

*Colloquium on Chinese Scholarship on the
Malay World Studies: A Reevaluation of a
Scholarly Tradition
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Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.*

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*At
Bilik Senat, UKM, Bangi*



*Institut Alam dan Tamaddun Melayu
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
43600 Bangi
<http://www.atma.ukm.my>*

Pengantar

Pengalaman saya mengadakan *Colloquium on Chinese Scholarship on the Malay World Studies: A Reevaluation of A Scholarly Tradition* ini berbeza dengan pengalaman saya mengadakan seminar dan wacana lain di luar ATMA pada masa lalu. Antara perbezaan yang dimaksudkan itu adalah seperti yang dicatat di bawah ini:

1. Kolokium ATMA yang ke 5 ini cuma satu daripada siri kolokium ATMA dari masa ke masa sejak November 2000, sedangkan seminar dan wacana yang lain itu bersifat 'one-off',
2. Berbeza daripada Kolokium ATMA yang lepas, kolokium ini adalah anjuran ATMA sendiri: tidak mempunyai penganjur bersama,
3. Kami telah mengundang Dr Obaidellah Mohamad, Dr Yang Ching Leng, Dr Hou Kok Chung, dan Dr Lim Chooi Kwa, pakar pengajian Cina dari Universiti Malaya, untuk berkongsi ide tentang topik-topik yang penting untuk diperkatakan dalam kolokium ini
4. Pembentang kertas kerja yang diundang ke kolokium ini melibatkan lebih banyak negara,
5. Kertas kerja kolokium ini ditulis dalam Bahasa Inggeris, Melayu dan Cina, sedangkan hanya bahasa Inggeris digunakan dalam Kolokium yang lalu,
6. Semua kertas kerja yang diterima sehingga 5 September 2002 itu sudah diselarakan fometnya, dicetak dan dibukukan untuk memudahkan rujukan, sedangkan kertaskerja dalam Kolokium yang lalu tidak.
7. Sebanyak 5 orang pembentang kertas kerja yang diundang sejak awal 2002 itu telah menarik diri pada awal Julai dan yang lain pada penghujung Ogos 2002, atas sebab-sebab peribadi dan kesihatan.
8. Oleh sebab dua tempat yang dikosongkan itu hanya diisi pada minggu yang ke 4 Ogos lalu, maka kertas kerja yang berkenaan itu hanya boleh diedarkan sama ada semasa atau selepas kolokium.

Adalah diharapkan catatan-catatan tersebut sudah cukup untuk membayangkan masalah dan cabaran besar yang telah kami lalui dan atasi sebahagiannya. Antara masalah dan cabaran yang terbesar ialah mendapatkan sumbangan kewangan yang diperlukan. Sehubungan itu, terima kasih kami rakamkan kepada Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Lee Foundation dan Nantah Education and Research Foundation yang telah bermurah hati membantu kami. Sekalng ucapan terima kasih kami berikan juga kepada Sdr Yang Quee Yee, karyawan tamu ATMA kerana memainkan peranan sebagai orang tengah untuk mendapatkan sumbangan wang daripada kedua-dua yayasan yang disebut tadi. Antara cabaran besar yang lain ialah mencetak kertaskerja yang sudah lambat diterima itu. Sehubungan ini, kami ucapkan terima kasih kepada Pusat Penerbitan dan Teknologi Pendidikan UKM kerana mencetak sebahagian kertas kerja ini dan juga menjilid kesemua buku koleksi kertas kerja yang sudah diedarkan.

Pada mula-mulanya ingin kami menyusun kertas kerja dalam koleksi ini menurut program dan mengindeks kesemuanya. Bila sampai masanya, kami dapati kedua-duanya tidak mungkin dilakukan kerana kertas kerja itu tidak diterima mengikut tarikh seperti

yang dinyatakan dalam surat undangan kami. Susunan kertas kerja dalam koleksi ini juga tidak mengikut nama penulis masing-masing. Hasilnya, susunan kertas kerja ini adalah campuran antara susunan nama penulis dengan kronologi kertas kerja itu diterima. Selain itu, kami juga telah menambah abstrak yang diterima, jika ada, kerana sudah diminta dalam surat yang berasingan, dan juga mengubah gaya rujukan, sekiranya didapati perlu. Di akhir buku ini telah disertakan biodata dan alamat surat-menyurat penulis kertaskerja untuk kepentingan rujukan.

Terima kasih kami kepada YB Dato' Chan Kong Choy, Timbalan Menteri Malaysia kerana sudi melapangkan masa untuk merasmikan kolokium ini. Terima kasih Prof Wang Gungwu kerana menyahut permohonan kami untuk memberi ucapan di kolokium ini. Terima kasih kami kepada *The Star* yang sudi menjadi penaja media kami, selain akhbar dan majalah lain kerana pertolongan masing-masing berhubung kolokium ini. Terima kasih kami kepada kesemua pembentang kertas kerja, pengerusi sesi dan semua peserta. Terima kasih saya kepada semua kakitangan ATMA atas kerjasama mereka sebagai ahli dalam pelbagai jawatankuasa kolokium ini. Tanpa bantuan dan kerjasama semua pihak lain, sama ada secara langsung atau tidak langsung, kolokium ini tidak mungkin dapat diadakan. Kerjasama dan bantuan yang diberi itulah rasa yang paling manis dapat saya nikmati daripada menyelenggarakan kolokium ini.

Ding Choo Ming
6 September 2002



Seulas Pinang

Kata Alu-aluan

Assalamualaikum wbt dan salam sejahtera.

Tahniah saya ucapkan kepada Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (ATMA), UKM kerana mengambil inisiatif menganjurkan Kolokium Kesarjanaan Cina dalam pengajian Alam Melayu ini. Saya bangga Kolokium ini adalah yang ke-5 dalam siri Kolokium ATMA yang telah mula diadakan pada November 2000 dengan kerjasama Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, en Volkenkunde (KITLV) yang beribupejabat di Leiden, the Netherlands.

Kolokium ini mempunyai agenda dan matlamat untuk mengkaji sumbangan kesarjanaan Cina dalam pengajian Melayu sejak dahulu. Sebanyak 18 sarjana dan pakar dari Malaysia dan negara lain telah diundang untuk memperkatakan sumbangan kesarjanaan Cina dalam kajian alam Melayu dari banyak segi termasuk sejarah, konsep pembentukan negara dan pemerintahan, hubungan Cina dengan Alam Melayu dan perkembangan budaya dan interaksi antara Melayu dan Melayu dari segi ekonomi.

Saya berharap Kolokium ini bukan sahaja dapat menemukan maklumat dan ilmu baru, tetapi juga para pakar dan sarjana dapat mengetengah dan menggabungkan fikiran masing-masing untuk mempertingkatkan lagi penyelidikan Alam Melayu ke tahap yang lebih tinggi. Saya yakin Kolokium ini amat bermakna dalam menerokai sempadan ilmu baru dalam kesarjanaan Melayu dan Cina, selain dapat memupuk kesefahaman dan kerjasama antara kaum di Malaysia untuk kepentingan bersama.

Sekian.

Prof. Datuk Dr. Anuwar Ali
Naib Canselor
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia



Secangkir Bicara

Kata Alu-aluan Pengarah

Assalamualaikum dan Salam Sejahtera,

Pembinaan perpustakaan ilmu mengenai Alam Melayu adalah hasil sumbangan daripada pelbagai pihak, dalam dan luar wilayah ini. Pengembara, pengembang agama, pelayar dan sarjana turut sama-sama menyumbang. Ada dalam bentuk laporan, karya sastera, lukisan, rekod tadbir, malah dalam bentuk surat-surat peribadi. Kepelbagaian ini mencerminkan sifat kemajmukan Alam Melayu itu sendiri, ruang pertemuan beberapa peradaban besar dunia, Timur dan Barat. Selat Melaka menjadi saksi kepada proses pembinaan korpus ilmu ini.

Kepada anak-anak watan di Alam Melayu yang rata-rata terbatas penguasaan bahasa asingnya, usaha menggali kembali kesemua bahan ini dalam sebanyak bahasa, mungkin menjadi satu kemestian, malah dituntut. Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (ATMA), UKM telah mengorak langkah untuk berusaha ke arah itu melalui projek Kolokium antarabangsanya yang bertemakan *'Construction of Knowledge about the Malay World of Others'* semenjak tahun 2000 lalu. Fokus usaha ini adalah sumbangan keserjanaan oleh orang yang berasal daripada luar Alam Melayu.

ATMA memulakan usahanya dengan mengupas sumbangan keserjanaan Belanda, kemudiannya Perancis, diikuti pula sumbangan keserjanaan Nordik dan terakhir sekali sarjana daripada wilayah berbahasa Jerman. Rata-rata kesemua penyumbang ini adalah daripada Eropah Barat. Kini sampai waktunya kita meneliti dan mengupas sumbangan daripada Cina, yang mewakili salah satu peradaban yang terbesar dan terkaya di dunia.

Ada keistimewaannya Kolokium kali ini, khususnya implikasi terhadap masyarakat Malaysia yang berbilang kaum. Sumbangan keserjanaan Cina terhadap memahami kehidupan sosial dan sejarah Alam Melayu dan hubungan peradaban Melayu dan Cina sangat penting ke arah membina hubungan yang lebih erat antara kaum di Malaysia, khususnya, hubungan Melayu-Cina.

Biarpun sumbangan ATMA ini hanya merupakan setitik air di sebuah lautan ilmu, namun ini adalah satu permulaan yang positif dan bermakna. Diharap kelemahan usaha ini akan mendorong pihak lain untuk memperkuat dan memperkukuhnya di masa depan. 'kalau

tak dipecahkan ruyung manakan dapat sagunya'.

Selamat berwacana dengan diiringi rasa muhibbah.

Wassalam

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Amri', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Prof Dato' Dr Shamsul Amri Baharuddin
Pengarah ATMA



Seraut Madah

Kata Alu-Aluan Penyelaras Kolokium

Tradisi keserjanaan Cina dalam pengajian Melayu sudah bermula setidak-tidaknya daripada Fa Xian, seorang sarjana-padri Buddha China dari kurun yang ke 5 dan disambung I-Tsing, seorang lagi sarjana-padri Buddha China dari Dinasti Tang pada kurun yang ke 7 dan lain-lain. Daripada serpihan catatan yang masih boleh dirujuk ternyata tradisi keserjanaan Cina dalam pengajian dan penyelidikan alam Melayu adalah berterusan sehingga kini. Tradisi itu itu berbeza dengan tradisi keserjanaan Belanda dan Inggeris, antara yang lain-lain, bukan sahaja kerana ia mempunyai sejarah yang lebih panjang, tetapi juga tidak dikaitkan dengan kolonialisme.

Dalam tradisi yang panjang itu, ada banyak boleh dikaji tentang akalbudi, kebijaksanaan, pandangan dan ilmu yang ditinggalkan sarjana, pelayar dan pedagang Cina di negara China terhadap akalbudi, kebijaksanaan dan pandangan orang Melayu di Alam Melayu pada mula-mulanya, kemudian terhadap orang Cina yang menetap di Alam Melayu. Biarlah kita tepuk dada tanya sendiri sedalam dan sebanyak mana akalbudi, kebijaksanaan, pandangan dan ilmu itu sudah kita tahu?

Besarlah harapan kiranya Kolokium ini dapat memberi peluang kepada kita untuk berkongsi pandangan, maklumat dan ilmu dengan mereka yang lebih mengetahui, selain memudahkan merintis kerjasama dan menjalin hubungan baru kita yang berminat mengkaji keserjanaan Cina dalam pengajian Melayu dengan lebih mendalam lagi demi kepentingan ilmu dan keserjanaan.

Sekian sejahtera dan selamat berkolokium..

