



Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien
Sous le patronage de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

ARCHIPEL 82



2011

Publiées avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
et de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris





Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien

Publiées avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
et de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris
Sous le patronage de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

Fondateurs : *Pierre LABROUSSE (responsable juridique),
Denys LOMBARD, Christian PELRAS*

ARCHIPEL 82

Comité de rédaction

*Andrée FEILLARD, Rémy MADINIER, Étienne NAVAU, Dana RAPPOPORT,
Jérôme SAMUEL, Paul WORMSER, Monique ZAINI-LAJOUBERT*

Comité scientifique

*Henri CHAMBERT-LOIR, Claude GUILLOT, Pierre LABROUSSE,
Christian PELRAS, François RAILLON, Claudine SALMON, James SIEGEL,
Luís Filipe THOMAZ*

Directeur de la rédaction

Daniel PERRET

Secrétaire de la rédaction

Anna PEZZOPANE

Éditeur

Association Archipel

EHESS, bureau 603, 190-198 av. de France, 75013 Paris

2011

ISSN 0044-8613



Commande des volumes disponibles
(Frais de port en sus)

Prix par volume en Euros

Archipel 6, 7, 8, 9, 14	4,55
Archipel 11, 12	6,10
Archipel 15, 16, 17	7,60
Archipel 19, 20, 21, 22	9,15
Archipel 23, 24	10,65
Archipel 25, 26, 32	12,20
Archipel 27, 28, 29, 30	13,70
Archipel 31	14,20
Archipel 33, 34, 35	14,65
Archipel 36	18,30
Archipel 37	22,10
Archipel 38	15,25
Archipel 39, 40	16,00
Archipel 41, 42	16,75
Archipel 43, 44, 45, 46	18,30
Archipel 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55	19,05
Archipel 54, 56	22,85
Archipel 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64	19,80
Archipel 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70	20,00
Archipel 71	26,00
Archipel 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81	22,00
L'Horizon nousantarien (Nos 56, 57, 58, 60) prix spécial pour les 4 volumes	68,60
Index des volumes 15 à 30	4,10
Cotisation 2012 (Archipel 83 & 84)	38,00

Règlement*

Je joins mon règlement de Euros par :

- Chèque bancaire à l'ordre de «Association Archipel»
- Paypal à archipel@ehess.fr
- Je désire recevoir une facture

Date

Signature

* Cocher la mention voulue

Enclosed please find payment for a year's subscription to *Archipel* (€.....)*

Enclosed please find payment for back issues of *Archipel* as marked above

Name

Address

Payment by: Euro cheque Postal cheque
(Please write your cheque to "Association Archipel")

Payment by Paypal to archipel@ehess.fr

Date

Signature

* Tick your choice

Disponible au Comptoir des presses d'universités

86, rue Claude Bernard - 75005 Paris – Tél : 33(0)147078327 – www.lcdpu.fr

Association Archipel : EHESS, bureau 603, 190-198 av. de France - 75244 Paris Cedex 13

Tél : 33(0)149542564 ou 33(0)149542516 – Fax : 33(0)149542344

E-mail : archipel@ehess.fr

2011

A R C H I P E L 82





Archipel 82

Échos de la recherche : Dana Rappoport, *Sixième congrès EuroSEAS (European Association for South East Asian Studies)* — Monique Zaini-Lajoubert, *Colloque sur le Sasterawan Negara Muhammad Haji Salleh* — Dana Rappoport, *Songs of Memory, an International Conference on Epics and Ballads: Safeguarding Cultural Heritage at the Turn of the 21st Century* — Andrée Feillard, *Third International Conference in the Framework of the Training Indonesia's Young Leaders Programme* — **Communautés chinoises d'Insulinde :** Marie-Sybille de Vienne, *The Chinese in Brunei: From Ceramics to Oil Rent* — Yerry Wirawan, *Pers Tionghoa Makassar Sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua* — Elizabeth Chandra, *Fantasizing Chinese/Indonesian Hero: Njoo Cheong Seng and the Gagaklodra Series* — **Images :** Daniel Perret, *Graha Maria Annai Velangkanni : une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord* — **Communautés d'Asie du sud en Insulinde :** Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *What the Tamils Said: A Letter from the Kelings of Melaka (1527)* — Daniel Perret, *From Slave to King: The Role of South Asians in Maritime Southeast Asia (from the late 13th to the late 17th century)* — **À propos de —** **Comptes rendus — Résumés-Abstracts**

22,00 €

ISBN 978-2-910513-63-4





Sommaire

ÉCHOS DE LA RECHERCHE

- 3** Sixième congrès EuroSEAS
(European Association for South East Asian Studies)
(*Göteborg, 26-28 août 2011*)
- 7** Colloque sur le *Sasterawan Negara Muhammad Haji Salleh*
(*Kuala Lumpur, 9-10 novembre 2010*)
- 15** Songs of Memory, an International Conference on Epics and Ballads:
Safeguarding Cultural Heritage at the Turn of the 21st Century
(*Manille, 20-22 janvier 2011*)
- 19** Third International Conference in the Framework of the Training
Indonesia's Young Leaders Programme
(*Bogor, 24-26 janvier 2011*)

COMMUNAUTÉS CHINOISES D'INSULINDE

- 25** Marie-Sybille de Vienne
The Chinese in Brunei: From Ceramics to Oil Rent
- 49** Yerry Wirawan
Pers Tionghoa Makassar Sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua
- 83** Elizabeth Chandra
*Fantasizing Chinese/Indonesian Hero:
Njoo Cheong Seng and the Gagaklodra Series*

IMAGES

- 115** Daniel Perret
*Graha Maria Annai Velangkanni :
une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord*

COMMUNAUTÉS D'ASIE DU SUD EN INSULINDE

- 137** Sanjay Subrahmanyam
What the Tamils Said: A Letter from the Kelings of Melaka (1527)
- 159** Daniel Perret
*From Slave to King: The Role of South Asians in Maritime Southeast
Asia (from the late 13th to the late 17th century)*

À PROPOS DE

- 201** Rila Mukherjee
A Dynamic Eastern Indian Ocean





Review article based on: HERMANN KULKE, K. KESAVAPANY & VIJAY SAKHUJA (EDS.)
Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia and GEOFF WADE & SUN LAICHEN (EDS.)
Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor

COMPTE RENDUS

- 213** YU-MEI BALASINGAMCHOW & MARK RAVINDER FROST :
Singapore: A Biography
(Denis Bocquet)
- 216** AIMEE DAWIS : *The Chinese of Indonesia and their Search for Identity: The Relationship Between Collective Memory and the Media*
(Mary Somers Heidues)
- 217** ESTHER KUNTJARA : *Women and Politeness: The Hybrid Language and Culture of Chinese Indonesian Women in Surabaya*
(Doris Jedamski)
- 219** RUSSEL JONES : *Chinese Loan-Words in Malay and Indonesian. A Background Study*
(Claudine Salmon)
- 220** CHRISTINE WINKELMANN : *Kulturelle Identitätskonstruktionen in der Post-Suharto Zeit: chinesischstämmige Indonesier zwischen Assimilation und Besinnung auf ihre Wurzeln* [Cultural construction of Identity in the Post-Suharto Period: Indonesians of Chinese Descent between Assimilation and Contemplation of their Roots]
(Mary Somers Heidhues)
- 222** MARIE SYBILLE DE VIENNE : *Les chinois en Insulinde : échanges et sociétés marchandes au XVII^e siècle d'après les sources de la V.O.C.*
(Paul Wormser)

RÉSUMÉS - ABSTRACTS

© Copyright Association Archipel 2011

En couverture : Personnage ornant le mur de clôture de l'église Graha Maria Annai Velangkanni, Medan, Sumatra. (Cliché D. Perret, 2011)



ÉCHOS DE LA RECHERCHE

Sixième congrès EuroSEAS
 (European Association for South East Asian Studies)
(Göteborg, 26-28 août 2010)

Le sixième congrès de l'Euroseas a réuni 350 participants à la fin du mois d'août 2010, à l'Université de Göteborg, dans les locaux de la School of Global Studies, en Suède. La participation française fut restreinte – nous étions moins d'une dizaine. Quelques participants d'Asie du Sud-Est ont pu assister au colloque grâce à des bourses attribuées par les organisateurs.

Pendant trois jours ont couru quarante-deux panels. Trente panels portaient sur l'ensemble de l'Asie du Sud-Est comme aire culturelle, tandis que cinq seulement portaient exclusivement sur l'Indonésie (12, 13, 23, 28, 38) et trois sur la péninsule (6, 16, 34). Sur le plan disciplinaire, histoire et ethnologie sont apparues comme disciplines majoritaires.

Les deux discours magistraux (*key notes*) ont porté sur l'Asie du Sud-Est en général. Dans sa communication “*Challenging Transitions in Southeast Asia*”, Tania Li, chercheuse en anthropologie économique à l'Université de Toronto, a dressé une alerte générale, en dessinant la transition d'une agriculture de subsistance à une agriculture productiviste de globalisation, montrant les effets dévastateurs sur les terres et sur ses habitants, que ce soit sur la péninsule sud-est asiatique, tout comme sur les îles de l'archipel indonésien. La communication de Stein Tonnesson, directeur du Peace Research Institute à Oslo, a porté sur la paix et les conflits en Asie du Sud-Est. Ce dernier a analysé la progression ou la diminution des conflits dans l'histoire, à l'aide d'une étude statistique, concluant au déclin des conflits armés après les années 1980.

La prédominance des questions politiques, environnementales et religieuses a marqué le colloque. Concernant le religieux, un panel stimulant,

mené par le jeune allemand Guido Sprenger, a porté sur l'animisme en Asie du Sud-Est “*Animism in Southeast Asia: Persistence, Transformation and Renewal*”, panel dans lequel a émergé l'influence de la pensée de l'anthropologue Philippe Descola chez nos collègues étrangers qui ont régulièrement convoqué sa grille d'analyse.

Les grands éditeurs spécialisés sur l'Asie du Sud-Est avaient installé leurs stands : Cambridge University Press, EFEO, KITLV, NUS Press, NIAS Press, Routledge, White Lotus et Hongkong University Press.

Bien que le colloque ait été davantage bénéfique en terme de réseaux relationnels plutôt qu'en transferts de connaissances, il est possible de cerner l'apparition de certaines tendances. L'une d'elles concerne l'émergence de l'Est Indonésien, objets de trois panels (sur les cinq consacrés à l'Indonésie) : deux à proprement parler sur l'Est indonésien et un sur Timor Leste. Le premier, auquel j'ai participé, était intitulé “*Tradition, Identity and History Making in Eastern Indonesia*”. Nous étions neuf, jeunes et moins jeunes. Il s'agissait de réfléchir aux mécanismes d'écriture de l'histoire concernant les petites sociétés de cette aire culturelle. La question était de savoir comment, dans les sciences historiques, faire une part aux récits oraux. Comment écrire l'histoire en confrontant les sources écrites du XVII^e siècle avec les sources orales d'aujourd'hui ? Plusieurs ethnologues et historiens, utilisant les sources de la VOC, ont donné leur point de vue. Un second panel “*Eastern Indonesia under Reform: New Topics, New Approaches*”, abordait de nouveaux objets de recherches, principalement aux Moluques : le rôle de l'éducation dans la réconciliation aux Moluques, les limites de la reconfiguration et de l'autonomie régionales (*pemekaran*), la corruption, les relations entre les formes de pouvoir traditionnel et les nouveaux leaderships, le football à Ternate. L'ethnologue Maribeth Erb a montré comment Nusa Tenggara Timur, province la plus pauvre d'Indonésie, est aussi considérée comme la plus corrompue. L'ethnologue James Fox, qui œuvre depuis des décennies à une définition de l'Est indonésien par ses catégories culturelles, a suggéré de reconSIDérer cette aire en revisitant ses frontières par des tracés à la fois historiques et ethnologiques.

L'ensemble des participants a été invité à une collation à la somptueuse mairie de Göteborg, ainsi qu'à une promenade dans les îles. D'autre part, quelques membres de mon panel ont été chaleureusement accueillis par le conservateur du Museum of World Culture de la ville. Nous avons visité les réserves du musée, riches d'objets d'Indonésie dont la collection de l'ethnographe suédois Walter Kaudern sur l'île de Sulawesi (1916-1917), ainsi que celle de l'américaine Cora DuBois, qui collecta un grand nombre d'objets sur l'île d'Alor (1938-1939)¹.

Dana RAPPOORT

LISTE DES PANELS

- Panel 1. *Critical Approaches to Southeast Asian Regionalism*
 Panel 2. *Managing Social Relationships in Southeast Asia Friendships, Business Contacts, and Support Networks*
 Panel 3. *Impacts of Tourism in the Greater Mekong Sub-region*
 Panel 4. *Animism in Southeast Asia: Persistence, Transformation and Renewal*
 Panel 5. *Finding Solution for Urban Spatial Conflict*
 Panel 6. *The Banalities and Intimacies of Power in Laos: New Perspectives on State and Society*
 Panel 7. *Tradition, Identity and History-making in Eastern Indonesia*
 Panel 8. *Material Culture and Memory*
 Panel 9. *Shifting Cultures of Intimacy in Southeast Asian Visual Representation*
 Panel 10. *Symbolic Capital: Southeast Asian Cities and Museums as Nation-building Sites*
 Panel 11. *Democratisation and Migration in Southeast Asia*
 Panel 12. *Eastern Indonesia under Reform: New Topics, New Approaches*
 Panel 13. *Lessons from Aceh post-conflict developments re-assessed*
 Panel 14. *Victims, Survivors, Mourners, Re-constructors: Southeast Asian Responses to Massive Social Destruction*
 Panel 15. *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Theoretical and Comparative Dimensions*
 Panel 16. *Culture Wars: Contemporary Art, Music and Media in Hanoi, Vietnam*
 Panel 17. *Magic and Buddhism in Southeast Asia*
 Panel 18. *Legal Consciousness and Access to Justice in Southeast Asia*
 Panel 19. *Agricultural Transformation in Southeast Asia in a Comparative Perspective*
 Panel 20. *Theory of Southeast Asian Studies at EuroSEAS*
 Panel 21. *Towards an East Asian Community*
 Panel 22. *Coping with Climate Change in Southeast Asia*
 Panel 23. *Whither democracy? Indonesia in comparative and historical perspective*
 Panel 24. *Two Publishing Panels*
 Panel 25. *The Politics of Natural Resource Extraction in Southeast Asia*
 Panel 26. *Zomia and beyond. Takes on a highland transnational space*
 Panel 27. *There and back again: When local(ized) knowledges go abroad, and when they return*
 Panel 28. *Islam in the Modern Malay World: Competing visions, conflicting pasts*
 Panel 29. *Governance of Borderlands and the Resilience of Ethnic Minority Trade Networks in the Golden Economic Quadrangle*

1. Pour d'autres informations concernant le colloque, un compte rendu a été publié dans le numéro 77 de *La lettre de l'Afrase*, hiver 2010.

- Panel 30. *Islamic Daily Practices and Popular Culture in Southeast Asia*
- Panel 31. *State/Subject/Subjectivities: The Micro-politics of State-making in Southeast Asia*
- Panel 32. *Maritime Security in Southeast Asia: Old Rivalries, New Challenges*
- Panel 33. *Modes of Engagement: Meeting the Challenges of a new ASEAN*
- Panel 34. *Haunted Landscapes and Ambiguous Memories: Interactions with the Past in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia*
- Panel 35. *Popular Literatures of Southeast Asia*
- Panel 36. *Religious Dimensions to Southeast Asian Conflicts*
- Panel 37. *Perspectives of Security Sector Reform in Southeast Asia*
- Panel 38. *Translation, Culture and Politics. East-Timor still weaving across-roots*
- Panel 39. *Security and Gender in Southeast Asia today*
- Panel 40. *Environmental Change, Uncertainty and the Adaptation of Local Knowledge Systems*
- Panel 41. *New Insights into Human-Environment Histories in Southeast Asia*
- Panel 42. *Notions of Independence in Southeast Asian Cinemas*



Colloque sur le *Sasterawan Negara* Muhammad Haji Salleh (Kuala Lumpur, 9-10 novembre 2010)

Le titre de *Sasterawan Negara* (Écrivain national) est la plus haute distinction littéraire malaisienne, récompensant un écrivain particulièrement talentueux et productif. Existant depuis 1981, il a été accordé à ce jour à onze écrivains¹. Le poète Muhammad Haji Salleh est le sixième.

Depuis 2004, le Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Institut de la Langue et de la Littérature) organise chaque année un «colloque sur la pensée» (*Seminar Pemikiran*) d'un *Sasterawan Negara*². Le colloque de 2010, dont nous rendons compte ici, est donc le septième du genre. Il s'est tenu les 9 et 10 novembre, dans le *Dewan Seminar* (salle des colloques) du Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka et avait pour thème “*Pemikiran Muhammad Haji Salleh, Citra Intelektualisme Melayu*” (La pensée de Muhammad Haji Salleh, image de l'intellectualisme malais). Le colloque avait pour but d'analyser, à l'aide de « diverses approches et théories » (*pelbagai pendekatan dan teori*), l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Muhammad Haji Salleh (œuvres de fiction, travaux scientifiques), d'« explorer sa pensée créative et son processus de création » (*menggali pemikian kreatif dan proses kreatif*) et de « rechercher une nouvelle dimension dans sa pensée » (*mencari dimensi baru dalam pemikiran*) pouvant «être utile à la production d'œuvres créatives, de théories et de

1. Ces onze lauréats sont : Keris Mas (1981), Shahnon Ahmad (1982), Usman Awang (1983), A. Samad Said (1985), Arena Wati (1987), Muhammad Haji Salleh (1991), Noordin Hassan (1993), Abdullah Hussain (1996), S. Othman Kelantan (2003), Anwar Ridhwan (2009), Kemala (2011).

(Cf. <http://www.zulkbo.com/2011/05/sasterawan-negara-ke-11-kemala-datuk-dr.html>)

2. En 2004, le colloque portait sur S. Othman Kelantan, en 2005, sur Keris Mas, en 2006, sur Usman Awang, en 2007, sur Shahnon Ahmad, en 2008, sur A. Samad Said et en 2009, sur Arena Wati.



critiques, actuelles et futures» (*dimanfaatkan dalam penghasilan karya kreatif, teori dan kritikan pada masa kini dan akan datang*) (cf. le programme du colloque, p. 5).

À l'exception d'un Indonésien de Makassar, les intervenants étaient locaux et, dans leur grande majorité, rattachés à une université de Malaisie (Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Universiti Malaya, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Universiti Sains Malaysia) et, pour l'un d'eux, de Singapour (Universiti Teknologi Nanyang Singapura). La langue du colloque était le malais.

Les communications n'avaient pas été regroupées dans des actes parus avant le colloque, comme cela se pratique assez souvent actuellement en Malaisie, mais imprimées individuellement. Ces communications se composaient de deux groupes : 18 présentées et 7 non présentées³. Comme il est expliqué dans le programme du colloque (p. 6), ce concept de communications non présentées (appelées *kertas kerja iringan* – communications complémentaires –) est une pratique habituelle de ce cycle de colloques, permettant, en particulier, à des chercheurs confirmés et aux jeunes générations, de « donner leur opinion sur l'Écrivain national et son œuvre faisant l'objet de la discussion» (*mengemukakan pandangan terhadap Sasterawan Negara dan karya yang dibincangkan*).

Nous rendons compte ici des communications présentées⁴. Elles le furent en séance plénière, dans la même salle, au cours de six sessions (y compris la présentation du document d'orientation – *Ucap Utama* –).

Après les discours de bienvenue (*Ucapan Alu-aluan*) de Mme Hajah Zalila Sharif, responsable du Département du Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka organisateur du colloque, le *Jabatan Dasar dan Penyelidikan* (Département de l'orientation et de la recherche), et d'ouverture (*Ucapan Perasmian*), de Dato' Haji Termuzi Haji Abdul Aziz, directeur général du Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, le colloque commença avec l'*Ucap Utama* du Prof. Dato' Dr. Md. Salleh Yaapar, de l'Universiti Sains Malaysia, dont nous donnons ci-dessous un résumé.

Dans cette communication, Md. Salleh Yaapar présente quelques indications générales sur la vie et l'œuvre de Muhammad Haji Salleh, puis étudie, dans une perspective postcoloniale, plus particulièrement neuf de ses œuvres, aussi bien créatives, comme *Sajak-sajak Pendatang* (Poèmes du nouveau-venu, 1973) ou *Buku Perjalanan Si Tenggang II* (Livre du voyage de Si Tenggang II, 1975), que scientifiques, comme *Puitika Sastera Melayu*

3. Neuf étaient annoncées dans le programme du colloque ; nous n'en n'avons eu cependant que sept.

4. Pour ce qui est des communications non présentées, nous en donnons la liste à la fin de ce compte rendu, avec la traduction en français de leurs titres.



(La poétique de la littérature malaise, 2000). Md. Salleh Yaapar met l'accent sur le fait, qu'après avoir reçu une éducation majoritairement anglaise, et avoir commencé sa carrière d'écrivain en produisant en anglais, Muhammad Haji Salleh s'est finalement tourné vers ses origines malaises, allant à la recherche de son identité, émettant une opinion critique envers l'héritage colonial anglais et, bien qu'appréciant l'Occident et sa société, portant un regard très critique sur eux. Il s'est consacré depuis à la langue et à la littérature malaises, écrivant poèmes et œuvres scientifiques en malais, étudiant les textes malais anciens (il a réécrit sous forme de poèmes les différentes parties de *Sejarah Melayu* (Histoire malaise)⁵, il a fait plusieurs éditions critiques de manuscrits malais, comme celle du *Sulalat al-Salatin* (Généalogie des rois⁶, 1997) ou de *syair* du XIX^e siècle (cf. son *Syair Tantangan Singapura*, Poèmes d'opposition de Singapour, 1994). Il s'est également attaché à établir une théorie de la littérature spécifiquement malaise (cf. *Puitika Sastera Melayu*).

Comme l'explique Md. Salleh Yaapar, Muhammad Haji Salleh est né en 1942 à Perak. Il fait ses études primaires dans la filière malaise et ses études secondaires dans la filière anglaise. À partir de 1963, il suit des cours au Malayan Teachers College en Grande-Bretagne. C'est à cette époque qu'il entreprend sa carrière d'écrivain en produisant des poèmes en anglais. Il poursuit des études de lettres à l'Université de Singapour (1965-1968), où il obtient sa licence, puis à l'Universiti Malaya (1968-1969), où il obtient sa maîtrise. Après des études doctorales à l'Université du Michigan (1970-1973)⁷, il rentre en Malaisie et occupe un poste d'enseignant à l'Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Il n'écrit plus désormais de poésies en anglais, mais en malais. Muhammad Haji Salleh a également enseigné dans des institutions d'enseignement supérieur à l'étranger, comme aux États-Unis ou aux Pays-Bas. Il est actuellement professeur émérite à l'Universiti Sains Malaysia de Penang. Il est l'auteur d'environ quinze recueils de poèmes et de vingt ouvrages scientifiques.

Md. Salleh Yaapar fait remarquer, que quand Muhammad Haji Salleh rentre en Malaisie après ses études doctorales, la société malaise est encore conservatrice et féodale. Son arrière-plan intellectuel, sa culture occidentale, selon laquelle la primauté est donnée à l'individu, libre d'émettre ses opinions et ses sentiments, rend alors assez difficile sa vie dans la société malai-

5. Il s'agit de *Sajak-sajak Melayu* (poèmes sur *Histoire malaise*, 1981).

6. *Sulalat al-Salatin* est le titre original de cette œuvre de Tun Seri Lanang, plus connue sous le nom de *Sejarah Melayu*, dont la version la plus élaborée connue à ce jour est datée 1612.

7. Cf. sa thèse *Tradition and Change in Contemporary Malay-Indonesian Poetry*, Kuala Lumpur, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1977, 190 p. Nous avons ajouté les années 1965-1968, 1968-1969 et 1970-1973 en nous basant sur *Sasterawan Negara Muhammad Haji Salleh. The Malaysian Laureate*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2008, p. xii.



se. Cette situation fait que Muhammad Haji Salleh se relie à Si Tenggang, le garçon ingrat de la légende malaise⁸, comme on le voit dans son recueil de poèmes *Buku Perjalanan Si Tenggang II*. Il est cependant très différent du Si Tenggang de cette légende. Ce dernier, après avoir quitté pendant longtemps ses pauvres parents revient en bateau, accompagné de sa jolie épouse. Il est maintenant un riche commerçant. Ayant honte de ses parents, il les chasse du bateau. Sa mère lui jette alors un sort, et le bateau et son contenu sont transformés en pierre.

Si Tenggang II a lui aussi quitté son village et son pays, mais pour aller à la recherche de la connaissance. Il est revenu avec plus d'expérience, de connaissances, avec des valeurs nouvelles, l'esprit critique et des idées progressistes. C'est bien un révolté, car refusant que les anciens imposent à la jeunesse leur modèle de société, mais il ne rejette pas entièrement cette société traditionnelle. Il cherche, au contraire, à partager avec elle les connaissances, les expériences et les valeurs nouvelles qu'il a acquises au cours de son voyage. Il est cependant conscient qu'il ne revient pas entièrement vers elle, car il n'est plus comme avant, bien qu'il ne soit pas radicalement nouveau, restant essentiellement malais.

Les communications faisant suite à ce document d'orientation, qui donne une bonne idée générale de la vie, de la carrière et de la pensée de Muhammad Haji Salleh, étudiaient une ou plusieurs œuvres (créatives, scientifiques) de cet écrivain sous divers aspects et approches. Nous donnons ci-dessous une idée du contenu de ces communications en deux temps. Nous nous penchons d'abord sur celles traitant de son œuvre de fiction (ses poèmes), puis sur celles relatives à son œuvre scientifique.

Pour ce qui est de l'analyse des poèmes de Muhammad Haji Salleh, mises à part quelques rares communications les considérant dans leur globalité (du point de vue stylistique, sous l'angle de la sémiotique), la plupart étaient centrées sur un ou plusieurs poèmes.

Les conférenciers ont souvent mis en avant les problèmes d'identité, considérés comme caractéristiques des auteurs postcoloniaux, faisant écho aux idées émises dans le document d'orientation : le poète, en perpétuelle errance, acquiert des éléments extérieurs nouveaux, n'annihilant pas ceux, traditionnels, qu'il possède, et rentre chez lui, avec ces nouveaux éléments, avec l'intention d'enrichir la culture et les idées de sa famille et de sa société. Des théories particulières ont été utilisées, comme dans le cas de l'analyse du poème "*Pencerita*" (Le narrateur), paru dans le recueil *Sebuah Unggun di Tepi Danau* (Une pile au bord du lac, 1996), qui expose le processus créatif du poète et son opinion sur l'inspiration, à savoir la *Teori Pengkaedahan*

8. Cette légende est également connue sous d'autres noms dans l'Archipel nousantarien, comme Malin (ou Malim) Kundang (à Minangkabau) (Sumatra Ouest).



Melayu (théorie méthodologique malaise), une théorie locale élaborée par Hashim Awang. Certains conférenciers ont insisté sur le trouble interne du poète face à la déshumanisation des villes. D'autres, sur ses réflexions, dans son recueil *Setitik Darah di Bilik Bundar* (Une goutte de sang dans la pièce ronde, 2008), sur les humains, l'atmosphère, la situation, la culture des pays dans lesquels il a voyagé, en particulier les États-Unis, réflexions quelquefois acerbes, comme dans sa critique de l'arrogance américaine dans le poème "*Merenung Diri*" (Réflexions sur soi). D'autres enfin, ont mis l'accent sur ses poèmes relatifs à la nature et à sa dégradation.

Ainsi, ont été étudiés les 79 poèmes de *Sebutir Zamrud di Deru Selat: Sajak-sajak Alam USM* (Une émeraude dans le rugissement du détroit : Poèmes sur la nature de l'USM, 2006), inspirés par la nature du campus de l'Universiti Sains Malaysia où Muhammad Haji Salleh est actuellement professeur. Chaque mois fait l'objet de plusieurs poèmes. Pour ce qui est de janvier, par exemple, on trouve des poèmes comme "*Musim Angin*" (La saison du vent) ou "*Taufan dan Prahara*" (Typhon et tornade). Les poèmes de ce recueil montrent que, pour Muhammad Haji Salleh, une université est «un espace pour les humains et la nature» (*ruang manusia dan alam*) et qu'un équilibre entre eux est propice à une bonne «atmosphère scientifique» (*susa-sana ilmu*). Concernant la dégradation de la nature, a été étudié le poème "*Hari Terakhir Sebuah Hutan*" (Le dernier jour d'une forêt) paru dans *Sebuah Unggun di Tepi Danau* (1996). Il y dénonce l'abattage des arbres des forêts à grande échelle, provoquant la destruction de l'écosystème. Ce poème a été comparé à deux poèmes d'Usman Awang (1929-2001), autre poète et *Sasterawan Negara* malaisien, relatif aussi à l'abattage des arbres, mais dans la ville, "*Balada Terbunuhnya Beringin Tua di Pinggir Sebuah Bandaraya*" (Ballade du vieux banian mort à la lisière d'une grande ville) et "*Surat dari Masyarakat Burung kepada Datuk Bandar*" (Lettre de la société des oiseaux au maire), parus dans *Puisi-puisi Pilihan Sasterawan Negara Usman Awang* (Poésies choisies de l'Écrivain national Usman Awang) (1988). Dans le premier, l'auteur montre avec quelle cruauté les humains, uniquement préoccupés par leur enrichissement, ont abattu le vieux banian. Dans le deuxième, à travers la lettre que les oiseaux envoient au maire pour lui demander de préserver la nature dans la ville, leur habitat, les dirigeants sont désignés comme responsables de la dégradation de l'environnement.

Quant aux communications relatives à l'œuvre scientifique de Muhammad Haji Salleh, elles l'analysaient également sous divers aspects et approches.

Comme dans le cas des communications sur ses poèmes, les problèmes d'identité, ses caractéristiques d'écrivain postcolonial, étaient mis en avant. Ces questions furent notamment abordées à propos de ses recueils d'essais *Menyeberang Sejarah* (Traverser l'histoire, 1999) et *Sastera Sebagai Ruang*



Bangsa (La littérature comme espace national, 2008) ou dans son ouvrage *Puitika Sastera Melayu*. Dans ce dernier, en particulier, c'est à partir de la littérature malaise traditionnelle qu'il a élaboré sa théorie de la littérature malaise, en utilisant, par exemple, des textes anciens comme *Hikayat Isma Yatim* (Histoire de Isma l'Orphelin). Une autre recherche, son édition critique du *Sulalat al-Salatin*, montre de même cette volonté de retour aux sources.

Parmi les approches utilisées pour aborder l'étude de l'œuvre scientifique de Muhammad Haji Salleh, citons la théorie du «dialoguisme», de Mikhail Mikhaïlovich Bakhtin (1895-1975), selon laquelle le texte n'est pas considéré comme une entité isolée, mais vu dans ses relations avec l'auteur et sa société, qui entretiennent entre eux une sorte de dialogue. Cette théorie, à laquelle a d'ailleurs recours Muhammad Haji Salleh lui-même dans *Puitika Sastera Melayu*, fut utilisée pour l'analyse de ses essais sur *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Histoire de Hang Tuah) (XVII^e s.)⁹. D'autres communications exposaient tout simplement le contenu d'ouvrages de Muhammad Haji Salleh, comme *Puitika Sastera Melayu* ou son recueil d'essais *Cermin Diri: Esei-esei Kesusasteraan* (Miroir de soi : Essais littéraires, 1986) sur la littérature malaise traditionnelle, la poésie malaisienne et indonésienne contemporaine, la critique littéraire et les relations entre la littérature malaise et la littérature mondiale.

Monique ZAINI-LAJOUBERT

LISTE DES COMMUNICATIONS

Communications présentées

Sesi I : Ucap Utama (*Session I : Présentation du document d'orientation*)

Prof. Dato' Dr. Md. Salleh Yaapar (Professeur à l'Universiti Sains Malaysia et Directeur des éditions de cette université), *Si Tenggang di Gelanggang Pascakolonial: Pencarian Jadi Diri dan Kelestarian dalam Karya Muhammad Haji Salleh*.

Sesi II (*Session II*)

Dr. Zurinah Hassan (poétesse malaisienne)¹⁰, *Pencerita dan Proses Kreatif Penyair Melayu*.

Malim Ghozali PK¹¹ (Fakulti Penulisan, ASWARA – Akademi Seni Budaya & Warisan Kebangsaan), *Pencarian Kendiri Bangsa dalam "Sajak-sajak Sejarah Melayu"* Karya SN Muhammad Haji Salleh.

9. Signalons ici que Muhammad Haji Salleh a également fait des traductions. Il a, en particulier, traduit en anglais *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (cf. *The Epic of Hang Tuah*, translated by Muhammad Haji Salleh, edited by Rosemary Robson, Kuala Lumpur, Institut Terjemahan Negara, 2010, 600 p.).

10. Elle a été enseignante à l'Universiti Malaya et employée au Jabatan Penerangan Malaysia (Département de l'Information malaisien). Elle a pris sa retraite pour se consacrer entièrement à l'écriture (cf. le programme du colloque, p. 19).

11. Malim Ghozali PK (son nom de plume) alias Mohamed Ghazali Abdul Rashid.



Prof. Madya Dr. Hashim Ismail (Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya), *Dialogism Bakhtin: Muhammad Haji Salleh di Pentas Hikayat Hang Tuah*.

Sesi III (Session III)

Mana Sikana¹² (Institut Pendidikan Nasional, Universiti Teknologi Nanyang, Singapura), *Pemikiran dan Kecenderungan dalam Penulisan Sastera Muhammad Haji Salleh*.

Prof. Madya Dr. Araba'ie Sujud (Jabatan Bahasa Melayu, Fakulti Bahasa Moden dan Komunikasi, Universiti Putra Malaysia), *Gaya Intelektual SN Muhammad Haji Salleh dalam Wacana Kreatif*.

Prof. Madya Dr. Siti Hajar Che Man (Pusat Pengajian Ilmu Kemanusiaan, Universiti Sains Malaysia), *Inspirasi Alam: Menghalusi Terjemahan Pemikiran Muhammad Haji Salleh Menerusi Antologi Puisi Sebutir Zamrud di Deru Selat [sajak-sajak dalam USM]*.

Sesi IV (Session IV)

Prof. Madya Dr. Mawar Shafei (Pusat Pengajian Bahasa, Kesusastraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu, Fakulti Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia), *Cermin Diri dan Perihal Kritikan Muda*.

Prof. Madya Arbak Othman (Universiti Putra Malaysia), *Penstrukturkan Intelektual dalam Puisi Muhammad Haji Salleh: Suatu Penelitian Semiotik*.

Dr. Wong Soak Koon (Chercheuse indépendante)¹³, *Muhammad Haji Salleh: Pengembara yang Menemui Identiti Terbuka Dirinya*.

Safrullah Sanre (Forum Kajian Budaya Rumpun Melayu, Yayasan Ajuwara, Makassar, Indonesia), *Pendatang, Si Tenggang dan Malin Kundang: Menyorot Minda Melayu-Nusantara*.

Sesi V (Session V)

Prof. Madya Dr. Sohaimi bin Abdul Aziz (Pusat Pengajian Ilmu Kemanusiaan, Universiti Sains Malaysia), *Permasalahan Alam Sekitar dari Lensa Bahasa Muhammad Haji Salleh dan Usman Awang: Satu Kajian Hijau*.

Dr. Norhayati Ab. Rahman (Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya), *Sajak-sajak Pendatang: dari Perspektif Identiti*.

Hazami Jahari (Universiti Sains Malaysia), *Pemikiran Puitika Sastera Melayu Muhammad Haji Salleh: Melihat Wajah Melayu dari Cermin Peradaban Sendiri*.

Arif Mohamad (Jabatan Bahasa dan Kesusastraan Melayu, Fakulti Bahasa dan Komunikasi, Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris), *Kampung Halaman dan Negeri Orang: Simbiosis Jati Diri Muhammad Haji Salleh (dalam Kumpulan Puisi Setitik Darah di Bilik Bundar)*.

Sesi VI (Session VI)

Dr. Awang Azman Awang Pawi (Fakulti Seni Gunaan dan Kreatif, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak), *“Perlawanan” Pascakolonial dan Ambivalen: Beberapa Pandangan terhadap Kerelevannya*.

Prof. Dr. Ding Choo Ming (Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia), *Fungsi Sastera dalam Pemikiran Muhammad Haji Salleh*.

12. Mana Sikana (son nom de plume) alias Prof. Dr. Abdul Rahman Napiah.

13. Elle a été enseignante à l'Universiti Sains Malaysia (cf. le programme du colloque, p. 18).





Shamsudin Othman (Jabatan Bahasa dan Kemanusiaan, Fakulti Pengajian Pendidikan, Universiti Putra Malaysia), *Telaah Amanat Alam Muhammad Haji Salleh dalam Sebutir Zamrud di Deru Selat: Satu Pertimbangan Model Rasa Insaniah*.

Communications complémentaires (*Kertas Kerja Iringan*)

Prof. Dr. Arndt Graf (Dept. of Southeast Asian Studies, Goethe-University of Frankfurt), *Satu Pertemuan Melayu-Cina dalam Puisi: Muhammad Haji Salleh dan Lee Tzu Pheng* (Une rencontre malayo-chinoise dans la poésie : Muhammad Haji Salleh et Lee Tzu Pheng).

Dr. Ani binti Haji Omar (Fakulti Bahasa dan Komunikasi, Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris), *Puisi-puisi Muhammad Haji Salleh: Aplikasi terhadap Teori SPB4K*¹⁴ (Les poèmes de Muhammad Haji Salleh : Une application de la théorie SPB4K).

Muhammad Irfan Nyia bin Abdullah (Universiti Sains Malaysia), *Kembara Kepenyairan Muhammad Haji Salleh* (Pérégrinations poétiques de Muhammad Haji Salleh).

Nur Hamizah Haji Hashim et Nur Sham Haji Abdul Aziz, *Puisi-puisi Pilihan Muhammad Haji Salleh: Penerapan terhadap Teori Konseptual Kata Kunci* (Poèmes choisis de Muhammad Haji Salleh : Application de la théorie du concept des mots-clés).

Saifullizan Yahaya, *Ideologi Kepemimpinan dalam Sajak-sajak Sejarah Melayu* (Idéologie de la gouvernance dans Poèmes sur Histoire malaise).

Hasrina Baharum (Jabatan Bahasa dan Kesusastraan Melayu, Fakulti Bahasa dan Komunikasi, Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris), *Mencari Akar dan Tradisi Muhammad Haji Salleh dalam Sajak-sajak Sejarah Melayu* (Recherche par Muhammad Haji Salleh des racines et de la tradition dans Poèmes sur Histoire malaise).

Mohd. Ali bin Atan, *Hati Budi Melayu dalam Sebuah Unggun di Tepi Danau* (Le bon sens malais dans Une pile au bord du lac).

14. SPB4K est le sigle de *Sistem Pemikiran Bersepadu 4K: Kerohanian, Kebitaraan, Kesaintifikan dan Kekreatifan* (Système de pensée de l'union des 4 K : Spiritualité, l'incomparable, Scientificité et Créativité).



Songs of Memory, an International Conference on Epics and Ballads: Safeguarding Cultural Heritage at the Turn of the 21st Century*

(Manille, 20-22 janvier 2011)

La conférence *Songs of Memory* s'est déroulée pendant trois jours au sein de la lumineuse et prestigieuse université jésuite Ateneo de Manila. Des chercheurs des Philippines, d'Europe et d'Asie du Sud-Est ont été conviés à réfléchir aux manières d'archiver les traditions orales en Asie du Sud-Est, à la lumière des nouvelles technologies multimédias. Sur les quatorze communications, une moitié a porté sur «les littératures de la voix», les traditions épiques des Philippines notamment, l'autre moitié sur diverses cultures de l'archipel insulidien (Indonésie, Malaisie, Timor Leste), dont quatre sur l'Indonésie et une sur les Moken, nomades marins de Thaïlande et de Birmanie. Trois thèmes furent traités : l'archivage des épopées et des chants rituels, les analyses interprétatives du contenu de ces récits, et enfin l'accessibilité et le mode de consultation des archives multimédias.

Cette conférence a été organisée à l'occasion du lancement du site web *Philippine Epics and Ballads Archives* (<http://epics.ateneo.edu/epics>), conçu et réalisé par Nicole Revel et l'équipe technique de l'université Ateneo, en collaboration avec le CNRS et la BnF. Ce site est abrité et géré par la Rizal Library d'Ateneo. Il s'agit de la mise en ligne d'une collection d'épopées, et de chants rituels, enregistrés, filmés lors des performances, transcrits et traduits sous la direction de Nicole Revel (CNRS), linguiste et ethnologue

* Colloque international sur les méthodes de conservation et de revitalisation des traditions orales en Asie du Sud-Est (Ateneo de Manila University, Manille).

qui travaille depuis 1969 aux Philippines et qui a coordonné ce programme pendant 20 ans (1991-2011), avec l'aide du ministère français des affaires étrangères. Recueillies par des ethnologues, des ethnomusicologues, des maîtres d'écoles et des érudits locaux en étroite collaboration avec Nicole Revel sur le terrain, ces archives (audio, vidéo, photos, textes) comprennent des épées et des chants rituels de quinze groupes linguistiques du nord au sud des Philippines. C'est une innovation exceptionnelle permettant un archivage raisonné et une accessibilité accrue, grâce notamment aux traductions multilingues (tagalog, anglais et français) en regard des textes originaux qui sont les premiers manuscrits établis à ce jour. L'archive comprend 6 800 pages reliées en 40 volumes.

Comment sauvegarder les patrimoines immatériels au tournant du XXI^e siècle – telle est la question urgente constamment réitérée par bon nombre d'institutions de recherche dans le monde. Certaines réponses ont été apportées lors de ce colloque soit par la mise en ligne d'épopées en langue vernaculaire, soit par l'édition de dictionnaire de langue ou de monographie multimédia.

Lawrence Reid (Université de Hawaï), linguiste travaillant depuis plus de 52 ans aux Philippines, a présenté son dictionnaire parlant et *online* de la langue Khinina-Ang du groupe Bontok, une langue austronésienne du nord de Luzon aux Philippines ([http://htq\[minpaku.ac.jp\]/databases/bontok/](http://htq[minpaku.ac.jp]/databases/bontok/)). La recherche sur cette langue a été entreprise en 1959. Le projet de dictionnaire a commencé dans les années 1970. La langue étudiée a considérablement changé en l'espace de cinquante ans. Pour la mise en ligne du dictionnaire «parlant», le travail technologique a été réalisé à Osaka, au sein du Musée national d'ethnologie. Le dictionnaire peut être actualisé facilement et à tout moment, ce qui dans une période de crise de l'édition papier n'est pas négligeable. Comprenant plus de 10 000 unités sonores, il est à la fois exceptionnel par sa complétude et par son accessibilité sur la toile.

Antonia Sorriente (Université de Naples, Max Planck Institute), spécialiste de Kalimantan, a fait part de son travail portant sur la documentation numérique des langues Kenyah et Punan de Kalimantan, au sein du grand projet du Max Planck Institute, institution majeure en Europe pour la sauvegarde des langues en Indonésie et ailleurs dans le monde. Elle numérise la documentation des chercheurs ayant travaillé dans les groupes Kenyah et Punan et donne accès à ces données par une interface multimédia permettant de visualiser les vidéos tout en ayant accès aux langues.

Muhamed Haji Salleh a montré la prééminence de Hang Tuah, héros culturel de la culture malaise, présent dans la littérature du XVI^e siècle jusque dans les séries télévisées d'aujourd'hui. Héros multinational, voyageur maîtrisant douze langues, connu pour sa maîtrise de la navigation en mer, modèle d'homme qui sait se rebeller contre les injustices, Hang Tuah reste un emblème contemporain.

Sur le point d'être achevé, l'ouvrage *Chants de la terre aux trois sangs/Songs from the Thrice-Blooded Land* de l'auteure de ce compte rendu, édité par les Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, fut présenté en avant-première aux Philippins. Portant sur la musique et les rituels des Toraja d'Indonésie, l'ouvrage propose un nouveau modèle d'écriture pour la transmission des savoirs immatériels (musiques et rituels) conciliant papier et multimédia.

L'ethnomusicologue philippine, Maria Christine Muyco (University of the Philippines) a présenté une belle recherche sur la voix chantée selon les catégories des Bukidnon de l'île de Panay.

Les résumés des communications peuvent être consultés sur le site de la conférence (<http://ateneo.edu/songsofmemory/home.htm>).

La conférence s'est terminée par une communication sur l'apport de la pensée de Paul Ricœur sur la mémoire, par Leovino Garcia, professeur au Département de philosophie à Ateneo qui, depuis 2001, participe à un enseignement avec Fernando Zialcita et Nicole Revel sur les herméneutiques de ces longs récits chantés. L'archive est désormais un front de défense contre l'oubli. Notre recours majeur pour comprendre le passé, c'est la mémoire qu'il est possible de mieux archiver et interpréter.

Les représentants de la section Education de l'Unesco aux Philippines sont venus clore la conférence en insistant sur la défense du multilinguisme dans les écoles. Par ailleurs, en 2008, l'Unesco a classé « Mémoire du Monde » le fonds d'archives sonores de 1 760 heures, abrité au Département de Musique de l'Université des Philippines, données recueillies par le Dr. José Macéda sur 68 groupes des Philippines.

L'originalité de la conférence fut de combiner le savoir académique, l'art de la « performance » et la pédagogie. Chaque jour, de courts extraits d'épopées, de chants, ou de récits furent présentés. Un représentant des Tala-andig Bukidnon, Datu Victorino Saway et sa sœur Irene Ilessis Saway ont chanté des extraits d'une macro épopée de Mindanao 'Agyu ; trois Sama de Tawi-Tawi et un Sama Dilaut ont présentés des chants et danses ; Aone van Engelenhoven a chanté des chants de l'île de Leti, tandis qu'Elisabeth D. Inandiak a présenté un fragment audiovisuel de son spectacle sur *Surat Centhini*. D'autre part, outre les performances, la conférence a allié la transmission des savoirs avec une partie éducative : chaque jour, des lycéens et collégiens, ainsi que de jeunes étudiants originaires de diverses provinces, regroupés en trois ateliers, devaient réfléchir aux tentatives de revitalisation de la mémoire et de sa transmission par le biais éducatif, afin de stimuler la créativité artistique.

Le public était constitué de chercheurs, d'étudiants, d'enseignants et d'acteurs de la tradition, ainsi que de dramaturges. Plusieurs animateurs des *Schools of living tradition* (www.ncca.gov.ph) étaient présents dont Datu Victorino Saway, directeur et fondateur de la « maison de réunion » (*tulugan*)

des *Tala-andig Bukidnon*, leur «école de tradition vivante» au nord-ouest de Mindanao (<http://talaandigsite.blogspot.com/>).

Créées et financées par le gouvernement à partir de 2003, ces écoles permettent l'enseignement des artisanats (tissages, broderies, tapisseries de perles), des savoir-faire, des pratiques musicales et choréographiques, par les membres des communautés. Il s'agit de conserver et de promouvoir les cultures et les patrimoines matériels et immatériels des différents groupes des Philippines, une sorte de conservatoire des traditions locales. Ces écoles offrent un modèle pour la perpétuation des traditions vivantes.

Dana RAPPOPORT

LISTE DES COMMUNICATIONS

Making an archive of intangible heritage in the early 21st century

Zialcita, Fernando. *Chanted landscapes: the interweaving of tangible and intangible heritage*
 Revel, Nicole. *Vivid and virtual memory: the Philippine epics and ballads archive of the Ateneo de Manila University*

Muhammad Haji Salleh. *Hang Tuah, the culture hero: interpreting memory*

Buenconsejo, José. *Transcontextualizing a Philippine folk epic, from printed words to sounds and images: the case of "ibong Adarna" (1941)*

Hermeneutics of Epics in Southeast Asia

Reilly, Brandon. *Epics in the early Spanish Philippines revisited*

Muyco, Maria Christine. *Mangalimog aka: finding one's voice in Sugidanon (epic chanting)*

Soriente, Antonia. *Documentation of oral traditions in the Kenyah and Punan communities of Borneo*

Ivanoff, Jacques. *From the founding epic to the millenarian unknown: the Moken answer to contemporary history*

Rappoport, Dana. *Songs, words and acts: an archive for Toraja ritual music (Sulawesi, Indonesia)*

Waterson, Roxana. *The poetics of prayer: expectation and blessing in Sa'dan Toraja ritual poetry (Sulawesi, Indonesia)*

Menua Saleh, Robert. *Ritual chant for good fortune among Iban traditional society*

Van Engelenhoven, Aone. *Interpreting the spoor of the sailfish: narrative knowledge management in Southwest Maluku (Indonesia) and Tutuala (East-Timor)*

Rosario de Santos del Rosario, *Introduction to Ifugao culture sung tradition*

Stanyukovich, Maria. *Epic as a means to control the memory and emotions of gods and humans: ritual implications of the Ifugao hudhud*

Reid, Laurence. *Remembering the way language used to be: a talking dictionary of Khininaang Bontok*

Garcia, Leovino. *Memory and intangible heritage*

Padilla, Carmen. *Unesco and the protection of intangible heritage*

Third International Conference in the Framework of the Training Indonesia's Young Leaders Programme

(Bogor, 24-26 janvier 2011)

Ce troisième colloque des études sur l'islam indonésien, après Malang en 2007 puis Semarang en 2009, s'est tenu sur un thème un peu provocateur en ces temps d'interrogation sur un monde musulman en mouvement : "Is Indonesian Islam different? Islam in Indonesia in a comparative international perspective". L'idée était finalement judicieuse car elle a poussé bon nombre de chercheurs, des plus seniors aux plus jeunes, à poser ouvertement cette question. Après la vague de conflits interreligieux qui a débuté dans les années 1990, puis celle d'attentats meurtriers en 2000 et surtout 2002, l'islam indonésien était-il voué à abandonner ce rôle de contre-exemple pacifique à l'islam plus violent d'Asie centrale ou du Moyen-Orient ? La question s'imposait après des années d'oscillation de l'islam indonésien entre un sentiment d'infériorité et l'intuition d'une différence à son avantage.

Ce colloque de Bogor 2011, qui a réuni 72 chercheurs de toutes nationalités, principalement des Indonésiens, appartient à la longue histoire de la coopération néerlando-indonésienne entamée en 1985 avec la création de l'INIS (Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies) mis en place par Munawir Sjadjali, alors ministre des cultes, l'un des grands réformateurs des études islamiques en Indonésie. L'objectif était alors de former des universitaires, mais aussi des intellectuels indépendants et «innovateurs». Des programmes de coopération en matière d'éducation islamique avaient alors été mis en place également avec le Canada. Vingt-six ans plus tard, à Bogor, le Professeur Wim Stokhof, qui a initié le programme côté Pays-Bas, s'est félicité de la participation de l'INIS à la formation de «centaines de brillants étudiants indonésiens» avant leur entrée dans la société indonésienne.

Il s'agissait du troisième colloque organisé dans le cadre du dernier programme de coopération de l'INIS intitulé "Training Indonesia's Young Leaders: Muslim Intellectuals as Agents of Change 2006-2011", les deux autres étant : "Muslim Youth as Agents of Change in Indonesia" (Malang 2007) et "Islam, Democracy and Good Governance in Indonesia" (Semarang 2009). Ces colloques, ainsi que ceux qui se sont tenus avant 2007, ont toujours été des lieux privilégiés de réunion des chercheurs indonésiens et étrangers sur l'islam, où chacun présentait ses derniers travaux devant un auditoire averti. Les chercheurs seniors indonésiens de renom étaient encore au rendez-vous : les Professeurs Taufik Abdullah, Machasin, Azyumardi Azra, Komaruddin Hidayat, Bahtiar Effendi, mais aussi les générations intermédiaires comme Jajat Burhanudin, Siti Musdah Mulia ou encore, plus jeune, Eka Sri Mulyani. Les débutants, la plupart en cours de formation doctorale dans des universités occidentales ou des universités séculières et islamiques indonésiennes, étaient nombreux, venus parfois de petites universités comme Jember, Kudus ou Kediri. Un éventail impressionnant de thèmes de recherche sur l'islam était proposé, un sujet qui ne tarit pas, vu la diversité des islams régionaux mais aussi les profondes mutations en cours dans la religion majoritaire de l'archipel.

Les professeurs Robert W. Hefner (Boston University) et Kees van Dijk (Leiden University) avaient la tribune d'honneur côté international, mais d'autres chercheurs néerlandais, organisateurs des programmes de longue date, Nico Kaptein, Dick Douwes et Leon Buskens, ont été les moteurs, avec Wim Stokhof, de cette grande réunion ambitieuse. Soixante-quatre présentations ont été entendues en l'espace de trois journées. Le lieu judicieusement choisi, à la porte de Jakarta, dans un endroit frais et aéré, au Novotel de Bogor – le soin dans la sélection des lieux de colloque étant une tradition de nos confrères néerlandais –, a rendu la rencontre fructueuse et agréable. La politique, le radicalisme, les minorités, le droit et les oulémas, ont été au centre de la thématique des dix-huit ateliers, qui ont porté aussi une attention particulière à la question du genre (quatre ateliers), sans oublier la santé, l'environnement, les affaires sociales et la « culture populaire ».

Kees van Dijk a bien noté qu'il s'agissait sans doute ici de trouver une voie moyenne entre, d'un côté, un Snouck Hurgronje qui aimait souligner la similitude entre l'islam indonésien et celui du monde musulman en général, réagissant ainsi à une société néerlandaise qui tendait au contraire à nier à Java son islamité, et, de l'autre côté, Clifford Geertz qui mettait l'accent au contraire sur le caractère unique de l'islam javanais.

Robert Hefner a le mieux défini cette différence cherchée par tous, proposant une réflexion innovante : "Indonesian in the Global Scheme of Islamic Things: The Virtuous Circle of Education, Associations, and Democracy". Auteur de nombreux livres sur l'islam indonésien mais aussi sud-est asia-

tique, et éditeur d'ouvrages fondamentaux sur l'islam dans le monde, il était bien placé pour tenter ce comparatisme. Pour lui, l'islam indonésien se distingue des autres islams par trois héritages remarquables (*remarkable legacies*) : sa tradition d'ouverture de l'éducation islamique ; le pragmatisme de la vie associative ; la conviction que la démocratie constitutionnelle est compatible avec l'islam. Le caractère tardif de la présence des pensionnats islamiques (*pesantren, madrasa*) qui ne se répandent dans l'archipel qu'au milieu du XIX^e siècle, coïncide avec l'arrivée du mouvement de réforme islamique et l'influence grandissante des mouvements anti-coloniaux pour façonner un système éducatif islamique bien plus ouvert à ces nouvelles idées que les *madrasa*, du Moyen-Orient en général. Certes, l'islam traditionaliste fut conservateur dans ses doctrines, mais il s'ouvrit lui aussi à l'introduction de matières non religieuses et à l'enseignement aux filles. Il accepta également l'aide de l'État pour améliorer la qualité de son enseignement. Le contraste est frappant avec le Pakistan ou l'Afghanistan par exemple, où les réformes des *madrasa*, suscitent des oppositions farouches encore de nos jours. De même, l'enseignement islamique supérieur est bien plus innovant en Indonésie qu'ailleurs dans le monde musulman. Deuxième point, l'Indonésie se distingue par la durabilité de ses organisations socio-caritatives. L'islam indonésien, écrit Hefner, est un “*associationalized Islam*”, ce qui veut dire qu'il ne s'agit pas uniquement d'un islam dévot ou politique, mais d'un islam éthique impliqué dans l'éducation et les œuvres sociales à un degré particulièrement élevé. Ces associations, telles que le Nahdlatul Ulama et la Muhammadiyah, ont créé une «culture organisationnelle» qui n'a pu se développer, par exemple, en Égypte, berceau du réformisme, où Muhammad Abduh fut confronté à de vieilles et puissantes institutions. Malgré la présence indubitable de mouvements radicaux, du Darul Islam à la Jemaah Islamiyah, le travail des grandes organisations islamiques maintient en quelque sorte cette culture organisationnelle qui nourrit indirectement un “*Islamic Middle way*”. Enfin, le constitutionalisme démocratique est bien implanté, souligne Hefner, malgré la présence de débats récurrents sur la souveraineté de Dieu. Car si Natsir rejetait l'idée d'une séparation entre religion et pouvoir, c'était pour lui et pour d'autres islamistes modérés, un point d'entrée vers un Etat islamique démocratique. La question du statut de la charia et des droits des minorités reste cependant le point critique de cet attachement au constitutionalisme. Hefner conclut que l'histoire de l'Indonésie ces dernières années a néanmoins «démontré comment parvenir à un équilibre des principes de la charia et de la démocratie constitutionnelle». Ce succès «remarquable» dépend néanmoins de «la bonne santé et de la modération» des deux grandes organisations islamiques, le NU et la Muhammadiyah.

Parmi les ateliers, notons celui sur le radicalisme, un sujet non épuisé presque dix années après le premier attentat sanglant de Bali. L'exposé de

Syaifudin Zuhri (UIN Yogyakarta) “Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran and its Quest for Authenticity” portait sur le développement impressionnant d’un nouveau mouvement de purification de la foi, prenant en quelque sorte le relais de l’ancienne Muhammadiyah accusée par le MTA d’avoir assoupli sa position vis-à-vis des pratiques locales autrefois jugées déviantes. Le MTA (Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran) s’est propagé par une combinaison de *dakwah* (propagation de la foi) et de technologie, créé par Sukina, un mystique javanais (“mantan dukun” *yang bertaubat*, un ex-guérisseur repenti, selon ses propres aveux). Le charisme de Sukina a propulsé le MTA à un niveau national, puisqu’en 2010 le mouvement possédait 35 branches provinciales et 158 branches locales. Par ailleurs, Muhammad Wildan (UIN Yogyakarta, “The Nature of Islam in Solo: The Phenomena of Radical Islamic groups in Solo, Central Java”) a cherché l’explication à la concentration de groupes radicaux dans la petite ville de Solo, et veut y voir la réaction d’une population *abangan* à une marginalisation historique, compensée désormais par une entrée dans un nouvel islam radical soutenu par la *dakwah*. Didin Rosidin (IAIN Cirebon) a étudié la progression des groupes «exclusifs» Rohani Islam (ROHIS, Spiritualité Islamique) dans les lycées publics depuis 1987. Cette progression s’est faite parfois avec le soutien des lycées, faisant de l’appartenance au ROHIS une obligation aux élèves. Les attentats de Bali de 2002 ont changé la donne, l’accès aux lycéens par les groupes de ROHIS étant interdit ou restreint par les écoles, par crainte d’accusations de radicalisme. Mais le mouvement a survécu et s’est réorganisé en une fédération sponsorisée par une NGO radicale. Enfin, Greg Fealy (ANU, Canberra) a présenté son analyse des écrits jihadistes et Ikhwanis indonésiens, la différence fondamentale étant l’absence totale, chez les jihadistes, de références doctrinales aux oulémas indonésiens, la profusion de références historiques à des événements extérieurs à l’Indonésie, et l’absence de production intellectuelle locale.

La question de la charia était donc à l’ordre du jour, dénoncée par certains comme un instrument servant les intérêts politiques (Rohmat Suprapto, université Muhammadiyah, Semarang). Elle portait aussi sur la nouvelle égalité des juristes islamiques et séculiers introduite depuis 2003, ainsi que sur les efforts pour construire un nouveau *madhab* (école de droit) indonésien. L’autorité grandissante du Conseil des Oulémas (MUI) a fait l’objet de communications, notamment celle de Muhammad As’ad, de l’IAIN de Surabaya, et celle de Steward Fenwick (Université de Melbourne), qui expose le cas de Mochamed Yusman Roy, ce néophyte qui a promu l’utilisation de l’indonésien pour les prières, dont le cas «marque un tournant pour l’islam normatif», car l’État semble céder du terrain au MUI, permettant l’avènement d’un “de facto blasphemy regime”.

La question du genre et du féminisme a été largement traitée à Bogor. De manière inattendue, la sexualité a fait son apparition également dans un ate-

lier avec trois présentations sur l'homosexualité et son rapport au religieux aujourd'hui. La question des travestis éclaire des phénomènes de mutation religieuse spectaculaires. Dian Maya Safitri, de l'université Gajah Mada, a fait une recherche dans le "pesantren" Al-Fattah, lieu de formation religieuse, où des travestis musulmans étudient deux fois par semaine. Cette innovation montre la prise de conscience religieuse dans des milieux jusqu'ici perçus plutôt comme rebelles à l'islamisation des mœurs. Mais qu'est-ce qu'un travesti «bon musulman»? Mohamad Avicenna (UIN Jakarta) a réalisé une enquête d'opinion systématique auprès de travestis (*khunsa*, hermaphrodites) montrant notamment une difficulté morale grandissante pour prier en tant que femmes. Pour parer à cette difficulté le vendredi, le travesti porte des vêtements masculins, *sarung* et *pici*, mais de retour dans la vie quotidienne, loin du regard divin, il reprend sa féminité. Maimunah (Université Airlangga) a démontré la transformation de l'industrie cinématographique sur cette question délicate. Le travesti est devenu au fil des ans non plus le sujet d'un humour facile, comme ce fut le cas dans les années 1970 et 1980 ("Betty Bencong Slebor", "Benyamin Brengsek"), mais il est traité désormais comme un sujet sérieux (*Panggil Aku Puspa*), travestis ou homosexuels étant des hommes dont la délicatesse est soulignée, les rendant plus légitimes dans une société devenue malgré tout moins tolérante aux «déviations» à la norme.

Pour définir la différence indonésienne en matière de féminisme islamique, Andrée Feillard et Nelly van Dorn-Harder ont proposé de considérer le rôle fondamental joué par les théologaines (et non pas les militantes laïques) dans une Indonésie où le discours est devenu saturé de références religieuses. Certes, les femmes de l'islam moderniste et traditionaliste ont depuis bien longtemps œuvré pour acquérir davantage de libertés individuelles (notamment le planning familial), mais une rupture est intervenue depuis ces dernières années lorsque ces féministes, souvent de formation religieuse, ont milité pour leur propre cause plutôt que pour celle des hommes, notamment dans le cas de la polygamie, plus banalisée et très controversée.

Toutes les présentations n'ont pas essayé de répondre à la question du particularisme de l'islam indonésien, mais beaucoup ont fait des efforts dans ce sens, et l'image qui ressort des multiples contributions, certes de qualité inégale, est très complexe et riche. On ne peut que se féliciter des initiatives toujours renouvelées de l'université de Leyde, de la longue coopération avec la recherche indonésienne, et de l'accueil reçu par l'université islamique de Jakarta et le ministère des religions indonésien, qui permettent ensemble à ces conférences internationales de devenir un lieu unique pour accueillir les résultats de recherches d'un terrain large, mouvant, certes, mais d'autant plus digne d'intérêt.

Andrée FEILLARD

COMMUNAUTÉS CHINOISES D'INSULINDE

MARIE-SYBILLE DE VIENNE

The Chinese in Brunei: From Ceramics to Oil Rent¹

With some 400,000 inhabitants in 2010, Brunei is ASEAN's least populated State, but ranks second in terms of wealth – after Singapore.

The *Taiping huanyu ji*, “The Universal Geography of the Taiping era” (976-983) describes the sending of a first embassy by *Boni*² (渤泥) to China in 977, which makes Boni one of the oldest South-East Asian kingdoms. The debate about the precise location of the *Boni* polity along the West coast of Borneo,³ which lasted for years, can now be settled in favour of Brunei's current boundaries, thanks to the confrontation of Chinese sources from Song to Ming period and of 16th century Iberian sources with the last archaeological discoveries. The excavation of Sungai Limau Manis⁴ in 2002

1. Paper presented to the International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas (ISSCO) 7th Conference, 7-9 May 2010, Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore.

2. *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平环宇记 (for a critical approach of Chinese sources, Kurz, Johannes L., *Boni in Chinese Sources: Translations of Relevant Texts from the Song to the Qing Dynasties*, 2008, e-publication, 66 p.).

3. Wade, Geoff, “Po-luo and Borneo – a re-examination”, *BMJ*, 6(2), 1986, pp. 13-35, demonstrated that the common acceptance of Po-luo (婆罗) as being a reference to Borneo in pre-Ming and early Ming Chinese sources is untenable.

4. Pengiran Dr. Karim bin Pengiran Haji Osman, *Sungai Limau Manis: Tapak Arkeologi Abad Ke-10-13 Masih [Sungai Limau Manis, Archaeological remains 10-13th centuries AD]*, BSB, Jabatan Muzium-Muzium Brunei, Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan, 2004, 175 p.; and the presentation of the exhibition “The Islamic Sultanate of Brunei: Past and Present Culture”, 2009, at SOAS, <http://www.soas.ac.uk/gallery/brunei/>. The localisation of Boni's capital in Sungai Limau Manis is corroborated by Francisco de Sandes' account, who mentioned a former capital some 30 km upstream Bandar Seri Begawan (Carroll, John S., ed., “Francisco de Sandes invasion of Brunei in 1578: an anonymous Spanish Account”, *BMJ*, 6(2), 1986, p. 52).

(10-13th centuries, some 30 kilometres upstream Kota Batu, *i.e.* Bandar Seri Begawan) revealed about 51,000 shards of Song ceramics and some 1,000 brass coins⁵ along a 1,150 meters portion of the river (on both banks) – more artefacts than in Santubong,⁶ the most important archaeological site of Sarawak. This assessment is corroborated by the mention of Limau Manis in the third part of Brunei's myth of foundation, the *Sya 'ir Awang Simawn*,⁷ such as those of the 14 brothers who conquered the 14 estuaries around the bay of Brunei – 14 being the very number of *Boni*'s counties described by the first Chinese source.

Moreover, according to various official versions of the Royal genealogy, the second Sultan, Ahmad, married the daughter of a Chinese merchant, Om Sum Peng.⁸ Another version even says that he married the king's daughter and became the second sultan.⁹

Relations between Brunei and the overseas Chinese have thus been numerous in the past and are revivified today, as shown by the monetary links between Singapore and the Sultanate, whose currencies exchange at par on a one to one basis, or by their military cooperation – the Singaporean army training in Temburong, the Eastern part of Brunei, etc.

As such, it is surprising to note that if some quite accurate works have been published on Chinese epigraphs,¹⁰ ceramics¹¹ or associations¹² in

5. At some 50 meters from the river bank, meaning that a total of two square kilometers was investigated.

6. Some 49,400 Tang and Song porcelain and stone fragments were discovered in Bongkisam, the main archaeological site of Santubong, Sarawak, along a 800 meters portion of the river bank (Cheng Te-k' un, *Studies in Chinese Archaeology*, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, c1982, p. 46).

7. Maxwell, Allen R., "Accessing the Epic Status of the Brunei Malay *Sya 'ir Awang Simawn*", Paper presented at *Tenth International Conference on Linguistics, 17-20 January 2006, Puerto Princesa* (Palawan), <http://www.sil.org/asia/Philippines/ical/papers.html>, 20 ff, f. 14.

8. Low, Hugh, "Selesilah (Book of Descent) of the Rajas of Brunei", *JSBRAS*, 5, June 1880, reprint in Cheah Boon Kheng, *Papers relating to Brunei*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS Reprint, 1998, p. 16; Sweeney, P.L. Amin, "Silsilah Raja-Raja Berunai", *JMBRAS*, 41(2), 1968 & "Errata and Short note", *id.*, 42(2), 1969, Manuscript A § 2; 'Batu Tarsilah' (Low: 22). The official version retained by the Authorities is those of Manuscript A.

9. Low, 1998, p. 2; Sweeney 1968, Manuscript [B] § 5.

10. As shown by Franke, Wolfgang & Ch'en T'ieh-fan, "A Chinese tomb inscription of A.D. 1264, discovered recently in Brunei, a preliminary Report", *BMJ*, 3(1), 1973, pp. 91-99.

11. Harrisson, Tom & Barbara, "Kota Batu in Brunei (Introductory Report)", *SMJ*, 7(8)/23, 1956, pp. 283-319; Metussin Omar & Dato P.M. Sharifuddin, "Distribution of Chinese and Siamese ceramic in Brunei", *BMJ*, 4(2), 1978, pp. 59-65.

12. On Chinese clan associations, see Rao Shangdong 饶尚东 [or Niew Shong Tong, Jao Shang-tong], *Wenlai Huazu huiguan shilun* 文莱华族会馆史论 [A history of Chinese clan Associations in Brunei], Singapore, 新加坡亚洲研究学会, Xinjiapo Yazhou yanjiu xuehui, 1991, 200 p.

Brunei, no monograph has been written yet on the Brunei Chinese as a whole.¹³ The aim of this paper is thus to show the interest of the topic and to propose some research orientations, from the historical background to present-day Brunei.

The historical background

Tenth-century Brunei was obviously linked to the Southern China Sea's commercial networks, and more precisely to Quanzhou. The first Brunei embassy to China sailed on a Sino-Muslim ship from Quanzhou looking for camphor, tortoise-shells and sandalwood, the availability of this last product showing that Brunei, deprived of sandalwood, was already connected to the Eastern part of the Insulindian archipelago.

The China trade in Brunei from Song to Ming

The raids of the Cholas (of Tanjore) against Srivijaya¹⁴ (1017, 1025 and c. 1070) and the restructuring of trade by the Northern Song¹⁵ led to a decrease in 'indigenous' Southeast Asian trade. As such, Brunei waited until 1082 (over a century!) to send a second embassy to China. Srivijaya sent one embassy (made of three delegations) that same year. On the whole, the major Southeast Asian power at the time, Srivijaya, dispatched only five embassies to China during the 11th century.¹⁶ Thanks to the collapse of the Chola Empire around 1150, to the remoulding of the Srivijayan pattern of trade¹⁷ and to Chinese innovations in shipbuilding and navigation, Southern China trade exploded during the 12th century, to the extent that Brunei is mentioned twice in Chinese sources (c. 1151 and 1206). Twenty years later (1225), the importance of Brunei is reassured by Zhao Rugua,¹⁸ Supervisor of Maritime

13. With the exception of Niew Shong Tong, "Chinese society in Brunei: a survey", in Suryadinata, Leo, ed., *Southeast Asian Chinese: the socio-cultural dimension*, Singapore, Times Academic Press, 1995, 326 p., pp. 78-94.

14. Kulke, Hermann, Kesavapany, K. & Sakhija, Vijay, eds., *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: reflections on Chola naval expeditions to Southeast Asia*, Singapore, ISEAS, 2009, 337 p.

15. Under the Song dynasty, the revenues from maritime customs increased from 0,5 million *guan* (貫, set of 1,000 coins) at the beginning of the 11th century to 65 millions *guan* in 1189 (Gernet, Jacques, *Le monde chinois*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1972, p. 285).

16. 1028, 1067, 1082, 1083, and a last one between 1094 and 1097 (Ferrand, G., *L'empire sumatranais de Çrīvijaya*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1922, p. 22; also Salmon, Claudine, "Srivijaya, la Chine et les marchands chinois", *Archipel*, 63, 2002, pp. 57-78).

17. So Kee-long, "Dissolving hegemony or changing trade pattern? Images of Srivijaya in the Chinese sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 29(2), 1998, pp. 295-308.

18. Zhao Rugua, 赵汝适, *Zhufanzhi* 诸蕃志 [Record of all Barbarian countries], translated by Hirth, F. & Rockhill, W.W., *Chau Ju-kua: on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*, reprint Amsterdam, Oriental Press, 1966, 288 p., pp. 153 sq.

Trade in Quanzhou, who compiled data relating to the Nanyang trade. Brunei's main resources were camphor and tortoise-shells, which were bartered for Chinese ceramics and textiles; as in Srivijaya, material wealth was (and still is) emblematic to political power.

Through Quanzhou, where the wealthiest merchants included many Muslims, Islam began planting its roots in Brunei. Its first Muslim epigraph is the stele of a Chinese merchant, master Pu, who died in 1264.¹⁹ The presence of Chinese Muslims in Brunei during the 13th century is confirmed by a 1578 Spanish source saying that “[for up] to three hundred years there were a mosque there and six Moorish kings of the lineage of this [...] People who came from Mecca made a sumptuous mosque so that with religion their rule was confirmed [...] and convert[ed] to it the Chinese who were there and the natives...”.²⁰

The China trade continued to develop in Brunei during the second half of the 13th century, whereas a new competitor, Singhasari, dominated Eastern Java and the spice networks of Maluku. By destroying Singhasari in 1292, the Mongols opened the way to Majapahit, which extended its circle of tributaries to Brunei (the Buruneng of the *Nagarakertagama*) at the beginning of the second half of the 14th century.²¹ Due to several raids carried out by one Sulu chiefdom (which were finally contained with the help of the Javanese²²), Brunei's capital moved from Limau Manis to Kota Batu. Following the resumption of an ambitious maritime policy by the first Ming Emperor Hongwu in 1368, who sent an emissary to Brunei as soon as 1370 (in presence of the Javanese envoy²³), Brunei played the Chinese card²⁴ against Majapahit

19. As shown by Franke, Wolfgang & Ch'en T'ieh-fan, 1973, p. 92, “there can be no doubt about the date”.

20. Carroll, John S., ed., 1986, p. 51.

21. Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 1976, p. 139. The *Silsilah* (Manuscript [B]) says that the first sultan, Awang [Kh]alak Betatar, was vassal of the king of Majapahit “dita’lok oleh Betara Majapahit dan Pateh Gajah Mada” (Sweeney, P.L. Amin, “*Silsilah Raja-Raja Berunai*”, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

22. Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), *Boniguo rugong ji* 勒尼国入贡记, in Kurz, Johannes L., *op. cit.*, pp. 27 sq.; Groeneveldt, W.P., “Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources”, Batavia, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviësche Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, XXXIX (1880), p. 103; Yuan dade Nanhai zhi 元大德南海志 (*Nanhai* [Canton] Gazette during the Dade Era of Yuan), quoted by Wang Zhenping, “Reading Song-Ming records on pre-colonial history of the Philippines”, *Higashi Ajia bunka kōshō kenkyū 東アジア文化交渉研究 Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies*, 2008, pp. 249-260; Brunei is transcribed as *Foni* 佛坭.

23. Song Lian 宋濂, *op. cit.*, in Kurz, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 sq.

24. For the relations between Brunei and the Ming Empire, see the translation of the *Ming Shilu* 明实录 by Wade, Geoff, *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an open access resource*, Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, NUS, 2005, entry ‘Brunei’, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry>.

and dispatched an embassy the following year. But as the Ming Emperors did not have yet the means to implement their maritime policy, Brunei did not send other delegations to Nanjing until the end of the century. The situation changed radically with the advent of Emperor Yongle, whose treasury had been emptied by the war of succession. The Emperor decided to control major sea lanes and to develop maritime trade. Henceforth, he sent several expeditions to the Southern oceans under the command of admiral Zheng He. After the passage of Zheng He along the Western coast of Borneo – though Zheng He probably never landed in present day Brunei – Brunei hastily dispatched a mission to Nanjing in 1405. In 1408 (after the death of the king of Boni in Nanjing), the mount ‘protecting’ Brunei was granted the title of “everlasting protector of the country” (which could be the origin for *Darussalam*). This is the same title as that conferred to the Malacca Hill three years before. If Malacca was the pivot of the Chinese strategy and its success mostly due to the Chinese stopover, it did not hinder the development of the Brunei trade: the first stele written in Arabic language in Brunei (14th century) was carved in Quanzhou.²⁵

According to epigraphy,²⁶ during the first sixty years of the Ming dynasty, the Brunei political elite converted to Islam through the medium of Malays from Northern Sumatra²⁷ and of some Arabs from Taif.²⁸ As shown by archaeological evidence, Portuguese and Spanish sources,²⁹ Brunei reached its apogee between the end of the 15th century and the Spanish attack of 1578.

25. Chen Dasheng, «Une pierre tombale du début du XIV^e s. retrouvée à Brunei», *Archipel*, 42, 1991, pp. 47-52.

26. Kalus, Ludvik & Guillot, Claude, «Les inscriptions funéraires islamiques de Brunei», *BEFEO*, 90-91, 2003-2004, pp. 229-272; *Id.*, «Les inscriptions funéraires islamiques de Brunei (2^{ème} partie)», *BEFEO*, 93, 2006, pp. 139-181.

27. Among the 20 datable steles found in and around Kota Batu, 10 belong to the 1400-1460 period. In Pasai, 11 datable steles have been found for the 1350-1410 period, covering the same scope of time (60 years), cf. Guillot, Claude & Kalus, Ludvik, *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel 37, 2008, 402 p. In Brunei, among the 10 datable epitaphs, one is bilingual Sanskrit/Arabo-Malay, another is written in Arabic and the remaining eight in Arabo-Malay. In Pasai (half a century earlier), the 11 datable epitaphs are all in Arabic. In Brunei, Islam seems thus more ‘indigenous’ Malay than in Pasai, which suggests that after more than one century of contacts with Chinese Muslims, it was through Islamized Malays that the new religion began to develop. Due to the shift in the chronology, the role of North Sumatra Malays in the propagation of Islam must have been essential.

28. According to the *Silsilah*, Manuscript [A], the second sultan, Sharif Ali, originated from Taif (Sweeney, P.L. Amin, *op. cit.*, p. 11); the Batu Tarsilah (written in 1807, cf. Sweeney, 1969, pp. 222-224) adds that Sharif Ali is a descendant of Hassan, the grandson of the Prophet (Low, Hugh, “Transcription and translation of a Historic Tablet”, *JSBRAS*, 5, June 1880, reprint in Cheah Boon Kheng, *Papers relating to Brunei*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS Reprint, 1998, p. 22).

29. Nicholl, Robert, ed., *European sources for the History of the Sultanate of Brunei in the sixteenth century*, BSB, Brunei Museums, first ed., 1975, third ed. 2007, 119 p.

During this period, the sultanate traded with the whole region (so that even nutmegs and cloves could sometimes be found in Brunei). With the removal of trade restrictions by the Ming in 1567, the bulk of Brunei's trade with Southern China³⁰ grew to a level never seen before. The Sultanate imported silk materials, gold, ceramics and second-hand iron; and exported bird's nests, slaves, wax, pearls, bezoar stones, etc. – in addition to usual items such as camphor and tortoise-shells. Though there was a small community of Chinese residents (in Tanjung Batu and in Muara where the Chinese junks anchored), the *syahbandar* was a *pengiran* and not a foreigner, which differed from most Southeast Asian ports,³¹ and the sovereign tightly controlled trade.

