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SOME ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE ANTECEDENTS OF MODERN INDONESIAN LITERATURE

The sociological bias of the last decade, which is manifest in Western European literary criticism, has led philologists to pay attention to many formerly ignored facts and phenomena of the literary process, including a vast body of urban Indonesian literature written around the turn of the century mainly in "Low" Malay. In an article entitled 'Some Preliminary Remarks on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature' (*BKI* 1971/127-4:417-433), C. W. Watson presents a general analysis of this most interesting phenomenon. He refers to some 30 books published between 1875 and 1924. Thirteen of these are introduced by the author from the originals. The rest are drawn from indirect sources, i.e. advertisements, catalogues, and the like.

Watson is preoccupied with the "language principle", and is not always aware that this period falls into two quite distinct phases ideologically, i.e. that prior to, and that after the beginning of the second decade of this century. The body of works of the first phase is extremely amorphous and contradictory but is, on the whole, saturated with a spirit of democracy. It is the real antecedent of national Indonesian literature. The works of the second phase, reflecting as they do the awakening of a national consciousness and the growth of political activity on the part of Indonesians, no longer constitute an antecedent to but mark the very beginning of Indonesian literature.¹ There is, of course, strong continuity between the two phases with respect to style, figurative language and plot.

The second phase has already been treated to some extent by the

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newspapers *Harian Rakyat* and *Bintang Timur*. It has been discussed in a number of journal articles² and has even been introduced into the scheme of the Indonesian literary process by B. Siregar (1964), and later by A. Teeuw (1967),³ although with great reservation.

In the present article I shall therefore give a detailed account of the first phase only, i.e., I will deal with the antecedents proper of Indonesian literature. In doing so I will use materials found in the libraries of the Soviet Union.

These materials comprise almost a hundred original and translated works that were published before 1800. They are all the more interesting because, as far as I know, many of them are not available either in the library of the Jakarta Museum or, judging from Watson's article, in the principal collections of Western Europe and the U.S.A. The only exception is formed by a fairly extensive body of translations, or rather rewrites, from Chinese that were recently discussed in detail by Cl. Lombard-Salmon in articles published in the French journal *Archipel*⁴ and treated earlier by Joe Lan Nio, whose works are also referred to by Lombard-Salmon and Watson. To avoid repetition I will only draw on publications already in scientific circulation beyond the U.S.S.R. in cases of necessity or when specifics are called for.⁵

There is another interesting source which for some obscure reason has been neglected up till now, i.e., almanacs of the same period which include numerous works of fiction. In the Soviet collection 20 issues of four different Malay-language almanacs are found, which contain 36 *syairs* and four selections of *pantuns*.

According to Watson the works of the period that we are about to consider seem to have had as prerequisite the press regulations of 1856. These regulations put an end to the existing severe censorial restrictions and provided wider opportunities for private publishing houses. While the press law as such heralded the forthcoming victory of the liberal wing of the Dutch bourgeoisie and medium-level bureaucracy, it did not immediately to any considerable extent affect the Indonesian literary process. In this respect the turning-point came with the political reforms of 1870, which signified a departure from the feudal system of serfdom and forced cultivation, and stimulated the development of bourgeois relations in colonial Indonesia.

A characteristic feature of this new socio-historical period was the animation of urban life, particularly in Java. The towns now became the centres of economic life, and their populations increased due to the influx of dispossessed farmers from the rural districts. A distinctive

culture developed here at the time. It was different both from the European culture, which it attempted to imitate, and from the local or traditional culture, which it was coming to replace. Later on this culture was defined as *mestiezen cultuur*, which has been interpreted in different ways but has almost always had a hint of derogatoriness. It should be noted here, however, that "Historical merits are judged not by what has been omitted to be done by historical figures [writers, in this case, W.S.] in comparison with modern requirements, but by the innovations they have introduced as compared with their predecessors".⁶

Despite its aesthetic immaturity, this urban culture satisfied the requirements of a third estate society and reflected the latter's vision of the surrounding reality. In the ethnically mixed towns the *wayang*, with its intensively symbolic nature, gave way to the new entertainment theatre called Komedi Stambul,⁷ the *gamelan* yielded to the sensual melodies of the *kroncong*, and traditional Malay and Javanese literature was pushed aside more and more decisively by the typically urban stories and lyric poetry in the "Low" Malay language, i.e., the language that is directly descended from "trading" Malay, which for a long time had been used in interethnic communication throughout the archipelago and was the forerunner of the Indonesian language. Many newspapers were also published in this same "low" Malay. They played an important part in the Indonesian literary process, as they still do today.⁸

In the early stages the persons most active in literature and the publishing business were the "naturalized" Dutch (*métis* or "Indos", as they were generally called) and the Chinese (mostly *métis* "Pera-nakan"). But from the very beginning, the fiction writers and journalists included many representatives of the indigenous population who were graduates of the then not very numerous schools and colleges.⁹ It is not always possible to establish the nationality of an author, because books were often published anonymously or under a pseudonym. This is not all that important, however, because except in some rare cases (Chinese novels were only translated by local Chinese) the nationality of the author had very little to do with the character of the work or the composition of the reading audience. It was only at the beginning of the second phase that Malayo-Chinese literature attained its distinctive form as an ideologically independent literary trend.¹⁰

During the period that we are interested in, centripetal tendencies were more in evidence than centrifugal ones. G. Schlegel, who as early as 1881 first drew attention to the steady stream of translations of Chinese classical novels and stories, said that one of the reasons for

their commercial success was that they "were eagerly read by the aborigines".¹¹ The Chinese published many Malay *syairs* (poems) in the Roman script. Tan Tjhan Hie, in the introduction to the amusing allegorical and moralizing *Sair Ikan* of Moh. Hasan, explained: "I do not think that many readers understand Arabic writing and to help them I have rewritten these poems in Dutch characters" (45).