Ding Choo Ming
Penyelaras Kolokium

Program

Hari /Day 1 (Monday - 16 September 2002)

8.00 – 9.00	<i>Pendaftaran/ Registration</i>
9.00 – 11.00	Sesi 1: Sumber Sejarah Cina Mengenai Dunia Melayu/ Chinese Historical Sources on the Malay World
	Pengerusi: Prof Norazit Selat (UM – Malaysia)
	Pembentang 1: Zhang Ying Long (China) - Historical Values Of Chinese Records On Malaysia from the Pre Dynasty Chin Period
	Pembentang 2: Prof Hamashita Takeshi (Japan) Malacca, Ryukyu and South China Relations From the 15 th to 18 th Centuries: Through Litai Paoan
	Pembentang 3: Dr Obaidellah Mohamad (Malaysia) – Nama dan Menamakan Melayu dalam Bahan Sejarah China
11.00 - 11.30	<i>Rehat dan jamuan ringan/ Interlude and refreshments</i>
11.30 - 12.30	<i>Majlis Pembukaan/ Opening ceremony</i> : YB Dato' Chan Kong Choy, Timbalan Menteri Kewangan
	<i>Ucaputama/ Keynote address</i> : Prof Wang Gungwu (East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore) <i>Chairman</i> : Prof Dr Shamsul Amri Baharuddin
12.30 – 1.30	Makan tengahari / Lunch
1.30 – 3.30	Sesi 2: Konsep Pembentukan Negara dan Pemerintahan Daripada Sumber Cina dan Melayu/ Concepts of Nation Building and Administration as Perceived from Chinese and Malay Sources
	Pengerusi: Dr Haji Abdul Latif bin Haji Ibrahim (Universiti Brunei Darussalam)
	Pembentang 4: Prof Dr Leo Suryadinata (Singapore) – The Contributions of Indonesian Chinese in the Development of the Indonesian Press, Language and Literature
	Pembentang 5: Dr Ooi Kee Beng (Sweden) – The Malaysian State and Its <i>Changdao</i> : Incorporating Ancient Chinese Concepts into Modern Political
	Pembentang 6: Prof Madya Dr Oong Hak Ching (UKM) - Nationalisme Melayu dan Nationalisme China - Konflik Dan Kerjasama antara UMNO dan MCA
3.30 - 4.00	<i>Rehat dan jamuan ringan/ Interlude and refreshments</i>

4.00 – 6.00	Sesi 3 – Sejarah Perhubungan Cina Dengan Alam Melayu/ History of China's Relations with the Malay World
	Pengerusi: Dr Nordin Hassan (UKM)
	Pembentang 7: Prof Liang Liji (China): Hubungan China-Melayu Yang Tecermin Dalam Kitab Sastra Sejarah
	Pembentang 8: Dr Claudine Salmon (France) – Wang Dahai and his View of the "Insular Countries" (1791)
	Pembentang 9: Prof Wu Zongyu (China) – Tak Kenal Tak Cinta - Bahasa Melayu Merapatkan Kita
8.00 – 10.00	Makan malam/ Dinner

Hari/ Day 2 (17 Tuesday – 17 September 2002)

8.30 – 10.30	Sesi 4: Imej dan Sumbangan Cina / The Chinese Image and Contribution
	Pengerusi: Prof Madya Dr Teo Kok Seong (UKM – Malaysia)
	Pembentang 10: Rosey Ma: Chinese Muslims in Malaysia in Different Periods of History
	Pembentang 11: Prof Tan Chee Beng (Hong Kong) Baba Malay Poetry Publications and Babas' Contribution to Malay World Studies
	Pembentang 12: Sdr Chong Fah Hing (UPM – Malaysia) - Sarjana Nantah Dan Peranannya Dalam Pengembangan Bahasa Dan Sastra Melayu: Satu Catatan Ringkas
10.30 – 11.00	Rehat dan janaan ringan/ Interlude and refreshments
11.00 – 1.00	Sesi 5: Budaya dan Nilai/ Culture and Value
	Pengerusi: Dr Lee Kum Heng (The Star)
	Pembentang 13: Yang Quee Yee (Malaysia) - Manlajia Guo Yiyu: Kamus Melayu yang pertama disusun orang Cina dan kesannya dalam perkamusan Melayu
	Pembentang 14: Dr Myra Sidharta (Indonesia) – Mabuk Cinta: Poetry And Songs By Hoo Eng Djie And Ang Ban Tjiong
	Pembentang 15: Prof Zhao Yuezhen (China) - Perkembangan Bahasa Melayu di China dan Impaknya dalam Kesarjanaan China Dalam Pengajian Melayu

1.00 – 2.00	<i>Makan tengahari/ lunch:</i>
2.00 – 4.30	Sesi 6: Budaya Politik dan Perdagangan/ Politics and Business Culture
	Pengerusi: Dr Chin Yee Whah (USM)
	Pembentang 16: Prof Terence Gomez (UM) Enterprise Development and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Malaysia
	Pembentang 17: Dr Ho Khai Leong (NUS – Singapore) – Imagined Communion, Irreconcilable Differences: Perceptions And Responses Of The Malaysian Chinese Towards Malay Political Hegemony
	Pembentang 18: Mr Leon Comber (Australia) – Tun Dato Sir Cheng Lock Tan's Role in Shaping Malayan Chinese Attitudes Towards the Malays and the Creation of a Malayan Nation.
4.30 – 5.00	Penutup/ Closing: Prof Madya Dr Ding Choo Ming
5.00 – 5.30	Jamuan ringan/ refreshments

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1

CHONG FAH HING

**SARJANA NANTAH DAN PERANANNYA
DALAM PENGEMBANGAN BAHASA DAN
SASTERA MELAYU:
SATU CATATAN RINGKAS**

Sarjana Nantah Dan Peranannya Dalam Pengembangan Bahasa Dan Sastera Melayu: Satu Catatan Ringkas

Chong Fah Hing
Universiti Putra Malaysia

ABSTRAK

Penubuhan Universiti Nanyang (Nantah) sering dilihat oleh pemerintah kolonial dan pihak-pihak tertentu lebih bersifat destruktif daripada konstruktif, berikutan penubuhannya berlangsung pada suatu zaman yang amat politikal dan bergelora pula dengan isu pembinaan identiti kebangsaan. Tidak dijangkakan, senario ini telah mencetuskan semangat pembelajaran bahasa dan sastera Melayu yang tinggi di kalangan mahasiswa Nantah, dan akhirnya berjaya melahirkan beberapa orang sarjana, peneliti dan pengamal bahasa Melayu yang disegani. Namun sumbangan dan peranan mereka jarang diketengahkan secara tegas dalam wacana ilmiah di rantau ini, apatah lagi penobatan yang sewajarnya. Esei ini cuba memeriksa keserjanaan tokoh lepasan Nantah dalam membentuk fahaman dan tanggapan masyarakat umum terhadap bahasa dan sastera Melayu serta ciri-ciri yang dapat dirumuskan daripada bentuk dan proses penglibatan mereka.

1. LATAR BELAKANG PENUBUHAN UNIVERSITI NANYANG

1.1 PENUBUHAN Universiti Nanyang, atau lebih dikenali sebagai Nantah¹, adalah suatu peristiwa sejarah yang signifikan dalam perkembangan pendidikan Cina dan politik kebangsaan di Nusantara amnya dan Tanah Melayu khususnya. Gagasan penubuhan sebuah universiti Cina pertama kali dikemukakan oleh Tan Lark Sye @ Tan Lak Sai² pada 16 Januari 1953 dalam mesyuarat ahli jawatankuasa Persatuan Hokkien ke-10 di Singapura. Secara umum, tujuan beliau menaja gagasan berkenaan adalah untuk menyelamatkan pendidikan dan budaya Cina yang semakin terhakis dalam gelora pendidikan Inggeris pasca Perang Dunia Kedua, di samping keperluan mendesak untuk menampung lepasan sekolah menengah Cina yang sudah tertutup jalannya ke daratan China akibat kemunculan regim komunis di China pada tahun 1949. Oleh itu, gagasan Tan Lark Sye terus mendapat respon spontan dan sokongan padu daripada pelbagai lapisan masyarakat Cina. Malah kempen kutipan derma untuk pembinaan infrastruktur institusi itu mendapat kerjasama golongan bawahan seperti pemandu teksi, penarik beca, penjaja dan buruh kasar, justeru sejak awal ia sudah membayangkan hasrat golongan kebanyakan komuniti itu. Pada masa yang sama, gejala tersebut turut menampilkan ciri-ciri kemasyarakatan yang ketara. Dan kemudian ditransformasikan pula dalam bentuk tindak sosial dan keserjanaan di kalangan lepasan Nantah yang bersifat pragmatik dan tepu rasa obsesi terhadap diri dan masyarakatnya.

1.2 Menjelang tahun 1955, Nantah didaftarkan di bawah akta syarikat dengan nama *Nanyang University Limited Company*. Di samping itu, tahun-tahun 1947 hingga 1957 menyaksikan pergolakan politik kebangsaan yang rancak di kalangan penduduk di rantau Asia Tenggara. Boleh dikatakan bahawa sejak tahun-tahun awal penubuhannya, Nantah tidak dapat terkecuali daripada setting sosial dan sejarah yang amat politikal dan nasionalistik sifatnya, dan ini sebanyak sedikit memberi warna kepada corak perkembangan institusi tersebut.

2. BAHASA MELAYU: DARI PEMBELAJARAN KEPADA PENGAJIAN

2.1 Tatkala membicara tentang pembelajaran bahasa Melayu di kalangan masyarakat Tionghua pada zaman kemerdekaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, lantas kita teringatkan pulau Singapura, justeru ia sebagai pusat perdagangan, politik dan pentadbiran kuasa penjajah Inggeris, sekali gus merupakan pusat kebudayaan bagi anak negeri dari pelbagai kaum.³ Bagi masyarakat Cina pada jangka masa itu, pembelajaran bahasa Melayu sebenarnya bercambah dan tertumpu di Nantah, bermula dengan pengendalian kelas bahasa Melayu oleh Panitia Persiapan Persatuan Mahasiswa sebelum pihak berwajib Nantah sempat menjadikan ia sebagai mata kuliah rasmi dalam rangka kurikulum universiti. Kemudian semangat itu semakin memuncak tatkala Persatuan Mahasiswa mula mengorak langkah menerbitkan *Mimbar Universiti*, sebuah terbitan tak berkala yang memuatkan warta kampus, karya terjemahan sastera Mahua, karya kreatif, ulasan karya sastera Melayu, makalah seni budaya serta rencana yang membincangkan permasalahan dalam pengembangan dan pemantapan bahasa Melayu. Usaha terakhir ini jelas terpapar dalam sebuah rencana oleh Ma Chin (nama pena Yang Quee Yee), berjudul "Pengajaran Melayu Di Singapura", sekali gus mencerminkan komitmen mahasiswa Nantah terhadap bahasa Melayu serta peranan mereka pada zaman berkenaan. Antara lain penulisnya telah mencadangkan penubuhan sebuah Universiti Melayu untuk mendokong perkembangan bahasa Melayu:

Memang sebutan University Melayu ini belum dikenal umum, sebab belum pernah ada, tetapi hal itu menjadikannya sangat berharga kepada kita untuk kita bahath. Apakah bahasa Melayu akan mungkin diperkembang sehingga sanggup memainkan peranan penting dalam suatu usaha untuk membentuk sejenis kebudayaan baru dalam tanah ayer kita? Soal itu adalah bergantung dari taraf dan kemajuan bahasa Melayu sendiri. Kerana tugas meninggikan taraf bahasa Melayu takkan dapat dipenuhi oleh sekolah rendah atau sekolah menengah Melayu, maka berdirinya sekolah tinggi Melayu menjadi suatu kebutuhan yang tak boleh diabaikan. (Disember 1958: 7)

Secara umum, gejala pembelajaran dan pengajian bahasa Melayu boleh ditinjau berdasarkan tiga peringkat perkembangan berikut:

- i. Era Pra Mata Kuliah Rasmi (Mac 1956-Februari 1958)
- ii. Era Jabatan Bahasa Moden dan Kesusasteraan (Mac 1958-1967)
- iii. Era Jabatan Pengajian Melayu (1968-1981)

2.2 Pada permulaannya, sebagai langkah menyahut tuntutan zaman, mahasiswa Nantah telah berinisiatif mengadakan kelas bahasa Melayu pada waktu malam atas nama Panitia Persiapan Persatuan Mahasiswa (PPPM). Pengajaran tanpa kurikulum rasmi itu lebih memberi penekanan kepada pembelajaran kemahiran bahasa semata-mata, iaitu penguasaan dari segi pertuturan, pembacaan dan penulisan yang asas. Tenaga pengajar terdiri daripada kalangan mahasiswa yang berminat dan berpengetahuan dalam bidang ilmu berkenaan.⁴ Setelah bahasa Melayu diterapkan ke dalam kurikulum universiti sebagai mata kuliah pilihan mulai tahun Mac 1958, En. Muhammad Rashid Manan⁵ dan kemudian pada bulan Oktober, Drs. Li Chuan-shou @ Li Chuan Siu⁶ turut diundang sebagai penyarah bahasa Melayu. Beberapa penyarah sambilan turut diundang untuk menangani gejala pertambahan pelajar yang mengikuti kursus bahasa Melayu. Antaranya ialah Masuri SN dan Cikgu Ehsan bin Hj. Ali. (Yang Quee Yee 1998: 4) Berkenaan sambutan dari kalangan mahasiswa pada ketika itu, demikian Drs. Li Chuan-shou (*Mimbar Universiti* Disember 1958: 2) melaporkan dalam tulisannya "Pelajaran Bahasa Melayu di Nanyang University";

Sampai kini jumlah mahasiswa dan mahasiswi yang mengikuti kuliah Bahasa Melayu lebih kurang ada 300 (tiga ratus) orang banyaknya, jadi kira-kira ada 23 ½ % dari jumlah seluruh mahasiswa dan mahasiswi Nanyang University. Jumlah yang agak banyak itu mula-mula dibagi menjadi 6 kelas, sehingga tiap-tiap kelas ada 50 mahasiswa dan mahasiswi. Tiap-tiap kelas diberi pelajaran dua jam seminggu.

Angka tersebut meningkat menjadi 800 orang menjelang tahun 1959, mencatatkan 46 % daripada keseluruhan mahasiswa yang berjumlah 1726 orang.

2.3 Mulai Mac 1958, kursus bahasa Melayu telah diterapkan ke dalam rangka kurikulum Jabatan Bahasa Moden dan Kesusasteraan, bersama-sama dengan bahasa-bahasa lain, seperti bahasa Perancis, German, Jepun, Inggeris dan sebagainya. Tenaga pengajar tetap telah diambil; kursus yang ditawarkan walaupun bersifat kursus asas (*elementary courses*, yakni Bahasa Melayu I dan Bahasa Melayu II), namun adalah lebih terancang. Perubahan senario ini membayangkan kesedaran warga kampus dan pihak berwajib Nantah terhadap kedudukan bahasa Melayu sebagai indeks perpaduan dan semangat kebangsaan yang harus dipupuk dan didukung bersama.