The Spanish irruption and the decline of the China trade

After the loss of the Manila vassalage (1571) and the Spanish raid, trade with China decreased in Brunei, to the benefit of Manila and Sulu. One century later, in 1682, Sultan Muhammad opened negotiations again with the Spanish, hoping to draw Chinese traders and settlers back to Brunei through Manila.³² Though the Spanish sent an embassy to Brunei in 1685, the negotiation failed, because the Spanish agreed to dispatch Philippines 'Sangleys' or Chinese to the Sultanate only if accompanied by a Catholic priest. However, the lift of the ban on maritime trade after the Qing's conquest of Taiwan allowed the resumption of trade with Southern China, so that Chinese farmers finally established along the Brunei River to grow pepper at the end of the first decade of the 18th century.³³ Due to internal rivalry and to the external pressure of Bugis³⁴ and Sulus,³⁵ the Brunei Sultanate started to decline after 1720. The Chinese nevertheless maintained their trade with Brunei: four to seven junks came yearly from Amoy,³⁶ and a few more from

30. Brunei is thus mentioned in the Chinese nautical compendium of early Ming, Mills, J.V., "Arab and Chinese Navigators in Malaysian Waters in about a.d. 1500", *JMBRAS*, 47(2), 1974, pp. 1-82, reprint Wade, Geoff (ed.), *Southeast Asia – China Interactions, reprint of Articles from the JMBRAS*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS, 2007, pp. 409-458.

31. Nicholl, R., "Relations between Brunei and Manila A.D. 1682-1690", *BMJ*, 4(1), 1977, p. 154.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

33. Coolhaas, Willem P. & al. eds., *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische compagnie*, vol. VII, p. 174 (letter from the General-Governor and Council, 11 January 1714).

34. The *Sya'ir Awang Simaun* mentions numerous fights with Bugis (Maxwell 2006: part II [26-29; 39...], at Utay, Papan, Sandungan, Kuran, etc.; Dalrymple (quoted by Graham Saunders, *History of Brunei*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford UP, 2nd ed., 2002, p. 65) said that in 1768 Brunei suffered from civil war for years and that the Bugis were most influential there.

35. Brown, D.E., "Brunei and the Bajau", *BRB*, 3(2), 1971, p. 57; Dalrymple, A., "Essay toward an account of Sulu", *Oriental Repertory*, London, G. Bigg, 1793, pp. 525-531.

36. Dalrymple, Alexander, *Borneo Factory Records*, p. 495; Forrest, Thomas, *Voyage aux Moluques et à la Nouvelle Guinée fait sur la galère le Tartare en 1774, 1775 & 1776 par ordre de la Compagnie Angloise*, Paris, Hôtel de Thou, 1780, pp. 432 sq.

Macao.³⁷ Until the end of the 18th century, 500- to 600-ton junks were built on the Brunei River by Chinese carpenters.³⁸ However, as political uncertainty drove more and more Brunei Malays to migrate to other places of the Borneo coast (Lawas, Sarawak...), half of the 10-15,000 residents of the Brunei River were Chinese engaged in the pepper trade³⁹ at the beginning of the 19th century.

Failing to get support from both the Spanish and the British, Brunei met increasing pressure from Sulu on the north-west coast of Borneo. The Sulu dignitaries financed continuous Balangigi and Iranun raids, so that the Brunei Bay was finally deserted by Chinese junks after 1810. Some years later, at the southern end of the Sultanate, the discovery of antimony in Sarawak raised new interests. The sultan of Brunei sent an embassy to Singapore with 119 *perahu* – bringing the new mineral along with traditional exports in 1824. In 1827 he nominated a new governor to Sarawak, Pengiran Indera Makhota Shahbandar Mohammed Salleh, educated in Batavia, who founded Kuching and took control of the mines, which were exploited thanks to available Chinese manpower.⁴⁰ A decade later, the conflict between Mohammed Salleh and the sultan's envoy, Wazir Pengiran Muda Hashim, drew James Brooke into the game. The rest of the story is well known.

Because of the continuous decay of the Sultanate, which lost the seven eighth of its usable riparian territory during the 19th century, the Chinese community had nearly disappeared in 1906, when the Sultan relinquished its sovereign rights to the British.

The Brunei's Chinese from 1906 to independence

The Chinese during the first half of the 20th century

The British envoy, McArthur, estimated in 1904 the number of Chinese in Brunei at roughly 500⁴¹ – 20 times less than in 1800 (applying the lowest estimate). Moreover, as McArthur overestimated the whole Brunei population by one third (according to the first census in 1911), there should

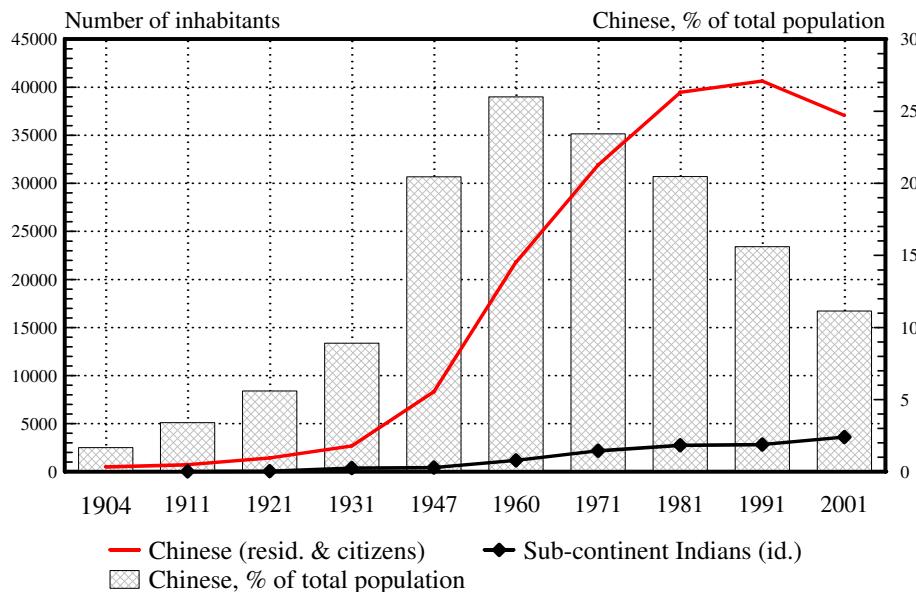
37. Manguin, Pierre-Yves, "Brunei trade with Macao at the turn of the 19th century, à propos of a 1819 letter from Sultan Khan Zul Alam", *BMJ*, 6(3), 1987, pp. 16-25.

38. *Singapore Chronicle*, December 1824, quoting John Jesse, living in Brunei (1775), ed. by Moor, J.H., "Borneo Proper", *Notices of the Indian Archipelago, and adjacent countries: being a collection of papers relating to Borneo...*, 1837, pp. 1-4.

39. Willi, Johannes, Early relations of England with Borneo to 1805, PhD thesis, Berne, Langesalza, 1922, p. 102, based on John Hunt's report.

40. See Hipkins, James R., "The History of the Chinese in Borneo", *SMJ*, 16(38-39), 1971, pp. 109-153, and Lockard, Craig A., "Charles Brooke and the Foundations of the Modern Chinese Community in Sarawak, 1863-1917", *Id.*, pp. 77-108.

41. Horton, A.V.M. (ed.), *Report on Brunei in 1904 by M.S.H. McArthur*, Athens, Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1987, p. 120.



1. Chinese population in Brunei, 1911-2001. (Sources: Census)

have been almost 300 Chinese at that time, most of all registered as British subjects in Labuan, which was surrendered to the British in 1846. However, trade remained in Chinese hands: retail trade, of course, and part of the commodity trade too, sago, rattan, etc. which were sold to Singapore. The shopkeepers were moneylenders as well – at their own risk – which allowed the most influential or lucky ones to impose import duties or other taxes, in districts such as in Belait (Goh Ah Lai) and in Tutong (Chi Ki Yi).⁴²

One of the main traders, Chua Chang Hee,⁴³ owned the last sago factory of the sultanate, which closed soon after the seizure of Limbang by Sarawak in 1890.⁴⁴ Apparently, during his youth, he also designed the crest engraved on Sultan Abdul Mumin's coins (in 1865).⁴⁵ This probably means that his family minted them, as the minters also designed the crests stamped on coins in most of the Malay States before the arrival of the Europeans. Other Chinese worked as wood-cutters for the timber industry, as fishermen or as

42. MacArthur, in Horton 1987, p. 82.

43. *Id.*, p. 124; with Cheok Yu, he was one of the community leaders.

44. The sago trees were in Limbang.

45. Abdul Latif Haji Ibrahim, *Sejarah rengkas panji² negeri Brunei, A short history of the Brunei State Crest*, BSB, Muzium Brunei, 1972, p. 15.

sundry makers. The wealthiest family of Brunei were the Cheoks, whose leader was Cheok Yu. When the British administration leased the opium revenue monopoly in 1908 (for one year only), it was to another Cheok, Cheok Boon Siok.⁴⁶ Along with the Cheoks, the most respected families were the Gohs, the Ongs and the Angs, the latter being the oldest: according to the family tradition, the first Ang family settled in Brunei before the arrival of James Brooke. Thanks to the financial support of Cheok Boon Siok,⁴⁷ a Chinese syndicate of traders cleared and planted the first large portion of land devoted to irrigated rice culture in 1919.

However, compared to the revenues of the Straits Settlements Chinese, the average income of the Brunei Chinese remained quite modest. The few modern activities were already in the hands of Westerners, such as coal mining in Brooketon (Muara), a concession owned by the Brookes.

The irruption of modernity

The British presence induced tremendous change for the Chinese. First of all, the residency redeemed all land and customs rights granted to Malay *pengiran* or Chinese traders, which reduced their economic leverage. On the other hand, the first primary Chinese school (Yik Chye School⁴⁸) opened in 1912 and taught in Mandarin, which was quite unusual in North Borneo.⁴⁹ In 1929, school became compulsory for boys, so that in 1941, there were five private primary Chinese schools⁵⁰ and that some Chinese sent their sons to the four Catholic schools (two in Belait⁵¹ and two in Brunei Town⁵²). As English was only introduced into the Chinese school curriculum in 1936, a cultural gap was created within the Chinese community. But no secondary school was available in Brunei: if families were interested in sending their children for secondary level studies, they had to send them to Labuan, with or (mostly) without government aid.

Due to the introduction of modern health services, to which the Chinese were more receptive than the Brunei Malays, the Chinese population doubled between 1911 and 1921, and its share of the total population increased from 3 to 5%. The Qemoy (Jinmen 金门) Hokkien arrived in Brunei in 1918 and

46. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

47. Anonymous, *Report for 1919 on the State of Brunei presented to the Parliament by command of His Majesty*, December 1920, p. 4.

48. Whose name changed in 1929 for Chung Hwa Middle School.

49. In North Borneo, Chinese schools used dialects (Gunn, Geoffrey, *Language, power and ideology in Brunei Darussalam*, Athens, Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Series n° 99, 1997, p. 75).

50. Two in Brunei Town, one each in Tutong, Kuala Belait and Seria.

51. Founded in 1931 and 1932.

52. Founded in 1938 and 1939.

built the first Chinese temple (Tengyun Temple) in front of the Brunei River (present day Jalan Sultan)⁵³ on a piece of land given by Cheok Boon Siok. As Chinese immigration to Brunei continued, the Chinese portion of the total population grew to 9% in 1931. With the discovery of oil in Seria in 1929, the demographic landscape changed – the number of Chinese tripled between 1931 and 1947, up to 20% of the population. The first Hainanese Association⁵⁴ was created in the oil-city, Belait, in 1939. And Belait became a modern enclave into a society that remained mostly traditional.

The Japanese invasion (December 1941) halted economic growth and all Chinese schools were closed. If the harshness of the occupation was at first moderate, many Chinese (and Malays) were ill-treated during the last stages of the Japanese rule when supplies were getting scarce. A large percentage of the few who had remained in Brunei Town through to the last days of the Japanese occupation were killed.⁵⁵ This said, most of Brunei's Chinese survived.

Two shocks: nationalism and oil rent

The formal return of a British civil administration in July 1946 was not so easy, as it increased tensions between the Chinese and the Malays. Due to daily shortages of basic supplies, the Chinese workers of the Seria oil field went on strike mid-1946, and lost their jobs to the benefit of others, Chinese or Indians. The return of the British opened the door to a nationalist upheaval because the Malay elite opposed any merger with Sarawak – which had been handed over to the British Crown by the rajah Vyner Brooke in July 1946 – through half a dozen movements. To make matters worse, the main nationalist movement, the *Barisan Pemuda* (BARIP, among which emerged the radical group *Kumpulan Ganyang China* [Group for crushing the Chinese]⁵⁶), was supported by the Sultan's brother, the Bendahara. Among the Nationalists' demands as early as May 1946, the recruitment of Malays by an administration still dominated by Anglo-speaking Chinese, which implied the creation of secondary English-speaking schools in Brunei. To publicly assert the dominance of the Malays, the BARIP enforced the closure of all Chinese shops during the funeral of the Sultan's mother at the beginning of 1947.

The Bendahara became the sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III in 1950. The Sultan tripled corporate taxes (from 10 to 30%) in 1953. In addition, as the

53. The temple was destroyed in the years 1950s to expand the Custom house; a new temple was built facing Sungai Kianggeh in 1960.

54. Founded in 1939 under the name of Qiongqiao gongsuo 瓊侨公所, becoming Qiongqiao gonghui 瓊侨公会 in 1956, then Wenlai Hainan Malaiyi [Belait] Gonghui 汶莱马来奔海南公会 in 1992 (<http://www.hainankbrunei.com/History%20past.htm>).

55. Monks, T.S., *Brunei Days*, Lewes, Book Guild, 1992, p. 52.

56. Gunn, G., *op. cit.*, p. 113.

oil income multiplied by 100 between 1946 and 1952, there were sufficient funds to implement a new social policy. A first secondary school opened in 1951, in Brunei City, followed by a second in Kuala Belait. The primary Malay schools became free of charge and the State financed half of the current spending of the eight Chinese schools, which commenced secondary education in 1954. Meanwhile, Omar Ali Saifuddin III promulgated a new concept, *Melayu Islam Beraja (MIB)*, which defined Malayness on the double basis of Religion and Monarchy. The re-appropriation of the Royal Malay Culture was promoted by the new splendour of the Islamic festivals, such as Hari Raya, at the end of the fasting month.

Thanks to the oil-boom, the Chinese population multiplied by 2.6 between 1947 and 1960, up to 26% of total population. As consumption resumed, a Chinese Chamber of Commerce⁵⁷ was founded in Brunei City as early as 1947. A decade later, two geo-dialectal associations were formed: the Brunei Branch of the Malayan Chinese Fuzhou Association⁵⁸ in 1955, and the Brunei Hakka Association⁵⁹ in 1960, both based in Kuala Belait where numerous Fuzhous and Hakkas from Sarawak had settled. A second Chinese Chamber of Commerce opened in Belait the same year. As 52% of the adults were still illiterate in 1960, the most qualified jobs were detained by Westerners, and the second rate ones, by Chinese who had at least completed English primary school. Following the 1959 treaty with the British, preparation of the first general elections raised the question of citizenship. According to the Brunei Nationality Enactment of December 1961, the 'indigenous races' (i.e. Dayaks, etc.) got it automatically, but the other applicants had to prove 20 years of residency over the last 25 years and were required to pass a dreadful Malay language examination. After the insurgency of the Brunei Malays in 1962, who rejected the incorporation of Brunei into a Malaysian Federation, the 1964 Nationality Act made the identity card compulsory, thus enforcing the registration of residents and restricting immigration. Since then, three kinds of ID cards have been delivered in Brunei: yellow for citizens, red for permanent residents and green for residents holding a long-term residency permit. To assert the Islamic dimension of the Brunei society, the Sultan obtained from the State Council the suppression of the subsidies previously granted to Christian schools in 1970. As the pace of Chinese immigration decreased, the percentage of Chinese in the population started declining: to 23% in 1971

57. Wenlai Zhonghua shanghai 汶萊中华商会. The equivalent for the Indians is the Brunei Darussalam Indian Business Group (IBG), founded much later.

58. Presently Wenlai Malaiyi [Belait] Fuzhou gonghui 汶萊马来奕福州公会.

59. Wenlai Kejia gonghui 汶萊客属公会.

and 20% in 1981. Half of the Brunei Chinese then lived in Belait, close to the oil fields, and nearly 25% of all the Chinese were already Christians.⁶⁰

In any case, Chinese skills remained necessary to production: in 1971, nearly 75% of them worked in administration, trade and construction (graph. 2).⁶¹ As construction was their main entrepreneurial activity, the Chinese created the Brunei Construction Association⁶² in 1964. Twelve years later (1976), a Chinese Engineering Association⁶³ was founded in Belait. Although the financial sector was controlled by two colonial banks, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank (HSBC) and the Standard Chartered Bank since 1950, the Chinese were quite present in the banking sector as well at the end of the years 1970. The first Bruneian Bank, the National Bank of Brunei, was founded in 1964 by the Malaysian Khoo Teck Puat 邱德拔, who held 30% of the shares in partnership with the royal family. Patrick Chiang Chen Tsong's United National Finance followed in 1975.

Due to the business boom, the Chinese associations prospered: the Hainanese Association opened a branch in Brunei city in 1968. The foundation of the Association of Taiwan Graduates⁶⁴ demonstrated the high level of education achieved by the Chinese sixteen years before the creation of the University of Brunei Darussalam (UBD). To federate the Qemoy Hokkien, the Overseas Chinese Taipei Association was created in 1976. Three more clan-based associations were founded on the eve of independence:

- . the Brunei Tai Poo Association,⁶⁵ Hakka,⁶⁶ in 1977,
- . the Brunei Qiong Zhou Association,⁶⁷ Hainanese, in 1978, and

60. Negeri Brunei, State of Brunei, *Laporan banchi penduduk Brunei 1971, Report on the Census of Population 1971*, BSB, The Star Press, undated, pp. 52-53, considering that the "Buddhists" which means here all the Chinese religions, are nearly all Chinese, deducting from the category "other" (mostly Westerners) the Nepalese (*i.e.* Gurkhas) and a handful of South-Koreans, Indians and Japanese.

61. Niew Shong Tong, "The pattern of economic activity of the modern Chinese communities in East Malaysia and Brunei", *China Society 25th anniversary journal*, 1976, pp. 40-55.

62. *Wenlai jianzhu shanggong hui* 汶萊建築商公会.

63. First under the name of Mashi Huaren jiqi gonghui 马诗华人机器工会, then as Malaiyi Shiliya Huaren gonghui 马来奕诗里亚华人机器公会 (Belait/Seria Association of Chinese Engineering) in 1984.

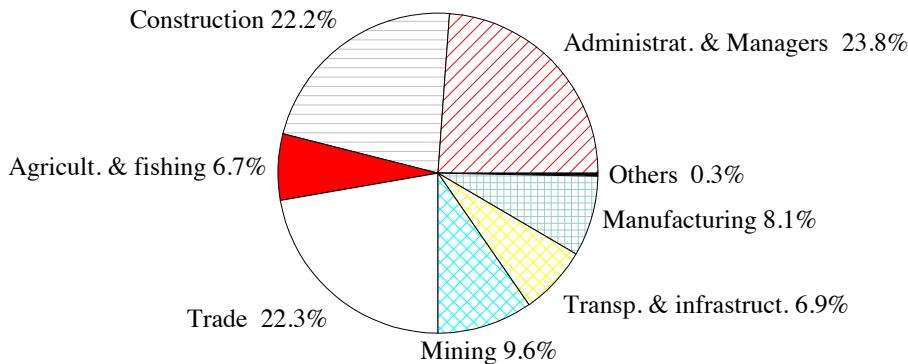
64. *Wenlai liu Tai tongxue hui* 汶萊留台同学会.

65. *Wenlai Dapu tonggong hui* 汶萊大埔同公会.

66. On Brunei Hakkas, see Rao Kan Guang 饶堪光, "一九九〇年世界客属第十次恳亲大会 汶萊区报告书 [1990 Tenth World Hakka Conference, Report on Brunei]", Brunei, Brunei Hakka Association, 汶萊, 汶萊客属公会, 1990, pp. 143-147.

67. *Wenlai Qiongzhou huiguan* 汶萊琼州会馆.

. the Brunei Kwong Wai Siew Association,⁶⁸ Cantonese, in 1983, the last two showing the growing importance of Hainanese and Cantonese in Kuala Belait.⁶⁹



2. Brunei Chinese, working population by major occupational group, 1971. (Sources: Census)

With the advent of oil revenue, economic power was now in the sole hands of the Sultan, thus allowing strengthening of Brunei's national values: cultural, with the promotion of Malay language and Brunei history in education, and religious, with the creation of a department of religious affairs.

One of the consequences of this identity blaze has been restricted access to land property. Since 1979, any acquisition (or long term lease) of land, by a Bruneian as by a foreigner, private individual or company, has been subjected to the approval of the Sultan. Worse, a maximum of 2 hectares of land was unofficially imposed to Chinese citizens. Even duly approved and paid, they could not and still can not get their acquisitions registered. In 1983, it was thus necessary to appease the Chinese in reminding all that the 'Malay Islamic Sultanate' had "guaranteed the status of non-Islamic groups since time immemorial", affirming three weeks later that "there won't be any boat people".⁷⁰ Among numerous assertions promoting Islamic values and culture, the Chinese were invited to spread commercial know-how among

68. *Wenlai Kuang Hui Zhao [Kwong Wai Siew] gonghui* 汶萊廣惠肇公會.

69. Rao Shangdong, 1991, *op. cit.*

70. Information Director, *Pelita*, 9 March 1983, in Kershaw, Roger, "Illuminating the Path to Independence, political themes in *Pelita Brunei* in 1983", *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1984, p. 69.

the Malays,⁷¹ which the Sultan emphasised by participating in the annual birthday banquet of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (September 1983). As recognition of efficiency, a Chinese Bruneian, Lim Jock Seng, was even appointed Secretary for ASEAN Affairs in the diplomatic department.⁷²

The Chinese into *Melayu Islam Beraja (MIB)*

Coping with MIB

During the ceremonies of Independence (December 31, 1983), the royal *titah*⁷³ promoted *MIB* to the status of State ideology, which gave a new impetus to the predominance of Malays. In 1984, the Nationality Law was revised, increasing the period of residency to 25 years during the last 30 years.⁷⁴ With the creation of a *MIB* Committee in 1985, which delivered compulsory *MIB* lectures to teachers, teaching became bilingual Malay/English. However, the eight Chinese schools were first allowed to keep Chinese as a teaching medium.

To counter the increasing pressure of Islamic fundamentalism, *MIB* was enshrined as “God’s will”⁷⁵ at the end of 1990, thus being more and more strictly implemented, as a way of controlling the society from inside. *MIB* and Jawi script became compulsory in all school curricula⁷⁶ as well as at University level. So in 1992, Chinese lost its status of teaching medium to the benefit of Malay and English. Chinese language courses could be performed only in addition to the National Curriculum and their contents had to be prepared by the Ministry of Education.⁷⁷ As Chinese language became a subject among others, the Chinese writing level suffered a disastrous decline until the end of the years 2000⁷⁸ – a fate, nevertheless, similar to what occurred in Singapore during the same period. A decade later, the

71. *Pelita Brunei*, 15/6/1983 (*loc. cit.*).

72. Kershaw, Roger, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

73. Royal Order, term used since the 14th century. The sufi Hamzah Fansuri use it to translate the Arabic term *amr* [=order]. In Brunei, speech of command pronounced by the sole King or Queen.

74. Rao Shangdong, “Wenlai Huaren de bentuhua yu guishugan 汶莱华人的本土化与归属感”, ISSCO 7th International Conference, May 9, 2010, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

75. *Titah*, October 1st, 1990.

76. All religious topics should be taught in Jawi script (Mani, A., “Negara Brunei Darussalam in 1992, celebrating the Silver Jubilee”, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1993, p. 108).

77. Gunn, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 158 sq.

78. Liu Xiutian 刘秀天, “在变化中的汶莱华文文学生态 — 兼谈华社三大支柱对华文文学的影响 (工商管理系第四届) [Brunei in the evolution of the Chinese literature – the impact of the Three Pillars of the Chinese Community on the Chinese Literature]”, *Sin Chew Daily* 星洲日报, 12/4/2005.

government increased its legal control on Chinese schools: their directors had to register (to ensure they fulfilled all prerequisites, such as to be more than 25 years old), but those whose ID cards were red or green could remain in function.

At the outset, *MIB* did not interfere directly with the two dozen Chinese associations⁷⁹ registered in the Sultanate. With the exception of the Sino-Bruneian Association of Friendship created in 1992 (after the recognition of PRC by the Sultanate in 1991) and the Bandar Seri Begawan Branch of the Hokkien (Fuzhou) Association in 1998, no proper new *huiguan* was founded since the independence. Though the State frequently remembered the historical importance of the Chinese, even in relation to the propagation of the Islamic faith,⁸⁰ the grip tightened with the January 2005 law, according to which all presidents of Chinese Association, board members and advisors should be Bruneian citizens.⁸¹

A decreasing Chinese population

The dominance of Brunei Malays enforced by *MIB* since 1984 was supported by an officious discrimination towards the Chinese, citizen or not. For example, those who had previously acquired land and wanted to sell it came under pressure to sell it to Malays.

As the economic space in which they could develop their activity narrowed because of the importance of the hydrocarbons sector (70.6% of GDP in 1983), controlled by the State, and the support granted to companies linked to the Royal Family, the share of the Chinese in the total population was cut in half between 1981 and 2001, from 20.5% to 11%. After 1991,⁸² although the gross birth rate of the Bruneian Chinese remained around 2%, their net demographic growth rate became negative due to emigration: 40,621 Chinese in 1991, 37,056 in 2001 (the last census). However, according to the Chinese embassy, the trend recently reversed and it is estimated that there were approximately 43,700 ethnic Chinese in Brunei in 2009. The Hokkien are the biggest group, most of them located in the

79. The associations mentioned *infra* plus 3 alumni associations and various sports or literature associations (for samples of Chinese *huiguan* booklets, see 汶萊華族社團資料, http://www.lib.nus.edu.sg/chz/chineseoverseas/oc_wenlai.html).

80. For example Kementerian Hal Ehwal Ugama (Ministry of Religious Affairs), “Ucapan di Majlis Ramah Mesrah Bersama Masyarakat Tinghua, Daerah Belait pada 2 Disember 2005”, www.religious-affairs.gov.bn/index.php?ch=bm_bersama_menteri&pg=bm_menteri_ucapan&ac=50.

81. Liu Xiutian, *loc. cit.*

82. Jao, Shang-Tung, *Demographic trends in Negara Brunei Darussalam*, Educational Technology Centre, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, BSB, Dept. of Public Policy and Administration, 1991.

Brunei-Muara district – the Taiwanese ministry of Foreign Affairs⁸³ estimates that 60% of Brunei Chinese are presently from Qemoy (Jinmen).⁸⁴

In 2001, the active Chinese population represented 44.7% of total Chinese population, while the Malays activity rate reached only 32.6%. This does not mean that Brunei Chinese females work more than their Malay counterparts, what could have explained the higher activity rate among the Chinese, because the Chinese working population counts 35% females only, and the Malay, 51%. The difference can be attributed to the following facts: 1°) young educated Brunei Chinese do not wait for a government job and go abroad and 2°) only pensioners with citizenship are allowed to retire in Brunei, the Chinese pensioners having thus to quit Brunei – with the exception of stateless permanent residents.

In 2001, 30% of the Chinese still worked in the traditional retail trade and craft sectors; 30% held skilled jobs (technicians and clerical workers) and 25% highly skilled jobs (professionals, administrators, lawyers and managers). As the bankruptcy of the Overseas Trust Bank in Hongkong in 1985 induced that of the United National Finance in Brunei (1985), and led to the closure of the National Bank of Brunei (1986),⁸⁵ it sealed the fate of Chinese bank ownership in the Sultanate. However today, the Chinese perform most of the high-skilled executive jobs in the financial sector (though banking regulations limit the employment of foreigners to half of the staff⁸⁶), and Bruneian Chinese hold the top-level positions. In spite of the fact that the minister of education, Pehin Dato Hj. Awang Abdul Aziz, urged in 1996⁸⁷ Malay business leaders to make the *bumiputera* dominant in the private (i.e. non-hydrocarbon) sector, nothing has really changed yet.

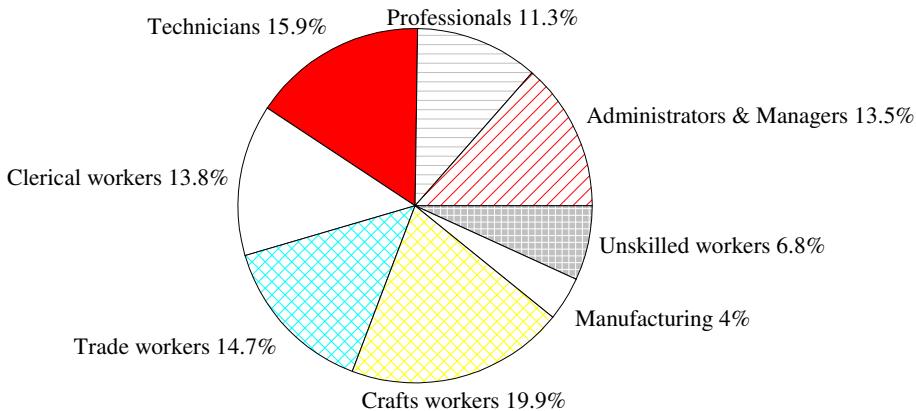
83. The Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Brunei estimates the number of Chinese to 50,000 in 2010, which seems overestimated according to the 2001 Census.

84. The Taipei Economic and Cultural Office asked thus in April 2010 to Brunei Airlines to promote Taiwan/Brunei Direct Flights:
<http://www.mofa.gov.tw/webapp/ct.asp?xItem=44476&ctNode=1905&mp=6>.

85. Michael Backman, “Tycoon’s death signals end of an Empire”, *Asia on line*, 12/03/2004. In 1986, the chairman, Khoo Ban Hock, was charged for having lent without guarantees more than 1 billion B \$ to firms controlled by the family conglomerate. The bank was closed and he was sentenced to three years in prison. What contributed to the Khoo Ban Hock’s disgrace is that his father, Khoo Teck Puat 邱德拔, had sold the Scotts Road Holiday Inn Hotel in Singapore to the Sultan for an overvalued price in 1983, just before a slump in tourism (Singh, D.S. Ranjit, “Brunei Darussalam in 1987, coming to Grips with Economic and Political Realities”, *SAA*, 1988, p. 65). But Khoo Teck Puat remained a good stake: at his death in 2004, he owned 13.51% of the Standard Chartered Bank which he helped to rescue in 1986 after the Hongkong crisis. His father, Khoo Yang Thin, owned a share in one of the most powerful Singaporean banks, the Overseas Chinese Banking Corporation, “Brunei National Bank fiasco recalled with the death of Mr Khoo”, *BruneiDirect.com*, 25/2/2004, http://old.brudirect.com/public_html/DailyInfo/News/Archive/Feb04/250204_nite02.htm.

86. Rao Shangdong, *op. cit.* 2010, p. 4.

87. Saunders, Graham, “Brunei: a vision for the Future?”, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1997, p. 71.



3. Brunei Chinese, working population by major occupational group, 2001. (Sources: Census)

Moreover, some Bruneian Chinese even accessed preeminent official positions. To list a few examples:

. Dr Amin bin Abdullah Liew,⁸⁸ who joined the Brunei Investment Agency (or BIA, the Brunei Sovereign Fund) in October 1997, became its Managing Director in May 2005. In October 2008, he was appointed as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Industry and Primary Resources. As Liew was recruited by Prince Jefri whose Amedeo group collapsed in 1998 leaving some 16 billions US \$ debt, and who seriously mismanaged the BIA, his performance is most remarkable.

. Dato Timothy Ong, a member of one of the oldest Chinese families,⁸⁹ remained until November 2010 the acting chairman of the Brunei Economic Development Board (BEDB), in charge of the highly sensitive economic diversification.

. Paul Kong is acting chairman of the General Assurance Association, etc.

Several permanent secretaries, a top administrative function, are Bruneian Chinese, such as in the Ministry of Finance or in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Integrating adat-istiadat

To symbolically point out the utility of the Chinese workforce, the Chinese elite is integrated into the Bruneian establishment through the *adat istiadat*, according to a dual pattern:

⁸⁸. Dr. Liew graduated with a PhD degree in Finance from Imperial College, University of London, in 1993.

⁸⁹. The Ongs own the former Sheraton Hotel of Brunei nowadays managed by Radisson.

1°) To integrate modern administrative elite into the hierarchical traditional pattern characteristic of the Bruneian society, the commoners holding government offices are granted the title of *Pehin* and or *Dato*. Thus today, there are several Chinese *Pehins*, such as the second minister of Foreign Affairs (since May 2005), Yang Berhormat Pehin Dato Seri Setia Lim Jock Seng, who holds the chairmanship of Brunei Shell as well since September 2008. As other *Pehins*, the Chinese *Pehins* swear an oath of allegiance to the King, pronouncing a *chiri* (*mantra*) half Arabic, half Sanskrit⁹⁰ according to their rank. Moreover, the Chinese community leaders (i.e. the chairmen of the main associations) serve as *Registrar* for Chinese marriages per the commitment of local authorities.⁹¹

2°) The recognition of the Chinese community as a part of Bruneian society is affirmed by the participation (since 2006) of the Royal family to the Chinese New Year celebrations⁹² and by the appointment of traditional dignitaries to leading community positions: the retired Pehin Kapitan Cina Kornia Diraja Dato Paduka Lau Ah Kok⁹³ and the acting Pehin Kapitan Lela Diraja Dato Paduka Goh King Chin,⁹⁴ member of the Legislative Council,⁹⁵ who both live in the Brunei-Muara district; and the Pehin Bendahari China Dato Paduka Onn Siew Siong,⁹⁶ who resides in Kuala Belait. On the other hand, though Qemoy Hokkien accounts for the majority of the Chinese, as the kingdom normalised with Beijing in 1991, the heads of the Chinese community annually reiterate their support to the ‘one China’ policy, thus asserting their loyalty to the Sultan’s will.⁹⁷ The PRC embassy nevertheless tries to increase its leverage on Chinese Bruneian by visiting Chinese

⁹⁰. Jamil Al-Sufri (Pehin Orang kaya Amar Di-Raja Dato Utama Hj Md.), “Chiri gelaran di Brunei”, *Bahana*, 1981, pp. 670-679.

⁹¹. For example, from 2001 to 2006, the head of the Hokkien Association was in charge of the register for the Brunei-Muara district, *Borneo Bulletin*, 12/21/2003, etc.

⁹². Such as on 2/10/2009, <http://bn.chineseembassy.org/eng/wlxw/t635268.htm>.

⁹³. Born in 1910, chairman of Hua Ho Department Stores and of Hua Ho Agricultural Farm, established in 1983, which produces 100,000 eggs per day and 120,000 chicken (and 6 tons of guavas) per month, Pehin Kapitan China Kornia Di-Raja Dato Paduka Lau Ah Kok has been appointed to the Legco in 2004.

⁹⁴. Born in 1944, a former official, Pehin Goh King Chin 吴景进 is the son of the former chairman of the Tutong Chung Hwa School, Goh Hock Kee. Goh King Chin founded Goh Hock Kee Motor in 1970, which became the distributor of Daihatsu cars in 1973, then of Mitsubishi cars in 1979. Pehin Goh has been appointed twice to the Legco (Legislative Council), in 2004 and since 2005.

⁹⁵. Restored in 2004 and of which most members are nominated by the Sultan.

⁹⁶. Onn Siew Siong 温瑞祥 is the president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Belait District.

⁹⁷. See for example Shareen Han, *Brunei Times*, 3/16/2007.

Associations, participating in festivals,⁹⁸ promoting traditional Chinese opera,⁹⁹ inviting community leaders to China, etc.



In the center, the Sultan, at his right, the Queen, the Crown Prince and Prince Sufri; at his left, his acting second wife, Prince Mohamed and other members of the Royal Family, 14/2/2009.
<http://bn.chineseembassy.org/eng/wlxw/t537185.htm>

Conclusion: First-grade mercenaries, second-grade citizens

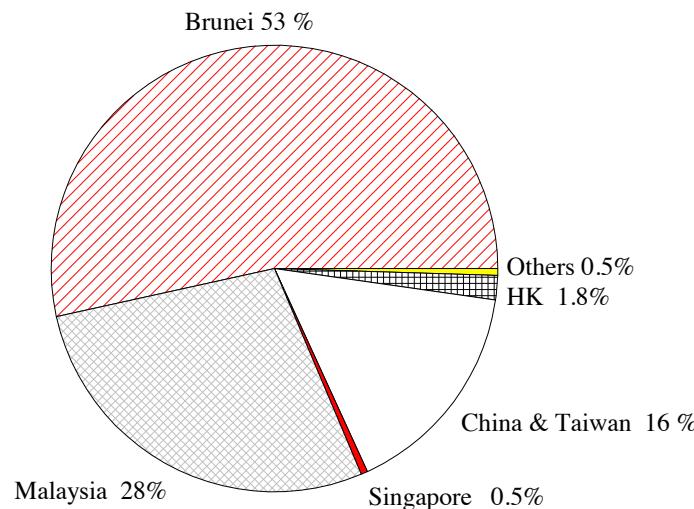
Even though in 1971, 53% of Chinese residents were born in Brunei, in 2009 (year-end), only 7,505 Chinese had been granted citizenship since 1962. 80% of the people who obtained citizenship were Malaysian Bumiputra, 20% Chinese, so that today slightly more than one out of five Chinese residents has the Bruneian nationality.¹⁰⁰ 29% of Chinese are permanent residents and 48% have long-term (one- to three-year) residence permits. The permanent resident status remains highly discriminatory in terms of land ownership and of education. To purchase land, Chinese permanent residents have to proceed through the proxy of a Bruneian Malay citizen, at their own risks. Until the passing of the law of July 2009, this was the case for houses and shops as well.¹⁰¹ Although secondary schools and

98. "Year Of Tiger Messages From Chinese Leaders", *Brunei Times*, 13/2/2010.

99. Such as the Mid-Autumn Festival in October 2009, *Brunei Times*, 10/3/2009.

100. 23% in 1994; cf. Rao Shangdong, "Wenlai Huazu de jiegou yu xingtai 文莱华族社会的结构与形态", *Yazhou wenhua* 亚洲文化, n° 18, 6/1994, p. 92.

101. *Wenlai banxing fenreng diqi fa ciji fangchan*, 汶莱颁行分层地契法刺激房产 [The



4. Birth place of Brunei Chinese, 1971. (Sources: Census)

University are free for citizens, permanent residents must pay B\$ 140 for middle school education, and between B\$ 2,800 and B\$ 3,500 for University.¹⁰² To sum up, the Chinese are considered as first grade mercenaries and experts as long as they remain loyal to the Crown, but even those who have managed to obtain citizenship remain more or less second grade citizens.

Which future?

So the real question should be “Why do the Chinese still represent more than 10% of Brunei’s population?” The only explanation is the availability and profitability of work, the level of salaries, the high standard of living, the rule of law (somewhat unusual in the region), the peacefulness and safety for rearing children.

The second question is: how long will it last? Over the last decade, the most traditional among the Brunei Malays have increased pressure in favor of the implementation of a sole Islamic law, which will lead to abandoning British common law.¹⁰³ The competence of the civil courts was reduced for

Promulgation of the Law on real Estate in Brunei stimulates real estate transactions], 20/07/2009, http://www.e-huawang.com/v2/news/29_270709/news01/bn_all.asp.

102. 23% (Rao Shangdong, *op. cit.*, 2010).

103. Among them, Dr. Haji Mahmud Saedon bin Awang Othman, who obtained his PhD from the University of Al-Azhar (Cairo) in 1976. His thesis “Perlaksanaan dan Pentadbiran Undang-Undang Islam Di Negara Brunei Darussalam, Satu Tinjauan” was first published in Malay in 1996, then in English in 2008 (both versions in Brunei).

the first time in 2000. In March 2011, the Sultan made a new step forward, supporting the introduction of the Islamic Criminal Act, specifically to deal with criminal offences under Islam.¹⁰⁴ The Islamic Courts do not recognize the testimony of non-Muslims, nor DNA testing... If the Islamic Criminal Act is effectively implemented, it will also increase the vulnerability of all temporary residents, allowing denunciations for extra-marital sexual relations, alcohol trafficking, etc. The poorest among the Chinese will be the most vulnerable. This said, because the pace of reforms remains quite slow in Brunei, the Chinese are not threatened in the immediate to short-run.

ACRONYMS

- Bandar Seri Begawan: BSB*
Borneo Research Bulletin: BRB
Brunei Museum Journal: BMJ
Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient: BEFEO
Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: JMBRAS
Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: JSBRAS
Sarawak Museum Journal: SMJ
South East Asian Affairs: SAA

REFERENCES

- Anonymous, *Report for 1919 on the State of Brunei presented to the Parliament by command of His Majesty*, December 1920, 6 + 4 p.
- Abdul Latif Haji Ibrahim, *Sejarah rengkas panji² negeri Brunei, A short history of the Brunei State Crest*, BSB, Muzium Brunei, 1972, 25 p.
- Brunei Darussalam Statistical Yearbook*, 2009, BSB, Department of Statistics, 2010, 250 p.
- Brown, D.E., “Brunei and the Bajau”, *BRB*, 3(2), 1971, pp. 55-58.
- Carroll, John S. (ed.), “Francisco de Sandes invasion of Brunei in 1578: an anonymous Spanish Account”, *BMJ*, 6(2), 1986, pp. 47-71.
- Chen Dasheng, «Une pierre tombale du début du XIV^e s. retrouvée à Brunei», *Archipel*, 42, 1991, pp. 47-52.
- Cheng Te-k'un, *Studies in Chinese Archaeology*, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, c. 1982, xii, 148 p., 45 p. of pl.
- Coolhaas, Willem P. & al. eds., *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische compagnie*, 1627-1737, La Haye, M. Nijhoff, 9 vol., 1960-1985.
- Dalrymple, A., “Essay toward an account of Sulu”, *Oriental Repertory*, London, G. Bigg, 1793, 578 p.
- , *Borneo Factory Records, in East India Company Records*, London, Indian Office Library, Ms. G/4/1.

¹⁰⁴ *The Brunei Times*, 18 March 2011.

- Ferrand, Gabriel, *L'Empire sumatranais de Crīvijaya*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1922, 190 p.
- Forrest, Thomas, *Voyage aux Moluques et à la nouvelle Guinée fait sur la galère le Tartare en 1774, 1775 & 1776 par ordre de la Compagnie Angloise*, Paris, Hôtel de Thou, 1780.
- Franke, Wolfgang & Ch'en T'ieh-fan, "A Chinese tomb inscription of A.D. 1264, discovered recently in Brunei, a preliminary Report", *BMJ*, 3(1), 1973, pp. 91-99.
- Gernet, Jacques, *Le Monde chinois*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1972.
- Groeneveldt, W.P., "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources", Batavia, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, XXXIX (1880), 111 p.
- Guillot, Claude & Ludvik, Kalus, *Les Monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel 37, 2008, 402 p.
- Gunn, Geoffrey, *Language, power and ideology in Brunei Darussalam*, Athens, Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, 99, 1997, 284 p.
- Harrisson, Tom & Barbara, "Kota Batu in Brunei (Introductory Report)", *SMJ*, 7(8)/23, 1956, pp. 283-319.
- Hipkins, James R., "The History of the Chinese in Borneo", *SMJ*, 16(38-39), 1971, pp. 109-153.
- Hirth, F. & Rockhill, W.W., *Chau Ju-kua: on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*, reprint Amsterdam, Oriental Press, 1966, 288 p.
- Horton, A.V.M. (ed.), *Report on Brunei in 1904 by M.S.H. McArthur*, Athens, Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1987, 283 p.
- Jamil Al-Sufri (Pehin Orang kaya Amar Di-Raja Dato Utama Hj Md.), "Chiri gelaran di-Brunel", *Bahana*, 1981, pp. 670-679.
- Kalus, Ludvik & Guillot, Claude, «Les inscriptions funéraires islamiques de Brunei», *BEFEO*, 90-91, 2003-2004, pp. 229-272.
- , «Les inscriptions funéraires islamiques de Brunei (2^{ème} partie)», *BEFEO*, 93, 2006, pp. 139-181.
- Karim bin Pengiran Haji Osman (Pengiran Dr.), *Sungai Limau Manis: Tapak Arkeologi Abad Ke-10-13 Masih [Sungai Limau Manis, Archaeological remains 10-13th centuries AD]*, BSB, Jabatan Muzium-Muzium Brunei, Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan, 2004, 175 p.
- Kershaw, Roger, "Illuminating the Path to Independence, political themes in *Pelita Brunei* in 1983", *SAA*, 1984, pp. 67-85.
- Kulke, Hermann, Kesavapany, K. & Sakhija, Vijay (eds.), *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: reflections on Chola naval expeditions to Southeast Asia*, Singapore, ISEAS, 2009, 337 p.
- Kurz, Johannes L., *Boni in Chinese Sources: Translations of Relevant Texts from the Song to the Qing Dynasties*, 2008, e-publication, 66 p.
- Liu Xiutian 刘秀天, "在变化中的汶莱华文文学生态 — 兼谈华社三大支柱对华文文学的影响(工商管理系第四届) [Brunei in the evolution of the Chinese literature – the impact of the Three Pillars of the Chinese Community on the Chinese Literature]", *Sin Chew Daily* 星洲日报, 12/4/2005.
- Lockard, Craig A., "Charles Brooke and the Foundations of the Modern Chinese Community in Sarawak, 1863-1917", *SMJ*, 16(38-39), pp. 77-108.
- Low, Hugh, "Selesilah (Book of Descent) of the Rajas of Brunei", *JSBRAS*, 5, June 1880, reprint in Cheah Boon Kheng, *Papers relating to Brunei*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS Reprint, 1998, pp. 1-20.
- , "Transcription and translation of a Historic Tablet", *id.*, pp. 21-24.
- Mahmud Saedon bin Awang Othman, *Perlaksanaan dan Pentadbiran Undang-Undang Islam Di Negara Brunei Darussalam, Satu Tinjauan*, Bandar Seri Begawan, Dewan Bahasa dan

The Chinese in Brunei: From Ceramics to Oil Rent

47

- Pustaka Brunei, 1996, 106 p.; translated as *A Review on the Implementation and Administration of Islamic Law in Brunei Darussalam*, BSB, Islamic Da'wah Centre, 2008, 165 p.
- Manguin, Pierre-Yves, "Brunei trade with Macao at the turn of the 19th century, à propos of a 1819 letter from Sultan Khan Zul Alam", *BMJ*, 6(3), 1987, pp. 16-25.
- Mani, A., "Negara Brunei Darussalam in 1992, celebrating the Silver Jubilee", *SAA*, 1993, pp. 95-109.
- Maxwell, Allen R., "Accessing the Epic Status of the Brunei Malay Sya'ir Awang Simawn", Paper presented at *Tenth International Conference on Linguistics, 17-20 January 2006, Puerto Princesa (Palawan)*, <http://www.sil.org/asia/Philippines/ical/papers.html>, 20 ff.
- Metussin Omar & Dato P.M. Sharifuddin, "Distribution of Chinese and Siamese ceramic in Brunei", *BMJ*, 4(2), 1978, pp. 59-65.
- Mills, J.V., "Arab and Chinese Navigators in Malaysian Waters in about a.d. 1500", *JMBRAS*, 47(2), 1974, pp. 1-82, reprint Wade, Geoff, ed., *Southeast Asia – China Interactions, reprint of Articles from the JMBRAS*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS, 2007, pp. 409-458.
- Monks, T.S., *Brunei Days*, Lewes, Book Guild, 1992, 193 p.
- Moor, J.H., *Notices of the Indian Archipelago, and adjacent countries*, Singapore, 1837, 109 p.
- Negeri Brunei, State of Brunei, *Laporan banchi penduduk Brunei 1971, Report on the Census of Population 1971*, BSB, The Star Press, s.d., 260 p.
- Nicholl, Robert, "Relations between Brunei and Manila A.D. 1682-1690", *BMJ*, 4(1), 1977, pp. 128-176.
- Nicholl, Robert (ed.), *European sources for the History of the Sultanate of Brunei in the sixteenth century*, BSB, Brunei Museums, first ed. 1975, third ed. 2007, 119 p.
- Rao Kan Guang (饶堪光)“一九九〇年世界客属第十次恳亲大会汶莱区报告书 [1990 Tenth World Hakka Conference, Report on Brunei]”, Brunei, Brunei Hakka Association, 汶莱, 汶莱客属公会, 1990, pp. 143-147.
- Rao Shangdong (as Niew Shong Tong 饶尚东), "The pattern of economic activity of the modern Chinese communities in East Malaysia and Brunei", *China Society 25th anniversary journal*, 1976, pp. 40-55.
- , 文莱华族会馆史论 *Wenlai Huazu huiguan shilun* [A history of Chinese clan Associations in Brunei], Singapore, 新加坡亚洲研究学会, Xinjiapo Ya Zhou yan jiu xue hui, 1991, 200 p.
 - (as Jao Shang-Tung), *Demographic trends in Negara Brunei Darussalam*, Educational Technology Centre, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Bandar Seri Begawan, Dept. of Public Policy and Administration, 1991.
 - (as Niew Shong Tong), "Chinese society in Brunei: a survey", [in] Suryadinata, Leo, ed., *Southeast Asian Chinese: the socio-cultural dimension*, Singapore, Times Academic Press, 1995, 326 p., pp. 78-94.
 - (as Rao Shangdong), "Wenlai Huaren de bentuhua yu guishugan 汶莱华人的本土化与归属感", Communication to the ISSCO 7th International Conference, May 9 2010, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 9 ff.
- Salmon, Claudine, "Srivijaya, la Chine et les marchands chinois", *Archipel*, 63, 2002, pp. 57-78.
- Saunders, Graham, *History of Brunei*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford UP, 2nd ed., 2002, 226 p.
- , "Brunei: a vision for the Future?", *SAA*, 1997, pp. 67-79.
- Singh, D.S. Ranjit, "Brunei Darussalam in 1987, coming to Grips with Economic and Political Realities", *SAA*, 1988, pp. 63-70.
- Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 1976, 301 p.
- So Kee-long, "Dissolving hegemony or changing trade pattern? Images of Srivijaya in the Chinese sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 29(2), 1998, pp. 295-308.

- Sweeney, P.L. Amin, "Silsilah Raja-Raja Berunai", *JMBRAS*, 41(2), 1968, pp. 1-82.
—, "Errata and Short note", *id.*, 42(2), 1969, pp. 222-224.
Wade, Geoff, "Po-luo and Borneo – a re-examination", *BMJ*, 6(2), 1986, pp. 13-35.
—, *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an open access resource*, Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, NUS, 2005, entry 'Brunei', <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry>.
Wang Zhenping, "Reading Song-Ming records on pre-colonial history of the Philippines", *Higashi Ajia bunka kōshō kenkyū 東アジア文化交渉研究 Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies*, 2008, pp. 249-260.
Willi, Johannes, Early relations of England with Borneo to 1805, PhD thesis, Berne, Langesalza, 1922, 146 p.

YERRY WIRAWAN

Pers Tionghoa Makassar Sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua

Kajian tentang pers di Nusantara umumnya terpusat pada keadaan di Jawa, dan surat kabar terbitan Makassar hampir tidak pernah diperhatikan.¹ Akibatnya sangat minim pengetahuan kita tentang kehidupan pers di kota yang menjadi pusat perdagangan Sulawesi Selatan ini, padahal kehadirannya di Nusantara tidak bisa disebut terbelakang. Di luar Jawa, Makassar adalah kota kedua – setelah Padang (1859) – yang menerbitkan koran berbahasa Belanda (1860).² Sementara untuk koran berbahasa Melayu yang terbit pertama kali adalah di Surabaya pada tahun 1856 dengan *Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melajoe*, di Batavia pada tahun 1858 dengan *Surat Chabar Betawi* dan disusul dengan *Selompret Malajoe* yang terbit di Semarang pada tahun 1860. Untuk luar Jawa, koran berbahasa Melayu pertama, *Bintang Timoer*, terbit di Padang pada tahun 1864, diikuti dengan *Tjahaja Sijang* yang terbit di Menado pada tahun 1869³ dan *Mata-Hari* yang terbit di Makassar pada tahun 1882.

* Tulisan ini hasil penelitian antara bulan April hingga Juni 2008 di Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta (selanjutnya disingkat Perpusnas).

1. Sebuah studi yang secara khusus membahas tentang awal mula pers berbahasa Belanda di Makassar dapat dilihat dalam Gerard Termorshuizen, “De oudste krant van Celebes: het *Macassaaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad*”, dalam Harry A. Poeze dan Pim Schoorl (penyunting), *Excursions in Celebes, Een bundel bijdragen bij het afscheid van J. Noordtijn als directeur-secretaris van het KITLV*, VKI 147, Leiden, KITLV Uitgeverij, 1991, hlm. 95-114.
2. Lihat Gerard Termorshuizen dan Anneke Scholte, *Journalisten en heethoofden. Een geschiedenis van de Indisch-Nederlandse dagbladpers 1744-1905*, Amsterdam, Nigh & van Ditmar, Leiden, KITLV, 2001, hlm. 674.
3. Ahmat Adam, *The vernacular press and the emergence of modern Indonesia consciousness (1855-1913)*, Ithaca, N.Y., SEAP, 1995, hlm. 19-20. Karya ini kemudian

Studi tentang pers Tionghoa juga difokuskan pada Jawa⁴, sedangkan surat kabar keluaran Makassar, baik berbahasa Melayu maupun berbahasa Tionghoa, tidak pernah diteliti. Keadaan ini mungkin diakibatkan oleh karena pers berbahasa Melayu sama sekali tidak tersimpan di Makassar, dan koleksi-koleksi di Perpusnas Jakarta serta di perpustakaan umum di Negeri Belanda jauh dari lengkap. Patut juga dijelaskan di sini bahwa surat kabar berbahasa Tionghoa sama sekali tidak tersimpan, kecuali mungkin di beberapa perpustakaan umum di Tiongkok. Tetapi keberadaan surat kabar-surat kabar tersebut dapat diketahui dan ditelusuri melalui laporan-laporan pemerintah Belanda, serta juga melalui catatan dalam beberapa studi pers orang Tionghoa di luar Tiongkok dan kutipan dalam pers Melayu.

Dalam studi ini, kami berusaha menelusuri perkembangan surat kabar di Makassar mulai dari surat bakar berbahasa Belanda dan Melayu pertama sampai surat kabar Melayu Tionghoa agar bisa menilai peranan orang Tionghoa dalam setiap perkembangan sejak awal mula hingga menjelang Perang Dunia ke-II.

Asal-usul pers di Makassar

Koran yang pertama kali terbit di Makassar adalah *Macassaarsch Weekblad* yang edisi perdannya muncul pada tanggal 5 Januari 1861.⁵

diterjemahkan dengan judul *Sejarah Awal Pers dan Kebangkitan Kesadaran Keindonesiaaan, 1855-1913*, Jakarta, Hasta Mitra, KITLV, Pustaka Utan Kayu, 2003. Untuk koran *Selompret Malaijoe*, lihat Marcel Bonneff, *Pérégrinations javanaises. Les voyages de R.M.A. Purwa Lelana : une vision de Java, au XIX^e siècle (c. 1860-1875)*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1986, hlm. 113, catatan no. 15. Untuk *Tjahaja Sijang* lihat A.B. Lapian, “‘Tjahaja Sijang’ (The Light of Day), Its Significance for the History of the Indonesian Local Press”, dalam *Guide & Concordance, to Tjahaja Sijang: Kertas Chabar Minahasa*, (The Light of Day) 1869-1925 in microfiche. Amsterdam, Moran Micropublications, 2005, hlm. 7-13.

4. Kwee Kek Beng, “De Chineesch-Maleische pers”, *Chung Hwa Hui Tsa Chih*, jrg. 5, no. 2, 1926, hlm. 60-66; Tio Ie Soei, “Pers Melaju Betawi dan Wartawan”, *Istimewa*, 1 Agustus 1951; S.Tj. S. (Sidoarjo Tjokrosisworo), “Pers Tionghoa ditengah Revolusi”, *Sunday Courier*, 16 Agustus 1953; Nio Joe Lan, “Dari Harian Tionghoa-Melayu menjadi Harian Indonesia Nasional”, dalam Sudarjo Tjokrosisworo (penyunting), *Kenangan Sekilas Perjuangan Suratkabar*, Jakarta, Serikat Perusahaan Surat Kabar, 1958, hlm. 312-315; S.Tj.S. (Soedarjo Tjokrosisworo), “Hapusnya Pers Tionghoa Melaju”, *Pos Indonesia*, 18 Agustus 1959; Leo Suryadinata, *Pers Indonesia-Tionghoa dan Pergerakan Kemerdekaan, 1901-1942. Sebuah Pengantar*, Jakarta, Universiti Indonesia, Fakultas Sastra, Djurusan Sedjarah, 1965. Pengarang yang sama, “Pers Melayu Tionghoa”, dalam Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (penyunting), *Beberapa Segi Perkembangan Sejarah Pers di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Deppen, Leknas-LIPI, 1980, hlm. 35-64; Ahmat Adam, *The vernacular press and the emergence of modern Indonesia consciousness (1855-1913)*.

5. Dalam koleksi Perpusnas hanya terdapat nomor 1 dari tahun pertama, 5 Januari 1861, hingga tahun ke 2, 28 Juni 1862. Lihat Ulbe Bosma dan Remco Raben, *De Oude Indische Wereld 1500-1920*, Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2003, hlm. 176. Lihat juga J.A. van der Chijs, “Proeve eenen Nederlandsch-Indische bibliographie 1859-1870”, dalam *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, XXXVII, 1875.

Koran ini diterbitkan oleh seorang pencetak dan pedagang buku bernama W. Eekhout pemilik dari W. Eekhout & Co.⁶ Pada bulan Juli 1862, koran ini berganti nama menjadi *Macassaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad*.⁷ Dua tahun kemudian, dalam artikel tanggal 1 Januari dan 24 Januari 1863, dimuat berita bahwa W. Eekhout sebagai penerbit dan pencetak *Macassaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad* mengalihkan perusahaan dan redaksi koran ini ke tangan K. Sutherland.⁸ Dalam edisi dari 23 Januari 1863, Sutherland menulis sepucuk surat terbuka untuk memberitahukan kepada para pembaca bahwa tujuan *Macassaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad* adalah menjadi surat kabar untuk daerah Maluku juga disebabkan karena di sana belum dikeluarkan koran sama sekali. Disebutkan juga bahwa penerbit akan berusaha untuk menginformasikan kabar tentang Maluku dan akan menerima langanan pembaca dari sana juga.⁹

Eekhout adalah seorang yang cukup aktif di periode awal penerbitan koran di Makassar. Selain menerbitkan koran berbahasa Belanda, Eekhout juga mengeluarkan buku-buku sastra Melayu yang diiklankan dalam *Macassaarsch Weekblad* seperti yang berikut: *Pantoon Melajoe serta Tjerita-Tjerita segala roepa poor Orang jang soeka ketawa*, yang dikarang oleh seorang penulis yang menggunakan nama pena “Mata Doewa”.¹⁰ Iklan ini membuktikan bahwa di Makassar pada waktu itu sudah ada cukup banyak pengemar sastra Melayu, baik orang Tionghoa, baik orang Melayu atau orang pribumi, yang mampu membaca sastra tersebut dalam tulisan Latin yang sayangnya jumlah oplah tidak disebutkan. Eekhout juga memelopori penerbitan koran berbahasa Melayu yang untuk pertama kalinya hadir di Makassar pada tahun 1882 dengan nama *Mata-Hari*. Edisi paling perdana koran mingguan ini terbit pada hari Sabtu tanggal 14 Oktober 1882 dan terdiri dari empat halaman.¹¹ Tujuannya dijelaskan seperti berikut:

-
6. Lihat Bosma dan Raben, *De Oude Indische Wereld 1500-1920*, hlm. 176.
 7. Termorshuizen dan Scholte, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, hlm. 674. Bandingkan dengan Bosma dan Raben *De oude indische wereld 1500-1920*, hlm. 176, yang menyebutkan bahwa *Macassaarsch Weekblad* dibeli oleh Sutherland pada tahun 1863 dan kemudian mengganti namanya menjadi *Macassaarsch Handels- en AdvertentieBlad*. Peralihan nama berarti bahwa penerbit ingin memberikan ruang lebih banyak untuk pemasangan iklan.
 8. Lihat Lampiran I. Van der Chijs, *Proeve eener Nederlandsch-Indische bibliographie 1859-1870*, hlm. 260. Sutherland adalah penjual buku di Makassar juga seperti Eekhout. Menurut “Journalistiek in de Tropen”, <http://www.indische-pers.nl>, Sutherland menerbitkan surat kabar *Macassaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad* sampai tahun 1868. Pada tanggal 18 Januari 1863 dalam *Macassaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad*, nama C.J.L.W. Eekhout diberitakan berangkat ke Jawa. Tetapi beberapa tahun kemudian Eekhout sudah kembali ke Makassar dan mengulang kembali penerbitan surat kabar seperti akan dibicarakan di bawah ini.
 9. Lihat Lampiran I: Aan de lezers van het *Macassaarsche Handel- en Advertentieblad*.
 10. *Macassaarsch Weekblad*, 15 Maret 1861.
 11. Koleksi yang dimiliki oleh Perpusnas adalah edisi tahun 1882-1883 dengan kondisi kertas yang memprihatinkan. Lihat juga Ahmat Adam, *The vernacular press and the emergence of*

Moelai lain boelan november nanti saia kasi kloear saben ari saptoe soerat kabar pigimana ini. Saia harel sobat-sobat ambil banjak ini soerat kabar, sebab lagie dari arganja moerah sekali, tjoema empat roepia di dalam stenga taoen.

Di tanah Betawie, Semarang dan Soerabaia ada orang kasi klowar soerat kabar bahasa melajoe, dan knapa tanah Makassar moesti ketienggalan dari itoe.

Lain dari kabar dari antero negri, saia kasi masoek di dalam ini soerat kabar, segala soerat-soerat kiriman dan saia harel sobat-sobat toeloeng sama saia voor kasi masoek advertentie.

Penting juga untuk dicatat bahwa di beberapa nomor, antara lain dari nomor 23 Januari 1883 (lihat foto 1), *Mata-Hari* juga memuat kabar dalam bahasa Makassar yang ditulis dengan huruf Bugis atau *lontaraq*.



Foto 1. Surat kabar *Mata-Hari*, halaman pertama 27 Januari 1883.

Dari rangkaian iklan yang dimuat dalam koran *Macassaarsch Weekblad*, kita dapat melihat perkembangan usaha toko buku milik W. Eekhout. Pada tahun 1861, W. Eekhout & Co. memasang iklan penjualan buku dan blanko. Dua tahun kemudian dalam *Macassaarsch Handels- en AdvertentieBlad* 1863, W. Eekhout & Co. menyebutkan kesanggupannya untuk mencetak berbagai keperluan kantor seperti nota, kwitansi, wesel dan sebagainya.¹² Dalam waktu 20 tahun kemudian, barang-barang yang dijual dalam toko

modern Indonesia consciousness (1855-1913), hlm. 154. Lihat foto 1. Termorshuizen dan Scholte, *Journalisten en Heethoofden*, hlm. 695, menyebutkan bahwa di samping *Mata-Hari* dan *Macassaarsch Weekblad* yang telah disebutkan sebelumnya, koran-koran lain yang diterbitkan oleh Eekhout adalah *Dagblad van Celebes* (1868-1869), *Celebes Courant* (1869-1870) yang kemudian berganti nama menjadi *Nieuws- en Advertentieblad voor Celebes en Onderhoorigheden*. Di koran yang terakhir ini, Eekhout menjadi redaktur dan penerbit dari tahun 1879 hingga 1888.

12. *Macassaarsch Weekblad*, 27 April 1861, dan *Makassaarsch Handels- en AdvertentieBlad*, 10 Januari 1863.

milik Eekhout semakin beragam. Di koran *Mata-Hari* miliknya, dia memasang iklan tentang buku percakapan bahasa Melayu dan Belanda untuk anak-anak, kursi goyang, tempat cuci muka, bufet, bangku kaki dan mesin jahit. Eekhout pun membuka jasa penerjemahan kontrak-kontrak dalam bahasa Melayu dan Belanda.¹³

Orang Tionghoa dan pers Makassar

Keikutsertaan orang Tionghoa dalam koran-koran yang terbit di Makassar telah dimulai sejak masa paling permulaan, dengan memanfaatkan kehadiran koran-koran berbahasa Belanda untuk mengiklankan barang-barang dagangan dari toko mereka. Sepertinya iklan penjualan gelas dalam *Macassaarsch Weekblad* di bulan April 1861, yang dipasang oleh Nio Goan Ek¹⁴ atau pun berita-berita ringan seperti dalam *Macassaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad* edisi bulan Januari 1863, yang memuat informasi tentang pemindahan toko milik Nio Goan Ek.¹⁵ Dalam koran berbahasa Melayu *Mata-Hari* bertanggal 14 Oktober 1882, Njio Eng Kiang mengiklankan penyewaan bendi miliknya yang disebutkan terletak tidak jauh dari toko milik W. Eekhout (lihat foto 2). Dalam koran berbahasa Melayu ini, kita dapat temukan sebuah berita tentang pengangkatan The Giok Heang / 戴裕丰 sebagai Letnan Tionghoa¹⁶ yang baru menggantikan Thoeng Tjam 汤塹 atau pun berita duka tentang meninggalnya ibunda dari seorang Baba bernama Tjoa Hei Ki.¹⁷ Kedua berita singkat di atas yang menginformasikan

13. *Mata-Hari*, 14 Oktober 1882. Edisi terakhir dalam koleksi Perpusnas Sabtu 24 Maret 1883.

14. *Macassaarsch Weekblad*, 27 April 1861. Nama Nio Goan Ek (Liang Yuanyi 梁元益) tercantum dalam silsilah keluarga Nio (meninggal tahun 1873). Ayahnya Nio Boen Liong 梁文良 (meninggal tahun 1870). Lihat silsilah keluarga Nio yang berjudul *Liangshi zupu* 梁氏族谱, hlm. 90, dan 76. Informasi dari Claudine Salmon, yang kami mengucapkan banyak terima kasih.

15. *Macassaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad*, 10 Januari 1863. Dapat dipastikan bahwa toko milik Nio Goan Ek berukuran cukup besar dan terkenal di Makassar pada saat itu karena dalam iklan yang dipasang oleh Tjio Tjoeng Hong, seorang pedagang beras, toko Nio Goan Ek, dijadikan sebagai penunjuk letak toko berasnya yang terletak di samping toko Nio Goan Ek, *Dagblad van Celebes*, 2 Mei 1868.

16. Letnan Tionghoa pertama nampaknya dilantik pada tahun 1732. Lihat Yerry Wirawan, *La communauté chinoise de Makassar (XVII^e-XX^e s.)*, Paris, disertasi EHESS, 2011, hlm. 274.

17. Berita-berita tersebut disusun dalam kalimat yang pendek seperti “Dengan hormat de lepas djadi litnan Thoeng Tjam. Didjadikan litnan The Giok Eang”. *Mata-Hari*, Sabtu 14 Oktober 1882 dan “Pada hari inilah maka Iboenja Baba Tjoa Hei Ki jang telah poelang karahmat-oel-lehi ta-a’la diantar kakoeboeran lengkap dengan boenji-boenjian dan perhiasan jang indah-indah, sakira-kira ampat ratoes orang banjakna mengiringkan dia.” *Mata-Hari*, Sabtu 18 November 1882. Kami mencatat juga bahwa Thoeng Tjam kemudian menjadi Kapitan Tionghoa dari 30 Maret 1893 sampai 1908. Sementara The Giok Eang itu, yang sebenarnya menduduki jabatan sebagai Letnan Tionghoa sejak 29 September 1882, menduduki jabatan ini hingga 29 Mei 1896. Lihat *Regeering Almanaka voor Nederlandsch Indië*, Batavia, 1883, 1894, 1897, 1909.



Foto 2. Iklan Nio Eng Kiang yang dimuat dalam surat kabar *Mata-hari* 14 Oktober 1882.

peristiwa penting dalam masyarakat Tionghoa sangat mungkin ditulis dan dikirimkan oleh orang-orang Tionghoa sendiri, sehingga mengindikasikan kehadiran penulis-penulis Tionghoa di Makassar pada tahun 1880-an. Namun kami dapat memastikan bahwa surat kabar *Mata-Hari* memiliki pembaca dari kalangan komunitas Tionghoa dengan dimuatnya “salinan dari boekoe Tjina” yang berjudul *Tjerita-an Tiauw Ting Sien Liok*.¹⁸

Kehadiran wartawan-wartawan Tionghoa di Makassar baru dapat kami pastikan pada awal abad ke-20 melalui penerbitan sebuah koran berbahasa Melayu yang dikelola oleh beragam etnis. Koran ini terbit pertama kali pada tahun 1903 dengan nama *Pemberita Makassar* (selanjutnya disingkat PM). PM adalah surat kabar berbahasa Melayu yang berumur paling panjang dan baru berhenti penerbitannya saat angkatan laut Jepang menguasai kota Makassar di tahun 1942. Penting untuk dicatat adalah informasi yang terdapat dalam lampiran *Javaasche Courant* tertanggal 20 Februari 1903 tentang

18. “Tjerita-an” ini hanya dimuat dalam edisi surat kabar *Mata-Hari*, Sabtu 3 Maret 1883, tanpa disebutkan nama penyalinnya. Di edisi seminggu kemudian (10 Maret 1883), terbit cerita yang lain berjudul “Tjeritaan 1001 malem, tjeritanja Brachma Padmanaba dan Fikai Moeda”. Sebagian dari *Hikayat 1001 Malam* (dari bab 41 sampai bab 94) pernah disalin ke dalam bahasa Melayu oleh Lie Kim Hok & F. Wiggers dengan kemungkinan akan dimuat sebagai *feuilleton* dalam pers sebelum dibukukan pada tahun 1886. Lihat C. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia. A provisional annotated bibliography*, Paris Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1981, hlm. 230. Ada kemungkinan besar bahwa kedua salinan ini diambil Eekhout dari surat kabar keluaran Pulau Jawa. Diketahui misalnya bahwa *Soerat Chabar Betawi*, serta juga *Bintang Timoer* (keluaran Padang) pernah memuat salinan dari *Hikayat 1001 Malam*.

pendirian N.V. Handelsdrukkerij en kantorhandel Celebes, kantor yang menerbitkan *Pemberita Makassar*. Dilaporkan terdapat 23 pemegang saham yang 17 di antaranya adalah orang Tionghoa (sisanya 4 orang Belanda, seorang Makassar dan seorang yang kemungkinan berasal dari Ambon).¹⁹

Kami tidak memiliki catatan nama redaktur koran *Pemberita Makassar* pada masa awal penerbitannya. Baru pada tahun 1904, nama B.W. Lasoet dicantumkan sebagai redaktur di halaman muka koran tersebut.²⁰ Selanjutnya dari sebuah artikel yang ditulis oleh Muhammad Alie Tasrief (tampaknya seorang wartawan senior yang terampil dalam berbahasa Melayu) pada tahun 1932, kita mendapatkan nama Th. Dias yang menggantikan Lasoet sekitar tahun 1907.²¹ Nomor *Pemberita Makassar* paling tua dalam koleksi Perpusnas yang bertanggal 2 Januari 1914 menyebutkan bahwa koran ini dicetak oleh N.V. Handelsdrukkerij en Kantoorhandel “Celebes” dan nama pemiliknya adalah W.C.N. van Wijk.²² Pada awalnya koran ini terbit dua kali seminggu, Selasa dan Jumat, hingga tahun 1907 terbit tiga kali seminggu yaitu Senin, Rabu dan Jumat. Muhammad Alie Tasrief menyebutkan secara jelas kehadiran para penulis Tionghoa di masa awal penerbitan *Pemberita Makassar* dan mengakui keterampilan para penulis Tionghoa dalam bahasa Melayu²³ yang mereka dapat dari sekolah-sekolah partikelir milik orang Melayu di Makassar.²⁴

19. Menurut *Javaasche Courant*, 20 Februari 1903, no. 15 extra *bijvoegel*, didirikan sebuah *naamlooze vennootschap: Handelsdrukkerij en kantoorschandel Celebes* dengan modal 30.000 gulden yang terdiri dari 300 saham dengan masing-masing seharga 100 gulden. Ahmat Adam menyebutkan orang Tionghoa yang memegang saham dalam koran ini berjumlah 75 persen. Ahmat Adam, *The vernacular press and the emergence of modern Indonesia consciousness (1855-1913)*, hlm. 155. Orang Tionghoa memiliki saham senilai 11.400 gulden, lebih tinggi dari orang Belanda yang memiliki saham senilai 11.000 gulden dan bumiputra yang memiliki saham senilai 1.500 gulden. Yerry Wirawan, *La communauté chinoise de Makassar (XVII^e-XIX^e s.)*, hlm. 189.

20. Ahmat Adam. *The vernacular press and the emergence of modern Indonesia consciousness (1855-1913)*, hlm. 155.

21. Muhammad Ali Tasrief, “Pertimbangan Bahasa-pengantar”, *Pemberita Makassar* (Selanjutnya disingkatkan PM), 13 September 1932; dikatakan: “Doea poeloeh lima tahoen jang laloe dimasa “Pemberita Makassar” ada dalam tangan toean Lasoet kemoedian beralih dalam tangan toean Dias almarhoeem....”.

22. Koleksi PM di Perpusnas hanya terdiri dari edisi 2 Januari 1914 sampai edisi 30 September 1941. Namun edisi 17 Mei 1904, 12 Juli 1904 dan 8, 10 April tahun 1907 dapat dibaca di Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG) di Amsterdam.

23. “Diwaktoe itoe terdapatlah penoelis-penoelis jang djempol dalam memakai bahasa Melajoe. Diantaranja kebanjakan goeroe-goeroe Boemipoetra poen penoelis bangsa Tionghoa tak maoe ketinggalan. Masa itoelah *Pemberita Makassar* ada menjadi gelanggang pertjatoeran soal bahasa Melajoe jang ramai. Hingga boekan sadja kata-kata atau soesoen kalimatnya, poen titik, komma dan tanda-tanda jang lain dapat menarik hati penoelis-penoelis pada waktoe itoe oenteok didjadikan alasan pembitjara’an jang dapat direntang pandjang”. Muhammad Ali Tasrief, “Pertimbangan Bahasa-pengantar”, PM, 13 September 1932.

24. Ho Eng Djie juga mengatakan bahwa banyak orang Tionghoa Makassar keluaran sebuah

Muhammad Alie Tasrief juga menceritakan tentang perselisihan paham yang terjadi antara para penulis Tionghoa dan Melayu dengan *Pemberita Makassar* sehingga para penulis seperti Intje M. Casim, H.M. Saleh, Toh Ha, Toh Tjoan Kheng dan Auw Toang Leang bersama-sama keluar dari koran tersebut dan bergabung dengan surat kabar Melayu lainnya yang baru saja didirikan pada tahun 1904, yaitu *Sinar Matahari*. Koran yang disebut terakhir ini dicetak dan diterbitkan oleh Brouwer & Co. serta dipimpin oleh Hitijahubessy.²⁵

Namun antara tahun 1907 dan 1914 tidak bisa memastikan kehadiran jurnalis Tionghoa dalam *Pemberita Makassar*. Untuk tahun 1914, di samping berbagai kabar kawat dari dalam dan luar negeri serta kabar dari dalam kota Makassar, *Pemberita Makassar* juga banyak memuat berita mengenai aktivitas orang Tionghoa beserta iklan-iklan toko mereka. Jadi bisa dipastikan sekurang-kurangnya pada tahun tersebut bahwa para jurnalis Tionghoa telah kembali bekerja dengan *Pemberita Makassar*.

Pemberitaan tentang masyarakat Tionghoa dalam pers

Dalam *Pemberita Makassar*, berita kiriman tentang aktivitas orang Tionghoa Makassar semakin beragam. Sebagai contoh dalam terbitan tanggal 2 Januari 1914, dimuat laporan susunan pengurus yang baru dari perkumpulan Tiong Hoa Siao Liang 中华少年会 atau “Perkumpulan Kaum Muda Tionghoa” di bawah pimpinan Thio Tjoeng Kiat.²⁶ Koran ini juga memasang surat kiriman masyarakat Tionghoa seperti keluhan yang ditulis oleh seorang yang bernama Bo Theng Lie pada bulan Januari 1914

sekolah Melayu yang dipimpin oleh Intjek Sandi dan terletak di Kampung Kenari. Ho Eng Djie, “M.C.S. Tjiong Boe Hwee dan anak2 Tionghoa miskin”, PM, 10 December 1940.

25. Dalam katalog koran Perpusnas, surat kabar *Sinar Matahari*, yang terbit tiga kali seminggu, hanya tersimpan secara tidak teratur dari tahun 1914 sampai 1921. Dalam nomor 113, yang terbit tanggal 2 Oktober 1918, disebut sebagai tahun ke 15, sehingga tahun pertama tentu tahun 1904. Dalam koran *Sinar Matahari* edisi tahun 1918 yang ada di Perpusnas, tidak ditemukan artikel yang berkaitan dengan orang Tionghoa di Makassar kecuali beberapa iklan tukang gigi atau pun toko onderdil. Namun pemilik surat kabar ini masih atas nama Hitijahubessy dan dicetak di Brouwer & Co. Menurut Ahmat Adam, koran ini terbit setiap hari Senin dan Kamis. Disebutkan pula bahwa koresponden antara koran PM menulis artikel yang sifatnya saling menyerang di koran masing-masing. Mengenai nama-nama yang disebutkan oleh Muhammad Alie Tasrief, hanya nama “Auw Toang Le Lang” yang berhasil ditelusuri. Dalam artikel *Pemberita Makassar*, 3 Februari 1919, disebutkan Auw Toh Lang bekerja sebagai juru tulis dalam sebuah perkumpulan Tionghoa. Ahmat Adam, *The vernacular press and the emergence of modern Indonesia consciousness (1855-1913)*, hlm. 155. Kami tidak mendapatkan informasi yang memadai untuk melukiskan konflik yang terjadi. Satu-satunya edisi tahun 1907, yang memuat artikel perselisihan tersebut kami baca di PM, 8 April. Terdapat dua artikel yang ditulis oleh “Bawang Merah” dan “Pisau Tjoekoer” yang intinya mengecam penulis “X” dari *Sinar Matahari* yang menjelek-jelekan PM.