Much of the Dutch use of Malay (whether of the "High" or "Low" variety) was marked by a slight *Kulturträger* element,¹² or influenced by missionary considerations.¹³ But for many Dutchmen who had become fluent in the new medium it came to satisfy a kind of intellectual need. Thus H. Krafft, in his introduction to a collection of plays for the Komedi Stambul theatre, assures the reader that his only object in writing these has been his own amusement and that of his friends.¹⁴ There is no doubt that Krafft knew Dutch and could have entertained his friends in that language. In his cultural environment, however, the "low" Malay language was preferred. Somewhat later in time, but in exactly the same way, Dutch was preferable to Javanese in the intellectual circle of the gifted poet Notoesoeroto of the house of the Surakarta rulers. Likewise Sanusi Pane from Sumatra and the Javanese author Intoyo for some time alternated between the Dutch and the Indonesian language in their creative work. In the long run they came to favour the latter.

This linguistic confrontation is also characteristic of what is called the *mestiezen* culture of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The list of Dutch-language literary works contained in an article concerning the Netherlands Indies in Dutch literature in the second volume of the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (2nd ed., 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1917-39 : 597-601) includes many novels and stories, some of which are part of Indonesian rather than Dutch literature proper.¹⁵ In the meantime, research on the interrelation between the Dutch "colonial" novel and the urban Malay-language story of the late 19th century might throw new light on the Indonesian literary situation in the phase in question. Even a cursory glance at the titles shows that, for example, the theme of the *nyai* (native wife of a European) that is so characteristic of these stories is not at all alien to Dutch works of literature, either.

Translated Fiction

While the interrelation between the Dutch colonial novel and the urban Malay story remains unexplained for the time being, the category of

translations offers clear evidence. One can cite as an example F. Wiggers' translation of Melati van Java's (Marie Sloom's) novel *Van slaaf tot vorst* which is mentioned by Watson (1971: 419) and is available in our collection. It is imbued with profound sympathy for the leader of a 17th-century anti-Dutch uprising, Surapati.¹⁶ One should also take note of A. F. von de Wall's translation of a story by J. A. Uilkens, *Bahwa ini hikajat Djahidin* (The Story of Djahidin) (8), which tells of a Javanese teenager who runs away from home. This story is also available in Sundanese and in one of the Batak dialects.

It is possible that a similar "local" source inspired the stories in the collection [About Love and Tenderness], which were translated into High Malay by Dja Endar Moeda in 1896.¹⁷ The hero of the title-story in this collection is a banker's son who is caught in the act of forging some bills, runs away, becomes a sailor and then moves to Surabaya where he meets a faithful lifelong friend and follows the path of virtue. Of particular interest is a short story entitled *1569*. Its heroine, Margaret, is forced by her parents to marry an old man. She falls in love with a Spaniard who soon thereupon cuts her spouse's throat in order to rob him. The indignant citizens kill the Spaniard and decide to hang Margaret in the town square "for the edification of every wife". Before dying she addresses her fellow-citizens in the following words:

"Listen to me, young women of the whole town! Look at me, a young widow who has piled such guilt upon her soul, and don't dare follow my example. I did not kill my husband, but what has happened has happened. And the reason for all of this is that my parents forced me to marry a man who was repellent to me. Let my example be a lesson to the parents of every girl." (6, p. 52).

Thus we come to the subject of forced marriages. This subject became a dominant one in Indonesian literature with the advent of the Balai Pustaka. There is no question of direct influence, of course, but there are some links between certain aspects of past European reality and the traditions surviving in 20th-century Indonesia.

The Dutch language also served as the medium for translating into Malay works of European literature in general (and sometimes Eastern literature as well; see 23 and 27). As a rule, novels with adventure plots were translated. In addition to the series about Rocambole and Fantomas I would like to mention *Secrets of the Court of Constantinople*.¹⁸ As for more serious literature, one may mention *Baron von Munch-*

hausen by Raspe (2), *Don Juan* (4), the omnipresent *Robinson Crusoe* by Defoe¹⁹, *Le Comte de Monte Christo* by Dumas (see Watson 1971:418), and four novels by Jules Verne: *The Mysterious Island*, *The Steam House*, *20,000 Leagues under the Sea*, and *Michael Strogoff* (9-12).²⁰ In such books the idea of "indefatigable activity and invincible resoluteness under the most hopeless circumstances" is glorified, thus fostering in the reader the spirit of perseverance and enterprise, and confidence in one's own strength and ability. In the works of Jules Verne there was open condemnation of colonial oppression.

The Soviet collection includes about ten translations or rewrites from the Chinese, but for the reasons already stated above. I will not discuss these. As for the translations from Arabic which played such an important role in the development of modern Malay literature in the early 20th century, there are almost none in Roman transliteration. The only exceptions are two stories of a mystical nature, *Idris Bek el Homra* (13) and *Hikajat Soeltan Ibrahim ibnu Adaham Walijoellah* (14), both of them in "High" Malay.

