of the common folk. This can be further seen when Hang Jebat expresses his *rajuk* to the *rakyat* of Melaka where he was seen disappointed with the Sultan's act towards the working classes because all he wanted for them was merely justice. The character of Hang Jebat also represents the oppressed *rakyat* living in a feudalistic system.

Hang Jebat's class contestation and fight against corruption in the palace can also be seen through Hang Jebat and Hang Tuah's fight in the palace. Although Hang Jebat has convinced Hang Tuah to rebel against the Sultan and his officials, Hang Tuah remains loyal to his Sultan. Hang Jebat's dialogue during this scene proved that he was an individual who was fighting against the Sultan's oppressive ways by stating:

> 'Sia-sia kau sebagai pahlawan, kepahlawanan engkau digunakan berbakti kepada raja yang zalim/ Kau dipergunakan sebagai perkakas untuk memuaskan nafsu raja/ Jangan kau pura-pura tak mengerti Tuah, perintah raja yang kau jalankan selama itu adakah memberi guna kepada negeri dan nama rakyat?' (lit. 'It's useless if a warrior like you serve the cruel Sultan/ You were only used to fulfil his desire/ Wasn't all this while your loyalty is just for him and not the people?' author's translation).

The dialogue however demonstrates that Hang Tuah remains a loyal subject to the Sultan, which is in line with the loyalty of a Malay subject towards the royal institution. Although the return of Hang Tuah seems to bring the element of *pujuk* to Hang Jebat, it is no longer meaningful as Hang Jebat only wants to destroy the feudal system. Hang Jebat thus tries to convince Hang Tuah that the system only benefits the Sultan and his interests and not the common folk. However, Hang Tuah remains loyal and refuses to change. So are the *rakyat* who came to fight Hang Jebat. This therefore, frustrates Hang Jebat as he understands that he is incapable of going against the might of the palace institution and loyalty of the *rakyat* towards the palace. This leads to Hang Jebat's *rajuk* and he goes amok and starts to kill anyone who stands in his way. In the end, while the narrative of the film shows how Hang Jebat attempts to challenge class differences and feudalism through his act of *rajuk*, he however remains incapable of doing so.

HANG JEBAT: THE DESTABILIZATION OF MASCULINITY AND THE WEEPING WARRIOR

From the beginning of the film, Hang Jebat demonstrated the elements of masculinity by being a rebellious warrior who often defies the orders of the Sultan. This can be seen in the scene where he took over the palace and disobeys the Sultan's order with the killing of the royal commanders. The masculine character of Hang Jebat however changes whenever Hang Tuah appears. This is when Hang Jebat tones down his masculine traits through his gestures and tone of voice and becomes attentive in his conversation with Hang Tuah. This is a complete opposite of his character when opposing the Sultan. It also can be seen as a representation of how Hang Jebat wants to express his *rajuk* towards someone he trusts through the elements of *pujuk*.

The *pujuk* (coaxing) element was however misinterpreted by Hang Jebat when Hang Tuah came to the palace to meet him. This is where he thought that Hang Tuah came with the same intention to go against the Sultan, but he had instead come to kill Hang Jebat as ordered by the Sultan. Hang Jebat was, however, happy with the presence of his best friend, thus making his antifeudal and masculine character completely change. He even calls Hang Tuah with a respectful salutation "*abang*" (elder brother). But when the *pujuk* element was not obtained by Hang Jebat from Hang Tuah, this caused him to proceed with his explosive *rajuk* that led to the bloodshed between them. This scene was the first sign to prove that Hang Jebat has started to be infused with feminine elements to express his *rajuk* to Hang Tuah.

The act of *rajuk* is commonly regarded as a feminine characteristic. This feminine character however, is seen as one that attempts to destabilize the dominant patriarchal order in the film's narrative. As the act of *rajuk* is seen not only as a feminine characteristic but also as one that attempts to destabilize masculinity and the patriarchal order, which is represented by the Sultan. Hang Jebat, who embodies this act of *rajuk* needs to be destroyed for proper order to be restored. In other words, Hang Jebat needs to be destroyed so that patriarchy is not challenged nor masculinity destabilised and so that proper social order and balance within society is restored.

In the film, the character Hang Jebat demonstrates how the act of *rajuk* has destabilised his masculinity and changed his character more towards one that is feminine. *Rajuk* has changed the psychology of Jebat's character to a passive and weak warrior character that needed help from Hang Tuah to oppose the Sultan. The changing of character is the result of *rajuk* expressed by Hang Jebat. This also has destabilisation Hang Jebat's masculinity and is mostly present in the final sequence of the film. This final sequence showed the conflict between Hang Jebat who goes against and Hang Tuah in defending the Sultan. This is viewed as a melodramatic act as Hang Jebat tried to express his *rajuk* to Hang Tuah.

Hang Jebat's *rajuk* was caused by the injustices of the feudal system and his dissatisfaction towards the oppression of the people. This has changed his character towards one where his masculinity has been destabilised. This is reflected in the last sequence of the film when he started to weep and kneel to Hang Tuah. The scene of Hang Jebat weeping for the first time is closely related to the so-called "*menghina diri*" (self-humiliation) as one of the elements of *rajuk* that the character expressed. The crying of Hang Jebat for the first time has shattered the stereotypes of how a warrior must never show vulnerability.