26. PM, 2 Januari 1914.

yang mengeluhkan tentang naiknya uang sekolah di Tionghoa Hak Tong 中华学堂 pada tahun itu.²⁷

Pada kesempatan lain, *Pemberita Makassar* memuat serangkaian berita tentang upaya pemberantasan perjudian yang sedang marak di tengah masyarakat Tionghoa. Upaya pemberantasan judi ini pada saat itu bukan untuk pertama kalinya dilakukan. Pada tahun 1912, sekelompok pemuda dari perkumpulan Siao Leang Hwee 少年会²⁸ telah mendesak pemimpin-pemimpin Tionghoa untuk mengajukan permohonan kepada Gubernur agar melarang perjudian di Makassar terutama pada saat “Tjeng Beng” atau Qingming 清明, yaitu hari raya Tionghoa untuk ziarah ke makam leluhur. Upaya ini disambut baik oleh Kapitan Tionghoa dengan mengeluarkan surat edaran berbahasa Makassar yang ditulis dengan huruf Bugis tentang larangan bermain judi. Pada bulan Maret 1914 diberitakan bahwa Kapitan Tionghoa memohon kepada gubernur agar kertas permainan ceki dilarang masuk ke Makassar.²⁹ Pada tanggal 11 Maret 1914 diberitakan bahwa pada hari itu Kapitan Tionghoa mengeluarkan lagi sirkuler pelarangan memainkan ceki. Bagi yang melanggar akan ditangkap polisi.³⁰

Pada tahun berikutnya, aspirasi masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar semakin mendapatkan saluran melalui koran-koran berbahasa Melayu di kota tersebut. Contohnya seperti tulisan kiriman dari seorang yang memakai nama pena “Toewan Soedi Mampir” menulis di koran *Sinar Matahari* mengkritik perkumpulan [soal kematian] Tek Siang Sia [德善社] yang disebutkan memiliki 500 anggota namun belum mempunyai “kelambu *koeantjhia* 棺车” atau kelambu kereta jenazah. Segera saja berita ini ditanggapi oleh Thio Tjong Kiat, pemimpin perkumpulan itu, dengan membeli sebuah kelambu *koeantjhia* yang diperkirakan berharga sekitar 100 gulden.³¹

Koran *Pemberita Makassar* juga terbuka untuk memuat berbagai jenis kiriman berita. Pada tahun 1916, dilaporkan berita berisikan skandal yang terjadi di kota tersebut sehingga menimbulkan kemarahan pihak yang terkait. Sebenarnya, pada pertengahan bulan Juli 1916, dimuat artikel yang ditulis oleh “Mata-mata” dan “Si Pintjang” berisikan skandal yang dilakukan

27. PM, 18 Januari 1914.

28. Para pemuda itu tersebut bernama HT Lie, ST Kung, KH The, dan HS Thio. PM, 26 Maret 1914 dan 2 Mei 1914.

29. Surat sirkuler ini cukup kontroversial karena awalnya diduga dibuat oleh pemuda dari Siao Leang Hwee, namun kemudian dijelaskan bahwa Kapitan Tionghoa sendiri yang menulis surat tersebut. Catatan penting dari informasi ini adalah sirkuler tersebut ditujukan kepada orang Tionghoa peranakan yang hanya bisa membaca huruf Bugis dan berbahasa Makassar. PM, 26 Maret 1914. Mengenai penghapusan judi bukan perkara mudah karena banyak toko-toko besar yang keberatan. Pemerintah sendiri sebenarnya diuntungkan melalui pajak yang ditarik dari permainan ini. PM, 10 Maret 1914.

30. PM, 11 Maret 1914.

31. PM, 17 Mei 1915.

perempuan Tionghoa muda. Penulis bernama “Mata-mata” mengirim berita tentang seorang “Nona Tionghoa” yang dengan menggunakan dokar mengunjungi tempat perempuan prostitusi. Sementara “Si Pintjang” melaporkan tentang seorang “Nona Tionghoa” yang bertemu dengan kekasih gelapnya di sebuah rumah di Maciniayu dan kemudian ikat pinggangnya tertinggal di sana.³² Tidak lama kemudian, kantor percetakan “Celebes” mendapat surat ancaman yang mengatasnamakan anggota dari perkumpulan-perkumpulan Tionghoa di kota tersebut.³³ Pihak *Pemberita Makassar* menduga surat ini ditulis oleh seseorang yang mereka sebut “Klerk TKS” karena sebelumnya pihak yang sama ini telah mengadukan mereka ke pengadilan.³⁴

Surat ancaman tersebut sepertinya hanya gertakan saja. Secara umum dapat dikatakan kasus ini tidak mengganggu hubungan masyarakat Tionghoa dengan koran *Pemberita Makassar* karena pada bulan-bulan selanjutnya sepanjang tahun 1916, kasus skandal ini tidak terdengar lagi. Kenyataan ini tidak berarti bahwa koran *Pemberita Makassar* telah diterima di seluruh kelompok dalam masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar. Saat memuat berita tentang suasana pesta pengangkatan Nio Eng Boe 梁英武 pada bulan Februari 1917 sebagai Kapitan Tionghoa yang baru, redaksi *Pemberita Makassar* mengeluh karena tidak diundang sebab yang mendapatkan undangan ke acara itu hanya koran berbahasa Belanda. Akibatnya untuk dapat membuat laporan tentang upacara pengangkatan kapitan Tionghoa yang baru, mereka harus mengutip dari *Macassaarsch Courant*.³⁵

Asal mula koran-koran Tionghoa

Koran yang diterbitkan sepenuhnya oleh orang Tionghoa Makassar terbagi dalam dua jenis yaitu berbahasa Tionghoa dan Melayu. Namun agak sulit memastikan kapan pertama kali koran berbahasa Tionghoa itu muncul di Makassar karena seperti disebut di atas sama sekali tidak tersimpan di Perpusnas. Tapi kami menemukan sedikit catatan menarik dalam sebuah

32. PM, 18 Juli 1916.

33. PM, 24 Juli 1916 dan 7 Agustus 1916.

34. PM, 7 Agustus 1916. “Klerk TKS” ini adalah suami dari “nona Tionghoa” yang dimuat beritanya dalam PM, 18 Juli 1916.

35. Acara pengangkatan berlangsung pagi hari jam 10 pagi di kediaman Nio Eng Boe. PM, 7 Februari dan 8 Februari 1917. Nio Eng Boe sebelumnya adalah Letnan Tionghoa di Makassar sejak tahun 1896. Dia juga menjadi pengurus dari perkumpulan saudagar Tionghoa, Hwa Siang Tjong Hwee 华商总会, dan juga menjabat sebagai anggota komite sekolah Tionghoa Hak Tong Panacea, “Kekaloetan Onderwijs Tionghoa jang bisa diliat dari Nasibna Chung Hua Hsiao Makassar”, *Panorama*, jil. 4, No. 167, 30 Maart 1930, hlm. 1605-1607. Harus pula dicatat bahwa *Macassaarsch Courant* dicetak dalam percetakan yang sama dengan PM yaitu Celebes Drukkerij. Direktur dari *Macassarsch Courant* adalah W.C. van Wijk.

artikel yang dimuat dalam *Pemberita Makassar* tahun 1914. Penulisnya, Kong S. Tjoan, menyebut sebuah koran yang bernama *Tionghoa Poo* yang pernah terbit di Makassar.³⁶ Hanya sayang sekali koran ini tidak meninggalkan banyak jejak. Kemungkinan koran ini diterbitkan dalam bahasa Tionghoa, walaupun tidak disebut dalam studi Feng Aiqun 冯爱群 tentang sejarah pers Huaqiao.³⁷ Dalam sebuah artikel yang dimuat oleh *Pemberita Makassar* dilaporkan bahwa sebelum tahun 1922, terbit dua koran dalam bahasa Tionghoa tetapi judulnya tidak disebutkan.³⁸ Pada tahun 1923, berdasarkan catatan *Pers Overzicht van de Maleisch-Chineesche en Chineesche Pers* yang disusun oleh kantor Urusan Tionghoa (Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken) disebutkan kehadiran *Kok Bin Po* 国民报 atau “Koran Kebangsaan”, yang merupakan terbitan resmi dari Kuo Min Tang 国民党.³⁹

Kepastian kehadiran koran Tionghoa Melayu baru muncul pada paruh pertama tahun 1920an.⁴⁰

Indo China

Satu artikel yang ditulis oleh “Soempit Bamboe” dalam koran *Sin Bin* (Bandung), 9 September 1925, menyebutkan sebuah koran Tionghoa Melayu

36. Artikel Kong S. Tjoan ini sebenarnya bermaksud mengritik seorang penulis lain yang memakai nama samaran “Kong” karena dianggap merugikan nama keluarganya: “Kita mengakoe sampai patoet itoe maksoed toelisan, sangat beroena bagi kita orang Tionghoa, maar kita sebagai orang jang masih maoe di seboet boekan perampas fikiran dan tjapeinja orang, kita berasa tida patoet sekali orang berani pakai itoe tanda Kong dipenghabisan toelisannya dalam s.schl. di sini, karena orang banjak tentoe tahoe bahwa itoe adalah kita poenja nama toeroenan dimana banjak kali kita pakai dalam toelisan2 kita di almarhoeem *Tionghoa Poo* [中华报] Makassar.” PM, 9 Juli 1914.

37. Feng Aiqun, *Huaqiao baoyeshi* 华侨报业史, Taipei, Xuesheng shuju, cetakan ulang, Minguo 65 (1976), hlm. 39, yang menyebutkan bahwa ketujuh surat kabar berbahasa Tionghoa terkuno diterbitkan di Surabaya (1903, 1908, 1908), Medan (1904), Deli (1908) dan Batavia (1910). Informasi dari Claudine Salmon. Kami tidak menemukan referensi lain dalam PM tentang nama koran ini sehingga kemungkinannya *Tionghoa Poo* memang tidak diterbitkan dalam bahasa Melayu.

38. PM, 24 Juli 1922.

39. *Overzicht van de Maleisch-Chineesche en Chineesche Pers*, Samengesteld door het Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken, Batavia, 23 & 30 Januari 1923, I, hlm. 19. Namun kita tidak mengetahui berapa lama koran ini hidup. Masih dalam laporan yang sama (17 Oktober 1925, 10, hlm. 102), dicatat kehadiran sebuah koran Tionghoa lainnya yang terbit sedari tahun 1925 dengan judul *Sek Kang Siang Po* (*Xijiang shangbao* 锡江商报 atau “Surat Perniagaan Makassar”) yang juga menjadi koran milik Kuo Min Tang dan masih bertahan hingga bulan Juli 1927. Sepertinya kemudian koran ini sempat merubah namanya menjadi *Xijiang ribao* 锡江日报 atau “Harian Makassar” dan konon bertahan hingga tahun 1942; pemimpin koran ini bernama Li Juegong 黎觉公, rupanya nama lain dari Lay [Li/黎] Yoe Min; lihat *Huaqiao huaren baike quanshu* 华侨华人百科全书 / *Encyclopedia of Chinese Overseas*, jilid “Media & Publication” (dalam bahasa Tionghoa), Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1999, hlm. 378; Lihat juga *Politiek Overzicht Celebes en Onderhoorigheden*, Juli 1927.

40. Koran Tionghoa Melayu Makassar paling tua yang disimpan di Perpusnas adalah *Njaring* tertanggal 2 Januari 1928. Mengenai koran ini akan kami bicarakan lebih lanjut.

terbit di Makassar pada tahun 1921 dengan nama *Indo China* dan pemimpin redaksinya Oei Liong Tjiang, seorang yang memiliki pengalaman luas dalam dunia surat kabar Makassar.⁴¹ Nama koran ini rupanya muncul pertama kalinya dalam artikel *Pemberita Makassar* pada bulan Juli 1922. Artikel itu menyebutkan bahwa setelah "... pers dan letter baroe jang telah dikirim pada tanggal 21 Juli dari Batavia kemari..." maka diperkirakan pada bulan Agustus 1922, koran *Indo China* telah dapat terbit di Makassar. Dalam artikel itu disebutkan pula berita tentang perpindahan kantor redaksi dan juga percetakannya dari Tempelstraat menuju Pasarstraat, tepatnya di rumah bekas milik Bang Hong Liong, seorang pengusaha terkenal di Makassar pada saat itu. Koran ini dikatakan akan dipimpin oleh Oei Liong Tjiang dan seorang "Serani" yang tidak digaji. Artikel tersebut menyatakan pula harapannya bahwa para hartawan Tionghoa Makassar mendukung penerbitan koran ini sehingga koran ini bisa sepenuhnya dipimpin oleh orang-orang Tionghoa sendiri dan koran *Indo China* dapat menjadi jembatan antara masyarakat Tionghoa dan pemerintah seperti yang dilakukan oleh koran Tionghoa di kota-kota lain di Nusantara.⁴²

Himbauan *Pemberita Makassar* agar hartawan Tionghoa di kota tersebut mendukung *Indo China* cukup beralasan karena di kota itu telah terdapat beberapa percetakan yang dimiliki oleh orang Tionghoa, salah satunya adalah percetakan Lam Kiauw 南侨 yang terletak di jalan Maciniayu, yang baru dibeli dan diberikan nama sesuai dengan pemiliknya yang baru, yaitu The Peng Joe.⁴³

Namun himbauan ini tidak banyak membawa hasil. Sepanjang bulan September hingga Oktober 1922, *Pemberita Makassar* memuat beberapa kali berita tentang tersendat-sendatnya percetakan koran *Indo China*.⁴⁴ Tampaknya Oei Liong Tjiang tidak memiliki alat percetakan yang memadai dan pada masa itu dia juga kesulitan mendapatkan percetakan yang bersedia mencetak korannya di Makassar. Hingga pada akhirnya, pada tanggal 26 September 1922, diberitakan bahwa koran *Indo China* akan dicetak di "The Soerabaja Commercial Press Company Limited" dengan biaya yang murah.⁴⁵

41. Artikel yang dimuat dalam PM pada tanggal 31 Juli 1916 oleh "Kawan Pers" menyebut bahwa telah tiga tahun lamannya Oei Liong Tjiang tidak pernah menulis lagi. Oleh sebab mengetahui bahwa Oei Liong Tjiang baru saja mengadakan perjalanan keliling Hindia, "Kawan Pers" berharap agar penulis ini bersedia menceritakan pengalamannya di surat kabar.

42. PM, 24 Juli 1922. Seperti telah disebutkan, sebelum terbitnya *Indo China* telah hadir dua koran berbahasa Tionghoa di Makassar, namun menurut PM, 26 September 1922, kedua koran itu dirasa tidak membawa kemajuan bagi masyarakat Tionghoa di sana karena korannya, selain berisikan saling kritik, juga tidak dimengerti oleh sebagian masyarakat dan pemerintah yang tidak bisa membaca bahasa Mandarin.

43. Iklan dalam PM, 31 Oktober dan 1 November 1922.

44. PM, 8 September, 26 September dan 17 Oktober 1922.

45. PM, 8 September 1922 dan 26 September 1922.

Koran *Indo China* yang pada awalnya terbit seminggu tiga kali, lalu menjadi mingguan, hanya berumur beberapa bulan karena Oei Liang Tjiang masuk penjara. Pemimpin redaksinya ini dikenakan tuduhan menghina *wijkmeester Sie Hok Tjeng*.⁴⁶

Kurang lebih tiga tahun kemudian sebuah koran, yang pemiliknya sepenuhnya orang Tionghoa, kembali diterbitkan di Makassar.

Chau Sing

Pada tahun 1920an, aktivitas perkumpulan Tionghoa Makassar berkembang semakin pesat. Salah satu perkumpulan tersebut, Shiong Tih Hui 兄弟会 atau “Perkumpulan Saudara” cabang Makassar (pusatnya berada di Bogor), menerbitkan sebuah surat kabar yang bernama *Chau Sing* 潮声, “Bunyi Pasang” pada tanggal 15 Juli 1925. Awalnya koran ini adalah bulanan, namun dalam perkembangannya kemudian terbit sekali seminggu dan akhirnya terbit dua kali seminggu. Di periode awalnya, koran yang didirikan atas usaha dari Thung Tek Lian ini, dalam bidang administrasi dipimpin oleh T.L. Gann, seorang yang sangat aktif dalam kegiatan berorganisasi di Makassar, sementara redaksi dipimpin oleh Lie Hway Tjo. *Chau Sing* dicetak di Tiong Hwa Drukkerij yang pada tahun 1925 dipimpin oleh Oei Hong Bie.⁴⁷

Min Sun Pao

Tidak lama setelah penerbitan *Chau Sing*, sebuah koran berbahasa Tionghoa terbit pada tahun 1927 dengan nama *Min Sun Pao*⁴⁸ (kadang-kadang ditulis *Min Shun Pao*, atau juga *Min Seng Pao* 民声报 menurut Hamonic dan Salmon) yang berarti “Suara Rakyat”.⁴⁹ Surat kabar ini dipimpin oleh Thio Tjoe Tioe (Zhang Zichou 张子畴), seorang totok yang tinggal di Makassar sejak 1921 dan dikenal aktif dalam pergerakan orang Tionghoa di kota tersebut.⁵⁰ Dia tercatat sebagai anggota Shia Thoan Lian Hap Hwee 社团联合会 (yang berarti Federasi Perkumpulan). Thio Tjoe

46. *Sin Bin*, 9 September 1925. Referensi ini berdasarkan informasi yang diberikan oleh Claudine Salmon. Artikel yang ditulis oleh “Sumpit Bamboe” bernada mengecam Oei Liang Tjiang sebagai seorang yang pengarang yang sombang. Berita tentang kasus Oei Liang Tjiang ini dimuat PM pada 20 Februari 1923. Disebutkan bahwa hukuman yang diterima oleh Oei Liang Tjiang adalah tiga bulan penjara.

47. *Chau Sing*, 28 April 1928 (selanjutnya ditulis CS); *Sin Bin*, 9 September 1925. Tercatat bahwa kantor *Chau Sing* terletak di “Grootesstraat No. 72”. Gilbert Hamonic & Claudine Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», *Archipel* 26, 1983, hlm. 167, catatan no. 22.

48. *Min Sun Pao* atau *Minsheng bao* 民声报. Referensi dari Claudine Salmon.

49. Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 167, catatan no. 22.

50. PM, 5 Desember 1931.

Tioe beristri seorang peranakan Tionghoa Makassar dan memiliki sebuah perusahaan percetakan yang mampu mencetak selebaran-selebaran dalam huruf Tionghoa.⁵¹

Min Sun Pao adalah salah satu surat kabar Kuo Min Tang,⁵² yang memiliki haluan nasionalis, sehingga menyebabkan pemerintah Belanda sangat mengawasi isi surat kabar tersebut. Menurut laporan-laporan yang dimuat oleh Kantor untuk Urusan Tionghoa (Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken, di Batavia), tentang koran Tionghoa dan Tionghoa Melayu yang diterbitkan di Nederlandsch Indië, *Min Sun Pao* pada tanggal 26 Juni 1930 mengumumkan bahwa seorang anggota Kuo Min Tang dari Nanking, Liao Pei Chih, akan datang ke Makassar untuk menjadi ketua redaktur dan penerbit koran tersebut. Namun tidak lama kemudian (berita tanggal 17 Juli 1930), dikabarkan bahwa Liao Pei Chih akan digantikan oleh Tan Koang Liat.⁵³

Kurang lebih setahun kemudian, Thio Tjoe Tioe, pada akhir tahun 1931, dibuang bersama keluarganya ke Tiongkok karena dianggap menulis terlalu keras dalam korannya.⁵⁴ Meskipun begitu, *Min Sun Pao* dapat bertahan selama hampir 6 bulan hingga *Pemberita Makassar* mengabarkan dihentikannya satu-satunya koran berbahasa Tionghoa tersebut di kota Makassar karena alasan keuangan pada hari Sabtu tanggal 4 Juni 1932.⁵⁵ Selanjutnya koran ini terbit kembali dengan redaksinya dipimpin oleh Tan Koang Liat dan Choe Jik Toen pada administrasi.⁵⁶

Di tahun 1936 nama koran *Min Sun Pao* muncul berkali-kali dalam pemberitaan untuk kasus delik pers.⁵⁷ Di bulan Januari 1937, disebutkan bahwa percetakan *Min Sun Pao* disita oleh pengadilan setelah *wijkmeester* Jo Kie San mengajukan keluhan, sehingga 18 orang yang bekerja di situ

51. CS, 26 Mei 1928.

52. Seperti kami telah sebutkan sebelumnya, koran Kuo Min Tang yang lain terbit pada tahun 1923 dengan nama *Kok Bin Po* (*Guomin bao* 国民报), lalu pada tahun 1925 partai itu menerbitkan sebuah koran bernama *Sek Kang Siang Po* (*Xijiang shangbao* 锡江商报 atau "Surat Perniagaan Makassar") atau *Xijiang ribao* 锡江日报 "Harian Makassar".

53. *Overzicht van de Maleisch-Chineesche en Chineesche Pers*, Samengesteld door het Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken, 7 Juli 1930, hlm. 11; 18 Agustus 1930, hlm. 9.

54. *Pewarta Makassar*, 5 Desember 1931.

55. PM, 7 Juni 1932.

56. PM, 2 Juli 1932. Sebuah berita singkat muncul dalam *Berita Baroe* 1934, yang menyebutkan bahwa redaktur *Min Sun Pao* dihadapkan ke pengadilan berkaitan dengan sebuah tulisan. *Berita Baroe*, 24 Maret 1934. Informasi dari Claudine Salmon.

57. PM, 8 dan 25 Juni 1936, tentang seorang bernama Lie Yauw Tjong yang diperiksa pengadilan karena dianggap menulis artikel dalam *Min Sun Pao* yang menghina seseorang bernama Oei Yat Hoei. Berita tanggal 22 Juni 1936 tentang pemimpin redaksi *Min Sun Pao*, Thoeng Tiong Sang, yang diperiksa polisi karena memberitakan keadaan politik di Tjoan Tjoe (Quanzhou 泉州, provinsi Fujian).

dipastikan akan menganggur.⁵⁸ Pada Maret 1937 disebutkan bahwa koran *Min Sun Pao* akan terbit lagi pada bulan April, tetapi setelah beberapa bulan ditutup akibat adanya permasalahan dengan pemegang saham. Posisi redaktur dipegang oleh Thoeng Tiong San dan pemilik perusahaan bernama Lao Jok Koen, pemilik restoran Wie It Lao di “Templestraat”.⁵⁹ Berita ini menunjukkan bahwa *Min Sun Pao* tidak lagi sepenuhnya menjadi bagian dari Kuo Min Tang. Namun sejak saat itu hingga tahun 1942, kami tidak pernah lagi menemukan berita tentang koran ini.⁶⁰

Soeara Siauw Lian

Sebuah surat kabar lainnya yang kembali diterbitkan oleh Shiong Tih Hui di Makassar bernama *Soeara Siauw Lian* atau “Suara Kaum Muda”. Alasan penerbitan koran ini yang terpisah dari *Chau Sing* dan sama-sama disebut sebagai koran milik Shiong Tih Hui, tidak kami ketahui dengan jelas. Koran ini tidak terdapat dalam koleksi perpustakaan nasional sehingga untuk mendapatkan informasi, kita harus melihat dari surat kabar *Njaring* (terbit 1928) yang merupakan kelanjutan dari *Soeara Siauw Lian*.⁶¹

Dari artikel yang ditulis oleh Huang Sung Chie dalam edisi perdana *Njaring* di bulan Januari 1928, disebutkan *Soeara Siauw Lian* telah terhenti penerbitannya selama tiga bulan setelah terbit selama tiga kwartal.⁶² Disebutkan pula bahwa pada awalnya koran ini terbit dua minggu sekali di tiga bulan pertama dan selanjutnya menjadi seminggu sekali. Di sini artinya *Soeara Siauw Lian* terbit sekitar bulan Mei 1927. Ditambahkan bahwa modal yang dimiliki koran ini tidak banyak sehingga para pengurusnya bekerja tanpa dibayar. Namun dalam perkembangannya koran ini mendapat dukungan masyarakat. Oleh sebab itu, *Soeara Siauw Lian* berani berhutang pada percetakan, yang dimiliki oleh The Peng Joe, Drukkerij “Kiong Ho”, yang kemudian diganti dengan nama “Min Seng Drukkerij” di Passerstraat, sebesar 600 gulden.⁶³ Menurut perjanjian lisan antara The Peng Joe dan

58. *Berita Baroe*, 22 Januari 1937.

59. PM, 31 Maret 1937. Dalam *Berita Baroe* dikabarkan bahwa Lao Jok Koen adalah juga seorang yang sudah bekerja sebagai sinshe selama 20 tahun di Makassar dan sangat terkenal. *Berita Baroe*, 27 Maret 1937.

60. Dalam *Huaqiao huaren baike quanshu* 华侨华人百科全书 / *Encyclopedia of Chinese Overseas*, jilid “Media & Publication” (dalam bahasa Tionghoa), Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1999, hlm. 239, disebutkan bahwa *Min Sun Pao* terbit hingga 1936 (informasi dari Claudine Salmon). Tampaknya upaya penerbitan pada bulan April 1937 tidak berhasil. *Berita Baroe*, 17 April 1937, melaporkan bahwa hingga hari itu, *Min Sun Pao* belum juga diterbitkan.

61. Lihat lampiran II.

62. Huang Sung Chie, “Mandeknja Soeara Siauw Lian”, *Njaring*, 2 Januari 1928; lihat Lampiran II.

63. Informasi nama percetakan milik The Peng Joe, lihat PM, 20 Januari 1933.

Teng Tjong Hae, pengurus *Soeara Siauw Lian*, hutang itu akan dilunasi setelah langganan koran membayar pada penghabisan kwartal ketiga. Namun belum sampai pada waktu yang dijanjikan, mendadak The Peng Joe menagih hutangnya. Akibatnya terpaksa *Soeara Siauw Lian* ditutup karena tidak mampu membayar hutang ini.⁶⁴

Njaring dan persaingan dengan Chau Sing

Penerbitan *Soeara Siauw Lian* selanjutnya diteruskan oleh *Njaring* yang edisi perdananya terbit pada 2 Januari 1928 dan dicetak di Volksdrukkerij. Pimpinan surat kabar *Njaring* ini tetap di tangan Teng Tjong Hae (yang sebelumnya adalah pimpinan *Soeara Siauw Lian*) bersama dengan Huang Sung Chie.⁶⁵ Dalam koran yang baru ini, tidak seperti *Soeara Siauw Lian* yang namanya berarti “Suara kaum muda” dan lebih ditujukan kepada anak-anak muda Tionghoa, *Njaring* ingin menjangkau kaum muda yang lebih luas. Oleh karena itu, redaksi *Njaring* merekrut beberapa pekerja “Boemipoetra” dan mengundang penulis dengan nama pena “Matahari” untuk mengisi kolom di surat kabar ini.⁶⁶

Antara tahun 1927 hingga paruh pertama tahun 1928 ini, kota Makassar memiliki dua buah koran, *Chau Sing* dan *Soeara Siauw Lian* yang kemudian berganti menjadi *Njaring*, yang semuanya menyebut diri sebagai korannya masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar. Oleh sebab itu, tidak mengherankan jika di antara koran-koran ini terdapat semacam persaingan seperti terlihat dalam kasus pemberitaan pemukulan yang dilakukan oleh Thoeng Kok Tong 湯国栋, anak dari Mayor Tionghoa Thoeng Liong Hoei 湯龙飞, pada seorang sinse.⁶⁷ Pada awalnya kasus ini bermula dari meninggalnya saudara perempuan Thoeng Liong Hoei, yang merupakan tante dari Thoeng Kok Tong setelah meminum obat yang diberikan oleh sinse tersebut. Berita tentang kejadian ini kemudian dikirim ke Jo Siong Tie, pimpinan surat kabar *Chau Sing* oleh seorang yang bernama Auw. Kemudian Thoeng Kok Tong yang mengetahui kabar ini meminta agar berita tersebut jangan dimuat karena Mayor Thoeng Liong Hoei sekeluarga sedang dalam keadaan berduka.

Selanjutnya Nio Kok Siong, salah seorang pengurus *Chau Sing* membicarakan kasus ini dengan Teng Tjong Hae dan meminta orang yang disebut terakhir ini untuk tidak memuat berita tersebut di koran *Njaring*. Namun pada tanggal 31 Januari 1928, berita pemukulan tersebut dimuat

64. Lihat Lampiran II, Huang Sung Chie, “Mandeknja Soeara Siauw Lian”.

65. Yang Wen Chiao, “Huang Sung Chie†”, *Java Critic*, no. 12, September 1949, hlm. 22. Yang Wen Chiao adalah nama pena dari Yo Kao Tjiao.

66. *Njaring*, 2 Januari 1928.

67. *Njaring*, 31 Januari 1928.

dalam koran *Njaring*. Dengan segera muncul perdebatan dalam koran *Njaring* antara Nio Kok Siong dan Teng Tjong Hae. Bagi Teng Tjong Hae, surat kabar *Chau Sing* dianggap pengecut karena tidak berani memuat berita yang bersangkutan dengan seorang pembesar Tionghoa. Sebaliknya bagi Nio Kok Siong, Teng Tjong Hae dianggap bukan seorang yang bisa dipegang janjinya.⁶⁸

Persaingan antara surat kabar *Chau Sing* dan *Njaring* terhenti pada bulan Maret 1928. Pada bulan April 1928 *Chau Sing* memberitakan tentang kabar berhentinya penerbitan surat kabar *Njaring* pada no. 17.⁶⁹ Dengan berhentinya penerbitan koran tersebut, *Chau Sing* hadir sebagai satu-satunya koran Tionghoa Melayu di Makassar pada tahun 1928. Menyadari hal ini, pengurus *Chau Sing* melakukan sejumlah perubahan besar-besaran. Di akhir bulan Maret 1928, Jo Siong Tie, redaktur koran tersebut mengundurkan diri dengan alasan kesehatan dan perubahan dalam kehidupannya. Dia digantikan oleh Huang Sung Chie pada bulan berikutnya.⁷⁰ Di bawah pemimpin yang baru ini, pada bulan Maret 1928 *Chau Sing* menerbitkan tambahan satu halaman yang berisi berbagai cerita pendek dan *feuilleton* atau cerita bersambung yang ditulis oleh pengarang Tionghoa yang berada di Jawa Timur dan Madura. Cerita bersambung itu antara lain berjudul: *Allah poenja kwasa* oleh Ong Ping Lok (1903-1976), *Istri 2de Hands* oleh Chan Shen Lung dan *Badjungan London* oleh Tan Chieng Lian.⁷¹

Menarik juga untuk dicatat bahwa dalam terbitan bulan Maret tahun 1928 ini, *Chau Sing* didistribusikan dengan cakupan yang cukup luas. Koran ini dapat dibeli tidak hanya di daerah Makassar dan sekitarnya seperti Bantaeng tapi juga hingga ke Jawa/Madura (Surabaya, Bogor, Jombang, Semarang, Sidoarjo, Pamekasan dan Pasuruan), Sulawesi Utara (Menado, Gorontalo), Kalimantan (Balikpapan) dan Flores, Ternate, Aru (Dobo), Lombok (Ampenan). Bahkan *Chau Sing* juga memiliki agen di Singapura.⁷²

Di bulan yang sama, *Chau Sing* terus menyajikan artikel-artikel yang membela kepentingan orang Tionghoa Makassar. Dalam salah satu kolomnya, *Chau Sing* mengangkat artikel tentang perlunya didirikan rumah

68. *Njaring*, 31 Januari 1928, 4 Februari 1928, 17 Februari 1928.

69. CS, 21 April 1928. Edisi terakhir koran *Njaring* di Perpusnas adalah no. 15, Maret 1928.

70. CS, 28 Maret 1928. Tampaknya pengundurannya ini berkaitan dengan tersangkutnya Jo Siong Tie dengan sebuah kasus pers di Makassar. Pada bulan April 1928, Landrat memutuskan menjatuhkan hukuman padanya denda f 75.- atau hukuman 15 hari penjara (*Chau Sing*, 14 April 1928). Huang Sung Chie sebelumnya bekerja pada koran *Soeara Siauw Lian* dan menuliskan satu artikel di edisi perdana *Njaring*, 2 Januari 1928.

71. Cerita bersambung dalam *Chau Sing* muncul tanggal 3, 15 dan 19 Maret 1928. Ong Ping Lok juga adalah seorang pedagang. Mengenai Ong Ping Lok dan Tan Chieng Lian, lihat C. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, hlm. 283-284, 315.

72. CS, 3 Maret 1928.

sakit dan apotik oleh orang Tionghoa seperti yang pernah diusulkan oleh Dr. Sie Liang Siang. Ide ini sendiri sebenarnya sudah muncul sejak tahun 1926 namun pembicaraan di kalangan elit Tionghoa pada masa itu terhenti tanpa sebab yang jelas. Barulah pada tahun 1927, saat Dr. Sie Liang Siang yang baru pulang dari Eropa mengusulkan pendirian rumah sakit ini, pembicaraan dilakukan kembali. Pada tahun 1928, *Chau Sing* mengangkat berita bahwa dana yang terkumpul pada saat itu sudah baru mencapai 7.000 gulden yang kemudian tampaknya rencana mendirikan rumah sakit berubah dengan mendirikan apotek kecil khusus bagi warga Tionghoa.⁷³

Tidak lama kemudian pada bulan Mei 1928, *Chau Sing* kembali melakukan perubahan dengan mengangkat seorang pengurus yang baru yaitu Lauw Tjoeng Soang menggantikan T.L. Gann yang telah bekerja di koran itu sejak awal. Lauw Tjoeng Soang sendiri mengaku sebagai seorang yang sebenarnya baru dalam dunia surat kabar.⁷⁴ *Chau Sing* juga berusaha merangkul kaum muda di kota tersebut dalam sebuah rapat di akhir bulan April 1928. Di awal bulan Mei 1928, dalam rangka meningkatkan modal usahanya, surat kabar *Chau Sing* merubah bentuknya menjadi sebuah perusahaan dan menjual sahamnya pada masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar. Dengan modal ini, diharapkan *Chau Sing* bisa mendapatkan berita-berita terbaru dari berbagai tempat di luar negeri dan tidak lagi mengandalkan kabar kawat dari koran-koran Belanda ataupun koran Tionghoa-Melayu di Jawa.⁷⁵ Namun berbagai perubahan ini hanya bertahan selama satu bulan. Edisi terakhir di tahun 1928 terbit pada Sabtu 23 Juni dan kurang lebih enam bulan kemudian *Chau Sing* baru terbit kembali yaitu pada 5 Januari 1929.

Dalam edisi tahun 1929 ini, kembali terjadi sejumlah perubahan. Jika sebelumnya *Chau Sing* dicetak oleh Tiong Hwa Drukkerij, dalam edisi 1929, koran ini dicetak oleh Volksdrukkerij yang sebelumnya mencetak koran *Njaring*.⁷⁶ Nama administratornya pun berubah menjadi Nio Kek Djiang.⁷⁷ Namun koran ini pun sepertinya tidak berumur panjang. Berdasarkan koleksi yang tersimpan di Perpusnas, edisi terakhir *Chau Sing* tercatat 4 Mei 1929. Sementara menurut artikel yang ditulis oleh Gilbert Hamonic dan Claudine Salmon, kemungkinan koran ini bertahan hingga tahun 1930.⁷⁸ Penyebab berhentinya penerbitan koran *Chau Sing* tidak diketahui dengan pasti. Tapi

73. CS, 28 Maret 1928.

74. CS, 5 Mei 1928.

75. CS, 9 Mei 1928. Pada tahun 1928 tercatat penduduk Tionghoa Makassar 10.556 jiwa. CS, 19 Januari 1929.

76. CS, 5 Januari 1929.

77. Nio Kek Djiang atau Liang Kerang 梁克让, keponakan dari Nio Goan Ek yang telah disebutkan di atas, menurut silsilah keluarga Nio, hlm. 89. Informasi Claudine Salmon.

78. Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 167, catatan no. 22.

kemungkinan disebabkan hal yang sama seperti yang dialami oleh *Njaring* yaitu problem keuangan dikarenakan menurunnya jumlah pelanggan koran tersebut.⁷⁹

Pewarta Makassar

Dua tahun kemudian, sebuah koran kembali diterbitkan oleh salah seorang pengurus Shiong Tih Hui, Tjia Tjun Teng, yang edisi perdannya terbit pada hari Kamis tanggal 31 Oktober 1931 dengan nama *Pewarta Makassar* - nama Tionghoa: *Xisheng* 锡声. Koran ini dicetak oleh Tionghoa Drukkerij yang saat dipimpin oleh Oei Hong Bie, pada tahun 1925, mencetak juga koran *Chau Sing*. Surat kabar *Pewarta Makassar*, yang terbit setiap hari Sabtu, terdiri dari 4 halaman.

Pewarta Makassar cukup intensif memberitakan kegiatan-kegiatan Shiong Tih Hui dan mengaku mendapat dukungan yang cukup luas dari masyarakat Tionghoa. Tapi memasuki tahun 1932, koran ini mulai menghadapi persoalan keuangan. Pada bulan Januari 1932 *Pewarta Makassar* terhenti penerbitannya selama 3 minggu, dan dilanjutkan pada tanggal 5 Februari 1932. Akibatnya, *Pewarta Makassar* terpaksa menerbitkan korannya dengan tidak teratur di bulan Februari 1932 (hari Jumat 5 Februari 1932 dan Selasa 16 Februari 1932. Edisi hari Selasa inilah koleksi terakhir koran *Pewarta Makassar* yang dimiliki Perpusnas). Dengan berhentinya penerbitan koran-koran ini dalam waktu yang hampir berurutan, dapat dikatakan bahwa pada periode ini merupakan masa kemunduran bagi pers Tionghoa Makassar.

Pada bagian berikutnya kami akan mengulas secara ringkas beberapa tokoh yang memainkan peran penting dalam dunia pers di Makassar.

Dunia wartawan dan penerbit

Dunia surat kabar Tionghoa di Makassar dapat dikatakan berkembang berkat kerja keras anak muda Tionghoa di kota tersebut sejak mulai pertengahan tahun 1920-an. Mereka menjadikan pekerjaan jurnalistik sebagai pekerjaan utama. Para jurnalis ini pada umumnya memiliki keterampilan berbahasa dan menulis dalam bahasa Melayu atau Belanda. Beberapa di antara mereka dapat berbahasa Mandarin. Mereka pun aktif dalam organisasi-organisasi sosial di Makassar sehingga seringkali mereka tidak hanya melaporkan apa yang terjadi tapi juga terlibat dalam peristiwa-peristiwa yang

79. Saat memberitakan penutupan koran *Njaring*, redaksi *Chau Sing* menulis: "...Kedjadian jang begini, boekan sadja *Njaring*, tapi ada banjak ssk jang perna mengalemken, hingga terpaksa itoe ssk brenti diterbitken, lantaran terdesek oleh financie... Inilah ada penjakinjaa sebagian bangsa Tionghoa, jang tjoema pinter mengotje 'soeka dengen pergerakan', tapi kaloe djoestroe ada satoe pergerakan jang perlue minta marika poenja toendjangan, itoe toekang ngoetje boeroe2 toetoep kantongnjal!", CS, 21 April 1928.

mereka tuliskan dalam surat kabar. Berikut ini kami akan menyajikan beberapa profil yang terlibat aktif dalam dunia pers di kota tersebut.

Huang Sung Chie, wartawan yang berkepribadian politik tersendiri

Tokoh pertama yang harus disebutkan di sini adalah Huang Sung Chie atau Oei Siong Kiat 黃松吉(1903-1949), nama samaran: Memo, Baba Maliang, Maliang, Tjamboek Todjin. Huang Sung Chie adalah putra dari Oei Goan Lie. Setelah mengenyam pendidikan di Holland Chineesche School, dia sempat bekerja di sebuah bank di Lombok dan kemudian bekerja di N.V. Molukken Veem, suatu firm besar Belanda di Makassar di mana dia sempat mengamati masyarakat kolonial dari dekat.⁸⁰ Pada tahun 1922 dia bekerja sebagai koresponden koran di Batavia yaitu *Sin Po* dan *Perniagaan*. Tidak lama kemudian, pada tahun 1925, dia mulai mengawali karirnya sebagai staf redaksi dari *Chau Sing* dilanjutkan dengan menjadi redaktur *Suara Siauw Lian* pada tahun 1926.⁸¹ Sewaktu memimpin redaksi *Pemberita Makassar* di tahun 1929, maka beliau lalu diangkat menjadi pemimpin harian itu sampai Jepang masuk di kota ini pada bulan Februari 1942. Pada tahun yang sama, saat anak muda Makassar yang dilanda demam menjadi jurnalis, dia bekerja pada *Soeara Siauw Lian*. Tahun 1927 dia menerbitkan *Njaring* bersama Teng Tjong Hae. Sayang koran ini tidak bertahan lama. Kemudian masih di tahun yang sama, dia menerbitkan *Favoriet*. Pada tahun ini Huang Sung Chie juga sering mengirim artikel kepada *Tong Pao* 同胞 “Sekandung”, sebuah surat kabar yang baru didirikan dan dipimpin di Menado oleh Tjia Tjoen Teng.⁸² Tahun 1928, dia kembali bekerja pada *Chau Sing* untuk menggantikan Jo Siong Tie. Tahun 1929, Huang Sung Chie mulai bekerja di *Pemberita Makassar* hingga tahun 1942.

Huang suka menulis artikel cukup tajam mengenai masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar. Dia melawan perkumpulan Chung Hwa Hui 中华会 yang hanya berpihak ke orang kaya yang pada waktu itu disebut golongan atas. Dia juga tidak terlalu tertarik dengan kegiatan dari Partai Tionghoa Indonesia (yang didirikan di Surabaya pada tahun 1932 oleh Liem Khoen Hian 林群贤 (1896-1952) yang berasal dari Banjarmasin, Kalimantan), walaupun dia memuat beberapa karangan Liem Khoen Hian dalam *Pemberita Makassar*. Huang Sung Chie berpendapat bahwa orang peranakan lebih baik berjuang di samping orang pribumi untuk membangunkan negara Indonesia, sebab

80. Pengakuan Huang Sung Chie dalam sebuah pemeriksaan di kantor polisi berkaitan dengan kasus delik pers yang dihadapinya. PM, 15 Agustus 1936.

81. *Indonesia Timur*, 19 Juli 1949. Lihat juga Yang Wen Chiao, “Huang Sung Chieh †”, hlm. 22-23.

82. Misalnya dalam nomor 2, 25 November 1927 dia menulis sebuah karangan berjudul: “Publiek dan Pergerakan Tionghoa”.

orang pribumi sendiri belum bersedia untuk menerima mereka sebagai anggota masyarakat Indonesia.⁸³ Pikiran Huang Sung Chie ini bisa dikatakan cukup jauh ke depan.

Ang Ban Tjiong, seorang wartawan yang berhaluan sosialis

Tokoh berikutnya adalah Ang Ban Tjiong (1910-1938). Ayahnya bernama Ang Tjong Sioe. Ang Ban Tjiong dipastikan dapat berbahasa Belanda karena menerima pendidikan di *Hollandsch Chineesche School* (HCS). Setelah selesai masa sekolah, dia bekerja pada majalah *Favoriet* yang dipimpin oleh pamannya Ang Tjong Giao.⁸⁴ Selanjutnya Ang Ban Tjiong bekerja juga pada koran *Pemberita Makassar*. Di koran ini, dia banyak menulis soal spiritual dan masalah sosial. Salah satu karyanya yang masih bisa dinikmati hingga sekarang adalah “Pantoen Melajoe-Makassar”. Ang Ban Tjiong juga menulis lirik lagu stambul dan kerongcong. Dia pun dikenal sebagai artis yang pandai memainkan piano, mandolin, gitar, kecapi Bugis.⁸⁵ Selain itu, dia juga suka menulis artikel yang jauh lebih serius tentang masalah masyarakat pada tahun 1930-an serta juga soal nasibnya kaum penganggur.⁸⁶

Lie Mo Cheng, juru bahasa, wartawan dan pendukung Kuo Min Tang

Dunia pers Tionghoa di Makassar juga diisi oleh wartawan-wartawan berbahasa Mandarin. Sebuah nama yang harus disebutkan di sini adalah Lie Mo Cheng 李[慕]青, wartawan yang pernah memimpin *Hua Chiao Yit Pao* (*Huaqiao ribao* 华侨日报 atau “Harian Hoa Kiao”), sebuah koran yang sudah hadir pada tahun 1928.⁸⁷ Menurut Yo Kao Tjiao, Lie Mo Cheng juga sempat memimpin *Min Sun Pao* 民声报).⁸⁸ Dia mungkin dilahirkan di

83. Yang Wen Tjiao, “Huang Sung Chieh †”, hlm. 22-23; “In Memoriam”, dalam *Buku Peringatan Persatuan Tionghoa Peranakan (PERTIP) Makassar 1946-1953*, Makassar, Persatuan Tionghoa peranakan “PERTIP”, 1953, hlm. 63-65.

84. Tidak banyak informasi yang kami temukan untuk nama Ang Tjong Giao kecuali tercantum sebagai wakil dari *Chau Sing* dalam sebuah rapat perkumpulan-perkumpulan Tionghoa yang menyerukan agar orang Tionghoa menggunakan barang-barang produk Tionghoa. *Chau Sing*, 16 Juni 1928.

85. C. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, hlm. 149; Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 154-156; Myra Sidharta, “Ang Ban Tjiong (1910-1938) dan Hoo Eng Djie (1906-1962): Syair dan Pantun Mabuk Cinta”, dalam *Dari Penjaja Tekstil Sampai Superwoman, Biografi Delapan Penulis Peranakan*, Jakarta, KPG, 2004, hlm. 109-111. Obituari Ang Ban Tjiong dapat ditemukan dalam PM, 23 Agustus 1939.

86. Lihat misalnya *Berita Baroe*, 14 Oktober 1933.

87. Yang Wen Chiao, “Begimana 8 orang Tionghoa terkenal ditabas di Makassar”, *Java Critic*, no. 7, April 1949, hlm. 11-12.

88. Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 167, catatan no. 22.

Makassar sebab Lie Mo Cheng fasih berbahasa Tionghoa serta Melayu dan kadang-kadang bertugas sebagai juru bahasa. Pada tahun 1930-an dia juga bekerja di Konsulat Tiongkok dan mengepalai cabang Kuo Min Tang di Makassar.⁸⁹ Pada tahun 1936, dia menjadi sekretaris Rode Kruis Fonds yang ditujukan untuk membantu korban perang di Tiongkok.⁹⁰ Pada tanggal 7 Maret 1942, dia ditangkap tentara Jepang dan dibunuh pada tanggal 19 April tahun yang sama.⁹¹

Teng Tjong Hae, wartawan dan tokoh politik

Seorang jurnalis lainnya, Teng Tjong Hae yang telah disinggung di atas, bekerja tidak hanya sebagai wartawan tetapi juga menjadi direktur penerbitan. Dia cukup aktif dalam politik dan memiliki hubungan dekat dengan para aktivis politik di Surabaya karena beberapa kali berkesempatan mengunjungi kota tersebut. Teng Tjong Hae menulis artikel “Akoe Poenya Pengalaman” dan “Soewaranja Seperti Boeroeng Glatik” yang terbit di Majalah *Liberty* (terbitan Jawa Timur) tahun 1928.⁹² Pada tahun yang sama dia menerbitkan koran *Njaring*.⁹³ Pada bulan Januari 1939, dia mendirikan cabang dari Partai Tionghoa Indonesia di Tempelstraat no. 126.⁹⁴

Oei Hong Bie, pemilik percetakan, penerbit dan wartawan

Di sini kami harus sebutkan pula seorang pengusaha percetakan bernama Oei Hong Bie yang pada tahun 1920 menjadi pemilik Tiong Hwa Drukkerij yang terletak di jalan Pasarstraat no. 20 (sekarang Jalan Nusantara).

89. PM, 25 July 1936.

90. PM, 1 Desember 1936. Dalam laporan rapat-rapat Rode Kruis, Lie Mo Cheng berperan sebagai sekretaris untuk menulis dalam huruf Mandarin. Begitu juga saat peringatan hari lahirnya Chiang Kai Shek, 31 Oktober 1936, dia bertugas menyalin pidato seorang pembicara ke dalam bahasa Mandarin. PM, 2 November 1936. LMC ditangkap tanggal 7 Maret 1942 oleh Pemerintah Pendudukan Jepang dan dibunuh bersama Mayor Thoeng tanggal 19 April 1942. Mengenai jumlah pembaca koran berhuruf Mandarin di Makassar pada saat itu tampaknya tidak sedikit. Sebuah cuplikan berita singkat yang sangat menarik kami dapatkan dari PM, 26 Februari 1941, tentang Federatie perkumpulan Hokkian yang akan mengeluarkan koran dengan huruf Tionghoa dan sedang mencari redaktur yang handal. Perkumpulan ini mencakup juga orang Hokkian di Menado dan Maluku.

91. Yang Wen Chiao, “Begimana 8 orang Tionghoa terkenal ditabas di Makassar”, *Java Critic*, no. 7, April 1949, hlm. 11-12.

92. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, hlm. 333.

93. Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 167, catatan no. 22.

94. Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 166, catatan no. 4; *Buku Peringatan Persatuan Tionghoa Peranakan (PERTIP) Makassar 1946-1953*, hlm. 146-150: tentang Partai Tionghoa Indonesia di Makassar lihat *Sin Tit Po*, 19 Januari 1939. Teng Tjong Hae pun penulis sejarah krenteng-krenteng di Makassar dalam *Buku Peringatan Persatuan Tionghoa Peranakan (PERTIP) Makassar 1946-1953*.

Kemudian pada tahun 1925, dia editor koran dua mingguan *Chau Sing*, yang terbit hingga tahun 1930, namun percetakannya tetap hadir hingga tahun 1941.⁹⁵

Kebangkitan perempuan dalam persuratkabar

Cukup sulit untuk menelusuri penulis perempuan Tionghoa pada periode ini karena sering kali mereka menulis dengan menggunakan nama samaran. Namun sepertinya kehadiran mereka seiring dengan didirikannya perkumpulan perempuan pertama pada tahun 1929. Penulis yang menggunakan nama samaran Patpokiontjoe (八个拱手) atau “Delapan Salam” dan Lian Hua (蓮花) atau “Bunga Teratai” menuliskan tentang kebahagiannya karena di Makassar telah didirikan sebuah perkumpulan perempuan bernama Nu Tze Lian Ho Hui 女子联合会 atau “Perkumpulan untuk Perempuan”.⁹⁶

Nama penulis perempuan lain yang juga harus kami sebutkan di sini adalah Thio Sumber Nio yang aktif menulis artikel untuk dua majalah yang terbit di Jawa: yaitu majalah *Liberty* pada tahun 1928 dan majalah *Panorama* pada tahun 1927 hingga 1929.⁹⁷ Kami juga memiliki catatan seorang perempuan yang bernama Thio Goan Kim Nio yang tulisannya hadir di koran Makassar pada periode tersebut⁹⁸ dan Soh Lian Tjie (1914-1995), anggota dari Nu Tze Lian Ho Hui yang di kemudian hari menjadi penulis, yang sangat mungkin menggunakan juga nama samaran dalam tulisan-tulisannya pada saat itu.⁹⁹

95. Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 167, catatan no. 22.

96. *Chau Sing*, 16 Maret 1929. Nu Tze Lian Ho Hui yang didirikan tahun 1929 ini dipimpin oleh tokoh-tokoh perempuan yang sepertinya mendapat pendidikan Belanda antara lain Han Boen Nio sebagai presiden, Leang I Chan sebagai sekretaris dan Soh Lian Tjie sebagai bendahara. *Chau Sing*, 9 Maret 1929. Lihat juga Yerry Wirawan, *La communauté chinoise de Makassar (XVII^e-XX^e s.)*, hlm. 169-170.

97. Myra Sidharta, “Ang Ban Tjiong (1910-1938) dan Hoo Eng Djie (1906-1962): Syair dan Pantun Mabuk Cinta”, hlm. 105-106. Thio Sumber Nio juga tercatat aktif dalam Persatoean Perempocean Joernalis Tionghoa. Tidak banyak informasi yang kami miliki tentang persatuan jurnalis perempuan ini. Namun kami mencatat bahwa Persatoean Kaoem Journalisten Tionghoa pertama kali didirikan di Semarang pada tahun 1922. Hanya organisasi ini pada saat itu belum muncul di Surabaya, Batavia dan Makassar (PM, 25 Sept. 1922). Sebuah organisasi persatuan wartawan baru disebutkan kehadirannya di kota Makassar pada tahun 1932. Organisasi ini berdiri atas inisiatif J.A. Sasabone. Hanya saja organisasi ini hanya untuk bumiputra saja dan tidak untuk jurnalis Tionghoa (PM, 22 september 1932).

98. *Chau Sing*, 16 Maret 1929.

99. Yerry Wirawan, *La communauté chinoise de Makassar (XVII^e-XX^e s.)*, hlm. 202-203. Kami belum mendapatkan satu tulisan dari Soh Lian Tjie (dengan menggunakan nama sendiri) sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua. Namun terdapat sebuah laporan menarik tentang keadaan masyarakat Tionghoa di Batavia yang dimuat dalam PM Agustus 1941, berdasarkan wawancara yang dilakukan oleh Tjie Liang Sho kepada Soh Lian Tjie yang baru pulang dari Batavia. PM, 6 Agustus 1941.

Yang Wen Chiao, wartawan yang terakhir

Jurnalis yang berusia lebih muda pada masa itu adalah Yo Kao Tjiao 杨蛟潮, alias Yang Wen Chiao (nama pena lain: Master Foeles, Terang). Dia generasi ketiga dari keluarga peranakan, lahir 20 Januari 1920. Yo Kao Tjiao selain bekerja sebagai wartawan juga menulis roman. Yo Kao Tjiao memulai karirnya pada tahun 1935-1936 sebagai koresponden *Pemberita Makassar* dan *Pewarta Soerabaja*, menjadi redaktur *Chien Mei* pada awal tahun 1941. Sesudah Perang Dunia Kedua, Yo Kao Tjiao selain bekerja sebagai wartawan juga pernah menulis beberapa roman yang dimuat di majalah sastra keluaran Pulau Jawa.¹⁰⁰

Perdebatan tentang Bahasa Melayu dalam koran Tionghoa Makassar

Kehidupan surat kabar Tionghoa Makassar kembali bangkit saat Huang Sung Chie bergabung dalam redaksi *Pemberita Makassar* pada bulan Mei 1932 setelah sejak 1929 bekerja dalam Celebes Drukkerij. Koran *Pemberita Makassar* dipimpin oleh Rieuwpassa (yang berasal dari Maluku) sejak tahun 1918.¹⁰¹ Bergabungnya Huang Sung Chie dengan *Pemberita Makassar*, yang sebelumnya dikenal sebagai “korannya orang Serani”, memberikan warna baru dalam koran berbahasa Melayu terlama di Makassar ini.¹⁰²

Pada bulan Juli 1932, Huang Sung Chie, dengan menggunakan nama pena “Tjamboek Todjin”¹⁰³ mengritik Sasabone, redaktur *Berita Baroe* (mulai terbit pada tahun 1928), yang menolak penggunaan kata “Jurnalis” dan lebih memilih kata “jurnalist” seperti ejaan bahasa Belanda. Menurut “Tjamboek Todjin” kata “Jurnalis” adalah bahasa Melayu yang merupakan

100. Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 168, catatan no. 24. Dia juga menjadi kepala redaktur majalah *Chien Mei* dan pada masa sesudah perang menjadi penulis dalam *Mar Haen* yang kemudian berganti nama menjadi majalah *Tegas*. Yo Kao Tjiao juga merupakan koresponden dari majalah *Pantja Warna* yang diterbitkan di Jawa dan mengarang tiga roman yaitu “Tjinta dan Pengorbanan, Toebroekan Djodo...!” terbit dalam majalah *Tjilik Roman* tahun 1949 dan “Boenga Petjoemberan” yang terbit dalam majalah yang sama tahun 1950. Setelah tahun 1965, Yo Kao Tjiao menghentikan pekerjaannya sebagai jurnalis dan pada tahun 1981 dia hidup sederhana dari pekerjaannya di sebuah perusahaan makanan.

101. Di tahun 1934, menurut artikel ucapan selamat ulang tahun ke-54 untuk Rieuwpassa yang ditulis oleh Sasabone (redaktur koran *Berita Baroe*), bahwa “Beliau ini telah berdiam di Makassar kira-kira 21 tahun dan terus bekerja pada bow di sini laloe diangkat menjadi Redacteur *Pemberita Makassar* mengganti toean A. Th. Dias Almarhoem dan pekerjaannya tersebut sampai di sini saat soeda 16 tahun lamanja.” Jadi Rieuwpassa lahir pada tahun 1880. Di tahun 1913 (usia 33 tahun) dia telah tinggal di Makassar. Dia bekerja pada *Pemberita Makassar* sejak tahun 1918 di usia 38 tahun. *Berita Baroe*, 31 Mei 1934. Tentang Huang Sung Chie, lihat Yan Wen Chiao, “Huang Sung Chie †”, hlm. 22-23.

102. ZYX, “Apa betoel Botjaetiao”, CS, 5 Januari 1929.

103. Tjamboek Todjin atau cambuk seorang Taoist (*daoren* 道人). Informasi Claudine Salmon.

turunan dari kata “Jurnalist” dalam bahasa Belanda. “Tjamboek Todjin” merasa heran dengan ketidaktahuan Sasabone tentang bahasa ini walaupun sudah lima tahun memimpin *Berita Baroe*.¹⁰⁴ Dalam artikel balasannya, yang juga dimuat dalam *Pemberita Makassar*, J.A. Sasabone merasa sangat keberatan dengan artikel yang ditulis oleh “Tjamboek Todjin”.¹⁰⁵ Perdebatan tentang bahasa ini terus berlanjut hingga bulan Agustus 1932. Sebuah artikel yang ditulis oleh seseorang bernama “Spoed” mengritik bahasa yang digunakan oleh Sasabone sebagai bahasa “Mojang” yang maksudnya bahasa jaman dahulu.¹⁰⁶ Sasabone tampak sangat tersinggung dengan artikel ini. Tidak lama kemudian muncul selebaran di Makassar atas nama “Comite van Actie” yang menganggap *Pemberita Makassar* telah menghina orang Melayu dan menuntut permintaan maaf dari koran tersebut. Menurut *Pemberita Makassar*, komite ini didirikan oleh para pendukung Sasabone.¹⁰⁷ Akibat suasana yang semakin panas, Rieuwpassa, yang juga adalah pemimpin *Pemberita Makassar* dan tampaknya memiliki hubungan dekat dengan Sasabone, menulis artikel yang lebih bersifat netral. Dia mengimbau agar para jurnalis di Makassar bersatu untuk dapat bekerja bagi kepentingan umum.¹⁰⁸

Sejak Huang Sung Chie menjadi penanggungjawab redaksi *Pemberita Makassar*, dia menggunakan bahasa “Melayu Rendah” sebagai gaya bahasa dalam koran tersebut karena redaktur yang baru ini beranggapan bahwa kebanyakan orang Tionghoa tidak pernah mempelajari “Melayu Tinggi” ataupun “Melayu Tengah”.¹⁰⁹ Perubahan ini mendapatkan kritikan dari sebagian pembaca koran tersebut, bahkan ditinggalkan sebagian pelanggannya.¹¹⁰ Muhammad Alie Tasrief, yang artikelnya telah dikutip di atas, menganggap gaya bahasa Tionghoa Melayu menyulitkan bagi para penulis Melayu jika ingin mengirim tulisan ke *Pemberita Makassar* karena harus mempelajarinya lebih dahulu. Ditambahkan olehnya, bahasa “Melayu Tionghoa” yang digunakan oleh Huang Sung Chie bukan “Melayu-Tionghoa-Makassar” tapi lebih tepat dikatakan “Melayu-Tionghoa-Jawa”, karena Melayu di Makassar menurut Alie Tasrief lebih baik daripada Melayu yang digunakan di Jawa. Penulis ini juga bersyukur bahwa *Pemberita*

104. PM, 16 Juli 1932.

105. PM, 18 Juli 1932.

106. Selengkapnya kalimat itu tertulis: “Selain dari pada ini toelisan2 dalem BB boeat bangsa Tionghoa tida begitoe mengerti, kerna melajoenja itoe Redaktoer terbanjak melajoe di temponja itoe Redaktoer poenja Mojang”, PM, 27 Agustus 1932.

107. PM, 6 September 1932.

108. PM, 9 September 1932.

109. PM, 10 September 1932.

110. Yang Wen Chiao, “Huang Sung Chie †”, hlm. 22.

Makassar mempekerjakan Noeroeddin Daeng Magassing, seseorang yang dianggap ahli dalam bahasa Melayu sehingga dalam koran tersebut terdapat artikel-artikel yang menggunakan bahasa Melayu dengan semestinya.¹¹¹ Perdebatan antara *Pemberita Makassar* dan *Berita Baroe*, serta para penulis Melayu lainnya, kemudian terhenti dengan sendirinya tanpa alasan yang jelas dan *Pemberita Makassar* tetap terbit dengan gaya bahasa “Melayu Rendah”.¹¹² Perdebatan ini, bagi kami menunjukkan upaya Huang Sung Chie yang berusaha mempertahankan keberadaan pembaca-pembaca Melayu dalam koran *Pemberita Makassar*.

Hal lain yang juga penting dicatat adalah sejak Huang Sung Chie menjadi redaktur *Pemberita Makassar*, koran ini semakin sering memberitakan berbagai aktivitas organisasi-organisasi sosial Tionghoa di Makassar. Hampir setiap hari ada berita tentang rapat-rapat, perdebatan opini ataupun pengumuman-pengumuman yang dikirimkan oleh tokoh-tokoh organisasi tersebut. Pemberitaan-pemberitaan ini, walaupun sering kali juga diisi dengan debat kusir, sangat membantu kita untuk dapat melihat kehidupan masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar.

Pertengangan organisasi dalam pers Tionghoa Makassar

Memasuki pertengahan tahun 1930an, di Makassar terlihat kebangkitan kembali kehidupan pers di kalangan Tionghoa. Diawali dengan *Sin Hwa Po* yang terbit harian di tahun 1933 dan didirikan oleh Jo Siong Tie.¹¹³ Koran ini dicetak oleh Boekhandel & Drukkerij “Modern”. Dalam koleksi Perpustakaan Nasional hanya ada edisi tahun kedua (Sabtu 28 April 1934 sampai Senin 28 Mei 1934). Jadi koran yang terdiri dari empat halaman ini terbit pertama kalinya kurang lebih di tahun 1933. Jo Siong Tie sendiri, seperti telah disebutkan di atas, adalah seorang yang sudah berpengalaman dalam bidang jurnalistik karena sebelumnya dikenal sebagai redaktur *Chau Sing*, sebelum digantikan oleh Huang Sung Chie pada tahun 1928. Tapi *Sin Hwa Po* berumur sangat singkat. Sebuah berita pendek pada awal bulan Juni 1934 muncul di *Berita Baroe* mengabarkan bahwa tanggal 5 Juni 1934 merupakan edisi penghabisan dari koran *Sin Hwa Po*.¹¹⁴

111. Muhammad Alie Tasrief, “Pertimbangan Bahasa - Pengantar”, PM, 13 September 1932.

112. Dalam perdebatan itu istilah Melayu Tionghoa dan Melayu Rendah digunakan secara bergantian. Untuk diskusi lebih mendalam tentang kedua istilah ini lihat Claudine Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, hlm. 122.

113. *Sin Hwa Po* (*Xinhua bao* 新华报) yang berarti “Koran Tiongkok Baru”. Informasi Claudine Salmon.

114. *Berita Baroe*, 6 Juni 1934. Hamonic & Salmon, «La vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois peranakan de Makassar (1930-1950)», hlm. 167, catatan no. 22. Penyebab ditutupnya koran ini karena Jo Siong Tie sebagai pemilik percetakan “Moderna” dan koran *Sin Hwa Po* menderita sakit sehingga berobat ke Menado. Saat kembali dari Menado, dia

Seiring dengan semakin banyaknya jumlah organisasi-organisasi Tionghoa, tahun 1936 menjadi tahun yang panas bagi dunia pers Tionghoa Makassar. Kolom-kolom dalam koran *Pemberita Makassar* dipenuhi dengan berbagai silang pendapat. Para penulis ini terdiri dari para wartawan yang menjadi anggota perkumpulan yang semakin meningkat kemampuan menulisnya dan memiliki aksesnya ke dunia pers. Salah satu konflik dalam perkumpulan Tionghoa Makassar yang mencuat ke dalam pemberitaan surat kabar pada masa itu adalah pertentangan dalam organisasi Tjiong Boe Hwee. Organisasi yang baru didirikan ini menyebut dirinya sebagai satu-satunya organisasi Tionghoa yang mempunyai maksud dan tujuan dalam bidang sosial ekonomi di Makassar.¹¹⁵

Konflik di kalangan para jurnalis Tionghoa ini dimulai saat perkumpulan Tjiong Boe Hwee mengadakan rapat pembentukan pengurus yang baru pada tanggal hari Jumat 5 Juni 1936 di rumah seorang Tionghoa bernama So Owang Tjoan. Rapat tersebut dipimpin oleh Thoeng Tiong Sang, yang juga adalah redaktur dari *Min Sun Pao* dan dihadiri ke 41 anggota perkumpulan tersebut. Dalam berita *Pemberita Makassar* yang ditulis oleh seorang yang berinisial “T” dikabarkan bahwa telah terjadi kegaduhan dalam rapat itu karena saat anggota-anggota rapat ingin bicara, Oei Kiem Giap, seorang anggota Tjiong Boe Hwee selalu merintangi sehingga beberapa anggota meninggalkan rapat itu.¹¹⁶ Tidak lama kemudian, Thoeng Siong Hie yang menjabat sebagai sekretaris dan Thoeng Tiong Sang pemimpin rapat tersebut membantah berita yang dilaporkan oleh penulis “T” bahwa telah terjadi kegaduhan dalam rapat pada malam itu. Mereka menambahkan bahwa Oei Kiem Giap tidak bermaksud mengganggu jalannya rapat.¹¹⁷

Dengan segera, dalam minggu kedua di bulan Juni 1936, *Pemberita Makassar* telah dipenuhi dengan perang pena terkait dengan kasus ini. Jawaban dari kedua anggota Tjiong Boe Hwee yang dimuat di hari Selasa mendapat reaksi dari “T” pada hari Kamis dengan mengatakan bahwa berita yang ditulisnya benar dan dapat ditanyakan pada peserta-peserta rapat lainnya. Di Hari Jumat, Oei Kiem Giap menulis bahwa dia bisa saja melaporkan “Penulis T” ke polisi karena telah mencemarkan nama baik.

tidak dapat melanjutkan penerbitan korannya, hanya percetakannya saja yang masih bekerja. Namun pada awal Desember 1936, percetakannya pun dihentikan oleh pemerintah. Pada bulan Februari 1937, dia kembali jatuh sakit dan kemudian meninggal pada hari Sabtu 26 Mei 1937. *Berita Baroe*, 27 Mei 1937.

115. Thoeng Tiong Sang, “Memberi Keterangan pada Penelis (T)”, PM, 9 Juni 1936.

116. PM, 6 Juni 1936. Oei Kiem Giap juga dikenal sebagai tokoh “radikal” dan propagandis PKI di Makassar. Informasi tentang Oei Kiam Giap didapat dari sebuah artikel yang sebenarnya bernada sinis kepadanya yang ditulis oleh seorang bernama Ho Eng Gwee, “Samboetan Saja dari Katrangan Toeant Oei Kiem Giap”, PM, 2 Juli 1936.

117. PM, 9 Juni 1936.

Pada hari Sabtu, Thoeng Tiong Sang menuntut agar “Penulis T” membuka identitas dirinya.¹¹⁸

Pertentangan ini juga melibatkan Thio Theng Hoek, komisaris dan anggota dewan penasihat Tjong Boe Hwee yang juga redaktur *Berita Baroe*.¹¹⁹ Thio Theng Hoek berdiri dalam pihak yang membenarkan tulisan “T” dan ikut mengritik Oei Kiem Giap.¹²⁰ Jadi dalam konflik ini terdapat dua redaktur koran yaitu Thio Theng Hoek (redaktur koran *Berita Baroe*) yang menentang Oei Kiem Giap dan Thoeng Tiong Sang (redaktur *Min Sun Pao*) yang mendukung Oei Kiem Giap. Sementara Huang Sung Chie (redaktur *Pemberita Makassar*) tampak berusaha netral karena mungkin tidak menjadi anggota dari Tjong Boe Hwee.

Akhirnya konflik ini sampai ke tangan polisi. Oei Kiem Giap dikabarkan telah melaporkan Thio Theng Hoek kepada yang berwajib karena salah satu artikel dalam *Berita Baroe* tanggal 22 bulan Juni 1936 yang ditulis oleh seorang penulis dengan nama Go A Thauw, telah mencemarkan nama baiknya. Kemudian Thio Theng Hoek dipanggil polisi dan setelah itu pergi menemui Oei Kiem Giap dengan tujuan hendak berdamai namun ditolak oleh Oei Kiem Giap.¹²¹ Berita yang dimuat oleh *Pemberita Makassar* tersebut segera dijawab oleh Thio Theng Hoek keesokan harinya. Thio Theng Hoek membantah bahwa dia tidak pernah dipanggil polisi dan juga tidak pernah mengunjungi rumahnya Oei Kiam Giap. Malahan sebaliknya Oei Kiam Giap yang datang mengunjungi rumahnya Thio Theng Hoek untuk mencari tahu siapa sebenarnya penulis bernama Go A Thauw.¹²² Oleh karena sangat sakit hati, selanjutnya Thio Theng Hoek tidak mau lagi memuat tulisan-tulisan dari Oei Kiam Giap dalam korannya *Berita Baroe*.¹²³ Konflik ini semakin memanas saat hampir terjadi perkelahian antara Thoeng Tiong Sang dan Ho Eng Gwee, salah seorang penentang Oei Kiem Giap.¹²⁴

Pemerintah kota Makassar tampaknya mulai khawatir dengan perpecahan dalam masyarakat Tionghoa ini. Pada tanggal 10 Juli 1936, pihak-pihak yang berselisih paham dipanggil oleh Vermeer, seorang PID afdeeling Chinese Zaken (polisi intelijen untuk urusan Tionghoa), untuk berdamai. Thoeng

118. PM, 11, 12 Juni 1936 dan 13 Juni 1936.

119. PM, 9 Juni 1936. Harus pula disebutkan di sini sebuah berita menarik dalam PM, 12 Juni 1936, yang mengatakan bahwa *Berita Baroe* tidak jadi disita oleh Stichting Oei Leang Giok akibat hutang sewa rumah koran tersebut sebesar f450. *Berita Baroe* telah membayar 5 persen dari hutangnya berkat bantuan dari Oei Soang Goan.

120. Thio Theng Hoek, “Pendapat Saja”, PM, 15 Juni 1936.

121. PM, 30 Juni 1936.

122. PM, 1 Juli 1936.

123. PM, 2 Juli 1936.

124. PM, 9 Juli 1936.

Tiong Sang pun diminta untuk menghentikan dakwaannya terhadap seorang penulis bernama “Go A Thauw”. Selanjutnya Vermeer menelpon redaksi *Berita Baroe* dan *Pemberita Makassar* untuk menghentikan pemberitaan tentang perselisihan di antara kedua kelompok.¹²⁵ Dalam rapat Tjiong Boe Hwee yang diadakan di pertengahan bulan Juli 1936, Thoeng Tiong Sang, Oei Kiem Giap dan para pendukungnya mengundurkan diri dari kepengurusan Tjiong Boe Hwee.¹²⁶ Dengan ini perselisihan itu terhenti.

Tampaknya pergolakan dalam pers Tionghoa Makassar ini menjadi pertentangan terakhir di kalangan wartawan di kota itu. Dalam periode selanjutnya perhatian masyarakat Tionghoa di Makassar lebih banyak tertuju pada kejadian di Tiongkok, terutama tentang agresi Jepang melalui berita-berita yang dimuat dalam pers Makassar.¹²⁷

Penutup

Sejak tahun 1861 surat kabar berbahasa Belanda yang diterbitkan di Makassar, telah dimanfaatkan oleh pedagang Tionghoa sebagai sarana untuk mengiklankan barang dagangan dari tokonya. Koran ini tentu saja dikonsumsi oleh pembaca berbahasa Belanda yang terbatas jumlahnya. Orang Tionghoa di kota tersebut harus menunggu kurang lebih 20 tahun, saat koran berbahasa Melayu *Mata-Hari* pertama kali terbit di Makassar, sehingga iklan dan informasi tentang masyarakat mereka dapat disampaikan pada jumlah pembaca lebih luas. Seperti di Jawa, pemberitaan tentang kepala-kepala masyarakat Tionghoa, terutama pengangkatan kapitan dan letnan dimuat dalam koran *Mata-Hari*, serta juga kabar kematian dan pemakaman. Dalam bidang ekonomi diberitahukan kedatangan kapal-kapal dari Singapura dan lain tempat di Nusantara, serta juga harga pasar dari barang yang dijual di Makassar.

Kurang lebih 20 tahun kemudian keterlibatan orang Tionghoa dalam dunia pers di Makassar yang lebih mendalam kita saksikan dengan kemunculan *Pemberita Makassar* pada tahun 1903 atas inisiatif suatu kelompok saudagar yang pikirannya terbuka. Selain keikutsertaan 17 pedagang Tionghoa dalam saham perusahaan penerbit Handelsdrukkerij en Kantoorhandel Celebes yang menerbitkan *Pemberita Makassar*, dalam koran ini juga kita temui penulis-penulis Tionghoa yang diakui keandalannya. Surat kabar yang usianya paling panjang di Makassar ini, berfungsi sebagai alat pemersatu masyarakat Makassar, walaupun kadang-kadang muncul konflik antar kelompok tertentu.

125. PM, 10 Juli 1936.

126. PM, 21 Juli 1936.

127. Dalam saat-saat tertentu, Konsulat Tiongkok di Makassar juga mengeluarkan selebaran informasi tentang kejadian-kejadian penting di Tiongkok.

Surat kabar yang diterbitkan sepenuhnya oleh orang Tionghoa telah dimulai pada tahun 1910an oleh sejumlah orang Tionghoa yang menerbitkan koran *Tionghoa Poo* yang kemungkinan besar berbahasa Tionghoa. Dalam periode yang berikut koran-koran baru diterbitkan atas prakarsa partai politik orang Tionghoa dan perkumpulan orang peranakan. Pada tahun 1923, Kuo Min Tang sudah mengeluarkan organ resmi yang pertama berjudul *Kok Bin Po* atau “Koran Kebangsaan”, yang kedua *Sek Kang Siang Po* atau “Koran Perniagaan Makassar” yang namanya berubah di kemudian hari, serta juga *Min Seng po* “Suara Rakyat”. Ketiganya banyak mengangkat berita ke masalah-masalah politik di Tiongkok.

Barulah pada tahun 1925 perkumpulan Shiong Tih Hui di Makassar menerbitkan koran sendiri bernama *Soeara Siauw Lian*, kemudian dalam rentang waktu tujuh tahun dilanjutkan dengan *Chau Sing, Njaring* dan pada akhirnya *Pewarta Makassar*. Dari sudut isi, koran-koran tersebut di atas memperlihatkan usaha yang cukup memuaskan. Tetapi dari sudut ekonomi mereka mengalami banyak kesulitan dan terpaksa terhenti dengan alasan keuangan. Meskipun oplah koran-koran tersebut tidak diketahui sama sekali, bisa diperkirakan bahwa terdapat dukungan masyarakat yang tidak seimbang dengan usaha serta ketrampilan para wartawan Tionghoa masa itu sehingga mereka terpaksa bekerja lagi pada surat kabar umum.

Di sini muncul suatu pertanyaan yang sulit dijawab yaitu kenapa orang Tionghoa Makassar kurang suka membaca surat kabar kalau dibandingkan misalnya dengan orang Tionghoa di Jawa? Apakah kepandaian mereka terhadap bahasa Melayu tidak cukup atau apakah – lebih mungkin – mereka telah merasa puas dengan bacaan surat kabar yang dikelola secara bersama oleh orang Tionghoa dan non Tionghoa seperti *Pemberita Makassar* dan *Berita Baroe* yang menyajikan berita-berita yang lebih kaya dan beragam?

Lampiran I***Macassaarsch Handels- en Advertentieblad***

Makassar, 1 Januarij 1863

De ondergeteekende door aankoop eigenaar geworden zijnde van den *Boek- en Papierhandel, Boek- en Courantdrukkerij* der firma *W. Eekhout & Co.* alhier, neemt beleefdelyk de vrijheid zich in de gunst van het publiek aan te bevelen, belovende hij eene prompte en expeditieve bediening.

K. SUTHERLAND

24 Januari 1863

De ondergeteekenden berigten mits deze dat zij hunne Boek- en Papierhandel, Boek- en Courant-Drukkerij aan den Heer Sutherland alhier verkocht hebben, die van af heden onze zaken voortzet.

Zij verzoeken hunne geëerde begunstigers beleefdelyk, het hun bij de uitoefening hunner zaken steeds geschenken vertrouwen, wel te willen overdragen op hunne opvolger, dien zij bij deze gaarne aanbevelen.

W. EEKHOUT & Co.

Aan de lezers van het MACASSAARSCH HANDELS- EN ADVERTENTIEBLAD

De ondergeteekende heeft het genoegen, mits deze ter kennis van het geachte publiek te brengen, dat met de zaken der firma *W. Eekhout & co* ook de uitgave en de redactie van dit BLAD op hem is overgegaan.

Het zal niet noodig zijn te betoogen, van hoeveel belang een dergelijk blad voor het publiek in het algemeen en voor den handel in het bijzonder, kan genoemd worden; zoodat het al of niet bestaan daarvan geenszins als vreemd aan de belangen des publieks kan worden beschouwd. Hij zal dan ook moeite noch kosten ontzien om het tot die hoogte op te voeren, waarvoor het, in aanmerking van de niet zeer menigvuldige correspondentie met de overige plaatsen in dezen Archipel, maar eenigzins vatbaar is. Naardien *Makassar* eenigermate als de sleutel der *Molukkos* kan worden aangemerkt, en hierin tot dusverre nog geen publiek orgaan tot mededeeling van berigten, enz bestaat, wenscht hij het hiertoe in het bijzonder te doen strekken. Ten einde evenwel dit doel te bereiken en het BLAD in wezen te doen houden, vooral bij de uitbreiding, die hij hieraan aanvankelijk reeds heeft gegeven, heeft hij eene krachtige medewerking van de zijde des publieks ten zeerste noodig.