2.4 Menjelang tahun 1965, *Report of the Nanyang University Curriculum Review Committee* (CRC) dikemukakan oleh Prof. Wang Gungwu dan enam orang ahli jawatankuasanya telah membawa perubahan yang cukup ketara ke atas kedudukan bahasa Melayu di Nantah. Dalam Bab 6: *Recommendations on College of Arts*, CRC mencadangkan penubuhan Jabatan Pengajian Melayu dengan tujuan "to provide students who have a good knowledge of Malay with the basic training for research in the language, literature and culture of the Malay peoples". (Li Yelin eds: 337) Ahli Jawatankuasa turut menaruh harapan agar "every effort should be made to attract staff and students of all communities to make the Department a most important cultural bridge both within and outside of the University. (*Ibid.*) Rata-rata menerima baik cadangan itu, kecuali beberapa persatuan dalaman Nantah mempertikaikan kenyataan CRC bahawa "the National Language is not given enough emphasis" kerana diletakkan di bawah

Jabatan Bahasa Moden dan Kesusasteraan (*Ibid*: 327). Kritikan yang paling representatif boleh dipetik dari memorandum bersama yang dikemukakan oleh sepuluh persatuan mahasiswa Nantah bertarikh 26 Oktober 1965. Antara lain, memorandum (*Ibid*: 377) mencatatkan bahawa "Laporan CRC berlaku kurang adil kerana tidak mencatatkan semangat dan keghairahan pembelajaran bahasa kebangsaan di kampus Nantah pada ketika itu, juga tidak menyatakan sepatahpun perkembangan bahasa kebangsaan di Nantah sejak beberapa tahun kebelakangan. Lebih-lebih lagi tidak membandingkan sikap dan semangat mahasiswa Nantah dengan mahasiswa Universiti Singapura dalam soal pembelajaran bahasa kebangsaan."

2.5 Sejak tahun 1956 hinggalah penubuhan Jabatan Pengajian Melayu pada tahun 1968, kita menyaksikan beberapa individu telah berkecimpung dalam pembelajaran bahasa Melayu dan seterusnya memainkan peranan yang penting dalam pengembangan bahasa dan persuratan Melayu serta interaksi budaya Tionghua-Melayu pada kemudian hari.⁷ Antaranya termasuk Yang Quee Yee, Liaw Yock Fang, Lim Huan Boon, Liauw Kian Djoe, Tan Ta Sen dan Chong Yock Sin.⁸ Dalam makalah ini, saya cuba menyorot peranan dan keserjanaan dua orang tokoh, Yang Quee Yee⁹ dan Liaw Yock Fang¹⁰, mengambil kira konsistensi, keberhasilan dalam bidang yang diceburinya serta ciri-ciri tipikal yang mungkin dapat mewakili rakan-rakannya yang lain. Liaw Yock Fang mewakili golongan Nantah yang menyelongkar jauh ke dalam nubari dan jiwa Melayu dengan memasuki daerah kesusasteraan Melayu klasik serta ilmu bahasanya. Yang Quee Yee pula mewakili golongan yang terus-menerus mencari formula bagi mewujudkan interaksi budaya Tionghua-Melayu. Walaupun kedua-duanya berbeza dari segi kecenderungan dan titik tolak perjalanan kehidupan ilmiah, namun sasarannya tidak banyak berbeza. Bagi tokoh-tokoh lain yang tersenarai itu, masing-masing memainkan peranan yang tidak kurang penting juga. Penulis kira adalah lebih elok sorotan ke atas keseluruhan individu tersebut diulas dalam satu kajian lain yang lebih terperinci dan menyeluruh.

3. LIAW YOCK FANG: PENYELONGKAR NUBARI DAN AKAL BUDI MELAYU

3.1 Penyelidikan Liaw dalam bidang pengajian Melayu mencakupi horison yang sangat luas, menyeluruh dan dapat pula membentuk satu kesatuan ilmu yang kaya. Secara umum, kajiannya boleh dibahagikan kepada empat bidang utama, iaitu linguistik bahasa Melayu-Indonesia, kesusasteraan Melayu klasik, kesusasteraan Indonesia moden, pendidikan dan pengajaran bahasa Melayu-Indonesia.

3.2 Dalam pengajian linguistik Melayu-Indonesia, *repertoire* yang terhimpun agak kaya, mencakupi bidang sintaksis, nahu dan morfologi. Dalam aspek ini, Liaw kerap menunjukkan minat yang mendalam dan sentiasa bersedia memberikan ide dan buah fikir yang baik. Umpamanya pada tahun 1971, beliau pernah mengupas secara kritis penyelidikan yang dilakukan oleh E.M.F. Payne dalam tesisnya *Basic Syntactic Structures in Standard Malay*¹¹ dan M.B. Lewis dalam buku *Sentence Analysis in Modern Malay*, lalu mengemukakan pendapat bahawa kesalahan yang dilakukan oleh Payne dan Lewis adalah kelemahan dari teori bahasa yang dianuti. Namun, Liaw menyanjung tinggi usaha mereka dalam pengajian tabahasa Melayu (*Dewan Bahasa Mei 1971*). Dalam hal ini,

dengan teras terang Liaw mengakui dirinya bukan seorang ahli bahasa mengikut pengertian ilmu bahasa yang hakiki (*Dewan Bahasa*, April 1971: 149), namun beliau kerap mengemukakan pendapat tentang tatabahasa Melayu, dan sering pula dapat menyuguhkan pendapat yang bernas dan menarik pula untuk direnungi. Dan sikapnya terhadap pengajian bahasa Melayu ternyata amat serius, ikhlas dan komited, sehingga beliau cenderung menggunakan kalimat yang bersifat subjektif tatkala terlibat dalam perbincangan akademik, sehingga muncul kenyataan seperti berikut: Teori-teori ini memang semuanya adalah teori yang dipakai oleh ahli bahasa yang membuat analisa bahasa. Sayang Payne tidak memberitahu bagaimana bahan-bahan itu diperolehnya dan bahan-bahan apa yang sudah dipakai. (*Ibid.*) Sikap kesederhaannya dalam mengemukakan hujah dan pendapat amat jelas, namun meyakinkan, bersesuaian dengan akal budi Melayu yang diselaminya selama ini.

3.3 Pada tahun 1985, Liaw menerbitkan buku tatabahasa, berjudul *Nahu Melayu Moden*. Hasil penerbitan ini turut menampilkan kesajaranaannya dalam bidang bahasa. Dalam membicarakan aspek-aspek sintaksis, beliau berupaya mengimbangi dua pendekatannya, iaitu nahu tradisional dan nahu transformasi generatif. (Rajjee Hadi 1987) Buku nahu ini mempunyai kelebihan yang tersendiri kerana semua ayat yang digunakan sebagai contoh di petik dari kamus dan karya kreatif. Bentuk persembahan sedemikian memang bersesuaian dengan sifat perkembangan bahasa itu sendiri di mana sastera adalah wadah yang sebaik-baiknya untuk menguji daya pengungkapan dan keupayaan mengekod lambang budaya bahasa itu. Dan ini bisa dilakukannya dengan baik kerana sejak awal lagi beliau memang akrab dengan sastera, sama ada sastera Indonesia maupun sastera Melayu tradisional. Pada tahun 1994, buku ini disesuaikan oleh Abdullah Hassan dan diterbitkan oleh Penerbit Fajar Bakti untuk kegunaan pelajar di Malaysia. Pada tahun 1996, terbit pula *Indonesian Grammar Made Easy* dan kemuncaknya dalam bidang ini ialah dengan terbitnya *Malay Grammr Made Easy* (1999). Dalam pada itu, Liaw turut terlibat dalam suatu dialog/polemik bahasa dengan Allahyarham Pak Asraf (*Pelita Bahasa* November 1997) dan kemudian menulis sesiri makalah tentang morfologi dan sintaksis bahasa Melayu. (*Pelita Bahasa* Jun 2000 hingga April 2001)

3.4 Pada tahun-tahun awal kehidupan akademiknya, Liaw lebih terdorong untuk mendekati kesusasteraan moden Indonesia. Beliau pernah menulis beberapa rencana tentang penyair terkenal di Indonesia dan ia disiarkan dalam *Dewan Bahasa*. Antara penulis yang disorotnya termasuk Toto Sudarto Bakhtir, W.S. Rendra, Ajip Rosidi, Kirjomulyo, Subagio Sastrowardjo. Di samping itu, beliau juga pernah menterjemahkan sajak-sajak Chairil Anwar ke dalam bahasa Inggeris. Namun, sumbangan beliau yang paling bermakna kepada keilmuan Melayu ialah pengajian dalam bidang kesusasteraan Melayu tradisional dengan bukunya *Sejarah Kesusasteraan Melayu Klasik*. (Pustaka Nasional Singapura, 1975¹²) Buku ini kemudian diperluas dengan kajian mutakhir sehingga menjadi dua jilid dan diterbitkan di Jakarta, masing-masing pada tahun 1991 (Jilid I) dan 1993 (Jilid II). Walaupun sesetengah sarjana beranggapan bahawa pendekatan historis dan rangka teori buku sejarah kesusasteraan Liaw tidak terlepas daripada kerangka R.O Winstedt, namun kekayaan faktanya tidak dinafikan (A. Teeuw 1998, Braginsky 1998, Harun Mat Piah et al. 2000)¹³. Sumbangannya juga dapat ditelusuri dari hasil penyelidikannya tentang Undang-Undang Melaka dan diterbitkan

pada tahun 1976, disifatkan sebagai sebuah kajian terakhir dan edisi yang terlengkap sehingga sekarang. (Mohd. Taib Osman, A. Aziz Deraman: 132; M.B.Hooker: 377). Ketekunannya dalam kedua-dua bidang tersebut sekali gus meletakkan beliau sebagai ahli filologi yang unggul. Kepakarannya dalam bidang ini ternyata amat membantu pula dalam penulisan sejarah kesusasteraan Melayu tradisional, terutamanya dalam memperkatakan ikhtisar beberapa manuskrip lama yang tidak terdapat dalam buku Winstedt. Oleh itu, tidak hairan bukunya *Sejarah Kesusasteraan Melayu Klasik* luas digunakan oleh para mahasiswa sebagai teks wajib dalam kuliah berkaitan, termasuk persekolahan tinggi dan institusi pengajian tinggi di Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapura, Belanda, England dan sebagainya.

3.5 Sumbangan Liaw ternyata membawa impak yang ketara ke atas dunia akademik dan pengembangan bahasa dan sastera Melayu, khususnya dalam pengajian kesusasteraan tradisional dan ilmu filologi. Walaupun beliau pernah menulis artikel tentang kesusasteraan Melayu moden dan kehidupan keagamaan kaum Melayu, perundangan dan politik Islam dalam bahasa Cina dan disiarkan dalam media berbahasa Cina di Singapura, namun perannya dalam membentuk pemahaman orang Cina terhadap ilmu dan pengajian Melayu keseluruhannya masih tidak ketara. Ini sama sekali tidak menjejaskan kedudukan beliau sebagai seorang sarjana pengajian Melayu yang unggul dan tulen.

4. YANG QUEE YEE: PENDOKUMENTASI DAN JURU BICARA INTERAKSI BUDAYA CINA-MELAYU

4.1 Lain pula dengan Yang Quee Yee, lepasan Nantah dan juga rakan akrab Liaw. Tumpuan Yang Quee Yee adalah pada perkamusan Melayu-Cina dan interaksi budaya Cina-Melayu. Secara relatif, audiennya lebih tertumpu pada komuniti Cina, namun perannya dalam pengembangan ilmu pengajian Melayu kepada audiennya menampakkan kesan yang ketara.

4.2 Di kalangan masyarakat ilmuwan Cina, tidak ada orang tidak tahu bahawa Yang Quee Yee telah banyak menggembangkan tenaga dalam pendokumentasian naskhah langka serta penyusunan data dan sumber sejarah yang berkaitan dengan bidang yang diceburinya. Walaupun dari awal kerja koleksi dan pendokumentasian dilakukan tanpa konsep yang jelas (Yang Quee Yee 1995a: 5), namun lama-kelamaan beliau berhasil membina koleksi bahan bahasa Melayu dengan pengalaman sendiri sejak tahun 1950-an lagi, sehingga pihak Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kuala Lumpur telah menghantar dua orang pegawainya mengunjungi kediaman beliau untuk "mengekskavasi sumber perbadanan itu" (Yang Quee Yee 1995: hlm 14). Pada 6-8 April 1987, Persatuan Penterjemahan dan Penulisan Kreatif Malaysia (PERSPEKTIF) menganjurkan *Pameran Masyarakat Tionghua dengan Bahasa Melayu* bersempena ulang tahun pertama penubuhan persatuan berkenaan di Balai Budaya DBP. Bahan dan data untuk pameran itu adalah dipinjam daripada koleksi Yang Quee Yee sendiri. Pameran itu telah berhasil memberi pemahaman kepada masyarakat umum tentang usaha kaum Tionghua dalam pembelajaran bahasa Melayu dan perannya dalam pengembangan bahasa, sastera dan budaya Melayu, khususnya dari segi percetakan buku Melayu dan penterjemahan karya sastera klasik Cina di kalangan Cina peranakan. Pameran itu telah mendapat liputan

meluas kedua-dua akhbar Cina dan Melayu. Kini kita barulah sedar bahawa usaha-usaha koleksinya dimulakan bukan atas sebab glamour, melainkan adalah tanggungjawab terhadap pendokumentasian interaksi budaya Cina-Melayu. Dalam aspek ini, keserjanaan Yang Quee Yee harus diteliti dari segi pemasyarakatan tentang penglibatan kaum Cina dalam bahasa dan ilmu Melayu sepanjang kehadiran mereka dalam sejarah di rantau ini. Dan usaha ini adalah hasil gigih beliau dalam kerja pendokumentasian naskah nadir¹⁴, data bahasa, sastera dan budaya Melayu.