In society, men are often taught to be masculine and to never make themselves vulnerable by disclosing weaknesses. That is the beginning of destabilization of Hang Jebat's masculinity which also leads to the demeanour of the character, is closely related to what is portrayed by women in many Malay melodrama films that conventionally stereotyped women as weak, passive and submissive within a male-dominant and Malay-centric culture (Lee, 2016). The representation of women with this form of stereotype can be seen in Hussain Hanifff's camera work.

As seen throughout the film, Hussain Haniff's high-angle shots are only used for weak female characters such as Hang Tuah's wife. For instance, in the scene where Hang Tuah's wife argued about Hang Jebat's *durhaka* towards the Sultan, it shows that it was not because of his personal intention, but his *durhaka* was to defend the oppression towards Hang Tuah. During the same scene, Hang Tuah's wife knelt and cried to stop Hang Tuah from killing Hang Jebat as seen in her dialogue:

"menderhaka untuk mu abang, menderhaka untuk membelamu abang" (lit. 'treason to protect you my love' author's translation).

This scene captured his wife with high-angle shot as a representation of a weak and passive character and also a common stereotype towards women in film. The same shot with the same method of acting was then used by Hussain Haniff to portray Hang Jebat as having feminine characteristics in the last sequence of the film.

This occurs when Hang Jebat expresses his *rajuk* towards Hang Tuah with the hope of rekindling their friendship. This scene was portrayed in a high-angle shot with Hang Jebat crying. From the scene, Hang Jebat clearly expressed himself in feminine characteristic, as he weeps to convince Hang Tuah about his *rajuk*. This strengthens the argument that the psychological of destabilization of Hang Jebat's character had simultaneously destabilised the warrior stereotypes to a weak and feminine character because of his *rajuk*.

This scene also showed how Hang Jebat expressing his "*ratapan*" (weeping) or "*menghina diri*" (humiliating) which can be seen when Hang Jebat was portrayed as a weeping weak warrior and made the below statement:

"Tuah, apalalah salahnya kalau kita bermaaf-maafan, marilah kita bersaudara seperti dahulu lagi Tuah" (lit. 'Tuah, why don't we just reconcile just like before' author's translation).

The dialogue shows that Hang Jebat has reached a "surrender" level or "*menyerah*", which no longer wishes to continue his *rajuk* that most likely linked with his opposition to the Sultan. Hang Jebat asks for reconciliation and for forgiveness. The scene also portrayed the feminine values in Hang Jebat as he knelt and cried with the hope of mending his friendship with Hang Tuah and was captured with a high-angle camera shot to represent weakness in the character. The surrendering of the Taming Sari Keris, also can be read as the representation of Hang Jebat's loss of the phallic symbol and hence the surrendering of his masculinity to Hang Tuah. In the same scene, we can see that he was to allow Hang Tuah to defeat him as he rather die at the hand of Hang Tuah. The surrendering of the Taming Sari Keris can also be seen as a symbolic surrender and castration of Hang Jebat's manhood and masculinity. This needed to be done so that the threat posed by Hang Jebat towards the patriarchal order can be eliminated and so that order can be restored.

Although Hang Jebat intended to continue his explosive *rajuk* by emotionally killing people to express his frustration, the violent act only results to even destabilize the masculinity of the character. This can be seen when Hang Jebat came to meet Hang Tuah for the last time in a weakened state as he is crying. When Hang Jebat came to see Hang Tuah for the last time in vulnerability, he portrayed feminine characteristics that are full of *ratapan* and *rayuan* hoping that his *rajuk* (referring to his frustration to an oppressive system) will be noticed by Hang Tuah.

Without realizing it, his *rajuk* has destabilised his masculine character and transformed him into having feminine characteristics. His explosive *rajuk* however has been misunderstood solely as a violent act and finally led to his death after he was stabbed with Keris Taming Sari by Hang Tuah. As such, the act

of *rajuk* that embodies feminine characteristics that is seen as a threat that attempts to destabilise the dominant patriarchal order within society needed to be eliminated.

CONCLUSION

The elements of *rajuk* and *pujuk* in the Malays culture seems to be more subtle in terms of how it is left to occupy the emotions and intellect of the individual which ultimately leads to various adverse effects. *Rajuk* not only affects the cognitivism of the character or the individual who experienced these elements but also causes the character to act differently.

This can be seen through the character of Hang Jebat after he heard that the Sultan had sentenced his best friend Hang Tuah to death. At this point, Hang Tuah shows the culture-bound symptom of *rajuk* that causes him to run amok and against the feudal system. It gets even worse when he was accused of kidnapping Dang Baru and it has triggered him to prolong his *rajuk* by disobeying the Sultan and express his antifeudal beliefs by killing several people in the palace before taking siege of the palace. Even when Hang Jebat's *rajuk* is seen as subtle and respectful, it affects the destabilization of his character without him knowing it.

Hang Jebat expresses the act of *meratap* through his crying in the last sequence of the film. This breaks the stereotypes of a Malay warrior, as he suddenly becomes the common characteristic of how Malay women characters have been stereotypes in the film as a weak and non-dominant character. This happens to Hang Jebat when he tried to express his *rajuk* and wanted to be *pujuk* by Hang Tuah, but it went the other way around after Hang Tuah wanted to kill him with the order of the Sultan.

It is common to find the elements of *rajuk* and *pujuk* in the narrative of Malay melodrama and *purbawara* films, as well as the contemporary Malay films and the only difference is how the characters express it in different ways. As *rajuk* is regarded as an important cultural representation in the socio-political lives of Malays, *rajuk* can be recognised as one of the fundamental elements towards the representation of Malay culture and norm in Malay films.

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