Hij neemt derhalve deze gelegenheid te baat, zich beleefd en dringend voor abonnementen, advertentieën, berigten, mededeelingen en ingezonden stukken aan te bevelen, en zijne lezers in het algemeen, en die van *Celebes*, onderhoorige eilanden en de *Molukkos* in het bijzonder, uit te noodigen, zich wel de moeite te willen geven om bij iedere belangrijke gebeurtenis van den dag, of telkens wanneer zij gedachten of opmerkingen hebben te uiten, die voor het publiek niet van belang zijn onthlood, hem daarvan mededeeling te doen; terwijl hij verzekert, dat zoo het ingezondene daarvoor maar eenigzins vatbaar is, het steeds volgaarne door hem zal worden geplaatst, en zoo men zijn naam verzwegen wil hebben, in geval hij slechts weet wie de schrijver is, door hem de stiptste geheimhouding in acht zal worden genomen.

K. SUTHERLAND

Makassar, 23 Januarij 1863

Lampiran II

Njaring, 2 Januari 1928

Mandeknja "Soera Siauw Lian"

Berhoeboeng dengen dibrentikenna penerbitan "Soeara Siauw Lian" ada banjak diantara kita poenja pembatja jang setia serta setoedjoe dengan kita poenja haloean pada merasa heran dan tiada mengerti kenapa "Soeara Siauw Lian" dengan mendadak dibrentiken terbitnya, sonder mengasi pembritaoean pada sekalian pembatjanja lebi doeloe. Sesoenggoenja djoega ini hal ada sanget aneh dan tiada sebagimana moestinj! Maka tida boleh diboeat heran, kapan sebagian orang pada mendoega, bahoea mandeknja "Soeara Siauw Lian" disebabken lantaran koerang dapat sympathienja publief etc. etc.

Soepaja pembatja mendapet taoe doedoeknja itoe hal jang benar, maka dibawah ini kita toetoerken pada pembatja; begimana dan sebab apa hingga "Soeara Siauw Lian" dibrentiken terbitnya begitoe mendadak.

Seperti pembatja taoe "Soeara Siauw Lian" diterbitken dengan tiada mempoenjai KAPITAAL, seperti laen-laen soerat kabar. Tapi maski begitoe, lantaran terseroeng oleh KEMAOEAN jang keras, achirnaa toch "Soeara Siauw Lian" bisa dikeloearkan, dengan kaoem pengeroesnja sama sekali tiada menerima bajaran apa-apa! Benar keadaannja "Soeara Siauw Lian" blon bisa dibandingken dengan laen-laen soedaranja di Java, terlebi lantaran tiada diberdiriken atas fundament jang tegoe, toch itoe soerat kabar beroentoeng soeda bisa meliwinati 1 kwartaal, di mana lantaran banjak pembatja menaro sympathie, di permoelaan 2e kwartaal soeda berobah dari "Halfmaandblad" djadi "Weekblad" dengan formaat lebi besar. Berhoeboeng dengan itoe peroebahan, selaennja pekerdjaaanja bertamba banjak, poen tentoe sadja onkostnja djadi semingkin besar. Tapi atas hal itoe kita tiada merasa koeatir, kaloe diliat dari banjakanja orang jang menaro sijmpathie atas kita poenja gerakan.

Sebab ada banjak soerat kabar blon sampe kwartaal, malah ada djoega baroe sadja terbit 3-4 kali soeda goeloeng tikar, maka banjak pembatja mendjadi kapok dan tiada soeka bajar lebi doeloe seperti oemoemnjia orang jang berlangganan soerat kabar. Begitoepoen "Soeara Siauw Lian" tiada diketjoealiken. Lantaran banjak orang jang blon maoe membajar, hingga "Soeara Siauw Lian" sampe di pengabisan kwartaal kedoea soeda mempoenjai oetang F 600.- lebi pada drukkerij jang menjitak. Tapi itoe oetang lekas djoega dibikin loenas, setelah kita poenja abonne's loear kota masing2 pada kirim oewang toenggakkanna.

Seperti di kwartaal ka doe, kombali di kwartaal ka tiga "Soeara Siauw Lian" ada mempoenjai oetang pada drukkerij F 600.- lebi. Kerna kita ada menaro harepan pada abone's loear kota, jang seperti biasa marika baroe maoe kirim oewang abonnementnja sesoeda abis kwartaal, maka poen kita tiada merasa koeatir dengan adanja oetang itoe. Tapi diloear doegaan kita, toean The Peng Joe, directeur dari itoe drukkerij, setaoe lantaran apa, boeroe2 bikin satoe acceptatie besarnja F 600.- boeat disoeroe teeken oleh kita poenja administrateur, toean Teng Tjong Hae, dengen bikin perdjandjian moeloet; kaloe toean Teng Tjong Hae soeka teeken itoe, ia (The Peng Jjoe) dengen senang hati nanti soeka tjitak "Soeara Siauw Lian" sampe pengabisan kwartaal. Toeanteng, lantaran menaro kepertjajaan penoe atas dirinja toean The Peng Joe, lantas sadja teeken itoe atas namanja sendiri. Tapi tiada njana, baroe sadja "Soeara Siauw Lian" diterbitken doeza kali, sesoedanja itoe accept diteeken, jaitoe lagi DOEA KALI terbit aken sampe di pengabisan kwartaal ka tiga, dimana kita ada harepan dapetken oewang boeat loenasken itoe oetang, mendadak toeanteng The Peng Joe stop penerbitannja "Soeara Siauw Lian" di sitoe djoega. Maski poen kita soeda minta soepaja ia soeka tjitak "Soeara Siauw Lian" sekali lagi, agar dengen begitoe kita bisa tjoeoga oemoemken pada sekalian pembatja prihal keadaanja "Soeara Siauw Lian", toch toeanteng The Peng Joe tetap tiada maoe, malah berbalik ia omong kasar pada kita. Inilah jang menjebabken kenapa kita soeda tiada oemoemken pada pembatja, jang Soeara Siauw Lian bakal tiada terbit poela!

Toeanteng The Peng Joe telah menambil sikep demikian, boleh djadi lantaran kita perna oesik dalem Soeara Siauw Lian, kelakoeannja jang tida senono terhadep Kuo Min Tang. Kaloe sadja kita soeka atawa maoe "mendjilat" pada toeanteng The Peng Joe, selakoe tarik poelang kita

poenja oesikan tentang ia poenja kelakoean itoe, nistjaja "Soeara Siauw Lian" dengen langsoen bisa diterbitken poela. Tapi djoestroe lantaran kita tiada mempoenjai moraal begitoe rendah, hanja tetap bersender pada kita poenja haloean, maka dari pada "mendjilat" ada seriboe kali lebi baek "Soeara Siauw Lian" mampoes dan... abis perkara!

HUANG SUNG CHIE

Noot:

Perboeatannja toeant The Peng Joe soeda perkosa "Soeara Siauw Lian", lantaran tadinja saia kira ia ada satoe orang djoedjoer hingga zonter sangsi taroh kepertjajaan padanja boeat loeloesken pemrintaanja. Diloebar doegaan ia berlakoe begitoe rendah hingga kepaksa saia sendiri moesti roegi F 750.- Ia telah berboeat doea dosa!

Tapi soedalah, perkara jang soeda kedjadian tiada goena diretjoki poela. Tjoekoeplah ini diboeat batja soepaia kadepanin aken djangan terlaloe pertjaja pada omongan-omongan manis!

TENG TJONG HAE

Njaring, Binkok 17, Januari 2-1928

Pendaheoloehan

Pembatja jang terhormat,

Sasoedahnja "Soeara Siauw Lian" kepaksa brenti terbitnja tiga boelan lamanja, angeng-angeng tinggal idoep dan pakerdjaan dilandjoetken boeat madjoe lebi djaoe. Maskipoen tiada sedikit rintangan jang menggoda, tapi itoe semoea dengen taba dilaloein.

Demikian sekarang itoe maksoed broentoeng dibangoenken dan ini kali "NJARING" mendapat kahormatan koendjoengi pembatja. Jalah memperkenalken roepanja sebagi satoe oetoesan membawa soeara goembira. Ini soerat kabar telah membawa banjak perobahan, baik namanja djoega romannja, itoelah tandanja ada mengikoetin perobahan djaman, tapi maski begitoe, ia ada kandoeng angen2nya dari "Soeara Siauw Lian". Malahan sekarang tamba madjoenja, jang ternjata dengen dapetnja beberapa medwerker soedara-soedara Boemipoetra jang terkenal oeloeng dalem kalangan journalistiek. Djoega Toeant "MATAHARI" jang moentjoel dengen nama pedengan.

"NJARING", ini nama ada lebi loeas artinja dari "Soeara Siauw Lian", sebab jang pertama ada mengandoeng banjak maksoed, teroetama boeat bekerdja sama-sama dengen segala bangsa, jang kadoea maskipoen artinja ada soeara kaoem moeda, tapi terlaloe mirip tjoema boeat kaoem moeda Tionghoa sadja. Maka adanja ini perobahan kita pertjaja pembatja pada setoedjoe.

Aken publiek rata-rata poenja kapentingan memboeroe kemadjoean, adalah perlone djebatten diboeat melintasin tepi djoerang atawa tangga diboeat pandjat goenoeng, jalah sebagi perantaraan boeat sampe dari satoe ke lain tempat. Demikian satoe soerat kabar jang merdika dapet dilahirken jalah "NJARING".

Ia nanti bersedia menjadi pembela atas kabenaren, atawa djadi lawannannja kaoem menjesatken kepentingan oemoem, dimana tiada aken mengenal kesangsian pada segala pengaroeh apa djoega.

Tiada disangka jang ini pakerdjaan dan djoega bahajanja, berhoeboeng dengen roewetnja berbagi-bagi organisatie dalem satoe-satoenja Maatshappij, tapi sitoelah ada sanget me... [tidak terbaca] apa-apa jang beroepa pembela atawa pengandjoer beroepa katentramen.

Maka lahirnya ini periodiek ada sebagi taman bekerdja jang apa bila satoe kali madjoe, ada berarti tiada boeat moendoer sabelon maksoednja kesampean.

Halemannja "NJARING" terboeka boeat publiek rata-rata di mana soearanja orang banjak aken bisa dapet perhatian di segala tempat.

Begitolah diharep pembatja jang terhormat aken soedi trima ini koendjoengan dengen pintoer terboeka, serta soeka membrei toendjangan boeat bantoe memadjoeken.

Isinja "NJARING" saboleh-bolehnja memoat artikel2 penting atawa boeah2 pikiran jang baek goena oemoem. Begitoe djoega pamendangen loear negri, kabar-kabaran dalem dan loear kota, serta berbagi-bagi warta jang penting dari soerat-soerat kabar ternama jang mana aken disaring dan dipetik goena ini soerat kabar dengen disertai comentaar (pikiran redactie) apa bila perloe dibanta atawa disetoedjoein.

Red.

Kabar Administratie

Berhoeboeng dengen peroebahan ini soerat kabar jang pembatja tjoekoep mengatahоеi di permoelaan kata dari Redactie, kita harap Abonnementen dan Adverteerders jang soeda sekian lama menaroh sijmpathie pada "Soeara Siauw Lian" dengan ini "Njaring" akan broentoeng meneroesken.

Begitoe djoega pada Abonnementen dan Adverteerders baroe aken soedi menoendjang, jang mana kita hargaken dengen sepnoeh-penoeh, sopaja ini gerakan aken dapat dilandjoetken dengen sampoerna.

Kaloe tadinja "Soeara Siauw Lian" tjoema diterbitken sekali seminggoe, adalah sekarang "Njaring" moentjoel doeа kali seminggoe. Dan tentoe sekali pembatja aken sampe mengerti, bahoea ini peroebahan, djoega harganja segala apa atawa onkost-onkost ada bertamba besar, maka kita pertjaja aken tiada kebratan kaloe harga abonement djoega toeroet dikasi naek, jalah dari F 1.50 djadi F 2.50 per tiga boelan.

Atas setoedjoenja, ini ketambahan sedikit dari harga abonnement, kita mengoetjap lebi doeloe banjak trima kasi.

Harepan jang besar selamanja ada pada kita goena bekerdja sama-sama oentoek kepentingan kita bersama.

ELIZABETH CHANDRA

Fantasizing Chinese/Indonesian Hero: Njoo Cheong Seng and the Gagaklodra Series¹

In the study of Chinese politics in colonial Indonesia, it has often been repeated that the Chinese followed three broad political orientations. There were those who looked towards China as their homeland and resource for national identification; those who identified with the Dutch East Indies and were supportive of the colonial government; and then those who also identified with the Indies, but espoused Indonesia's national independence. This was how the journalist Liem Koen Hian sketched the Chinese political landscape in the Indies in 1932,² and this account has been echoed and further expanded by many scholars, most compellingly by Leo Suryadinata.³ In Suryadinata's account we find at one corner Indies Chinese who advocated Chinese nationalism beginning in the second decade of the 20th century and sought closer ties with their ancestral land. This group evolved around *Sin Po*, a Batavia-based newspaper with the largest circulation among the Indies Chinese community. In the following decade however, their views were challenged by another group of Chinese, organized under

1. I am grateful for the assistance and insightful comments on earlier drafts of this essay from Myra Sidharta, Claudine Salmon, Caroline Hau, and Benedict Anderson. All errors are however my own.

2. Liem Koen Hian, "Tiga Aliran Politiek dalem Doenia Tionghoa Peranakan," *Sin Tit Po*, 24-26 August 1932.

3. Leo Suryadinata, *Peranakan Chinese Politics in Java, 1917-1942*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981. The scope of study appears to be limited to the Chinese in Java, but Suryadinata's conclusion clearly refers to the Chinese in the Indies.

the banner of Chung Hwa Hui (Chinese Association), whose privileged background and business networking with the Dutch nudged them towards the preservation of the colonial rule. The third group emerged in the early 1930s in the form of the Indonesian Chinese Party (PTI), founded by Liem himself, who saw the future of Indies Chinese being inextricably linked with the (potentially sovereign) Indonesian nation. In conclusion, Indies Chinese, Suryadinata writes, “were then fragmented into three political streams.”⁴

Underlying these formulations, however, is the conviction that political loyalty is and must always be singular. They spring from the perspective that has been conditioned to see each nation as being inherently defined against other nations, rather than from the point of view of the human subject whose love, sacrifice, and political commitment to a geo-political unit make the nation possible in the first place. As the editors of *Nations and Nationalism* put it, “[A]t the heart of nationalism as a political project [...] is a logic that tends toward exclusion,” because “the nation is always framed with the presumption of the existence of the outsider, the other, against which the nation is itself defined and constructed.”⁵ In such conventional formulae of nationalism, our perception is informed by the normative desire of each nation to command the utmost and singular political loyalty from its citizens. As the nation (or those speaking on its behalf) would have it, multiple nationalisms was not only incongruous, it was unacceptable.⁶ But from the point of view and temperament of the human subject, whose commitment and partaking actually constitute the nation, singular love is not the norm, but the result of social and political conditioning. The long history of transnational movements and migrations proves that settlers and diasporic communities had a penchant for maintaining emotional investments in, even political engagements with, more than one nation. My examination of Njoo Cheong Seng’s literary works, written largely between the 1920s and 1950, particularly his Gagaklodra adventure series, reveals that outside institutional politics, as represented by *Sin Po*, Chung Hwa Hui and PTI, the Chinese political loyalty was more versatile and multifaceted than “fragmented.”

When the sentiments of nationalism took shape in the early decades of the 1900s, we get to see how tensions between the nation-state norms and human impulses unfolded among Chinese in the Indies, and more

4. Suryadinata, *Peranakan Chinese Politics*, p. 170.

5. Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman, “Good and Bad Nationalisms,” *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader*, edited by Spencer and Wollman, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005, p. 198.

6. In deliberations for the 2006 Nationality Law in Indonesia, for instance, those who were opposed to dual citizenship based their reservations on the assumption that people with multiple nationalities could not love their country as much as those who had only one. See “House Reluctant to Give ‘Privileges’,” *The Jakarta Post*, 25 September 2005.

importantly how they were dealt with. In the years following the crystallization of Indonesia's national consciousness in the 1920s, the process of its delineation as an ethnonational and political unit took place throughout the 1930s, culminating in the monumental Cultural Polemics (*Polemik Kebudayaan*) between 1935 and 1939. This was a series of public debates among Indonesian intellectuals on the characteristics and future course of the nation's culture and education.⁷ For the Chinese, the tide of nationalism in the 1930s came in the form of ethnic solidarity triggered by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, and then intensified when the second Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937. Regardless of cultural affinities with China, many overseas Chinese took Japan's invasion and occupation of China's territories as an affront to their ethnonational pride.⁸

These nationalistic sentiments among the Chinese and indigenous Indonesians, in the study of Indonesian history, are often understood in separate terms. The Indonesian nationalist movement has been conceived, not inaccurately, as a political project concerning indigenous intellectuals and political activists. Likewise, the Sino-Japanese hostilities in the 1930s are recognized as the moment that (re)kindled "Chinese nationalism" among overseas Chinese communities, including those in the Netherlands Indies.⁹ In existing studies, these two nationalisms were not only seen detached from each other – different actors of history working towards different goals – but the prevalent view of nationalism convinces us that to certain extent they must have been defined against one another. Violence against people of Dutch and Chinese descents during the Indonesian revolution, for example, is well documented.¹⁰ Going back to Liem and Suryadinata, the neatly defined "three streams" of Chinese politics in the Indies at least imply this logic.¹¹

7. Among the effects of such public deliberations was the reification of national identification, Indonesia, over ethnic-group sentiments and the promotion of Indonesian as the unifying language; see Achdiat K. Mihardja, et al, *Polemik Kebudayaan: Pergulatan Pemikiran Terbesar dalam Sejarah Kebangsaan Indonesia*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2008.

8. With regard to terms of residency and cultural affinities, scholars have generally distinguished Indies Chinese into *totok* (Chinese-speaking relatively recent immigrants) and *peranakan* (Malay-speaking, indigenized Chinese). The *peranakan* Chinese greatly outnumbered the *totok*, and discussions on Chinese-Malay literature almost by definition concern the *peranakan*.

9. See for instance Lea E. Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916*, Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960; and Caroline S. Hau, "The Question of Foreigners," *On the Subject of the Nation: Filipino Writings from the Margins 1981 to 2004*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 2004.

10. Contemporaneous journalistic accounts reported many cases of violence against ethnic Chinese during the Indonesian revolution. See for instance Tjamboek Berdoeri (pseudonym of Kwee Thiam Tjing), *Indonesia dalem Api dan Bara*, Malang: Perfectas, 1947.

11. Recognized for his dedicated support for the Indonesian nationalist movement, for instance, scholars tend to overlook the fact that Liem Koen Hian was repeatedly slapped with

Njoo Cheong Seng's literary works however attest that Chinese and Indonesian nationalisms were not irreconcilable. Chalking up four decades of impressive career in literature, journalism, and theater, Njoo is not only in and of himself pertinent to the study of literature in Indonesia, but exceptional for the long span of history his works encompass. His novels alone are estimated to be in the 200s, in addition to incalculable short stories and plays.¹² The Gagaklodra series, which was published between 1930 and 1952, is his most renowned literary creation, chronicling the fantastic adventures of a rogue hero, Gagaklodra. The series' long span, Njoo recalls in an anthology commemorating 22 years of Gagaklodra, in retrospect traverses three different political epochs in the history of Indonesia – the Dutch colonization, the Japanese occupation, and Indonesia as sovereign nation.¹³ Altogether comprising 237 individual short and book-length stories, the adventures of Gagaklodra graced various journals such as *Liberty*, *Tjerita Roman*, *Tjantik*, *Tjilik Roman's* and *Tjermin* – each of which not only tells the story of its time, but presumably reflects the “Chinese” self that gave meaning to it. Situated in the politically charged decades of the 1930s and 1940s, a closer scrutiny on the Gagaklodra series reveals a surprising experimentation with concepts of national belonging, which in turn obliges a rethinking of some conventional views on Chinese politics in Indonesia. Standing at the crossroads of political times and nationalized spaces, Njoo's works wrestled with the questions of political loyalty and national identification, and as such turned his readership into a process of “interpellation” and collective deliberations.¹⁴

Njoo Cheong Seng and the 1930s

In the annals of Chinese-Malay literature, Njoo belongs to the later generation. He witnessed the literature coming to an abrupt stop in 1942 and

charges of press offense (*persdelict*) by the Indies government for his blistering criticisms of Japan's aggression in China. His political commitment to Indonesia was evidently not mutually exclusive with his nationalistic impulses for China. See Nobuto Yamamoto, “(In)Visible Chinese: State and Spectatorship in 1930s Indies,” *Chinese Identities and Inter-Ethnic Coexistence and Cooperation in Southeast Asia*, edited by Caroline S. Hau and Nobuhiro Aizawa, Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies Kyoto University, 2009.

12. Claudine Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: A Provisional Annotated Bibliography*, Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981.

13. Njoo Cheong Seng, *22 Tahun dengan Gagaklodra, 1930-1952*, Malang: Prana Agency Service, 1953.

14. One can argue that the popularity of Gagaklodra signaled a process of what Louis Althusser calls “ideological interpellation.” In Althusser's formulation, to be interpellated is to recognize a particular idea or identity and identify with it; see “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1971. Following this formula, those who “responded” to Njoo's works – by reading them – arguably recognized and identified with his ideas.

petered out after the Pacific War, but he came after the generation of Chinese authors who marshaled the literature to a splendid rise in the first two decades of the 20th century. Nowhere is the generational difference more apparent than in regards to his familiarity with the English language. Writers of earlier generation, if they came from a family of means, were likely to receive Dutch education and had a proclivity to pepper their composition with Dutch words. Even if they did not receive formal Dutch training, for the sake of profession, most writers and journalists taught themselves Dutch. Njoo, on the other hand, was born in 1902, two years after the establishment of Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (Chinese Association, or THHK), which ran self-subsidized schools for Chinese children, Tiong Hoa Hak Tong, beginning in 1901. At THHK schools, instructions were given in Mandarin and students were generally taught English instead of Dutch.¹⁵ Authors and journalists of THHK graduates were likewise compelled to have a sufficient grasp of Dutch, but their preference for English diction and literary references set them apart from their Dutch-educated colleagues.

There is in fact no definitive record of Njoo's formal education, but Wu Wei notes that Njoo attended *Hollandsch Chineesche School* before transferring to THHK.¹⁶ He is also said to have studied English at a school called Berlitz, and his frequent uses of English in compositions seem to confirm this. His contemporaries and closest associates in literature – Ong Ping Lok and Liem Khing Hoo, each separated by no more than 2 years from Njoo – both attended THHK schools and were likewise quite comfortable with English. And the fact that many of the characters in Njoo's early novels are portrayed as students of THHK suggests that this fictional attribute may have been drawn from his immediate life experience. For instance, in what appears to be his very first novel, *Tjerita Pengidoepan Manoesia* (Story of Human Life, 1919), the adolescent male protagonist is somewhat autobiographical in that he is described as a writer who graduated from THHK and attended English classes in the afternoon. In *Boewanja Pladjaran* (Fruits of Education, 1922), the omniscient narrator reasons that the protagonists have chosen a THHK school because it offers "good quality education" where they are taught by "an erudite teacher from Nan King."¹⁷

15. The reason behind this choice of English instead of Dutch, though has been described as political, was also economic as the initial THHK simply took over inexpensively an already established English school, the Yale Institute, and had hoped that they could rely on the government assistance for Dutch language instruction for Chinese students. Out of their pleas and subsequent negotiations, *Hollandsch Chineesche School* was born. For a history of the initial THHK school in Batavia, see Nio Joe Lan, *Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan Batavia, 1900-1939*, Batavia: Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, 1940.

16. Wu Wei, "Njoo Cheong Seng, 36 Taon Berdansa di Atas Masintoelis," *Liberal*, 1, 11, 21 November 1953.

17. The novel's full title is *Boewanja Pladjaran dan Tjara Bagimana Orang Toewa Haroës*

For the most part in Njoo's novels, the characters are school adolescents that are more exposed to English and more likely to adopt Western names – there are plenty of “Johnys” – than those of previous generations.

Due to their familiarity with English, authors like Njoo are more likely to draw artistic inspirations from English literary culture and American pop culture. The THHK student in Njoo's *Harganja Kasopanan Tionghoa* (The Cost of Chinese Tradition, 1923)¹⁸ is said to be fond of translating the poems of Shakespeare and Tennyson for his girlfriend. The writer protagonist in *Sio Sayang* (Oh Dear, 1933) is conversant with the state of literature and journalism in Britain when he compares “the magazines in London” with those in the Netherlands Indies. In compositions, Njoo routinely makes references to English literary luminaries such as John Milton, Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott, to name a few, while his mystery stories earned him a reputation as “the Chinese Arthur Conan Doyle.”¹⁹ In addition to Doyle's Sherlock Holmes, Njoo professed to be an avid reader of Nick Carter and Lord Lister (a.k.a. A. J. Raffles), fictional characters of detective and noble thief that were popular between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. His protagonist in *Harganja Kasopanan Tionghoa* is also said to be a fan of Harold Lloyd, Larry Semon and Charlie Chaplin – all Hollywood icons of the silent film era – which thus suggests that by the 1930s, at least for a segment in the Indies, popular culture was trending towards the English-speaking United States and away from continental Europe.

Beginning in the 1930s Njoo produced many ethnographic novels and highly imaginative adventure stories. This new trend was largely due to his professional engagement in popular theater. In 1926 he joined Miss Riboot Orion Theater, married its dancing starlet (the future theater prima donna and film star, Fifi Young) and toured all over Java and the Indies archipelago. Out of his sojourn in Atjeh from 1929 to 1930, he composed *Balas Membalas* (Settling Scores, 1931), a story set in Lhokseumawe about an aristocratic Atjehnese girl who despite her family's opposition chooses to marry a commoner over a suitor of equal social standing, and consequently instigates resentment and vengeance. In the same year he released another novel set in the neighboring Serdang region, *Bertjerei Kasih* (Breaking Up), featuring a young man who by local custom is compelled to leave his hometown and make fortune elsewhere (*rantau*) before he can propose for

Berboewat pada Anak-anaknya, atawa Nasibnya Satoe Pernika'an jang Belon Beroemoer Dewasa, vol. 1-3, Batavia: Kho Tjeng Bie & Co., 1922.

18. The book itself is not dated, but the cover listed Njoo's occupation as editor-in-chief of the bi-monthly *Interocean*, which was in circulation beginning in 1923 before being renamed as *Hoa Kiao* in 1924.

19. This comparison is made by the editors of *Liberty*, Njoo's comrades in literature.

his girlfriend's hand in marriage. This customary practice, Njoo seems to tell readers, in the end tears couples apart. He also wrote among others *Kembang Mendoeroe dari Minahasa* (The Mendoeroe Flower of Minahasa, 1934), *Tjinggalabi Aoeah: Papoeasch Zeden Romans* (Tjinggalabi Aoeah: A Novel of Papoean Customs, 1935), *Itanri-sana: Satoe Roman Boegis Taon 1674* (Itanri-sana: A Boeginese Novel of 1674, 1935), *Zoebaida* (1940), a fantasy fist and dagger story set among the island tribes of Noesa Tenggara, and *Timoeriana* (1941), which is set in the island of Timor. By the end of his career, Njoo would have written novels that are set in Surabaya, Jakarta, Jogjakarta, Makassar, Manado, Atjeh, Medan, Palembang, Ambon, Noesa Tenggara, Manokwari, and Boven Digoel.²⁰ His writing and directing works with theater troupes like Miss Riboet Orion, the Penang-based Moonlight Crystal Follies, and Dardanella, took him as far away as India, Shanghai, Singapore, and Malaya, which he subsequently incorporated into his novels.²¹ Some of his stories are set in New York, Korea, Afghanistan and Burma, but it is unclear if he ever visited these places.

In the latter part of the 1920s, as contributor to the literary monthly *Penghidoepan*, Njoo expanded his creative arsenal with compositions in mystery genre. In the introduction to the January 1926 issue, when he assumed the journal's directorship, Njoo reiterates its mission "to satisfy readers' fantasies" and promises to deliver several detective stories himself. This particular issue features his *Boeaja Soerabaja* (Scoundrels of Soerabaja) in a conventional detective story pattern, which opens with a gothic murder scene, followed by police investigation and a circle of suspects, and concludes with a surprising twist. In the same year he published *Testament Kosong* (Empty Testament), which was advertised as a story about an odd will that sets off a chain of terrifying consequences. His 1928 *Nona Ramboet Kriting* (Girls with Curls) offers an account of human trafficking in America, where "socially liberated" girls are seduced by fine-looking men to be sold to a swanky brothel in New York City.

20. Other than Njoo, his associate Liem Khing Hoo also wrote ethnographic short-stories and novels, such as "Oedjoeng" (1932) on the Tengger community in East Java; "Dewa Poetie" (1932) on the Badui community in West Java; *Brangti* (1934), which is set in Bali; and *Gowok* (1936) on an intriguing cultural practice in Java called "gowok." Liem's ethnographic writings are far fewer compared to Njoo's, but they are generally more profound. His knowledge on classical Javanese literature was also unrivaled among his peers. For further information on writings by Indies Chinese authors on indigenous communities, see Claudine Salmon, "Masyarakat Pribumi Indonesia di Mata Penulis Keturunan Tionghoa (1920-1941)," *Sastrra Peranakan Tionghoa Indonesia*, ed. Leo Suryadinata, Jakarta: Grasindo, 1996.

21. A good introduction to the life and works of Njoo Cheong Seng is an article by Myra Sidharta, "Njoo Cheong Seng: A Peranakan Novelist, Playwright, Director, Poet, Editor," *Southeast Asian Chinese: The Socio-Cultural Dimension*, edited by Leo Suryadinata, Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1995.

His most recognized creation, the Gagaklodra series, can also be categorized as mystery fiction, but of varied literary traditions. In the aforementioned 1953 commemorative anthology, Njoo recalls that some readers compare Gagaklodra to the adventures of Flash Gordon and Captain Marvel. Others see it as an Indonesian adaptation of the Chinese “*boe-hiap* and *kiam-hiap*” (martial and sword warriors) stories. And then there are those who “read too deeply into it and regard Gagaklodra as tales conveying allegories of life and wisdom in the ways of See-you-kie, Hong-sin, Mahabharata, and others.” A 1933 advertisement of Gagaklodra likens its protagonist to Arsène Lupin, the gentleman-thief who steals from the rich to give to the poor in Maurice Leblanc novels of early 20th century.²² Njoo himself has compared his fictional character with master criminals like Rocambole, Al Capone and Fu Manchu.²³ The name “Gagaklodra” itself refers to a criminal fugitive and a band of wandering rascals (*bitjokok*), of which the titular character is the leader as well as the master.

From literature standpoint, Gagaklodra’s genealogy is rather cluttered. The prototypical cast derives from Javanese folklore, more precisely the 16th century originary myth of Indramayu, a regency in West Java.²⁴ As the legend goes, the son of Tumenggung Gagak Singalodra, Raden Wiralodra, descendant of the great kingdoms of Majapahit and Pajajaran, receives a divine command to journey in the direction of sunset, to settle down in the valley near Cimanuk River, and establish a community (*pedukuhan*) there. For the mission, Raden Wiralodra is assisted by five warriors, all skilled in martial arts (*ilmu kanuragan*), among whom is the beautiful Nyi Endang Darma. The settlement, Darma Ayu (beautiful Darma), is supposedly named after her and eventually evolves into “Indramayu.” Njoo’s Gagaklodra obviously derives from Gagak Singalodra. The protagonist’s aristocratic title Raden and name Wiradraka also recall Raden Wiralodra. His place of origin, Gunung Djati, evokes association with Sunan Gunung Djati, one of the nine founding saints in the history of Islam in Java, who is believed to have had a Chinese wife, Princess Ong Tien. Gagaklodra himself is described as half Javanese, half Chinese. His principal weapon is said to be a Javanese dagger (*kris*), but his fighting skills, and the combat scenes in the stories, place him in the tradition of Chinese martial legends. His challenges and exploits however are contemporaneous – law enforcement, spy police, transnational piracy, fellow criminals, wars, and nationalist movements. On the whole, the

22. Except in *Liberty*, the series often appeared as extra pages in literary journals; in this particular instance, *Tjerita Roman* V/53 (May 1933).

23. Njoo, “Kesembilan Gagaklodra,” 22 *Tahun*, p. 128.

24. The history of Indramayu largely derives from *Babad Dermayu* (History of Dermayu), a *lontar* manuscript dated from the 16th century; see H. A. Dasuki, *Sejarah Indramayu*, Indramayu: Pemerintah Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Indramayu, 1984.

Gagaklodra series is an English mystery fiction, a Javanese folklore, and a classical Chinese legend rolled into one.

These stylistic and characterial syntheses are precisely why Gagaklodra deserves our attention. Its form marks a transition from the classical fist and dagger genre to the modern mystery genre in Indonesian literature.²⁵ Following the publication of Gagaklodra, similar types of fictional heroes emerged such as the titular characters in Liem Khing Hoo's 1933 novel *Srigala Mas* (Golden Jackal); in Yoesoef Sou'yb's adventure series *Elang Mas* (Golden Eagle);²⁶ and most notably as the communist fugitive in the *Patjar Merah* (Scarlet Pimpernel) series by Matu Mona and Yusdja.²⁷ But more important than this artistic effect are the narrative and characterial structures in Gagaklodra, which capture a broad shift in the way ethnic Chinese in the Indies saw themselves and their future in Indonesia. In this

25. At least two Malay translations of the Rocambole series appeared in early 1910s, *Pembalesan Baccarat: Samboengan Penipoë Besar* (1912) and *Boekoe Tjerita Rocambole Binasa: Samboengan "Pembalesan Baccarat"* (1913); both were translated by Lie Kim Hok and published by Hoa Siang In Kiok. A work of translation by Tan Tjin Koei entitled *Sherlock Holmes* was serialized in the weekly *Hoa Pit*, ca. 1910; see Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, p. 332. Doris Jedamski notes that a Sherlock Holmes story was translated by Houw San Liang in 1912, and an adaptation by Ong Hap Djin appeared in 1929; see Jedamski, "Popular Literature and Postcolonial Subjectivities: Robinson Crusoe, the Count of Monte Cristo and Sherlock Holmes in Colonial Indonesia," *Clearing a Space: Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature*, edited by Keith Foulcher and Tony Day, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002. In addition, Balai Poestaka also published translations of Sherlock Holmes stories such as *Hilang Ta' Tentoe Rimbanja* (1929, translated by K. St. Pamoenjak) and *Anak Perawan Didalan Soenji dan Rahsia Seorang Gadis* (2nd edition, 1931, translated by N. St. Iskandar).

26. I thank Claudine Salmon for bringing my attention to these works and the details regarding their publications. Liem's *Srigala Mas* was published in the literary journal *Tjerita Roman* V/55 (July 1933). From Nobuto Yamamoto's article we know that Sou'yb's series appeared among others as *Elang Mas Ketawa* in journal *Doenia Pengalaman* I/2 (November 1938); *Memikat Elang Mas* in *Doenia Pengalaman* II/11 (14 June 1939); *Elang Mas* in *Doenia Pengalaman* II/16 (15 August 1939); *Elang Mas di Pagar Roejoeng* in *Doenia Pengalaman* II/19 (5 October 1939); see Yamamoto, "Sociology of Roman Pitjisan: Popular Literature in Late Colonial Indonesia," *Keio Journal of Politics* 14 (2009), pp. 19-39. John B. Kwee notes that *Elang Mas 100 Muka* and *Elang Mas ke Rangoon* appeared in 1939 in journal *Loekisan Poedjangga*, also in Medan; see Kwee, *Chinese Malay Literature of the Peranakan Chinese in Indonesia, 1880-1942*, PhD Dissertation, University of Auckland, 1977.

27. The Patjar Merah stories were originally serialized in the daily *Pewarta Deli* beginning in 1934 and later on in *Loekisan Poedjangga*. The series were later compiled into five novels: *Spionnage-dienst: Patjar Merah Indonesia* (1938), *Rol Patjar Merah Indonesia Cs.* (1938), *Panggilan Tanah Air* (1940) by Matu Mona (a.k.a. Hasbullah Parinduri); and *Moetiara Berloempoer: Tiga Kali Patjar Merah Datang Membela* (1940) and *Patjar Merah Kembali ke Tanah Air* (1940) by Yusdja (a.k.a. Yusuf Djajad). On Patjar Merah, see Noriaki Oshikawa, "Patjar Merah Indonesia and Tan Malaka: A Popular Novel and a Revolutionary Legend," *Reading Southeast Asia: Translation of Contemporary Japanese Scholarship on Southeast Asia*, edited by Takashi Shiraishi, Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1990.

paper I shall discuss how in and of these literary experimentations with Gagaklodra, Njoo conjures up a fictional space where hybridity – of literature, culture, biology, as well as politics – is not only unproblematic, but also ideal.

With regard to Njoo, Gagaklodra was groundbreaking in that it signaled a remarkable change in terms of his writing subjects. Until the late 1920s, Njoo's works were quite typical of Chinese-Malay literature in that they evolve around the Chinese community and focus on Chinese protagonists and their families. For the most part, his subject matters concern adolescent romance, Chinese customs (*kasopanan Tionghoa*), Western education and its effects on young Chinese, interracial romance and the ensuing ethnic fanaticism (*gila kebangsaan*),²⁸ and gambling addiction. In all these stories, the characters' self-identification as Chinese is hardly ever broached as it is taken for granted. The aforementioned novel *Boewanja Pladjaran*, which was published in 1922, is rather exceptional precisely because in it we get a very pronounced description of the way Njoo's characters identify themselves. There is a scene in which the young man protagonist, The Tjoan Hoo, is said to be leaving for Shanghai to pursue higher education, so he can help improve the life of Chinese people in the South Seas (*Lamjang*). In a farewell party for him, The's friends commend his aspirations as indicative of his character as "a Chinese who is loyal to his homeland." "We Chinese people [of the South Seas] are separated from our ancestral land by a great distance," thus the party salutes efforts by young people like The "to bring [us] closer to the country of our ancestors" and to "spread the feeling of love for China." In such Chinese- and China-focused compositions, people of other ethnicities in the Indies are represented in limited roles. In Njoo's early novels, fictional representations of indigenous persons are generally limited to houseboys (*djongos*), maid servants (*baboe*), midwives (*bidan*), chauffeurs, and henchmen.²⁹ Europeans, on the other hand, are generally the police officer, the classmate, the prostitute, and occasionally the disapproved lover.

But in the 1930s the subject of Njoo's compositions dramatically expanded. He began to feature indigenous protagonists and families, and local customs in the Indies. He continued to write about Indies Chinese, but

28. See for instance his novels on interracial relations such as *Nona Olanda S'bagi Istri Tionghoa*, in *Penghidoepan* 1/1 (January 1925); *Marguerite de Fantassie*, in *Penghidoepan* 1/8 (15 August 1925); and *Raden Adjeng Moerhia: Peringatan Medan 1929-1933*, in *Tjerita Roman* VI/65 (June 1934).

29. Among earlier generation of Chinese authors, *njai* was a frequent subject of writings. *Njai* refers to indigenous women who entered into extra-legal domestic arrangement with European or Chinese men and performed the tasks of a wife as well as a domestic servant. As early Chinese-Malay novels often evolved around stories of scandal and factual incidents, the *njai* character drew a great deal of curiosity among Chinese authors.

no longer with chauvinistic self-identification such as in *Boewanja Pladjaran*. His increasingly inquisitive attitude toward indigenous communities and customs was in part due to his career in popular theater, which required him to travel, work with, and live among people of different racial backgrounds. It was not uncommon in those days for a theater troupe to be financed by a Chinese, managed by a Eurasian, starred by Javanese prima donnas, and supported by a cast and crew of diverse ethnic backgrounds.³⁰ Njoo's responsibilities in theater for the most part involved writing play scripts and directing, but having to live for several months at a time in places that were unfamiliar to him, he appears to have developed interest on the lives of indigenous communities and subsequently made them the focus of his writings.

Another factor behind this change was arguably politics. The broad historical shift in the 1930s when the idea of a sovereign Indonesian nation gradually materialized – first with the 1928 Youth Pledge (*Soempah Pemoeda*) that cemented the foundation of “Indonesia” as a nation, a homeland, and a national language, and then with the Cultural Polemics in the latter half of the 1930s – had no doubt influenced the way Indies Chinese perceived themselves in relation to Indonesia.³¹ If in the past Indonesia had been a nebulous concept of an equally indefinable geographical unit, in the 1930s Indies Chinese intellectuals were increasingly aware of the political crossroads that they might be confronting, perhaps not too far in the future.³² A review of Njoo's extensive body of works reveal changes not only with regard to his characters' national identification, but also in his choice of language and, correspondingly, imagined audience. In his compositions, Njoo's language over time evolved from the characteristically carefree Chinese-Malay in 1919 to resemble the standardized Indonesian, which he

30. In his study of *komedij stamboel* in Indonesia, Mathew Cohen indicates that among the appeals of this new type of popular theater was the ethnic mixture of its actors, which could include Chinese, Dutch, Arabs, Javanese and Indians; see *The Komedi Stamboel: Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia, 1891-1903*, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006, p. 17. See also an earlier study on similar topic by Tan Sooi Beng, *Bangsawan: A Social and Stylistic History of Popular Malay Opera*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993.

31. If prior to 1930 resistance was articulated in the forms of anti-capitalist rhetoric and communist uprising, the 1930s saw aspirations for independent Indonesia couched in emancipatory nationalistic terms. Harry J. Benda and Ruth T. McVey mark 1927 as the beginning of the “Indonesian nationalism proper”; see *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia: Key Documents*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969.

32. In 1934, Liem Koen Hian (using pen-name “Medewerker”) asked, “Apa Baba Bisa Menjadi Indonesië?” in *Mata-hari* (8 September 1934). He argues that there is one important question waiting for the Chinese to resolve: their position in Indonesia (*soal kadoedoekanna di Indonesia*). By “position” he meant the national status, a question which he claims the Chinese thus far would rather avoid. See a reprint of this article in Ridwan Saidi, *Baba Bisa Menjadi Indonesië: Bung Hatta, Liem Koen Hian, dan Sindunatha Menyorot Masalah Cina di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Lembaga Pengkajian Masalah Pembauran, 1988.

instinctively refers to as “Chinese-Indonesian” (*bahasa Indonesia-Tionghoa*), by 1950.³³

Against the backdrop of historical changes brought by nationalism, and Njoo’s attempts to adapt to the new political environment in the Indies, *Gagaklodra* was created. It had an extended run of more than two decades and is arguably the most memorable among his works. In its own untidy but innovative ways, *Gagaklodra* embodies a fictional representation of Chineseness that was tailored for (future) Indonesian specificities. It offers a compromise as well as crossbred between myth and mystery, classical Chinese warrior and Sherlock Holmes, fantasy and factual events, past and future, ancestral ties and birthplace bond, blood and citizenship, between being Chinese and becoming Indonesian. Lodged between the Golden Age of Chinese-Malay literature in the 1920s and its closing stages in the 1950s, between “Chinese-Malay” and “Chinese-Indonesian,” and at the height of ethnonational fanaticism, Njoo fantasized the possibilities of a compound national identity and multiple resources of belonging.

Gagaklodra and the Fantasy of National Hybridity

To a great extent *Gagaklodra* could only have been written by a person who had extensive knowledge of both indigenous Indonesian and Chinese cultures. In it, Njoo not only blends elements of Chinese and Javanese classics, but he invents a cast that indicates his fluency in the diverse culture of the Indies. The leader of the pack, *Gagaklodra*, is described as a mixed-blood, descending from a Chinese father and a Surakartan aristocrat mother. The rest of the cast – the eight members and disciples of *Gagaklodra* – is assembled from all over the archipelago and trained in various schools of martial arts, depending on their ethnic or geographic origin. Otong, *Gagaklodra*’s right-hand man and “executor,” is famous for his wide-blade Kwidang sword (*golok*) and expertise in Tjikalong and Tjimande martial arts (*pentjak*). Bi-hong, a handsome womanizer, picks up Siauwlimsi sword fighting during his sojourn in Shanghai and specializes in *houwkun* and *kauwkun* (tiger and monkey fighting styles). Bi-hong’s persona, Njoo acknowledges, is borrowed from Tio Tjoe-liong of the Chinese classic *Three Kingdoms*. The third member, Boru, inherits the sacred Bantimurung dagger

33. To distinguish Chinese-Malay books from those written in Indonesian by Chinese authors, Njoo used the term “Chinese-Indonesian”; see his novel *Manusia Sampurna jang Tidak Sampurna* (A Perfect Man Who is Imperfect, 1950). In *Sio Sayang* (Oh Dear, 1933), Njoo in fact professes admiration for the writing style of Balai Poestaka authors and other indigenous writers who wrote in Indonesian. He was also known to have worked closely with notable indigenous literati such as Chairil Anwar, Armin Pane, Sanoesi Pane, and Usmar Ismail. In Njoo’s 1950 novel *Bidadari Binal* (Naughty Angel), the poet protagonist fondly recalls the times he spent together with then recently deceased Chairil Anwar (1922-1949).

(*badik*) and as a Bugis, we are told, his temperament is like still water that runs deep. Siborang-borang of Toba-Tapanuli is the philosopher in the group and gifted in verbal arguments. Datuk Inu is the warrior of Singkarak, Bukit Barisan, and is famous for his Minangkabau *pentjak*. Gipo, the sixth member, is born of a Portuguese-Timorese father and a Madurese mother of Tanah Merah, Papua, and skilled in Madurese dagger (*belati*) combat. Ubanggi is the hotheaded brigand from Maluku. Burindra is the cock-fighter of Klungkung, easygoing and well-versed in traditional poetry, but is also fluent with his Balinese dagger (*kris*). He is always shadowed by his beautiful warrior lover, Mira. In the series' 22-year run, new characters emerge, such as Wan-Ong and Botoe, usually to replace fallen ones.

What is remarkable about the cast of Gagaklodra is that it attempts to mirror Indonesia's ethnic composition. If in the original legend of Indramayu the central character Raden Wiralodra is supported by four Javanese champions and one from Sumatra, Njoo took advantage of his broad ethnographic knowledge and conjured up a microcosm of Indonesia's diversity. The cast is not only given specific geographic origins in Indonesia – in Java, Sulawesi, Sumatra, Papua, Maluku, and Bali – but is also ascribed with local, albeit stereotypical, personality traits. Readers are told that Siborang-borang the Batak is chatty, the Bugis is calm but indomitable, the Ambonese is hot-tempered, and the Balinese loves cock-fighting. All these places and cultures, Njoo had direct contacts with during years of touring with theater troupes. His first-hand knowledge of the archipelago not only enabled him to represent in fiction the people and customs he encountered from Sumatra all the way to Papua, but makes him arguably the first truly Indonesian author. If the nation is an imagined community and geographically imagined through representations on cartographic maps, Njoo gave Indonesia a representation of its third dimension – its demography. He was the first to come close to seeing, more than merely imagining, the nation in its entirety, and made his Gagaklodra stories its miniature replica.

But even more intriguing is the persona Njoo invents for the central character – Gagaklodra himself. We are told that outwardly he appears cool and detached, with fine facial features, an occasional smoking pipe between his lips, and is neatly clad. By inference, we learn that Gagaklodra is a recluse, eccentric, and cultured. These physical and personality traits appear to have been borrowed from Sherlock Holmes. In terms of physical features, we are told that “[Gagaklodra] looks like a Chinese, but he can also pass for other persons.”³⁴ So he has enough Chinese features to be recognized as

34. Njoo Cheong Seng, “Gagaklodra dengen Boeaja Tanah Lapang Glodok,” *Liberty* VI/66 (September 1933).

such, but not distinct enough so that he can be perceived as someone other than a Chinese. In the early numbers of the series, “before he is known as Gagaklodra,” people recognize him as Raden Wiradraka, a man of noble Javanese birth; in certain circles however he is addressed by his Chinese name, Tan It-ban. As a warrior he is armed with the *kris* Gunung Djati and has skillfully integrated the revered Javanese dagger into his Chinese martial arts. Throughout his adventures to far-flung corners of Indonesia, he is as comfortable in Glodok, Batavia, as he is in Tebing Tinggi, Sumatra.³⁵ He straddles Chinese and various indigenous cultures effortlessly, and he rescues a Chinese girl from forced marriage as persistently as he does a Javanese girl from an unwelcome suitor.³⁶ Readers are also told that Gagaklodra is a “modern” man who can carry conversations in English, Dutch, and Mandarin.

When it comes to national identification, Njoo leaves no doubt that Gagaklodra is a proud Indonesian national. This admission comes in an episode of Gagaklodra’s adventures overseas, when his band of brigands is trailing the Khyber Pass at the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan in search of Mira who is held capture by an Afghan *sheik*.³⁷ When they are invited to stay and dine at the *sheik*’s palace, Gagaklodra introduces himself as a person who “originates from Indonesia,” a country “comprising of many islands such as Java, Andalas, Madura, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Timor, Borneo, Maluku, Amboina and New Guinea, and surrounded by the Java Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Banda Sea.” When asked to describe the inhabitants of Indonesia, Gagaklodra launches into a sentimental homily, “[Indonesians] are stranded (*terdampar*) in one corner [of the world], but they look up to the sun proudly. [...] Each and every one of [Indonesia’s] young men and women is an embodiment of refinement and quiet valor. Each man is a warrior and a gentleman combined, courageous but compassionate [...].”³⁸ This particular exchange between two master villains on Indonesia and its inhabitants seems rather out of place, as if to excuse Gagaklodra’s rather chauvinistic description of Indonesians. But this chauvinism aside, Gagaklodra’s proud proclamation of Indonesian nationality is remarkable given the fact that this episode appeared in 1937, when Indonesia was still “stranded” under the colonial rule, several years still before it became a sovereign state.

35. See for instance “Tengkorak Hidoep di Kramat Kuda,” *22 Tahun*.

36. See “Satoe Iblis dengen Satoe Bidadari,” *Tjerita Roman* V/53 (May 1933); and “R. Wiradraka alias Gagaklodra: Mantoe Loerah,” *Tjantik* I/3 (June 1948).

37. “Gagaklodra Melawan Raksasa: Shik Lala Kodi,” *22 Tahun*, pp. 77-89; originally published in 1937.

38. “Gagaklodra Melawan Raksasa,” *22 Tahun*, p. 82.

In a special episode for the 10th year anniversary of Gagaklodra, Njoo reintroduces the nine members of the cast and elaborates on the national affinities of his Chinese-Javanese hero.³⁹ “Of what nation (*bangsa*) is he?” asks the narrator rhetorically. To simply say “Indonesia” would be insufficient, the narrator goes on, but it is accurate that Wiradraka/Tan It-ban is “mother-ed” by (an) Indonesia(n). Njoo’s phrasing “*ber-ibukan bangsa Indonesia*” here carries double connotations: that Gagaklodra’ mother is an Indonesian, or, that he is mothered (nurtured) by Indonesia. The latter is also plausible because the remark is immediately followed by what appears to be a modifying clause for the nation, “born in his homeland (*tanah air*) … the land of plenty, Indonesia.” In either case, readers are told for a fact that Gagaklodra is Indonesian both by blood (from his Javanese mother’s side) and by birth (“in the land of plenty, Indonesia”). So the two most important properties of national credentials – blood ties and birth-place – in his case are well aligned. Furthermore, he is Indonesian by law and intent as well, because Gagaklodra “never shies away from proclaiming himself [...] a citizen of Indonesia (*warga negara Indonesia*).” The oddity of proclaiming citizenship when Indonesia was still under the colonial rule did not seem to escape Njoo, because he quickly points out that Gagaklodra is an outlaw and as such is repudiated by the state. By juxtaposing the statuses of citizen (with pride) and outlaw (connoting rejection), Njoo draws the line between the nationality his rogue hero professes and the (colonial) state he loves to trick.

The colonial context in Gagaklodra’s Indonesia undoubtedly gives nuance to the outlaw’s resistance to the authorities. Like other fictional gentleman-thieves such as Arsène Lupin and Lord Lister, Raden Wiradraka/Tan It-ban only swindles people who are more wicked than himself. As a thief and defender of the weak, Gagaklodra’s activities are bound to put him in opposition to law enforcers, who in the story are constantly on the hunt for him. This pattern of characterization – being at the threshold between heroism and criminality – is in fact quite conventional in mystery fiction as the prototype of fictional detective, Eugène-François Vidocq of the 1828-9 *Mémoires*, the first head of the Parisian metropolitan police service, was in reality a former criminal who turned in other thieves for bounty, a “thief-taker.”⁴⁰ But while classical detective heroes such as Edgar Allan Poe’s Auguste Dupin, Doyle’s Holmes, and Dorothy Sayers’ Lord Peter Wimsey are described as antidotes to a corrupt and incompetent police institution, they are generally loyal to the state and monarch.⁴¹

39. “Kesembilan Gagaklodra,” 22 *Tahun*, p. 129.

40. LeRoy Lad Panek, *An Introduction to the Detective Story*, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987.

41. Charles J. Rzepka, “Casebook Entry No. 2: The Scientific Detective’s Bohemian Soul,”

Sherlock Holmes, for instance, normally lends his service to help royal families avoid major personal or political scandal. His assistant, Dr. Watson, is described as a wounded veteran of the Afghan war.⁴²

This may explain why Njoo had chosen a master criminal type for his hero, despite obvious borrowings from Sherlock Holmes. A criminal protagonist cancels out some of the basic properties that render crime fiction into a state apparatus. Crime fiction has been identified as a repressive state apparatus in that, other than for entertainment, it serves as a reminder for the public that all transgressions shall be penalized.⁴³ It follows a narrative pattern in which a society is being disrupted by a criminal act, but by the end of the story the detective or police officer will have revealed the perpetrator, brought them to justice, and restored the social order. As John Scaggs points out, traditional detective heroes like Dupin, Holmes, Wimsey, and Agatha Christie's Miss Marple are all upper-class establishment figures; thus it is this (upper) middle-class social order that they, in the name of the law, seek to uphold. As their middle-class values and order are closely interlocked with the law, it is arguable that to a great extent fictional detectives and their exploits function as mediums for the socialization of power. Gagaklodra on the other hand is a criminal and a renegade who assaults the state by violating its law, and is loyal only to his own sense of justice. For him, the law and law enforcement personnel are often the source of the problem.

In fact, in some episodes, tricking the authorities is the end, rather than the means, of Gagaklodra's exploits. A 1939 episode, "Awas Tjopet: Ditjopet" (Beware of Pickpockets: Pickpocketed), captures such an antagonistic, yet comically harmless, encounter when Gagaklodra provokes the authorities just for spite. It is the 200 year anniversary of the royal throne in Surakarta, readers are told, and the celebration culminates with a particularly grand night fair (*pasar malam*) that is advertised all over Java. A night fair commission is formed, comprised of representatives of the Netherlands Indies government, the Mangkunegaran palace, and the military authorities, local nobility, and distinguished Arab and Chinese individuals. The extravagant fair costs f50,000 and draws a flood of visitors, including all nine members of Gagaklodra who expect to ply their trades on wealthy women flaunting jewelry at the much hyped event. With regard to the fair's lavishness, readers are given ample excuses to scoff at the city's profligacy and, accordingly, to exonerate Gagaklodra for his illicit intention.

Detective Fiction, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005; John Scaggs, "Mystery and Detective Fiction," *Crime Fiction*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005.

42. Rzepka even goes so far as to quote Jon Thompson's argument that in creating Holmes, Doyle became "one of the great apologists of empire." See Thompson, *Fiction, Crime, and Empire*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993, p. 68.

43. Scaggs, *Crime Fiction*, pp. 45-9.

Advertising banners to help finance the event, we are told, are ubiquitous and dubious – from the state railway (*staatspoor*) and the Rotterdamsche Lloyd cruise liner, to aspirin, quinine, and prescriptions for syphilis (*obat Radja Singa*). Of the last product in particular, the narrator in *Gagaklodra* notes sardonically, “[I]t is not very clear if the ad aims to help ill people or to help people to become ill.” With these subtexts, a moral line is drawn against the flashy visitors, the profligate organizers, and the questionable sponsors, which simultaneously nudges the readers to side with the thieves.

The colonial subtext in this and other episodes of *Gagaklodra* not only transforms an outlaw into a hero, but turns the question of justice on its head. In this particular episode, readers are told that the police force of Surakarta has anticipated unwelcome visitors like *Gagaklodra* and has arranged for warning signs with eye-catching letters, “BEWARE OF PICKPOCKETS,” to be placed everywhere on the fair premises, in addition to mobilizing police detectives (*recherche*) from neighboring districts and police informants (*mata-mata polisi*) from Djakarta, Bandung, Semarang and Surabaya. The vigilance is so intense, we are told, that visiting journalists call the fair, “a warehouse of pickpocket warning signs.” So when the police is tipped off that *Gagaklodra* and his band are sauntering around the night fair, the intelligence unit goes into a frantic guessing game, trying to speculate on the thieves’ likely target – imported cars, naval aircraft, and the lottery’s first prize Buick are all part of the exhibits. One evening, the anticipated moment finally arrives – a blackout hits the fair ground and panic ensues. The lights return after a short while and visitors are relieved to find that none of their belongings have been stolen. The police however are slapped with a huge embarrassment when everyone suddenly realizes that all the “Beware of Pickpockets” signboards have been stolen. Readers are told that no one knows what happens to the signs, except that the perpetrator is *Gagaklodra*, until some nights later when they all mysteriously reappear and are reposted. This time however, the signs are posted by the thieves and directed at the police, which, in effect, switches around the signer and the reference of the signs. Now the signer of the signboards, *Gagaklodra* is the one issuing caution and the police authority is the thieves he cautions against.

Njoo once claimed that *Gagaklodra*’s exploits against the (colonial) authorities make the hero especially emblematic to Indonesia’s struggle for independence. From the outset, the colonial context in reality renders the authorities in *Gagaklodra*’s fictional world ethically questionable. Consequently, by operating outside the (colonial government) law and resisting law enforcement, *Gagaklodra* becomes not only a criminal, but also a patriot. It was based on this conviction that *Njoo*, close to the end of his writing career, maintained (rather hyperbolically) that the core narrative of

Gagaklodra was an allegory of Indonesia's national history. Just like Indonesia, the series went through three different political epochs and witnessed the times when the nation struggled to break loose from foreign rules. Occasionally, he writes, "it serves as tales of fantastic nature or exciting legends of martial heroes."⁴⁴ In other words, in Gagaklodra we have a combination of fantasy fiction and a tale of national struggle. It is precisely the fantasy nature of the series that has allowed Njoo, without legal consequences, to project the desire of the ruled to undermine the power of the ruler and, in so doing, allows the process of identification by readers with a fictional outlaw – consequently turning a nonconformist into a hero/patriot.

In his study of detective fiction, Charles Rzepka identifies the popularity of romantic criminal heroes with industrialization and the rise of nation-states.⁴⁵ The revolution in printing and the rise of the educated class gave rise to literary genres that specifically catered to school-age boys, such as the variety of detective, mystery, crime, and adventure fictions. Moreover, Rzepka points out, crime stories are primarily an urban phenomenon. In 19th century London, they were inspired by massive migration and the uprootedness, due to industrialization, of the underclass that was neither employed nor sufficiently educated. Charles Dickens, a master in the genre, chronicled this phenomenon in *Oliver Twist* (1838), *Hard Times* (1854), and *Great Expectations* (1860-1861) among others. The mechanicality of industrial societies and the swelling of population alongside poverty in cities in turn reinforced public anonymity and criminal behavior. In Gagaklodra stories, too, readers accept the premise that the fugitive hero is able to move around anonymously, disguise himself, and escape arrests due to such public obscurity. From the point of view of social psychology, Rzepka argues, crime stories allow imaginative rituals of purging the society of bad elements. They became an acceptable way of exacting justice and punishment on villains. At the same time however, they give space for humanity's innate desire to break lose from the restraints of civilization and release its violent impulses. It is such anti-social impulses that subsequently position readers to identify themselves (albeit imaginatively) with the criminal transgressor. In the case of Britain, the 1819 expansion of legal codes to include petty crimes like theft, poaching, and vagrancy, was seen as the ruling class' attempt to criminalize the poor, which hence stimulated popular affinity with criminal heroes. One can imagine that in the case of Gagaklodra, the colonial context and the rising tide of nationalism in the Indies since the 1920s made it even less problematic for readers to identify with an outlaw.

44. Njoo, *22 Tahun*, pp. 5-6.

45. Rzepka, *Detective Fiction*.

With regard to nation-states, Rzepka's explanation is rather vague, nonetheless deserving of reference here. The rising popularity of detective story during the inter-war period, he claims, coincided with the rise of nation-states given that romantic nationalism reveres qualities that are prominent among detective characters such as chivalry, eccentricity, and non-conformity.⁴⁶ The combination of romanticism and nationalism has produced romantic heroes that generally are bohemian, morally ambiguous, of colorful personalities, anti-religion, operating above the law they profess to defend, embracing outmoded ideals of personal honor, and are patriotic defenders of their country.⁴⁷ The bohemian soul of the romantic hero – very pronounced in Sherlock Holmes and Gagaklodra – might have been influenced by Arthur Conan Doyle's contemporaries of the latter half of the 19th century when education and the rise of the professional class generated ambitious young men with scientific education and carefree lifestyle “circulating in a bohemian world of pubs, clubs and masculine comradery.”⁴⁸ Like Doyle who traveled as far away as Alaska and West Africa, Njoo, too, spent most of his productive years as a bohemian writer and literally traveled from place to place with theater troupes. In the rise of democratic nation-states, Rzepka suggests, romantic spontaneity, individual freedom, and rebelliousness found analogy in the supposed uniqueness of every nation. Rzepka does not in fact offer any evidence to back this claim, but the appearance of Gagaklodra stories in 1930 is consistent with his theory. The episode where Gagaklodra describes Indonesia to the Afghan *sheik* using attributes such as courage, honor, passion, beauty, and valor, may be illustrative of the romantic nationalism that molds this type of fictional heroes. So the fact that Gagaklodra's foes are the colonial authorities only reinforces what has been prescribed by the characterial pattern of romantic heroes.

But if the aforementioned episodes present Gagaklodra as a proud Indonesian national(ist), the Sino-Japanese war of 1937 gave Njoo just the occasion to explore a more complicated notion of national belonging. In the episode “Gagaklodra di Bengkoelen” (Gagaklodra in Bengkulu, 1937), readers get an intimate look at the character's Chinese side and how he perceives himself in relation to other Chinese and to China. After further annexations of China's territories by the imperial Japanese army, and

46. Rzepka, *Detective Fiction*, pp. 46-7.

47. While Matu Mona's Patjar Merah is described as a religious man (see for instance the Palestine episode in the second book of the series, *Rol Patjar Merah Indonesia Cs.*, where the hero joins the “holy war”), Gagaklodra is almost the opposite. In *Gagaklodra Mentjari Allah: Kotjar-katjir di Makassar* (Gagaklodra Searching for God: Mayhem in Makassar), *Tjilik Roman's II/21* (March 1950), the book cover proclaims, “God is on vacation.”

48. Colin Russell, *Science and Social Change, 1700-1900*, London: MacMillan, 1983, p. 473.

hostilities between the two countries escalated, Njoo put out this episode that touches upon what he considered a one-sided battle. The opening paragraphs set the tone:

"This year, in 1937, China is being attacked again. Canons, bombs, grenades, fighter jets, toxic gas have been used. Thousands of civilians, women, men, children, are being slaughtered brutally by those fearless Japanese soldiers, without even a formal declaration of war.

Is it possible that a new history is unfolding, that China will be annihilated without technically going to war? [...]

Since the world does not have the guts to contain Japan, Japan continues to advance to take over China, and perhaps to go on the rampage throughout the East. Japan is rewriting world history."⁴⁹

The event in China, we are told, has brought great consternation among Chinese people everywhere. Their solidarity is being tested. As the narrator observes, "From Sabang to Fakfak, no Chinese can rest peacefully, stung by Japan's carnage in their ancestral land." The event has triggered a sense of urgency among Chinese people "at home and overseas" to help with various war efforts, particularly by supporting the China Charity Fund (*Fonds Amal Tiongkok*). We are told that everyone – from factory owners and landlords, to tofu peddlers and peanuts hawkers – feels compelled to donate whatever sum they can afford. Young Chinese men and women now wander the streets selling flowers, cakes, and bread – practically "begging" – in order to help with the charity effort.

After this passionate introduction, readers are transported to Bengkulu, a town in the southwest coast of Sumatra where every evening its Chinese residents are said to "huddle in front of the radio to listen to the latest news" on the war. They "tirelessly peruse columns and columns of news on China" in Indies dailies like *Sin Po*, *Keng Po*, and *Matahari*, and in *The Straits Times* and *The Straits Budget* from Singapore. "Is it possible," the narrator ponders, "that pressured by Japan, Chinese people all over the world can now unite?" In Bengkulu, we are told, unity is especially doubtful. Absurd rivalry between *totok* and *peranakan* Chinese, "an old disease," has already reared its ugly head, pitting the full-blooded against the indigenized Chinese. "Are we supposed to think of the Chinese blood the way we do eucalyptus oil, which purity is measured in terms of percentage – 100%, 70%, 50%?" In Bengkulu, one relief committee clashes with another. If a *peranakan* launches an initiative, the *totok* will certainly mess it up. But the most troubling thing of all, the narrator discovers, is stinginess. Even in time of crisis many Chinese people "seal their pockets tight, so they can take their fortunes all the way to the grave or to hell." One big firm, for instance, is "so

49. "Gagaklodra di Bengkoelen," 22 *Tahun*, pp. 90-91.

stingy that committee members of the China Charity Fund are loath to pass by its shop or house, because they are so mortified.” And then there are some wealthy individuals who donate one *rupiah* and ask that their names be concealed, apparently “shamed by the shadow of their own riches.”

At this point, as expected, Gagaklodra intervenes. A chance visit in Bengkulu proves that the master thief is not immune to the Chinese patriotic fever. One day, we are told, the charity fund committee receives a letter, signed by Gagaklodra and two of his disciples, Otong and Bi-hong, volunteering themselves to seek donations on the charity’s behalf. For his motive, the letter offers, “[E]ven if only for one drop, [Gagaklodra] has Chinese blood” and “[t]he blood is calling him to help out however modestly what an ordinary committee cannot accomplish.” That said, the letter warns that in assisting with the funds, “Gagaklodra will work on his own terms,” possibly in ways that the police and the committee find unacceptable. But it does not matter whether or not the committee approves of the thieves’ self-recruitment, because the letter does not even have a return address and no one knows what Gagaklodra looks like. The residents of Bengkulu are left guessing – he may be a guest patronizing *engko* (brother) Kim-hoan’s hotel, or the acquaintance who is now staying at *engko* Lian-siang’s, or perhaps he is presently hanging out with *engko* Kim-tong. “No one can tell,” including the readers. Two months pass, we are told, without any incident involving curious individuals seeking donations, while the town police inspector has no more than a hunch that something shady is taking place. The residents of Bengkulu have begun to think that the whole story has been a hoax when the fund committee once again receives a letter from Gagaklodra inviting its members and a list of Chinese individuals to attend a meeting, where the donations he has managed to accumulate will be disclosed. When the time of the meeting arrives and people are gathered, a mailman turns up to deliver a neatly bundled package containing cash in the sum of f4677.75 and a letter signed by Gagaklodra. The letter lists the specified invitees as the donors, conveys gratitude to them, and explains that the donors are not aware of their donations. Readers are left to conclude that the cash has been stolen from these affluent but miserly invitees. The letter closes the episode with Gagaklodra’s passionate appeal to the gathering to offer China not only monetary assistance, but also moral support – “Give it to her now, don’t wait until China perishes.”

This particular episode informs us of Njoo’s suppositions with respect to blood and belonging. The first is that “blood,” or what is commonly imagined as “blood” heritage, has classificatory impulses, in that one can be catalogued as a Chinese, notwithstanding the “percentage.” In this case, Gagaklodra is not only Raden Wiradraka, he is also Tan It-ban, a Chinese, simply because he “has Chinese blood.” The second is that blood heritage is

inescapable, irrespective of circumstances, spatial or temporal distance. We are told that Chinese people everywhere, “at home and overseas,” emigrants and sojourners, are affected by what happens in China. The third supposition is that the fact of blood carries intangible consequences in that it has the capacity to “call upon” its subjects. Gagaklodra, we are told, cannot refuse the “calling” of his blood to help out with the Chinese cause. Lastly, this fact of blood is morally affective; it entails duty which, if fulfilled, makes the blood-subject honorable or, if not, dishonorable. The penny-pinching wealthy Chinese for instance, as the narrator puts it, will take their fortunes no further than “to the grave or to hell.”

These assumptions are common in what scholars call “ethnonationalism,” and to different degrees in nationalism in general, which ties national belonging to the accident of blood. By these formulae, Gagaklodra is not only Indonesian, he is also Chinese and is expected to harbor a dosage of fellow feeling towards his Chinese compatriots. By birth, intent, and politics, Gagaklodra is, as he claims, a proud citizen of Indonesia. But these factors combined do not, and cannot, alienate him from the inescapability of his Chinese blood. He finds the habitual squabbling among fellow Chinese (between *totok* and *peranakan*), and the frugality of the affluent ones, detestable. But like a family squabble, they do not dissuade him from working for a common cause. Thus he is a proud citizen of Indonesia, whose exploits are supposedly emblematic of the nation’s struggle against foreign rules, but the fact of his Chinese blood also dictates that he abides by its “calling” and helps rescue the physical token of this blood heritage – “the ancestral land” (*tanah leluhur*).

It is evident from this episode that in Njoo’s ideal world (as represented by Gagaklodra’s), these two realities – being a proud Indonesian national and laboring for China’s cause – are by no means incompatible. Acting on his blood “calling” is supposedly honorable and courageous, which, as Gagaklodra tells the Afghan *sheik*, are among the virtues of Indonesian people. In addition, as the narrator in the story warns, what happens in China does not only concern Chinese people, because if Japan is not contained, it will “go on the rampage throughout the East,” presumably including Indonesia. So not only the dictates of nature and integrity compel Gagaklodra to honor his blood ties and duties to an ancestral land, but the specificity of the historical context, in which China and Indonesia may be confronting a common enemy, helps conflate Chinese and Indonesian patriotisms.

In retrospect, the Japanese occupation in China gave Njoo precisely the occasion to explore and exploit the complexity of Gagaklodra’s persona. Just like his part-Javanese part-Chinese blood, Gagaklodra’s emotional investments in Indonesia and China are not problematic insofar as honor dictates and the enemy of the two countries is identical. When Japan invaded

and annexed China's territories, many Indies Chinese intellectuals attempted to draw parallels between the Japanese and the Dutch as foreign subjugators, in part to draw sympathy from fellow Indonesian nationalists. When Japan's military ambition appeared no longer limited to China but was aimed at other Eastern territories, as the opening paragraphs of "Gagaklodra di Bengkoelen" suggest, Japan came to pose a threat to Indonesia. China's enemy, Njoo seems to argue, may ultimately be Indonesia's too. It is thus not so out of place for the self-professed proud Indonesian citizen Gagaklodra to help with efforts to contain and defeat Japan in China. The fact that many indigenous Indonesian nationalists did not see the incoming Japanese force the way Chinese intellectuals like Njoo did is beside the point here. When Njoo's projection came to pass in 1942 and the Japanese military came to supplant the Dutch authority in Indonesia, the conflation of Gagaklodra as a Chinese/Indonesian patriot was vindicated. In war time episodes such as "Kipas Hitam" (Black Fan, 1945) and "Gagaklodra Makan Kenpeitai" (Gagaklodra Fools Kenpeitai, 1947-1948),⁵⁰ we find the rogue hero sparring with the Japanese military police *Kenpeitai*.

If the narratives of war and nationalist movements position Gagaklodra as a Chinese/Indonesian patriot, the short story format of the series helps constitute his persona as a hero. In LeRoy Panek's study, the turn-of-the 20th century detective fiction is remarkable for the rise of short detective stories, epitomized by the Sherlock Holmes series in *The Strand*.⁵¹ In Panek's observation, "the Holmes stories owed much of their popularity to the fact that they were short stories." Due to the demands of the short form, narratives are largely limited to "the surprise requirements of the detective story" and "to the presentation of the detective's character." In Gagaklodra, the character's political and sentimental solidarity for China, as we have learned, is portrayed as a given and credited to the accident of his blood, therefore self-explanatory. Njoo does not supply us with sufficient accountings of the protagonist's transformative process from *being* (having "a drop of Chinese blood") to *becoming* Chinese (capable of empathizing with "the ancestral land"). Nor is there any account of Tan It-ban's Chinese upbringing or education at Chinese schools. And yet we find him wholly capable of identifying himself as "Chinese." For the most part, Gagaklodra stories focus on his exploits, which are part and parcel of his chivalric persona, and do not dwell on his biography. Due to their fast plot, "coupled with the dominance of the detective character," Panek maintains, short

50. The latter episode is noted in Njoo's *Sjorga Bukan Sjorga Tidak dengan Melinda: Biografie-romans Ketjil 1945-1949*, in *Tjilik Roman's II/32* (September 1950), and is said to have been performed in Jakarta, Surabaya, and Palembang between 1947 and 1948.

51. Panek, *An Introduction to the Detective Story*, pp. 80-98.

detective stories end up advertising the protagonist's genius and larger than life personality. As a result, turn-of-the century detective characters tend to be heroic, distinguished from ordinary people. Njoo's Gagaklodra – borrowed heavily from Holmes – falls within this type of eccentric, sophisticated, and chivalric heroes, with a dash of aristocratic flair.⁵²

But Njoo compensates for the fantastical qualities of Gagaklodra stories with astonishing factual details. The most obvious is his use of contemporary events – the anniversary of Surakarta, the Sino-Japanese war, China relief efforts, *Kenpeitai* in Java, and so on – to background Gagaklodra's adventures. Moreover, he has a penchant for peppering the stories with actual characters. In the previously discussed episode "Awas Tjopet" for instance, the distinguished visitors who are said to have descended into Surakarta for the city's 200 year anniversary celebration are Njoo's real life associates – the famous author Romano (Liem Khing Hoo), the theater actor Andjar Asmara, and journalist Sudarjo Tjokrosisworo (who is described as a "friend and foe of Parada Harahap," another prominent journalist). The names that make up the anniversary commission also appear to be actual dignitaries of the Surakartan throne and the Dutch bureaucracy. It would not be surprising if the names Njoo cited for the Chinese in Bengkulu turned out to be real individuals, real hotel proprietor, and so on. Occasionally he integrates such actual characters into the plot. In the book-length *Gagaklodra Mentjari Allah: Kutjar-katjir di Makassar* (Gagaklodra Searching for God: Mayhem in Makassar, 1950), he illustrates an encounter between Gagaklodra and his real life friends in Makassar, the poet-singer Ho Eng-djie and the former Boven Digoel internee Ishaka Daeng Talli. Njoo even makes the protagonist drop by at Ho's family abode "on Diponegoro Street number 6." In the same episode, Gagaklodra and his band of fugitives are said to have gained entry into the city of Makassar through the tightly secured seaport by disguising themselves as crew members of the Sandiwara Fifi Young opera troupe, whose prima donna, Fifi Young, was Njoo's real life wife. In reality, he had traveled to Makassar with the troupe to perform there for several months.⁵³

Arguably, such a deployment of factual characters and events in Gagaklodra stories serves clear purposes. First, it helps reinforce Gagaklodra's persona as an elevated figure. The characters in his immediate circle – his disciples – like him, are highly imaginative and serve to project Indonesia's ethnic diversity. This fanciful but essential cast goes well with

^{52.} These traits would later give way to the antithetical American hard-boiled detectives of post-Depression period, which were generally of the working class, unpolished, and cynical of the established order.

^{53.} See his autobiographical novel, *Sjorga Bukan Sjorga*.

the fantasy nature of the series. But the real life individuals incorporated into the stories are not in order to make Gagaklodra and his adventures seem more real, even if they produce such effects; rather, they elevate his character into a legend, as someone superior to ordinary people. The real life characters Njoo cites in the stories after all are notables, well-known artists, novelists, journalists, and theater prima donnas. In the stories, they are either Gagaklodra's acquaintances or are familiar with his legendary exploits. In fact, in "Awas Tjopet" readers come across a bizarre scene where, at the night fair, Gagaklodra and his disciples attend a theater performance of *their* adventure incognito. So the fictional Gagaklodra watches a theater representation of himself. This, in reality, is not entirely imaginary because Njoo did adapt the series into theater productions. In fiction, however, the episode only reinforces Gagaklodra's character as a hero.

The second effect of factual events in Gagaklodra is that they convey an impression that, despite the series' dispositions for fantasy, it is engaged with real life issues. In his introduction to Gagaklodra's 22-year commemorative edition, Njoo maintains that the series moved in tandem with the nation's political epochs, to the point that it is emblematic of the nation's history. During his career, Njoo was not known for political activities as he devoted most, if not all, of his creative energy to writing fiction and directing theaters. But it is clear that the politics in Gagaklodra represents his views, and that the protagonist is his surrogate. Ross Macdonald (a.k.a. Kenneth Millar), creator of the fictional detective Lew Archer, has noted that the literary detective provides its writer with a disguise – a kind of "mask" to confront difficult issues – which nonetheless embodies the writer's ideal self-image.⁵⁴ This is no less accurate in Gagaklodra, where the hero arguably personifies and advocates what Njoo holds as ideal, including his political views. Most of the journals Njoo was involved in were literary reviews, except for *Liberty* which also carried commentaries on the state of affairs in the Indies and of the Chinese community. Its opinion pieces however (of the limited editions I have access to) were generally written by M. Novel (pseudonym of Ong Ping Lok, one of Njoo's longest associates in literature). One gets the impression that if Njoo were to write political opinions, they would probably be in the form of fictions. Ultimately of course, given the tumultuous times Gagaklodra series went through, it was bound to reflect the author's political views.

Other than the protagonist, Njoo also inhabits the voice of the narrator in Gagaklodra. In conventional detective fiction, according to Scaggs, the task of embodying the middle-class values of the author and readers is usually

54. Ross Macdonald, *Self-Portrait: Ceaselessly Into the Past*, Santa Barbara, CA: Capra Press, 1981, pp. 47, 113-22.

assumed by the narrator.⁵⁵ In Sherlock Holmes, this task is relegated to the detective's sidekick, Dr. Watson, who narrates Holmes' adventures and astonishing genius. It is from Watson's point of view each story is being presented, and through his eyes readers "see" the actions unfold. In Gagaklodra, Njoo uses the omniscient narrator who gives contexts to the protagonist's actions, and whose remarks occasionally frame the stories. In this case the role of the narrator is even more vital, because it is through the narrator's judgment and persuasion that readers are prodded to identify with a criminal hero.