Original Stories and Hikayats

Original stories can be subdivided, as Watson says, into two groups, i.e., adventure-detective (*cerita silat*) stories and *nyai* (or "family life" in general) stories. The authors of these invariably stress that their stories are based on "real facts". Unfortunately, the Soviet collection lacks both F. Wiggers' *Nyai Isah* and H. Kommer's *Siti Aisah* and *Nyai Patina*, which were published between 1900 and 1903. On the other hand, *Nyai Dasima* (which is usually ascribed to G. Fransis, who, however, judging from the title-page of the book, was only the publisher of this story) is available in this collection in the original prose version of 1896 as well as in the 1897 versification by O.S. Tjiang (see Watson 1971 : 421). Its full title is: [The story of *nyai* Dasima, a victim of cajolement. Being a most pleasing narrative of events taking place not long ago in Batavia, which may serve as a lesson to all women who put their faith in the flattery of men, and as an admonition to young girls] (38). The story tells how a man named Samiun entices Dasima to leave her English merchant (having convinced her she must leave the *giaour* (infidel) to save her Muslim soul). He then has her killed in order to take her money and jewels. Watson (1971 : 421) says that it is a pity that Balai Pustaka did not republish this story. But then its clearly anti-Muslim bias would certainly have made it unacceptable to this official publishing house.²¹

The "anti-indigenous" bias of *Nyai Dasima* was even felt by its contemporaries. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why the author of an anonymous collection (37) that appeared one year later called one of its stories *Nyai Tassiem*. The Tassiem-Dasima opposition is a clear example of a polemic! In this case it is not the *nyai* who leaves the European, but the latter who decides to settle down for life with a lawful Dutch wife. He keeps his and Tassiem's daughter and sends Tassiem back to the village she had come from ten years earlier when, because of an impending famine, her mother had brought her to town to give her away as a concubine. Tassiem goes literally mad with grief, constantly clasping an elongated bundle which she fondles and kisses like a baby. "But whenever the village is visited by a Dutchman wishing to rest from the hunt", the author concludes, "the poor crazy woman starts violently screaming and swearing at him, for although she is off her head she is still aware that he is of the same nationality as the man who has broken her heart."²² The theme of the other two stories in this collection is also the abuse of authority. Destitute and deprived peasants become the victims of the rich, be they Dutchmen (as in *Nyai Tassiem*), Chinese (in [An Interrupted Feast]), or aristocratic Javanese (in *Sahirah*).

Watson mentions another *nyai* story by H. Kommer, entitled *Nyai Sarikem* (1900), in his article (1971:423). The fact that this is the same name as that of the heroine in [An Interrupted Feast], as well as the identical plots of the two stories, gives rise to the suspicion that we have here one and the same work of fiction. If this is true, then the author of the whole of the anonymous collection of 1897 (the stylistic peculiarity of which is indisputable) must be H. Kommer. This supposition seems the more justified when one notes that of all the works mentioned by Watson there is only one other, namely *Njai Patina* (1971:422), also by Kommer, which is characterized by a clear anti-colonial and social tone, a feature which is not, on the whole, very representative for the period under analysis.

Coming to the *cerita silat*, I am again obliged to state that the Soviet collection does not include the famous *Si Tjonat* by F. Pange-manann (1900). There are, however, two genuine detective stories, [The story of two secret agents and the haunted cemetery] by N. W. Schuurmans (7)²³ and [The story of Raden Sukarman...] by J. E. Hoff (33). The former of these is a translation of an English detective story in which Brington and Parker are the main characters. The latter is set in Java, in the circle of the Surakarta aristocracy. Raden

Sukarman, a private eye from a detective agency, solves a crime and in reward receives the hand of the high-ranking criminal's daughter and, naturally, inherits the man's property as well.

Finally an old genre, that of the *hikayat*, must be considered. Leaving aside the classical and post-classical works of this type (see Watson 1971 : 418), I would like to mention the distinctive and refreshing [*Hikayat* of Ali Saleh, son of Ali Sarin, a poor man's son who managed to ascend the throne of a vast and glorious kingdom] (34). The author was a Sundanese, Raden Kartawinata, "a telegraphist at the Preangan department of the state railways". The hero closely resembles a character from the Sundanese Si Kabayan *pantuns* (poems here). Driven away from home by his father because of his laziness, he by chance gains possession of a magic object. With its aid he defeats the none-too-clever jinn Haruda and the arrogant crown princes. He wins the hand of a beautiful princess, which, in his opinion, is a much greater piece of good luck than winning a prize of 100,000 guilders in a lottery ("loterij prijs f 100,000", p. 10). Thereupon Ali Saleh invites his royal spouse to table (p. 56) with the words: "Come, dearest, let us drink fragrant brandy together" ("Adinda, mari kita minoem brendij jang haroem wangi"). I cite these passages intentionally to demonstrate how strangely modern realities intrude into what is, on the whole, a traditional plot.

Thematically akin to the *hikayat* of Ali Saleh is an anonymous *syair* about a soldier who, although the son of a poor peasant, becomes a "marshal", a king's son-in-law, and heir to the throne (*Tjerita anak miskin*). This *syair* was published in the Jogjakarta almanac for 1882 (63, pp. 169-172). It is, however, much drier and more serious than Kartawinata's work, the latter being full of spontaneous humour and the spirit of the joy of life.

Syairs (Poems)

There are comparatively few *syairs* that tell a story in the Soviet collection. Those that are found here are, as a rule, adaptations of (parts of) translated Chinese novels,²⁴ European works²⁵ and already existing urban stories (e.g., F. Pangemanann's *Nyai Rossina*²⁶ or *Nyai Dasima*), as well as a few allegorical *syairs* similar to the one about the fish (45; see also 44 and 41). The majority are plotless but moralizing poems whose subjects are often obedience and the performance of one's official duty (see 39, 40, 43). There are also *syairs* which read rather like newspaper reports. One concerns the arrival in Batavia of a Russian crown prince (47). It is written by Tan Teng Kie. It presents a detailed

account of the prince's cortège and of the reception given in his honour by the Governor-General.²⁷

The same author also wrote a poem (49) about the construction, in the 1880's, of one of the first sections of a railway line in Java. This work is particularly interesting because it describes realities of the time, the conditions of labour and its socio-national distribution. I will quote here six quatrains which do not require any additional commentary.