4.3 Semangat dan sumbangannya dalam perkamusan Melayu juga menarik untuk diselidiki. Beliau mula menceburkan diri dalam bidang leksikografi sejak tahun 1962, sehingga kini telah menerbitkan 12 buah kamus pelbagai fungsi, termasuk sebuah kamus dalam bentuk cakera padat. Semua ini adalah hasil bersama beliau dan isterinya¹⁵, sudah tentu kita dapat membayangkan pelbagai aral dan pahit jerih yang terpaksa ditempuhinya. *Kamus Umum Bahasa Malaysia* edisi pertama (1972) memakan masa sepuluh tahun untuk dibereskan dan enam belas tahun lagi untuk menyiapkan edisi pindaan. "Namun, itu pun tidak boleh dianggap lama, kerana diantara hasil penyusunan kami, ada sebuah lagi yang dinamakan *Kamus Istilah Baru Bahasa Malaysia* mengambil jangka masa penyusunannya melebihi dua puluh dua tahun". (*Kamus Umum Bahasa Malaysia* 1988, hlm vii) *Kamus Umum* edisi pertama boleh dianggap sebagai suatu hasil yang luar biasa dibandingkan dengan kamus seumpamanya pada zaman itu. Kepopularan kamus tersebut menyebabkan penyusunnya mengambil keputusan menerbitkan edisi kedua pada tahun 1988, dengan entri sebanyak 40064 beserta ilustrasi. Usaha sedemikian bisa dilaksanakan dengan baik kerana beliau sejak awal lagi sudah memupuk tabiat mengumpul segala bahan bacaan bahasa Melayu/Indonesia yang termampu didapatinya. Dan kemudiannya merintis kepada usaha pendokumentasian manuskrip langka secara lebih tersusun dan sistematis. Komitmennya yang berterusan dalam bidang ini kini berjaya menempa namanya dalam sejarah perkamusan Melayu. (Ibrahim bin Ahmad: 21)

4.4 Tidak keterlaluan jika mengatakan usaha-usaha seperti Yang Quee Yee inilah telah memungkinkan bahasa Melayu berkembang dengan lebih pesat di kalangan masyarakat Cina Malaysia. Ini kerana pengguna kamusnya terdiri daripada pelbagai lapisan masyarakat, dari peringkat sekolah rendah hinggalah ke institusi pengajian tinggi; dari kakitangan badan kerajaan hinggalah eksekutif kanan syarikat swasta. Sistem, pendekatan pendokumentasian dan mekanisme kerja yang diamalkan adalah hasil usaha gigih dirinya, justeru menampakkan keunikan dan keprofesionalannya. Dalam usaha perkamusan inilah, keserjanaan sekali lagi terserlah menerusi kegigihannya menyebarluaskan aspek-aspek yang berkaitan dengan penggunaan bahasa Melayu baku dan tulisan Rumi, khususnya kepada masyarakat umum, malah tugas itu dilakukan penuh sedar sejak zaman di bangku Nantah lagi. Peranan dan keserjanaan dalam memasyarakatkan penggunaan bahasa Melayu dan ilmu Melayu keseluruhannya boleh juga ditelusuri dari dua aspek yang lain, iaitu pengajaran bahasa Melayu dan kerja penyuntingan, penulisan dan penterjemahan yang beliau lakukan.

4.5 Sejak tahun 50-an lagi beliau mula terlibat secara langsung dalam pengajaran bahasa Melayu, sama ada di dalam maupun di luar kampus. Obsesi dan rasa tanggungjawabnya terhadap penyebaran penggunaan bahasa Melayu tidak pernah luntur sekalipun

usianya semakin meningkat. Pada tahun 1996, iaitu ketika berusia 66 tahun, beliau sanggup menerima undangan Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU) sebagai Profesor Pelawat bahasa Melayu di Jabatan Pengajian Melayu di Universiti tersebut. Kemudian pada tahun 1998 pula menjadi Profesor Pelawat di Jabatan Pengajian Bahasa Indonesia/Melayu, Peking University. Pada pandangan penulis, ini adalah satu usaha besar untuk mengantarabangsakan bahasa Melayu ke dunia Timur dengan hikmah agar bahasa ini tahan diuji, malah bisa menerobos batasan budaya tatkala berdepan dengan kelompok manusia di luar lingkungan Nusantara. Dan kita nampak usaha murni ini bukan dilaksanakan atas tajaan pemerintah atau mana-mana konglomerat, melainkan kerja keras dan tenaga empat kerat seorang individu yang selama ini berjuang di atas kaki sendiri ("berjukari"). Sikap dan semangat beliau yang tidak pernah mengenal penat-lelah jelas membayangkan rasa intim dan komitmennya terhadap bahasa dan ilmu Melayu.

4.6 Ketika masih menuntut di Nantah, Yang Quee Yee telah terlibat dalam penyuntingan dan penyelenggaraan *Mimbar Universiti*, *tribune* Nantah edisi bahasa Melayu antara tahun 1958 hingga 1959. Terbitan ini mendapat sambutan yang baik daripada warga kampus pada ketika itu. Selain memuatkan warta kampus, ia turut memberi ruangan yang cukup besar kepada diskusi tentang isu bahasa dan sastera Melayu, permasalahan pembentukan dan pengembangan kebudayaan dalam konteks negara yang berbilang bahasa dan budaya. Dalam memperkatakan tentang pembinaan dan pengembangan bahasa Melayu-bahasa kebangsaan, pembaca disuguhkan beberapa rencana yang tegas, sekali gus menampilkan wawasan dan mata fikir penulisnya. Antara lain, Yang Quee Yee (Disember 1958: 5) dengan nama pena Ma Chin, telah membicarakan keperluan mendesak mendirikan sekolah menengah Melayu di Singapura bagi menampung anak-anak Melayu lepasan sekolah rendah dalam rencana bertajuk "Pengajaran Melayu di Singapura". Dalam rencana tersebut, kepincangan yang berlaku dalam pendidikan Melayu di pulau itu dikaitkan dengan dasar pendidikan kerajaan yang terlampau menitikberatkan pendidikan Inggeris. Topik seumpama itu juga boleh ditatapi dalam rencana yang berjudul "Pandangan Sepintas Lalu Tentang Usaha Menggalakkan Bahasa Kebangsaan di Singapura" (Ogos 1960: 4) dan "Di bawah Gelora Bulan Bahasa" (Ogos 1963: 6-7).

4.7 Setelah tamat pengajian di Nantah, Yang Quee Yee tetap terlibat secara aktif dalam bidang kebahasaan dan kesusasteraan Melayu. Pada tahun 1960, beliau dengan rakan-rakan lain telah mengusahakan penerbitan majalah *Budaya* di Singapura, dengan Liauw Kian Djoe sebagai editornya. Rencana dan karya kreatif yang termuat dalam majalah tersebut bukan saja melanjutkan cita-cita yang termaktub pada zaman *Mimbar Universiti*, malah matlamatnya menjadi lebih khusus, jitu dan jelas, iaitu demi pembinaan bahasa dan kebudayaan nasional. Dalam majalah ini, Yang Quee Yee telah menyumbangkan beberapa rencana yang penting, termasuk "Tugas Memperkembangkan Kebudayaan Malaya" (Disember 1960), "Bahasa Kebangsaan dan Pelajaran Melayu di Singapura pada Dewasa ini" (September 1961) dan "Perihal Menterjemahkan Kesusasteraan Tionghua-Malaya ke Dalam Bahasa Melayu dan Sebaliknya" (Ogos 1962). Ketiga-tiga rencana itu memperkatakan permasalahan budaya, bahasa dan sastera dari satu titik tolak yang dinyatakan tadi. Namun majalah ini cuma sempat diterbitkan tiga keluaran saja kerana kekangan kewangan. Dalam aspek ini, ketajaman mata fikir, kelincihan berdebat dan

penyampaian yang komunikatif mula terserlah dalam kedua-dua wadah tersebut. Dan tidak dapat dinafikan pengalaman tersebut menjadi asas kesarjanaannya pada kemudian hari.

4.8 Karier penyuntingan, penulisan dan penterjemahan beliau tidak berakhir begitu sahaja. Antara tahun 1964 hingga 1968, beliau diberi tanggungjawab oleh akhbar *Nanyang Siang Pau* mengendalikan sebuah ruangan bahasa Melayu, di beri nama *Belajar Bahasa Kebangsaan*. Dengan ini, Yang Quee Yee berkesempatan melaksanakan cita-citanya untuk memasyarakatkan penggunaan bahasa Melayu @ bahasa kebangsaan agar kedudukannya sebagai lingua franca pada masa lampau dapat dipulihkan. Tanggungjawab untuk menyebarkan penggunaan bahasa kebangsaan daripada peringkat akar umbi sememangnya amat menuntut kesabaran dan perancangan yang rapi. Dan kebetulan wadah yang dikendalikannya adalah sebuah akhbar yang popular di kalangan masyarakat Cina.

5. KESIMPULAN

5.1 Keterlibatan Yang Quee Yee secara aktif dalam pengembangan bahasa dan sastera Melayu terserlah sejak zaman muda lagi. Semangat dan kesedaran itu selain didorong oleh persekitaran politik semasa, tidak kurang penting juga atas keinsafan diri sebagai seorang warga Malaya yang sejati serta visinya terhadap masa depan bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa kebangsaan yang harus diangkat ke satu martabat yang lebih tinggi. Keterampilannya bukan saja terserlah dalam bidang akademik, malah beliau juga adalah aktivis bahasa yang sanggup turun ke padang demi menghayati kesegaran dan kekreatifan penggunaan bahasa di kalangan anggota masyarakatnya. Ini dapat dilihat daripada penglibatan zaman mudanya dalam pengajaran bahasa Melayu kelas dewasa dan kemudian tidak jenuh memperkatakan bahasa dan sastera Melayu dalam pelbagai ceramah awam. Sebagai tokoh budayawan yang gigih dan sederhana dalam serbi-serbi¹⁶, beliau telah berusaha sedaya-upaya membina jambatan persefahaman di antara pelbagai kaum menerusi usaha timbal balik terjemahan karya sastera Cina-Melayu dan mencelikkan anggota masyarakatnya tentang pelbagai gejala dalam lingkungan budaya kaum Cina dan Melayu menerusi siri ucapan umum maupun ceramah ilmiah. Sesungguhnya, perjuangannya untuk menegakkan bahasa kebangsaan adalah lanjutan daripada perjuangan Nantah yang terpaksa berdepan dengan kelicikan politik kaum penjajah serta politik dalaman yang terpengaruh dengan nilai dan pandangan Barat.

5.2 Walaupun peranan Liaw dan Yang secara harfiahnya tampak agak berbeza, namun usaha mereka tidak lain, menuju kepada satu matlamat yang sama: Melacak akar nasionalisme agar jati diri dan ciri-ciri kebangsaan bisa diperoleh menerusi usaha pencerokaan budaya masa lampau untuk membina apa yang dikatakan oleh Yang Quee Yee sebagai "Kebudayaan Malaya". Dan adalah nyata bahawa "semangat Nantah" (Nanda Jingshen) yang tertanam di kalangan siswazah sememangnya suatu nilai positif dan memainkan peranan yang besar dalam pemupukan semangat kebangsaan yang tulen.

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NOTA

¹ Istilah Nantah adalah akronim untuk Nanyang Daxue (Universiti Nanyang dalam sebutan bahasa Mandarin). Istilah "Nanyang" adalah rujukan umum untuk rantau Asia Tenggara/Nusantara di kalangan orang China. Perbincangan seterusnya akan menggunakan istilah Nantah takala merujuk pada Universiti Nanyang.

² Beliau adalah pengusaha industri getah yang berjaya dan disegani oleh komuniti Cina di Malaya ketika itu.

³ Ini disebabkan juga Undang-Undang Darurat 1948 disyitiharkan di seluruh Semenanjung Tanah Melayu. Kebanyakan aktivis dan budayawan telah berpindah ke Singapura dan meneruskan aktiviti mereka di pulau itu, kerana Singapura tidak termasuk dalam kawasan darurat. Sasterawan-wartawan seperti Usman Awang, Keris Mas dan sebagainya telah berhijrah ke pulau itu untuk mengelakkan kongkongan perintah darurat, sehingga tertubuhnya Angkatan Sasterawan 50 (ASAS 50). Keterangan lanjut sila rujuk Ismail Hussein 1965.