Finally, it is worth noting here that these two elements, the creation of a fantasy hero and the hero as Njoo's political fantasy, are interlocked. As Macdonald has suggested about detective writers and their fictional creations, Gagaklodra's heroic persona speaks of what Njoo holds as ideal. For this character, the Javanese folk legend Raden Wiralodra is inoculated with a contemporary Chinese biography and transformed into Raden Wiradraka/Tan It-ban. Even though readers are not supplied with an extensive personal history, the underpinnings of Gagaklodra's Chinese persona (Tan It-ban) are undoubtedly Njoo's own "Chinese" experience – his fury over "the decimation of civilians" in China, his frustration with the Chinese penchant for squabbling, and his solidarity for China's political cause. From the attributes Njoo accords Gagaklodra, it is arguable that, for him, the series offers a fictional paradigm where hybridity – of literary traditions (Javanese, Chinese, English), of historical epochs (classical and modern), and of ethnonationalities (Indonesian & Chinese) – is wholesome and ideal. In this fictional utopia, being a proud Indonesian national does not preclude one from being a respectable descendant of China. In other words, Gagaklodra's compound ethnonational identification offers not a quandary, but a basis for facility (fluency across cultures), fraternity (among his disciples), and solidarity (against imperialism).

Conclusions

As a fictional creation and a surrogate, Gagaklodra captures and communicates Njoo's private deliberations on the question of national belonging. By the time he reached the point where he could identify himself as an Indonesian national, Njoo had undergone a transformative process. As I have discussed earlier, his early works feature protagonists who identify themselves as Chinese and with China. The particularly chauvinistic tone of the aforementioned farewell party scene for the Shanghai-bound student in *Boewanja Pladjaran*, where the protagonist and his friends pledge devotion to China and the Chinese of South Seas, is illustrative in this case and arguably

^{55.} Scaggs, *Crime Fiction*, pp. 21-5.

representative of Njoo's own sense of self-identification. In the 1930s however, we find Njoo touring all over the Indonesian archipelago and churning out compositions on indigenous communities and customs. Historically, it was also a period of intensifying nationalistic aspirations among both the indigenous and the Chinese intellectuals in Indonesia. On one side was an anticipation for national sovereignty, on the other, a growing political solidarity for the "ancestral land" which was under threat of "annihilation" by foreign invasion. This historical context, as I stated at the beginning, has been conventionally analogized as a political juncture, where one banner of nationalism is crystallized presumably vis-à-vis another (or others). But in and of Gagaklodra, Njoo seems to have argued that one can gain a new resource for national identification without abandoning the previous one.

Through Njoo's unrivaled list of works, including Gagaklodra, we can trace some kind of a progression of a national subject. We read about his adolescent protagonists going through a process from being to becoming Chinese by attending schools such as THHK and being taught by dedicated teachers from China; about his encounters with the diverse cultures of Indonesia while touring the archipelago; about his identification as "Indonesian" during sojourns overseas (aptly mirrored in Gagaklodra's adventures in Afghanistan); and finally about his conscious activism for the materialization of a sovereign Indonesian nation. By the end of the revolution for independence, Njoo had produced scores of nationalistic-themed works such as "Bambu Runtjing" (Bamboo Spear, 1945), "Banteng Indonesia" (Bull of Indonesia, 1946), "Bunga Indonesia" (Flower of Indonesia, 1946), "Jocja Bukan Hollywood" (Jogja is not Hollywood, 1946), "Hallo2 Bandung" (Hello Bandung, 1946), "Hampir Malam di Jocja" (Nightfall in Jogja, 1946), and "Kereta Api Elmaut" (Train of Death, 1947), while continued writing about the romances, trials, and tribulations of Chinese adolescents and their families. The outcome of this evolutionary process, among others, is increasingly multi-faceted characters and serious subject matters in Njoo's compositions. Some of his more profound works were published in 1950 such as *Sio Sayang 1896* (Oh Dear 1896), which tackles the social and psychological consequences of premarital pregnancy; *Taufan Gila* (Mad Typhoon), featuring a Bugis communist activist and his examination of life during internment in Boven Digoel;⁵⁶ and *Manusia*

56. Denys Lombard and Claudine Salmon have written an article specifically on this novel, "Au Carrefour de l'Histoire et de la Littérature: 'Vent de Folie' de Njoo Cheong Seng (1950)," *Persembahan*, edited by Sitti Faizah Soenoto Rivai, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartamento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor LIII, 1998, pp. 185-202. Translated in Indonesian as "Di Persilangan Kesusasteraan dan Sejarah: Taufan Gila Karya Njoo Cheong Seng (1950)", in C. Salmon, *Sastraa Indonesia Awal: Kontribusi Orang Tionghoa*, Jakarta, KPG, EFEO, Forum Jakarta Paris, 2010, pp. 505-522.

Sampurna jang Tidak Sampurna (A Perfect Man Who is Imperfect), which interrogates the problems of class through the life story of Ho Eng-djie, a Makassar-Chinese poet-singer.

It is to this peculiar life course and progression of Njoo Cheong Seng that we credit the novelty of Gagaklodra as experimentation with forms of hybridity. In it, we find not only a prototype of biological outcrossing, but also a form of national “aggregation” where different particles can form a union without relinquishing their prior nature. At a time when Indonesia was at a historical “crossroads,” Njoo’s creation tendered this fantasy of hybridity as a literary experiment and a paradigm for national integration. One might argue that this synthesis was not at all novel as much folklore in Indonesia claims some degree of genealogical ties with China, usually through a female figure, such as the history of Sunan Gunung Djati and his Chinese wife. From this perspective, the biological trait of Raden Wiradraka/Tan It-ban is not an anomaly but a relic of Indonesia’s pre-nation-state past, when interracial crossings were not synonymous with political promiscuity. But in 1930, it was indeed innovative for Njoo to have selected this particular relic and transplanted it onto a modern, nationalized stage. The Javanese hero was outfitted with Western garbs, assigned a Chinese biography, and was subsequently held as a paradigm for the Chinese integration in (potentially independent) Indonesia. To place it in context, Gagaklodra’s hybridity is a product of a time in transition, in which to remain “Chinese” no longer sufficed, and to embrace Indonesia – Njoo had hoped – would not compel one to abandon one’s roots.

REFERENCES

- Althusser, Louis. “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1971: 127-186.
- Benda, Harry J. and Ruth T. McVey. *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia: Key Documents*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969.
- Cohen, Matthew Isaac. *The Komedie Stamboel: Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia, 1891-1903*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006.
- Dasuki, H.A. *Sejarah Indramayu*. Indramayu: Pemerintah Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Indramayu, 1984.
- Hau, Caroline S. “The Question of Foreigners,” *On the Subject of the Nation: Filipino Writings from the Margins 1981 to 2004*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 2004: 15-62.
- “House Reluctant to Give ‘Privileges’,” *The Jakarta Post*, 25 September 2005.
- Jedamski, Dorris. “Popular Literature and Postcolonial Subjectivities: Robinson Crusoe, the Count of Monte Cristo and Sherlock Holmes in Colonial Indonesia,” *Clearing a Space: Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature*, ed. Keith Foulcher and Tony Day. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002: 19-47.
- Kwee, John B. *Chinese Malay literature of the Peranakan Chinese in Indonesia, 1880-1942*, PhD Dissertation, University of Auckland, 1977.

- Liem, Khing Hoo. *Brangti* (*Tjerita Roman* VI/72, December 1934).
- . *Gowok* (*Tjerita Roman* VIII/87, March 1936).
 - . *Srigala Mas* (*Tjerita Roman* V/55, July 1933).
- Liem, Koen Hian. “Tiga Aliran Politiek dalem Doenia Tionghoa Peranakan,” *Sin Tit Po*, 24-26 August 1932.
- Lombard, Denys and Claudine Salmon. «Au Carrefour de l’Histoire et de la Littérature: ‘Vent de Folie’ de Njoo Cheong Seng (1950)», *Persembahan*, ed. Sitti Faizah Soenoto Rivai. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor LIII, 1998. Translated in Indonesia as “Di Persilangan Kesusastraan dan Sejarah: *Taufan Gila* Karya Njoo Cheong Seng (1950),” in C. Salmon, *Sastraa Indonesia Awal: Kontribusi Orang Tionghoa*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, EFEEO, Forum Jakarta-Paris, 2010: 505-522.
- Macdonald, Ross. *Self-Portrait: Ceaselessly Into the Past*. Santa Barbara, CA: Capra Press, 1981.
- Matu Mona. *Spionage-dienst: Patjar Merah Indonesia*. Medan: Centrale Courant en Boekhandel, 1938.
- . *Rol Patjar Merah Indonesia Cs.* Medan: Centrale Courant en Boekhandel, 1938.
 - . *Panggilan Tanah Air*. Medan: Tjerdas, 1940.
- Mihardja, Achdiat K., et al. *Polemik Kebudayaan: Pergulatan Pemikiran Terbesar dalam Sejarah Kebangsaan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2008.
- Nio, Joe Lan. *Riwajat 40 Taon dari Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan Batavia, 1900-1939*. Batavia: Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan, 1940.
- Njoo, Cheong Seng. *22 Tahun dengan Gagaklodra, 1930-1952*. Malang: Prana Agency Service, 1953.
- . *Bertjerei Kasih* (*Tjerita Roman* III/36, December 1931).
 - . *Bidadari Binal* (*Tjilik Roman’s* II/29, July 1950).
 - . *Balas Membalas* (*Tjerita Roman* III/25, January 1931).
 - . *Boeaja Soerabaja* (*Penghidoepan* II/13, January 1926).
 - . *Boewanja Pladjaran dan Tjara Bagimana Orang Toewa Haroes Berboewat pada Anak-anaknya* (Batavia: Kho Tjeng Bie & Co., 1922).
 - . “Gagaklodra dengen Boeaja Tanah Lapang Glodok,” *Liberty* VI/66 (September 1933).
 - . *Gagaklodra Mentjari Allah: Kutjar-katjir di Makassar* (*Tjilik Roman’s* II/21, March 1950).
 - . *Harganja Kasopanan Tionghoa*. Tegal: C. P. Ling, 1923.
 - . *Itanri-sana: Tida Disangka-sangka, Satoe Roman Boegis Taon 1674* (*Tjerita Roman* VII/79, July 1935).
 - . *Kembang Mendoeroe dari Minahasa* (*Tjerita Roman* VI/62, February 1934).
 - . *Manusia Sampurna jang Tidak Sampurna: Ho Eng Djie Sebagai Manusia* (*Tjilik Roman’s* II/25, May 1950).
 - . *Marguerite de Fantassie* (*Penghidoepan* I/8, August 1925).
 - . *Nona Olanda S’bagi Istri Tionghoa* (*Penghidoepan* I/1, January 1925).
 - . *Nona Ramboet Kriting*. Batavia: Lie Tek Long, 1928.
 - . “R. Wiradraka alias Gagaklodra: Mantoe Loerah,” *Tjantik* I/3 (June 1948).
 - . *Raden Adjeng Moerhia: Peringatan Medan 1929-1933* (*Tjerita Roman* VI/65, June 1934).
 - . “Satoe Iblis dengen Satoe Bidadari,” *Tjerita Roman* V/53 (May 1933).
 - . *Sio Sayang* (*Tjerita Roman* V/53, May 1933).

- . *Sio Sayang 1896 (Tjilik Roman's II/16, January 1950).*
- . *Sjorga Bukan Sjorga Tidak dengan Melinda: Biografie-romans Ketjil 1945-1949 (Tjilik Roman's II/32, September 1950).*
- . *Taufan Gila: Bung Daeng Mentjari Kiamat (Tjilik Roman's II/23, April 1950).*
- . *Testament Kosong (Penghidoepon II, 1926).*
- . *Timoeriana (Tjerita Roman XIII/150, June 1941).*
- . *Tjerita Pengidoepan Manoesia, atawa Satoe Gadis jang Terdjeroemoes dalem Geloembang Pertjiptaan.* Sourabaya: Gan Hong Tjoen, 1919.
- . *Tjinggalabi Aoeah: Papoeasch Zeden Romans (Tjerita Roman VII/77, May 1935).*
- . *Zoebaida.* Djokjakarta: Kabe, 1940.
- Oshikawa, Noriaki. "Patjar Merah Indonesia and Tan Malaka: A Popular Novel and a Revolutionary Legend," *Reading Southeast Asia: Translation of Contemporary Japanese Scholarship on Southeast Asia*, ed. Takashi Shiraishi. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1990: 9-39.
- Panek, LeRoy Lad. *An Introduction to the Detective Story.* Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1987.
- Rzepka, Charles J. *Detective Fiction.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005.
- Russell, Colin. *Science and Social Change, 1700-1900.* London: MacMillan, 1983.
- Saidi, Ridwan. *Baba Bisa Menjadi Indonesiërl: Bung Hatta, Liem Koen Hian, dan Sindhu Natha Menyorot Masalah Cina di Indonesia.* Jakarta: Lembaga Pengkajian Masalah Pembauran, 1988.
- Salmon, Claudine. *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: A Provisional Annotated Bibliography.* Paris: Editions de la Masion des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981.
- . "Masyarakat Pribumi Indonesia di Mata Penulis Keturunan Tionghoa (1920-1941)," *Sastrra Peranakan Tionghoa Indonesia*, ed. Leo Suryadinata. Jakarta: Grasindo, 1996: 131-182.
- Scaggs, John. "Mystery and Detective Fiction," *Crime Fiction.* London and New York: Routledge, 2005: 33-54.
- Sidharta, Myra. "Njoo Cheong Seng: A Peranakan Novelist, Playwright, Director, Poet, Editor," *Southeast Asian Chinese: The Socio-Cultural Dimension*, ed. Leo Suryadinata. Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1995: 273-289.
- Spencer, Philip and Howard Wollman, eds. *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.
- Sou'yib, Yoesoef. *Elang Mas (Doenia Pengalaman II/16, August 1939).*
- . *Elang Mas 100 Muka (Loekisan Poedjangga, 1939).*
- . *Elang Mas di Pagar Roejoeng (Doenia Pengalaman II/19, October 1939)*
- . *Elang Mas ke Rangoon (Loekisan Poedjangga, 1939).*
- . *Elang Mas Ketawa (Doenia Pengalaman I/2, November 1938).*
- . *Memikat Elang Mas (Doenia Pengalaman II/11, June 1939).*
- Suryadinata, Leo. *Peranakan Chinese Politics in Java, 1917-1942.* Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981.
- Tan, Sooi Beng. *Bangsawan: A Social and Stylistic History of Popular Malay Opera.* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Thompson, Jon. *Fiction, Crime, and Empire.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Tjamboek Berdoeri. *Indonesia dalem Api dan Bara.* Malang: Perfectas, 1947.
- Wei, Wu. "Njoo Cheong Seng, 36 Taon Berdansa di Atas Masin-toelis," *Liberal*, 1, 11, 21 November 1953. (Retrieved from on 20 July 2011.)

- Williams, Lea E. *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960.
- Yamamoto, Nobuto. “(In)Visible Chinese: State and Spectatorship in 1930s Indies,” *Chinese Identities and Inter-Ethnic Coexistence and Cooperation in Southeast Asia*, ed. Caroline S. Hau and Nobuhiro Aizawa. Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies Kyoto University, 2009: 177-197.
- Yamamoto, Nobuto. “Sociology of Roman Pitjisan: Popular Literature in Late Colonial Indonesia,” *Keio Journal of Politics* 14 (2009): 19-39.
- Yusdja. *Moetiara Berloempoer: Tiga Kali Patjar Merah Datang Membela*. Medan: Tjerda, 1940.
- . *Patjar Merah Kembali ke Tanah Air*. Medan: Tjerda, 1940.

IMAGES

DANIEL PERRET

Graha Maria Annai Velangkanni : une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord

La province actuelle de Sumatra-Nord entretient des rapports privilégiés avec l'Asie du Sud depuis plus d'un millénaire, relations autrefois fondées sur la réputation de ses produits forestiers, en particulier le camphre, et sur la richesse en or de son sous-sol. La toponymie et les sources écrites conservées localement témoignent de ces contacts anciens. Les inscriptions tamoules de Lobu Tua et Porlak Dolok, découvertes respectivement en 1873 et en 1920, en sont ainsi les preuves les plus manifestes. La première est datée de 1088¹, la seconde du XIII^e siècle². La littérature traditionnelle malaise se fait également l'écho de ces contacts³. À ces sources s'ajoutent,

1. Y. Subbarayalu, “The Tamil Merchant-Guild Inscription at Barus. A Rediscovery”, in C. Guillot (éd.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. Le site de Lobu Tua. I : Études et Documents*, Paris, Cahier d’Archipel 30, 1998, pp. 25-33.

2. Coll. Musée National de Jakarta, no. D.181 (P.V. van Stein Callenfels, “Rapport over een dienstreis door een deel van Sumatra”, *OV*, 2, 1920, p. 70; N. Karashima, “Tamil Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China”, in N. Karashima (ed.), *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramics-sherds*, Tokyo, Taisho University, 2002, p. 14).

3. Concernant la toponymie et les traces dans la littérature traditionnelle, voir par exemple Daniel Perret, Heddy Surachman, Lucas P. Koestoro & Sukawati Susetyo, «Le programme archéologique franco-indonésien sur Padang Lawas (Sumatra Nord). Réflexions préliminaires», *Archipel*, 74, 2007, pp. 71-76; Daniel Perret, «Barus : société et relations extérieures (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e siècle)», in Daniel Perret & Heddy Surachman (éd.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. III : Regards sur une place marchande de l'océan Indien (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e s.)*, Paris, Cahier d’Archipel 38, 2009, pp. 562-579. Voir également l’article de Daniel Perret dans ce volume.

depuis les années 1970, diverses découvertes archéologiques sur le site d'habitats de Kota Cina (fin du XI^e s. – début du XIV^e s.)⁴, dans le détroit de Malacca, et les sites de la région de Barus (à partir de la fin du IX^e siècle) sur les rives de l'océan Indien⁵.

Sur le plan des contacts religieux anciens, rappelons cette idée qui circule depuis la fin des années 1960, de la présence possible à Barus (noté Fansur dans la source concernée), dès le VII^e siècle, d'une communauté chrétienne nestorienne peut-être venue du Kerala et qui aurait bâti là plusieurs églises, dont l'une dédiée à Notre Dame la Pure Vierge Marie⁶. Malgré l'absence de preuves archéologiques, les historiens indonésiens de la religion chrétienne ont tendance à considérer cette idée comme un fait acquis, faisant des nestoriens de Barus la communauté chrétienne la plus ancienne de l'archipel⁷. On se trouve en terrain un peu plus sûr dans la première moitié du second millénaire avec en particulier la statuaire religieuse hindo-bouddhique très probablement d'origine tamoule retrouvée sur le site de Kota Cina, ainsi que divers objets religieux découverts à Padang Lawas, qui semblent provenir d'Asie du Sud⁸. C'est la manifestation matérielle la plus récente et la plus spectaculaire de ces contacts religieux entre l'Asie du Sud et le nord de Sumatra que nous nous proposons de présenter ici.

Depuis le milieu du XIX^e siècle, la région de Medan a connu de spectaculaires bouleversements économiques, sociaux, politiques et culturels. En effet, dans un temps relativement court, la colonisation a véritablement façonné en profondeur cette région qui sera désignée dans la littérature coloniale avec les termes devenus fameux depuis de *Oostkust* (Côte Est) et de *Cultuurgebied* (Aire de Culture). Avant tout, l'occupation tardive de cette région de Sumatra n'est pas l'œuvre de l'État colonial mais d'entreprises capitalistes privées sous la forme de plantations (d'abord essentiellement tabac, puis hévéa et palmier à huile) européennes et américaines, qui mettent

4. Voir en particulier E. Edwards McKinnon, *Kota Cina: its Context and Meaning in the Trade of Southeast Asia in the Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries*, Ph.D. Cornell University, New-York, 1984; “Tamil Imagery in Northeast Sumatra”, *Oriental Art*, XL(3), 1994, pp. 15-24.

5. Voir notamment Claude Guillot (éd.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. Le site de Lobu Tua. I...*, 1998 ; Claude Guillot et al., *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. Le site de Lobu Tua. II : Étude archéologique et Documents*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel 30, 2003 ; Daniel Perret & Heddy Surachman (éd.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. III:...*, 2009.

6. Sur cette hypothèse, voir Claude Guillot, *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. Le site de Lobu Tua. II...*, 2003, pp. 34-5.

7. Adolf Heuken SJ, *Ensiklopedi Gereja*, jilid II, Jakarta, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 2004, entrée ‘Gereja Nestorian’, p. 234. Heuken adopte une position plus prudente dans un article récent (“Christianity in pre-colonial Indonesia”, in Jan Sihar Arinotang and Karel Steenbrink (eds.), *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2008, pp. 3-7).

8. Pour un aperçu récent sur cette question, voir Perret et al., «Le programme archéologique...», 2007.

à profit les qualités particulières des sols volcaniques. La côte nord-est de Sumatra va être en réalité le théâtre de la plus grande expérience capitaliste sur l'Archipel durant la période coloniale.

Le besoin en main-d'œuvre et la réussite économique vont rapidement mobiliser des réseaux intercontinentaux (planteurs, hommes d'affaires, scientifiques, aventuriers... venus de toute l'Europe et des États-Unis), des réseaux asiatiques internationaux (centaines de milliers de coolies chinois importés de Chine ou de péninsule malaise, immigrants d'Inde, du Moyen-Orient et du Japon dans une moindre mesure), interrégionaux (surtout Java mais également péninsule malaise et Bornéo) et des réseaux internes à l'île de Sumatra. Une grande phase de l'histoire du peuplement de Sumatra se déroule entre 1880 et 1930 sur la Côte Est qui connaît alors une totale recomposition de son paysage démographique, la population passant d'environ 150.000 habitants à plus de 1,4 million. On y assiste en particulier à la naissance de Medan, l'une des plus grandes agglomérations indonésiennes actuelles. Modeste localité de quelques centaines d'individus au milieu du XIX^e siècle, elle atteint 85.000 habitants en 1942 pour dépasser les deux millions aujourd'hui⁹.

Parmi ces immigrants figurent des Indiens, généralement classés par les fonctionnaires coloniaux néerlandais en quatre groupes : les Kelings¹⁰, les Bengalis¹¹, les Chettis¹² et les Bombays. Les immigrants indiens sous contrat, principalement des Tamouls, mais aussi des Telugus, sont engagés dans les plantations occidentales surtout pour l'aménagement des infrastructures. Leur nombre dépasserait 3.000 en 1900¹³. Parallèlement, Medan attire rapidement des Indiens actifs dans certains services (prêts de capitaux, divers commerces, sécurité, employés administratifs)¹⁴. Dès le tournant du XX^e siècle, un Kampung Keling voit le jour dans la ville, sur la rive droite de la rivière Deli, puis le long de la rivière Babura. Il semble que la communauté indienne de Medan soit dirigée par un chef unique jusqu'en 1924, puis l'autorité devient bicéphale avec un hindou nommé en tant que lieutenant des Kelings et des Chettis, tandis qu'un musulman administre les Bengalis et

⁹. Recensement de 2004 (http://pemkomedan.go.id/2008/en/overview_general.php#demografis, accédé le 16/08/2011).

¹⁰. Originaires de Madras, Pondichéry, Nagapattinam et Calicut.

¹¹. Sous cette dénomination, les Néerlandais englobent les Sikhs, originaires du Punjab, et les Bengalis du Bengale.

¹². Communauté marchande hindoue du Coromandel.

¹³. Zulkifli b. Lubis, "Kajian Awal Tentang Komunitas Tamil dan Punjabi di Medan: Adaptasi dan Jaringan Sosial", *Jurnal Antropologi Sosial Budaya Etnovisi* (Univ. Sumatra Utara), 1(3), 2005, p. 138.

¹⁴. A. Mani, "Indians in North Sumatra", in K.S. Sandhu & A. Mani (ed.), *Indian communities in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, ISEAS, 2006 (1^{ère} éd. 1993), pp. 55, 57-8.

les Bombays¹⁵. Les Indiens chrétiens semblent à l'époque bien discrets dans le paysage.

En fait, les premières traces avérées d'une présence catholique indienne dans la région de Medan remontent à 1873, lorsqu'au cours d'une tournée pastorale, De Vries, prêtre jésuite alors basé à Bangka, y rencontre 27 Tamouls catholiques amenés à Sumatra par de Guigné, un planteur français qui les avait pris à son service à Pondichéry par l'intermédiaire de compatriotes missionnaires¹⁶. À la fin des années 1870, la communauté catholique du district de Deli (la région de Medan), compte quelque 200 âmes dont environ un quart de Tamouls, apparemment employés uniquement dans des plantations françaises. C'est alors que Carolus Wenneker, un prêtre de Padang, est affecté à Medan, où il développe une paroisse et construit une église sur la plantation des de Guigné à Sungai Sekambing, tout en apprenant la langue tamoule, ainsi qu'une ou plusieurs langues de l'arrière-pays (*batak*). Wenneker n'officiera que six années à Medan (1878-1884), les autorités catholiques délaissant ensuite la région jusqu'en 1892, année durant laquelle un nouveau prêtre, probablement le jésuite Walterus Staal, est installé en résidence. À la fin du siècle, la communauté compte moins de 500 fidèles, dont quelque 160 Asiatiques, principalement des Tamouls et des Chinois¹⁷.

Une rupture s'opère en 1911, lorsque les frères capucins prennent la suite des jésuites, qui abandonnent les «îles extérieures» pour concentrer leur activité sur Java¹⁸. En 1914, le frère capucin Johannes van Loon, qui a appris le tamoul à Penang, transfère à Kampung Keling l'église de l'ancienne plantation des de Guigné qui avaient quitté la région en 1898. C'est l'église Santo Antonius, toujours en fonction *jalan Hayam Wuruk*¹⁹. Après une

15. D. Perret, *La Formation d'un paysage ethnique. Batak et Malais de Sumatra Nord-Est*, Paris, Presses de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1995, p. 217.

16. Sur les activités de la famille de Guigné dans la région de Medan, voir Pierre Labrousse, «Brau de Saint-Pol Lias à Sumatra (1876-1881). Utopies coloniales et figures de l'exploiteur», *Archipel* 77, 2009, pp. 91, 93, 95.

17. Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808-1942: vol. I. 1808-1900: A documented history*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 2003, pp. 30, 59, 64-5; Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808-1942: vol. II. 1903-1942, The spectacular growth of a self-confident minority*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 2007, p. 333; Simon Rae et al., «The Sharp Contrast of Sumatra», in Jan Sihar Arinotang and Karel Steenbrink (ed.), *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2008, p. 629.

18. Karel Steenbrink, «Kalimantan or Indonesian Borneo», in Jan Sihar Arinotang and Karel Steenbrink (ed.), 2008, p. 504; Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808-1942: vol. II...*, p. 7.

19. Medan compte huit églises catholiques en 1997 (cf. Departemen Dokumentasi dan Penerangan Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia, *Buku Petunjuk Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, Jakarta, Departemen Dokumentasi dan Penerangan Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia, 1997, p. 184). Vers 1980, les Tamouls catholiques représentent environ 30% des fidèles de cette religion à Medan (A. Mani, «Indians in North Sumatra», 2006, note 36 p. 95).

affectation de trois ans à Bangka, van Loon revient à Medan en 1922²⁰ et établit le quartier de Kampung Kristen, depuis lors bien connu pour abriter les Tamouls chrétiens de Medan²¹. L'église ouverte en 1915 est rénovée vingt ans plus tard pour accueillir une communauté catholique grandissante, aussi bien tamoule que non tamoule.

Avec la transformation profonde des situations politique, économique et sociale qui s'opère durant et juste après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, la majorité des Tamouls s'installent à Medan. La communauté catholique de Santo Antonius reste servie par des frères capucins, assistés par des sœurs de la congrégation Saint Joseph, qui participent à la gestion de l'école et de l'orphelinat de Kampung Kristen. C'est dans ce contexte qu'un jésuite originaire du Tamil Nadu, le père James Bharataputra, s'installe à Medan en 1972 pour assister cette paroisse²². Sept ans plus tard, il acquiert un terrain à Tanjung Selamat afin d'y aménager un lotissement destiné aux Tamouls catholiques installés de façon précaire dans la paroisse. Pour différentes raisons, ce projet ne verra pas le jour, mais lorsqu'en 2000, l'archevêque de Medan, Monseigneur Pius Datubara, lui demande de construire une salle de réunion pour la communauté tamoule catholique de Medan, c'est ce même terrain qu'il choisit pour la construction. Selon une étude réalisée vers 1990, la ville comptait alors quelque 30.000 Tamouls, hindous pour les deux tiers, le reste se répartissant en bouddhistes (environ 8.000), chrétiens (environ 1.300 chrétiens) et musulmans. En 2003, le père Bharataputra estime que la communauté catholique tamoule de Medan est forte de quelque 800 fidèles²³.

Dès le début du projet, l'idée du père Bharataputra est de construire non seulement une salle de réunion, mais également un lieu de culte. En attendant la délivrance du permis de construire, il bâtit début 2001 une petite chapelle où il dirige des cérémonies pour de petits groupes de catholiques tamouls²⁴. La construction de la salle de réunion et de l'église débute au

20. Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia...*, 2007, p. 333.

21. Vers 1980, Kampung Kristen compte quelques 45 familles, pratiquement toutes tamoules (A. Mani, "Indians in North Sumatra", 2006, p. 83).

22. James Bharataputra est né à Madurai. De 1983 à 2000, il est en poste à Banda Aceh puis dans la province de Papua avant de revenir à Medan où il devient recteur du séminaire de Pematang Siantar (www.guamaria.com/kisah/cgi-bin/showarticle.pl?id=1143800889, accédé le 12/09/2011).

23. Zulkifli b. Lubis, "Kajian Awal...", 2005, p. 140. Silvia Vignato note qu'à la même époque, il y aurait quelque «20.000 citoyens d'origine indienne» à Medan et dans ses environs (*Au nom de l'hindouisme. Reconfigurations ethniques chez les Tamouls et les Karo en Indonésie*, Paris, L'Harmattan, Cahier d'Archipel 32, 2000, p. 45).

24. Cette information, ainsi que celles relatant la construction, sont tirées du DVD intitulé *Graha Maria Annai Velangkanni*, qu'il distribue gracieusement sur place. Voir également Zulkifli b. Lubis, "Kajian Awal...", 2005, p. 141.

milieu de cette même année 2001. Elle s'achèvera en 2005. Le père Bharataputra en est le concepteur et le maître d'œuvre. Pour les questions techniques liées à la structure, il est assisté de Johannes Tarigan, un ingénieur diplômé d'Aachen, enseignant à l'université catholique de Sumatra Nord. Ils se rendent tous deux en Inde afin d'examiner notamment l'architecture des superstructures (*sikhara*) des temples hindous. Le prêtre s'entoure également de non professionnels, aussi bien pour la construction elle-même que pour toute la décoration réalisée par un autodidacte local, G.R. Andreas.

Le corps du bâtiment comporte trois niveaux : le niveau inférieur est réservé à la salle de réunion (*aula Santa Anna*) ouverte aux fidèles de toutes religions, tandis que l'église occupe les deux étages supérieurs, le troisième niveau étant réservé aux balcons. L'ensemble est surmonté d'une pyramide à sept degrés inspirée des temples hindous du sud de l'Inde. L'entrée sur le terrain du monument se fait par un portique destiné à mettre en valeur la culture locale représentée par des maisons coutumières (*rumah adat*) batak Toba et batak Karo. L'élément local apparaît également sous la forme de personnages en haut-relief ornant la partie du mur de clôture qui longe la route d'accès, aujourd'hui Jalan Sakura III, dans le quartier de Tanjung Selamat, *kecamatan* Tuntungan, à la périphérie sud-ouest de Medan. Un vaste parking permet d'accueillir de nombreux visiteurs et pèlerins. La façade du monument est prolongée par deux rampes-escaliers donnant accès à l'église, rampes formant un arc de cercle, qui n'est pas sans rappeler la forme en fer à cheval des tombes chinoises. Les balustrades de ces rampes sont d'ailleurs ornées de lampes de style chinois, tandis que leur face interne est décorée de peintures inspirées de la Genèse. Une fontaine représentant Jésus parlant à une Samaritaine précède le hall d'entrée devant la salle de réunion.

Située au rez-de-chaussée, celle-ci est accessible par l'entrée principale, ainsi que par les nombreuses ouvertures réalisées sur les deux grands côtés, accès qui débouchent sur une galerie à arcades. L'accès principal est orné de deux bananiers sculptés, que le concepteur considère comme des symboles de la vie éternelle aussi bien en Inde qu'en Indonésie. Quatre plaques commémoratives sont visibles. L'une mentionne les lieux d'origine des donations en Indonésie. On y lit les noms de 21 villes de Java et de Sumatra, ainsi que ceux des îles de Nias, Sabang, Batam, Kalimantan, mais le texte précise que des donations ont également été reçues d'autres provinces d'Indonésie. Une autre plaque porte les noms de deux membres d'une famille chinoise de Singapour, qui ont été les principaux contributeurs financiers à l'édification du monument (30% d'un coût total estimé à quatre milliards de rupiah, soit environ 450.000 dollars), ainsi que les noms du concepteur et maître d'œuvre (Pastor James Bharataputra S.J.), du responsable de la construction (Dr. Ing. Johannes Tarigan –Aachen), du décorateur (G.R. Andreas). Selon le

père Bharataputra, des donations seraient également venues de Malaisie et du Japon. Une troisième plaque rappelle que l'église a été consacrée par l'archevêque de Medan, Mgr A.G. Pius Datubara, le 1^{er} octobre 2005²⁵. Une quatrième plaque signale que le monument a été inauguré le même jour par le vice-gouverneur de la province de Sumatra Nord, Drs. Rudolf Pardede.

Les rampes-escaliers conduisent au premier niveau de l'église dont la façade abrite des statues de Saint Paul et de Saint François Xavier. L'intérieur comporte les statues des douze apôtres au niveau des balcons, dont les parapets portent les textes des Béatitudes en trois langues (indonésien, tamoul et anglais). Les vingt vitraux multicolores du niveau inférieur représentent les Mystères du Rosaire, tandis que les stations du Chemin de Croix sont figurées sur les vitraux des balcons. Au plafond de la nef sont peintes les illustrations de six sacrements, le septième étant figuré derrière l'autel. Les peintures du plafond du dôme au-dessus de l'autel sont inspirées des peintures de la voûte de la chapelle Sixtine. À droite de l'autel, le tabernacle ouvre au niveau du cœur d'une statue de Jésus-Christ.

L'arrière de l'église est prolongé par des logements destinés aux pèlerins inaugurés en 2006. Un corps de bâtiment abrite également des sœurs de la congrégation Saint Joseph, installées là depuis l'ouverture de l'église. À la droite de l'église ont été aménagés un petit monument commémorant la visite du pape Jean-Paul II à Medan en 1989, une chapelle mariale offerte par la famille du père Bharataputra au Tamil Nadu, ainsi qu'un petit parc de jeux pour enfants.

Au-delà de l'intérêt architectural et artistique indéniable de l'ensemble, il faut noter que cette église serait le seul sanctuaire d'Indonésie dédié à la Vierge dénommée Ārōkkiya Mātā, connue également sous le nom de Vierge de Velankanni, une localité du Tamil Nadu considérée par la communauté catholique indienne comme le Lourdes de l'Orient²⁶. Cette petite ville côtière de 10.000 habitants, dans le district de Nagapattinam, à 80 kilomètres à

25. Du fait que l'église est inaugurée un an plus tôt par le Provincial de Madurai (www.maduraijesuits.org/highlights2002.htm, accédé le 12 septembre 2011), où il est né, le père Bharataputra est probablement issu de la mission jésuite de Madurai. Fondée en 1606 par Robert de Nobili, cette mission, dite de Madura à l'époque, est réactivée en 1837 par quatre jésuites français, qui l'installent à Tiruchirapalli. Elle passe sous la tutelle de la province jésuite de Toulouse durant la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, avant de devenir province autonome de Madurai en 1952 (www.maduraijesuits.org/whoweare.htm, accédé le 12 septembre 2011).

26. Le père Bharataputra affirme même qu'il s'agit du seul sanctuaire dédié à la Vierge de Velankanni en dehors de l'Inde. Signalons toutefois que, dès 1993, des Pondichériens de Pontoise rapportent d'Inde une statue de Velankanni Mata, qui est placée dans l'église Notre-Dame. Six ans plus tard, dix églises de la région parisienne abritent le même type de statue, tandis que la cathédrale de Washington D.C. en reçoit une en 1997 (Brigitte Sébastia, "Religion as an Arena for the Expression of Identity: Roman Catholic Pondicherrians in France", in Knut A. Jacobsen & Selva J. Raj (ed.), *South Asian Christian Diaspora: Invisible Diaspora in Europe and North America*, Farnham (UK), Burlington (USA), Ashgate Publ., 2008, pp. 39-56).

l'est de Thanjavur et à un peu plus de 250 kilomètres au sud de Madras, est en effet réputée avoir été le théâtre de trois miracles durant lesquels la Vierge Marie accompagnée de l'enfant Jésus serait intervenue. Une première apparition se serait produite au XVI^e siècle, au cours de laquelle la Vierge aurait réclamé du lait pour son fils à un jeune hindou porteur de lait²⁷. La seconde apparition aurait eu lieu quelques années plus tard, la Vierge enjoignant cette fois un jeune handicapé qu'elle guérit, d'informer un riche catholique de Nagapattinam de son apparition. L'individu en question construit alors une chapelle sur le lieu de l'apparition, sanctuaire qu'il dédie à Notre-Dame de la Bonne Santé. Plus tard (XVII^e siècle ?), la Vierge est censée avoir sauvé des marins portugais lors d'une tempête au large de Velankanni. En remerciement, ils édifient une petite chapelle, puis une petite église en matériaux permanents qu'ils dédient à la Vierge le 8 septembre. La réputation de Velankanni n'a fait que s'amplifier depuis pour devenir une localité avec ses sanctuaires, dont une basilique, visités chaque année par des millions de pèlerins chrétiens et hindous de toutes castes et originaires de toute l'Inde, en particulier lors des festivités de fin août-début septembre.

Dès le démarrage du projet de construction de l'église de Medan, l'idée du père Bharataputra était d'introduire en Indonésie le culte à la Vierge de Velankanni, puisque selon lui c'est ce culte que pratiquaient les ancêtres des immigrants tamouls. Le monument de Medan reprend par ailleurs au moins deux concepts architecturaux introduits à Velankanni en 1974, à savoir la superposition des espaces de rassemblement et les escaliers-rampes. À Velankanni, deux églises sont en effet construites l'une au dessus de l'autre et les escaliers-rampes sont directement inspirés de ceux de la basilique de Lourdes²⁸. Le concepteur vise aussi à faire de Graha Maria Annai Velangkanni non seulement un lieu de culte, mais aussi un lieu de pèlerinage.

Mais le parallèle avec Velankanni ne s'arrête pas là. Medan a connu aussi ses trois «miracles». Le premier événement jugé miraculeux concerne la sta-

27. <http://www.velankannichurch.com/pages/historyofvailankanni/historyofvailankanni.html> (accédé le 16/08/2011).

28. Sur l'histoire et les pratiques religieuses à Velankanni, voir notamment Brigitte Sébastia, *Māriyamman-Mariyamman. Pratiques catholiques et représentation de la Vierge à Velankanni (Tamil Nadu)* (<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00278291>) (accédé le 16/08/2011); version en anglais : *Māriyamman – Mariyamman: Catholic practices and images of Virgin in Velankanni (Tamil Nadu)*, Pondy Papers in Social Sciences, Institut Français, Pondichéry, 2002; Paul Younger, “Velankanni Calling: Hindu Patterns of Pilgrimage at a Christian Shrine”, in A. Morinis (ed.), *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, Wesport (Conn.), Greenwood Press, 1992, pp. 89-99; Paul Younger, “Healing Mother Velankanni: Hindu Patterns of Worship at a Christian Shrine”, in P. Younger, *Playing Host to Deity: Festival Religion in the South Indian Tradition*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001; Margaret Meibohm, *Cultural complexity in South India: Hindu and Catholic in Marian Pilgrimage*, PhD. univ. of Pennsylvania, 2004; Matthias Frenz: *Marienverehrung im Spannungsfeld religiöser Traditionen in Südinien*, Würzburg, Ergon, 2004.

tue de la Vierge commandée en Inde au début de la construction de l'église, qui arrive à l'aéroport de Polonia une heure avant la pose de la première pierre en septembre 2001. Le second événement survient en novembre 2002, lorsque dix millions de roupies et deux bibles échappent miraculeusement à l'incendie qui détruit l'appartement du père Bharataputra. Largement relatés dans la presse locale, ces deux faits contribuent à accroître la popularité du projet et par voie de conséquence, les donations. Enfin, juste après la consécration de l'église en octobre 2005, une eau naturellement potable jaillit de manière inexpliquée au pied de la statue de la Vierge dans la petite chapelle attenante. La nouvelle se répand comme une traînée de poudre : les pélerins affluent pour recueillir l'eau sanctifiée et profiter de ses vertus guérisseuses.

Résumons les principaux ingrédients de cet épisode marquant dans l'histoire du christianisme à Sumatra Nord en particulier et en Indonésie en général : une communauté d'origine indienne venue s'installer à Sumatra pour des raisons économiques ; un religieux indien acculturé et inspiré, très au fait de la force des symboles, qui introduit une nouvelle « divinité » en Indonésie ; un technicien local qui a fait le voyage en Inde au moment de la construction ; un artiste local autodidacte habile à mêler diverses influences ; quelques dizaines d'ouvriers locaux amateurs ; une statue de la « divinité » importée d'Inde ; des inscriptions religieuses multilingues (indonésien, tamoul, anglais) ; un sanctuaire qui reçoit des fidèles tamouls et des locaux.

Tous ces éléments invitent l'historien à s'interroger sur le contexte de l'édification et l'usage de sanctuaires beaucoup plus anciens dans la région puisque des parallèles existent, que ce soit à Kota Cina avec ses statues importées de Sri Lanka, et surtout à Padang Lawas au sud de la province. À Padang Lawas, on retrouve en effet ces nombreuses références architecturales et artistiques qui, dans ce cas, renvoient de Java à l'Inde, auxquelles s'ajoute probablement une « couleur locale » produisant un résultat original. Il y a aussi cette statue d'Hevajra, divinité du bouddhisme tantrique, retrouvée à Bahal et sans équivalent dans le reste de l'Archipel. Il convient d'ajouter probablement plusieurs statuettes en bronze ou en pierre importées d'Asie du Sud. On connaît enfin l'inscription bilingue tamoule-vieux malais retrouvée à Porlak Dolok, le long du fleuve Barumun.

Tous les clichés présentés ici ont été réalisés par l'auteur en février 2011.

Une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord



Vue générale du complexe Graha Maria Annai Velangkanni achevé en 2005

Archipel 82, Paris, 2011



Portique d'entrée dans le complexe, surmonté de maquettes de maisons coutumières (*rumah adat*) des populations batak de l'arrière-pays de Medan

Une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord

127



Statues du mur de clôture du complexe, de part et d'autre du portique, censées figurer des populations locales



Illustration de la Génèse peinte sur la face intérieure de la rampe-escalier

Une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord

129



Statue de Saint-François Xavier à l'entrée de l'église



L'intérieur de l'église à deux niveaux, avec son plafond peint, les statues des apôtres et les textes trilingues des Béatitudes

Une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord

131



La Vierge de Velangkanni. À gauche, plafond peint de l'église illustrant le troisième miracle de Velangkanni. À droite, sculpture de la chapelle mariale



La chapelle mariale avec sa source miraculeuse



Flanc gauche de la galerie et les ouvertures multiples sur la salle de réunion. Au premier étage, les vitraux colorés des Mystères du Rosaire et au niveau supérieur, les stations du Chemin de Croix

Une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord

133



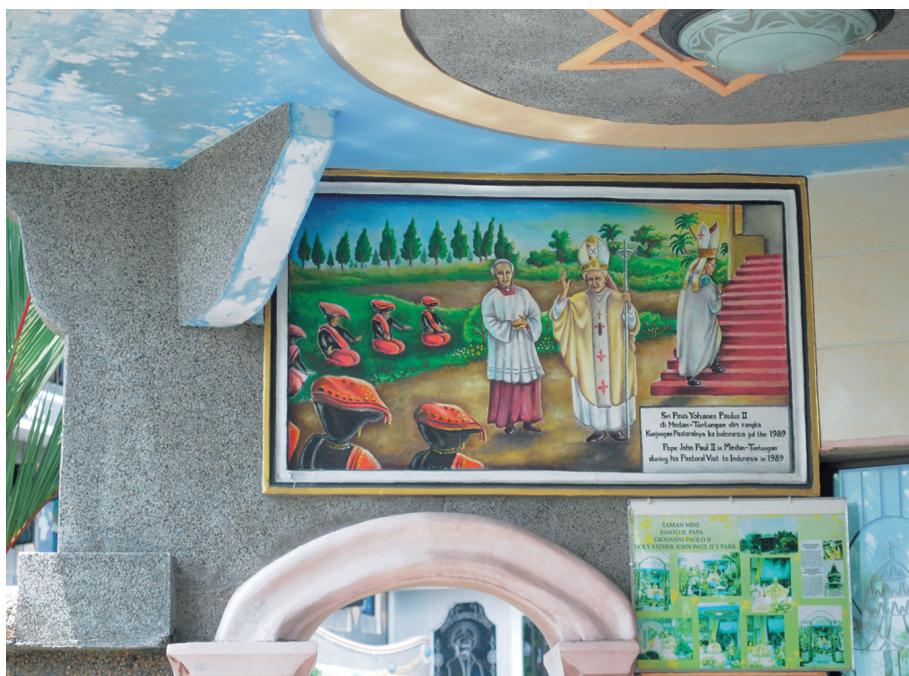
La pyramide a sept degrés surmontant le bâtiment avec ses trois dômes représentant la Trinité et les quatre anges aux trompettes à chaque angle



Le monument commémoratif de la visite de Jean-Paul II à Medan en octobre 1989

Une église d'inspiration indienne à Medan, Sumatra Nord

135



Jean-Paul II à la rencontre des populations Karo Batak de l'arrière-pays



Taman Bethleem en arrière de la chapelle mariale



COMMUNAUTÉS D'ASIE DU SUD EN INSULINDE

SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM

What the Tamils Said: A Letter from the Kelings of Melaka (1527)

In memory of Kenneth McPherson (1944-2010)

*Vāñikañ ceyvārkku vāñikam pēnip
piçavum tamapōr̄ ceyin*

That merchant's commerce prospers
who deals with another as himself.

Valluvar, *Kural*, Verse 120.

It is difficult to mark the passage of time with regard to the study of the maritime trade of the Indian Ocean between 1500 and 1700. Somehow, three long decades have slipped by since *Archipel* published its special number in 1979 (the celebrated no. 18) entitled “Commerce et navires dans les Mers du Sud”, a collective enterprise of seventeen essays that actually exercised a profound influence on my own first work as a historian of the commercial world of India and the Indian Ocean.¹ The number featured an interesting mix of authors, some grizzled veterans such as Charles Boxer and the Jesuit historian Hubert Jacobs, and others relative newcomers to the field. Scholarship had at the time pulled a full generation away from decolonization in India and Indonesia, and yet the study of the sixteenth and

* My thanks to Luís Filipe Thomaz for comments on this text, and other aid. I am also grateful to Claude Guillot for pertinent remarks and useful references, and to A. R. Venkatachalapathy with regard to the Tamil text attached to the letter.

1. I was introduced to this number through the classic essay of Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, “Les Portugais dans les mers de l’Archipel au XVI^e siècle”, *Archipel*, no. 18, 1979, pp. 105-25. Let me add that *Archipel* was at that time not available in any library in Delhi (and even perhaps in India). In Denys Lombard’s “Présentation du dossier”, (p. 6), he wrote: “ce premier recueil aura au moins le mérite, nous l’espérons, de poser quelques problèmes – celui des ‘réseaux asiatiques’ notamment – et de susciter réflexions et débats”. Indeed, he was right and the reflections and debates still persist.

seventeenth centuries in maritime Asia still seemed deeply marked by the old paradigm of “European expansion” against which both Boxer himself and Holden Furber had struggled, though a little too gently perhaps.² It was clear by then to all historians, even the most conservative ones, that Europeans had always been a small numerical minority in the maritime trade of Asia in the period. But they wrote far too much and a little too cleverly, and had a tendency always to seek the limelight, so that one always seemed to deal with the actions of Gama and Albuquerque, Coen and Van Diemen, Clive and Hastings. There was clearly no point to proposing an “ethnic cleansing” of the archives as it were, to rid them of all European influence and thus render them “purely” Asian. No one had to date invented the formula of “provincializing Europe”; and yet, what then could be done to redress the balance with regard to the forgotten “réseaux asiatiques”?³

It turns out that we will soon be marking the fiftieth anniversary of a rather important book with regard to the maritime history of early modern Southeast Asia: Marie Antoinette Petronella Meilink-Roelofsz’s *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague, 1962). This book, though lacking perhaps in Boxer’s stylistic elegance or graceful use of language (it is after all a workmanlike translation from Dutch into English by a certain M. B. Quast), marked in many ways the coming of age of historical writings on European-Asian commercial interactions in the period between 1500 and 1800 for a number of reasons.⁴ **First**, it built on but also significantly modified the insights of the historical sociologist, Jacob van Leur (and to a lesser extent B. J. Schrieke), from a generation before, regarding the resilience of Asian trading networks in the period, while simultaneously rejecting his fondness for characterizing the Asian merchant as a mere “peddler”. Van Leur had possibly never set foot in the archives, but he creatively massaged the publications of authors such as the British colonial historian W. H. Moreland in ways that they might have hardly imagined.⁵ Meilink-Roelofsz, a

2. Holden Furber, “Asia and the West as Partners Before ‘Empire’ and After”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 28, no. 4, 1969, pp. 711-21.

3. See Denys Lombard, “Y a-t-il une continuité des réseaux marchands asiatiques?”, in Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin (eds.), *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine, 13^e-20^e siècles* (Paris, 1988), pp. 11-18, which is a volume based on a conference held in Paris from 19-22 February 1985. For remarks on other solutions or approaches, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Foreword”, in Lombard and Aubin (eds.), *Asian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea* (Delhi, 2000), pp. v-ix (this is the English version of the same work).

4. The most significant critique of this book is that of D. K. Bassett, “European Influence in South-East Asia, c. 1500-1630”, *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1963, pp. 173-209.

5. J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, trans. James S. Holmes and A. van Marle (The Hague, 1955); the reconsideration in

professional archivist, mined not only the Dutch archives of the VOC but also the stream of Portuguese source-publications from the 1850s to the 1930s, produced by such diligent editors as Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (1809-77), Raimundo António de Bulhão Pato (1828-1912), and their disciples and associates. **Second**, the work of 1962 marked Meilink-Roelofsz's own rebirth as a historian, so to speak. Some two decades earlier, in 1943, she had published a first work entitled *De vestiging der Nederlanders ter kuste Malabar*, a book that few read anymore (if they ever did), and which is marked by a near-complete immersion in a traditional conception of what “European expansion” might have been (and a corresponding ignorance of local or regional context). By the time the second book appeared, Meilink-Roelofsz had shaken off the cobwebs of this narrowly Eurocentric history and the heavy baggage of earlier historians such as Heert Terpstra or Lucas Kiers.⁶ In other words, unlike many other Dutch historians of the same generation (and even the next one, and the one after that), she managed to turn the page of decolonization in order to reconceptualize what the history of maritime Southeast Asia might be beyond the narrow and teleological narrative of virtuous Protestant triumph or the “rise of capitalism” – capitalism with a flavour of salted herring, no doubt. To be sure, this work remained heavily dependent on European archives. But it may be said that it opened the door for the next quite diverse generation of scholars: Sinnappah Arasaratnam, Ashin Das Gupta, Arun Dasgupta, John E. Wills, and Barbara and Leonard Andaya, all of whom frequented the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* (as it then was, today the *Nationaal Archief*), and made very creative use of its Company documents.⁷

For a number of reasons, some rather obvious, Meilink-Roelofsz's work did not have much of a reception in Portugal.⁸ After all, it was published in English and it relativized the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean in large measure, and also insisted on the importance of using the Portuguese (and above all Dutch) materials to look equally at the history of Asian trading networks, hardly a fashionable subject in Portugal in 1962. Interestingly, it also put paid to the absurd construct of a “Vasco da Gama

the work by Leonard Blüssé and Femke S. Gaastra (eds.), *On the Eighteenth Century as a Category of Asian history: Van Leur in Retrospect* (Aldershot, 1998), is disappointing.

6. Heert Terpstra, *De vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Koromandel* (Groningen, 1911); Lucas Kiers, *Coen op Banda: De conquête getoest aan het recht van den tijd* (Utrecht, 1943).

7. Many of these younger scholars contributed to M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz (ed.), *De VOC in Azië* (Bussum, 1976).

8. Thomaz has noted that he encountered Meilink-Roelofsz's book in 1964 through Virginia Rau, when his own first work was nearly complete. He adds: “to my tranquility, it confirmed some of the conclusions I had arrived at in contradiction with what was generally written” (see his “Preface” to the work cited in note 10, below).

Epoch" in Asian history, a notion that nevertheless has had more lives than any known incarnation of *felix domestica*. However, two years after it appeared, a young Portuguese scholar wrote (but did not publish) a work that was equally to have an extremely important impact on the historiography of Asian-European interactions. This was Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz's *tese de licenciatura*, defended under the supervision of Virgínia Rau at the Universidade de Lisboa, and entitled, *Os Portugueses em Malaca, 1511-1580*.⁹ It is a massive work in two volumes, belying the author's tender age when it was written, and its main contribution – as its author will readily admit today – lies not in its first volume (largely a narrative history of military engagements and administration), but in the second, where he proceeded to unearth and transcribe a mass of hitherto unused documents from the Portuguese archives, and especially the collections of the Torre do Tombo. If Meilink-Roelofsz set alight something of a firecracker, Thomaz's work was more in the nature of a gently ticking time-bomb from which many later scholars (his students, but also others like myself) have competed with him to draw creative interpretations. Since this work has never been published in its entirety (one significant part, *De Malaca a Pegu: Viagens de um feitor português [1512-1515]*, appeared in 1966), we are still, in a manner of speaking, attempting to digest the consequences of this intervention for a reinterpretation of the history of sixteenth-century Melaka and its larger network.¹⁰ One suspects that Meilink-Roelofsz would have written a quite different book if she had had this fresh and massive collection of documents available to her.¹¹

This essay is intended to present, translate, and provide a proper context for one such document, a letter from the Corpo Cronológico collection at the *Torre do Tombo* in Lisbon written by (or rather on behalf of) the Tamil merchants of Melaka to the Portuguese king Dom João III in 1527. The letter was already known to and calendared by the omniscient Jesuit scholar Georg Schurhammer in his *Quellen* (1932, reprinted 1962), Nr. Q 109 (dated 10.9.1527), as follows:

9. Luís Filipe Ferreira Reis Thomaz, *Os Portugueses em Malaca, 1511-1580*, 2 vols., *tese de licenciatura*, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, 1964.

10. More materials from this thesis, along with other documents, appeared in Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, *A questão da pimenta em meados do século XVI: Um debate político do governo de D. João de Castro* (Lisbon, 1998).

11. Besides the published collections of Portuguese records and the work of Charles Boxer, Meilink-Roelofsz did have access to two important essays based on the Portuguese archives (especially the Corpo Cronológico in the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon), namely I. A. MacGregor, "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya", and "Johore Lama in the Sixteenth Century", both in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 28, no. 2, 1955, pp. 5-47, 48-126. The first essay is in particular a rather impressive and under-appreciated foray into the poorly organized Portuguese archives of the time.

“Malaca. Klingkaufleute an Kg. CC I-37-84. O[riginal]. Ml. Gomez schreibt im Namen d. Bendara und Nyna Curyadeva, Nyna Paõo, Nyna Gudam, Nyna Sola, Nyna Mudi und aller Kaufleute. Lobt c. Jorge Cabral, d. Chinesen und Peguesen wieder anzog “nach vielen Jahren”; aber unsfern Sklaven erlaubte Christen z. werden, was sehr schadet. Bintam’s Eroberung durch Po. Mascarenhas hob Malaca. (Tamilunterschriften).¹²

The term “Kling” or “Keling” was (and is) used in the Malay world to designate Tamil speakers from the Coromandel coast of southeastern India, the *Benua Keling* of Malay geography – etymologically related to the term “Kalinga”. The area in Melaka where these settlers – who were usually merchants in the sixteenth century – had their residence was known as the *Kampung Keling*, and was located in the part of the town termed Upah to the right bank of the river. Somewhat later, already in the seventeenth century, Tamil Muslim merchants on the Malay peninsula came to be designated by another term, namely “Chulia”, which possibly derived from “Cholamandalam”.¹³

The standard source to understand the place of the Kelings of Melaka in the early sixteenth century is of course the invaluable if at times cryptic *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires (written in about 1514-15), which can be read together with some other contemporary documents such as the letters of Melaka’s first Portuguese captain, Rui de Brito Patalim, as well as of Portuguese captains and factors there such as Jorge Cabral and Pêro Barriga in the 1520s. These include the published materials which were first analyzed with some care by Meilink-Roelofsz, and then placed in relation to a far wider body of archival documentation by Thomaz. The discussion with regard to the Kelings is scattered in various parts of the *Suma Oriental*. One important section is that where Pires considers the different regions that trade with Melaka, and the traders who originate from there. He begins with West Asia, “Cairo and Mecca and Aden”, and then passes to a detailed consideration of Gujarat and the traders and trade goods from there, before coming to southeastern India. With regard to this region he writes:

“These Malabares make up their company in *Bonua Quelim* which is Choromandell and Paleacate, and they come [to Melaka] in companies, but their name is Quelins and not Malabares. Choromandell and Paleacate and Naõr [Naguru], these are the ports of the

12. Georg Schurhammer, S. J., *Die zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer (Ostafrika, Abessinien, Arabien, Persien, Vorder- und Hinterindien, Malaiischer Archipel, Philippinen, China und Japan) zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver, 1538-1552* (Rome, 1962; reprint of the 1932 text), p. 11. Also Georg Schurhammer, “Orientalische Briefe aus der Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver (1500-1552)”, *Euntes docete*, vol. 21, 1968, pp. 255-301.

13. Kenneth McPherson, “Chulias and Klings: Indigenous trade diasporas and European penetration of the Indian Ocean littoral”, in Giorgio Borsa (ed.), *Trade and Politics in the Indian Ocean: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New Delhi, 1990), pp. 33-46; Sinnappah Arasaratnam, “The Chulia Muslim merchants in Southeast Asia, 1650-1800”, *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, vol. 4, 1987, pp. 125-43.

coast. In Choromandell, the first is Caile [Kayal] and Calicate [Kilakkara], Adarampatanam [Atiramapattinam], Naor [Naguru], Turjmalapatam [Tirumalapattinam], Carecall [Karaikkal], Teregampari [Tarangambadi], Tirjmalacha [Tirumullaivasal], Calaparao [?], Conimiri [Kunjimedu], Paleacate".¹⁴

All these ports are identifiable save one (perhaps "Kalapadu"), which on account of its location in the list, must have been situated in the broad area of Cuddalore and could even be a scribal distortion of that last word. Pires's account makes it clear that the trade from the Tamil country to Melaka centred on the port of Pulicat ("Paleacate", or Palaverkadu, north of Madras), while his reference to "Choromandell" is more ambiguous. He has very little to say with regarding to the ports further north in the Krishna and Godavari deltas, which would play an increasingly significant role as the sixteenth century wore on.

Pires devotes a certain attention as well to the great Keling merchants of Melaka. Of these, he notes the activities of two in particular. The first is a certain "Nina Chatu" or Setu Nayinar, who assumed the important administrative title of *bendahara* after the Portuguese conquest in 1511, and eventually died (probably committed suicide) in the latter half of 1514. Pires entered early into conflict with him, and denounced him in a letter to governor Albuquerque of January 1512: "The *bemdara* is worse than hell, a *chatim* [merchant] who has the whole land under his oppression; if you approach him for the King's treasury (*fazenda del-Rey*), you will have no help from him; no *chatim* enters the factory out of fear of him, and he obeys no Portuguese".¹⁵ Yet, in describing his death at the very end of his *Suma Oriental*, Pires takes on a deeply gloomy air. He writes: "Let it be known to all that the King our Lord lost more through the death of the *Bemdara* than his own sons lost, for he was a true and loyal servant of His Highness". To this he adds: "I here declare that the death of Nina Chatuu makes it necessary for Malacca to have two hundred more Portuguese than were necessary [before] to uphold it".¹⁶ It has been possible to reconstruct good parts of Setu Nayinar's commercial activities in the years between 1511 and 1514. We now know that, "in 1513-14 he sent two junks [*juncos*] to Siam, one to Bengal and one *panjajab* to Palembang in Sumatra, fitted out at his own expenses; in partnership with the Portuguese Crown, a junk [*junco*] to

14. Armando Cortesão (ed. and trans.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, 2 vols. (London, 1944), vol. II, p. 498 (text), and p. 271 (translation). I have diverged somewhat from Cortesão's translation.

15. Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (henceforth IANTT), Corpo Cronológico (henceforth CC), I-10-152, letter from Tomé Pires to Afonso de Albuquerque from Melaka, 10th January 1512, in *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, vol. VII (Lisbon, 1935), pp. 4-7 (citation on p. 6).

16. Cortesão (ed. and trans.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, vol. II, p. 510 (text), and p. 288 (translation).



Pegu, another to China – the first Portuguese ship to reach China – and a third to the Coromandel Coast. A little earlier he had sent a junk [*junco*] to Banda and Ternate, fitted out in partnership with his friend Rui de Araújo, the first factor of Malacca”.¹⁷ However, the death (or suicide) of Setu Nayinar already raises a singular issue in regard to Portuguese dealings with the Kelings of Melaka. What exactly was the nature of the relationship between the newly ascendant Portuguese power and the Tamil merchants of Melaka? Was it smooth or quite bumpy in reality? Were the two allies in a comfortable relationship, or rivals? If Setu Nayinar was a commercial partner of the Portuguese Crown, as well as a sometime friend of the second most important Portuguese official in Melaka (as well as of others, such as João Viegas), why did he commit suicide within about three years of Afonso de Albuquerque’s conquest of the city?

The career of the second great Keling merchant mentioned by Pires (albeit briefly) is somewhat helpful for us in addressing these questions. This was a certain Suryadeva Nayinar, whose commercial activities can be traced for almost two decades after the conquest. Here is how recent historiography resumes his activities, using Pires’s accounts but also the records of the Melaka factory: Suryadeva, together with a certain Patih Yusuf of Gresik (in Java), apparently shared control of the trade between Melaka, on the one hand, and Banda and Maluku, on the other. Possibly more wealthy than his Javanese counterpart, the Keling magnate may have sent some eight *juncos* a year to eastern Indonesia, and in addition also traded to China and other eastern regions. Where Setu Nayinar concentrated largely (albeit not exclusively) on the textile and rice trade of the littoral ports and regions of the Bay of Bengal – Bengal itself, Pegu, and Coromandel – Suryadeva clearly had a particular penchant for the fine spices, namely cloves, nutmeg and mace. We are also aware that on some of these voyages, his agents carried Portuguese goods and even received artillery on loan from the armoury of the fortress, to protect them.

We will return to these individual figures, and others such as a certain Kuniyappan Nayinar, shortly. Before we do so, it may be worthwhile to rehearse – even if briefly – the earlier history of the commercial presence of Tamil merchants in Southeast Asia.¹⁸ There is every reason of course to believe that maritime contact between Sri Lanka and southeastern India and the northern tip of Sumatra was of great antiquity, given the ease of passage. But a gap exists between this belief and concrete evidence of an ancient

17. Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz, *Early Portuguese Malacca* (Macau, 2000), pp. 113-14.

18. See the useful survey in Jan Wisseman Christie, “The Medieval Tamil-Language Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, 1998, pp. 239-68.



Tamil mercantile presence in Sumatra or the Malay Peninsula. Recently, Y. Subbarayalu and Noboru Karashima have in a useful intervention drawn together the fragments of evidence that exist in this regard, mostly in the form of stone inscriptions.¹⁹ The picture they present is one where Tamil merchants may be found in northern Sumatra (the region of Barus), and the Malay Peninsula; then in the period of the Yuan (or Mongol) dynasty in China, we find traces of their activities as far afield as the Fujian port of Quanzhou in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The Barus (or Lobu Tua) inscription dates from 1088 and levies a tax in gold on each ship trading in the port, to be defined in terms of the price of musk (*kastūri vilai*). The beneficiaries include a notable termed the “Nattu Chettiyar” referred to also as the *nakara senāpati*; those making the levy are a collective body, the “Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions”, often referred to in the literature also as the Ainnurruvar or Nanadesi. The term *marakkala nāyana* appears in relation to the ships’ captains, suggesting that *nāyana* had a meaning somewhat similar to the Perso-Arabic designation *nākhudā*.²⁰ A slightly later but undated stone inscription from the same broad region (Neusu Aceh), dated roughly to the thirteenth century, is more obscure in its contents, but certain brief phrases in it also suggest that it emanated from a similar collective body (the significant phrase is *nam-makkal*, or “our people”) and concerned tax levies. As for the Quanzhou inscription, it dates to 1281, and appears originally to have been housed in a Siva temple (which is no longer extant). Here, no name of a collective merchant body appears, but we find that of a single merchant Sambanda Perumal, who was apparently the significant patron of the temple. Finally, a thirteenth-century mixed Sanskrit and Tamil inscription from a Vishnu temple in Pagan (Burma), refers both to an individual merchant, Kulasekara Nambi from Kodungallur (Cranganore in Kerala), as well as the fact that the temple itself was that of the Nanadesi.

However fragmentary these materials, they are important for several reasons. They do not sustain the claim that was sometimes made in the past that there was a close relationship between these merchants and some form of Indian “imperial” expansion into Southeast Asia and beyond, a sort of proper thalassocracy. If anything, the merchants referred to seem to have

19. Noboru Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu, “Ancient and Medieval Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions relating to Southeast Asia and China”, in Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany and Vijay Sakhija (eds.), *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia* (Singapore, 2009), pp. 271-91.

20. Ranabir Chakravarti, “Nakhudas and Naavittakas: Ship-Owning Merchants in the West Coast of India (c. AD 1000-1500)”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 43, no. 1, 2000, pp. 34-64. The parallel has also been suggested in the case of the Quanzhou inscriptions; see note 39 below.

concrete dealings only with local or regional political authorities, and do not invoke those in South India. Besides, the main form of collective life they refer to seems to be amongst merchants themselves, what has for better or worse sometimes been termed a structure of “guilds”; besides the Ainnurruvar or Nanadesi, some other medieval inscriptions from Java and Thailand also testify to the presence of other merchant collectives such as Manigramam and Senamukam. As we shall see presently, these structures does not appear to survive into the sixteenth century in Southeast Asia. Finally, while both Vishnu and Siva worship appear in these materials, it is difficult to say much regarding these merchant groups in terms of caste or religion. Nor can we discern whether Tamil Muslim merchants participated in these collectives. Besides, merchants from other parts of South India and even Sri Lanka may have been incorporated into these activities.

In an important, if somewhat speculative essay published in 1965, the late Burton Stein suggested that these “merchant guilds” which had flourished under the Cholas and Hoysalas were destroyed by the expanding power of the Vijayanagara empire in the course of the fifteenth century.²¹ This was part of Stein’s view, which he held at the time (but which he partly retracted later), that while these earlier polities had been characterized by strong bonds of horizontal, or corporate, solidarity both in rural and urban areas, the period of Vijayanagara dominance was more clearly marked by a sort of vertical penetration of state power into society.²² This led in his view to the dissolution of not only the “merchant guilds” but of other forms of collective organization, and the concomitant rise of great entrepreneurs. Some recent scholarship has disturbed this neat chronology, suggesting that even in Hoysala times some great entrepreneurs existed who mediated successfully between “the world of the court and the marketplace”.²³ However, these entrepreneurs still apparently belonged to groups like the Ainnurruvar, whereas in the later fifteenth century this may not have been a realistic option.

In any event, the Keling merchants of Melaka who encountered the first Portuguese who arrived there were part of a complex commercial landscape, which it is possible to delineate. Even if Tomé Pires exaggerated the trading glories of Melaka for his own devious ends, there is little doubt that it boasted a wide variety of traders from different horizons. These would have included Chinese from Fujian and Guangdong, Ryukyu islanders,

21. Burton Stein, “Coromandel Trade in Medieval India”, in John Parker (ed.), *Merchants and Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade* (Minneapolis, 1965), pp. 49-62.

22. Also see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Agreeing to Disagree: Burton Stein on Vijayanagara”, *South Asia Research*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1997, pp. 127-39.

23. Daud Ali, “Between Market and Court: The Careers of Two Courtier-Merchants in the Twelfth-Century Deccan”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 53, nos. 1-2, 2010, pp. 185-211.

Moluccans, traders from Java as well as mainland Southeast Asia, merchants from Sumatra, as well as participants in commercial networks linking Melaka to Pegu (lower Burma), Bengal, Coromandel, Sri Lanka, Kerala, Gujarat, the Maldives, and West Asia. Of these, we have the impression that the Tamils and Gujaratis dominated both numerically and in terms of economic and political power. Further the standard narrative (which is not entirely absurd) tells us that on the conquest of Melaka by the Portuguese, the Gujarati merchants fled the port in large numbers, while the Tamils largely remained; it may also have been that some of the Tamil merchants (such as Setu Nayinar) had already supported the Portuguese before the conquest, and were thus well-placed to take advantage of the situation. If this is true, it cannot entirely be explained in religious terms, for if many of the Gujaratis were Muslims, others were not; and the Tamils too were a mix of Hindus and Muslims.

If the great Keling merchants such as Setu Nayinar had imagined in late 1511 that the new regime would share power in a reasonable arrangement with them, they were soon disabused of this idea. Initially, the Kelings had much to offer the Portuguese and they did so, notably in the form of sharing crucial commercial information by way of the “joint-venture” voyages they undertook with the Portuguese Crown to ports such as Martaban and Pulicat. But this was clearly an affair with diminishing returns, and once the Portuguese factors had grasped some of the tricks of the trade, it was clear that such ventures would cease, at least in their initial form. Further, the Portuguese power structure itself was deeply fragmented, and Setu Nayinar’s close alliance with Rui de Araújo, for example, meant that he was not necessarily well-placed after the latter’s death with regard to other Portuguese actors. Pires notes that the ostensible reason for his suicide was that the Portuguese authorities (in the form of the captain Jorge de Albuquerque) decided in 1514 to replace him as *bendahara* by a Malay notable (nephew and son-in-law of the former Sultan), ‘Abdullah, the so-called Raja of Kampar, who was moreover given the ostentatious title of *Mangkubumi*. In turn this successor, “a youth and foolish, and a Malay (*moço e samdeu e malaio*)” according to Pires, did not last long; he was accused of conspiring against the Portuguese and executed shortly thereafter, apparently at the behest of the new factor, Bertolameu Perestrelo (and possibly also at the instigation of the sons of Setu Nayinar). Proximity to power in Melaka in the years after 1511 was thus something one ventured into with a certain trepidation.

Yet, it would appear that a certain number of Kelings made gains in these years. In particular, these related to the so-called *dusuns* (in the Portuguese version, *dução*), lucrative small and medium estates manned by slaves on the fringes of the urban core of Melaka. It has been noted that “the chaos that

followed the taking of the city by Afonso de Albuquerque led to the abandonment of many *dusuns* by their owners. These were taken over by merchants, most of them Keling or Tamil, who had discreetly supported the Portuguese and had remained in the city. They soon extended their ownership rights to the slaves that had worked in their newly acquired properties".²⁴ This view is largely based on a letter from Francisco de Faria, written in August 1517, shortly after the death of Jorge de Brito, captain of the town.²⁵ But we may equally note the instability of the situation in these years. In most Portuguese settlements across the Indian Ocean – whether Goa, Cochin, or Melaka – the years between about 1511 and 1530 saw the emergence of an important new social group that would play a major role as the century wore on: these were the *casados*, or burghers, Portuguese householders who had married locally and who claimed a special status in relation to the local administration. Of them, Meilink-Roelofsz wrote the following: "Portuguese who had married in Asia and settled there (the *casados*) played an important part in the military organization and many fortresses were defended by them alone. As opposed to the unmarried soldiers without fixed pay, their pursuit of private trade gave them an economic background which made their existence in 16th century Asia possible. It was in their own interests to defend Portuguese authority as long as possible".²⁶ While this may indeed have been the case when faced with external threats, the *casados* in fact played a far more ambiguous role in the regular functioning of a town such as Melaka. They came over time to constitute their own fleet of trading vessels, and thus competed both with the Crown's trading interests and those of Asian merchants – who, after all, had preceded them in having major commercial dealings from Melaka. They successfully lobbied for concessions from the Crown and received them, and were not above trading with the enemies of Melaka; one finds *casado* traders pushing the limits for example in the expanding Sumatran port of Aceh by the middle decades of the century. It is thus not in the least self-evident that the trading interests of *casados* and Kelings were in harmony in Melaka, as the size of the Portuguese settler population grew.

Already by 1525, the *casados* of Melaka were lobbying the king, Dom João III, with demands of their own. Their claims included rights over the very *dusuns* that the Kelings for their own part claimed, and the dispute soon grew ugly. It was in this context that the new captain Jorge Cabral intervened

24. Thomaz, *Early Portuguese Malacca*, p. 132.

25. IANTT, CC, I-22-62, letter from Francisco de Faria at Melaka to Dom Manuel, 14th August 1517. This extensive document is particularly valuable for setting out the problematic relationship between the Kelings and Portuguese officials in the years 1514-17, and mentions Suryadeva, the *bendahara*, and the Raja Mudaliyar several times.

26. Meilink-Roleofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence*, p. 130.

in 1526-27, and had a sort of cadastral survey of these estates prepared. It is important here to return to the letter that the *casados* wrote in August 1525, to get a sense of the nature of their extensive claims, complaints, and threats. Here is how the letter commences.

“Lord.

The settlers (*moradores*) of your most populated fortress and noble city of Mallaca make it known to Your Highness how it is now fifteen years since the time when the said city was conquered through the force of arms, in which seizure most of us were present, and we married in the said city to render service to God and Your Highness, and we brought our women who were infidels (*que eram emfieis*) to the Holy Catholic Faith, and thus we indoctrinated them as the Holy Mother Church of Rome orders us, and in this way we acted to keep peace and friendship with the said people of the land, and thus we aided during this whole time to sustain [it] and to fight against our enemies by night and day, on sea and on land, using *paraos* and *manchuas* and *lamcharas*, suffering many wounds to our own persons with a great deal of blood that was spilt from them”.²⁷

In other words, these were not merely settlers but conquerors, who made claims based on their own blood that had been spilt in the conquest. But, they went on, not only were the wars in and around Melaka particularly difficult on account of the swampy terrain and jungles, the land itself was largely sterile and lacking in foodstuffs (*defallecida de todollos mamtimemtos*). Nevertheless, the settlers had made a decision “to be married (*cassados*) in the said land, and to have sons and daughters to be married off, and to live here almost in another world with few hopes of ever returning to Purtugall”. The least the Crown could do then was to grant them some privileges. Essentially, the settlers felt that the Crown officials (usually appointed for a term of three years) behaved tyrannically towards them, and they wished to have some protection. They had understood that the city of Goa had received a municipal council (*câmara*), as well a set of civic positions and “liberties”; in effect, they now requested the same.²⁸ They argued that these would have several beneficial effects. The officials at the time allegedly preyed on small traders bringing foodstuffs into the city through the waterways in boats (*paraos de mamtimemtos*), thus reducing supplies and raising prices. The *casados* wished this practice to stop. Further, they felt that their own property rights were highly uncertain, whether on their houses or their gardens. As a result they had invested little in permanent buildings, or improvements to their properties, for fear they might be confiscated by tyrannical officials. Again, Goa was held up as a model to be followed.

27. IANTT, CC, I-32-93, letter from the settlers in Melaka to the King of Portugal, 12th August 1525.

28. On this institution in the Portuguese empire, see C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800* (Madison, 1965).

In none of these matters are the Kelings or other Asian traders in the city mentioned directly. The only Asians mentioned are the “infidel” women they have married, and the only significant actors other than themselves are the officials. But there is a passage that is significant in terms of defining the relationship with the Kelings. It is the following.

“And also we ask Your Highness to make us a grant of the lands and *duções* of the Moors who fled from Mallaca outside, who from there today daily make war on us; because the said *duções* and lands are abandoned, and they are cut and destroyed since their owners are no longer there, so we ask Your Highness that he should make the said grant to us and allow us to profit from them and we will ennoble the land which is damaged [for it] to bear fruit, for if this [current] road is taken, there will be no fruit from this land for another four years. Your Highness should order that they should be divided amongst us in keeping with our quality (*segundo a calidade das pessoas*)”.

No mention is made of the fact that the *dusuns* had in fact already been reoccupied in part. Further, to give a more virtuous flavour to the whole affair, the settlers suggested that a part of these lands should be set aside for orphaned Portuguese girls whose fathers had died in Melaka, as dowries, but “in keeping with the quality of the father”.²⁹

Finally, the letter closes with a set of veiled threats. The settlers felt that, if anything, they were more deserving than those who lived in Goa, lived in a greater state of threat, and also served the king “well and loyally so far from our native place (*nossa natureza*), and our perpetual and eternal patria”. If the faraway king could not see this, and refused to grant them the same privileges as Goa, there was only one other solution: “we will then ask you for a decree (*alvará*) in payment of the said services, so that any married settler (*cassado morador*) who is here can move to the fortresses and cities of India, with no delay being imposed, and nor can his embarkation be denied, be they one, two, or three, or even all of them, with their women, and sons and daughters and goods, even if this fortress [Melaka] might have a great need for people”. In other words, the threat was to abandon Melaka *en masse*, so that it would only be defended by the limited resources of its garrison.

With a population of only about thirty-eight or forty *casados* at the time, it would appear that Melaka’s settlers did not in the final analysis have the influence yet to be given the status of a city with a municipal council (*câmara municipal*), something they only received from the monarch in 1552. But the rumblings that this letter represented were enough, apparently, to cause the captain Jorge Cabral to take at least some measures in their favour. Cabral also seized the occasion represented by the recent, and successful, expedition in 1526 of the previous captain Pêro Mascarenhas

29. On the larger question of these female orphans in the Portuguese empire, see Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford, 2001).

against Bintang – where the former Sultan had settled – to begin to define a new commercial policy for Melaka.³⁰ We are aware that in the latter half of the 1510s, the city had undergone a difficult phase of administrative turbulence, when several important merchants had left for other ports. Trade with Pegu and the Chinese ports had also dropped off. In September 1523, the Portuguese had abandoned their fortress at Pasai in northern Sumatra. At least one Keling entrepreneur, a certain Kuniyappan Nayinar, had proposed to mount a counter-offensive, and on a visit to Goa, offered the governor of the *Estado da Índia*, Dom Duarte de Meneses, an ambitious plan to recapture the fort.³¹ But this was met with little enthusiasm, and never pursued, while Kuniyappan himself appears to have been killed in a naval skirmish with Mappilla ships in early 1526.