Tjampoer koeli koelon wetan
Tebang oeroek babat hoetan
Boedal semoewa sekalian setan
Sekalian djenis jang kelihatan. (p. 2)

Here coolies from west and east have come together // chopping trees, digging the ground, and cutting through the forest, // bustling to and fro like *shaitan* // every race is represented.

Baba Tan Ek Joe mendirikan lijonja
Di Bekasi djoega tempat tinggalnja
Borongan maskapij batoe batanja
Sekali'an kolar dengan pasirja. (p. 9)

The Chinaman Tan Ek Joe has built a brick-plant // in Bekasi, where he also lives. // Supplying bricks to the company in large quantities, // Along with gravel and sand.

Djadi masnisnja bernama Arman
Saban boelan terima gadji'an
Tinggal bertempat roemah sewa'an
Kerdjanja tetap soedah ketentoe'an. (p. 6)

The engine driver's name is Arman [a local inhabitant, W.S.]. // He receives his wages monthly // and lives in a rented house. // He is assured of regular work.

Opzinder satoenja toewan van Bronkhos
Pake sepatoe dengan kahos
Boeka jalanan ta'lihat ongkos
Dimana stasion dibiken kakos. (p. 13)

The chief overseer, Mr. van Bronkhos, // wears shoes and socks. // He spares no expense to open the road, // at every station he has built a lavatory.

Tamboen Tjikarang ada stasioennja
Di sitoe tempat djoewal kartjisnja
Toewan tanah hatinja girang semoewanja
Sebab beras moedah milirnja. (p. 14)

There are stations at Tambun and Cikarang. // With ticket offices. //
The landowners are as pleased as can be, // for now it is easy to carry
rice.

Saja kira kahar koerangan
Sebab tijada ada tampangan
Toekang roempoet djoega kebingoengan
Karna koeda ada djarangan. (p. 14)

I think the cart-drivers will suffer losses // Because they won't be able
to earn a living. // The grass-cutters will also be upset, // for there'll
be fewer horses.

Continuous rhyming is typical of *syairs*, but in some poems there
are occasional quatrains with cross-line rhymes. There are also some
short but elaborate poems in the form of "linked *pantuns*", and some
of these cover such "refined" themes as the execution of the recidivist
Akiong (55, pp. 28-34).

Lyric Poetry

In the late 19th century lyric poetry, following the traditions of the
pantun and the *seloka*, became very popular in the cities. It was intended
both for reading and for *kronchong* songs, as well as for another variant,
i.e., the *moresko* (see 54). In Soviet libraries there are twelve full
collections (many of them in their third edition!), as well as ten
selections in almanacs, which also contain short *syairs* (see 51, 55).
Here are some quatrains from several different sources.

Terang boelan bintang bertjahaja
Terangnja lagi di atas boemi.
Djikaloe nona tiada pertjaja
Belah dada lihat di hati. (54)

Djangan takoet njeberang-menjeberang
Ikan djoeroedjoe pandjang doerinja.
Djangan lah takoet larangan orang
Asal penoedjoe dalam hatinja. (56)

Dansa wals, dansa polka,
dansa koedrilje, dansa masorka,
pilih nona mana jang soeka
pegang bandera itoe koetika. (50)

Tjiandjoor djalan njang kereta,
Die Bogor djalan njang pedatie.
Soeda kelandjoor kita berkata,
Kalook moendoor baik lah matie. (53)

At the same time there were attempts to create new forms of verse. The following example, *Pantoen anak Tjina* [*Pantun* for a Chinese Maid], is found in the journal *Sahabat Baik* for 1890 (63, No. 1, p. 2).

Lihat anak tjina bagai pinang moeda
Pindak pada dia pinang pada sorga
Lihat anak tjina bagai satoe boeroeng
Rindoe pada dia bagai satoe Koeroeng! . . .

Lihat anak tjina bagai bidadari
Rindoe pada dia, datanglah kemari
Kita dangan toewan sampai satoe hati
Tinggal satoe pasang sampai saja mati.

Among the poetry collections there are two (entitled *Jasmine Garland*) (58)²⁸ by a poet from Semarang, Toewan Indrikh, who successfully anticipated Rustam Effendi's attempts to reform Indonesian poetry. Due to lack of space I will present here only a few passages from Indrikh's poems, reproducing them in the new orthography.

Pikirannya orang baik [Thoughts of a Good Man]

. . . Bikin apa
Kumpul harta?
Capai-capai badan!
Kapan besok orang mati
Bawa apa dalam peti? . .
Siapa nanti makan?
Orang gila
Kumpul harta
Kita mau: Tidak
Kita cari di dunia
Barang bakal bawa sorga,
Bikin beruntung awak. (II, p. 16).

Tidak punya anak [Loss of a Child]
Ada emak sendirian
Sakit dalam hati;
Tuhan Allah sudah ambil
Dia punya noni.
Dia tawang mainannya
Atas tempat-tidur,
Maka tempat-tidur kosong:
Noni pindah kubur . . .
Emak, emak! Coba dulu
Tidak punya anak -
Sungguh sudah lebih baik
Tidak susah banyak. (II, pp. 8-9).

The poet does not discard the traditional *pantun* form, but even the following quatrains are marked by his personality.

Tangisnya suatu penganten baru [A bridegroom's plaint]
Anjing saya jinak sekali
Meski juga ku banci dia;
Anjing saya jinak, tetapi
Jinak sama orang semua.