⁴ Antaranya termasuk Yang Quee Yee, Lim Huan Boon dan Goh Choo Keng. Yang Quee Yee dan Goh Choo Keng adalah pununtut Jurusan Ekonomi, manakala Lim Huan Boon dari Fakulti Sains Jurusan Kimia Nantah. Lim dilantik menjadi pembantu pensyarah bagi pengajian bahasa Melayu di Jabatan Bahasa Moden Nantah pada tahun 1960. Yang Quee Yee pula dilantik sebagai pensyarah antara tahun 1962-1964. Dan Liaw Yock Fang pada tahun 1966. Keterangan lanjut tentang pembelajaran bahasa Melayu di Nantah pada ketika itu sila rujuk Yang Quee Yee 1997 & 1998.

⁵ Bekas Konsulat Indonesia di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada zaman Sukarno.

⁶ Bekas pensyarah Universiti Indonesia, Jakarta. Beliau dikenali umum dengan bukunya berjudul *Iktisar Sejarah Pergerakan dan Kesusasteraan Melayu Moden 1945-1965* (Pustaka Antara 1986). Menjadi pensyarah kanan bahasa dan sastera Melayu/Indonesia di Universiti Sydney, Australia sebelum bersara.

⁷ Dibandingkan dengan lepasan Jabatan Pengajian Melayu, peranan golongan ini jelas lebih terserlah, terutamanya dari segi pemasyarakatan penggunaan bahasa Melayu di kalangan komuniti Cina. (Rujuk Yang Quee Yee 1996, 1997 & 1998)

⁸ Liaw Kian Djoe, kini bernama Leo Suryadinata, Profesor ilmu Sains Politik di *National University of Singapore*. Bidang kajian utama beliau ialah sosio-politik masyarakat Tionghoa di Indonesia. Turut berkecimpung dalam kajian sastera peranakan Indonesia dan terjemahan karya sastera Melayu ke bahasa Cina. Tan Ta Sen bersama-sama dengan Liaw Yock Fang melanjutkan pengajian bahasa dan sastera Indonesia di Fakultas Sastera, Universitas Indonesia atas biasiswa pemerintah Indonesia dan memperoleh gelar Sarjana Sastera dan pernah mengajar di Nantah. Chong Yock Sin, pernah belajar di *University of Leiden* atas biasiswa Han Suyin hingga memperoleh gelar Drs, pernah menjawat jawatan pensyarah di Jabatan Sejarah, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

⁹ Yang Quee Yee, dilahirkan di Pontian, Johor pada 18 Ogos 1931. Berkelulusan dari Nantah pada tahun 1959 dalam jurusan Ekonomi. Kemudian melanjutkan pelajaran di Universitas Indonesia dalam jurusan bahasa Indonesia selama dua tahun (1961-62). Sekembalinya dari Indonesia, beliau berkhidmat sebagai pensyarah bahasa Melayu di Nantah dari tahun 1962-64. Beliau terkenal sebagai penyusun kamus Melayu-Cina yang konsisten dan amat berhasil pula. Bermula dari tahun 1962 hingga 2000, beliau dengan kerjasama isterinya, Chan Maw Woh, berjaya menyusun dan menerbitkan 11 buah kamus multi fungsi dan sebuah kamus dalam bentuk cakera padat. Antaranya yang terpenting ialah *Kamus Umum Bahasa Melayu* (1972), diedit pada 1988 dan 2000. Edisi terkini itu diterbitkan oleh Penerbit Chuang Xin, Beijing dalam bentuk cakera padat dan mencatatkan kemajuan dalam sejarah perkamusan Melayu-Cina khususnya dan perkamusan Melayu amnya. Buku dan senarai penerbitannya sila rujuk Lampiran 2

¹⁰ Beliau dilahirkan di Singapura pada 14 September 1936. Menerima pendidikan awal di Sekolah Rendah Kwang Hwa, Dungun, Trengganu pada akhir tahun 1940-an. Setelah tamat sekolah rendah pada tahun 1952, beliau menyambung persekolahannya di *Chinese High School*, Singapura. Pada tahun 1957, beliau mengikuti pengajian bahasa Inggeris di Jabatan Bahasa Moden dan Kesusasteraan, Universiti Nanyang. Beliau tidak sempat menamatkan pengajiannya di Universiti Nanyang kerana pada tahun 1960 beliau ditawarkan biasiswa bagi melanjutkan pengajian dalam bidang bahasa dan sastera di Universiti Indonesia, sehingga memperoleh ijazah Sarjana Sastera pada tahun 1965. Pada tahun 1971, beliau meneruskan pengajiannya ke Universiti Leiden, Belanda dan mendapat gelar Doktoranus (Drs.) pada tahun 1972 dan memperoleh gelar Doktor Falsafah pada tahun 1976 dari universiti yang sama. Berkhidmat sebagai pensyarah bahasa Melayu di Nantah antara tahun 1966-1981. Setelah Nantah terubuh, beliau dipindahkan ke Jabatan Pengajian Melayu, *National University of Singapore* sebagai pensyarah kanan. Jawatan yang

disandangnya sebelum bersara pada tahun 1996 ialah Profesor Madya. Kini beliau dipertanggungjawabkan untuk mengedit manuskrip Undang Melaka dan Undang Laut di bawah kelolaan Yayasan Karyawan, Kuala Lumpur. Buku dan senarai penerbitannya sila rujuk Lampiran 1.

¹¹ Penerbitan ini asalnya tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Universiti London untuk gelar Ph.D. Kemudian ia diterbitkan oleh Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka pada tahun 1970.

¹² Buku ini diulang cetak pada tahun 1978 dan 1982. Pada tahun 1991 dan 1993, ia diterbitkan dalam edisi bahasa Indonesia oleh Penerbit Erlangga, Jakarta.

¹³ Ding Choo Ming (1999: 73) pula mengatakan "penulis buku-buku 'sejarah perkembangan' itu masih terkongkong dengan rangka klasifikasi Winstedt." Pada pendapat penulis, sesungguhnya konsep genre sudah timbul dalam buku Liaw. Tidak keterlaluan dikatakan buku Liaw membayangkan peralihan konsep linear (yang berdasarkan kronologi) kepada konsep tematik, satu perkembangan baru, malah boleh dikatakan sebagai titik permulaan anjakan paradigma dalam penulisan sejarah kesusasteraan Melayu.

¹⁴ Bahan koleksinya yang tertua ialah *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* (Daftar Kata Kerajaan Melaka) yang dijangka disusun antara tahun 1403-1511. (1955: 10)

¹⁵ Isteri beliau bernama Chan Maw Woh @ Chan Meow Wah. Bekas editor kanan akhbar Lianhe Zaobao, Singapura. Chan turut terlibat secara giat dalam bidang kebahasaan, kesusasteraan Melayu dan terjemahan karya sastra China-Mahua-Melayu-Indonesia. Pada tahun 1961, cerpennya "Sebuah Coretan Hidupku" (*Dewan Bahasa* Oktober 1964) adalah antara cerpen terawal yang pernah dihasilkan oleh penulis wanita bukan Melayu. Dan dua tahun lebih awal daripada itu (yakni 1959), Chan dengan nama samaran Tin Noh, berhasil menterjemahkan *Nyawa Di Hyung* Pedang, novel Ahmad Murad Bin Nasruddin ke dalam bahasa Cina dan karya ini merupakan novel Melayu pertama diperkenalkan kepada pembaca Tionghua. Novel ini diterbitkan oleh Penerbit Yefeng di Singapura. (Yang Quee Yee 1995: him. 12).

¹⁶ Beliau dianugerahi Tokoh Budaya Mahua oleh Persatuan Kebudayaan Cina Malaysia pada 3 Mei 2002 atas sumbangan dan peranannya dalam interaksi budaya Mahua-Melayu.

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1975 *Kamus Sarian Ejaan Baru* (Melayu-Inggeris)
1976 *Kamus Dewasa Bahasa Malaysia* (Melayu-Cina-Inggeris)
1979 *Kamus Intisari Edisi Baru* (Melayu-Cina-Inggeris)
1982 *Kamus Titian Untuk Kanak-Kanak* (Melayu)
1983 *Kamus Titian Untuk Kanak-Kanak* (Melayu-Cina)
1984 *Kamus Istilah Baru Bahasa Malaysia* (Melayu-Cina-Melayu)
1985 *Kamus Sari Ejaan Bersama Edisi Pindaan* (Melayu-Cina-Inggeris)
1988 *Kamus Umum Bahasa Malaysia Edisi Pindaan* (Melayu-Cina)
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LIANG LIJI

**HUBUNGAN CHINA-MELAYU
YANG TERCERMIN
DALAM KITAB SASTERA SEJARAH**

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Hubungan China-Melayu Yang Tecermin Dalam Kitab Sastra Sejarah

*Liang Liji
Peking University*

Abstrak

Sejarah hubungan China-Melayu sangatlah panjang. Oleh itu, banyak catatannya dapat dijumpai dalam kitab-kitab sejarah di negeri China. Pada garis besarnya dapat dibagi dalam tiga tahap. Tahap pertama tentang mulanya hubungan China-Melayu purbakala. Tahap kedua merupakan tahap peningkatan hubungan kebudayaan dalam erti yang sesungguhnya pada Dinasti Tang dan Sriwijaya abad ke-7. Tahap ketiga merupakan kemuncak kejayaan hubungan semasa Dinasti Ming dan Empayar Melaka abad ke-15. Ketiga-tiga tahap perkembangan sejarah hubungan China-Melayu itu juga tercermin dalam kitab sastra klasik Melayu yang paling utama iaitu SEJARAH MELAYU. Kertas kerja ini cubamembahasnya dengan membandingkan dua sumber yang berlainan itu.

Dalam perkembangan sejarah, tentu banyak yang boleh dijadikan sebagai ukuran untuk menilai akrab tidaknya hubungan antara suatu bangsa dengan bangsa lain. Dalam hal ini, saya beranggapan bahawa bahasa dan sastra sejarah layak dijadikan ukuran yang mustahak dalam penilaian tersebut, kerana bahasa adalah alat komunikatif yang mutlak diperlukan dalam pergaulan dua pihak, sedangkan sastra sejarah adalah cermin yang membayangkan apa yang telah berlaku pada masa silam. Sebagaimana diketahui, hubungan yang akrab tidak mungkin terlaksana tanpa peranan bahasa sebagai alat penyalurnya, oleh itu kalau suatu bangsa perlu memahami bahasa bangsa yang lain, itu sudah suatu pertanda bahawa hubungan antara kedua bangsa itu sudah mencapai peringkat yang cukup tinggi dan itu pun akan tercermin pula dalam kitab sastra sejarah masing-masing.

Bila bermulanya hubungan China-Melayu agaknya masih sukar dipastikan secara tuntas. Kalau berdasarkan hasil penggalian benda-benda tinggalan sejarah di negeri China, mungkinlah hubungan itu sudah ada semenjak 3-4 ribu tahun yang lalu. Dan kalau menurut catatan kitab sejarah China *Han Shu—Di Li Zhi* (Kitab Tawarikh Dinasti Han—Catatan Geografi), maka tidak syak lagi bahawa pada zaman Dinasti Han, iaitu seratus tahun lebih Sebelum Maschi sudah dibuka perjalanan laut dari negeri China melalui Semenanjung Tanah Melayu hingga ke India dan pada masa itu sudah berlangsung perniagaan barter antara China dengan Alam Melayu.

Catatan pertama tentang adanya hubungan rasmi antara China dengan Melayu dapat ditemukan dalam *Hou Han Shu* (Kitab Tawarikh Dinasti Han Belakangan).

Dalam kitab itu disebutkan bahawa pada tahun 131 Kaisar Shun Di dari Dinasti Han telah menerima utusan Raja Devavarman dari Javadvipa dan telah menganugerahi Raja Devavarman dengan "cap kempa serta kain dewanga ungu". Ini bermakna bahawa kaisar Dinasti Han telah mengiktiraf Javadvipa sebagai kerajaan yang berdaulat. Yang disebut Javadvipa itu lokasinya mungkin di Jawa atau Sumatera. Bahawa hubungan China-Melayu sudah berlangsung lancar di masa Dinasti Han itu pun dapat dibuktikan dari penemuan-penemuan artefak di Alam Melayu.

Kemudian pada zaman Tiga Kerajaan (Samkok 220-280) hubungan China-Melayu semakin bertambah erat dan Raja Shun Quan dari Kerajaan Wu Timur mengirim dua utusan yang bernama Zhu Ying dan Kang Tai untuk melakukan lawatan muhibah ke Tanah Melayu. Kedua utusan itu mendapat sambutan meriah dari beberapa negeri di Semenanjung Tanah Melayu..Menurut catatan dari dua buku yang ditulis masing-masing oleh kedua utusan itu, pada masa itu negeri-negeri Melayu yang dikunjungi sudah cukup tinggi peradabannya dan juga sudah dipengaruhi oleh agama Hindu.

Pada abad ke-7 di benua China lahir Dinasti Tang yang merupakan dinasti yang paling besar dan paling maju dalam sejarah China. Sedangkan di Alam Melayu juga lahir sautu kerajaan yang paling besar dan paling maju, iaitu Sriwijaya. Dan hubungan kebudayaan China-Melayu dalam erti yang sesungguhnya mulai terjalin antara kedua kerajaan besar itu dengan pendeta agung Yi Jing (I-Tsing) sebagai perintisnya. Yi Jing telah belasan tahun bermukim di Sriwijaya, beliau selain melakukan pengajian dan penyalinan kitab agama Buddha, juga dengan cermat memerhatikan tamadun Melayu yang disaksikannya dengan mata kepala sendiri. dan dituliskannya ke dalam buku karyanya.