Some merchants like Kuniyappan apparently still possessed quite substantial resources – whether of their own, or through their access to wider networks – into the mid-1520s and even beyond. There is also evidence that Keling trade between Coromandel and Melaka continued in these years; the Melaka factor Pêro Barriga still wrote in August 1527 of how “large ships (*naos*) from Choramãodell [had brought] many textiles and many foodstuffs”.³² But there were equally repeated complaints that officials such as the captain Jorge de Brito and his brother-in-law Nuno Vaz Pereira had enriched themselves inordinately both at the expense of the Crown and of other traders. Thus, in an important letter from Melaka dated January 1517, the *fidalgo* Pêro de Faria wrote the following, after describing the loss of two *juncos* in Banda, and two others in Timor.

“It will not do for Your Highness to lose your goods on account of the fault of people who go in the said *junquos*. But even the merchants of the land (*mercadores da teraa*) are lost and undone because they receive such losses, so that you have no more merchants left in Melaka (*nam tendes jaa mercadores em Malaqua*), and those who are left who possess *junquos* are these: Curyadeva [Suryadeva] has four *junquos*; Curyarajaa [Curia Raja] has two of the same; the Sabendara [*syahbandar*] son of the Beidaram [sic: for *bendahara*] who was called Nyna Chatum has two *junquos*; the Colasenquar [Tuan Kelaskar] has a *junquo*; the Tomuguo [*tumenggung*] with his mother has two; Manoel de Brito, a New Christian [convert] has two, and the others have no more *junquos*. I find this astonishing, my Lord, for how do you hope to support the merchants of the land and other honourable noblemen (*homens honrados fydalguos*) of the land, as well as other merchants, when they do not possess *junquos*?³³

30. On this attack, see the narrative in Diogo do Couto, *Década Quarta da Ásia* (ed.), Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, vol. I (Lisbon, 1999), pp. 75-89.

31. Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, “Nayinar Kuniyappan: Un Tamoul, syahbandar de Samudera-Pasai au début du XVI^e siècle”, *Archipel*, no. 62, 2001, pp. 127-42.

32. Letters from Pêro Barriga to D. João III, 3rd August and 31st December 1527, Melaka and Cochin, IANTT, CC, III-9-94 and II-145-173, in Thomaz, *Os Portugueses*, vol. II, doc. 35.

33. IANTT, Gavetas, XVI/3-5 (b), letter from Pêro de Faria to D. Manuel, Melaka, 5th January 1517, in António da Silva Rego (ed.), *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, vol. VI (Lisbon, 1967), pp. 337-59 (citation on p. 355). For a larger narrative of factional struggles

Of these shipowners, the Tuan Kelaskar was a merchant from Geresik in Java; Curia Raja and the *tumenggung* (son of the deceased Aregimuti Raja) were from Luzon; thus, only the son of Setu Nayinar (a certain “Nina Cune”) and Suryadeva amongst those listed here belonged to the Keling community.³⁴ Perhaps Pêro de Faria exaggerated, as writers of such bile-laden letters of complaint often did. However an anonymous petition (or ‘*arzdāsh*’) from a Persophone merchant at Melaka, who was close to the Portuguese, dated January 1519, says much the same as Faria.

“In the port, ships are lacking and the merchants are leaving the town. At present, there only remain Suryadeva, the *bendahara*, and ten or twelve merchants. Among those who possess ships, Suryadeva has four *junks*, Haryasanda Raja has two *junks*, the Tomengu [*tumenggung*] has one *junk*, and the Tun Kolashkara [Tuan Kelaskar] has one *junk*. Your humble servant has two *junks* and another ship (*dū junk wa yak jihāz dārad*). Such is the situation in Melaka. Earlier there were a hundred ships and pangajavas (*bankājāvan*) which came and went from Melaka. Now there are but ten vessels that come and go”.³⁵

The sort of ambient uncertainty that emerged in these previous years, combined with the pressure from the *casados*, seems eventually to have caused the Keling merchants to take an interesting step: they wrote a collective letter to the Portuguese king in 1527. These are its contents.

“For the King, our lord, from the merchants of Melaka.

Lord.

The Bemdara [*bendahara*] and Nyna Çuryadeva and Nyna Paão and Nina Gudam and Nyna Sola and Nyna Mundi, and indeed all the merchants of Melaka make it known to Your Highness how we reside in this city of Melaka in your service, and that each and every one of us wishes to serve you just like the native Portuguese, for we know that in all

that sets this letter in context, see João de Barros, *Da Ásia, Década Terceira*, Part 1 (reprint, Lisbon, 1973), pp. 86-94. Finally, for an extremely valuable anonymous account by a Persophone merchant from 1519, see Jorge M. dos Santos Alves and Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam, “Une lettre en persan de 1519 sur la situation à Malacca”, *Archipel*, no. 75, 2008, pp. 145-66.

34. For a discussion of these personalities, see Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, “Malaca e suas comunidades mercantis na viragem do século XVI”, in Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon, 1994), pp. 518-25. On the merchants from Luzon, see Cortesão (ed. and trans.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, vol. I, pp. 133-34.

35. IANTT, Cartas Orientais, nos. 33, anonymous letter from Melaka, 2 Muhamarram 925 H/ 4th January 1519, lines 41-43, in Alves and Nasiri-Moghaddam, “Une lettre en persan de 1519”, pp. 164-65 (translation corrected against the photographic reproduction). Assuming that “Hariyäsender” (*sic*: for Haryäsanda) Raja is the same as “Curia di-Raja”, the only shipowner who appears in Faria’s list who could correspond to “your humble servant” (the author of the letter), in this second list of shipowners is in fact the *cristão-novo* Manuel de Brito. The arguments of Alves and Nasiri-Moghaddam against this identification (pp. 147-48) are somewhat unconvincing. Amongst other things, it is not Jorge de Brito who is accused in the letter (lines 48-50) of striking its author in public and putting him in prison, but the *escrivão de feitoria* Lopo Vaz. It should further be noted that the anonymous letter-writer’s sons, “Kashpar wa Poli” (line 54) may in one reading simply be Gaspar and Paulo; but they seem in fact to be named for the *Dioscuri*, Castor (Caspar) and Polydeuces (Pollux), suggesting that they were twins.

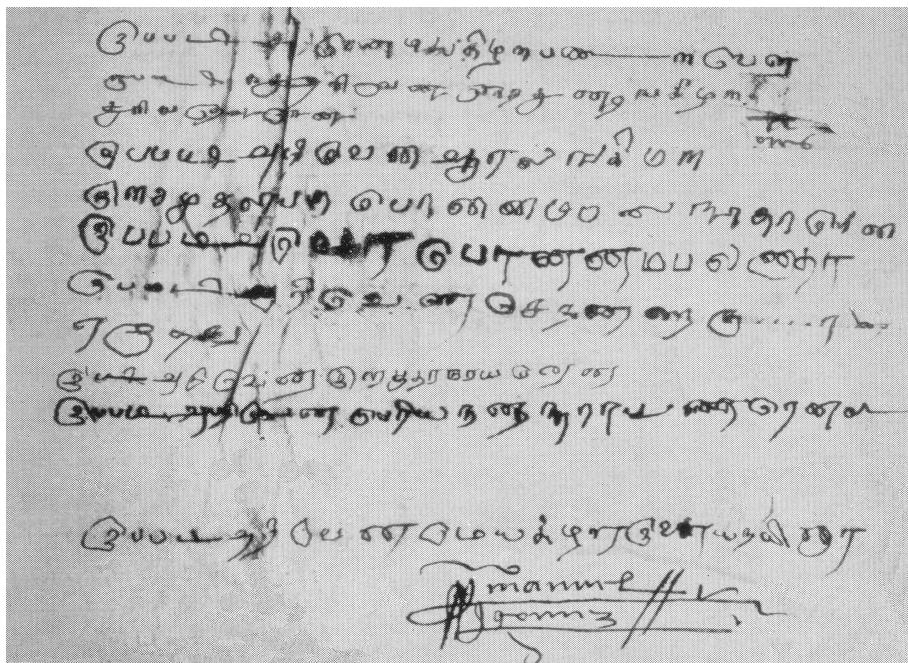
that Your Highness orders should be done for us, he desires that we should receive as much honour as any of his vassals to whom he wishes the greatest benefice; and since we are certain and informed of all this, we kiss your royal hands. Lord, we wish to give you an account of the many services all of us do each day in this land, and how poorly we are thanked for this by the governors and treasury intendants (*vadeores da fazenda*), for the captains and factors who have always been here on account of Your Highness have asked for our goods for your factory, and we as loyal vassals and servitors have given them in all good will, as we continue to do each day, for which we are for the most part very badly paid and even worse thanked by the treasury intendant, who has forbidden the captain and factor to pay back our loans which we give them every day when your captains request them for your service. We cannot however say this of your captain Jorge Cabral because in all matters he favours us and preserves our justice and customs as Your Highness has asked him to do, and he pays us when he can for what we loan to Your Highness. Had the other captains wished to do this, Your Highness would have been better served by them and by us, and this land would not be in such need; for when captains are good and friends of your service, as we can certify to Your Highness is the case with Jorge Cabral, the neighbours as well as those from afar work towards the trade and friendship of Melaka, a fact that is proven because in his [Cabral's] time, the Chins [Chinese] and those from Tave [Tavoy] and Pego arrived, and it had been many years since they had frequented this city, whom he treated with such honour that they are all so contented that they are bound to return each year and Melaka will be as it used to be before, and Your Highness will be served and your factory will be rich. We recount to Your Highness a great aggravation we receive, in that your captains consent to our slaves becoming Christians, for Your Highness is not well served by this and nor is your law (*lei*) enhanced on this account, while we receive great losses and aggravations on this account; for when we punish them, they go off and become Christians and the next day they go off to serve the King of Bintang. On this account, we ask Your Highness that he should attend to us in this matter and order the captains that we should not be so harassed, for if it occurs thus we cannot live, nor possess slaves for our own jongs (*jungos*) or be able to give them for the boats (*lancharas*) of Your Highness. We have asked all of this from your captain Jorge Cabral, and that he should write all this so that Your Highness may be informed of the truth. We would kiss the hands of Your Highness if you were to grant us this favour, which is the thing we need most, and you would also favour us by sending no captain other than Jorge Cabral, for with these two things, we hope to be able to make Melaka grand in such a way that Your Highness could be better served by us than he has been so far; and we too would be better viewed and honoured than we have been so far. We also remind Your Highness of the service that was done in this land by your governor Pero Mazquarenhas, in the taking of Bintang, which was a deed that greatly enhanced the grandeur of Melaka. He merits much honour, and in this matter we are greatly obliged to him. May God increase your royal estate as He desires. I, Manuel Gomez, junior chamberlain (*moço da câmara*) of Your Highness wrote this letter since I know the language of the land, and since they asked me to do it, and they have all signed below. From Melaka, today, 10th September 1527.”³⁶

A text of eleven lines in Tamil follows, which largely consists of names, available for once in the original versions rather than in the highly distorted Portuguese ones.³⁷ They are usually preceded by the formula *ippati ariven*,

36. IANTT, CC, I-37-84. The letter may also be found in Thomaz, Os Portugueses, vol. II, doc. 40.

37. A first attempt to decipher this section was made in Schurhammer, “Orientalische Briefe aus der Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver”, p. 293, where we find the variant readings proposed by three Tamil-knowing Catholic priests, Lazarus Balam, John Castets, and Gnana Prakasar. The original version of the letter has deteriorated over the course of the past some decades, on

“I thus make it known” (close to the Portuguese, *assim faço saber*); on two occasions, we also have the formula *en eluttu*, “my writing”, to certify to the authenticity of the document.³⁸ The names themselves are of some



significance. The first that appears clearly is that of Suryadeva (*Cūriyatevaren*, line 3). Two lines below there follows the name of *Rāca Mutaliyar Ponnampalanātar*, and then of *Ponnampalanātar* (perhaps a namesake) once again in the following line. In the remaining lines the name Narayanan appears twice, once preceded by what may be a place-name (“*Ilapūtara*”), the second time by the term “*Periya nanā*”. This may again be intended to distinguish two merchants of the same name. It is possible that “*nanā*” here is a version of “*nayinār*”; if so, it is one of two possible occurrences of such a title in the text.³⁹ Finally, in the last line there appears

account of the acidic quality of the ink. Here, I propose a reading based on a reconciliation of elements in Schurhammer’s text with that proposed recently by Tamil scholars in Chennai.

38. The Barus (Lobu Tua) inscription of 1088 incidentally has “*ippaṭikku sijjkal eluti nāṭti-kututtōm*”; cf. Karashima and Subbarayalu, “Ancient and Medieval Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions”, p. 285.

39. The term “*Nayinār*” does appear in a slightly modified form on two tombstones in Pasai, as well as other Muslim tombstones in Quanzhou. The first in Pasai is that of Nayna Husam al-Din son of Nayna Amin (d. 1420); the second is that of Nayna ‘Abd al-Karim (d. 1429).

what may be a curious version of the place-name Melaka, which is embedded in the phrase “*Melakilar ilaya nayinār*”, possibly referring to a group of younger merchants. Of the persons mentioned in the beginning of the Portuguese text – the *bendahara*, Suryadeva, Nyna Paão, Nina Gudam, Nyna Sola and Nyna Mundi – only the name Suryadeva is unmistakably identifiable. Perhaps “Paão” or “Pam” was meant to be a radical reduction of the complicated Ponnampalanatar, but there are reasons to doubt this. In turn, “Mundi” could at a stretch be a distortion of Mutali. “Sola” and “Gudam” entirely defeat us for now, at least until a more complete reading can be produced of this last section of the letter.

The main themes of the letter can be summed up as follows. We begin with the assertion that the Kelings are no less loyal and no less deserving of consideration than the Portuguese *casados*. Indeed, they are the very backbone of the Melaka economy, sustaining the Portuguese factory through their constant loans, for which they get very little thanks (and in fact are rarely paid back adequately). Like the *casados*, they too are generally unhappy with the conduct of the Crown’s representatives. But there are exceptions like the current captain Jorge Cabral, praised for his role in helping trade with Pegu and China expand.⁴⁰ Some praise is also handed out to the military prowess of the previous captain, Pêro Mascarenhas in securing the territory. Despite this however, the Kelings feel put upon, especially in respect of their slaves who are constantly converting to Christianity and then using their new-found freedom as the occasion to flee to the lands of the former Sultan. Here, one can see that the Kelings – who still largely had not themselves converted to Christianity – were unhappy with the church authorities of Melaka, and their over-zealousness in such matters. Perhaps as a result of this complaint, some limits were placed on the freedom of new converts, but the issue remained very much a bone of contention into the late 1560s.⁴¹

What can we say regarding the identity of the letter-writers? To be sure, they are all Tamil-speakers and sign their names in that language. But can we discern something more regarding their social origins? In the older literature, it was common enough to equate “Keling” with “Chetti” but this seems to us

See Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires et l’histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra* (Paris, 2008), pp. 116-17, 255-57, 300-01; also Chen Da-sheng and Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d’inscriptions arabes et persanes en Chine, 1: Province de Fu-jian (Quan-zhou, Fu-zhou, Xia-men)* (Paris, 1991), pp. 87-89, 232-33, and 241-42 (the first undated, the second and third dating to 1301 and 1304).

40. For Jorge Cabral’s own rather extended version of these events, see IANTT, CC, I-22-80, letter from Cabral to D. João III, 10th September 1527.

41. Thomaz, *Early Portuguese Malacca*, pp. 174-77.

unjustified today.⁴² The set of castes who called themselves Chettis (or Settis) in the broad period did not possess a monopoly over trade. The Portuguese use of the term *chatim*, for example in relation to Setu Nayinar, appears to us to be a general descriptor (in the sense of “merchant”) rather than a proper ethnographic category. Nor should Raja Mudali (*Rāca Mutaliyār*) in the letter be taken as much more than a title or dignity such as “head” or “chief”; it is certainly not to be confounded with the caste term “Mudaliyar” used for some Velalas.⁴³ Some of these names – notably Ponnampalanatar and Narayanan, as well as Suryadeva – are clearly suggestive of Hindu origins, though the honorific *nayinār* was also common amongst Jainas in medieval southern India, and was subsequently adopted by Muslims as well. Can we rule out the presence of Tamil Muslim merchants amongst the signatories of the letter? The Portuguese chronicler Castanheda, while describing an Acehnese attack on Melaka (and in particular the *povoação dos Quelins*, the Kampung Keling) in September 1537, notes that captain at the time, Dom Estêvão da Gama, was particularly afraid of the fact that the Acehnese might have spies in the city, notably “Ninapão and Ninabay, brothers, honoured Moors [Muslims] and rich”.⁴⁴ The first of these two names occurs in the letter of 1527 as well, unless we are dealing with a homonym. In a related vein, it has been recently suggested that Kuniyappan Nayinar’s son (as well as that merchant himself) was perhaps Muslim.⁴⁵

This is the only example we currently possess of a signed letter from the Keling merchants of Melaka to the Portuguese authorities. As the sixteenth century wears on, the Kelings do not entirely disappear from the scene, but they become less and less conspicuous. It is difficult to encounter figures with the resources of Setu Nayinar and Suryadeva Nayinar in the last few decades of the sixteenth century in Melaka. Is this an illusion produced by a shift in the makeup of the archives? Can we attribute it at least in part to changes in Portuguese policies, which – with the emergence of the system of concession voyages (*viagens*) – were far less apt to tolerate the existence of independent

42. At any rate, these Kelings of ca. 1530 appear unrelated to the later Chettis who migrated into Southeast Asia, on whom see David West Rudner, *Caste and Capitalism in Colonial India: The Nattukottai Chettiars* (Berkeley, 1994).

43. Thus, see the letter from Tomé Pires to Afonso de Albuquerque from Melaka, 10th January 1512, cited above: “o raja modeliar he morto” (p. 6). Clearly, the one who died had been replaced by other merchants who then held the title.

44. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (ed.), Manuel Lopes de Almeida, 2 vols. (Oporto, 1979), vol. II, book 8, pp. 855-56.

45. See Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves, *O domínio do Norte de Sumatra: A história dos sultanatos de Samudera-Pacém e de Achém, e das suas relações com os Portugueses (1500-1580)* (Lisbon, 1999), pp. 262-63 for a contemporary document referring to a “mouro ffilho do Xabemdar de Paçem”, which is to say Kuniyappan.

“native” shipowning merchants in the ports under their control? Was it the result of the growing influence of the *casados*, who had managed after mid-century gradually to gain privileges even in the Melaka customs-house? It is difficult to put a precise date on the decline in the prosperity of the Kelings of Melaka, which seems moreover to have been an uneven process.⁴⁶ But it is clear that a combination of Portuguese official policies and the emergence of the *casados* meant that Tamil merchants with ambitions now had to locate their activities not in Portuguese-controlled ports but elsewhere, on the Coromandel coast, or in Aceh or Banten. In the case of Banten, we are aware that the *syahbandar* in the 1520s who dealt with the Portuguese was a Keling with the title of Raja Mudaliyar; later in the century, the same position was held by another Keling, and then by a certain Kiyayi Wijamanggala, a Tamil from Mylapur (who eventually died in 1609). It has been noted that in 1596, besides Wijamanggala, the post of *tumenggung* at Banten was also held by a Keling, while we equally find a great Muslim notable present in the port with the title of Andamohi Keling. Eventually, the dominance of this group provoked considerable resentment amongst the local nobility and they were expelled to Jayakerta in 1609.⁴⁷ In a similar vein, Tamil merchants, both Hindu and Muslim, can be found in positions of prominence in other ports and polities of the Malay Peninsula of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as Kedah, Perak, and Ujung Selang.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, the Kelings did not vanish from the fabric of Melaka society either. After the Dutch conquest in 1641, one of the major documents we possess is the report on the town of the Commissioner Joost Schouten.⁴⁹ At several places, especially when describing trading conditions and textile imports from Coromandel, he makes it clear that his chief informants were

46. The chronicler Diogo do Couto famously claimed that as late as 1560, in Melaka “there were Chelis [i.e. Kelings], who are Malay merchants (*sic*), who possessed twelve and fourteen *bahars* of gold”; Diogo do Couto, *Da Ásia, Década Sétima*, Part 2 (reprint, Lisbon, 1974), p. 427.

47. See the valuable account in Claude Guillot, “Banten and the Bay of Bengal during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in Om Prakash and Denys Lombard (eds.), *Commerce and Culture in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1800* (New Delhi, 1999), pp. 163-82 (especially on pp. 165-70); also Christopher Wake, “Banten around the Turn of the Sixteenth Century: Trade and Society in an Indonesian Port City”, in Frank Broeze (ed.), *Gateways to Asia: Port Cities of Asia in the 13th-20th Centuries* (London, 1997), pp. 66-108.

48. See Barbara Watson Andaya, “The Role of the Indian *Saudagar Raja* (the King’s Merchant) in Traditional Malay Courts”, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 51, no. 1, 1978, pp. 13-36.

49. “Schouten’s Report of his visit to Malacca”, pp. 69-144, in P. A. Leupe, “The siege and capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640-1641”, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 14, pt. 1, 1936, pp 1-176. This is a translation based on Leupe, “Stukken betrekkelijk het beleg en de verovering van Malakka op de Portugezen in 1640-1641”, *Berichten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1859, pp. 128-429, which includes the “Berigt van Commissaris Justus Schouten”.

indeed the Kelings of the town. But it appears that these were more “peddlers” à la Van Leur than real magnates, and usually carried their goods across the Bay of Bengal as freight on European ships; still the total Indian population of Melaka in 1678 is counted as 761, perhaps a sixth of the rather modest total of the time.⁵⁰ In the course of the eighteenth century, some further reorientations appear to have taken place, and it has been suggested that some of the Kelings now “turned their attention to agriculture”, migrating from Kampung Keling to northwestern areas on the outskirts such as Tengkera, Gajah Berang and Bacang. A group remained with a substantive urban orientation, however, particularly in regard to work in the goldsmith trade; these families appear to have been the principal patrons of the temples build in the 1750s and 1780s, notably the Sri Poyyata Vinayakar Murti temple, constructed through the efforts of a certain Daivanayakam Chetti.⁵¹ A fresh wave of Indian migration in the nineteenth century, both of workers into the new colonial settlements and of a rapidly emerging new commercial group, the Nattukottai Chettis, would however entirely redefine the face of the Tamil presence in the area; and it is this face which we see for the most part today, rather than that of the enigmatic merchant Suryadeva and his lucrative cargoes of spices.

Portuguese text of the letter

Para El Rey nosso senhor dos merquadores de Malaqua.

Senhor.

Ho bemdara e Nyna Curyadeva e Nyna Paão e Nina Gudam e Nyna Sola e Nyna Mundi e asy todos os merquadores de Malaqua fazemos saber a Vossa Alteza como estamos nesta cidade de Malaqua a seu servyço e que todos e quada hum de nos o deseja de servyr como os naturaes portugueses porque sabemos que em tudo nos Vossa Alteza mamda fazer e deseja que nos seja feita tamta omrra como a qualquer dos seus vasalos a que mais merce deseja fazer e porque de tudo isto somos certos e emformados lhe beyjamos suas reaes maños queremos lhe Senhor dar comta de muitos servyços que nesta terra todos quada dia lhe fazemos he quam mal agradecidos [somos] polos governadores e veadores da fazemda porque os capitães e feitores que sempre aqui estyveram da parte de Vosa Alteza nos pedyam nosas fazemdas para sua feitorya e nos como leaes vasalos e servydores lhas demos com booa vontade e quada dia damos de que pela maior parte somos mui mal paguos e pior agradecidos do vedor da fazenda que deffemde ao capitam e feitor que nam

50. See Kernial Singh Sandhu, “Indian Settlement in Melaka”, in Kernial Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley (eds.), *Melaka: The Transformation of a Malay Capital, c. 1400-1980*, 2 vols. (Kuala Lumpur, 1983), vol. II, pp. 188-89. The number included 372 adult Muslim and Hindu males. In contrast, the population of Indians was 1,520 in 1750, and 1,023 in 1766.

51. See the useful materials in K. Narinasamy, “The Melaka Chitties”, in Sandhu and Wheatley (eds.), *Melaka: The Transformation of a Malay Capital, c. 1400-1980*, vol. II, pp. 239-63. In contrast, the historical section, regarding the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is almost entirely to be set aside in the recent essay by Ravichandran Moorthy, “The Evolution of the Chitty Community of Melaka”, *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics and Strategic Studies*, vol. 36, 2009, pp. 1-15.

nos paguem nosos emprestimos que quada dia fazemos quando por seus capitães nos he pedido para seu [fl. 2] servyço o que nam podemos dizer de voso capitam Jorge Cabral por que em tudo nos favorece he guarda nosa justiça e custumes como lhe Vossa Alteza emcomemda e nos pagua quamdo pode o que a Vossa Alteza emprestamos o que se os outros capitães quiseram fazer Vossa Alteza fora melhor servydo deles e de nos e a terra nom fora tam necesytada por que os bons capitães e amyguos de voso servyço como certeffiquamos a Vossa Alteza que Jorge Cabral he hos vezynhos e os de longe trabalham pello trato e amyzade de Malaqua o que esta provado por que em seu tempo vyeram os Chyns e os de Tave e Pegu que muytos anos avya que a esta cidade nam vyeram aos quaes faz tanta homrra que todos vaão tam contentes que am de tornar quadano e fosse Malaqua como foy de primeiro e Vosa Alteza sera servydo e sua feitoria riqua./ Damos comta a Vossa Alteza dum grande agravo que recebemos em os capitães consentirem que se façam os nos espravos Cristãos [Xpãos] e nysto nom he Vosa Alteza servydo nem sua lei por iso acrecentada e nos recebemos nysso grandes perdas e agravos e porque por os casteguarmos se vaão tornar Cristãos e ao outro dia se vaão servir el rey de Byntam pelo que pedimos a Vossa Alteza que nisto nos proveja e mande aos capitães que tal agravo nam nos seja feito porque fazemdose nam podemos vyvir nem ter espravos para nosos junqos nem para os dar para as lamcharas de Vossa Alteza o que tudo pedimos ao voso capitam Jorge Cabral que ele volo esprevese para que Vossa Alteza seja emfformado da verdade/ Beyjasemos as mãos de Vossa Alteza fazernos esta merce que he a coussa [fl. 3] de que mais necesydade temos e asy nola faça em nam mamdar outro capitam senam Jorge Cabral por que com estas duas cousas esperamos acrecentar Malaqua de maneira que Vossa Alteza seja de nos mylhor servydo do que ate qui foy e nos seremos mylhor oulhados e homrados do que fomos ate qui/ tanbem lymbramos a Vossa Alteza quanto servyço lhe nesta terra fez ho seu governador Pero Mazquarenhas em tomar Byntam que foy huma couşa que muyto acrecentou Malaqua. Ele merece muita merce e nos somos lhe por iso em muita obriguaçam. Deus acrecente seu real estado como deseja. Eu Manuel Gomes moço da camara de Vossa Alteza esta carta escrevi por saber a limguoa da terra e mo eles pedirem e aqui se asynaram todos. De Malaqua oje x de setembro de myl bc xxbij anos.



DANIEL PERRET

From Slave to King: The Role of South Asians in Maritime Southeast Asia (from the late 13th to the late 17th century)

Introduction

Maritime travel and migration from South Asia, in which I include here present India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Maldives, toward maritime Southeast Asia in which I include present Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Timor-Leste, occurred for at least the last two millennia.¹ Two topics, namely indianization and trade, have dominated its historiography regarding the period before the 19th century. The aim of this study is to look at this phenomenon from a different angle, which is the place of South Asian people not at all or at least not mainly involved in trade in the various societies of the region. My time-scale starts at the end of the 13th century, a choice made not only because of the occurrence of important events for our subject, such as the emergence of the Sultanate of Pasai and the kingdom of Majapahit, as well as the breaking-up of the Chola kingdom, but also because more data become available. The end of the 17th century I stop at, saw notably the expansion of the authority of the VOC and the fall of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. Moreover, tendencies converged at that time to confirm the overall decline of the relations between both regions.

Our starting point is the individual or the group, assuming that they display a more or less strong visibility, if not autonomy, allowing to identify them in the sources. The expression “people of South Asia” here refers to

1. I would like to thank Arlo Griffiths for his valuable comments and for correcting the language of this paper.



any individual or group originally settled in South Asia that considered itself, or was considered, as native or foreign there. Nevertheless, this simple definition should not obscure the diversity, the vagueness, and sometimes the ambiguity of situations. Another aspect is the diversity of these people. At least from the first millennium, through collective designations such as Arya, Vania, Khoja or Keling, whose precise origins are not always easy to trace, sources reveal a social mosaic of South Asian people living in maritime Southeast Asia. Moreover, as is well known, most of the coastal areas of India, whether already or not yet in contact with maritime Southeast Asia, were home to cosmopolitan populations, including people of Middle Eastern or Central Asian origins, long before the period under consideration here.

As far as I know, syntheses focused on South Asian people living in maritime Southeast Asia before the 19th century are still extremely rare, and even those focused on individuals, groups or communities, are very few. Several reasons may explain the lack of attractiveness of this field of research. One of them is no doubt the small number and fragmentary nature of the sources available before the arrival of the Europeans, especially in South Asia. This situation virtually prevents the reconstruction of a global and continuous view. We may assume that some prominent Indian families in contact with this region kept a number of documents, but they may have disappeared or so far, at least, have stayed out of reach for the historian.²

This means these individuals and groups can only be traced through material evidence of their presence in maritime Southeast Asia that have survived until today, or through identifications mentioned by others with all the distortions and uncertainties attached to this kind of sources. I may mention as example the ambiguity of the Western sources, which are inclined to provide unbalanced ethnic descriptions highlighting the Chinese, whereas the other communities are neglected or merged into a single entity (Guillot, 1999: 165). There was probably also for a long time an inclination to consider that, with the dwindling of Indian cultural influences in the region, people of South Asia disappeared or were reduced to small marginal trading communities not meriting study. Another point to recall here is that if foreigners were more noticeable in the major places of maritime Southeast Asia, which are better documented, they were certainly not confined there.

To the implicit idea of populations without history, as they almost did not leave any written traces, must be added the very tenuous links, or even the absence of any links, between the South Asian communities living in maritime Southeast Asia during the 17th century and the communities settled

2. Chaudhuri (1985: 101) mentions sophisticated account books and letters kept by Jain merchants in Gujarat and by Chettiar in Coromandel without giving any indication of their antiquity.





in the region today. This gap would explain why the latter show little interest for a past they do not feel to inherit. Therefore, the number of historical studies focused on these South Asian populations settled in the region is far behind the number of studies on Chinese migrations in maritime Southeast Asia.

Yet, since the end of the 1970s new researches enable a better understanding, on a global level and on the *longue durée*, of the place and role of these migrants in the local and regional history. There is a growing number of historical studies on sultanates like Pasai, Melaka, Aceh and Banten, studies on the long distance maritime trade based on Portuguese and Dutch sources, as well as archaeological researches conducted on old settlements in the region.

This study presents a panorama of the main social and occupational settings in which people from South Asia found a place in maritime Southeast Asia. For each category, I will here classify the sources, first, according to the geography of the region, from west to east, second, according to the chronology.

Slaves

At least during the 16th and 17th centuries, maritime Southeast Asia experienced a shortage of manpower which resulted in the usually forced immigration of people from South Asia. Demand came from kingdoms of the western part of the region (Pasai, Banten, Aceh, probably Melaka and maybe others); from the Portuguese *Estado da India*, as well as the VOC and the elites settled in centres controlled by the Europeans.

Several reasons may explain this strong demand in Pasai, Banten and Aceh, where the notion of slave carried various meanings. There was first the will to expand pepper plantations in order to meet the increase of demand, whether on the China or on the Western markets.³ Secondly, the policy of conquest conducted by Aceh from the first half of the 16th century certainly required slaves converted to warriors. This kingdom also needed workers to exploit gold deposits in its hinterland, and probably tin mines of the conquered territories in the Malay Peninsula. Moreover, Aceh had to increase its own population after the heavy losses suffered against the Portuguese, especially during the Melaka expedition in 1629, and following internal troubles in 1589 and 1607 (Ito, 1984: 341, 364). Through a domino effect, the generated prosperity required an increase in food-producing crops, especially rice-fields, to feed an increasing local population and a growing

³. It can also be assumed that the development of pepper plantations and mining on territories independent from Aceh and Banten, such as Jambi, Palembang or Banjarmasin, could have generated a demand for South Asian slaves.





number of foreign temporary settlers. This growth contributed to the accumulation of wealth by the ruling class that therefore accumulated enough funds to purchase manpower in order to fulfill the needs already mentioned as well as its private needs.

There are few data about the organization of the slave trafficking bound for Pasai, Aceh, Banten and other native polities. Whoever the buyers, they seemed to have faced a tight and volatile market, without oversupply, even more with the expansion of European trading posts in the Indian Ocean. This state of recurrent shortage alternated with times of relative abundance, especially during episodes of starvation.⁴ The existence of reservoirs of manpower in various regions did help to lower uncertainty in supply due to the improvement of local political and economic conditions, the disapproval of slave trafficking by local Muslim authorities, or the competition with Cape Town as regards the VOC.⁵ The high mortality rate of the slaves during transport is another factor to add to all these uncertainties.⁶ There were at least two other means to get South Asian labour. Firstly, through the capture of South Asian ship crews, a strategy that appears to have been common in Aceh.⁷ Secondly, through welcoming fugitive slaves, as was the case in the Sultanate of Banten, at least since the 1660s, when it received and employed slaves who had escaped from Batavia.⁸

Three regions of South Asia supplied large numbers of slaves to the native polities of maritime Southeast Asia: Bengal, Coromandel and the Maldives. The minor sources were Ceylon, Orissa and Malabar.

At the beginning of the 16th century, Pasai received Maldivian slaves transported on Gujarati ships (Alves, 1999: 119). By the second half of the 16th century, Aceh received slaves from Bengal through traders from that region (Ito, 1984: 398). At least since the end of the 16th century, Arakanese vessels conducted raids in Bengal along the banks of the Ganges river delta to catch slaves and Arakan rapidly became a major market (Arasaratnam, 1995a: 198). It is therefore possible that polities of maritime Southeast Asia, especially Aceh, got supply on this market at that time. The Arakan-Aceh

4. Therefore, many slaves left Coromandel in 1618, 1620, in the mid-1640s, 1652 and 1659-1661 (Raychaudhuri, 1962: 166; Stephen, 1998: 156).

5. Coolhaas (ed.), van Goens *et al.*, GM IV, 13/02/1679: 294.

6. Of the 2,118 slaves sent from Coromandel to Batavia in 1646, 572 died during the journey (Raychaudhuri, 1962: 166). The following year, of the 1,046 slaves sent from Bengal and Pegu, 430 died before reaching their destination (Coolhaas [ed.], C. van der Lijn *et al.*, Batavia, 31/12/1647, GM II: 326).

7. Best, 1934: 58; "Standish-Croft" in Best, 1934: 166; Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), VII(1): 398. Beaulieu mentions shipwrecked crew of a ship from Dabhol taken as slaves by Iskandar Muda (Beaulieu, 1996: 216).

8. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 28/05/1664: 218; de Haan, 1910-1912, II: 46, note 4.





connection is certain for the following century, but I do not know yet who were the traders involved in this trafficking.⁹ There was also an active slave trade between Coromandel (Masulipatnam, Nagapattinam, and Porto Novo) and Aceh since the 1620s at least.¹⁰ During the second half of the 17th century, the people involved in this activity were high dignitaries from Coromandel (such as Nawab Mosemchan – or Chanchanan), the ruler of Golconda (Ito, 1984: 400), “Moor”¹¹ or Hindu merchants from Coromandel (Arasaratnam, 1995a: 206), as well as English and Danish traders. Sources mention that during the 1680s, within only two years between 15,000 and 20,000 South Asian slaves were transferred to the north of Sumatra.¹² Since the last decade of the 17th century at least, East India Company ships linked Madras and Aceh, carrying slaves among other trade items (Bassett, 1989: 630). The distinctive feature of Banten and its predecessor Banten Girang in the 16th century was that they went to the Maldives to buy slaves themselves (Pires, 1990, I: 169). The sultanate got perhaps also some supply from Ceylon during the 1670s.¹³

The descriptions of the courts in Aceh and Banten at the beginning of the 17th century speak for themselves. In 1620-1, Beaulieu noticed some 1,500 slaves at the court, mostly foreigners. Most of them did not go out of the palace and did not talk with people from outside. The sultan employed them for executions, murders, as well as for various other tasks (Beaulieu, 1996: 205) such as the care of the royal elephants. They were also active in the countryside, as many of them managed royal estates and took care of the cattle. Pepper plantations, rice-fields, gold mines as well as areas for gold panning were certainly parts of these royal estates.

The ownership of a large number of slaves was not restricted to the court. At the end of the 1680s, Dampier noticed that the *syahbandar* of Aceh had more than 1,000 slaves, and some among them were the main traders. These slaves owned themselves a large number of slaves and so on (Dampier, 1715: 172). In fact, the expression “patron-client relationship” would be more appropriate here. These clients were buyers on behalf of their master, controlled the foreign exchange of his cash, took part in the gold trade, cut wood, built houses, worked in quarries and were active in fishing. The

9. Reid, 1988, I: 133. Arasaratnam suggests that Portuguese carried slaves from Bengal and Arakan to Aceh.

10. Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), III: 177 (1622); van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 10/03/1641: 206; Ito, 1984: 398-399 (1640s); Coolhaas (ed.), J. Maetsuyker *et al.*, Batavia, 26/01/1655, GM II: 791; van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 27/01/1661: 16-17; DR, 22/05/1663: 212.

11. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR, 22/05/1663: 212.

12. Martin, 1932: 493-4. See also Dampier, 1715: 3.

13. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 18/01/1675: 25, 23/01/1675: 26.



skilled ones were able to engage in trading activities or craft industry thanks to a loan from their master, who in return got part of the profits.

So far, I have not found any clear indication regarding the existence of a more or less forced flow of work force from South Asia to maritime Southeast Asia before the 16th century. However, considering the expansion cycle that started in the region by the turn of the 15th century (Reid, 1993, II: 1-61), I suggest that this flow lasted for almost the whole period under consideration here. Based on the few above mentioned indications, if I consider (a very rough low estimation in my opinion), that the native polities of the region received an average of 2,000 South Asian slaves, captives and fugitives every year between the 15 and the 17th centuries, the total figure would be 600,000 people. Of course, this figure does not include Portuguese Melaka and the VOC settlements.

In Melaka, the number of slaves just before the Portuguese conquest is estimated at between 4,000 and 10,000 people (Alves, 2003: 148, 150), and at least part of them were probably of South Asian origin. In Portuguese Melaka, the demand for slaves came from the Crown for its troops (Breuning, 1954: 45), from the Portuguese elite for its domestic needs and from foreign, especially Tamil, traders to operate their vessels (Manguin, 1983: 210), and probably also for their domestic needs. The majority of these slaves came from Coromandel (Stephen, 1998: 156). The Christianized slaves freed by the Portuguese, as well as their descendants, became the Mardica community. They were allowed to conduct various activities but in return were subjected to compulsory duties. Known as "Portuguese Keling",¹⁴ they received a Christian name with their christening, wore Portuguese dresses and spoke Portuguese.

As soon as it took control of Melaka in 1641, the VOC wanted to repopulate the town with slaves. It carried on the strategy of the Portuguese by importing slaves from Coromandel and this until the end of the 17th century.¹⁵ Another important provider of slaves for Melaka was Ceylon, at least until the end of the 1670s.¹⁶ The needs of the VOC in the Archipelago were very similar to the needs of the native polities: development of spice plantations in Maluku, gold mining in Sumatra, craft industry, stockbreeding and fishing, development and protection of the towns under its authority,¹⁷ as well as servants for the elites.

14. Schouten, 1936: 116; Arasaratnam, 1995b: 484.

15. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 1641-2, p. 82: 12/1641; Coolhaas (ed.), Camphuys *et al.*, 23/12/1687, GM V: 133.

16. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 27/12/1663: 710; Coolhaas (ed.), van Goens *et al.*, 11/12/1679, GM IV: 367.

17. Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), III: 278; I: 794, 795.





For the VOC, the main advantage to bring foreign workers in general, and South Asians in particular, was probably a lower risk of confrontation compared to native populations. The religious factor may have been important too as many South Asian slaves were previously Christianized by Portuguese missionaries.

By the mid-1610s, Indians with Portuguese names were captured and brought inside the fortress of Jacatra (Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), III: 546). In 1616, Coen, then director-general of the VOC trading posts in the Archipelago, thought of bringing slaves and captives, especially Gujaratis, to the Banda islands, in order to increase nutmeg growing. The earliest traces of the importation of South Asian slaves by the VOC to the Archipelago date to 1618.¹⁸ Two years later, Coen again, this time as new governor-general, supported the idea of bringing people of South Asian origin to populate Batavia.¹⁹

The decision to set up colonies and to settle territories under the jurisdiction of the VOC, including Batavia, with free people and slaves, was officially enforced in 1623 (*ibid.*, IV: 602), and before leaving his office, Coen advised his successor to purchase slaves in Ceylon, Coromandel and Bengal (*ibid.*, III: 293). These importations lasted until the 1680s, mostly from Coromandel, from Bengal through the VOC base in Arakan, but also from Malabar, Orissa and Ceylon. The markets of these areas got their supply locally through war of conquest, raid or kidnapping. Sometimes, people offered themselves for sale in coastal ports after severe starvation²⁰ or devastation due to a long war. The capture of South Asian ship crews was regularly conducted by the VOC and free Batavia citizens. They also seized Portuguese vessels carrying South Asian slaves bound for Melaka.²¹ Moreover, Christian slaves captured by the VOC during the conquest of Portuguese territories, whether in India itself, at Melaka or in Ceylon, were sometimes kept as slaves. In this way, Batavia saw the arrival of some 15,000 slaves, prisoners and fugitives from South Asia between 1618 and 1680 (see table attached).

The Arakan slave market is probably the most often referred to in the sources. The Dutch got in touch with the local ruler in 1623, who permitted them to buy a limited number of slaves. However, the supply was unstable,

18. Fifty Indians who fled São Tomé [Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), I: 412].

19. Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), I: 590. Coen asked the representatives of the Company in Pulicat and Masulipatnam to buy slaves and then to send them to Jacatra, Amboin or Banda (*ibid.*, I: 574; III: 75, 96).

20. For example in the mid-1680s in Coromandel [Coolhaas (ed.), Camphuys *et al.*, 13/12/1686, GM V: 28].

21. Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), I: 777; V: 59; VI: 304; van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 1627: 322.



with a market sometimes open and sometimes closed.²² The VOC closed down its trading post there in 1665, when the Moghols took over Bengal and put an end to raids for slaves in the Ganges delta. The VOC virtually ceased to get supply from South Asia in the 1680s, at a time when it was virtually impossible for it to buy slaves in Malabar, Bengal and Arakan.²³

Who were these imported slaves? We know that at the beginning of the 17th century, the Aceh court chose young people (Beaulieu, 1996: 205). Coen also recommended the importation of young slaves, boys and girls aged between 8 and 20 (Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), V: 296). In 1655, on the Arakan market, slaves were sold between 2.5 reals for the youngest one (3-6 years) and 12 reals for the oldest one (20-36 years).²⁴ These prices need to be compared to the average price of rice in Southeast Asia at that time: about six reals for a *pikul* (Bulbeck *et al.*, 1998: 84), which usually corresponds to 60 kg. Moreover, certain categories of "Black Portuguese" (Indian-Portuguese mestizos) were also bought as slaves for Batavia (Bernet Kempers, 1974: 235).

Some of them were intended to cover the needs in work force of Batavia, others were sent to Maluku. In Batavia, the VOC employed some of them, but the majority was intended for private houses inside the walled area of the town, as well as farming estates outside. The most important officials and the wealthiest individuals kept more than 300 slaves. Even common citizens and artisans often kept between six and ten slaves, sometimes leased to get an additional income (Boomgaard, 2004: 85).

The VOC slaves were divided into prisoners of war and criminals on the one hand, slaves bought as manual workers (*ambachtsslaven*) on the other hand. The latter, mostly of South Asia, were again divided into coolies and artisans living in specific districts of Batavia. They were given clothes twice a year, rice, fish and salt every month as well as some cash.²⁵ The VOC had 1,500 of them in 1665. The coolies were employed as porters, as building workers, in the construction of roads and fortifications, the digging of channels, the maintenance of farmlands and gardens, as clerks, in shops, in

22. In 1625, the King of Arakan brought back some 10,000 slaves from Bengal, but as 4,000 of them died in Arakan he did not allow purchases by the VOC (Coolhaas (ed.), Carpenter *et al.*, 03/02/1626, GM I: 185). A new royal permission was granted to the Company in 1643 (Dam, 1932, II(2): 97) before another prohibition was declared two years later. The Dutch temporarily left their trading post in Arakan between 1647 and 1649 (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 11/03/1661: 58; DR 6/04/1664: 114; Schouten, 1707, I: 183, 261; Arasaratnam, 1995a: 201-202). Finally, in 1681, the ruler of Arakan announced that he was no more able to supply slaves from Bengal (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 09/02/1681: 106).

23. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 09/02/1681: 106; Coolhaas (ed.), Camphuys *et al.*, 30/11/1684, GM IV: 744.

24. Coolhaas (ed.), Maetsuyker *et al.*, Batavia, 01/02/1656, GM III: 48-9.

25. De Haan, 1935: 271, 273; Raben, 1996: 100.





hospitals, and also as workers in various kinds of workshops. Artisans were usually employed in ironworks, cannon casting and by carpenters.²⁶ The majority of the South Asian prisoners of war were people captured on Portuguese or English vessels. The VOC employed them for some time without any salary, before providing a monthly income.²⁷

At Batavia, the slaves not previously Christianized by the Portuguese were usually given a Christian name followed by the name of their home region. With their christening, they usually got the name of their godfather. For example, a slave named Pieter van Bengalen whose godfather was Matthijs Jansz, would receive the name of Pieter Jansz. If Pieter Jansz. later married someone called Martha van de Cust (Coromandel), his wife would change her name to Martha Pieters. Their children would receive the same surname after the christening, namely Pietersz. (de Haan, 1917: 221-222). In this way, the traces of their South Asian origin disappeared completely.

Liberated and usually Christianized slaves from South Asia as well as their descendants became a major part of the Mardijker community, made of free and full-blooded Asians that became part of the *burgers*. This designation was commonly used since 1632. They were also called *vrije swarten* (free Blacks), "Black Portuguese" or even "Negros". Another of their features was the use of a Creole Portuguese language. This community kept growing during the 17th century, following the increase of the slave population. It seems that, in Batavia, Mardijkers even outnumbered the Chinese during the 1650s and 1660s (Raben, 1996: 87; see table attached). In 1632, among a population of some 8,000 inhabitants inside the walled town, there were 2,500 slaves, mostly of South Asian origin and 495 Mardijkers (*ibid.*: 86, table 4.2). Some 60 years later (1689), among a population of some 66,000 inhabitants, there were 26,000 slaves (of South Asian and native origins), some 7,600 Mardijkers and more than 700 "Moors and Gentiles" (Raben, 1996: 91, table 4.5; 95, table 4.7), both designations which also referred to South Asian people. The growth of this community may also be traced through the evolution of its contribution to crossbowmen companies in Batavia during the 17th century: two in 1628, three in 1633 and 1641 – 356 individuals –, six in 1659 – 600 individuals – (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 3/09/1659: 183) and 1670 – 960 individuals – (*ibid.*, DR 01/08/1670: 131).

Other people to consider here are the mestizos with a father or a mother of South Asian origin. The VOC statistics do not make it possible to follow the evolution of this community during the 17th century. Moreover, Mardijkers and mestizos gradually mixed to become the "inlandse Christenen" or "Portugeezen" (de Haan, 1935: 398).

26. De Haan, 1935: 271, 354; Taylor, 1983: 17; Raben, 1996: 12; Boomgaard, 2004: 85.

27. See for example Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), III: 545, 572, 589, 775.

In 1612, an influential VOC official named Jacob L'Hermite recommended increasing the population of the Banda islands in order to stimulate the production of nutmeg. Coen, who repeated this advice four years later, suggested using slaves and convicts, especially Gujaratis.²⁸ In fact, by the 1620s, the VOC was facing a serious problem because numerous native slaves were fleeing the nutmeg plantations. Therefore, the Dutch decided to evacuate all the natives from the Banda archipelago and to replace them by slaves brought from South Asia.²⁹ It seems that the first significant batch, 355 individuals, arrived from Batavia in 1622. Most of them were probably South Asians, including former Gujarati sailors (Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), III: 135). The mortality rate of the slaves in Banda was enormous.³⁰ In 1626, there were more than 4,000 *vrije lieden* and slaves.³¹ Four years later, Banda had a population of 702 VOC slaves, including 335 physically able to work (Tiele & Heeres, 1895, II: 163). 1,865 foreign slaves, including slaves from Bengal and Malabar, were counted in 1637.³² In 1680, Banda still received slaves from Malabar, and there were still 1,500 slaves living in this archipelago.³³ Mardijkers also settled as early as 1616 in the Banda islands (de Jonge, 1864-1873, IV: 47). In 1689, the number of Christian Mardijkers exceeded 1,300, whereas the number of Moors exceeded 300 individuals.³⁴ Ambon also received slaves of South Asian origin. Their number exceeded 300 in 1627 (Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), V: 66; VI: 398). By 1690, among the 72,000 inhabitants of the island, there were 500 Mardijkers and almost 8,000 slaves, probably of South Asian origin.³⁵ Ternate was also a destination for Mardijkers and slaves during the 17th century. In the 1680s, the island had some 90 Mardijkers and 330 slaves, probably of South Asian origin.³⁶ Sumatra was

28. De Jonge, 1864-1873, III: 390; Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), II: 206; VII(1): 167; Chijis *et al.* (ed.), DR 10/10/1616: 196. In 1614, Gerard Reynst recommended increasing the population of Maluku with slaves from Madagascar (Coolhaas (ed.), GM Reynst, Bantam, 11/11/1614: 44).

29. Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), I: 794; Tiele & Heeres, 1895, II: xvii-xviii.

30. Coolhaas (ed.), Carpentier *et al.*, 3/02/1626, GM I: 186. Among Bengali and Malabar slaves especially (Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), V: 296; van der Chijis *et al.* (ed.), DR 31/05/1661: 149).

31. Coolhaas (ed.), Carpentier *et al.*, GM I, 13/12/1626: 223-224.

32. Van der Chijis *et al.* (ed.), DR 1636: 6/10/1636: 236; Coolhaas (ed.), van Diemen *et al.*, Batavia, 9/12/1637, GM I: 615.

33. Coolhaas (ed.), van Goens *et al.*, 13/10/1680, GM IV: 406; van Goens, GM IV, 29/04/1681: 431.

34. *Ibid.*, Camphuys *et al.*, 30/12/1689, GM V: 301; Camphuys *et al.*, 26/03/1691, GM V: 392.

35. Coolhaas (ed.), Camphuys *et al.*, 26/03/1691, GM V: 390.

36. Coolhaas (ed.), Camphuys *et al.*, 13/12/1686, GM V: 33.



another destination for VOC slaves. Miners and servants from Malabar worked in the goldmines of West Sumatra since the 1670s.³⁷

Spouses and concubines

Very few sources mention the presence of South Asian women following their husband in maritime Southeast Asia,³⁸ and so far archaeological data seldom substantiate their presence.³⁹ In contrast with this general impression, Pires mentions the large number of Bengali men and women in Melaka at the beginning of the 16th century (Pires, 1990, I: 93). In that case, they were probably not slaves. Moreover, a number of local rulers brought or tried to bring Muslim or Hindu women from Gujarat.⁴⁰ In fact, most of the South Asian women living in the region were slaves or former slaves, many of them spouses or concubines. After the failure of its effort to attract Dutch women on a massive scale, from 1635 the VOC decided to support marriages between its low-level staff and Asian women in order to create a mestizo community loyal to the VOC. Portuguese speaking slaves from Malabar and Coromandel coasts were particularly in demand for this end.⁴¹

Warriors

The presence of South Asian warriors in maritime Southeast Asia probably predates the period under study here. It is possible for example that foreign troops protected South Asian trade-guilds in South Thailand since the 9th century and in North Sumatra since the 11th century until the 13th

37. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 1673, p. 134: 31/05/1673; Coolhaas (ed.), van Goens *et al.*, GM IV, 21/12/1678: 253; Coolhaas (ed.), van Goens *et al.*, GM IV, 13/03/1680: 385; Hesse, 1931: 84.

38. In 1602, François Martin mentions the presence in Aceh of a large number of “Turks” who came from India and Sri Lanka, some of them with their spouses (Martin *in Pyrard*, 1998, II: 925). I would like also to add the mentions of widows going with their late husband on the funeral pyre as required by the Hindu tradition. See accounts by Martin (1602) (Martin *in Pyrard*, 1998, II: 924) and Cortemünde (1953: 139) regarding Banten (I would like to thank Claude Guillot for having provided a translation of this passage of Cortemünde to me).

39. In Kota Cina, the discovery of a Tamil female gold jewel (*tali* of spouses) led to the suggestion that a number of South Indian women were living there (E. McKinnon, 1984: 87). *Sulalat al Salatin* mentions the presence in Melaka of a sister of Tun Ali (a son of the Indian “prince” Baginda Mani Puridam), who became a wife of Sultan Mansur Syah (SEME CH 145). Even if the authenticity of this story is impossible to verify, it shows at least that female immigration from South Asia was a plausible phenomenon in the local imaginary at the time of the writing of the text.

40. *India Office Records* E/3/37 p. 4216 – 30/07/1676. I thank Claude Guillot for having informed me of this important document. See also van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 15/06/1681: 369. It should be added that when the Portuguese envoy Joris de Conha went to Mataram in April 1636, he brought three Gujarati women as a present to the ruler (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 18/08/1636: 195).

41. Taylor, 1983: 16-17; Blussé, 1986: 172.



century.⁴² North of Lake Toba in North Sumatra, the literature of the Karo people still preserves the tradition of a rich Indian trader coming there followed by troops spreading terror in the country.⁴³ This tradition could be related to the trade-guilds or to a later period.

Information that is more detailed is available from the 16th century onwards. By the turn of the 16th century, Persians and Turks, some of them probably coming from India, were mercenaries in the Melaka army (Thomaz, 2004: 130, 147). In 1510, the famous Gujarati merchant Malik Gopi sent warriors to Melaka in order to strengthen the troops of Sultan Mahmud Syah (Alves, 2003: 104). Several people, certainly or very likely of South Asian origin, did play a role in the army elite of the sultanate at that time: Koja Husain was *laksamana* (admiral), Tun Bandan, a warrior from Bengal, was one of the closest aides of the sultan and in favor of a military solution against the Portuguese. He died during the conquest of the town by the Portuguese (*ibid.*: 301). Tun Majlis, of Bengali or Turkish origin, came to serve under Sultan Mahmud and followed him to Bintan after the defeat. He went back to Melaka in 1512 to try to reinstate the sultan but failed. He reappeared nine years later in Gaur, Bengal (*ibid.*: 311).

In Portuguese Melaka, the Portuguese residents under the authority of the *Estado da India (casados)* owned some 2,000 slaves mostly used for military purposes (Thomaz, 1985: 64-65), many of them brought from South Asia. The Portuguese also enrolled Indo-Portuguese mestizos. Later, the Dutch captured many of these slaves and mestizos and brought them to Batavia.

In Aceh by the 1530s, Gujarati, Malabar, Turk and Abyssinian warriors were among troops fighting for the sultanate against its neighbors: the “Batas” and the kingdom of Aru (Mendes Pinto, 1991: 70). Later, Malabar warriors boarded Acehnese vessels during the attack against Melaka in 1568 (Meilink-Roelofsz, 1962: 144-5). Regarding these warriors from Gujarat and Malabar, we do not know whether they were official soldiers sent by the respective kingdoms, troops made up of traders living in Aceh, mercenaries or slaves. The marine officer leading the troops in Aceh was Kuti Ali Marikkar, a man from Malabar (Mendes Pinto, 1991: 69, 99, 101). The Turks and Abyssinians probably came from Gujarat.⁴⁴ In the middle of the 16th century, Demak was also using Malabar and Turks soldiers against Pasuruan, and these Turks probably came from Gujarat via Aceh (*ibid.*: 596). After the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565, Aceh received troops from Golconda to attack Melaka (Subrahmanyam 1990: 151-3).

42. Regarding the hypothesis of the presence of soldiers at Takuapa, see Abraham, 1988: 31.

43. E. McKinnon, 1984: 27; E. McKinnon, 1996: 95, 97.

44. For a recent hypothesis on this question, see Guillot & Kalus, 2006: 91, 93.





I have mentioned earlier slaves and mestizos captured by the Dutch. Some of them became soldiers of the VOC. Considered as free men they were posted in several garrisons of the Archipelago and took part in a series of campaigns not only in the Archipelago⁴⁵ but also in other areas. Several of them had a very strange destiny, as they sailed back to South Asia to take part in the conquest of Colombo in 1655 (Dam, 1927-43, II(2): 255). South Asian Mardijkers even led some of these expeditions. For instance, Joan de Brito, a man from Cochin who had Javanese and Balinese troops under his authority, led several expeditions during the war against Banten in 1682.

Beside these Mardijkers of South Asian origin, two other categories participated in several expeditions. The first includes the Moors of Batavia, that is the Muslim community from Southeast India, which also took part in expeditions launched by the VOC (Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 31/12/1682 (1682-II): 1471). The second one includes a number of Gujarati sailors captured by the VOC who were sent as soldiers to the island of Seram in 1622 (Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), VII(2): 948). Moreover, hundreds of these Gujaratis found also their way to Banten where they fought on the sultanate side during its conquest by the VOC in 1682 (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 4/12/1682 (1682-II): 1349).

Tax collectors

To put a foreigner in charge of collecting taxes seems a very ancient practice in Java. In fact, as early as the beginning of the 10th century, traders from South Asia appear in inscriptions in the category of *warga kilalan* interpreted as “tax farmer”.⁴⁶ We know that this practice lasted until the very beginning of the 14th century (Balawi inscr., 1305), and was entrusted to Kelings, Aryas, Singhalas and Karnatakas (Poerbatjaraka, 1936). It has been assumed that they collected the taxes from villagers, probably mainly on markets (Christie, 1982: 271).

There is no more trace of South Asian “tax collectors” until the second half of the 17th century, when Mardijkers took part in the collection of taxes for the VOC in Batavia. As far as I know, the first case is dated 1665 and is related to the tax on rice.⁴⁷ Mardijkers played an important role in this tax farming activity at least until the beginning of the 1680s. In 1683 for

45. Maluku in 1629 (Coolhaas (ed.), Specx *et al.*, Batavia, 15/12/1629, GM I: 259); Jepara in 1677 (de Graaf, 1961-2, II: 147); north coast of Java against Trunojoyo in 1678 (de Jonge, 1873, VII: lxiv); Banten in 1682 (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 13/12/1682 (1682-II): 1367).

46. Palebuhan (927 CE) is the single authentic tenth-century inscription which mentions a list of foreigners. Among them are Singhalas and Pandikiras (South India) who are clearly identified as *kilalan* (Christie, 1998: 367).

47. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 01/01/1665: 1. About 1680, Mardijkers controlled a large part of the rice trade between the north coast of Java and Batavia (Nagtegaal, 1996: 127).





example, from 18 farms to be allocated, they obtained seven accounting for 40% of the total value of this activity (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 31/12/1682 (1682-II): 1469-1470).

South Asians also had a significant place in tax farming during the Melaka Sultanate. As a ship arrived at the port with a cargo whose market value was known approximately, a group of merchants including five Kelings and five members from other regions formed a committee summoned by the customs officer, the *syahbandar*. Based on local rules, this committee estimated the value of the cargo and then handed over the customs duties to the *tumenggung* (Meilink-Roelofsz, 1962: 44).

Moneylenders

Probably since the beginning of the period referred to here, part of maritime Southeast Asia was already integrated in the vast network of moneylenders from South Asia, especially the Chettiar. Their key-institution was the temple fund, to which all members contributed and were able to borrow. They developed a system of negotiable bills of exchange or *hundi*, which could be drawn out in a place and payable in another place, in India as well in Melaka, Banten or Aceh (Reid, 1993, II: 112). The success of these long distance complex financial transactions was based on the principle of mutual trust and shared values, hence the importance of religious solidarities. Moreover, as independent moneylenders, they were considered by the local authority as a way to strengthen their power against potential challengers. As such, the most prominent among these South Asian moneylenders certainly constituted very influential lobbies.

It was probably these Chettiar who were mentioned in the region as Keling moneylenders until the 17th century. It was for example the case in Banten, where the Kelings belonged to the wealthiest merchants in town by the end of the 16th century, and used to lend money especially for maritime transports.⁴⁸ They were still there in 1670.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the Chettiar were not the only South Asian community of moneylenders in maritime Southeast Asia. Jews were there since the 16th century. An example is Khoja Azedim from Malabar, who was moneylender in Melaka in 1514 (Thomaz, 1993: 82). Gujaratis were also active in money lending in Banten by the end of the same century (Lodewycksz, 1609: 30).

Seamen and fishermen

According to a tradition collected by Linschoten in Goa at the beginning of the 1580s, various communities of fishermen, including people from

48. Lodewycksz, 1609: 30; Rantoandro, 2000: 588.

49. Vermeulen, 1677: 25; Struys, 1682: 70.





Bengal, were the earliest settlers in Melaka (Linschoten, 1988, I: 106). Bengali fishermen in Melaka were still noticed at the beginning of the 16th century (Pires, 1990, I: 93).

After the conquest of the town by the Portuguese, their Gujarati captives appeared in the region on the markets for seamen. In fact, the Portuguese employed them as rowers in their boats.⁵⁰ Several sources dating from the end of the 16th century until the beginning of the 17th century mention their presence in Maluku, working on Portuguese ships together with Indo-Portuguese mestizos. At that time, both groups formed the majority of the seamen working for the Portuguese in the far eastern part of Nusantara.⁵¹ In fact, during the 17th century, Gujarati seamen were regarded as among the most capable. They belonged to several castes specialized in navigation but some of them were also Muslims settled there, maybe Hindus converted to Islam.⁵² In Banten, by the end of the 16th century, these seamen of low social status seemed to make up the majority of the Gujarati community there (Lodewycksz, 1609: 30), and were hired on foreign ships, especially English and Dutch.⁵³ Gujarati seamen were also present on the labour market in Batavia at least since 1625 and the VOC had mixed Dutch-Gujarati crews.⁵⁴ If the Gujaratis seem to have formed the majority of South Asian seamen available on the labour market of maritime Southeast Asia during the 16th-17th centuries, they were not alone. We know for instance that the Portuguese quickly recognized the technical skills of the Kanaris, groups of professional Hindu or Muslim seamen from Konkan.⁵⁵ There is also the example of a cosmopolitan crew aboard a VOC ship around 1680, with seamen of Singhalese, Malabar and Maldivian origins (Schweitzer, 1929: 200).

Westerners did not have the monopoly over these South Asian seamen. In the second half of the 17th century, the royal trade ships of Banten sent up to the Coromandel Coast and Gujarat had South Asian seamen in their crews (Rantoandro, 1998: 266), seamen with Banten as their home port. The sultan and dignitaries preferred to hire them for their ships above Javanese crews (*ibid.*, 2000: 593). Several sources of the 1670s and 1680s even mentioned

50. Coolhaas in Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), VII(2): 854, footnote 22. The Portuguese quickly acknowledged the quality of seamen belonging to various coastal communities in Gujarat, especially the Navayats of Rander (Pearson, 1987: 73).

51. Keuning (ed.), 1942, III: xix; V, eerste stuck, 1947: 140; tweede stuck, 1949: 177; Foster (ed.), II: 31 (Cokayne).

52. Arasaratnam, 1994: 260. At the beginning of the 16th century, Albuquerque noticed that the Vanias of Cambay hired Muslim crews (Pearson, 1981: 121).

53. Scott, 1990: 150; “Beschrijvinghe van de tweede Voyageie.... Onder den Heer Admirael Steven vander Hagen...” in Commelin (ed.), 1646, II: 51; “W. Keeling” in Purchas, 1905, II: 538.

54. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 10/02/1625: 126; DR 05/1625: 153.

55. Pearson, 1981: 123; Arasaratnam, 1994: 261.



the names of *nakhodas*, for example the two Chulias Taja Mudalyar and Usa [Hussein] Marikar.⁵⁶ A source dated to 1689 (Dampier) attests that at that time South Asian seamen were still available on the labour market in the region (Dampier, 1715: 137). These seamen did not spend all their time aboard the ships. They went ashore, especially during the time of transactions. Some of them stayed even longer. During one of his stays in Aceh in 1621, Beaulieu mentioned the repurchase there of several Christian seamen from Goa, Cochin and Melaka. Formerly working on Portuguese ships, these people were probably captives or slaves (Beaulieu, 1996: 151). The career of these seamen sometimes took another turn. We have at least one example of South Asian seamen who became pirates in the region: a seemingly relatively important group of Gujarati pirates headed by Khoja Asem was in fact active in the South China Sea during the 1530s (Gopal, 1975: 12).

Finally, many South Asians were probably working as fishermen in the region, but they are very poorly documented.

Miners and artisans

In maritime Southeast Asia, local literature is the main type of source revealing direct indications of gold mining by South Asian people before the arrival of the Portuguese. As far as I know, the clearest indication is to be found in the Malay text entitled *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, which recounts the arrival in Pasai of an Indian merchant ship in which there is someone able to see the “smoke of gold” (*asap emas*).⁵⁷ Claiming to have detected seven goldfields unknown to the local people, he is given customary clothes by the ruler, who sends him to look for the sites with one of his guards and he manages to find a lot of gold (Jones (ed.), 1999: 21). A similar idea is found in a tale from the Karo area, north of Lake Toba, which recounts that, at the beginning, gold was the property of Tuan Banua Keling, the god of the intermediate world, and again here tales related to gold mention the presence of an “Indian” with supernatural powers (E. McKinnon, 1984: 29). This idea of gold mining carried out by Indians in the hinterland of North Sumatra may somehow be strengthened by the find of an inscribed gold ring in Lobu Tua near Barus, on the west coast of North Sumatra. The Sanskrit inscription on this ring is dated mid-9th until mid-11th centuries and has been read “tamasi wara kuru”, which is supposed to mean “in the dark I choose to work”. Based on this inscription, it has been assumed that its owner was an Indian miner (Friederich, 1858).

⁵⁶. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 11/06/1680; Arasaratnam, 1995c: 135.

⁵⁷. Hill (1960: 62) suggests the transcription ‘asfa’, not ‘asap’, which would mean ‘ore’ in Arabic (footnote 56 p. 182).





Much later, by mid-17th century, we know that Kelings managed the exploitation of gold deposits in the suburbs of Melaka (Arasaratnam, 1995b: 484) and that two Hindu Kelings from Nagapattinam had discovered a goldfield not far from the town.⁵⁸ There are other indications of early South Asian direct involvement in the exploitation of gold in the region or very close to it. One of them predates by a millennium the period under focus here. It is a touchstone found in Krabi, on the west coast of South Thailand. This artefact bears a Tamil inscription dated to the third or fourth century AD, which gives the name of a Tamil goldsmith, Perumpatan Kal.⁵⁹ A millennium later, not very far from Krabi, the Tamil inscription of Neusu, in the suburbs of present Banda Aceh, mentions activities related to gold by members of a South Indian trade guild. It is dated to the end of the 13th century (Subbarayalu, 2009). Therefore, between the Krabi inscription and this Aceh inscription fell maybe a millennium of exploitation of gold deposits by South Asian people in North Sumatra.

I have mentioned earlier the connection between gold and Kelings in the Karo area. In fact, in the same area, there is another tradition linking metal-working and the Kelings (E. McKinnon, 1984: 26, 88). There are other indications of this connection further south through two place names called “pijor Koling”, one south of Padang Sidempuan,⁶⁰ the other near Langgapayung. This name can be translated by “iron-working workshop run by Kelings”. It is interesting to note that the same link occurs in traditions in the eastern part of the Archipelago. For instance, the goldsmiths on the island of Lease near Ambon recount a tradition according to which they learned metal-working from Kelings of Coromandel (Rumphius, 2002: 111). In Melaka, the presence of South Asian artisans is attested since 1520.⁶¹ By the end of the century, at the latest, the wealthy Keling merchants of Melaka seemed to have brought goldsmiths, carpenters and other artisans with them (Arasaratnam, 1986: 115). Despite the significant decrease of the South Asian community during the 17th century, the presence of Indian artisans in Melaka was still mentioned by the end of the period (Watson Andaya, 1983: 207).

At least since the 17th century, Bengali people were well known as goldsmiths in Banten (Rantoandro, 2000: 551) and numerous Indian artisans were based in Aceh (Schrieke, 1957, II: 246). Moreover, at the same time, Indian and Singhalese cabinetmakers were working in Batavia. They represent an interesting case regarding the diffusion of furniture styles during

58. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 04/1642 (1641-2): 139; DR 09/1642 (1641-2): 170.

59. Srisuchat, 1996: 250, 269; Karashima, 2002: 10, 17.

60. E. McKinnon, 1984: 343. Near the confluence of the Angkola and Kumal rivers.

61. There were at least one mason from Bengal (Manguin, 1983: table 1) and Bengali tailors (Pires, 1990, I: 93).



the 17th century, as they brought a craftsmanship whose basis seem to have been set by the Portuguese in India. They were free workers, but also slaves or former slaves working under the supervision of Dutch masters.⁶²

Interpreters

At least from the end of the 16th century, sources about Banten mention the presence of Indian interpreters who were familiar with the Portuguese language. As the Portuguese started to visit Banten in 1540, one can assume that these interpreters were in demand there since mid-16th century (Rantoandro, 2000: 695, 731). Abdul, a “Moor” from Gujarat speaking good Portuguese, good Javanese and good Malay, even went to Holland with the first Dutch expedition and was back to Banten in 1598 with van Neck (Ijzerman & Rouffaer, 1915-1929, I: 160). This presence of Indian interpreters at Banten lasted until the beginning of the 17th century. At that time, Keling Panjang, a Tamil from Meliapur, was the head of the protocol and official interpreter at the Banten court due to his good command of the Portuguese language. Involved with the party in favor of free trade during the 1602-1608 crisis, he left Banten the next year with most of the Kelings.⁶³

Apart from Banten, we have several indications during the whole 17th century of the existence of Indian interpreters in the region, from Aceh to Buton Island in present Sulawesi Tenggara Province.

When Peter Floris arrived in Patani in June 1612, a group of people, including Chettiar, came on board in order to translate into Malay the letter of the King of England (Floris, 1934: 33). At about the same time, further south, a Moor was the official interpreter of the Portuguese captain of Melaka (Verberckmoes & Slots, 1988: 106). A few years later, we know that the sultans of Johor used to send “Moors” as envoys to the Dutch. Both parties recognized these Indian Muslims as skilled interpreters and negotiators (Watson Andaya 1978: 24).

In Aceh, Beaulieu noted in 1621 the presence of a group of Portuguese mestizos, interpreters converted to Christianity, which had established a “monopoly on this activity”. They were also employed as advisors and experts. Beaulieu mentions the name of Pedro Lamenço, the official interpreter at the court, speaking Malay as well as Portuguese, and he hired Domingo Valé, an interpreter from Cochin (Beaulieu, 1996: 105, 117). The interpreter working there for the Dutch at that time was Pedro Lorenço, described by Beaulieu as an Acehnese belonging to a fair social class (*ibid.*:

62. Sons of Mardijkers were often apprentices to furniture makers (de Haan, 1935: 415; Breuning, 1954: 74).

63. Guillot, 1999: 168-169; Rantoandro, 2000: 588, 590.





122). From his name, in fact, he was very probably a Portuguese mestizo of Indian origin as the other interpreters.

A month before stopping at Aceh, Beaulieu was at Tiku, on the west coast of Sumatra, where he mentions that the former interpreter of the English there was someone from Goa named Pedro Ferreiro (*ibid.*: 91). We know another interpreter from Goa, this one working for the Dutch around 1615, when they settled in Jacatra. He was interpreter of Japanese language (Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), IV: 151).

Later, in the 1670s, the interpreter of the sultan of Banten was a Bengali (Rantoandro, 2000: 730), whereas a Koja was the interpreter of the king of Buton (Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 02/01/1675: 5). This kind of association was not restricted to the coastal polities. We know for instance that Pakubuwana I, the ruler of Mataram at the beginning of the 18th century (1704-1719), had a Bengali interpreter during his meetings with the Dutch (Ricklefs, 1993: 137).

Staff and servants

In Melaka, before the Portuguese conquest, numerous clerks and accountants of Muslim traders were skilled Hindus (Sandhu, 1973: 54). We know also that at least since the 17th century, South Asians were secretaries of local rulers and dignitaries as well as foreigners.⁶⁴ In Batavia, numerous Mardijkers were clerks working for the VOC (Blussé, 1983: 70). In Aceh, the cashiers of the local and foreign merchants were generally Gujaratis, because of their reputation as most proficient identifiers of counterfeit money (Dampier, 1715: 164).

At least since the end of the 16th century, the wealthy Keling merchants of Melaka seem to have brought servants, laundry workers and other members of castes specialized in services (Arasaratnam, 1986: 115).

Eunuchs were noticed in the Banten and Aceh courts by the beginning of the 17th century. Pyrard de Laval, a French traveler, noticed that in Banten “high class women were securely taken care of by eunuchs in large number, and the Banten people bought them for that purpose” (Pyrard de Laval, 1998, II: 676). Another French traveler, Martin de Vitré, observed the same thing at the Aceh court where their main task was to keep guard over the concubines of the sultan (Beaulieu, 1996: 106, footnote 19). Some 20 years later, the first contact Beaulieu had with people in Aceh was on a royal ship where he saw one eunuch wearing the royal kris or seal, adding that there were 500 of them at the same court (*ibid.*: 104, 204).

64. In 1664 in Kedah, Eduard Lok, probably a private English trader, hired a Vania or a Keling as secretary in order to deal with payments to be made regarding his transactions and those of Mondas Naen, a trader from Coromandel (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 9/07/1664: 267). At the same time in Makassar, Joseph de Silva, born a Kanari, was the secretary of Kraeng Palingo (*ibid.*, DR 17/09/1666: 149).

Unfortunately, these three almost contemporary observations do not give any clue about the origin and antiquity of this tradition. Although none of these sources specifies the origin of these eunuchs, I suggest that they probably came from South Asia, precisely from Bengal, where the trafficking of eunuchs was flourishing at least since the 16th century (Bouchon & Thomaz (ed.), 1988: 162). Around 1515, Barbosa mentioned that in Bengal, Muslim traders often ventured in the hinterland to buy pagan boys, castrate them before training and selling them (Barbosa, 1918-21, II: 147). This hinterland could be the Sylhet area, to the northeast of Dhaka, where at that time boys were particularly in demand to be made into eunuchs. After the castration, they were well treated, sometimes receiving an Islamic education, before being sold in Bengal itself or being exported in the neighboring countries of the Indian Ocean where they were employed in harems and sometimes got access to high civil and military positions (Bouchon & Thomaz (ed.), 1988: 162).

Another community needs to be mentioned here: the Muslims from Coromandel settled at Bengkulu with the English after the latter left Banten at the beginning of the 1680s (Coolhaas (ed.), Camphuys, 08/03/1686, GM V: 18).

Religious proselytizers and leaders

For the period examined here, the oldest explicit mentions I have found so far regarding the presence of South Asian Hindu or Buddhist religious teachers in the region relate to Majapahit, where people from Karnataka and Gaur stayed at the court in the mid-14th century (Pigeaud, 1960-3, III: 98). Two names are especially mentioned: Buddhaditya from Kancipuri and a Brahman named Mutali (or Mudaliar?) Sahrdaya. Both wrote Sanskrit verses to honor the king Hayam Wuruk. By the end of the following century, the Old Javanese inscription of Trailokyapuri (dated 1486) mentions an order by King Girindrawardhana *dyah Ranawijaya* addressed to a court brahmin, Brahmaraja of the Bharadvaja *gotra*, presumably an Indian (Casparis & Mabbett, 1999: 307). Looking for the motivation of these Indian Brahmins risking been polluted through contact with foreigners, the main one was maybe the financial advantages offered by the status of guest of honor at the Majapahit Court. Certainly revered by their host, these guests were prestigious because of their birth and as such were superior to the local religious teachers (Pigeaud, 1960-3, IV: 259, 270, 272). Another advantage was probably their supposed supernatural power, especially for the specialists of tantric Shivaism (Sarkar, 1970: 178).

It is interesting to draw a parallel between this situation and the later narratives, which recount the magical powers of Sufi masters. These powers are considered as crucial in several stories of Islamization of religious



leaders or rulers.⁶⁵ One example is the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* that recounts the conversion of the king of Pasai, Merah Silu, by a dervish from Coromandel described as “a descendant of the caliph Abu Bakar”. Apart from this case, as far as I know, neither in the whole history of the Samudra-Pasai Sultanate, nor in 15th century Melaka, traces of South Asian religious leaders have been found. The various sources only mention Persian and Arabic religious dignitaries.⁶⁶ The usual question needs to be raised here: is it possible that some of these Persian and Arab dignitaries were in fact previously or still based in South Asia?

I have recently highlighted this question for another place, namely Barus on the west coast of North Sumatra. Based on various sources, I suggested very tentatively that Barus could have been Islamized during the second half of the 13th century. Three sources mention that the hero of the Islamization of Barus came by ship, but do not agree on his origin and the route he followed. According to the unpublished *Hikaiyat Tjarita Baros* he departed from “Roehoem” (Rum) and stopped in India before to reach the archipelago. According to a legend collected in Barus at the beginning of the 19th century, he departed from Makah and came straight to the archipelago. According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, he also departed from Makah but before reaching the archipelago, he spent some time in Ma’abri, Mutabari or Muktabar, which could be the Ma’bar of the ancient Arab sources, which is the Coromandel Coast.