It is probably even more interesting that Indrikh makes use of the principles governing the mantra (invocation). These were later also used by Indonesian poets, beginning with Chairil Anwar and Asrul Sani. Thus, for example, the first collection opens with the following witty address, which is constructed on the basis of typically mantra-like parallels.

Sini ada barang nyang tumpul,
Sini ada barang nyang tajam,
Sini ada barang nyang tawar,
Sini ada barang nyang asam . . .
Sini ada nyang tahi-tahi,
Sini ada nyang banyak guna . . .
Ini sudah lumrahnya buku! (I, p. 4).

While these collections have no date of publication, one of the poems is written in commemoration of the death of the well-known Javanist K. F. Winter (which occurred in 1859). Thus the collection could have been published at approximately the same time. On the other hand, its outer appearance suggests that it dates from the 1880's or early 1890's.

In summarizing all of the above, it should be stressed that we are here dealing with the very beginnings of the development of Indonesian literature of the various peoples of Indonesia, including Malay literature, despite the evident linguistic similarity. The urban literature at the turn of the century developed into a new and dynamic social medium. It made bold use of new themes and new artistic forms. In this sense it was, although often aesthetically inferior, considerably ahead of the "old" literatures, i.e. the Javanese, Sundanese²⁹ and Malay literatures proper, even in the late 19th century.

NOTES

- ¹ The principal authors of the second phase are Hadji Mukti (see his novel *Hikajat Siti Mariah*, reprinted by the *Bintang Timur* newspaper in 1963-1965), Marco Kartodikromo and Rustam Effendi. Of the authors mentioned by Watson, the following also belong to the second phase: S. Gunawan, Semaun, A. Muis (early) and Tirta Adisuryo, at least in the stories *Busono* and *Nyai Permana* (see P. A. Toer, 'Tirta Adisarjo', *Bintang Timur*, Jakarta, 6 dan 13 juli, 1962).
- ² B. Saleh, 'Dari kesusasteraan Melayu ke kesusasteraan Indonesia', *Zaman Baru* 1956-6; Hok Gie Soe, 'Pahlawan yang dilupakan Mas Marco Kartodikromo', *Indonesia* (Jakarta) 1965-2:100-107; H. Chambert-Loir, 'Mas Marco Kartodikromo (c. 1890-1932) ou l'Éducation politique', in: *Littératures contemporaines de l'Asie du Sud-Est*, pp. 203-214, Paris: L'Asiathèque, 1974; and in Russian: W. V. Sykorsky, [The Influence of Marxist Ideas on the Creative Work of Indonesian Writers from 1910 through the 1920's], *Narody Azii i Afriki* 1970-5:107-113.
- ³ B. Siregar, *Sedjarah sastra Indonesia modern, I*, Jakarta: Akademi Sastera dan Bahasa "Multatuli", 1964; and A. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967. This view appeared somewhat earlier in Russian publications: W. V. Sykorsky, [On the Question of the Formation of Modern Indonesian Literature] (synopsis of candidate thesis), Moscow, 1962; and W. V. Sykorsky, [Indonesian Literature], Moscow: Nauka, 1965.
- ⁴ See *Archipel* Nos. 2, 8, 9, 11 and 14, and also Cl. and D. Lombard-Salmon, 'Les traductions de romans chinois en malais (1880-1930)', in: *Littératures contemporaines de l'Asie du Sud-Est*, pp. 183-201, Paris: L'Asiathèque, 1974.
- ⁵ At the end of the present article there follows a list of selected publications preliminarily subdivided into types and genres. The titles in the list (and quotations in the text) are reproduced in the original spelling. Numerical references in the text and notes refer to this list.
- ⁶ V. I. Lenin [Towards a Characterization of Economic Romanticism], [Collected Works], vol. II, p. 166 (Russian ed.).
- ⁷ Its foundation is commonly ascribed to A. Mahieu, who staged the first play of this type in Surabaya in 1892 (P. W. van der Veur, 'Cultural Aspects of the Eurasian Community in Indonesian Colonial Society', *Indonesia* (Cornell University) 1968-6:38-53, esp. 51-52). In reality, however, this type of theatre was born in the 1880's (first as Wayang Parsi and then as Bangsawan) in Malayan Penang and later asserted itself through guest performances in Sumatra and Java (R. Bujang, *Sejarah perkembangan drama bangsawan ditanah Melayu dan Singapura*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan

Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1975; see also my review of this book in the journal *Narodij Azii i Afriki* 1977-5:242-246, or its translation in *Dewan Sastra* 1978-9:54-57). The tours of the company, led by A. Mahieu are described in *Sair Komedi Stambul*, which was probably written by Tan Tjiok San and was published in an almanac (63, 1893:256-273). A similar almanac for 1890 carried a poem about the tours of a Japanese company, viz. *Sair Komedi Djepang koetika dateng di Djokjakarta* (pp. 20-28, separate pagination).