Sejarah hubungan China-Melayu mencapai kemuncak kejayaannya di awal abad ke-15. Kaisar Ming Chengzu dari Dinasti Ming pada tahun 1403 mengutus Menteri Dalam Yin Qing ke Melaka untuk menghantarkan surat kaisar dan bingkisan. Dan sebagai balasan raja Melaka Parameswara pada tahun 1405 juga mengirim utusan ke benua China untuk menyampaikan rasa muhiwah dengan Kaisar Ming. Maka pada tahun 1405 mulailah dibuka hubungan rasmi antara Dinasti Ming dengan Empayar Melaka. dan sejak itu berkunjung-kunjungan dan berutus-utusan antara dua pihak kian bertambah kerap. Dalam hubungan ini, yang patut dicatat dengan dakwat emas adalah lawatan diraja yang dimulakan oleh Raja Melaka Parameswara beserta isteri dan para menteri seramai 540 orang lebih pada tahun 1411. Lawatan Raja Melaka itu disambut dengan segala kebesaran dan kemulianan oleh Kaisar Ming. Juga lawatan Laksamana Zheng He ke Melaka dengan armadanya yang terdiri dari 27,000-28,000 orang telah mencatat rekod yang tiada tandingannya pada masa itu. Konon Laksamana Zheng He telah menjadikan Melaka sebagai pangkalan logistiknya dalam setiap pelayarannya ke Samudra Barat, kerana Melaka tidak hanya menduduki tempat yang sangat strategis, juga merupakan negeri yang bersahabat akrab dengan China. Dapat dibayangkan betapa ramainya orang China di Melaka pada masa itu, mereka

hidup berdampingan dengan rakyat Melaka dalam suasana penuh rasa persaudaraan.

Demikianlah garis pokoknya kalau disusuri perjalanan sejarah hubungan China-Melayu menurut apa yang tercatat dalam kitab-kitab klasik di negeri China dan kiranya dapatlah dirumuskan dalam tiga tahap:

Tahap pertama adalah tahap permulaan yang menunjukkan bahawa sejarah hubungan itu sudah berlangsung lama sekali, bermula sejak nenek moyangnya pada tahun-tahun Sebelum Masehi.

Tahap kedua merupakan tahap peningkatan yang menunjukkan bahawa dengan munculnya Dinasti Tang dan Kerajaan Sriwijaya sebagai dua kerajaan yang paling besar dan paling maju di benua China dan Alam Melayu pada abad ke-7, hubungan itu mencapai peringkat tinggi yang ditandai oleh adanya pertalian yang lebih intim dan pertukaran kebudayaan dalam erti yang sesungguhnya.

Tahap ketiga adalah tahap tertinggi yang menunjukkan bahawa pada abad ke-15 hubungan itu telah mencapai kemuncak kejayaannya dengan pertalian yang lebih akrab dan mesra antara Dinasti Ming dan Empayar Melaka.

Kalau perumusan tiga tahap yang di atas itu dapat diterima, apakah memang begitu juga yang tecermin dalam kitab sastra sejarah Melayu?

Untuk menjawab soalan itu lebih elok kita mencari buktinya dalam kitab-kitab sastra sejarah Melayu yang dapat dijadikan andalan. Berbeza dengan tradisi di China, kerajaan-kerajaan di Alam Melayu agaknya kurang memperhatikan hal ihwal penulisan sejarah sehingga jarang menurunkan kitab tawarikh sejarah yang boleh dipandang sebagai dokumen yang autentik dinilai dari segi ilmu historiografi. Namun demikian, ini tidak bermakna bahawa di Alam Melayu tidak ada kitab-kitab klasik, khasnya kitab sastra sejarah, yang boleh memberi gambaran sebagai cerminan peristiwa sejarah yang telah berlaku. Dalam hal ini *Sejarah Melayu* boleh dikatakan adalah kitab sastra klasik Melayu yang paling utama dan paling banyak mengandungi unsur-unsur sejarahnya, terutama yang berkenaan dengan sejarah hubungan China-Melayu. Maka sudah selayaknyalah kalau ianya dijadikan bahan perbandingan yang utama dalam menilai sejarah hubungan China-Melayu itu. Tetapi perlu disadari bahwa *Sejarah Melayu* itu bukanlah sebuah kitab sejarah yang mencatat peristiwa-peristiwa yang sungguh-sungguh telah berlaku dalam sejarah, kerana di dalamnya terlalu banyak unsur rekaan dan cereka khayalan sehingga apa yang dikisahkannya tidak dapat dipertanggungjawabkan kesahihannya. Oleh itu, yang penting bagi kita dalam merujuk *Sejarah Melayu*, bukanlah untuk mencari data-data sejarah yang bersamaan dengan apa yang dicatat dalam kitab tawarikh di China, melainkan untuk menggali maklumat sejarah atau simbol sejarah yang tersirat dalam kisah-kisahannya yang dapat diperbandingkan dengan catatan-catatan dalam kitab sejarah di China

Tahap pertama bahawa sejarah hubungan China-Melayu sudah berlangsung lama sekali semenjak zaman nenek moyangnya, itu pun tecermin dalam Alkisah Cerita yang Kesatu daripada *Sejarah Melayu*. Alkisah yang Pertama itu terutama

menceritakan asal-usul nenek moyang raja Melayu dan kegiatannya pada masa prasejarah kerajaan Melayu. Dikisahkan bahawa Raja Suran di Hindustan yang menjadi datuk nenek kepada raja Melayu yang pertama itu adalah turunan Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain. Maka bermula dari Raja Suranlah dikisahkan bagaimana bermulanya hubungan datuk nenek raja Melayu dengan Raja China. Baiklah kita lihat dahulu apa yang dikisahkannya.

Ceritanya konon Raja Suran itu adalah raja yang paling besar dan paling berkuasa di Hindustan, "segala raja-raja dari Masyrik lalu ke Mahgrib sekaliannya takluk kepadanya, melainkan benua China jua yang tiada takluk kepada Raja Suran". Maka Raja Suran pun "berkira-kira hendak menyerang benua China". Baginda mengerahkan tentera seramai "seribu ratus laksa" orang dan ketika bala tentara itu sampai di Tumasik, maka kabarnya pun kedengaranlah di benua China. Raja China segera bermesyuarat dengan menteri-menterinya untuk mencari jalan penolak bala itu. Akhirnya jalan yang dipilihnya bukanlah jalan peperangan yang akan mengakibatkan penumpahan darah besar-besaran, melainkan jalan perdamaian yang boleh menghindarkan beribu laksa korban jiwa. Ini tentu memerlukan kecerdasan akal yang dapat mengurungkan niat Raja Suran untuk menyerang benua China. Maka diperbuatkan sebuah pilu, dilengkapi dengan muatan jarum-jarum seni yang sudah berkarat, kayu kesmak dan pokok bidara yang sudah berbuah, lalu orang tua-tua yang sudah tanggal giginya disuruh melayarkan pilu itu ke Tumasik. Raja Suran ingin mendapat maklumat tentang benua China dari orang tua-tua itu, maka disuruh menghadap. Selepas mendengar keterangannya yang mengatakan bahawa ketika orang tua-tua itu berlepas usianya baru 12 tahun, jarum-jarum yang sudah berkarat itu tadinya seperti batang lengan besarnya dan pokok-pokok yang berbuah itu baru sahaja ditanamkan bibitnya, maka Raja Suran pun mengeluhlah: "Jikalau seperti kata Cina itu, terlalu jauh benua Cina itu; manakala kita sampai ke sana? Baiklah kita kembali." Demikianlah suatu malapetaka perang yang dahsyat dapat dihindari berkat kearifan raja China.

Kisah yang di atas ternyata hanya suatu rekaan sahaja kerana tiada dasar fakta sejarahnya, namun bukan samasekali tiada makna simbol sejarahnya. Misalnya mengapa yang dijadikan datuk nenek raja Melayu adalah Raja Suran yang di Hindustan dan konon yang berasal dari turunan Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain, itu tentu ada kaitannya dengan latar sejarah kebudayaannya mengingat kebudayaan Hindu pada masa awal dan Kebudayaan Islam yang menyusul kemudian berturut-turut telah berdominasi di Alam Melayu. Juga kisah tentang Raja Suran hendak menyerang benua China, kalau diambil makna simbol sejarahnya boleh diertikan bahawa hubungan China-Melayu sudah dimulakan oleh nenek moyang masing-masing pada masa awal sekali. Sedangkan makna simbol sejarahnya dari kisah tentang Raja China berikhtiar menghindari peperangan dengan menggunakan kecerdasan dan kearifannya, itu sebenarnya membayangkan tanggapan bangsa Melayu bahawa bangsa China adalah bangsa yang cinta damai, lebih suka berdamai dan bersahabat daripada berperang dan berseteru. Akhirnya Raja Suran mengurungkan niatnya untuk

menyerang benua China, itu pun sesuai dengan dasar kenyataan sejarah, iaitu antara kedua-dua bangsa semenjak nenek moyangnya memang tidak pernah berlaku peperangan yang mengakibatkan permusuhan.

Tahap kedua bahawa pada abad ke-7 dengan lahirnya Dinasti Tang dan Kerajaan Sriwijaya hubungan China-Melayu itu telah ditingkatkan ke peringkat yang lebih tinggi lagi, itu pun tecermin dalam Alkisah yang Kedua dari *Sejarah Melayu*. Baiklah kita siasati juga apa yang dikisahkan dalam Alkisah yang Kedua itu.

Menurut cerita, sang Suparba yang turun di bukit Siguntang itu adalah raja yang menubuhkan Kerajaan Melayu yang pertama di Palembang. Bila khabarnya sampai ke benua China, maka Raja China pun segera mengutus ke Palembang untuk "meminang ananda baginda itu yang perempuan seorang", dengan "membawa emas tiga bahara, dan berapa mata benda perbuatan Cina yang indah-indah, dan seratus orang Cina laki-laki, dan seratus orang perempuan dan seorang anak ceteria Cina". Maka sang Suparba pun bermusyawarat dengan segala menterinya untuk menentukan terima atau tidak pinangan Raja China itu. Segala menteri menganggap "jikalau diambil akan menantu pun tiada akan lebih daripada raja Cina, karena baginda itu raja besar lagi bangsawan. Di dalam alam ini adakah negeri besar lebih daripada benua Cina?" Sang Suparba juga setuju untuk menerima pinangan itu kerana perkahwinan itu akan mempererat hubungan antara kedua kerajaan, "supaya bersambutlah raja Melayu dengan raja Cina". Raja Cina pun terlalu suka hati beroleh puteri anak raja dari bukit Siguntang itu. Maka disambut baginda dengan sempurnanya kebesaran dan kemuliaan, lalu diperisteri baginda; beranak bercuculah baginda dengan tuan puteri itu. Daripada anak cucu baginda jadi raja Cina turun temurun datang sekarang ini."

Nyatalah kisah yang di atas itu juga rekaan belaka, namun mengandungi maklumat sejarah dan simbol sejarah yang sangat bererti. Kerajaan Melayu pertama yang ditubuhkan oleh sang Suparba yang turun di bukit Siguntang itu berlokasi di Palembang. Dan memang di lokasi itulah pada abad ke-7 lahir sebuah Kerajaan Melayu yang terbesaar iaitu Sriwijaya. Maka tidaklah mustahil kalau dikatakan bahawa Kerajaan Melayu pertama yang dikisahkan dalam *Sejarah Melayu* itu membayangkan Kerajaan Sriwijaya. Dan begitu Kerajaan Melayu pertama ditubuhkan segera menarik perhatian raja China sehingga baginda berhasrat untuk menjalin hubungan yang erat sekali dengannya menerusi perkahwinan. Ini pun pada dasarnya sesuai dengan kenyataan sejarah bahawa hubungan China-Melayu yang lebih mendalam dan meluas sampai ke bidang kebudayaan dan agama, memang dimulakan oleh Dinasti Tang dan Kerajaan Sriwijaya.

Satu lagi yang mengandungi maklumat sejarah dalam Alkisah yang Kedua itu ialah pada masa Kerajaan Melayu yang pertama itu sudah tidak sedikit orang China yang menetap di Palembang. Ketika utusan China datang telah membawa seratus laki-laki, seratus perempuan dan seorang anak ceteria. Dan yang patut diperhatikan adalah penerimaan sang Suparba yang luar biasa, baginda sangat mengasihi anak

ceteria China itu sehingga "dirajakan baginda di negeri Palembang, arah ke hulu. Maka segala Cina yang tinggal di Palembang itu sekaliannya diserahkan baginda kepadanya; dan daripada anak cucunya jadi raja di Palembang datang sekarang ini". Menurut catatan sejarah memang pada masa Dinasti Tang sudah ada orang China yang merantau dan menetap di Alam Melayu. Dalam buku karya Yi Jing pun ada disebut beberapa nama pendeta China yang menetap di Alam Melayu dan tidak berniat pulang lagi. Sang Suparba tidak hanya mengasahi anak ceteria China itu, juga sangat memercayainya sehingga menjadikannya raja di Palembang dan segala Cina yang tinggal di Palembang diserahkan kepadanya. Apakah memang begitu yang telah berlaku dalam sejarah, itu agaknya masih perlu dibuktikan lagi, namun kalau dipandang dari segi maklumat sejarah dan simbolik sejarah, itu pun bolehlah diertikan bahawa semenjak zaman Dinasti Tang dan Sriwijaya sudah ada orang-orang China yang menetap di Alam Melayu, mereka diterima dengan mesra dan mendapat kepercayaan penuh dari bumiputra sehingga dapat hidup dengan rukun sekali dalam satu negeri.