It is not impossible that this hero was commemorated through a memorial to Syeikh Mahmud dated 1425/6 and bearing Arabic and Persian inscriptions still in situ on the highest hill of Barus (Perret, 2009: 583-4). The name of the sponsor of this monument, perhaps an indication about the origin of the hero himself, could also lead to both India and the Middle East. In fact this Nugan b. Madari or Tugin b. Madari (as deciphered by Kalus, 2003: 311-3) could refer to a *tariqah* (Muslim brotherhood) established by Shah Madar and possibly active in India, especially in Bengal, during the 13th century. If Madari refers to the place name Madar, then Syeikh Mahmud could be linked to Yemen where four places still bear this name or to a town near Al Basrah in Iraq (Perret, 2009: 585).

For the period under study here, the best known examples are probably the Arab ulamas involved in the connection between the Gujarat and Aceh. It seems that ulamas from Gujarat regularly visited Aceh since the 1570s (Azra, 1995: 55). Among them was an Arab, Syeikh Muhammad Jailani,

65. For instance at Banten Girang (see Pudjiastuti (ed.), 1991: 91, 192-197; Guillot, Nurhakim & Wibisono, 1994: 93-95) or on the northeast coast of Sumatra (see Perret, 1995: 128-129).

66. Alves, 2003: tables on the verso of page 223; Guillot & Kalus, 2008.

from the present town of Rander. He arrived in Aceh in the 1580s to teach Islamic law, ethics, logic and rhetoric. He went back to Makah before to come again to Aceh a few years later to teach mysticism during the reign of Sultan Ala ad-Din Riayat Syah (1589-1604).⁶⁷ Syeikh Muhammad Jailani was the uncle of the famous Nur Al-Din Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Hasanji Al-Hamid Al-Syafi'i Al-Asy'ari Al-'Aydarusi Al-Raniri, also from Rander in Gujarat, whose father was a Hadrami. After a stay in Makah around 1620, he became head (*khalifah*) of a Muslim brotherhood, the tariqah Rifa'iyyah, which he introduced later in maritime Southeast Asia. In Aceh, where he certainly stayed between 1637 and 1643, he became Syaikh Al-Islam, the most important religious adviser of the sultanate. He started a reform of Islam and had some opponents executed.⁶⁸ Facing a violent reaction he rushed back to Rander in 1643. Raniri was a prolific writer, producing religious and profane literature, including his famous *Bustan al-Salatin*.⁶⁹ Regarding 15th century Java, I refer to Pires, who mentions that Muslim traders from Gujarat and Bengal living on the north coast of Java used to bring in religious leaders, probably from the same regions. The economic success of these traders, exemplified through the construction of mosques, opened the door to the control of the commerce and power by their descendants (Pires, 1990, I: 182). These Muslim dignitaries probably legitimized their control of the power. Two centuries later, there is the interesting mention, in 1636, of the presence at the court of Mataram of a Haji Gujarati, who officiated the ceremony during which the ruler was conferred the title of sultan (de Graaf, 1958: 223, 269). By the end of the 17th century, during the Banten civil war, a large number of "Moors" left Banten for Batavia, where they spread Islam by opening *madrasah* and *langgar* (Heuken, 2003: 25, 42).

The single indication I have found regarding the presence of South Asian religious scholars in Bali during the period under study here refers to scholars formerly living in religious centres in the kingdom of Majapahit that encountered local scholars during the 16th century, after the fall of this kingdom.⁷⁰ In present Sulawesi, Indian Muslims are mentioned spreading their religion in Makassar by the mid-17th century (Schouten, 1707: 156 [1659]). A century earlier (1559), there is a similar report regarding Muslims from Calicut and Bengal in the island of Solor.⁷¹ In the eastern part of the

67. Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri, 1992: 5-6; Azra, 1995: 170; Bruinessen, 1995: 191.

68. Azra, 1995: 177; Bruinessen, 1995: 192.

69. For a very recent study of Raniri and the *Bustan al-Salatin*, which among other things highlights his loose cultural relations with India, see Wormser, 2010.

70. Creese (1997: 13) quoted by Hall, 2004: 220, footnote 8.

71. Jacobs (ed.), 1974: 302; Roever, 2002: 61.



archipelago, areas such as Ambon (especially Hoamat and Hitu) were already strongly influenced by Islam at the turn of the 16th century, because foreign traders visited them. It is possible that the process of Islamization started there as soon as the 14th century, led by "Gujarati" traders who used Gresik in Java as a port of call. Data are more detailed for the beginning of the 17th century. They show the use of various strategies of Islamization, including the opening of specific schools to Islamize the children of the elite, where teachers were mostly Javanese and Gujarati traders or sailors. These Gujaratis claimed to be *syariff*,⁷² meaning "person of noble birth" or "descendant of the Prophet Muhammad". Therefore, it is not surprising that, as in Aceh, people in Ambon still keep the tradition of Islamic teachers from Gujarat, starting probably in the 17th century with a certain Daud Ji Suleiman, followed by his son Abdul Rachman and later his grandson Hasan Suleiman (Knaap, 1987: 76, 80).

By the end of the 17th century, in various regions of the archipelago, South Asian Muslims were active in the establishment of 'sects' as mentioned in Dutch archives. These 'sects' were perhaps *tariqah*. These people were also active in spreading propaganda against the VOC or the Westerners.⁷³ Another combination found in maritime Southeast Asia was the South Asian individual, who was at the same time trader and religious leader, for example Koja Husain, a Gujarati probably from Dhabol, living in Johor by the end of the 16th century (Alves, 2003: 189-190). There were also South Asian traders who helped members of local ruling families to perform the hajj. This was the case for example in 1675, when a prince of Banten left aboard a Gujarati ship sailing first to Surat before to go to Makah with a large retinue (Arasaratnam, 1994a: 74).

Rulers and civil dignitaries

During almost the entire period considered here, most of the coastal polities of maritime Southeast Asia, from Aceh to Ternate and the Malay Peninsula, integrated more or less acculturated foreigners, including people from South Asia, in their political structure and highest administration. It seems that opportunities of upward mobility were numerous, and this characteristic may have encouraged people from South Asia to settle in the region. Based on the available sources, this phenomenon is certainly noticeable from the second half of the 14th century, but I suggest that it could perpetuate a much older regional tradition of entrusting foreigners with the

72. "MvO Artus Gijsels (1921)" in Knaap (ed.), 1987: 27-28; Knaap, 1987: 75.

73. For Banten, Batavia and Cirebon at the end of the 1670s, see Kathyrithamby-Wells (1970: 50). On the activities of a certain Sharif Habib Allah under the protection of the emperor Aurangzeb, ten years later, see Ricklefs, 1993: 305, footnote 39.



responsibility on specific matters, especially foreign affairs, whether economic or political. Compared to other social categories, this phenomenon is rather well documented in the sources.

A recent in-depth study of local epigraphic material revealed that during the second half of the 14th century, Pasai was ruled by a ‘Turkish’ elite from Bengal (Guillot & Kalus, 2008: 69-74). Inscriptions on tombstones reveal the names of four rulers. The discovery of this foreign dynasty confirms a Portuguese source according to which at a time of power vacuum and general weakness of the sultanate, local Muslim traders chose to put a ‘Muslim Bengali’ on the throne. They abandoned the power at the end of the 14th century, when the dynasty which founded the sultanate came back on the throne.

At least two individuals originating from South Asia acceded to the function of governor in the region. By the mid-16th century, Kaicil Guzerate⁷⁴ became governor (*sengaji*) of the kingdom of Jailolo, in the northern part of Halmahera, under the authority of Sultan Hairun of Ternate (r. 1535-70). He was previously the chief of his naval fleet. About 1616, Mataram destroyed and took control of ports on the north coast of Java, including Jepara, where a Gujarati bearing the title of Khoja Hulubalang (or Khoja Baba) was posted as governor of the town (and maybe of the surrounding territories) under the authority of the Mataram ruler.⁷⁵ The conditions of his access to power are not clear, but he was perhaps *syahbandar* of the port previously, and I assume that, according to his title of *hulubalang*, he played a major role in the conquest of the town. Coen noticed that he spoke Malay but not Javanese.⁷⁶ Another similar case yet to be confirmed is that of a probable Muslim from Coromandel who, during the 1510s, was posted as governor of Cirebon under the authority of Demak at the time.⁷⁷ Sources are relatively rich regarding the presence of *bendaharas* or *tumenggungs*, a kind of minister of finances, of South Asian origin in kingdoms of maritime Southeast Asia. In fact, sources reveal that there was a long tradition of “Keling *bendahara*” in 15th century Melaka and “Keling Tumenggung” in 16th century Banten.

Based on the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Suma Oriental*, we may assume that a Keling gained prominence at the court of Melaka around the mid-15th century. Through his marriage to a daughter of the *bendahara*, he probably

74. Jacobs (ed.), *Documenta*, 1974, I: 4, footnote 16 p. 31, footnote 24 p. 188. ‘Kaicil’, ‘Cachil’ or ‘quichil’, was the title of princes in Maluku (*ibid.*, I: 4, footnote 16 p. 31, footnote 13 p. 414, footnote 24 p. 188, 725, 731).

75. Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), II: 77, 384; *ibid.* (ed.), VII(1): 638-639.

76. *Ibid.*, II: 384; VII(1): 638-639, footnote 3 p. 890; de Graaf, 1958: 51, 57-60, 65, 70, 119.

77. Pires mentions his name: Lebe Uça (Pires, 1990, I: 183).





gained the confidence and support of the local trading community. Whereas the highborn status of this Keling in the *Sejarah Melayu* could be one of the recurrent themes of the text recently highlighted (Chambert-Loir, 2005), he probably belonged to the Chettiar financial community, as he became *bendahara*. Moreover, if he was not a Muslim before to access this function, he converted soon thereafter as suggested by Pires.

The comparison of the genealogies of various versions of the *Sejarah Melayu* gives rise to caution regarding the authenticity and intensity of the bonds between the sultans and this *bendahara* line of descent initiated by a Keling. However, the *bendahara* line as a reservoir of spouses for the sultans does seem to be one of the structural features of the kingdom of Melaka. Pires also points to this phenomenon (1990, II: 249). This *bendahara* line of descent initiated by a Keling raises the question of the ethnic identity claimed or assigned by the descendants, whether in the male or in the female line. In fact, the *Sejarah Melayu* and Pires clearly identify the origin of the founder of the line of descent, but the answer is much less obvious regarding the descendants. A number of indications suggest that the Malay text seeks to emphasize their integration in the Malay community. After the Portuguese conquest, a Keling acceded again to the function of *bendahara* of Melaka: Nayinar Chatu, previously probably a moneylender in Pulicat, is surely the most often studied South Asian of 16th century Melaka so far. He committed suicide in 1514 and was replaced by his son.⁷⁸ This feature of a Keling attached to the function of *bendahara* seems to have been carried on by Johor, the heir of the Melaka Sultanate. In fact, sources reveal that, in 1535, one of the sons of the *bendahara* Tun Narawangsa bore the title of Tuanku Marakayar, a title linked without any ambiguity to the Marakkayar Muslim community of Coromandel, especially active in the ports of Kunjimedu and Nagore at the time (Alves, 2003: 312).

At Banten, Indians, especially Tamils, dominated the administration of the town from its foundation in 1527 until 1609. The Tamil Gobay held the highest function of *tumenggung* (Prime Minister for foreign affairs) in 1596. Three other South Asian individuals assisted him.⁷⁹ A number of South Asians also held the position of *syahbandar*. As an intermediary between the local ruler and the foreigners, it was a key position for economic relations. The function of *syahbandar* seems to appear in the context of Muslim kingdoms, but it was not an innovation in maritime Southeast Asia, as the

⁷⁸. Pires, 1990, II: 281, note 2 p. 287; Thomaz, 1979: 114-116; Thomaz, 1985: 59-62; Bouchon, 1979: 132, 134; Reid, 1993, II: 112; Alves, 2001: 132-135, 256; Alves, 2003: 163, 256.

⁷⁹. See Guillot, Nurhakim, Wibisono, 1994: 131; Guillot, 1991: 56, 60, 66, 70, 72; Guillot, 1993: 57, 59, 63-64; Guillot, 1999: 166, 168-170; ‘Verhoeff’ in Commelin (ed.), 1646, II: 45-6; Scott, 1990: 88.





function of *juru*⁸⁰ was already an element of the administration structure of Hindu-Buddhist Javanese polities since the 10th century at least.⁸¹ During the whole period focused here, *syahbandars* of Tamil and Telugu origins, but also from Gujarat and Bengal, are mentioned from Aceh to Ternate, including Pasai, Melaka, Pahang, Kedah, Banten, Jepara, Banjarmasin and Bima.

The Keling Nayinar Kuniyappan, perhaps from Kunjimedu in Coromandel, held the position of *syahbandar* in Pasai between 1516 and about 1523. He was also a diplomat.⁸² Among the four *syahbandars* of Melaka during the rule of Sultan Mahmud Syah (1488-1511), two were South Asians. One was in charge of people and ships from Bunuaqujlim (the Tamil and Telugu areas), Bengal, Pegu and Pasai, the other was in charge of the Gujarati (Pires, 1990, II: 265). The reasons behind this repartition are not clear, but the demographic importance of each of these communities was certainly a deciding factor. None of the names of these Keling *syahbandars* during the Melaka Sultanate has come down to us. We only know the title of Raja Mendeliar at the time of Sultan Mahmud Syah, an individual as rich as the *bendahara* and probably one of the most influential dignitaries at the court. Nayinar Melaka, another Tamil, held again the position of *syahbandar* at the time of captain Dom Estêvão da Gama – 1534-1539 – (Alves, 2003: footnote 1 p. 316).

In maritime Southeast Asia, several *syahbandars* bore this title of Raja Mudeliar (or Mendeliar) used in Tamil Nadu, in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka and in Malabar, to designate a head of territory. It was also a title of a caste used by Tamils.⁸³ The last *syahbandar* of Banten Girang, at the beginning of the 16th century, was Raja Mudelyar (or Mudylar). Jacques de Coutre mentions a Raja Mudelyar, “veedor de hazienda” of the sultan of Pahang in the 1590s (Verberckmoes & Stols, 1988: 60).

At Banten, during the entire 16th century, Kelings monopolized the single position of *syahbandar* (Rantoandro, 1998: 255). Syahbandar Keling replaced the above mentioned Raja Mudelyar by the end of the 1520s, soon after the foundation of Banten.⁸⁴ He held that position until the 1540s, after he took part in the military campaigns against Pajajaran. Since the end of the 1570s at least and for more than 20 years, a Tamil originating from Meliapur

80. Which appears in inscriptions in association with the name of an ethnic group.

81. As far as I know, the oldest authentic inscription which mentions this expression is the Barsahan inscription (908 CE). Probably its last occurrence appears in the Jiju inscription (last quarter of the 15th century), in the vicinity of Mojokerto (Sarkar, 1971: 361).

82. Alves, 1994: 135; *ibid.*, 1999: 121; *ibid.*, 2001: 137-142.

83. Yule & Burnell, 1994: 569; Coolhaas (ed.), GM II: 632, note 3.

84. A Syahbandar Keling appears in the *Sajarah Banten* as one of the heads of the Banten Girang troops during the expeditions of Islamization of the hinterland (Pudjiastuti (ed.), 1991: 93, 203).





was again *syahbandar* with the Javanese title of Kiayi Wijamanggala.⁸⁵ He was one of the few foreigners allowed to live inside the walled area, near the palace. By the turn of the 17th century, he was replaced by another Tamil, who held the function until 1609.⁸⁶ Some sixty years later, another South Asian individual was again *syahbandar* of Banten. In fact, Soliman Daud was in charge of the entire Indian community living there – people from Coromandel, Gujarat and Bengal – (Guillot, 1999: 179).

As far as I know, the last mention of a Keling *syahbandar* in the region refers to an individual named Saracsatty living in Krawang, near Batavia, in 1659. It does not mean that Tamils never assumed the function later, but their successors were undoubtedly Muslims called Chulia. As the word ‘Keling’ did not always refer to a follower of Hinduism, the substitution of the word ‘Keling’ by ‘Chulia’ during the 17th century cannot be interpreted as a rupture in the religious affiliation. In 1675, the main *syahbandar* at the court of Kedah was a powerful Chulia named Sarajah Cawa (Suraj Khan).⁸⁷ Two years later, the *syahbandar* of Ternate was Selebe (Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 29/07/1677: 244), a Chulia probably belonging to the Labbai community, well represented in the region at the time.

Since the end of the 15th century at least, until the Portuguese conquest, Melaka had a Gujarati *syahbandar*. Nakhoda Begawan, the only name (or title) left, held the function at the beginning of the 16th century. He was an influential spiritual master at the court of Sultan Mahmud Syah and played a major role during the first visit of the Portuguese to Melaka in 1509 (Alves, 2003: 165, 253).

As in Melaka, there were four *syahbandars* in Aceh,⁸⁸ including at least one Gujarati at the time of Iskandar Thani (1636-1641). Nakhuda Mu'tabar Khan held this position until 1660 at least, during the reign of Safiyyat ad-Din (1641-1675). Aceh had another Gujarati *syahbandar* at the time (1659-60), Moutjakan or Moedjagkan Benjamin settled in Aceh since the 1640s (Ito, 1984: 288, 293, 300). It may be noted that the presence of Gujarati *syahbandars* was not limited to the western part of maritime Southeast Asia. In 1613 for example, the *syahbandar* of Hitu in Amboina was also a Gujarati (Knaap (ed.), 1987: 208).

If the dignitaries of Tamil, Telugu and Gujarati origins seem to represent the majority of the most influential South Asians in local courts, Bengali

⁸⁵. Keuning (ed.), 1938, I: 48; Meilink-Roelofsz, 1962: 240.

⁸⁶. Guillot, 1992: 66; *ibid.*, 1999: 168-169; Rantoandro, 2000: 588, 590.

⁸⁷. Bowrey, 1905: note 1, p. 265, 262. Strangely, this name sounds rather Gujarati.

⁸⁸. At least since the reign of Iskandar Muda (see Beaulieu, 1996: 111) and during the following years (see for example the account of Mandelslo in 1639 [1727: 348]). There were still several *syahbandars* in Aceh during the 1670s (Bowrey, 1905: 301).

individuals on occasion functioned as *syahbandars* too. The 1522 agreement between Banten Girang and the Portuguese mentions a ‘mandarin’ from Bengal (Guillot, 1999: 165-6). In Jepara, where the administration seems to have been organized with several *syahbandars*, two Bengalis probably held the position. In fact, Key Raxa Bengal (or Bengala) was *syahbandar* there in the mid-1660s. Even if there is no explicit mention regarding his origin, his title leaves no doubt. He lived in Jepara with one of his sons and took part in two embassies to Batavia.⁸⁹ Ten years later, in 1674, Karti-Sedana was another Bengali among the *syahbandars* of the town. Since at least the 1660s, he was among the four major traders in town, with a powerful influence on the governor. As his predecessor, he took part in embassies to Batavia.⁹⁰ I would like to add also the *syahbandars* bearing the title of ‘Khoja’, who are most likely to have been of South Asian origin, in the absence of indications to the contrary. It is the case for Khoja Babu at Banjarmasin from the end of the 1620s until the mid-1630s at least. He notably went to Batavia in 1635 to sign the first contract of purchase of pepper by the VOC at Banjarmasin.⁹¹ At Bima, Khoja Rubu, an individual active in the trade of local sappanwood, was *syahbandar* from 1674 to 1680 at least.⁹²

The official function of *saudagar raja* (king merchant) was sometimes associated to that of *syahbandar*. This dignitary was especially in charge of all the business transactions of the ruler, but he also carried out other tasks not directly connected to trade.⁹³ In 1621, Beaulieu probably referred to the *saudagar raja* of Kedah, when he mentions that the king asked a Gujarati

89. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 3/12/1665: 396; DR 22/12/1666: 210; DR 15/07/1669: 361. Durpa Bengale, very probably another Bengali, was also a member of the embassy sent in 1666.

90. De Graaf, 1961-2, I: 162; II: 35, 70, 82. During the second half of the 17th century, another prominent individual from Jepara bore a title whose last word sounds Indian, but it is a pure guess so far and would need to be confirmed. It is Kiyai Lura Marmagatty, one of the four major traders of Jepara during the 1660s, as Karti-Sedana. As he spoke Malay and Portuguese, he was interpreter at the court of Mataram during the embassy of Wagenaer in 1667. He also took part in several embassies to Batavia (1666, 1669, 1670), especially to ask for letters of navigation in order to conduct trade in Sumatra and in the Malay Peninsula. Marmagatty was *syahbandar* during the 1670s (van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 22/12/1666: 210; DR 29/07/1669: 375; DR 04/05/1670: 66-67; DR 11/09/1672: 241; van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 27/04/1677: 116; de Graaf, 1961-2, I: 162, 170).

91. Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), V: 450; Heeres, J.E. (ed.), 1907: 270; Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (cp.), 1965: 2-3. According to Cense, he was a Gujarati, but no sources are given to support this (1928: 94).

92. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 25/01/1675: 33; Coolhaas (ed.), Maetsuyker *et al.*, 23/11/1675, GM IV: 60; van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 19/12/1680: 814.

93. For more details, see Watson Andaya 1978; Kathyritthamby-Wells, 1969: 462; Purchas, 1905, IV: 288. It seems that this function was never institutionalized in India. However in the small polities of Malabar and in the south, there were traders favored by the State, who managed the business of royal investors along their own business (Arasaratnam, 1994: 177).



trader to collect as much pepper as possible to buy cannons (Beaulieu, 1996: 161). The best documented *saudagar raja* of South Asian origin is surely Siddi Lebbe, a major Chulia trader of South Coromandel, probably from Cuddalore or Nagore. He was *saudagar raja* in Perak from the 1670s until the beginning of the 1680s and spent also some time in Melaka and Johor.⁹⁴ Mahometh Lebey was another Chulia *saudagar raja*, this time in Banten during the 1670s (Guillot, 1999: 180).

South Asians appear also among the Orang Kaya. For instance, at the beginning of 1610, one of the highest dignitaries of Banda was an Indian with the title of Orang Kaya Keling, and among the notables captured there a decade later by the Dutch we find individuals such as Codia Ali, Codia Omnian and Lebe Bousam.⁹⁵ Still in Maluku, in Amboin to be precise, a certain Lebe Somewel was an Orang Kaya of Hitu in 1625 (Tiele & Heeres, 1895, II: 78).

Interactions with the foreign world were entrusted to diplomatic agents nominated by the ruler. Here again the tendency in maritime Southeast Asia seems to have been to send foreigners to accomplish these missions.⁹⁶ These foreigners were not full time ambassadors but usually traders sent to their country of origin. Here we find again the above mentioned Tuanku Marakayar sent by Johor to Melaka to sign a peace agreement with the Portuguese in 1535 (Alves, 2003: 312), as well as the Raja Mudeliar or their descendants. Pahang also sent a certain Raja Mudeliar to Melaka at the end of the 16th century (Verberckmoes & Stols, 1988: 60). In the middle of the 17th century, Aceh sent Orang Kaya Raja Mudeliar to Tiku, on the west coast of Sumatra, to sign a trade agreement with the VOC, and soon later, he went to Perak for a similar mission.⁹⁷ Around the same time, Makassar sent Koja Ibrahim, probably a Gujarati, to Mataram in order to develop commercial cooperation and create a pan-Islamic movement.⁹⁸ During the 1660s, the same ambassador was sent twice to Batavia to meet the Governor-General in order to plead for the sultanate.⁹⁹ As regards Banten, I have found a Lebbe, therefore a Chulia trader,

94. Watson Andaya 1978: 19, 26, 32-33; Andaya, 1975: 38-39, 199-200, 208; Arasaratnam 1986: 147; Arasaratnam, 1995c: 132-133, 135, 148.

95. Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.), IV: 262; Verken, 1930: 97-98.

96. For example, on the Chinese ambassadors of Srivijaya since the 10th century at least, see Salmon, 2002: 71-77.

97. Tiele & Heeres, 1895, III: 502; Heeres (ed.), 1907: 530, 539. Coolhaas (ed.), GM II: 520, note 1. During a trip to Batavia, Raja Mudeliar was deprived of all his properties, being accused of conspiracy and having sold Aceh to the Dutch (Coolhaas (ed.), C. Reniers *et al.*, Batavia, 24/01/1652, GM II: 569-570).

98. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 26/04/1659: 79-80; DR 13/05/1659: 97; de Graaf, 1961-2, I: 69, 72, 120-121.

99. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 18/10/1663: 504; DR 12/09/1665: 257; de Graaf, 1961-2, I: 72, note 1.



sent by Banten to the ruler of Sukadana in 1680.¹⁰⁰ The hiring of South Asian envoys was not limited to local polities. The VOC hired at least two individuals from South Asia during the 17th century to conduct missions in the archipelago: ‘Genading’, a Ceylonese sent by admiral Speelman, and the ‘Moor’ Piero, who knew the Javanese language and the coast, sent to meet Trunojoyo (de Graaf, 1961-2, II: 47, 135, 150, 174).

Conclusion

During the period under consideration, South Asians not involved in trade were present from Aceh to Maluku. I have identified four centres of gravity: the northern part of Sumatra, the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, the north coast of west Java (Banten/Batavia), and Maluku. The mention of the latter raises the question of an earlier involvement of South Asians there. Thanks to the account of Pires, we may assume that South Asian traders settled in Maluku since at least the 14th century. As South Asian traders are identified on the north coast of Java since the ninth century, and as this area had long been in contact with Maluku for the spice trade, I suggest that South Asians, involved in trade or not, may have lived in Maluku since the beginning of the period studied here. The identification and archaeological excavations of old settlements in Maluku could yield some precious indications to support this hypothesis.

Regarding the origins of these people, we can conclude that all the coastal areas from Gujarat to Bengal yielded migrants to a greater or lesser extent, along with Ceylon and the Maldives. The Tamil area, Bengal, and Gujarat were probably the most significant suppliers, followed by Ceylon, the Maldives, Orissa and Malabar.

The demographic weight of this phenomenon is impossible to estimate with precision. However, I have suggested above a conservative estimate of 600,000 South Asian slaves imported by the natives polities between the 15th and the 17th centuries. If this figure is doubled to take into account slaves imported by the Portuguese and the Dutch, as well as the people who found their ways in other groups, except traders, the total estimate would be 1.2 million individuals. Arrivals between the late 13th century and the late 14th century need to be added to this number to cover the entire period under consideration here. Moreover, to estimate the overall impact of South Asian people in the region the various categories of traders need also to be taken into account.¹⁰¹ Even if these figures are only rough estimates, it seems clear that the phenomenon was far from negligible.

100. Van der Chijs *et al.* (ed.), DR 26/08/1680: 553; Arasaratnam, 1996: 169.

101. Van Leur, probably referring to the period 15th-16th centuries, gave a conservative yearly estimate of some 8,000 Indian and Middle-Eastern traders coming to the region (1960: 108).



If my hypothesis on the migration of South Asian labour force to maritime Southeast Asia since the 15th century is right, South Asia as a source of manpower is a recurrent feature of the economic relations between both regions until today. After an interruption during the 18th-19th centuries, the phenomenon surged again from the late 19th century until the 1930s in the Malay Peninsula, especially with the massive migration of Tamils in the rubber and oil palms plantations, and others in the development of public infrastructure and municipal services. It has been followed, since the 1980s, by the hundreds of thousands of Bangladeshi workers, who have flocked into Malaysia, especially in the construction and industry sectors.

I have shown the continuity of their involvement in the plantation sector since the development of native pepper plantations in North Sumatra, followed by the nutmeg plantations controlled by the VOC in Maluku and later in Peninsular Malaysia as just mentioned above. Does this involvement go back to the apparition of the pepper cultivation in 11th century Java, as this culture requires some expertise? This question will be very difficult to answer, except if archaeologists are lucky enough to spot these early plantations and find indications of an Indian presence in their vicinity. The same continuity of involvement is perceptible in the subsistence farming controlled by native polities and the VOC (cultivation of rice and vegetables, stockbreeding, fishing), as well as gold mining, in which Indian experts were very probably involved long before the period under consideration here.

We have seen South Asians meeting the native and foreign demands to increase the population, to build and maintain the infrastructure of strategic centres such as Aceh and Batavia. Again, this role in the development of infrastructure reappeared in 20th century Malaysia, as mentioned above. South Asians also met part of the demand of the rulers, as well as growing local and foreign elites, for palace staff, domestic helpers and artisans. The demand was also strong for Indian sailors by natives (Banten) and foreigners (Indian traders, Portuguese, Dutch and Englishmen) settled in maritime Southeast Asia. The continuity of their involvement in military troops is clear too. South Asian warriors served native rulers in several wars, and featured in troops of Portuguese Melaka and the VOC. As fighters, some of them had surprising destinies. I think especially of those sent back to South Asia (Ceylon) in the VOC military expeditions, but also of those fighting against each other during the conquest of Banten in 1682. Again, continuity should be pointed out here with the role played by Sikh soldiers and policemen in British Malaya and likely in today Malaysia. The same may be said of the role played by Indians in the civil service. I have noticed their role as tax farmers in late 17th century Batavia, perhaps a resurgence of what seems to be a very old tradition of South Asian tax collectors in Java. It is almost certain that other sectors have escaped our attention or are totally absent from the sources. Art would be one of them.



The common shortage of population stimulated the social mobility, usually leading to progressive shifts of cultural identities. The shortage of a middle-class especially, led to the formation of a class of slaves-clients in native polities, and to the liberation of a large number of South Asian slaves, who became parts of two bourgeois classes, the Mardicas in the Portuguese settlements and the Mardijkers in the VOC settlements. This middle class of foreign origin offered several advantages to the foreign authorities: no social demand, no pretension to power, and conversion to the Christian faith.

We have seen South Asians reaching the highest positions in the administrative hierarchy of several local polities, such as *bendahara* and *tumenggung*, *juru* and *syahbandar*, *saudagar raja*, or ambassador. This fact may be interpreted as a capacity to integrate through assimilation in an open society, which usually requires the conversion to Islam, the adoption of the local language and customs, marriage to a native spouse, and the acceptance of a native title. It may also be analyzed as a sign of shortage of native experts to fill certain positions, perhaps by lack of interest, or because of fear or difficulty to interact outside ones own society. In that case, the existence of a cosmopolitan high administration could be the result of a deliberate strategy conducted by the native rulers.

Regarding the involvement of South Asians in the religion, I have notably shown their role in the propagation of Islam almost all over the region during the 17th century. However, even at that time, it seems that most of the religious leaders were of Arab origin, born or having spent some time in South Asia before reaching maritime Southeast Asia. It has been argued that these Arab religions leaders succeeded mostly Persian Muslim leaders active from the 9th century onwards (Guillot, 2004). These hypotheses raise the question of the role of South Asians converted to Islam during the initial stage of Islamization of the region.

The late 17th century saw the progressive abandonment of navigation by South Asian traders towards maritime Southeast Asia, except the Chulia still quite active in the Malacca Straits and in Aceh. The phenomenon was the result of several important developments. Three of them are related to the VOC: the total monopoly on the spice trade achieved by the Company since 1667; the Company increasingly looking for native slaves, and the expulsion of foreign traders from Banten in 1682. Others are related to the situation in South Asia: the annexation of Golconda and Bijapur by the Moghols (1686-7), leading to a withdrawal from maritime transportation activities; an identical decision taken by the nobles and the high administration in Bengal. This dramatic decrease in trade between South Asia and maritime Southeast Asia certainly had an impact on the other activities. The mostly male South Asian communities settled in the region were therefore less and less revitalized or not revitalized at all, leading to their evanescence through





assimilation. In fact, I think that this century corresponds to a transition period from very significant South Asian involvement to large-scale Chinese involvement in maritime Southeast Asia.

This study has only touched upon a limited aspect of this long and fascinating history of the South Asians in maritime Southeast Asia. Numerous directions need in-depth investigations. I would like to suggest only two of them here. The Chinese have just been mentioned. As far as I know the history of the relations between the South Asians and the Chinese communities in the region have never been really analyzed, at least for the period before the 19th century. Moreover, would the concept of Overseas Indians be valid? In other words, is the idea of cultural unity in a foreign environment, as implied by the concept of overseas Chinese, also relevant for South Asian migrants at a particular time?

Population of Batavia, 1673-1699

(Figures regarding population of the suburbs are incomplete for the years 1673 & 1679)
(From Raben, 1996: table 4.5 p. 91)

	Europeans	Mestizos	Mardijkers	Chinese	Others	Slaves	Total
1673	2.024	726	5.362	2.727	2.931	13.281	27.051
1679	2.134	619	6.204	3.006	3.595	15.995	31.553
1689	2.162	965	7.638	5.169	23.499	26.168	65.601
1699	2.258	1.177	7.922	8.074	26.447	25.721	71.599



**Arrivals of slaves, prisoners, or fugitives from South Asia
at Batavia during the 17th century**

(Based on Dagh-Registers; Generale Missiven; Colenbrander & Coolhaas (ed.);
Raychaudhuri, 1962; Subrahmanyam, 1999; Arasaratnam, 1995a; Leider, 2004: 442-443)

Year	Origin of the passengers	Total
1618	São Tomé	50
1621	Coromandel	124
1622	Coromandel/ São Tomé	1376
1623	Bengal	< 100
-	Coromandel/ São Tomé	1280
1624	Bengal	250
-	Coromandel	928
1625	Bengal	144
-	Coromandel	512
1626	Coromandel	64
1627	Coromandel	832
-	Malabar	750
1628	Coromandel	73
1630	Orissa	?
1633	Bengal	300?
1631	Coromandel	?
1636	Coromandel	80
-	Bengal	216
1637	Coromandel	36
1641	Coromandel	51
-	Bengal	28
1642	Bengal	225 or 325
1643	Coromandel? Bengal?	108
-	Bengal	650
1644	Coromandel	52
-	Bengal	600
1645	Bengal	145
1646	Coromandel	1646
1647	Bengal/Pegu	616
1648	Coromandel	22
1654	Bengal	461
1655	Bengal	200
1656	Bengal	288
1657	Bengal	406
1658	Bengal	153
1659	Bengal	407
1660	Bengal	421
-	Coromandel	295
1661	Bengal	538
-	Coromandel	80
1662	Bengal	101
1663	Bengal	253
1664	Bengal	150
-	Coromandel	115
1665	Bengal	About 300
1677	Madura	100
1678	Ceylon	360
1680	Ceylon	25





REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van de Koninklijk Instituut
DR	Dagh-Register
GM	Generale Missive
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
JSEAH	Journal of South-East Asian History
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
SEME CH	Sejarah Melayu, Cheah Boon Khen (ed.)
TBG	Tijdschrift voor indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
VKI	Verhandelingen van de Koninklijk Instituut
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (cp.), *Surat-Surat Perdjandjian antara Kesultanan Bandjarmasin dengan Pemerintahan2 V.O.C., Bataafse Republiek, Inggeris dan Hindia-Belanda, 1635-1860*, Jakarta, ANRI, 1965.
- Barbosa, Duarte, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*. M. Longworth Dames (transl. & ed.), New Delhi/Madras, Asian Educational Services, 1989, 2 vol., (reprint of Hakluyt Society, vol. 44, 49, 1918-1921).
- Beaulieu, Augustin de, *Mémoires d'un voyage aux Indes Orientales, 1619-1622. Introduction, notes et bibliographie de Denys Lombard*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient/Maisonneuve & Larose, 1996.
- Best, Thomas, *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612-1614*, W. Foster (ed.), London, Hakluyt Soc., LXXV, 1934 (reprint, 1995).
- Bouchon, Geneviève & Thomaz, L.P. (ed.), *Voyage dans les deltas du Gange, 1521*, Paris, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian/Centre Culturel Portugais, 1988.
- Bowrey, Thomas, *A geographical account of countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, R.C. Temple (ed.), Cambridge, Hakluyt Soc., sec. Series no. xii, 1905.
- Cense, Anton Abraham, *De Kronik van Bandjarmasin*, Santpoort, C.A. Mees, 1928.
- Cheah Boon Khen (ed.), *Sejarah Melayu. The Malay Annals. MS. Raffles No. 18*. Edisi Rumi Baru, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1998.
- Chijs, J.A. van der et al. (ed.), *Daghregister gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaatse als over geheel Nederlandts-India (1624-1682)*, Batavia, 1887-1928, 21 vol.
- Colenbrander, H.T. & Coolhaas, W. Ph. (ed.), *Jan Pietersz Coen: bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indie*, 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1919-1953, 7 vol.
- Commelin, Is. (ed.), *Begin ende voortgangh, van de Vereenighde nederlandtsche Geocstroyerde Oost-Indische Companie...*, [Amsterdam, Jan Jansz.], 1646, 2 vol.
- Coolhaas, W. Ph. (ed.), *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs- Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (1610-1713)*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1960-1976, 6 vol.
- Cortemünde, Johan Petri, *Dag-bog fra en Ostindiefart: 1672-1675*, Kronborg, Handels- og Sofartsmuseet, 1953.



- Dampier, Guillaume, *Suplement du voyage autour du monde contenant une description d'Achin...*, Paris, chez Eustache Herault, 1715.
- Floris, Peter, *His voyages to the East Indies in the Globe (1611-1615)*, London, Hackluyt Soc., sec. ser. No. LXXIV, 1934.
- Foster, William (ed.), *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants...vol. 2-6 (1613-1617)*, London, Sampson Low, Marston & Cie, 1897-1902.
- Heeres, J.E. (ed.), *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum.... vol. I-II*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1907-31.
- Hikaiyat Tjarita Baros*, unpublished manuscript, Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta, no. PNRI, Ml. 162.
- Hesse, Elias, *Gold Bergwerke in Sumatra (1680-1683)*, Den Haag, M. Nijhoff, 1931.
- Hill, A.H. (ed. & transl.), "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", *JMBRAS*, 33(2), 1960: 1-215.
- Ijzerman, J.W. & Rouffaer, G.P. (ed.), *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597: journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden*, 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging; 7, 25, 32, 1915-1929, 3 vol.
- Jacobs, Hubert (ed.), *Documenta Malucensia*, vol. I: 1542-1577, vol. II: 1577-1606, Roma, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974-1980.
- Jones, Russell (ed.), *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, Kuala Lumpur, Yayasan Karyawan dan Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1999.
- Jonge, J.K.J. de, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1864-1873, vol. 2-5, 7.
- Karashima, Noburu, "Tamil Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China", in N. Karashima (ed.), *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds*, Taisho University, 2002: 10-18.
- Keuning, J. (ed.), *De tweede schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indie onder Jacob Cornelisz van Neck en Wybrant Warwijk, 1598-1600*, 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, vol. I, 1938; vol. II, 1940; vol. III, 1942; vol. IV, 1944, vol. V, 1947.
- Knaap, G.J. (ed.), *Memories van Overgave van gouverneurs van Amboin in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1987.
- Linschoten, Jan Huygen van,, *The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: from the old English translation of 1598, the first book containing his description of the East*, New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1988 (first English ed., Hakluyt Society, 70-71, 1885).
- Lodewycksz, G.M.A.W., *Premier livre de l'histoire de la navigation aux Indes orientales, par les Hollandais, et des choses a eux advenues...*, Imprimé à Amsterdam, chez Cornille Nicolas, 1609.
- Mandelslo, Jean-Albert, *Voyages célèbres et remarquables faits de la Perse aux Indes orientales...*, A. de Wicquefort (transl.), Amsterdam, Michel Charles le Cerre, 1727, vol. 1.
- Martin, François, *Mémoires de François Martin, Fondateur de Pondichéry (1665-1694)*, Martineau, A. (ed.), Paris, Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises, 1932, vol. 2.
- Martin, François, "Description du premier voyage fait à Sumatra par les Français en l'an 1603... par François Martin de Vitré", in: X. de Castro (ed.), *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval*, Paris, Chandeneige, 1998, vol. 2: 905-932 (first ed., Paris, 1603).
- Mendes Pinto, Fernão, *Pérégrination*. Robert Viale (transl. & ed.), Paris, Éditions de la Différence, 1991.
- Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri, *Bustan al-Salatin*, Siti Hawa Hajji Salleh (ed.), Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992.
- Pires, Tomé, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, Armando Cortesão (trad. & ed.), New Delhi/Madras, Asian Educational Services, 1990, 2 vol. (first ed., 1944).



- Poerbatjaraka, E. Ng., "Vier oorkonden in koper (Katiđèn)", *TBG*, 76, 1936: 373-390.
- Pudjiastuti, Titik (ed.), *Sajarah Banten*, Tesis Univ. Indonesia, Jakarta, 1991.
- Purchas, Samuel (ed.), *Hakluytus posthumus or Purchas his pelgrimes...*, Glasgow, MacLehose, vol. II, 1905.
- Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales (1601-1611)*. Edité par Xavier de Castro, Paris, Chandeigne, 1998, 2 vol. (first ed., 1611).
- Rumphius, G.E., *De Amboinese eilanden onder de VOC...* Chris van Fraassen en Hans Straver (ed.), Utrecht, Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Mollukers, 2002.
- Sarkar, Himansu Bhusan, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1971, 2 vol.
- Schouten, Gautier, *Voiage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales...(1658-1665)*, Amsterdam, Estienne Roger, 1707, 2 vol.
- Schouten, Justus, "Commissary Justus Schouten's Report of his visit to Malacca", *JMBRAS*, 14(1), 1936.
- Scott, Edmund, "An exact discourse of the Subtilties, fashions, pollicies ... of the East Indians ... 1606", in: W. Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas*, London, 1990 (first ed., Hakluyt Soc., 2nd series; 88, 1943).
- Struys, Jean, *Les Voyages de Jean Struys en Moscovie, en Tartarie, en Perse, aux Indes et en plusieurs autres pays étrangers*, M. Glanius (ed.), Lyon, T. Amaulry, 1682.
- Schweitzer, Christopher, "A Relation of a Voyage to and through the East-Indies, from the year 1675 to 1683", in: C.E. Fayle (ed.), *Voyages to the East Indies*, London, Cassell & Cie, 1929: 171-272.
- Tiele, P.A. & Heeres, J.E., *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den maleischen archipel*, 's Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1895, vol. 2-3.
- Varthema, Ludovico di, *voyage de Ludovico di Varthema en Arabie & aux Indes orientales (1503-1508); P. Tessier (trad.)*, notes de L.F. Thomaz et al., Paris, Chandeigne, 2004 (first ed., Roma, 1510).
- Verberckmoes, Johan & Stols, Eddy, *Aziatische omzwervingen. Het leven van Jacques de Coutre, een Brugs diamanthandelaar, 1591-1627*, Berchem, EPO, 1988.
- Verken, Johann, *Molukken-Reise (1607-1612)*, Den Haag, M. Nijhoff, 1930.
- Vermeulen, Gerret, *De Gedenkwaerdige Voyage van Gerret Vermeulen naar Oost-Indien....*, Amsterdam, Jan Claesz. Ten Hoorn, 1677.

STUDIES

- Abraham, Meera, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1988.
- Alves, Jorge M. Santos, "Princes contre marchands au crépuscule de Pasai (c. 1494-1521)", *Archipel*, 47, 1994: 125-146.
- , *O Domínio do norte de Samatra*, Lisboa, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999.
- , "Nayinar Kuniyappan. Un Tamoul, syahbandar de Samudera-Pasai au début du XVI^e siècle", *Archipel*, 62, 2001: 127-142.
- , *Três Sultanatos malaios do Estreito de Malaca nos séculos XV E XVI (Samudera-Pasai, Aceh E Malaca/Johor)*, Tesa de Doutoramento, Lisboa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2003.
- Andaya, Leonard, *The Kingdom of Johore (1641-1728)*, London, Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Arasaratnam, Sinappah, *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1986.

- , *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1994.
- , “Slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth century” in: K.S. Mathew (ed.), *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans, Studies in Maritime History*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1995a: 195-208.
- , “Some Notes on the Dutch in Malacca and the Indo-Malayan Trade, 1641-1670”, in: *Maritime Trade, Society and European Influence in Southern Asia, 1600-1800*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1995b: 480-490 (original publ., JSEAH, 1969).
- , “The Chulia Muslim Merchants in Southeast Asia, 1650-1800”, in: *Maritime Trade, Society and European Influence in Southern Asia, 1600-1800*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1995c: 125-143 (original publ., MOOI, 1987); in: S. Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World*, Aldershot, Variorum, An Expanding World, 1996, vol. 8: 159-177.
- Azra, Azyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, Bandung, Mizan, 1995 (first ed., 1994).
- Bassett, D.K., “British 'Country' Trade and Local Trade Networks in the Thai and Malay States, c. 1680-1770”, *MAŚ*, 23(4), 1989: 625-643.
- Bernet Kempers, A.J., “Portuguese and 'Portuguese' in old Batavia”, in: *In Memoriam António Jorge Dias*, Lisboa, Istituto de Alta Cultura, 1974, vol. 1: 229-245.
- Blussé, Leonard, “The Caryatids of Batavia: reproduction, religion and acculturation under the V.O.C.”, *Itinerario*, VII(I), 1983: 57-85.
- , *Strange Company: Chinese settlers, mestizo women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*, Dordrecht & Riverton, Floris, VKI 122, 1986.
- Boomgaard, Peter, “Human Capital, Slavery and Low Rates of Economic and Population Growth in Indonesia, 1600-1910”, in: G. Campbell (ed.), *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean, Africa and Asia*, London, Frank Cass Publ., 2004: 83-96.
- Bouchon, Geneviève, “Les premiers voyages portugais à Pasai et à Pegou (1512-1520)”, *Archipel*, 18, 1979: 127-158.
- Breuning, H.A., *Het voormalige Batavia*, Amsterdam, Allert de Lange, 1954.
- Bulbeck, F.D. et al., *Southeast Asian exports since the 14th century: cloves, pepper, coffee, and sugar*, Leiden, KITLV Press, [Canberra], Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Singapore, Institut of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998.
- Bruinessen, M. van, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, Bandung, Mizan, 1995.
- Casparis, J.G. de & Mabbett, I.W., “Religion and Popular Beliefs of Southeast Asia before c. 1500”, in: N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia. Vol. one: from early times to c. 1500*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999 (first ed., 1992): 276-339.
- Chambert-Loir, Henri, “The *Sulalat al-Salatin* as a Political Myth”, *Indonesia*, 79, 2005: 131-160.
- Chaudhuri, K.N., *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Christie, J. Wisseman, *Patterns of Trade in Western Indonesia, Ninth through Thirteenth Centuries A.D.*, PhD SOAS, London, 1982.
- , “Javanese Markets and the Asian Sea Trade Boom of the Tenth to Thirteenth centuries AD”, *JESHO*, 41(3), 1998: 344-381.
- Creese, Helen, *In search of Majapahit: the transformation of Balinese identities*, Monash University, Clayton, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Working Paper 101, 1997.
- Dam, Pieter van, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1927-1943, 3 vol.
- Edwards McKinnon, E., *Kota Cina: its context and meaning in the trade of Southeast Asia in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries*, PhD Cornell University, New-York, 1984.



- , “Mediaeval Tamil Involvement in Northern Sumatra, C11-C14 (The Gold and Resin Trade)”, *JMBRAS*, 69(1), 1996: 85-99.
- Friederich, R.H.Th., “Over eenige inskriptien op ringen en gesneden steenen (meest afkomstig van Sumatra)”, *TBG*, 7, 1858: 141-146.
- Gopal, Surendra, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th Centuries*, New Delhi, People's Pub. House, 1975.
- Graaf, H.J. de, *De regering van Sultan Agung, vorst van Mataram (1613-1645), en die van zijn voorganger Panembahan Séda-ing-Krapjak (1601-1613)*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, VKI 23, 1958.
- , *De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, vorst van Mataram, 1646-1677*, 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, VKI 33, 39, 1961-1962.
- Guillot, Claude, “La nécessaire relecture de l'accord luso-soudanais de 1522”, *Archipel*, 42, 1991: 53-76.
- , “Libre entreprise contre économie dirigée: guerres civiles à Banten, 1580-1609”, *Archipel*, 43, 1992: 57-72.
- , “Un marchand français à Java au XVII^e s., Jean-Baptiste de Guilhen, 1634-1709”, *Archipel*, 45, 1993: 111-152.
- , “Banten and the Bay of Bengal during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in: Om Prakash & D. Lombard (ed.), *Commerce and Culture in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1800*, Delhi, Manohar/Indian Council of Historical Research, 1999: 163-182.
- , “La Perse et le Monde malais. Échanges commerciaux et intellectuels”, *Archipel*, 68, 2004: 159-192.
- Guillot, Claude & Kalus, Ludvik, “Inscriptions islamiques sur des canons d'Insulinde du XVI^e siècle”, *Archipel*, 72, 2006: 69-94.
- , *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra (XIII^E-XVI^E siècles)*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel, 37, 2008.
- Guillot, C.; Nurhakim, L.; Wibisono, Sony, *Banten avant l'islam*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Monographies no. 173, 1994.
- Haan, F. de, *Priangan: de Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, Batavia, Kolff en Co, 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 4 vol., 1910-1912.
- , “De laatste der mardijkers”, *BKI*, 73, 1917: 219-254.
- , *Oud Batavia*, Bandung, A.C. Nix & Co., 1935.
- Hall, Kenneth R., “Local and International Trade and Traders in the Straits of Melaka Region: 600-1500”, *JESHO*, 47(2), 2004: 213-260.
- Heukens, Adolf, *Mesjid-mesjid tua di Jakarta*, Jakarta, Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 2003.
- Ito, Takeshi, *The World of the Adat Aceh*, PhD, Canberra, Australian National University, 1984.
- Kalus, Ludvik, “Les sources épigraphiques musulmanes de Barus” in: C. Guillot *et al.*, *Histoire de Barus. Le site de Lobu Tua, vol. II: Étude archéologique et documents*, Paris, Cahiers d'Archipel, 30, 2003: 303-338.
- Kathyrithamby-Wells, J., “Achehnese control over west Sumatra up to the treaty of Painan, 1663”, *JSEAH*, X(3), 1969: 453-479.
- , “Ahmad Shah Ibn Iskandar and the Late 17th Century ‘Holy War’ in Indonesia”, *JMBRAS*, 43(1), 1970: 48-72.
- Leider, Jacques P., *Le royaume d'Arakan, Birmanie*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Monographies 190, 2004.
- Leur, J.C. van, *Indonesian trade and society: essays in Asian social and economic history*, Bandung, Sumur Bandung, 1960.
- Manguin, Pierre-Yves, “Manpower and Labour Categories in Early Sixteenth Century





- Malaka”, in: A. Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 1983: 209-215.
- Meilink-Roelofsz, M.A.P., *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1962.
- Nagtegaal, Luc, *Riding the Dutch Tiger. The Dutch East Indies Company and the northeast coast of Java, 1680-1743*, Leiden, KITLV Press, VKI 171, 1996.
- Pearson, M.N., *Coastal Western India*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1981.
- , “India and the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century”, in: A. Das Gupta & M.N. Pearson (ed.), *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, Calcutta, Oxford University Press, 1987: 71-93.
- Perret, Daniel, *La formation d'un paysage ethnique: Batak et Malais de Sumatra Nord-Est*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1995.
- , “Barus: société et relations extérieures (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e s.)”, in D. Perret & H. Surachman (ed.), *Histoire de Barus-Sumatra. III: Regards sur une place marchande de l'océan Indien (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e s.)*, Paris, EFEQ/Archipel (cahier d'Archipel, 38), 2009: 533-642.
- Pigeaud, T.G.Th., *Java in the 14th Century. A Study in Cultural History. The Nagara-Kertagama by Rakawi Prapanca of Majapahit, 1365 A.D.*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1960-1963, 5 vol.
- Raben, Remco, *Batavia and Colombo; The ethnic and spatial order of two colonial cities (1600-1800)*, PhD thesis, univ. Leiden, 1996.
- Rantoandro, G.A., “Kiyai Ngabehi Kaytsu de Banten, shahbandar de son état et ‘passeur’ occasionnel”, *Archipel*, 56, 1998: 251-272.
- , *Banten et les pays du détroit de la Sonde aux XVI^e et XVII^e s.*, Thèse de doctorat d'État, Nanterre, Univ. Paris X, 2000.
- Raychaudhuri, Tapan, *Jan Company in Coromandel (1605-1690)*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, VKI 38, 1962.
- Reid, Anthony, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1988-1993, 2 vol.
- Ricklefs, M.C., *War, Culture and Economy in Java, 1677-1726*, Sydney, Asian Studies Association of Australia/Allen & Unwin, 1993.
- Roever, Gerlach de, *De Jacht op Sandelhout*, Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 2002.
- Salmon, Claudine, “Srivijaya, la Chine et les marchands chinois (X^e-XII^e s.). Quelques réflexions sur la société de l'empire sumatranais”, *Archipel*, 63, 2002: 57-78.
- Sandhu, Kernal Singh, *Early Malaysia. Some observations on the nature of Indian contacts with pre-British Malaya*, Singapore, University Education Press, 1973.
- Sarkar, Himansu Bhusan, *Some contributions of India to the ancient civilisation of Indonesia and Malaysia*, Calcutta, Punthi Pustaka, 1970.
- Schrieke, B., *Indonesian sociological studies*, vol. II, The Hague/Bandung, van Hoeve, 1957.
- Srisuchat, Amara, “Merchants, Merchandise, Markets: Archaeological Evidence in Thailand Concerning Maritime Trade Interaction Between Thailand and Other Countries Before the 16th Century A.D.”, in A. Srisuchat (ed.), *Ancient Trades and Cultural Contacts in Southeast Asia*, Bangkok, The Office of the National Culture Commission, 1996: 237-274.
- Stephen, S. Jeyaseela, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, Pondicherry, Navajothi, 1998.
- Subbarayalu, Y., “A Trade Guild Tamil Inscription at Neusu, Aceh”, in D. Perret & H. Surachman (ed.), *Histoire de Barus-Sumatra. III: Regards sur une place marchande de l'océan Indien (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e s.)*, Paris, EFEQ/Archipel (cahier d'Archipel, 38), 2009: 529-532.





- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- , “‘Persianization’ and ‘Mercantilism’: Two Themes in Bay of Bengal History, 1400-1700”, in: Om Prakash & D. Lombard (ed.), *Commerce and Culture in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1800*, Delhi, Manohar/Indian Council of Historical Research, 1999: 47-85.
- Taylor, Jean Gelman, *The Social World of Batavia. European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*, Madison, The Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- Thomaz, Luís Filipe F.R., “Les Portugais dans les mers de l'Archipel au XVI^e siècle”, *Archipel*, 18, 1979: 105-126.
- , “The Indian Merchant Communities in Malacca under the Portuguese Rule”, in: T.R. de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History. Old Issues, New Questions*, New Delhi, Concept Publications, 1985: 56-72.
- , “The Malay Sultanate of Melaka”, in: A. Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, Ithaca/London, Cornell University Press, 1993: 69-90.
- , 2004, see Varthema, Ludovico di.
- Watson Andaya, Barbara, “The indian saudagar raja (the king's merchant) in traditional Malay courts”, *JMBRAS*, 51(1), 1978: 13-35.
- , “Melaka under the Dutch, 1641-1795”, in: K.S. Sandhu & P. Wheatley (ed.), *Melaka. The Transformation of a Malay Capital c. 1400-1980*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1983: 195-241.
- Wormser, Paul, Le *Bustan al-Salatin* de Nuruddin Ar-Raniri: réflexion sur le rôle culturel d'un étranger dans le monde malais au XVII^e siècle, PhD, EHESS, Paris, 2010.
- Yule, Henry & Burnell, A.C., *Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of colloquial anglo-indian words...*, New ed. by W. Crooke, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1994 (first ed., 1903).



À PROPOS DE

A Dynamic Eastern Indian Ocean

Review article based on Hermann KULKE, K. KESAVAPANY and Vijay SAKHUJA (eds.), *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia* (Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), 337 pages including index (ISBN 978-981-230-936-5) and Geoff WADE and Sun LAICHEN (eds.), *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor* (Singapore, NUS Press and Hong Kong University Press, 2010) 508 pages including index (ISBN 978-9971-69-448-7).

These two immensely significant volumes illustrate the potential of research from the optics of the maritime Silk Route in the eastern Indian Ocean. The focus of both is on the Bay of Bengal and the Java and China seas, and the various constituent units within them. The second volume also pays attention to overland transfers: along the land routes spanning the Bengal-Shan frontier. Moreover, the two volumes address two significant centuries about which not much is known: the first, the eleventh century which saw the Chola invasions and the eleventh century trade revolution in the Indian Ocean¹ and the second, the fifteenth century, which experienced the Ming overland and naval expeditions in mainland and island South East Asia, as also in Yunnan, thereby bringing the Ming presence very close to India's, particularly fifteenth century Bengal's, borders, my area of interest.

The Kulke *et al.* volume has 15 articles by Hermann Kulke, Noboru Karashima, Tansen Sen, Vijay and Sangeeta Sakhuja, Y. Subbarayalu, S. Vasanthi, Gokul Seshadri, A. Meenakshisundarajan, Hema Devare, Anura Manatunga, P. Shanmugam, Ninie Susantie and Risha Lee, and 2 appendices by Karashima, Subbarayalu and Sen. Its thrust may be divided into four major sections: the Chola naval expeditions in the context of Asian history, the expansive role of South Indian merchant guilds which is seen as impetus behind the naval expeditions, the impact of the Chola expeditions on the eastern Indian Ocean trade system and developments in Sri Lanka, Java and China as resulting from these expeditions.

1. Hermann Kulke, "The Naval Expeditions of the Cholas in the Context of Asian History" in Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany and Vijay Sakhuja (eds.), *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia* (Singapore, ISEAS, 2009), pp. 1-19; Hermann Kulke, "Rivalry and Competition in the Bay of Bengal and Its Bearing on Indian Ocean Studies", in Om Prakash and Denys Lombard (eds.), *Commerce and Culture in the Bay of Bengal 1500-1800* (New Delhi, Manohar/ICHR, 1999), pp. 17-35.

Kulke's introduction to the volume states: "strangely enough, Indian Ocean studies still remain oddly bipartite. They emphasize predominantly the 'classical' period, with its strong Mediterranean connections on the one hand, and the 'early modern period', with its rise of European dominance in the Indian Ocean on the other" (p. xii). This volume is a corrective and locates Rajendra Chola's search for hegemony and dominance in the Bay within the context of economic imperatives. It also contains an extended version of Kulke's thesis of the eleventh century trade revolution that was first elaborated in 1999, when Kulke argued that the Indian Ocean trade system underwent a significant change not only from the rise of the Fatimids and the Song in countries at opposite ends of the Indian Ocean, but from the activities of the Cholas as well, who were locationally in a far more advantageous position to perpetuate this trade revolution, situated as they were in the middle of the Indian Ocean.

The Wade and Sun volume takes up the theme of naval expeditions once again, but from the Chinese end. With 14 articles spanning the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, despite its title which singles out the fifteenth century, this volume contains contributions from Geoff Wade, Sun Laichen, Li Tana, John K. Whitmore, Momoki Shiro, Alexander Ong Eng Ann, Volker Grabowsky, Christian Daniels, Michael Vickery, Anthony Reid, Pierre-Yves Manguin, Roxanna M. Brown and John N. Miksic, and represents much of the work that this active group of South East Asianists based around Singapore have been doing for some time now. Some of the articles were published earlier in the Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series from NUS, Singapore (for example, the essays by Volker Grabowsky, Michael Vickery, Anthony Reid).

The Wade and Sun volume concentrates not only on island South East Asia, but on mainland South East Asia as well, particularly the Dai Viet and the Shan principalities now within Myanmar (essays by Li Tana, Sun, Whitmore, Shiro, Ong Eng Ann). Countries dealt with include present Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam and Myanmar; sea spaces include the Straits of Melaka and the South China Sea, and the themes are geomancy, shipwrecks, ceramics, silver, gems and agricultural technology, among others. The focus of enquiry is: how far did the Ming factor set in train new trends and networks in Southeast Asia? A related question, how far the Ming expeditions retarded or promoted existing networks and facilitated indigenous developments, is also addressed.

It is not possible here to review each essay in the two volumes but it is evident that since both deal with spaces segueing beyond national frames the authors have had to grapple with source material in more than one language, and to read cultural influences in diverse 'national' contexts to formulate their arguments. These are immense tasks. Moreover, both volumes are the result of collaboration not just within one discipline, but also across the whole spectrum of the social and human sciences. For these features alone, the two volumes are valuable additions to the state of knowledge in the field.

Nevertheless, certain conceptual and methodological issues remain to be resolved for both volumes under consideration. For the first volume, while the thesis of the Chola invasions unleashing tremendous changes in the southern Bay world is certainly valid, evidence from the northern Bay world shows no such ripple effects,

and to envision the whole Bay as experiencing the effects of the Chola naval expeditions would be incorrect. The northern Bay world remained constrained by the currency crisis of the tenth century and regular voyages from the Bengal coast to Southeast Asia ceased after the ninth century, at a time when the effects of the crisis in currency first manifested itself.² Therefore I am not certain how far we can stretch the thesis of an eleventh century trade revolution for the whole of the Bay. But this is of course just a corrective to Kulke's thesis, represented in one paper in the volume, and does not lessen the total impact of the volume in historical studies at all.

For the second volume, a wider notion of 'upland' South and Southeast Asia would have been welcome. We know that a group of scholars of late have labeled the northern part of mainland Southeast Asia as *zomia*, that is, a space without recorded history, and this space spills over into the northeast of India and indeed the eastern Himalayas as a whole. Initially formulated by Willem van Schendel³ and James C. Scott⁴, the notion of *zomia* has now been addressed in a themed issue in July 2010 in the *Journal of Global History*.⁵ William G. Clarence-Smith notes in his editorial note to the special issue on Zomia in the *Journal of Global History*: "following Fernand Braudel's seminal writings on the Mediterranean, much research has teased out historical links between lands bordering great bodies of water. Similar zones of interaction around major 'wastelands' (such as mountains, forests, tundra, and deserts) have yet to attract the same degree of attention. Zomia is not only

2. For the decline in coinage from Bengal and the tenth century crisis, see Nicholas Rhodes, "Trade in Southeast Bengal in the First Millennium CE: The Numismatic Evidence" in Rila Mukherjee (ed.), *Pelagic Passageways: The Northern Bay of Bengal Before Colonialism* (New Delhi, Primus Publications, 2011). For decline in currency in Southeast Asia, see Pamela Gutman, "The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia", *Journal of the Siam Society*, 66 (1, 1978) pp. 8-21, p. 10. Gutman tells us that there were "no local coins from the rest of mainland Southeast Asia after the fall of Funan and Dvaravati, their function being replaced by barter, cowrie shells and standardized metal bars or lumps", p. 9. For lessened Bengal trade with Southeast Asia see Jan Wisseman Christie, "Javanese Markets and the Asian Sea Trade Boom of the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries A.D.", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1998), pp. 344-381, see pp. 366-69. Lessened Bengali activity in Southeast Asia can be related to the diminishing Nanhai trade. By 906, when the Tang dynasty ended, the Nanhai trade was "reduced to a trickle" as Wang Gungwu noted. The decline of the Nanhai trade deepened the crisis further, visible in the lessening of Bengali activity in Southeast Asia at this time. See Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade: The Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea* (Repr. Times Academic Press, 1998), p. 79. But this does not mean that Bengal as a whole stopped trading with Southeast Asia. While indigenous trade with Southeast Asia lessened perceptibly after the seventh century, and almost tapered off by the tenth century, Persian and Arab networks from Bengal, which consolidated themselves from the eighth century, could tap into commodities of other networks and thereby continue to trade with Java and generally with the whole of Southeast Asia.

3. Willem van Schendel, "Geographies of knowing, geographies of ignorance: jumping scale in Southeast Asia", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, (20, 6, 2002), pp. 647-68.

4. James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, (Yale Press, 2009) chapter 3.

5. See Jean Michaud, "Editorial – Zomia and beyond" in *Journal of Global History* (2010) 5, pp. 187-214.

situated in one of the most stupendously elevated mountainous zones of the planet but it also crosses well-entrenched boundaries that Area Studies have created since the Second World War, between Southeast Asia, East Asia, Central (Inner) Asia, and South Asia".⁶ What is *zomia*? According to van Schendel *zomia* means uplander and is an area deliberately neglected in academic studies. Where is *zomia*? *Zomia* spans northeast India, northern Burma, north Bangladesh and southwest China. Van Schendel writes "anyone interested in finding fairly detailed modern maps showing the region covering Burma, Northeast India, Bangladesh, and neighbouring parts of China knows that these do not exist. This is a region that is always a victim of cartographic surgery".⁷ This zomian region is only partly represented in the second volume under review. Van Schendel notes that although in terms of physical space criterion this area shares language affinities (for example, Tibeto-Burman languages), religious commonalities (for example, community religions and, among the universalistic religions, Buddhism and Christianity), cultural traits (for example, kinship systems, ethnic scatter zones), ancient trade networks, and ecological conditions (for example, mountain agriculture), it is now relegated to the margins of ten valley-dominated states with which it has antagonistic relationships – China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal.⁸ Scott identifies "upland Southeast Asia" explicitly as a zomian wasteland.⁹

Grappling with a region partly labeled as *zomia* is an awesome task. But such areas were not always zomian wastelands, as the Wade and Sun volume demonstrates. The Wade and Sun edited volume is well aware of the fluid region that is its focus, but it could have dealt with the issue of *zomia*, containing as it does an article by Sun on this area (the Shan principalities). However, I find the northern Southeast Asian mainland largely absent here, both in terms of object of enquiry as well as in terms of *zomia*. For example, why, and how, did previously significant regions lapse into zomian wastelands? Rila Mukherjee addresses these issues in her Introduction to *Pelagic Passageways*.¹⁰ One exception is Daniel's article in the Wade and Sun volume, which seeks to define a "Tay Cultural Area", and this can be a valuable addition to the emerging debate on *zomia*. I am sure the editors of the second volume will follow up on this promising line of research.

As noted, the two volumes under discussion here provide much needed data on the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. We still have a gap in knowledge between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries; these centuries remain enigmatic to scholars who seek to locate the dynamics of the eastern Indian Ocean. To this end the Perret, Srisuchat and Thanasuk volume on Patani,¹¹ the Guillot and Kalus volume on

6. William G. Clarence-Smith, "Editorial note – Zomia and beyond", *Journal of Global History* (2010) 5, pp. 185-186, see p. 185.

7. Van Schendel, 'Geographies', p. 652.

8. Van Schendel, 'Geographies', pp. 653-4, see f.n. 15.

9. Scott, *The Art*.

10. Rila Mukherjee (ed.), *Pelagic Passageways*, Introduction, pp. 1-260.

11. Daniel Perret, Amara Srisuchat, Sombun Thanasuk (eds.), *Études sur l'Histoire du Sultanat de Patani* (Paris, EFEQ, 2004).

Pasai,¹² the excavations conducted at Barus – the reports of which were published in three volumes¹³ – and the Mukherjee edited volume¹⁴ provide some much needed data to explain the events unfolding in this world in the interim period.

In my view the Chola invasions produced a ripple effect in the southern Bay that continued long after they had passed into memory. For example, evidence from Tambralinga reveals that the entire southern Bay area was undergoing tremendous economic, political and religious turmoil between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

Tambralinga was a Malay state which had political designs on Angkor and which sent missions to China in the early part of the eleventh century, but was dismissed as a tributary state of the second rank.¹⁵ It was important in maritime trade: as entrepot as well as for producing the *gharu* wood used in incense.

After the Chola attack of Tambralinga in the twelfth century, Sri Lanka and Pagan, two polities at opposite ends of the Bay, increasingly dominated Tambralinga's politics. Pagan started expanding southward from 1057, but some scholars hold that it is likely Sri Lanka was already the dominant force there because at twelfth to fourteenth-century settlement sites in South Kedah, Sri Lankan coins, rather than Chinese copper coins, have been reportedly recovered in large numbers, suggesting Sri Lankan coinage was adopted by these settlements as a form of domestic currency.¹⁶ But we should remember that Derek Thiam does not provide any reference for this statement. There is no mention of Sri Lankan coins in Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2002). As far as we know, no finds of Sri Lankan coins in Kedah have been reported recently. Sri Lankan coins have also been noted for Kota Cina in the same period¹⁷ but we should remember that only eight Sri Lankan coins have been found so far at Kota Cina, compared to over 1,000 Chinese coins, as E. McKinnon mentions.¹⁸ Therefore, to what extent Sri Lanka was emerging as a great economic force in the southern Bay remains uncertain. A coin from Sri Lanka dated to around 1300 AD has been found in Singapore during excavations.¹⁹ Be that as it may,

12. Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus, *Les Monuments Funéraires et l'Histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra*, Cahiers d'Archipel, 37 (Paris, 2008).

13. Claude Guillot (ed.) *Histoire de Barus. Le Site de Lobu Tua*, vol. I, Études et Documents, Cahiers d'Archipel, 30, Paris (1998); C. Guillot et al., *Histoire de Barus. Le site de Lobu Tua. II : Étude archéologique et Documents*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel, 30, Paris (2003); Daniel Perret & Heddy Surachman (ed.) *Histoire de Barus. Vol. III: Regards sur une Place Marchande de l'océan Indien (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e s.)*, Cahier d'Archipel, 39, Paris (2009).

14. Rila Mukherjee (ed.), *Pelagic Passageways*.

15. Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula: Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road (100 BC-1300 AD)*, Translated by Victoria Hobson (Leiden, Brill, 2002).

16. Derek Thiam Soon Heng, "Export Commodity and Regional Currency: The Role of Chinese Copper Coins in the Melaka Straits, Tenth to Fourteenth Centuries", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 37 (2), June 2006, pp. 179-203. See p. 184.

17. Geoff Wade, "An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900-1300 CE", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 40 (2), June 2009, pp. 221-265. See p. 255.

18. Kota Cina: its Context and Meaning in the Trade of Southeast Asia in the Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries, Ph.D. Cornell University, New York, 1984, p. 111.

19. See C.A. Low Mei Gek, "Singapore from the 14th to 19th Century", in J.N. Miksic & C.A. Low Mei Gek (ed.), *Early Singapore (1300s-1819)*, Singapore, Singapore History Museum,

Tambralinga was a pivot in politics of the southern Bay until the thirteenth century, and asserted its independence in that century. It attacked Sri Lanka in 1247 C.E. and controlled the northern part of the island, but in its move to take over the whole island Tambralinga was frustrated by the Pandyans who allied with Sri Lanka to repel Tambralinga. This is significant, as the Pandyans as successors of the Cholas were seeking to establish the same kind of hegemony on the Bay as the former had attempted. In fact the Pandyans, like the Cholas before them, raided the northern Bay as far as the Bengal coast. It is also noteworthy that the Pandyans allied with Sri Lanka, peninsular India's traditional commercial adversary, against Tambralinga. It is likely that both perceived Tambralinga as the greater threat, as Tambralinga's control over traditional commercial channels, routes and networks clustered around the tip of the peninsula would place the commercial interests of both the Pandyans and the Sri Lankans in jeopardy.

Just as Tambralinga's sudden rise to prominence was due to the new networks unleashed by the Chola invasions, so too was its downfall attributed to new dynamics in the southern Bay of the thirteenth century. Fukami writes that Tambralinga collapsed at the end of the thirteenth century due to two factors: as Java exerted pressure on Malayu the latter pressed down on Tambralinga from the south, while Xian, most likely Ayutthaya, breaking away from Zhen La, pressed on Tambralinga from the north.²⁰ There was considerable religious turmoil as well; we notice in the thirteenth century a shift in Tambralinga from its earlier Mahayana Buddhist associations with Srivijaya and a move toward Theravada Buddhism. It is clear that religion and politics went hand in hand; for example, the older Mahayanist players – the Palas and Srivijaya – had declined by that time. Hall writes that Mahayanist Buddhism predominated until at least the twelfth century (China, Champa, Vietnam, Korea, Japan), as also among the Palas of Bengal and Srivijaya, when Yuan patronage of Tantric Buddhism added another dimension to religious stimuli along the Bay and 'Yuan patronage of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism over the prior Chinese Mahayana Buddhist schools placed the Yuan court in a position to conduct diplomatic discussions with Java's thirteenth-century court, as fellow practitioners of Tantric Buddhism'.²¹ New Theravada polities, Pagan and Sri Lanka, were commercially dominant in the thirteenth century Bay, and we can speculate that the religious shift in Tambralinga was indicative of its desire to further its commercial interests. But what actually accounted for the religious change in

2004, pp. 14-40, picture No. 4, p. 19; Miksic, "14th-Century Singapore: A Port of Trade", in: J.N. Miksic & C.A. Low Mei Gek (ed.), 2004, pp. 41-54, pp. 48, 50.

20. Fukami Sumio, "The Long Thirteenth Century of Tambralinga: From Javaka to Siam", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 62 (2004), pp. 45-79. See also Yoneo Ishi, "A Note on the Identification of a Group of Siamese Port Polities along the Bay of Thailand", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (61, 2003) pp. 75-80; and Yoneo Ishi, "Exploring a New Approach to early Thai History", *Journal of the Siam Society* (92, 2004) pp. 37-42.

21. Kenneth R. Hall, "Local and International Trade and Traders in the Straits of Melaka Region: 600-1500", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (2004), pp. 213-60. See pp. 218-19.

Tambralinga is not certain and the relationship of Srivijaya with Tambralinga has been much speculated upon. Was this shift indicative of Tambralinga's desire to move away from a declining Srivijaya and seek other sources of legitimization? For example, Pagan, a substantial player in the thirteenth century Bay, was Theravadin. Under the guise of seeking votive relics, Pagan expanded its reach southward into the Bay. This brought it into a clash with other older, peninsular, networks. The supposed conflict between Alaungsithu of Pagan and Parakramabahu of Polonnaruva in Sri Lanka in the middle of the twelfth century, documented by Manatunga in the first volume under discussion here, was over trade and trade rights.²² We see therefore that religion and trade operated not only complementarily but also conflictually in the Bay.

Sri Lanka consolidated itself further in the thirteenth century: in 1283, Bhuvanekabahu I, king of Sri Lanka, sent an envoy to the Mamluk ruler of Egypt seeking a diplomatic and trade exchange, trying to bypass Persian Gulf-linked India west coast-based middlemen and offering pearls and precious stones, vessels, elephants, muslins, brazilwood and cinnamon.²³ Such commercial initiatives explain why the Pandyan supported Sri Lanka against Tambralinga in the thirteenth century, and also why Sri Lanka fought Pagan. The age old peninsular networks connecting the eastern and western Indian Ocean trade routes had simply to be maintained at all costs.

What does this tell us of religious interests in the Bay? Like Pagan, Sri Lanka was Theravadin although we saw that this did not stop it from waging war against Pagan. Tambralinga, although Theravadin, attacked Sri Lanka in 1247. Therefore commercial interests possibly predominated over religious affinities. These new, alternative spaces appearing in the thirteenth century Bay open intriguing windows.²⁴ Sri Lanka continued to maintain its central position in the trade of the Indian Ocean: in the fifteenth century Parakramabahu VI (1412-68) of Sri Lanka sent five tribute missions to China between 1412 and 1459.

The evidence from the site of Lobi Tua in Barus opens yet another exciting window. At the start of the twelfth century the fortified site of Lobi Tua was suddenly abandoned; reasons for which are not clear. Earlier, supposedly southern Indians or people from Sri Lanka peopled it; again their place of origin is not very clear, but the picture certainly fits in with the evidence of Chola impacts in the Bay in the Kulke *et al.* edited volume under discussion here. Perret speculates that

22. Anura Manatunga, "Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia during the Period of the Polonnaruwa Kingdom" in Hermann Kulke *et al.* (eds.) (2009), pp. 193-207, see pp. 198-99.

23. Kenneth R. Hall, "Ports-of-Trade, Maritime Diasporas, and Networks of Trade and Cultural Integration in the Bay of Bengal Region of the Indian Ocean: c. 1300-1500", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 53 (2010). See pp. 111-2.

24. Tilman Frasch, *Pagan: Stadt und Staat* (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 1996); Tilman Frasch, "Coastal Peripheries during the Pagan Period", in Jos Gommans and Jacques P. Leider (eds.), *The Maritime Frontier of Burma. Exploring Political, Cultural and Commercial Interaction in the Indian Ocean World, 1200-1800*, Amsterdam: KITLV Press, 2002, pp. 59-78; Tilman Frasch, "1456-The Making of a Buddhist Ecumene in the Bay of Bengal" in Rila Mukherjee (ed.), *Pelagic Passageways*.

another group coming from India attacked Lobu Tua,²⁵ but who these were is not certain. Was it a group from eastern India, originating from Bengal perhaps?

Bengal has had a long history of overland and trans-oceanic connections and although like the Cholas and Pandyans it could not dominate the Bay trade, nevertheless managed to leave a political imprint on Southeast Asia, by way of Arabo-Persian communities. Tajiks, referred to as *turuskas*, were settled in the southeastern Bengal delta from the eighth century. There were ‘Persians’, ‘Arabs’ and ‘Turks’ present at Chattogram in the southeastern delta at this time, and they controlled much of the trade of the northern Bay. These mercantile groups subsequently moved away from ports into the interior of Bengal, largely along the Brahmaputra River and its tributaries, and metamorphosed into mercenaries, adventurers and rulers. The Tripuri state is reputed to have had such groups in its military formations in the medieval period.²⁶

The account of the Buddhist monk Taranath verifies the presence of such ‘turks’. Taranath wrote in the sixteenth century that even before the Ghorid invasion in the twelfth century, and at the same time as the Sena king Lakshman Sena ruled Bengal in the twelfth century, small bands of *turuskas* were entrenched in this area as small rulers, and that these once waged war on Magadha.²⁷ We tend to dismiss much of Taranath’s testimony as mere fancy and such fancies do tend to reinforce his unreliability as source, but such a group could have destabilized Lobu Tua. But, as I said, the picture is not clear. There are so many gaps that we have to deal with.

The study of Pasai by Guillot and Kalus has brought to light a ‘minor’ ‘Bengali’ dynasty ruling at Pasai from c. 1340 to c. 1390.²⁸ Guillot and Kalus estimate that these were Turks who were probably soldiers and small adventurers in Bengal. They were progressively pushed eastward, and seawards, by the political turmoil resulting from the reunification by 1352 of the three provinces of Lakhnawati, Suvarnagrama and Saptagrama into a unified Bengal by Shams al-din Ilyas Shah. They utilized maritime networks to escape from Ilyas Shahi Bengal to Pasai. The ‘Bengali’ dynasty lasted until the end of the fourteenth century when Zayn al Abidin I restored the rightful dynasty at Pasai. This ‘little history’ fits Taranath’s mention of small bands of *turuskas* ruling in the southeastern Bengal delta.