- ⁸ Ajip Rosidi (*Ichdisar sedjarah sastra Indonesia*, Bandung: Penerbit Binatjipta, 1969:16) is incorrect when he states that literary works only began to be published in newspapers (in the form of serialized feuilletons) after 1900. Judging from the explanations on the title-pages of books of the 1880's and 1890's this practice existed long before 1900.
- ⁹ Unfortunately space does not permit a detailed analysis of the problem of the school system and education in general, or of the specific features of the urban social structure, important though this is for the understanding of the period.
- ¹⁰ The Imperial Law of 1893 gave an impetus to this separate development. It provided for repatriation of Chinese emigrants, whose status had previously been equivalent to that of criminals, and put a partial stop to the process of assimilation of this group, which already had deep roots in Indonesia. It is true that in 1903 Thio Tjin Boen, in his novel *Oey See*, called upon his countrymen to become converted to Islam and allow themselves to be dissolved in the indigenous element (see Joe Lan Nio, *Sastra Indonesia-Tionghoa*, Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1962:44-46). But the early 20th century is much better characterized by the development of an independent nationalist ideology among the Indonesian Chinese, who, in contrast to the Indo-Europeans, were almost excluded from the continuing process of Indonesian national awakening. In fact, one of the reasons for the existence of the Indonesian movement was the opposition to the dominance of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the country (e.g., the activities of the Sarekat Dagang Islam).
- ¹¹ G. Schlegel, 'Chinese-Malay and Javanese Literature in Java', in: *T'oung Pao*, vol. II, p. 148, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1891.
- ¹² I refer mainly to the books in "high" (sometimes intentionally stylized) Malay published by the government printers (Lands Drukkerij). The name of one of these series (*Maleisch leesboek voor inlanders*) clearly testifies that these books can be regarded as the forerunners of the products of the Commissie voor de Volkslectuur, the later Balai Pustaka. One can class with these the editions of classical *hikajats*, all the translations and adaptations by A. F. von de Wall (18, 23-25, 31), and the Malay versions of Lafontaine's fables (17), etc.
- ¹³ Missionaries gave preference to the local varieties of "low" Malay that were understood by a wider audience (20-22, 27-29). The collections of expositions of local traditions (27; see also 19) are of great interest as well.
- ¹⁴ "Djangan di sangkakan hamba mengarang itoe dengan perloe ataoe sengadja akan menjampekan hadjat, melainken nijat hamba ini menjenangkan diri hamba dan sobat-sobat hamba sekalian soepaja mendjadi penghiboer hati" (35, p. I).
- ¹⁵ One should add the novels of the founder of the Indische Partij, Multatuli's grand-nephew E. F. E. Douwes Dekker (who is also Bumiputra and Setia-budhi), the poems by Notoesoeroto, and possibly the novels of P. A. Daum. See also P. W. van der Veur (1968:47-48; see note 7) and J. M. van der Kroef, 'The Colonial Novel in Indonesia', *Comparative Literature* 1958-3.

- ¹⁶ Watson appears to have found valuable evidence (1971:425) that Abdul Muis' translation of this novel was first published before 1913, in the newspaper *Kaoem Moeda*, and not only in 1950, as has been assumed up until now.
- ¹⁷ For more details of the translator see the newspaper *Bintang Timur* of 17-5-1964.
- ¹⁸ The name Komedi Stambul is usually explained by its use of themes from *Secrets of the Court of Constantinople*. It is possible, therefore, that the plays were taken directly from this book, which was first published in Malay in 1884 and was reprinted in separate booklets between 1892 and 1898. According to Ie Soei Tio, it was translated by F. Wiggers (see Ie Soei Tio, *Li Kim Hok: 1853-1912*, Bandung: Good Luck, 1958:113).
- ¹⁹ 1891 saw the publication of the 4th edition of this book, translated by A. F. von de Wall (5). Like the European moralizing adventure story of Amin (3), it would really have been more correct to include it in the second list. Of the "Low" Malay translations the *Hikayat radja Troja* (62, pp. 1-26, separate pagination) should also be cited.
- ²⁰ Cl. and D. Lombard-Salmon (1974:184, see note 4) record the next editions of the 2nd and 3rd of these novels by the same publishing house in 1923.
- ²¹ Incidentally S. M. Ardan, in his pseudo-psychological version of the story, which lacks the naive charm of the original, tries to put across a nationalistic message, having eliminated the undesirable anti-Muslim tone (see S. M. Ardan, *Nyai Dasima*, Jakarta: Triwarsa 1965; Budaya Jaya 1971).
- ²² "Tetapi kaloe di dessa itoe ada orang Olanda dateng aken memboewang tjape dari memboeroe, maka perampoewan gila itoe mendjerit katain Olanda itoe dengan sengitan sebab kendati poen kepalanja tiada betoel, masih djoega di ingatnja bahoewa ia itoelah ada satoe bangsa sebagai toeanja jang soeda bikin sanget sakit atinja" (37, p. 20).
- ²³ This is the only book in the collection published after 1900.
- ²⁴ Among these are the *Sjaïr Ten Sha - Go Nio*, *Sair Hongkiew - Leitan*, and *Sair Ouw - Pek Tjoe*, from the Jogjakarta almanac (63) for 1889, 1896 and 1900, respectively.
- ²⁵ *Cinderella*, mentioned by Watson (1971:422) and *Sair tjerita Seh Fris di Owenwar* by R. Adikoesoemo (63, 1880, pp. 140-172).
- ²⁶ It is rather doubtful that the story of Rossina was, as Watson affirms (1971:420), versified by F. Pangemanann himself. On the other hand, it is likely that the well-known version by Tulis Sutan Sati (1933) is not the earliest.
- ²⁷ A short *syair* on a similar topic is included in a collection of poetry (51, pp. 38-43). An almanac for 1897 includes a *syair* giving a eulogistic account of the king of Siam's visit to Djokdjakarta (63, 1897, pp. 53-63). There are other *syairs* in the style of "informative reports", such as that about the circumcision of an heir to the Djokdjakarta throne (63, 1890, pp. 29-43), the death of the *soesoehunan* of Soerakarta (63, 1894, pp. 1-15), Queen Wilhelmina's accession to the throne (63, 1896, pp. 1-6), and a balloon-flying demonstration given by a certain Gladis van Tissel (*Sair balon ...*, 63, 1891, pp. 237-254), etc.
- ²⁸ There is another Batavian collection which has the same title and is also by Indrikh (Bung Hindrik). It contains rather traditional *pantuns*, however, and judging by its orthography as well, is the work of a different poet (see 52).
- ²⁹ The Soviet collection includes more than 200 publications in Javanese from this time and about 20 in Sundanese, but it is not possible to review these here.