Tahap ketiga bahawa hubungan China-Melayu mencapai kemuncak kejayaannya pada abad ke-15 dengan pertalian yang lebih akrab dan intim antara Dinasti Ming dan Empayar Melaka, itu pun tecermin dalam Alkisah Cerita yang Kelima Belas daripada *Sejarah Melayu*. Kalau dibandingkan dengan catatan-catatan daripada kitab tawarikh Dinasti Ming, maka apa yang dikisahkan dalam *Sejarah Melayu* itu bukanlah khayalan semata-mata yang tidak berpunca, melainkan adalah bayangan peristiwa sejarah yang telah berlaku. Oleh itu peristiwa-peristiwa sejarah yang bersangkutan dengan masalah hubungan China-Melayu, yang tercatat dalam kitab tawarikh Dinasti Ming, banyaklah yang boleh kita rujuk kepada *Sejarah Melayu* dan dapat ditemukan bayangannya serta pembuktiannya yang tidak secara langsung.

Pertama, dari kisah *Sejarah Malayu* yang relevan dapat dibuktikan bahawa benar Kaisar Ming yang mula pertama mengirimi utusan ke Melaka untuk menghebahkan kebesarannya dan menyatakan hasratnya "hendak bersahabat dan berkasih-kasihian dengan raja Melaka". Dan raja Melaka pun segera mengirimi utusannya ke benua China untuk membalas rayuan raja China dan merealisasikan hubungan rasmi antara kedua kerajaan.

Kedua, hubungan China-Melayu mencapai kemuncak kejayaannya dengan terjalannya pertalian perkahwinan yang lebih erat dan kunjungan diraja yang besar-besaran. Dalam *Sejarah Melayu* dikisahkan bahawa raja Melaka telah diambil mantu oleh raja China dan ketika Puteri Hang Li Po dihantarkan ke Melaka, maka "dipilih oleh raja Cina anak para menteri yang baik-baik parasnya, lima ratus banyaknya diberikan baginda akan dayang-dayang anakda baginda". Dalam sejarah memang telah berlaku kunjungan besar-besaran antara China dan Melaka, tetapi menurut apa yang dicatat dalam *Kitab Tawarikh Dinasti Ming* bukanlah Puteri Hang Li Po melainkan raja Melaka Parameswara yang pertama-tama mengadakan lawatan diraja secara besar-besaran ke benua China. Walaupun berbeza apa yang

dikisahkannya, namun dalam satu hal sama, iaitu kedua sumber itu sama-sama menyebut rombongan lawatan itu terdiri dari lima ratus orang lebih. Ini membuktikan bahawa memang telah berlaku kunjungan besar-besaran yang luar biasa antara Dinasti Ming dan Empayar Melaka. Coba bayangkan betapa hebatnya kalau lima ratus tahun lebih yang lalu telah berlaku lawatan diraja yang jumlah anggotanya lebih dari lima ratus orang. Lawatan diraja yang demikian besar jumlah anggotanya tidak mungkin dilakukan kalau bukan kerana raja Melaka sangat memandang berat akan hubungan persaudaraan antara Empayar Melaka dan Dinasti Ming. Dalam *Kitab Tawarikh Dinasti Ming* tidak disebut samaada raja Melaka telah diambil manantu oleh Kaisar Ming mahupun Puteri Cina yang bernama Hang Lo Po telah dinikahkan kepada raja Melaka. Memang dalam sejarah China ada tradisi menikahkan puteri kaisar kepada raja negeri jiran demi memelihara hubungan yang lebih intim. Sayang setakat ini saya masih belum berjaya menemukan data sejarahnya yang relevan dalam kitab-kitab sejarah Dinasti Ming, maka saya lebih condong untuk mengambil makna simbol sejarahnya, iaitu sebagai suatu manifestasi perasaan ingin menjalin hubungan yang lebih intim antara kedua-dua pihak. Pada masa awal kerajaan Melayu yang pertama raja China telah mengambil puteri Melayu sebagai isteri dan pada masa Empayar Melaka raja China telah mengambil raja Melaka akan menantunya, ini bermakna bahawa pertalian darah antara kedua bangsa terus-menerus bertambah erat, sehingga raja China pun menganggap sudah satu bangsa, "karena kita pun daripada anak cucu raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain, sebangsa juga dengan raja Melayu". Tentu itu hanya suatu perasaan persaudaraan sahaja, belum boleh dipandang sebagai suatu fakta sejarah, namun memang perasaan persaudaraan itulah yang melatari sejarah hubungan China-Melayu di masa Dinasti Ming dan Empayar Melaka.

Ketiga, hubungan China-Melayu di masa Dinasti Ming dan Empayar Melaka pada prinsipnya diletakkan atas dasar persamaan derajat dan saling menghormati. Kisah dalam *Sejarah Melayu* tentang bingkisan jarum sepilu dari raja China dan bingkisan sagu rendang sepilu dari raja Melaka, itu hanya menunjukkan suatu sikap keangkuhan dari raja feodal yang ingin menghebahkan kebesaran dirinya di atas segala raja. Akhirnya raja China pun mengaku: "Besar raja Malaka ini, banyak sungguh rakyatnya, tiada berapa bedanya dengan rakyat kita.". Walaupun raja Chian telah mengakui kebesaran Melaka, tetapi tetap masih ingin mengatasi raja Melaka supaya raja Melaka "berkirim sembah kepada raja Cina". Maka raja China mengambil raja Melaka akan menantunya dengan maksud supaya raja Melaka mesti menyembah raja China. Tetapi raja Melaka pun tidak tinggal menerima sahaja, baginda pun mempunyai akal untuk membatalkan niat raja China itu. Berselang dua hari raja China tiba-tiba diserang sakit.gatal semua tubuhnya dan beberapa ratus tabib pun tidak mampu menyembuhkannya. Seorang tabib tua berdatang sembah pada raja Cina: "Tuanku ini tulah oleh raja Melaka berkirim sembah itu, dan jikalau tiada air basuh kaki raja Melaka tuanku santap dan basuhkan muka, tiada akan sembuh penyakit tuanku ini." Raja China terpaksa harus menjalankan cara penyembuhan penyakit gatal yang dianjurkan oleh tabib tua itu dan selepas sembuh raja China pun bersumpah bahawa "tiada mau disembah oleh raja Melaka datang kepada anak

cucunya dengan anak cucu raja Melaka, tetapi daripada muwafakat berkasih-kasihan juga." Dalam kedua kisah itu nampak raja Chinalah yang selalu mengalah, itu tentu bukan berdasarkan fakta sejarah yang sebenar, melainkan khayalan yang empunya cerita belaka. Terutama kisah tentang raja China minum air basuh kaki raja Melaka memang seloroh yang keterlaluan dan mustahil, tak usah dipandang serius. Bagi saya yang mustahak ialah menggali makna simbol sejarahnya daripada kisah itu, iaitu kedua bangsa sama derajat dan "muwafakat berkasih-kasihan juga" untuk selama-lamanya.

Dengan penguraian di atas dapatlah dikatakan bahawa keinginan dan ketulusan yang sama untuk "bersahabat dan berkasih-kasihan" telah melandasi hubungan China-Melayu dari masa ke semasa. Dan untuk mengutarakan keinginan dan ketulusan itu mestilah memakai bahasa sebagai alat penyalurnya. Itu sejak dari awal sudah dibayangkan dalam Alkisah yang Kedua daripada *Sejarah Melayu*. Di sini saya kutip sedikit bahagian yang mengisahkan bagaimana surat raja China yang dihantarkan oleh utusan China disambut oleh sang Suparba dengan khidmatnya: "Setelah sampai ke Palembang, maka surat raja Cina itu disambut dengan istiadat kerajaan, telah sampai ke balairung, maka disuruh baca pada juru bahasa." Kalau benar apa yang dikisahkan itu, maka bererti bahawa pada masa itu sudah ada "juru bahasa" yang memahami bahasa kedua bangsa. Saya kira itu bukan mustahil kerana dalam kitab karya Yi Jing juga ada disebut beberapa nama pendeta China yang "pandai berbahasa Kun Lun" atau "faham akan bahasa Kun Lun". Yang disebut "bahasa Kun Lun" itu tak lain ialah bahasa Melayu kuno yang digunakan di Sriwijaya. Atas anjuran Yi Jing, banyak pendeta Buddha China yang berniat melakukan pengajian agama Buddha ke India singgah dahulu di Sriwijaya barang satu dua tahun untuk mempelajari tata caranya dan pramasastera Sanksekerta, mereka itu seharusnya memahami bahasa Melayu kuno pula sebagai bahasa pengantaranya. Maka tidak mengherankan kalau pada zaman Sriwijaya sudah ada orang yang memahami dwibahasa. Demikian juga dapat kita lihat dalam Alkisah yang Kelima Belas daripada *Sejarah Melayu* yang mengisahkan surat raja China kepada raja Melaka: "Telah sampai ke Malaka, maka disuruh sultan Mansur Syah sambut surat itu, disuruh arak seperti adat surat dari Siam. Telah datanglah ke balairung, maka disambut oleh bentara, diberikan kepada khatib, maka dibaca oleh khatib..." "khatib" itu nampaknya beperanan sebagai "juru bahasa" yang memahami bahasa yang ditulis dalam surat raja China itu. Ini sekali lagi membuktikan bahawa pertukaran pikiran dan perasaan antara kedua-dua pihak tak akan berjalan lancar tanpa peranan bahasa. Semakin maju dan erat hubungan kedua bangsa, semakin diperlukain peranan bahasa, dan semakin dikembangkan peranan bahasa, semakin maju hubungan kedua bangsa itu. Dengan kesadaran inilah, maka pada tahun 1405 atas titah Kaisar Ming Chengzu ditubuhkan suatu lembaga yang dipanggil "Si Yi Guan" (Balai Bahasa Negeri-negeri Asing) untuk memupuk juru bahasa yang memahami bahasa asing. Dan bahasa Melayu yang pada masa itu disebut "Bahasa Melaka" untuk pertama kali diajarkan di "Si Yi Guan" itu. Rupanya kerajaan Dinasti Ming sangat memahami betapa pentingnya peranan bahasa asing itu, maka di "Si Yi Guan" itu dipancarkan sebuah

tugu batu yang bertulis:” Ilmu Penyalinan Bahasa Asing Itu Boleh Bertahun Tidak Digunakan, Tetapi Tidak Boleh Sehari Tidak Disiapkan”. Dan pada masa itu pula lahir kamus China-Melayu yang terawal, iaitu *Man La Jia Guo Yi Yu* (Perkataan Negeri Melaka). Semua itu membuktikan bahawa pada abad ke-7 bahasa Melayu kuno sudah dikenal di negeri China dan pada abad ke-15 bahasa Melayu sudah diajarkan di maktab bahasa asing yang ditubuhkan oleh kerajaan Dinasti Ming.

Selain peranan bahasa dan kebudayaan, juga peranan ekonomi dalam wujud perniagaan bilateral tidak kalah pentingnya, walaupun tidak langsung dikisahkan dalam *Sejarah Melayu*. Sebagaimana dapat dilihat, dalam berutus-utusan raja China dan raja Melayu selalu saling memberi bingkisan, misalnya bingkisan raja China kepada sang Suparba di antaranya adalah “emas tiga bahara, dan berapa mata benda perbuatan Cina yang indah-indah”, bingkisan raja China kepada raja Melaka selain jarum sepilu, masih ada “sutera benang emas kamka dewangga, dengan beberapa benda yang gharib-gharib”. Pemberian bingkisan timbal-balik itu pada hakekatnya adalah suatu cara perniagaan dua hala menerusi saluran rasmi yang dalam kitab sejarah China disebut “persembahan ufti”. Menurut catatan kitab sejarah yang bertajuk *Ming Hui Dian* (Kumpulan Dokumen Dinasti Ming) ada kira-kira 40 macam lebih yang merupakan barang ufti, antara lain ada cula badak, gading gajah, penyu, kapur barus, gaharu, cendana, cengkih, kayu buhi, sepong, timah dan lain-lainnya yang semuanya merupakan hasil mahsul Alam Melayu yang kebanyakan tidak dapat diperolehi di negeri China. Jadi dengan menerusi “persembahan ufti” itu apa yang kurang pada pihak China dapat dilengkapi. Begitu juga apa yang kurang pada pihak Melayu dapat dilengkapi kerana barang-barang yang dianugerahkan oleh raja China juga kebanyakan yang tidak dapat diperolehi di Alam Melayu. Sebetulnya pertukaran yang saling melengkapi itu tidak terhad pada saluran rasmi yang berupa “persembahan ufti” sahaja. Kesempatan “persembahan ufti” itu juga dimanfaatkan sebaik-baiknya untuk melancarkan perniagaan di kalangan tak rasmi. Ini dapat dibuktikan dari kitab sastra klasik Melayu yang termasyhur *Hikayat Hang Tuah* yang mengisahkan Hang Tuah ketika diutus ke negeri China. Nala Sangguna berkata kepada Hang Tuah:” Hai Laksamana, baiklah anakku suruh segala orang anakku membeli dagangan yang patut ke benua China itu, sangat labanya, esa jadi sepuluh, dan ayahanda pun berengkap sebuah kapal menurut pergi bersama-sama dengan anakku. Apabila ia sampai ke benua China akui oleh anakku kapal ayahanda supaya lepas cukainya....” Di sini kiranya tidak perlu kita perkatakan benar tidaknya apa yang dikisahkan itu, baik kita anggap sahaja itu sebagai suatu cerminan sejarah yang menunjukkan bahawa di luar perniagaan rasmi, banyak orang yang memanfaatkan “persembahan ufti” itu untuk melancarkan perniagaan umum yang dapat saling melengkapi. Dan perniagaan di luar “persembahan ufti” itu dapat mendatangkan laba “esa jadi sepuluh”, laba yang luar biasa tingginya.