New political, economic and religious networks were generated in the northern Bay of Bengal around this time. The fall of Dali (the earlier Nanzhao) in 1253 to the Mongols, the decline of Pagan in 1287, the subsequent rise of Mangrai’s Lan Na at Chiang Mai in the 1290s, and the rise of Majapahit Java in 1293 added new economic and political dimensions to Bay politics, as well as creating new routes

25. Perret in Daniel Perret & Heddy Surachman (ed.). *Histoire de Barus*, Vol. III, *Regards sur une Place Marchande de l’océan Indien*, p. 618.

26. See Kali Prasanna Sen (ed.), *Sri Rajmala*, 4 vols. (Agartala, Tribal Research Centre, Reprint, 2003). In Bangla.

27. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *Taranath’s History of Buddhism in India*, Tr. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, (New Delhi, Motilal BanarsiDass 1990 reprint), pp. 294-95, 330, 443-44. If this is correct, we need to revise our chronology of Muslim rule in Bengal, which is conventionally held to start in 1206.

28. Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus, *Les Monuments Funéraires*, pp. 69, 71-4, 118.

and networks. But the northern Bay did not always profit from these new networks. With the rise of Majapahit Java many of the new ports that rose were on the eastern coast, near the Brantas River delta. The subsequent trade flows were generated toward the southern Bay and these were usually in favour of the Coromandel Coast in India.

But the Bay has been seen as a multi centered realm²⁹ and the impetus seems to have swung back to the northern Bay in the following century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Ava factor, and not just the Ming factor, played a great role in the northern Bay. Unlike Pagan, Ava seems to have been initially a more territorially oriented power, preferring expansion northward. Ava seems to have emerged from the Shan states but later became Burman. Was this move tactical, much like Tambralinga's move away from Mahayanist Buddhism? I would have liked to see more on ideological influences in the second volume.

The Ava nucleus in the northern Burmese region was ringed by many important Shan states – Kalei, Mohnyin (possessing the ruby mines), Mogaung, Bhamo, Momeit, Ohnbaung-Thibaw, Hsenwi and Mong Mao/Luchuan – while the central Burmese states, especially Toungoo and Prome, were contiguous to the Pegu kingdom. The growth of Chinese overland trade and military technology transfers from Ming China to northern mainland Southeast Asia, following the Ming conquest of Yunnan in the early 1380s, encouraged the political and military development of the Ahom and Shan states as well as that of Ava, and later that of the Koch and Dimasa kingdoms in north Bengal.³⁰

This is the larger area of overland cultural and commodity transfers that the Wade and Sun volume addresses.

Though under Ming influence, the Shan states often competed against each other and invaded Avan territories for supremacy in the region. In reaction to this, Ava sought to gain control over the surrounding Shan states for her security and extend it also over Pegu to tap the benefits of maritime trade. Ava launched a series of military expeditions from the 1370s to the 1470s that seriously destabilized Upper Burma. These spread over the surrounding Shan states from the upper Chindwin and northern Irrawaddy to the west of the Salween River and over the coastal states from the Arakanese littoral, and the Irrawaddy delta, to the west of the Sitt'ang River. As the powerful kings of Ava started attacking adjoining states in two directions: northward to the surrounding Shan hinterlands to suppress revolts and southward into the coastal states of Pegu and Arakan for control over maritime routes, this dual strategy, once successful, brought in a unification of land and sea routes.

One power to profit from this turmoil was Arakan, which now transformed itself into a strong maritime state. In other words, strong spatial movements were underway in the northern Bay at this time, resulting not only from military expansion but also from the movement of peoples destabilized by war campaigns.

29. Hall (2010).

30. Laichen Sun, "Military Technology Transfers from Ming China and the Emergence of Northern Mainland Southeast Asia (c. 1390-1527)", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 34 (3), October 2003, pp. 495-517; Laichen Sun, "Chinese Military Technology and Dai Viet c. 1390-1497", *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series*, (No. 11, 2003).

However, from the 1480s to 1520s, Ava rapidly lost her power and became a war-victim heavily raided by the Shan polity of Mohnyin. Eventually, Ava came to an end in 1527.

The first half of the sixteenth century, the period following the extinction of the China factor as well as a period illustrating the viability of the European factor, was one of decline for the Bay world. From the middle of the sixteenth century, many polities around the northern Bay experienced economic calamities as well as crises of legitimacy, and this evidence predates the confusion attendant upon European expansion in the eastern Indian Ocean. Contrary to our received history colonialism was not the only factor that helped in the disintegration of states. Sukhotai, a great maritime polity, ceded way to Ayutthaya. The Portuguese conquered another maritime city-state, Melaka, in 1511 and diverted existing networks. New centres of trade rose to escape the control over the Bay exercised by Portuguese Melaka. The inland state of Ava was destroyed in 1527. Yet another maritime state, the Mon-Pegu state, was defeated by the first Toungoo state in the 1530s. Sher Shah Sur defeated Husain Shahi Bengal in 1538. In 1575 the Mughals entered Bengal and displaced the Surids. Many Afghans fled east toward the southeastern Bengal delta.

The sixteenth century in the Bay was a period of emerging empires and states: the Mughal, colonial, and strong states that revealed unificatory trends, such as Toungoo Burma. Strong spatial movements were underway in this century as well. We see an inner frontier operating between settled agricultural bases and volatile maritime polities in this region. The picture would of course be different in the zomian areas, where mountainous frontier people would compete against people from the river valleys who would seek to dominate the zomian area and its people.

It is evident, from this account, that I visualize the Bay of Bengal as being divided into a northern Bay (comprising the Bengal deltas, partly the Orissan coast, Arakan, Pagan/Ava and Yunnan) and a southern one (comprising peninsular India, Sri Lanka, Pegu and Indonesia). This is not to say that the two were separate, we have evidence of ample interactions between the two zones throughout history. But in spatial terms the two zones were different: the northern part of the Bay centred on South Asia witnessed an inter-linkage between the sub-Himalayan Mountains, the fluvial networks, and the littoral in its political, social and commercial interactions. Such linkages were, not surprisingly, invisible in the southern part, which is a peninsula and comprises innumerable islands. The networks in the northern and southern parts of the Bay were markedly different, largely dictated by their geographic positions, and it is my contention that the networks between the Chola and subsequent Pandyan kingdoms with Southeast Asia and Song and Yuan China by way of Southeast Asia were richer and more resilient. They certainly stood the test of time, and I think that one of the aims of the Kulke *et al.* volume is also to demonstrate the longevity of the networks spawned by the Chola invasions. Moreover, the political turmoil documented for the northern Bay in the sixteenth century resulted in a domino like effect whereby peoples, states, and networks crumbled. Subsequently, there were substantial realignments in political and economic spheres. The turmoil saw a massive shift in human population. Vast migrations of free and un-free peoples dotted the area. New forms of slavery became

a reality by the seventeenth century.³¹ The history of labour in this area is a field that is yet to be worked upon.

It is evident that histories from the margins, that is, from non-state spaces, present a completely different picture than those from the heartland; be they in India or China. The history of island Southeast Asia, on the contrary, has been seen more from the coast rather than from the interior because of its unique location in the eastern Indian Ocean. While this has ensured the emphasis on the margins rather than the centre, this has also had a malign effect. Southeast Asia has for long been seen as a passive recipient of forces emanating either from India or China. These two volumes, highlighting the immense dynamism of Southeast Asian and Sri Lankan societies, redress the balance.

Why are these two volumes important?

First of all, those of us working on the Bay of Bengal in this period always suffer from scant source material and inadequate data. Gathering the works of epigraphists, numismatists, anthropologists, archaeologists and historians into single scholarly works is not always possible. Consequently, much of the scholarly work generated on the eastern Indian Ocean has been from the vantage point of the coming of the first Europeans from the end of the fifteenth century into these waters, a period for which much more data is available.

Second, because of the inordinate amount of attention paid to European sources, the history of the countries in the eastern Indian Ocean has often been viewed as a prelude to colonialism: Dutch, English and French, and their rich, multi cultural pasts have been disregarded or marginalized for the most part. This has had a negative impact on studies of the Bay and beyond.

Third, closer home, because of the archaic division of Indian history into ancient or Hindu, medieval or Muslim and modern or British, the activities of the Cholas tend to be relegated to ancient Indian history in the context of a pan-Indian history, while belonging actually to the early medieval in the case of peninsular India. Visualizing the eastern Indian Ocean as arena enables us to recover this rich history.

Fourth, envisaging the early medieval Bay as a mobile, changeable space helps us to free its history from the bondage of periodization and fixed spatial and temporal scales and to set it in its proper political and economic context both within peninsular India and in the larger context of the Bay of Bengal.

Fifth, states in the Bay world have been conventionally studied in terms of binary opposites: maritime polities versus inland polities and mercantile states versus agrarian ones. These two volumes, by integrating mainland and sea, show us that similar developments were visible in both spaces.

Finally, we should remember that until the nineteenth century, the Bay world was composed of small and large states in spaces that do not correspond to the boundaries of present day nation states: think of the Malay states, of the states of Pagan, Ava, Arakan, Nanzhao, Dali, Sukhothai and Ayutthaya, and the Koch, Shan and the Ahom states. As the total number of states in the Bay declined with the advent of colonialism, so too did the networks set in train by them; and these

31. Rila Mukherjee, "Mobility in the Bay of Bengal World: Medieval Raiders, Traders, States and Slaves", in *Indian Historical Review*/SAGE (36.1, June 2009), pp. 109-129.

networks were largely responsible for the vitality of these states. By the early nineteenth century the total number of states in mainland Southeast Asia was reduced from twenty-two to just three: Burma, Siam and Vietnam. In Bengal the many states in *samatata*, *harikela*, *varendra*, *vanga* and *bhati* ceded way to the states of Cachar, Srihatta, Koch Hajo and Koch Behar by the sixteenth century. This multi leveled, polycentric, space was once again reduced to a uniform space – Bengal – in the eighteenth century. In the middle of the twentieth century ‘Bengal’ was broken into the Indian West Bengal and the Pakistani East Bengal or East Pakistan. In 1971 East Bengal became Bangladesh, rendering ‘West’ Bengal redundant. The debate over nomenclature continues in 2011: whether West Bengal should become ‘Bengal’ or ‘Banga’; the latter reminiscent of the earlier *vanga*.

Therefore, to visualize an eastern Indian Ocean world, a wider spatial lens is required, and we need to move out of the strait jackets imposed by nationalist frames. These two volumes are to be commended for recovering, in part, the rich histories of this world.

Rila MUKHERJEE



COMPTES RENDUS

Yu-Mei BALASINGAMCHOW et Mark RAVINDER FROST, *Singapore: A Biography*, Singapore, Didier Millet (eds.), National Museum of Singapore, 2009, 457 p., illus., facsimis., cartes, bibl., index, ISBN 9789814217620.

Ce très beau livre sur l'histoire de Singapour du XIV^e siècle au milieu des années 1960 est le fruit de la grande entreprise d'*aggiornamento* muséographique, historique et mémoriel dont le Musée national de Singapour a été l'objet sous l'égide de son directeur Lee Chor Lin au cours des récentes années et qui a fait de cette institution, et notamment de sa *Singapore History Gallery* une des plus dynamiques au plan international dans sa catégorie.

Les deux auteurs ont en effet été partie prenante, avec notamment I. Mydin, C.A. Low, T. Muthu, W.H. Suen, J. Toh et une équipe composée de nombreux historiens, de cette tâche de rénovation, qui a autant consisté en une révision de la composition et des modalités de présentation des collections à la lumière des tendances les plus avancées de la muséographie historique internationale qu'en une recherche de supports innovants et en un examen sous un jour renouvelé des grandes périodes de l'histoire de la ville et de la région. L'ouvrage est le pendant des collections, et a largement valeur de catalogue. Il est à ce titre superbement illustré, et constitue une précieuse ressource iconographique. La liberté de ton est d'autant plus grande que le livre (et le parcours muséographique) s'arrête aux années 1960. La démarche n'en est pas moins salutaire et contribue à poser les fondements d'une révision historiographique au miroir de l'idéologie nationale dont on peut espérer que la cité-Etat saura se saisir pour aborder avec un élan comparable les périodes plus récentes de son histoire.

Le premier chapitre est consacré à Temasek, l'ancien nom malais de Singapour, entre les XIV^e et XVII^e siècles. Il s'appuie sur les découvertes archéologiques les plus récentes, sur la colline de Fort Canning, pour décrire la vie des habitants de cet établissement urbain de bord de rivière dont plusieurs éléments semblent inviter à réévaluer la précoce importance. Mais, plusieurs Temasek ayant existé dans la région, il n'est pas toujours facile de savoir ce qui effectivement se rapporte à la future Singapour. Les auteurs traquent également les mentions de Temasek puis Singapura dans les documents émanant d'autres lieux, comme la carte chinoise dite Mao Kun de l'époque de l'amiral Zheng (dont le musée possède une copie annotée par C.A. Gibson-Hill, alors directeur du Raffles Museum). Les éléments les plus importants livrés au lecteur viennent de deux autres sources, qui reflètent l'histoire locale : il s'agit tout d'abord des merveilleuses chroniques malaises dites *Sejarah Melayu* et ensuite de la fameuse pierre gravée de Singapour, détruite en 1843 par les Anglais lors de travaux de terrassement portuaire, mais dont le musée expose un





magnifique fragment, que reproduit opportunément l'ouvrage (de même que l'ensemble des documents mentionnés).

Pour les siècles suivants, les auteurs proposent un bref panorama de l'entrée des Européens, Portugais et Hollandais tout d'abord, dans la géostratégie du détroit de Malacca, et de l'évolution de la place de Singapour dans ce contexte. Si ces pages auraient mérité une attention plus grande non seulement aux enjeux de la pénétration européenne et à ses conséquences sur le petit établissement du détroit, la présentation n'en demeure pas moins intéressante et en accord avec les avancées de l'historiographie sud-est asiatique au cours de la dernière décennie.

Mais l'essentiel de l'attention est réservée à la période de la fondation de la ville coloniale britannique sous l'impulsion de Thomas Stamford Raffles. Ce chapitre commence avec la description de Singapour en 1819 : un faible comptoir d'environ mille habitants, dominé par des marchands chinois et animé par une population d'*orang laut*, ces « nomades de la mer » dont les auteurs savent opportunément réévaluer le rôle historique. C'est d'ailleurs des mémoires d'un de ces derniers qu'ils tirent la narration de l'arrivée à Singapour de Thomas Raffles et William Farquhar, employés de la British East India Company. La mise en contexte de la signature du traité de 1819, qui marque la première étape de la prise de contrôle britannique sur cette partie du détroit à l'écart des principaux flux dominés par les Hollandais, mais non moins stratégique, est dans la lignée de cet effort de décalage par rapport aux *topoi* habituels. Le rôle du Sultan Hussein Tengku Long, à peine installé dans un rapport ambigu à celui de Johor-Riau-Lingga, la figure du Temenggong Abdul Rahman, et celles des représentants de l'East India Company sont analysés en détail. Ce qui fait l'intérêt de ce chapitre est l'effort de présenter ces moments clés dans la fondation de la ville coloniale à partir de plusieurs points de vue archivistiques : des plans de l'ingénieur militaire Philip Jackson pour la nouvelle ville « européenne », à la racine sans doute de la division raciale de l'espace urbain confirmée à plusieurs reprises ensuite, à la chronique *Hikayat Abdullah*, source essentielle pour une histoire du XIX^e siècle s'attachant à élargir l'étroite perspective de la narration coloniale souvent encore dominante. Les relations entre John Crawfurd et Sultan Hussein au moment de la négociation du traité de 1824 sont ainsi lues d'une manière qui dépasse la simple chronologie diplomatique-coloniale.

Il en va de même pour le chapitre consacré au port entre les années 1820 et 1860 : les auteurs ont su mettre en avant plutôt que seulement l'insertion de ce nouvel emporium dans l'économie mondiale des horizons coloniaux, la mise en place d'une vie urbaine cosmopolite. On suit ainsi l'évolution des principales familles de négociants chinois et arabes, et en parallèle l'évolution de l'espace urbain. La dimension coloniale est surtout abordée au travers de l'œuvre architecturale de Coleman, qui donne à la ville certains de ses principaux édifices. L'histoire sociale n'est pas oubliée, avec la trajectoire souvent tragique des prisonniers indiens déplacés et utilisés comme main-d'œuvre dans les chantiers de construction de la nouvelle vitrine britannique en Orient. Pour les années 1860-1900, c'est surtout la croissance de la population chinoise qui est analysée, et illustrée par une grande variété de sources, reflétant à la fois l'activité quotidienne des habitants et celle des sociétés secrètes. Il en va de même pour la lecture de l'entrée de Singapour dans la modernité, au tournant du XX^e siècle : celle-ci se fait au travers de toute une palette





de tableaux d'histoire sociale : hygiène, éducation, genre. De très belles pages sont ainsi consacrées à l'histoire des femmes dans la Singapour du début du XX^e siècle. L'histoire coloniale n'en est pas pour autant délaissée, avec une analyse fine de la mutinerie de 1915 et en général de l'ordre policier et répressif. Le chapitre sur la Seconde Guerre mondiale, avec le siège de Singapour, la chute de la ville et l'occupation japonaise est également très riche et dépasse la chronique militaire pour toucher aux aspects de la vie quotidienne et de la répercussion de la propagande impériale japonaise sur les catégories de l'ordre colonial britannique.

Mais le plus intéressant, qui ouvre aussi sur les horizons les plus prometteurs de l'historiographie du Sud-Est asiatique à l'époque contemporaine, est assurément celui sur la période de la Merdeka (p. 321 et suivantes). L'affrontement des nationalismes, la décolonisation, les rapports compliqués au projet national malais sont ainsi lus sous un jour nouveau, et richement illustré. Les personnages d'Elizabeth Choy, Ahmad bin Mohamed Ibrahim, David Marshall puis Lee Kuan Yew émergent de ce panorama, dans lequel on suit les différentes étapes non seulement de la négociation avec Londres des modalités de la décolonisation, et avec les principales branches du mouvement national dans le reste de la péninsule des modalités de la difficile fusion de la ville cosmopolite dans le moule national, mais aussi les auteurs sont attentifs à donner de ces événements un écho fondé sur ce qui se passe dans la rue, dans les familles, à l'échelle des différentes strates de la société.

Bien sûr, dans cette nouvelle narration se construit aussi le discours contemporain sur l'idéologie et l'identité nationales, dont le livre est un élément constitutif, ce qu'illustre le dernier chapitre, consacré à la mise en place des contours de la nouvelle nation au début des années 1960. Mais c'est justement dans cette dimension que le travail de Balasingamchow et Frost est important : tout en étant partie prenante d'un projet concerté de relecture des fondements historiques de l'idéologie nationale, il parvient à livrer, grâce au recours systématique aux tendances les plus avancées de la pratique de l'histoire, suffisamment d'éléments contrastés pour ne pas sombrer dans la caricature de lui-même. L'aventure de l'indépendance, de la conjuration des tensions ethniques, puis du développement économique, est de la sorte lue et illustrée d'une manière convaincante, qui sait nuancer les éléments fondateurs du discours national. Les pages sur la naissance du Housing and Development Board (HDB), organisme chargé de la construction et de la gestion du parc de logements sociaux, garantie de la viabilité urbaine du nouvel État, sont ainsi tout à fait réussies.

Si le recours à des sources complémentaires (archives coloniales britanniques, archives malaises) aurait pu être plus poussé, de même que la confrontation avec la bibliographie récente sur le sujet, ce livre marque néanmoins un tournant dans l'historiographie singapourienne, et invite désormais à un examen sous un jour comparable des décennies suivantes, qui permette de déconstruire les narrations dominantes souvent figées, qui ont encore tendance à dominer le panorama historique, politique et identitaire.

Denis BOCQUET



Aimee DAWIS, *The Chinese of Indonesia and their Search for Identity: The Relationship Between Collective Memory and the Media*, Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2009, xxiv + 258 p., ISBN 978-1-60497-606-9.

Hand in hand with the revival of Chinese culture and institutions in Indonesia since 2000, has come a number of publications about the ethnic Chinese minority in Indonesia and its varying perspectives. Aimee Dawis is herself a member of that group, and this study presents her dissertation submitted to an American university. She teaches communications and research methods at the University of Indonesia.

The first two chapters of the book present a brief overview of the situation of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia and the plan of her research. Then she turns to a listing of the restrictive measures imposed by the Suharto regime from 1966 to 1998 on the open display of Chinese culture, including the closing of schools, the press (except for one government-controlled newspaper), and most Chinese organizations. She agrees with Leo Suryadinata and others that in this time the classic distinction between *totok* and *peranakan* in the community became blurred as a generation grew up without the ability to speak or read Chinese, because of the closing of Chinese schools and limitations on reading material in Chinese. As a result, the community is much more heterogeneous than it previously was.

The core of her study is a series of joint interviews in seven “focus groups” of two to five persons each, with a total of ten men and fifteen women of Chinese origin. Her emphasis was on the relationship between mass media and cultural identity and the extent to which films and videos from Hong Kong and Taiwan served as a kind of surrogate for the transmission of Chinese cultural identity that the then-forbidden Chinese schools and press would otherwise have propagated. All participants were young adults born after 1966, that is, after the closing of Chinese cultural media within Indonesia. Most admitted eagerly watching these films because Indonesian television, with one state-controlled channel at the time, offered little that interested them. That situation has since changed.

Although all participants lived in Jakarta, they had grown up in some fifteen different towns and cities. As a result, she observes differences in attitudes to, and interaction with, “pribumis,” depending on whether the interviewees were from, for example, Singkawang or Medan or from smaller towns in Java with only a few ethnic Chinese. Her most important conclusion, however, is that the films imported from abroad (even those in Mandarin and without subtitles—her participants generally spoke little if any Mandarin) effectively transmitted admiration for Chinese culture and its values. As teenagers, both males and females had found different role models for their lives, and most believed that the media had transmitted Chinese values like loyalty to family and friends. Some of the “values” were more trivial: some young boys formed “gangs” and imitated the oath of blood brotherhood, some girls imitated the diaphanous clothing of the “Little Dragon Lady” in another popular series.

Many “pribumi” Indonesian youths were fascinated by *kung-fu* (cloak-and-dagger, so-called “sword stories”) stories in the past, when such books went from hand to hand. The reader wonders why the author does not reflect whether these newer Hong Kong and Taiwan media were seen by pribumis as well and what influences they might have absorbed from them. Jackie Chan’s popularity goes





beyond ethnic Chinese and most readers will not be surprised that teenage boys were inspired to take an oath of “blood brotherhood”—so did Mark Twain’s Tom Sawyer.

There is one small error on page 164. Dawis cites an informant who said he did not watch many *kung fu* series on video but “preferred reading the *ko ping ho*” version. The author adds the explanation that these were “*kung fu* novels that the series was based on.” Kho Ping Hoo (Asmarawan S.) was a prolific author of detective stories and cloak-and-dagger tales.¹ It is not surprising that this author’s name became a kind of generic term for such stories in general.

The author devotes considerable space to her plan of research and the details of choosing informants and getting their consent, planning focus meetings, her reason for not conducting one-on-one interviews, and so on. Obviously, her “sample” of informants is a narrow one, but not without diversity. Her conclusions will be another building block in understanding the ethnic Chinese of Indonesia in their diversity.

Mary SOMERS HEIDHUES

Esther KUNTJARA, *Women and Politeness: The Hybrid Language and Culture of Chinese Indonesian Women in Surabaya*, Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009, 164 p., ISBN 978-3-639-14421-5.

The author, Esther Kuntjara, is Chinese Indonesian herself, a woman who, in her mid fifties, conducted her research and fieldwork and obtained her Ph.D. in Rhetoric and Linguistics from Indiana University of Pennsylvania in 2001. Years later and living in Surabaya again, she locates a small German publisher who agrees to distribute the book version of her thesis through print on demand.

The author of this 164 pages book [be warned: the letter type is tiny!] set out to gather data to analyse and interpret selected speech acts of Chinese women in the Surabaya area. The choice of this particular subject matter should make this publication a relevant one, since no Malay/Indonesian variant ever coined by speakers of Chinese descent has attracted much scholarly attention as yet. Also Chinese Indonesian women form more or less a blank spot on the research map of Southeast Asian Studies. Applying common academic standards, the book under discussion has, admittedly, a number of shortcomings.

The book is divided into six chapters. As usual chapter one gives the background and purpose of the study, research questions and the conceptual framework. Chapter two discusses related literature, including the historical background of the Chinese in Indonesia and a brief comparison of the concept of politeness in Chinese and Javanese culture. Chapter three gives an exhaustive description of the search and selection process that eventually led to the choice of the four candidates/informants. The chapter closes with a very brief self-reflection on the role of the researcher and the methodology applied. Chapter four focuses on the author’s observations, her

1. Claudine Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: A Provisional Annotated Bibliography*, Paris, Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1981, pp. 192-4.





interaction with the two mothers and daughters, and the interviews that she held over a period of several weeks in 2000. This chapter is divided in subchapters, each focussing on one woman at a time. In the subsequent chapter Kuntjara discusses the results in a comparative approach within a linguistic framework. The speech acts are divided into terms of address, compliments and their responses, requests and their responses, appreciation and gratitude, and apologies. The last chapter briefly reflects on both her research approach and the results of her research, emphasizing desirable continuation of research in this field.

Applying the qualitative research method, Kuntjara follows two Chinese Indonesian mother-daughter pairs in their everyday life interaction. While one mother had a Dutch educational background, the other had a Chinese education. In her analysis the author primarily focuses on the inter-ethnic aspects, almost avoiding gender-related issues, despite her declared goal of making the “voice of those silent Chinese Indonesian women be heard” (foreword, no page). In her depiction of the women’s everyday life, however, those gender aspects slip in, never explicitly stated but inconspicuously captured in small scenes and gestures, in the marginally touched-upon relations between siblings or in-laws, in the once, but no longer present husbands. The reader definitely learns about speech acts and politeness, and for linguistically interested non-Indonesianists the book certainly provides a lot of useful information on language use. On a different level it sketches a fascinating picture of four Chinese Indonesian women in present day Indonesia. They represent two generations of cultural assimilation, and Esther Kuntjara belongs to one of them – a fact that she is aware of and painfully attempting to suppress throughout her book, in order to act as an objective, a ‘good’ scholar. It is *her* struggle, too, that got documented in this book, unintentionally, almost as a subtext, her struggle as a woman, as a Chinese Indonesian, and as a non-Western scholar in a Western dominated research world.

It is to regret that this book has admittedly a certain number of shortcomings that could have been easily avoided. One may remark that the literature selection appears to be overly focused on Western literature, but does not include Claudine Salmon’s publications on Sino-Malay literature and hardly any post-2000 publications. In this context it is striking that the author, a native speaker of Indonesian herself, turns to J. J. Errington to help her back up general observations regarding the use of terms of address in Indonesian (p. 90). Turning to the content, it is to state that the author uses significant terms without providing a proper definition or clarifying her own understanding of them; a point in case being the controversial concepts signified by the terms *totok* and *peranakan* that the author uses uncritically throughout the book. Furthermore, one might wonder if a study can indeed be representative of the linguistic features of the majority of Chinese Indonesian women in Surabaya when being limited to only two pairs of speakers (mother and daughter respectively) as case studies.

Doris JEDAMSKI





Russel JONES, *Chinese Loan-Words in Malay and Indonesian. A Background Study*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya, 2009, 284 p., illustrations, tables, and maps, ISBN 978-983-100-074-9.

The present volume belongs to the Indonesian Etymological Project which was established in 1973. The agreed aim was the compilation of seven lists of loan-words (Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, Hindi, Tamil, European, Japanese and Chinese). These check-lists have already been conflated to produce a book entitled *Loan-words in Indonesian and Malay* which was published in Leiden by the KITLV in 2007 (see the review in *Archipel* 76, 2008, pp. 318-321). The publication of the *Chinese loan-words in Malay and in Indonesian* has been greatly delayed. The research for the book, we are told, "was carried out in the 1990s, and substantially completed for it to be published in page proofs in 2003. Subsequently to that, it has not been possible to make any but minor amendments." (Preface, pp. IX-X)

The list of Chinese loan-words is preceded by a lengthy introduction in which the compiler deals with a wide range of questions, among them the process of word-borrowing, the Chinese dialects and subdialects spoken in the Malay world, and their distribution. Although there have been Chinese contacts with Insulinde since the remote past, the majority of the loans does not go further back than the Qing Dynasty. As for the earliest known borrowing (*tahu* 豆腐, "bean curd"), it is attested in an old Javanese inscription from the 10th century (See Antoinette M. Barret Jones, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 107, Dordrecht-Holland. Cinnaminson-USA, Foris Publications, 1984, p. 48).

The situation of the Chinese borrowings is peculiar in the sense that the Chinese Peranakan wrote in Malay and published newspapers, and in so doing introduced a great deal of loans, especially when translating Chinese traditional fiction; however these loans which were deeply rooted into Chinese culture have gradually regressed and have rarely crept into the Malay/Indonesian dictionaries nor into the lists of loans established by European and Chinese scholars nor have they been mentioned in the various studies on which the present list is based. Since Indonesian independence came in 1949 the Sino-Malay press disappeared and the Chinese population being repressed and deculturated, the impact of loan-words decreased accordingly.

The aim of the compiler "was to produce a comprehensive list of words provisionally identified as loan-words from Chinese, to be tested empirically against a corpus of Malay and Indonesian by future investigators." It comprises about 1050 entries, a number which probably exceeds those to be found in a standard Malay or Indonesian dictionary.

The list consists of seven columns. The first gives the Indonesian form, the second the dialect form in transcription, the third refers to the related dictionary, the fourth gives the Chinese characters, the fifth the meaning in English, the sixth points to the dictionary or other source in which the headword has been found (indicated by a lower case letter), and the seventh the source language or dialect (indicated by a block letter). When the headword is flagged with signs which provide some precisions on the loan: q means that the loan is known to speakers of *bahasa*





Indonesia; y indicates that the loan is found in dictionaries, but may not be known to ordinary speakers of *bahasa* Indonesia; x marks those known to speakers of Indonesian of Chinese origin, and those found only in obscure sources. As for ◊ it indicates a doubtful entry. Moreover selected entries are given notes which are indicated in the list by an asterisk placed after the meaning in English.

This is so far the most comprehensive list of Chinese loan-words in Malay and Indonesian, and it will be greatly useful to those doing research on the Indonesian world. No doubt further research will bring still new improvements. Here we would like to mention one regarding the term *lokcuān* (also spelled *lokcan*) which refers to “silk crepe” and the Chinese characters of which are given as 罗串. As a matter of fact the term *lokcuān* occurs in a Chinese text from Batavia published recently in which it is written with the two characters 六串 meaning literally “six-ply thread”. It refers to a strong silk fabric, most likely produced in Southern Fujian, and is listed in Douglas’ dictionary under the character 串 (p. 93). It was already in use during the second part of the 18th century, and appeared in different expressions [see *Gong An Bu* 公案簿 (*Minutes of the Board Meetings of the Chinese Council, The Chinese Council of Batavia Archives Series*. Xiamen University Press, 2002-2004, vol. I, pp. 233, 241, vol. II, p. 46)].

It remains that the compiler deserves special recognition for his compilation and for the invaluable aid it provides. Moreover the book is accompanied by a DVD “which incorporates a facsimile edition of the rare Amoy and English dictionary of Carstairs Douglas published in 1899 and furnished with Chinese characters written in by hand.”

Claudine SALMON

Christine WINKELMANN, *Kulturelle Identitätskonstruktionen in der Post-Suharto Zeit: chinesischstämmige Indonesier zwischen Assimilation und Besinnung auf ihre Wurzeln* [Cultural construction of Identity in the Post-Suharto Period: Indonesians of Chinese Descent between Assimilation and Contemplation of their Roots] Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008, 246 p., ISBN 978-3-447-05683-0.

The title of this work does not reveal its boundaries: the author tests construction of minority identity by looking at minority publications and only at those that use the Chinese language. That this is a limitation is clear: since the closing of Chinese-language schools and the banning of Chinese-language reading material in the mid-1960s, Indonesian Chinese have expressed themselves, with exceptions, in the Indonesian language. By 1998, few Chinese-educated adults spoke Mandarin fluently and read Chinese easily. Since that year, enthusiasm for learning Mandarin, even among non-Chinese, has grown and instruction is increasingly available at levels from school to university to night school. Nonetheless, readers of Chinese are relatively few, and relatively old, and the question remains whether a sizeable Chinese-reading public will emerge from all these efforts.

As a result, Indonesian Chinese have been much more successful in expressing themselves in Indonesian and even in the pre-war period, Malay was the language of





the majority. The Chinese-Malay press of pre-independence times dwarfed the Chinese language press, producing a lively, varied corpus of literature. Today, however, a specifically 'Chinese' press for Indonesian-language readers is the exception, as newspapers and journals seek to reach a wider public.

The fact that the author limits her analysis to Chinese-language texts, both short stories (published in collections or in magazines) and periodicals, results in a minority view of minority attitudes toward identity. On the other hand, at least for most authors of the texts presented here, including the publishers and editors of Chinese-language newspapers, the Chinese language itself is an indispensable identity marker.

The author has analysed almost 200 short stories that appeared between 1996 and 2000 [some authors published outside Indonesia]. In addition she has compared Chinese-language newspapers and periodicals published in Jakarta from 2001 to 2003—or from one of these years if they did not exist in both years. In addition, she interviewed owners, editors and authors.

After an introduction to theories of identity and a workmanlike survey of the history of the Indonesian Chinese and their relations to the wider society, the author turns to the contents of the short stories. She does not compare these with themes of pre-war literature in Chinese or Malay in Indonesia, but a look at the so-called Sino-Malay texts might show that many questions (the 'wealth' and abuse of it by stereotypically rich Chinese, problems of romantic love versus parental direction, women's role, and the conflict between a supposed 'modern' outlook and what are perceived to be typically Chinese, Confucian values), still occupy many short-story writers. Majority-minority relations may be idealized, and few, if any, deal realistically with the problem of violence and prejudice against Chinese. Above all, they avoid the still-sensitive question of the extensive violence and repressions of 1965. Even the horrifying outbreaks of 1998 may be papered over as offering a chance for a 'new beginning' in interethnic relations.

Because they enter the fields of politics and economics, the newspapers show a greater variety of attitudes, from the government-sponsored *Harian Indonesia* (founded in the 1960s) to newer dailies with content provided from the news services of the People's Republic of China or Taiwan, sometimes with links to Chinese newspapers elsewhere. Again, readership is small, and getting smaller. The most successful appear to be economic 'niche' publications specifically devoted to business news.

Behind the variety of attitudes is the ready admission that the Indonesian Chinese are, indeed, part of Indonesia. At the same time, the authors assert that they have rights to a specific culture as a minority, rejecting the 'assimilationist' viewpoint so long propagated by the Soeharto government. Instead, these publications tend to emphasize the long and great tradition of Chinese culture as a matter of pride (and one superior to indigenous cultures?), something that is essential to minority identity. This often includes such elements as traditional Chinese medicine, *fengshui*, and religious or folk beliefs and practices. Specifically local variants of "being Chinese", above all *peranakan* culture, attract far less attention.

Unfortunately, the author does not offer comparisons with the 'identity' transmitted by modern literature in contemporary China, Hong Kong or Taiwan.





Can we find, in the socially critical stories, for example, the influence of critical realist writers like Mao Dun and others, writers some authors would have read in their own school days? Nor does she, as mentioned, look at pre-war themes of Chinese minority literature in Indonesia.

Such limitations are probably inevitable within the context of a dissertation. More important is that, by examining an obviously existing but little investigated body of writing, the author has presented us with many valuable insights that underline the unique situation of the minority investigated.

Mary SOMERS HEIDHUES

Marie Sibylle de VIENNE, *Les Chinois en Insulinde : échanges et sociétés marchandes au XVII^e siècle d'après les sources de la V.O.C.* Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2008, 377 p. (ISBN 978-2-84654-166-4).

Ce livre constitue la publication de la thèse de Marie Sybille de Vienne, soutenue en 1979 à Paris VII. Cette thèse remarquable était le résultat d'un travail de fourmi dans les archives coloniales hollandaises à la recherche des Chinois. Les grandes lignes de ce travail sont restées les mêmes, mais les notes de bas de page et la bibliographie ont été mises à jour. Les caractères chinois correspondant aux noms cités ont également été rajoutés. L'ajout le plus significatif est cependant constitué par les 54 illustrations et cartes, à la fois esthétiques et informatives.

Le texte est divisé en cinq parties. La première partie, intitulée méthodologie et contextes, fait le point sur les sources européennes disponibles et précise que l'auteur n'a pas ou peu utilisé de sources asiatiques. Le contexte est donné par deux résumés très clairs sur la montée en puissance des Hollandais dans l'archipel et la période troublée de la transition entre la dynastie Ming et la dynastie Qing. Ce passage explique en détail comment Taiwan est passée au XVII^e siècle du statut de base de pirates à celui de colonie hollandaise, avant de devenir le dernier refuge des légitimistes Ming et d'être enfin intégrée à l'empire Qing.

Les trois parties suivantes : «Une mainmise sur les instruments de l'échange», «les flux commerciaux» et «les flux financiers» représentent une analyse très fouillée du commerce chinois en Insulinde au XVII^e siècle. Les produits et les itinéraires sont présentés sous forme de tableaux. Un lexique très utile rappelle d'ailleurs en annexe les formes sous lesquelles ces produits apparaissent dans les sources hollandaises. Grâce aux données abondantes mais parcellaires de la V.O.C., l'auteur parvient à reconstituer l'évolution du volume du commerce chinois pendant un siècle.

La comparaison de ce volume avec celui du commerce hollandais est très instructif. L'auteur conclut ainsi que les Chinois sont quatre à cinq fois plus actifs que les Hollandais sur les liaisons entre Batavia, les Philippines et la péninsule indochinoise et jusqu'à dix fois plus actifs sur les liaisons entre Batavia et la mer de Chine. L'analyse des monnaies et des problèmes de change est particulièrement détaillée, et permet d'observer que les termes de l'échange sont de plus en plus favorables aux Chinois tout au long du siècle. Elle confirme que la parité or/argent





et les possibilités d'arbitrage qu'elle induit jouent un rôle essentiel dans les échanges en Insulinde. En abordant les marges et les profits réalisés par les Chinois pour chaque produit, l'auteur montre qu'ils se sont spécialisés dans la branche moyenne, entre les énormes marges du commerce interocéanique et les marges très réduites du commerce de gros en Insulinde, ce qui leur permet de limiter les risques tout en jouant sur les volumes. Les données de la V.O.C. représentent une fenêtre d'observation fascinante sur l'histoire économique du commerce chinois, alors que ces marchands n'ont laissé que très peu de sources sur leur propre activité. L'immensité des sources consultées et la dispersion des références aux Chinois rendent d'autant plus méritoire le travail de l'auteur.

La cinquième partie du livre, intitulée « Les Chinois de Batavia : une communauté chinoise particulière », aborde les Chinois de Batavia d'un point de vue plus sociologique. Il révèle que les Chinois étaient après les esclaves portugais affranchis (Mardijkers) la deuxième communauté libre de Batavia, représentant environ 10 % de la population totale de la ville. Cette partie très enrichissante contient une présentation détaillée de l'engagement des Chinois dans l'affermage des impôts. La section biographique sur les plus grands marchands chinois de Batavia et leurs successions est particulièrement fascinante, car on délaisse les grandes généralités de l'histoire économique pour une échelle plus humaine.

La conclusion, qui aborde en cinq pages la suite de l'histoire des Chinois au XVIII^e siècle, ouvre notamment sur les racines du massacre des Chinois de Batavia en 1740. L'auteur n'ayant pas repris ses nombreuses et importantes conclusions intermédiaires, cette conclusion un peu rapide laisse un peu sur sa faim.

On peut regretter également que deux problèmes qui se posent par rapport à l'emploi du mot « Chinois » ne soient pas ou peu abordés par ce livre. Le premier problème est celui de la diversité linguistique de la Chine. Au lieu de regrouper tous les Chinois dans le même ensemble, il aurait été judicieux de faire mieux la différence entre les groupes concernés, par exemple entre les Hokkiens, les Hakkas et les Cantonais, entre lesquels les rivalités étaient bien ancrées. Le deuxième problème est celui du métissage et des changements identitaires provoqués par l'installation de longue durée en Insulinde et le mariage avec des femmes locales. À cet égard, l'exemple de la balinaise Nyai d'Sicko, qui épousa le capitaine chinois de Batavia, hérita de tous ses biens et le remplaça même à la tête de la communauté, est particulièrement frappant. On aurait voulu avoir une vision plus fine de ces communautés à l'identité mouvante et complexe. Les Zheng qui régnèrent sur Taiwan par exemple étaient eux-mêmes des métis sino-japonais. On peut regretter que les divisions à l'intérieur de la communauté chinoise et leur complexité identitaire ne soient presque pas abordées, mais c'est sans doute là un problème posé par les sources. Ni les Hollandais, ni les Malais, ni les Javanais ne faisaient vraiment de différences entre ces groupes.

Malgré ce petit bémol et quelques erreurs de caractères, la publication de l'importante thèse de Marie-Sybille de Vienne est très bienvenue. Grâce à ses nombreuses cartes, tableaux et lexiques, elle constitue, au-delà des seuls Chinois, un ouvrage de référence sur le commerce insulindien au XVII^e siècle dans son ensemble.

Paul WORMSER





RÉSUMÉS – ABSTRACTS

Marie Sybille de Vienne, INALCO, Paris

The Chinese in Brunei: From Ceramics to Oil Rent

Boni (as Boni 渤泥) is first mentioned in Chinese sources at the end of the 9th century AD. The oldest (1264) Muslim tomb of Brunei is that of a Chinese, Master Pu. During the 14th-16th centuries, the Muslim Chinese were numerous enough in Kota Batu to have their own mosque. The Spanish attack of 1578 did not reduce their presence: in addition to the China trade, they developed pepper culture and shipbuilding until the end of the 18th century. But due to the continuous decline of Brunei during the 19th century, the Chinese community could have disappeared if oil had not been found in Seria in 1929. The number of Chinese thus first increased up to represent 26% of the population in 1960, then decreased due to stricter immigration laws. It stabilised around 10,6% since 1991. Today, most of Brunei Chinese are permanent residents deprived of citizenship, with some notable exceptions.

Les Chinois de Brunei : de la céramique à la rente pétrolière

Brunei (sous le toponyme Boni 渤泥) est mentionné pour la première fois dans les sources chinoises à la fin du IX^e siècle EC. La tombe musulmane la plus ancienne de Brunei (1264) est celle d'un Chinois, Maître Pu. Durant la période XIV^e-XVI^e siècles, les Chinois musulmans sont suffisamment nombreux à Kota Batu pour disposer de leur propre mosquée. L'attaque espagnole de 1578 ne réduit pas leur présence : outre le commerce avec la Chine, ils développent la culture du poivre et la construction navale jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle. Mais du fait du déclin continu de Brunei au cours du XIX^e siècle, la communauté chinoise aurait pu disparaître sans la découverte de pétrole à Seria en 1929. La population chinoise s'accroît d'abord pour représenter 26% de la population totale en 1960, puis diminue en raison de lois plus strictes concernant l'immigration. Elle est stable à environ 10,6% depuis 1991. Aujourd'hui, la plupart des Chinois de Brunei bénéficient du statut de résident permanent dépourvu de citoyenneté, à quelques notables exceptions.

Yerry Wirawan, Docteur de l'EHESS, Paris

Pers Tionghoa Makassar Sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua

Artikel ini berusaha mengisi kekosongan studi tentang pers Tionghoa yang selama ini berpusat di Jawa. Di sini kami membahas keikutsertaan orang Tionghoa sedari permulaan kehadiran koran di Makassar pada paruh pertama abad ke-19 hingga kedatangan Jepang di tahun 1942. Di awal abad ke-20, orang Tionghoa mengupayakan penerbitan koran *Pemberita Makassar* bersama dengan etnis lain yang kemudian bertahan hingga 1942. Pada tahun 1920an, perkumpulan Tionghoa berusaha menerbitkan korannya melalui percetakan-percetakan dengan modal milik mereka sendiri. Namun upaya ini tidak berhasil karena kekurangan pelanggan. Dalam artikel ini kami menggambarkan persaingan dan konflik yang terjadi antara komunitas Tionghoa Makassar – yang sekaligus menunjukkan keberagaman pikiran dalam masyarakat Tionghoa – beserta problem-problem yang muncul dan diberitakan secara cukup mendekil dalam koran-koran tersebut. Artikel ini juga menampilkan beberapa tokoh jurnalis Tionghoa yang menghidupkan dunia persuratkabar di Makassar.

La presse chinoise de Makassar avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale

Cet article a pour but de combler un vide en ce qui concerne les études sur la presse sino-indonésienne, études qui jusqu'à présent étaient centrées sur Java. Nous analysons ici la

participation des Sino-Indonésiens depuis l'apparition des premiers journaux à Makassar durant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle jusqu'à l'arrivée des Japonais en 1942. Au début du XX^e siècle, les Sino-Indonésiens s'associent à d'autres communautés ethniques pour publier le journal *Pemberita Makassar* qui paraîtra jusqu'en 1942. Dans les années 1920, la communauté sino-indonésienne parvient à publier son propre journal sur des presses acquises avec ses capitaux propres. Mais cette expérience remporte peu de succès par manque de lecteurs. Dans cet article, nous mettons également en lumière la concurrence et les conflits à l'intérieur de la société sino-indonésienne elle-même, ainsi que les problèmes qui surgissent et sont rapportés de façon détaillée dans ces journaux. Nous présentons par ailleurs quelques figures de journalistes sino-indonésiens qui animent le monde de la presse de Makassar à l'époque.

Elizabeth Chandra, Keio University, actuellement Visiting Fellow à Cornell University
Fantasizing Chinese/Indonesian Hero: Njoo Cheong Seng and the Gagaklodra Series

This article examines the popular fantasy series, Gagaklodra, created by Njoo Cheong Seng in the late period of colonial Indonesia. As one of the earliest original works of crime and detective genre in Indonesia, conceived by an exceptionally cosmopolitan author of Chinese heritage, the Gagaklodra series is remarkably hybrid in terms of concept and content. It takes after both indigenous folklore and European cloak-and-dagger stories, anchored by a Javanese-Chinese protagonist. Written over the span of twenty-two years and three political regimes, the episodes of Gagaklodra not only capture the rapidly changing historical landscape between the 1930s and the 1940s, but also communicate a more inclusive outlook with regard to national belonging for the nation that was about to be born.

Fantasmer le héros chinois/indonésien : Njoo Cheong Seng et la série Gagaklodra

Cet article examine la série fantastique populaire intitulée Gagaklodra créée par Njoo Cheong Seng en Indonésie vers la fin de la période coloniale. Figurant parmi les premiers textes originaux du genre policier en Indonésie, conçue par un auteur héritier de culture chinoise exceptionnellement cosmopolite, la série Gagaklodra présente un caractère hybride remarquable en termes de concept et de contenu. Elle emprunte à la fois au folklore autochtone et aux histoires de cape et d'épée européennes, incarnée par un protagoniste javano-chinois. Écrits en l'espace de vingt-deux ans durant lesquels vont se succéder trois régimes politiques, les épisodes de Gagaklodra rendent non seulement compte du changement rapide du paysage politique entre les années 1930 et les années 1940, mais révèlent aussi une perspective plus globale au regard de l'appartenance nationale pour une nation en gestation.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Department of History, University of California at Los Angeles
What the Tamils Said: A Letter from the Kelings of Melaka (1527)

In September 1527, some sixteen years after the conquest of Melaka by Afonso de Albuquerque, the Keling (or Tamil-speaking) merchants of the town addressed a collective letter or petition to the King of Portugal Dom João III. The text of the letter is in Portuguese, followed by brief notations by the merchants in Tamil. It has been known to scholars at least since the time it was described by the Jesuit historian Georg Schurhammer, but has not been closely analysed hitherto. This essay presents a reading and translation of the letter itself, as well as the larger context for its production. It points to the difficult relations between the Portuguese and the Tamils, who although ostensibly allied with them, nevertheless found that their interests diverged. This was in large measure because of the assertive claims of the Portuguese *casados*, or private merchants, who had already emerged as a pressure-group in the Indian Ocean by this time. In the longer term, we see that the rival claims of *casados* and Kelings would be resolved in favour of the former, and that the Tamil-speaking merchants of Melaka were eventually to suffer a decline. This accounts for their dispersion to other ports and commercial centres.



Ce que dirent les Tamouls : une lettre des Keling de Melaka (1527)

En septembre 1527, quelque seize ans après la conquête de Melaka par Afonso de Albuquerque, les marchands Keling (ou parlant le tamoul) de la ville adressent une lettre collective en forme de pétition au souverain du Portugal, Dom João III. Le texte de la lettre en portugais est suivi de brèves notes en tamoul rédigées par les marchands. Ce document est connu des chercheurs au moins depuis sa description par l'historien jésuite Georg Schurhammer, mais n'avait jamais été examiné en détail jusqu'à présent. Cet essai présente une lecture et une traduction de cette lettre, ainsi que le contexte plus large de sa production. Il met en lumière les relations difficiles entre les Portugais et les Tamouls qui, bien que soi-disant alliés, trouvèrent néanmoins que leurs intérêts divergeaient. Ceci était dans une large mesure lié aux revendications prétentieuses des Portugais *casados* (ou marchands privés), qui apparaissaient déjà à l'époque comme un groupe de pression dans l'océan Indien. Sur le long terme, on observe que les revendications rivales des *casados* et des Keling vont se solutionner en faveur des premiers, et que les marchands de Melaka de parler tamoul subiront finalement un déclin. Ceci explique leur dispersion vers d'autres ports et lieux commerciaux.

Daniel Perret, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Jakarta

From Slave to King: The Role of South Asians in Maritime Southeast Asia (from the late 13th to the late 17th century)

This study is focused on people coming from South Asia not at all or at least not mainly involved in trade among the various societies of maritime Southeast Asia. One of the main obstacles related to this research is that these individuals and groups can be traced mostly through surviving material evidence or through identifications mentioned by others with all the distortions and uncertainties attached to this kind of sources. A panorama of the main social and occupational settings in which they found a place is presented: slaves, spouses and concubines, warriors, tax collectors, moneylenders, seamen and fishermen, miners and artisans, interpreters, staff and servants, religious proselytizers and leaders, rulers and civil dignitaries. All the coastal areas from Gujarat to Bengal yielded migrants to a greater or lesser extent, along with Ceylon and the Maldives. The Tamil area, Bengal, and Gujarat were probably the most significant suppliers, followed by Ceylon, the Maldives, Orissa and Malabar. Regarding geographical distribution, during the period under consideration South Asians not involved in trade were present from Aceh to Maluku. Even if the demographic weight of this migratory phenomenon is impossible to estimate with precision, I suggest that over one million individuals found their way to maritime Southeast Asia at that time.

D'esclave à roi : le rôle de Sud-Asiatiques dans l'Asie du Sud-Est maritime (de la fin du 13^e à la fin du 17^e siècle)

Cette étude est centrée sur les gens d'Asie du Sud qui ne sont pas commerçants, ou tout au moins dont le commerce n'est pas l'activité principale, et qui sont installés dans les diverses sociétés de l'Asie du Sud-Est maritime. L'un des principaux obstacles de cette recherche est que ces individus ou ces groupes ne peuvent être perçus pratiquement qu'au travers des preuves matérielles ayant survécu jusqu'à nous ou d'après les identifications mentionnées par d'autres, avec toutes les distorsions et incertitudes liées à ce genre de sources. Un panorama des principales catégories sociales et professionnelles est présenté : esclaves, épouses et concubines, guerriers, percepteurs de taxes, prêteurs d'argent, marins et pêcheurs, mineurs et artisans, interprètes, employés et serviteurs, prédicateurs et leaders religieux, dirigeants et dignitaires civils. Toutes les régions côtières entre le Gujarat et le Bengale ont fourni des migrants dans une plus ou moins grande mesure, ainsi que Ceylan et les Maldives. Le pays tamoul, le Bengale ainsi que le Gujarat furent probablement les principaux réservoirs, suivis par Ceylan, les Maldives, l'Orissa et le Malabar. En ce qui concerne la distribution géographique, durant la période considérée, les gens d'Asie du Sud non commerçants étaient présents d'Aceh aux Moluques. Même si le poids démographique de ce phénomène migratoire est impossible à estimer avec précision, je suggère que plus d'un million de personnes vont prendre la direction de l'Asie du Sud-Est maritime à l'époque.





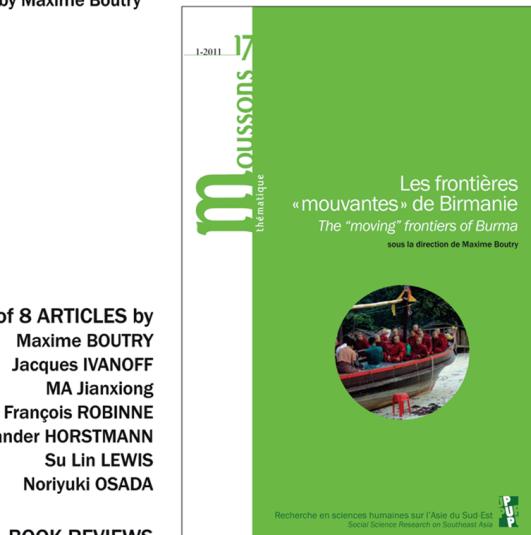
moussons

Social Science Research on Southeast Asia
Recherche en sciences humaines sur l'Asie du Sud-Est

NUMBER 17 NOW AVAILABLE

The “moving” frontiers of Burma *Les frontières «mouvantes» de Birmanie*

Edited by Maxime Boutry



A set of 8 ARTICLES by
Maxime BOUTRY
Jacques IVANOFF
MA Jianxiang
François ROBINNE
Alexander HORSTMANN
Su Lin LEWIS
Noriyuki OSADA

BOOK REVIEWS

PUBLISHING, SALES & SUBSCRIPTIONS

Presses Universitaires de Provence

JPPUP 29, avenue Robert Schuman, 13100 Aix-en-Provence, France
Ph.: 33-(0)442953191 – Fax.: 33-(0)442953180
E-mail: pup@univ-provence.fr
Website: www.univ-provence.fr/wpup

MOUSSONS, c/o IRSEA, Maison Asie Pacifique ■
Université de Provence
3, place Victor-Hugo – 13003 Marseilles, France
Ph.: 33-(0)413550723 – Fax: 33-(0)413550727
E-mail: moussons@univ-provence.fr



Announcing a New Title

THE END OF INNOCENCE?
Indonesian Islam and the
Temptations of Radicalism



Andrée Feillard & Rémy Madinier

TRANSLATED AND NEWLY UPDATED

**The End of Innocence?
Indonesian Islam and the
Temptations of Radicalism**

Andrée Feillard & Rémy Madinier

ISBN: 978-9971-69-512-5 | Paperback

Number of pages: 270 pp

Extent: 229 x 152 mm (9 x 6 inches)

Price: USD32.00

Long cited as a model of harmonious cohabitation between different religions, the most populous Muslim country in the world occupied until recently a special place in the Western imagination. Indonesia, home to a peaceful version of Islam, offered a reassuring counter-model to a rowdy and accusatory Arab Islam. Since 1999, however, confrontations between Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas, vigilante excesses in Sulawesi, and especially the Bali and Jakarta bombings have shattered these simplistic stereotypes. For many terrorism experts—often self-proclaimed—Indonesia's mutation confirmed the hackneyed thesis that equated obscurantism with Islam, and saw violent outbreaks as an inevitable consequence.

The End of Innocence is far removed from the analyses derived from this essentialist thesis. It positions the evolution of Indonesian Islam in the broader context of the recent history of the archipelago, and provides a rigorous analysis of the origins and causes of the 'radical temptation,' deciphering its simplistic ideology and how it has been nourished by political manipulation. The authors, who are both historians specializing in Indonesian Islam, describe the hold of religious extremism as well as the strong resistance it has provoked in a country that has quickly become one of the key spots in the upheavals occurring throughout the Muslim world.



**NUS PRESS
SINGAPORE**

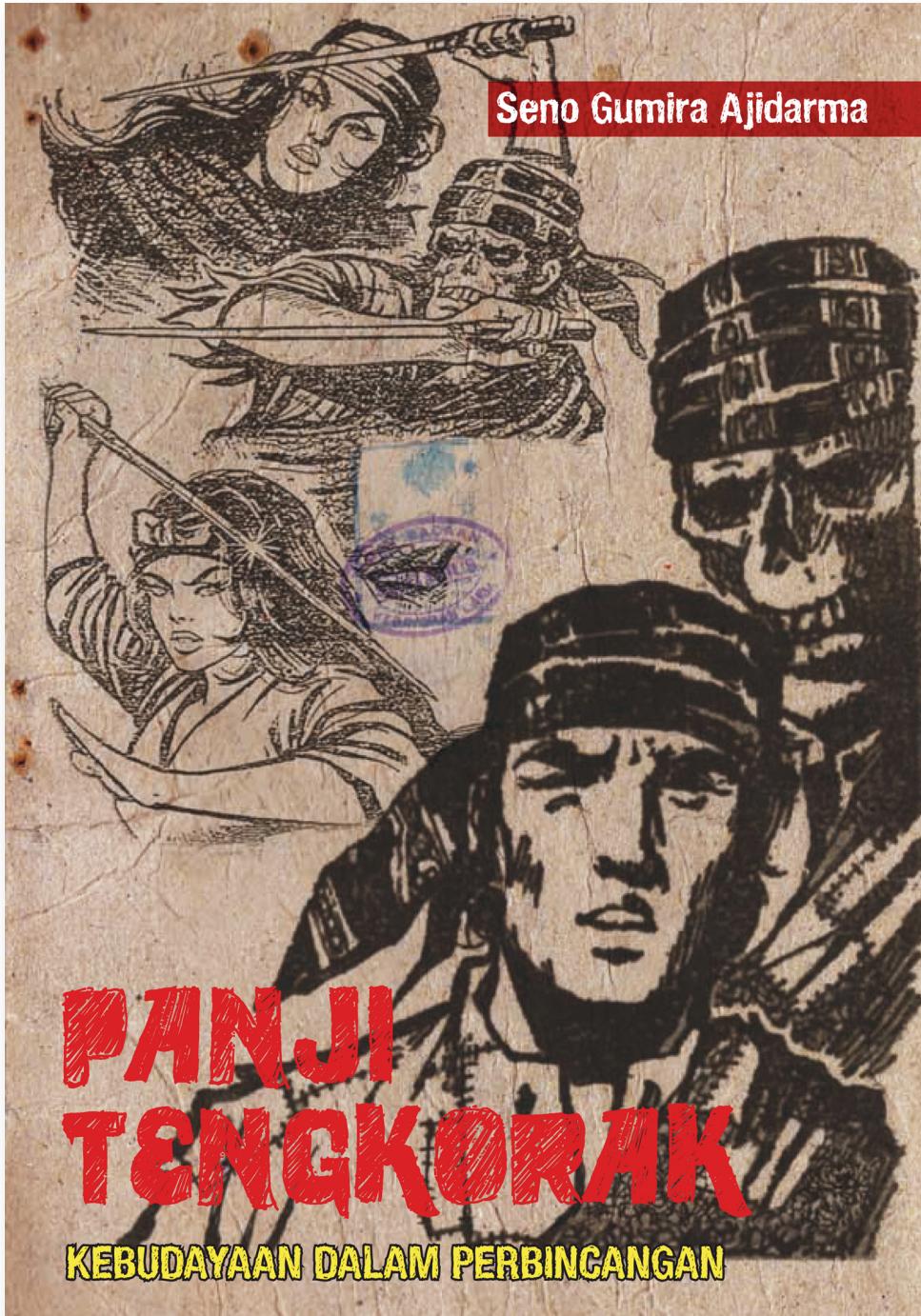
Phone: (65) 6776-1148
Fax: (65) 6774-0652
E-mail: nusbooks@nus.edu.sg

NUS Press
AS3-01-02, 3 Arts Link
National University of
Singapore

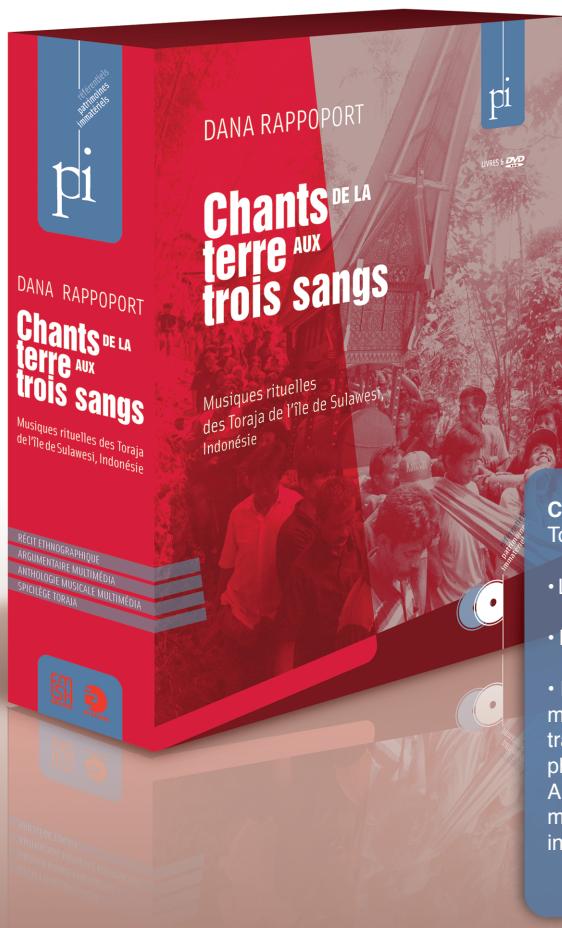
Please Contact:
Joann Keong
mkting.nuspress@nus.edu.sg

Andrée Feillard is a Senior Researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) and vice-director of the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies in Paris.

Rémy Madinier is a Senior Researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) and also a representative in Indonesia for the Institute of Research on Contemporary Southeast Asia (IRASEC).



KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia), EFEO (École française d'Extrême-Orient), 2011, 21 x 29,7 cm, 537 p., ISBN 978-979-91-0366-6.



Coffret livres DVD-Rom : 135 x 191
Toraja/Anglais/Français/Indonésien

- Livre 1 : Récit ethnographique (216 p.)
- Livre 2 : Spicilège toraja (192 p.)
- DVD-Rom : Anthologie musicale multimédia (40 h de musique avec traduction en 3 langues, 2000 photos, 120 mn de vidéo) & Argumentaire multimédia (nouveau mode d'accès aux données et à leur interprétation)

Chants de la terre aux trois sangs est une somme unique de connaissances et d'archives audiovisuelles sur les musiques toraja. Rare et méconnu, aujourd'hui menacé, le patrimoine culturel de ces populations montagnardes de l'île de Sulawesi fait partie d'un fonds linguistique ancien, la strate austronésienne (3000 avant JC). Le chant, toujours précédé de sacrifices, accompagnait l'intégralité d'un cycle rituel. Ce cycle permettait aux humains de passer du côté du soleil couchant au côté du soleil levant par une série de gestes, de paroles et de chants.

Songs from the Thrice-Blooded Land presents an immense multidimensional and multimedia study of the ritual music of the Toraja people living in the mountains of South Sulawesi, Central Indonesia. The remarkably rich cultural heritage of the Toraja, now on the brink of vanishing, belongs to the ancient Austronesian cultural stratum established in Indonesia around 3000 BCE. Together with animal sacrifices, Toraja songs lie at the heart of a complex ritual cycle that allows the deceased to pass from the "side of the setting sun" (the realm of death) to the "side of the rising sun" (the realm of life) through a series of ritual actions, speeches, dances, and music.

Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme – Éditions Épistèmes

Paris, 2011, ISBN 978-2-7351-1261-6 & ISBN 978-2-7351-1260-9

Existe en version anglaise ou française - Prix : 59 euros

Commande : <http://www.lcdpu.fr/> - Fax : +33149542133





SÉRIE : CAHIERS D'ARCHIPEL

N° 1	D. LOMBARD	
	<i>INTRODUCTION À L'INDONÉSIEN</i> (3 ^e ÉDITION RÉVISÉE), 1991	27,45
N° 2	R. JONES	
	<i>ARABIC LOAN WORDS IN INDONESIAN</i> , 1978	épuisé
N° 3	P. LABROUSSE	
	<i>MÉTHODE D'INDONÉSIEN</i> , VOLUME N° 1 (2 ^e ÉDITION RÉVISÉE), 1994	(voir série : Autres publications)
N° 4	P. LABROUSSE	
	<i>MÉTHODE D'INDONÉSIEN</i> , VOLUME N° 2, 1978	(voir série : Autres publications)
N° 5	F. SOEMARGONO	
	<i>EXERCICES STRUCTURAUX D'INDONÉSIEN</i> , 1978	épuisé
N° 6	CL. SALMON & D. LOMBARD	
	<i>LES CHINOIS DE JAKARTA, TEMPLES ET VIE COLLECTIVE</i> , 1977	(voir série : études insulindiennes n° 1)
N° 7	F. PECORARO	
	<i>ESSAI DE DICTIONNAIRE TAROKO-FRANÇAIS</i> , 1977	épuisé
N° 8	G. HOOYKASS	
	<i>INTRODUCTION À LA LITTÉRATURE BALINAISE</i> , 1979	7,60
N° 9	F. SOEMARGONO	
	<i>LE « GROUPE DE YOGYA » (1945-1960) – LES VOIES JAVANAISES D'UNE LITTÉRATURE INDONÉSIENNE</i> , 1979	épuisé
N° 10	U. SIRK	
	<i>LA LANGUE BUGIS (CÉLÈBES-SUD)</i> , 1979	épuisé
N° 11	H. CHAMBERT-LOIR	
	<i>SASTRA : INTRODUCTION À LA LITTÉRATURE INDONÉSIENNE CONTEMPORAINE</i> , 1980	épuisé
N° 12	PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER	
	<i>CORRUPTION</i> , 1981	épuisé
N° 13	N. PHILLIPS & KHAIDIR ANWAR (ED.)	
	<i>PAPERS ON INDONESIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES</i> , 1981	épuisé
N° 14	G. MOUSSAY	
	<i>LA LANGUE MINANGKABAU</i> , 1981	épuisé
N° 15	P. LABROUSSE	
	<i>DICTIONNAIRE GÉNÉRAL INDONÉSIEN-FRANÇAIS</i> , 1984	59,45
N° 16	P. LABROUSSE	
	<i>DICTIONNAIRE DE POCHE INDONÉSIEN-FRANÇAIS</i> , 1985	9,15
N° 17	P. CAREY (ED.)	
	<i>VOYAGE À DJOCJA-KARTA EN 1825 DE A.A.J. PAYEN</i> , 1988	14,50
N° 18	F. SOEMARGONO & W. ARIFIN	
	<i>DICTIONNAIRE GÉNÉRAL FRANÇAIS-INDONÉSIEN</i> , 1991	59,45
N° 19	CL. SALMON (ED.)	
	<i>LE MOMENT « SINO MALAIS » DE LA LITTÉRATURE INDONÉSIENNE</i> , 1992	18,30
N° 20	CHANATIP KESAVADHANA (ED.)	
	<i>CHULALONGKORN, ROI DE SIAM. ITINÉRAIRE D'UN VOYAGE À JAVA EN 1896</i> , 1993	22,55
N° 21	M. BONNEFF (ED.)	
	<i>L'INDONÉSIE CONTEMPORAINE.</i>	
	<i>UN CHOIX D'ARTICLES DE LA REVUE PRISMA (1971-1991)</i> , 1994	24,40



N° 22	H. CHAMBERT-LOIR (ED.) <i>LA LITTÉRATURE INDONÉSIENNE. UNE INTRODUCTION</i> , 1994	18,30
N° 23	M. ABAZA <i>ISLAMIC EDUCATION. PERCEPTION AND EXCHANGES : INDONESIAN STUDENTS IN CAIRO</i> , 1994	25,60
N° 24	M. ZAINI-LAJOUBERT <i>L'IMAGE DE LA FEMME DANS LES LITTÉRATURES MODERNES INDONÉSIENNE ET MALAISE</i> , 1994	25,60
N° 25	PHAN HUY LÊ, CL. SALMON & TA TRONG HIËP <i>UN ÉMISSAIRE VIÉTNAMIEN À BATAVIA. PHAN HUY CHÚ. « RÉCIT SOMMAIRE D'UN VOYAGE EN MER » (1833)</i> , 1994	25,60
N° 26	L. HUSSON <i>LA MIGRATION MADURAISE VERS L'EST DE JAVA</i> , 1995	36,60
N° 27	G. MOUSSAY <i>DICTIONNAIRE MINANGKABAU-INDONÉSIEN-FRANÇAIS</i> , 2 VOLUMES, 1995	94,50
N° 28	A. FEILLARD <i>ISLAM ET ARMÉE DANS L'INDONÉSIE CONTEMPORAINE</i> , 1995	33,55
N° 29	N. LANCRET <i>LA MAISON BALINAISE EN SECTEUR URBAIN</i> , 1997	28,20
N° 30	C. GUILLOT (SOUS LA DIRECTION DE) <i>HISTOIRE DE BARUS. LE SITE DE LOBU TUA</i> , VOLUME N° 1, 1998 <i>HISTOIRE DE BARUS. LE SITE DE LOBU TUA</i> , VOLUME N° 2, 2003 <i>HISTOIRE DE BARUS. VOLUMES N° 1 & 2 PRIX SPÉCIAL</i>	30,50 30,50 50,00
N° 31	J. CUISINIER <i>JOURNAL DE VOYAGE, MALAISIE (1933), INDONÉSIE (1952-55)</i> , EXTRAITS ÉDITÉS PAR DANIEL PERRET, 1999	épuisé
N° 32	S. VIGNATO <i>AU NOM DE L'HINDOUISME. RECONFIGURATION ETHNIQUE CHEZ LES TAMOULES ET LES KARO EN INDONÉSIE</i> , 2000	38,10
N° 33	J.-M. DE GRAVE <i>INITIATION RITUELLE ET ARTS MARTIAUX. TROIS ÉCOLES DE KANURAGAN JAVANAIS</i> , 2001	29,70
N° 34	J.-B. PELON <i>DESCRIPTION DE TIMOR OCCIDENTAL ET DES ILES SOUS DOMINATION HOLLANDAISE (1771-1778)</i> , TEXTE ÉTABLI, PRÉSENTÉ ET ANNOTÉ PAR ANNE LOMBARD-JOURDAN, 2002	17,00
N° 35	J.-L. MAURER <i>LES JAVANAIS DU CAILLOU</i> , 2006	30,00
N° 36	M.-F. DUPOIZAT <i>CATALOGUE OF CHINESE STYLE CERAMICS OF MAJAPAHIT. TENTATIVE INVENTORY</i> , 2007	29,00
N° 37	C. GUILLOT & L. KALUS (ED.) <i>LES MONUMENTS FUNÉRAIRES ET L'HISTOIRE DU SULTANAT DE PASAI À SUMATRA</i> , 2008	38,00
N° 38	D. PERRET & H. SURACHMAN (ED.) <i>HISTOIRE DE BARUS III : REGARDS SUR UNE PLACE MARCHANDE DE L'OCÉAN INDIEN (XIIe-MI-XVIIe s.)</i> , 2009	38,00
N° 39	CHRISTIAN PELRAS <i>EXPLORATIONS DANS L'UNIVERS DES BUGIS. UN CHOIX DE TRENTÉ-TROIS RENCONTRES</i> , 2010	35,00
N° 40	LUDVIK KALUS & CLAUDE GUILLOT (TRADUIT ET ANNOTÉ DU TCHÈQUE PAR) PAVEL DURDIK. <i>UN MÉDECIN MILITAIRE À SUMATRA. RÉCITS DE LA GUERRE D'ATJEH</i> , 2010	19,00



SÉRIE : ÉTUDES INSULINDIENNES / ARCHIPEL

N° 1	CL. SALMON ET D. LOMBARD <i>LES CHINOIS DE JAKARTA. TEMPLES ET VIE COLLECTIVE</i>	épuisé
N° 2	M. BONNEFF ET AL. <i>PANCASILA. TRENTE ANNÉES DE DÉBATS POLITIQUES EN INDONÉSIE</i>	16,75
N° 3	CL. SALMON <i>LITERATURE IN MALAY BY THE CHINESE OF INDONESIA. A PROVISIONAL ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY</i>	épuisé
N° 4	C. GUILLOT <i>L'AFFAIRE SADRACH. ÉTUDE SUR LE CHRISTIANISME À JAVA AU XIX^e SIÈCLE</i>	épuisé
N° 5	M. CHARRAS <i>DE LA FORÊT MALÉFIQUE À L'HERBE DIVINE</i>	16,75
N° 6	F. RAILLON <i>LES ÉTUDIANTS INDONÉSIENS ET L'ORDRE NOUVEAU</i>	25,15
N° 7	M. BONNEFF <i>PÉRÉGRINATIONS JAVANaises. LES VOYAGES DE R.M.A. PURWA LELANA</i>	25,15
N° 8	CH. VULDY <i>PEKALONGAN : BATIK ET ISLAM DANS UNE VILLE DU NORD DE JAVA</i>	21,35
N° 9	B. SELLATO <i>NOMADES ET SÉDENTARISATION À BORNÉO</i>	27,45
N° 10	M. FRANCK <i>QUAND LA RIZIÈRE RENCONTRE L'ASPHALTE...</i>	29,00

SÉRIE : AUTRES PUBLICATIONS

. D. LOMBARD <i>LE CARREFOUR JAVANAIS (3 VOLUMES)</i>	79,00
. C. GUILLOT <i>THE SULTANATE OF BANTEN</i>	14,50
. OUVRAge COLLECTIF <i>BABOUIN ET AUTRES NOUVELLES DE MALAISIE</i>	14,95
. F. SOEMARGONO ET W. ARIFIN <i>DICTIONNAIRE DE POCHE FRANÇAIS-INDONÉSIEN</i>	19,05
. P. LABROUSSE <i>MÉTHODE D'INDONÉSIEN (NOUVELLE ÉDITION)</i>	28,20
. CL. SALMON, W. FRANKE & A.K. SIU <i>CHINESE EPIGRAPHIC MATERIALS IN INDONESIA (JAVA) VOL. 2 – PART N° 1 & N° 2 (2 VOLUMES)</i>	57,95
. M.O. SCALLIET <i>ANTOINE PAYEN : PEINTRE DES INDÉS ORIENTALES – VIE ET ÉCRITS D'UN ARTISTE DU XIX^e S.</i>	44,20

PRIX ÉTABLIS EN EUROS, FRAIS DE POSTE EN PLUS
ENVOI PAR POSTE, PAIEMENT À RÉCEPTION DE LA FACTURE

ASSOCIATION ARCHIPEL

ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES EN SCIENCES SOCIALES
190-198, AVENUE DE FRANCE – 75244 PARIS CEDEX 13 – FRANCE

TÉL : 33(0)149542564 – TÉL : 33(0)149542344 – E-mail : archipel@ehess.fr





RECOMMANDATIONS AUX AUTEURS

Nous vous recommandons de bien vouloir nous fournir votre article sous forme d'un document imprimé (en deux exemplaires), accompagné d'un support informatique comportant les polices correspondantes (le document informatique peut également être joint à un message électronique à l'adresse suivante : ARCHIPEL@ehess.fr).

Il est préférable que votre article ne dépasse pas 80 000 signes (Times New Roman), soit 25 pages imprimées. Le nom de l'auteur, son appartenance institutionnelle et l'adresse complète doivent figurer en page de garde.

Il est nécessaire de joindre un résumé de l'article d'une dizaine de lignes. En français, si celui-ci est rédigé en anglais, et en anglais s'il est en français.

Tous les articles proposés à la rédaction seront soumis au comité de lecture d'*Archipel*, le comité de rédaction se réservant le droit d'apporter des modifications mineures aux articles sur l'épreuve définitive, sans consulter à nouveau l'auteur, pour des raisons de délais de fabrication.

La publication des articles fera l'objet d'un contrat avec cession de droits.

L'auteur reçoit un exemplaire du numéro de la revue, et une copie pdf de son article.

Les manuscrits ne seront pas renvoyés aux auteurs.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AUTHORS

We recommend that you send us your article in the form of a printed document (two hard copies) along with its soft copy including the corresponding font (the digital document may also be attached to an e-mail to the following address: ARCHIPEL@ehess.fr).

It is preferable that your article not be longer than 80,000 characters (Times New Roman), that is 25 printed pages. The author's name, the institution or organization to which he or she belongs and the complete address should appear on the title page.

The article should be accompanied by an abstract of about 10 lines, in French if the article is in English, in English if the article is in French.

All articles proposed for publication will be submitted to the Archipel editorial board, the editors reserving the right to make small changes in the final proofs of the articles without consulting the author, because of publication deadlines.

Publication of the articles will be the subject of a contract with cession of rights.

The authors will receive a copy of the issue of the review, and a pdf file of their articles.

Manuscripts will not be returned to their authors.

ARCHIPEL SUR INTERNET : semioweb.msh-paris.fr/archipel/

Sommaire de tous les volumes parus. Index détaillé, établi par Monique Zaini-Lajoubert, couvrant l'intégralité des articles, la liste des auteurs, la liste des ouvrages ayant fait l'objet d'un compte rendu. Liste des cahiers d'Archipel. Commandes.

ARCHIPEL ON THE INTERNET: semioweb.msh-paris.fr/archipel/

Summary of all published volumes. Detailed index drawn up by Monique Zaini-Lajoubert, covering all the articles, a list of authors, a list of reviewed works. List of Archipel supplements. Orders.

ARCHIPEL IS AVAILABLE AT: <http://www.persee.fr>

La revue *Archipel* est dorénavant référencée à **ISI Web of Knowledge (Thomson Reuters)**.

Elle figure dans ***Art & Humanities Citation Index*** et dans ***Current Contents/Arts & Humanities***.

Elle est également référencée dans ***Index to the Study of Religion Online*** (www.brill.nl/isro).

Archipel is indexed in ISI Web of Knowledge (Thomson Reuters): Arts & Humanities Citation Index and Current Contents/Arts & Humanities.

Archipel is indexed in the Index to the Study of Religion Online (www.brill.nl/isro).



ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE

La publication de la revue Archipel est assurée par l'Association Archipel régie par la loi de 1901. Les statuts de celle-ci prévoient le service de la revue aux membres associés qui se sont acquitté de leur cotisation annuelle.

Toutes les personnes ou institutions qui auront réglé leur souscription pour l'année sont inscrites *ipso facto* comme « membre associé », et peuvent participer à l'Assemblée générale de l'Association, avec voix consultative.

La prochaine Assemblée générale aura lieu au France, 190-198 avenue de France, 75013 Paris, le **19 janvier 2012 à 16h**. Le présent avis tient lieu de convocation.