A SELECTIVE LIST OF BOOKS IN MALAY
published before 1900 which are found in the Libraries of the
Soviet Union

I. Translated Works

From Dutch

1. *Barang rahasia dari astana Konstantinopel; Riwayat waktu sekarang*, Betawi, 1884; 1892-1898.
2. *Boekoe tjerita-an hikajatnja Baron van Munchhausen*, Soerabaia, 1890.
3. *Hikajat Amin*, 2-de druk, Batavia, 1871.
4. *Hikajat Don Juan atawa Tetamoe artja (De Steenen gast)*, Tersalin dari kitab bahasa Wolanda oleh R.M.D.R. alias Soeriodarmo, Batavia-Solo, 1893.
5. *Hikajat Robinson Crusoe*, Terkarang pada bahasa Melajoe dengan mengikoet karangan bahasa Belanda oleh A. F. von de Wall, Tjit. ka-4, Betawi, 1891.
6. *Hikajat tjinta kasih sajang*, Di karangkan dalam bahasa Melaju terambil dari pada hikajat bahasa Wolanda oleh Dja Endar Moeda, Padang, 1895.
7. *Riwayat doea orang mata² dengan koeboer hantoe* oleh padoeka toean N. W. Schuurmans, Terambil daripada "Pewarta Boemi", Amsterdam, 1909.
8. Uilkens, J. A. *Bahwa ini hikajat Djahidin ... Dikarangken pada bahasa Melajoe* oleh A. F. von de Wall, Tjit. Ka-3, Betawi, 1890.
9. Verne, Jules. *20.000 mil di dalem laeet ...*, Tertjaritaken di dalem bahasa Melajoe renda oleh W. N. J. G. Claasz, ambtenaar pensioen, Semarang, 1895.
10. Verne, Jules. *Poeloe-rasia ...* Idem.
11. Verne, Jules. *Romah asep ...* Idem.
12. Verne, Jules. *Michael Strogoff; Djoeroe pembawa soerat dari Baginda Czaar Rusland*, Tersalin didalem bahasa Melajoe renda oleh M. C. Betawi, 1896.

From Arabic

13. *Idris Bek el Homra*, Satoe tjerita jang benar dari Tanah Soetji dalam tahoen 1886, Tersalin dari behasa Arab oleh Ahmad Kiamil bin Abdullah Kadri, djoeroebahasa dari bahasa Bawah Angin di Stamboel, Batavia, 1892.
14. *Hikajat Soeltan Ibrahim ibnu Adaham Walijoellah*, Terlahirken oleh Alex. Rogensburg, Batawi, 1891.

From Javanese

15. *Bahwa ini lah tjeritera dari pada wajang orang ... hikajat Djojo-semadi*, I-IV. Djokjakarta, 1889.
16. *Riwayat dengan segala prihal pada kantjil ...*, Tersalin dari bahasa Djawa oleh toewan F. L. Winter, Soerakarta, 1894.

II. *Educational, didactic and missionary publications*

17. *Beberapa tjerita peroempamaan* (Herziening), uitgegeven door het Gouvernement van Ned.-Ind., Betawi, 1877.
18. *Berbagai-bagai tjeritera; Terkarang pada bahasa Melajoe dengan mengikoet karangan bahasa Belanda* oleh A. F. von de Wall, Tjit. ka-3, Betawi, 1884.
19. *Boenga-rampai; Ja-itoe 13 tjerita jang endah-endah*, Betawi, 1894.
20. Gonggrijp, J. R. P. F. *Bagaej-bagaej tjeritera*. Batavia, 1859.
21. Gonggrijp, J. R. P. F. *Saratoes tjerita*, 2-de druk, Batavia, 1874.
22. Habbema, J. *Boenga rampai jaitoe barbagai-bagai tjerita*, Tjit. ka-5, Betawi, 1899.
23. *Hikajat Aladdin* oleh A. F. von de Wall, Batavia, 1897.
24. *Hikajat Sinbad; Terkarang pada behasa Melajoe dengan mengikoet karangan behasa Belanda* oleh A. F. von de Wall, Tjit. ka-3, Betawi, 1898.
25. *Kesah pelajaran Nachoda Boentekoe*, Idem, Tjit. ka-3, Betawi, 1898.
26. *Kesah pelajaran seorang perampoewan mengoelilingi boemi*, Idem, Tjit. ka-2, Betawi, 1878.
27. Riedel, J. G. F. *Ini lah kitab Taman-Wandji namanja; Jah itoe babrapa hikajat orang-orang jang ampoenja tjeritera*, Udjong-Pandang, 1862.
28. *Soerat tjerieta jang banjak natsehat akan orang toeha dan moeda, jang soeka membatjanja dengan beringat dan berpikir*, Tjit. ka-3, Bandjarmasin, 1881.
29. Tiemersma, L. *Bintang Bethlahem . . .*, Tjit. ka-2, Bandoeng, 1898.
30. *Tjerita Aboe Nawas dengan Radja Haroenrrasid di Negri Bagdad*, Tjit. ka-4, Batawi, 1898.
31. Wall, A. F. von de. *Doewa belas tjeritera dan peroepamaän*, Tjit. ka-3, Betawi, 1889.
32. XYZ. *Kitab bebrapa tjeritaän*, Batavia, 1893.

III. *Original stories and plays*

33. Hoff, J. E. *Boekoe tjarita Raden Soekarman jang belon berapa lama soeda kadjadian di tanah Djawa*, Batavia, 1899.
34. Kartawinata, R. M. H. J. S., telegraffis SS Preangan. *Hikajat Ali Saleh anak dari Ali Sarin, ija itoe satoe anak miskin sampe bisa menaik tahta keradjaan besar jang amat termoeia*, Overgedrukt uit de Courant De Minggoe, 1897 No. 35, (n.p., n.d.).
35. Krafft, H. *Boekoe komidi terpake bagi komidi Stamboel*, Betawi, 1893.
36. Rogensburg, A. *Hikajat roh manoesia*, Batavia, 1893.
37. *Tiga tjarita . . . jaitoe: I. Kerameijan jang tergangoe; II. Njai Tassiem; III. Sahirah, Ini tjarita jang betoel soedah kadjadian, belon berapa lama*, Batavia, 1897.
38. *Tjerita Njai Dasima soewatoe korban dari pada pemboedjoek. Tjerita bagoes sekali, jang belon berapa lama soedah djadi di*

Betawi, Akan mendjadi peladjaran bagei sekalian prempoean jang soeka menoeroet boedjoekan laki-laki. Soeatoe nasehat kepada anak-anak moeda, Jang mengeloewarkan G. Fransis, Batavia, 1896.

IV. *Syairs*

39. Baginda Maradjalan, djoeroe-sita di kantor Landraad Meester-Cornelis dan Bekasi. *Sair tjerita segala ambtenaar jang beroleh pangkat dari Kandjeng Goebnemen ataoe jang di brentiken pangkatnja*, Tjit. k.-2, Betawi, 1881.
40. Baginda Maradjalan. *Sjair nasehat bagi sekalian penggawaj*, Betawi, 1891.
41. Boen Sing Hoo. *Boekoe sair-binatang, landak, koeda, sapi*, Terkarang dalam bahasa Melajoe rendah, Semarang, 1882.
42. Queljoe, E. de. *Tampalan sair mengimpi dan Sair boeroeng*, Batavia, 1884.
43. Moehammed Hoessen, R., Hoofd panghoeloe Krawang. *Sair tjarita orang pamales*, Batavia, 1863.
44. *Sair binatang, soewatoe dongeng jang betoel dari perkara Pacht opium jang soedah kedjadian di Betawi, berikut: Sair madat, soewatoe peringatan jang baik boewat orang-orang jang makan "madat" ...* Batavia, 1897.
45. *Sair Ikan*, Di salinken dari hoeroef Arab oleh Tan Tjahan Hie, Batavia, 1897.
46. *Sjair Midah tjoemboewan*, Tersalin dari pada hoeroef Arab ... Tjit. ka-2, Batavia-Solo, 1895.
47. Tan Teng Kie, *Sair dari hal datengnja Poetra Makoeta Keradjaän Roes di Betawi, dan pegihnja, tersamboeng dengan Sair sekalian binatang di hoetan aken mengingetin anak-anak, soepaja mendengar kata, dan sajang kepada harta banda*, Tjit. ka-2, Batavia, 1897.
48. Tan Teng Kie. *Sair Kembang*, Batavia, 1898.
49. Tan Teng Kie. *Sja'ir djalan kreta-api ja-toe Bataviasche Ooster-spoorweg dengan personeelnja bij gelegenheid van de opening der lijn Tjikarang-Koedoeng-Gede*, Batawi, 1890.

V. *Lyric Poetry*

50. Abdoel Karim Tjiat. *Sjair atau pantoen akan djodoh perak deri bangsawan Ambon*, 1865-14 maart-1890, Ambon, 1890.
51. Boenga Mawar. *Boekoe pantoen pengiboer hati ... akan goena menghilangkan karat di hati serta menjindir satoe same laen*, Batavia, 1897.
52. Boeng Hindrik. *Boekoe pantoen kaloeng melati ... bagei kasoekaran hati segala orang moeda*, Batavia, 1897.
53. Graafland, N. *Bahuwa ini suling ija itoe barapa kidong njang disampeikan kapada segala orang-orang moeda di tanah Minahassa*, Batavia, 1871.
54. Krafft, H. *Boekoe pantoen ja'itoe jang terpake aken njanjian pe-roenga dengan moeriskoe dari se'orang anak bestari*, Batavia, 1893.

55. Si Nona Boedjang. *Boekoe pantoen karang-karangan... akan goenanja orang moeda jang soeka plesir dengan nona-nona, atawa bertjinta satoe same laen, djoega boeat bikin orang tertawa dan liberoan hati jang soesah*, Tjit. ka-3, Batavia 1899.
56. Si Nona Boto. *Rodja melati; Ja-itoes boekoe pantoen roepa-roepa jang terpilih amat bagoesnja...* Tjit. ka-3, Batavia, 1899.
57. Tan Tjeng Nio. *Sair tiga sobat nona boedjang dieret oleh baba pranakan Tangerang...*, Dikoempoelken oleh intje "Ismail", Batavi, 1899.
58. Toewan Indrikh. *Kaloong-melatdi; Terhoendjoohken kepada nonah-nonah di negri Djawa, I-II*, Semarang (n.d.).
59. The, T. L. *Boekoe pantoen... aken goenanja menglipoorken atie njang soesa*, Soerabaia, 1888.
60. T. T. H. *Pantoen kembang-rampe*, Batavia, 1897.

VI. Almanacs and Journals

61. *Sahhabat-baik*, 1890, Nos. 1-10.
62. *Almanak bahasa Melajoe bergoena tahoen 1894*, Semarang: G.C.T. van Dorp.
63. *Almanak bahasa Melajoe; Maleische Almanak*, Soerakarta: Gedrukt bij H. Buning, Djokdjakarta (1880-1883; 1889-1900).