Keinginan dan ketulusan untuk “bersahabat dan berkasih-kasih”, saling pengertian dan hormat-menghormati dengan bahasa sebagai alat penyalurnya, pertukaran kebudayaan yang dapat memperdalam pengertian masing-masing dan

perniagaan yang saling menguntungkan dan melengkapi, itulah yang terus mendorong maju hubungan China-Melayu sejak masa awal sampai masa kejayaan Dinasti Ming dan Empayar Melaka. Tetapi sayang sekali hubungan yang akrab dan intim itu tidak dapat diteruskan lagi akibat pencerobohan kaum penjajah Barat. Negeri-negeri di Alam Malayu dan China berangsur-angsur jatuh menjadi negeri jajahan atau setengah jajahan sampai berabad-abad lamanya. Syukurlah sekarang kita sudah merdeka kembali dan masing-masing sedang melakukan pembangunan negara secara besar-besaran. Hubungan China-Melayu yang pernah begitu jaya dalam sejarah sekarang dapat dilanjutkan lagi atas dasar yang baru, sesuai dengan kemajuan zaman. Dalam menghadapi cabaran arus globalisasi masa kini, sebagai negara berkembang China dan Malaysia mempunyai kepentingan dan tujuan yang sama, boleh lebih luas saling mengisi dan melengkapi, maka kita selain wajib meneruskan tradisi sejarah persahabatan yang telah membina hubungan akrab dan intim itu, juga perlu memperluas hubungan itu dengan meningkatkan usaha kerjasama ke segala bidang, agar hubungan China-Melayu dapat menciptakan rekod baru yang lebih gemilang lagi..

3

LEO SURYADINATA

**THE CONTRIBUTIONS
OF INDONESIAN CHINESE
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
INDONESIAN PRESS,
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE**

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The Contributions of Indonesian Chinese in the Development of the Indonesian Press, Language and Literature

Leo Suryadinata
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
Singapore

ABSTRACT

Since the late 19th century, Chinese Indonesians have been active in the Indonesian language press, publications of books and creative writings in proto-Bahasa Indonesia (Melayu "Rendah", or Bahasa Kerja as Pramoedyas Ananta Toer called it). They have made significant contributions in at least three fields. This paper examines briefly their pioneering role in the Indonesian language press from the colonial era to the present, initially from working with the Dutch Eurasian press, then creating their own *peranakan* press and later joining their indigenous counterparts in establishing the Indonesian national press. The paper also deals with the *peranakan* literature, which was not recognized as part of the Indonesian national literature until recent years. It further examines their role in studying and promoting proto-Bahasa Indonesia among the *peranakan* Chinese and beyond, but was eventually defeated in the politics of language" where the colonial government and the indigenous writers eventually opted for the Balai Pustaka-type of the Indonesian language, abandoning the Bahasa Kerja. The *peranakan* Malay and Literature became bahasa and sastra Melayu Tionghoa. Nevertheless, the *peranakan* writers who were brought up after World War II have been incorporated into the Indonesian national literary scene, thanks to the national education and government assimilationist policy.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Since the late 19th century, ethnic Chinese have been active in the Indonesian press, publications of books and creative writings in proto-Bahasa Indonesia (Malay). They have made significant contribution at least in the above three fields. This paper examines briefly their role in these fields from the colonial period to the present. Due to the constraint of time, the paper presents only an outline, based on my earlier works and recent observation as well as the studies by other scholars. In the process of writing this paper, I became more aware that more studies on the relevant topics should be conducted in order to fill the gaps. From available research findings however, one notice that the role of Indonesian Chinese was essential in the formation and development of the Indonesian press, language and modern literature, but this was often overlooked, if not neglected, by many Indonesianists in the past. There has always been a stereotype that ethnic Chinese are economic creatures and that they are only interested in making money, nothing else.

1.2 Before discussing their role, it should be remembered that ethnic Chinese in

Indonesia were and are not a homogeneous group. They can be divided at least into two types: the *peranakan* or local-born Indonesian-speaking Chinese, and the *totok* (i.e. *singkeh*) or foreign-born and Chinese-speaking Chinese. In the first half of the 20th century, the Chinese in Java were primarily *peranakan* while those in the outer islands were primarily *totok*. With Indonesia's independence, *totok* Chinese have been rapidly *peranakanized*, if not Indonesianized. Nevertheless, the process has been much more rapid in Java than in the outer islands, due to both the historical factor and settlement patterns. Speaking of Indonesian Chinese, I mean to include both the *peranakan* and *totok*, but it seems that the *peranakan* contributed more to the above three fields than their *totok* counterparts for obvious reasons: the *peranakan* have stayed longer and have partially been assimilated to the local culture.

1.3 Apart from this socio-cultural background, it should also be noted that the role of ethnic Chinese has been facilitated by their socio-economic status in both colonial and independent Indonesia. Ethnic Chinese have been urban dwellers (especially in Java) and have been widely exposed to the development of capitalism. They formed a middle group in the colonial social strata and a middle class in the independent Indonesia. Not surprisingly they became "pioneers" in the development of the Indonesian press, language and modern literature. In other words, ethnic Chinese were in the modern sector and naturally they played a "pioneering" role in the development of "print-capitalism".¹ They lagged behind the Dutch but were ahead of their indigenous counterparts (e.g., in owning printing press, and running Malay language newspapers), at least during the colonial period.

1.4 The Republic of Indonesia today is more the product of Dutch colonialism rather than the extension of the old empires of Sriwijaya and Majapahit. It emerged in 1945 although the nationalist movement, which led to the establishment of the Indonesian nation-state, started several decades before that year. Strictly speaking, before 1945, there was no Indonesia but the Dutch East Indies. However, I have used "Indonesia" to refer to both the Indies and Indonesia.

1.5 Indonesia consists of more than 250 "indigenous" ethnic groups. Although ethnic Javanese were and are the largest group, their language was and is not used by non-Javanese. The lingua franca of various indigenous ethnic groups and ethnic Chinese was Malay. Not surprisingly, the newspapers, which were published for multiethnic/multiracial readership, were in Malay rather than in local ethnic languages. These newspapers should be considered as the forerunners of Indonesian newspapers.

2. THE PRESS

2.1 In-depth studies on the history of the Indonesian press before WW II are very few.ⁱⁱ Generally, the history of the Indonesian press before independence can be divided into three broad periods.ⁱⁱⁱ The first period, between 1744-1854, was the era of the White Press. The press was solely published in the Dutch language, owned and run by the Dutch and its readership was confined to the Dutch-speaking community, very few of them were non-Dutch. The press dealt with the Dutch community affairs and printed news relevant to this community. The Dutch language press was therefore irrelevant to the

indigenous and Chinese populations.

2.2 Only in 1854, there was a change in the Indonesian press. With the victory of the liberals in the Netherlands, a more liberal policy was also introduced, resulting in the emergence of the non-Dutch press. The Indonesian press entered the second period. During this period, which covered the years between 1854-1908, the press was characterized by the emergence of the Malay language newspapers but owned and run firstly by Eurasians, and later by peranakan Chinese and indigenous Indonesians. Nevertheless, the number of the peranakan newspapers was very significant.

2.3 During the third period, between 1908 and 1945, the pribumi national press began to be more significant. However, the peranakan press was still playing a major role. This was due to both economic and political reasons. The peranakan Chinese press was financially better off and politically was more moderate compared to the indigenous nationalist press. Many indigenous newspapers were closed down because of economic difficulty, some were banned because of political reasons. For instance, in Surabaya, there was no indigenous newspaper for five years and the indigenous readers had to depend on the peranakan press for information.

2.4 If we examine the situation of the press in Indonesia in 1928, we will notice the significance of the peranakan press:

City	Indon newspaper	Chinese newspapers	Dutch newspapers
Surabaya	0	3	2
Semarang	1	2	2
Sala	1	0	0
Yogyakarta	1	0	2
Bandung	0	0	2
Batavia	2	3	4
Medan	1	1	1
Palembang	0	1	0
Padang	1	2	0
Makassar	1	0	0
Total	8	12	13

Source: Surjomihardjo, 2001, p.95.

2.5 Nevertheless, it is also important to note that the Dutch press remained strong as reflected in terms of number and capital, but it continued to serve mainly the Dutch community. The majority of Indonesian readers did not read Dutch newspapers. As a result, the Malay press became the most important media for non-Dutch.

2.6 The peranakan press was not only read by ethnic Chinese but also by indigenous readers. Indeed, initially all of these newspapers claimed that they were published for all Indonesian- ("Malay-") speakers regardless of race. One pribumi scholar, for example,

has noted that the emergence of the Muslim organization Nahdatul Ulama, was only fully reported in *Pewarta Soerabaia*, not elsewhere.¹⁹ Another Indonesian observed that Indonesian radical nationalists used to publish articles in peranakan newspapers simply because they had more readers. (Koeosoemaningrat, 1935). Another writer noted that the indigeneous Indonesian press maintained a precarious existence and that at times no Indonesian paper was published for a prolonged periods in Major towns. (Tjokrosisworo, 1958).

2.7 During the pre-WW II period, major peranakan newspapers were largely in Java. These major newspapers/publishers including *Sin Po*, *Perniagaan* (later it changed its name to *Siang Po*), and *Keng Po*, were all located in Jakarta. *Djawa Tengah* of Semarang and *Pewarta Soerabaia* of Surabaya were also large and had a relatively long life span. In Medan, *Sinar Sumatra* was also quite large but could not be compared with its Java's counterparts. It is interesting to note that these newspapers did not share identical political ideology. Some were sympathetic to Dutch rule, some sided with Indonesian nationalism and others remained neutral in the conflict between the Dutch and Indonesians.

2.8 When Japanese occupied Indonesia (1942-45), the peranakan Chinese press was suppressed. Peranakan newspapers re-emerged only after Indonesia's independence. Pre-WW II newspapers such as *Sin Po* and *Keng Po* resumed publication and further developed. These two became the largest and most influential peranakan Chinese newspapers in Indonesia, representing two different political ideologies. The former was "leftwing" while the latter was "rightwing". Due to their different political views, they were affected by Indonesian political developments.

2.9 Because of the pressure of Indonesian nationalism, the peranakan press eventually became Indonesian newspapers. They even abandoned the original Chinese sounding names and adopted Indonesian names for their papers in the 1960s. *Sin Po* became *Pantja Warta*, and later *Warta Bhakti* while *Keng Po* became *Pos Indonesia*. However, the 1965 coup ended the peranakan press. All peranakan-run newspapers were closed down. The peranakan press was transformed into the "national press" which is often seen as the pribumi press, as the leadership was taken over completely by pribumi Indonesians, with perhaps the exception of *Kompas* in its formative years.

2.10 *Kompas* may be a leading example of the Indonesian "national press" which was partially developed with peranakan's capital and participation. It was co-founded by Auwjang Peng Koen (later changed his name to P.K. Ojong), a peranakan and Jakob Oetama, a Javanese, in June 1965 before the downfall of Sukarno. (Ishwara, 2001; Parera, 1990) Ojong was a senior editor in *Keng Po* and its Indonesian magazine *Star Weekly* (1951-62) until the magazine was banned in 1962. His association with *Keng Po*, especially his close association with Khoe Woen Sioe (1906-1976), the director and editor-in-chief of *Keng Po*, was crucial for his success in the Indonesian press. He admitted that he learned about the press from Khoe. After *Star Weekly* was banned, Ojong established a new magazine (*Intisari*) in 1963. In 1964, he joined the Catholic party (1964-1968), which was dominated by the pribumi. With the support of the

Indonesian Catholics he succeeded in getting the permit to start a new daily newspaper called *Kompas*. The newspaper developed rapidly during the "New Order" period. Its publisher, the Gramedia company, was later developed into a large publishing giant in Indonesia. [In fact, the close co-operation between *peranakan* and *pribumi* journalists can also be found in *Tempo*, which later became an influential Jakarta news weekly. The first chief editor of *Tempo* was Gunawan Mohamaad (Javanese) and his deputy, Christianto Wibisono (Oey Kian Kok, *peranakan*)]. Ojong passed away in 1980 but his legacy still lives on. His name as the co-founder of *Kompas* is still listed on the front page of the newspaper.

3. THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE

3.1 Before 1928, the language of the Indonesian press was called Bahasa Melajoe or Malay. However, the colonial government divided the Malay language into "Melayu Tinggi" ("High Malay") which was based on Riau Malay, and Melayu Rendah (Low Malay), which was based on lingua franca. In the 19th century and the early part of 20th century, these two types of Malay were similar, if not identical, in terms of syntax, vocabulary and grammar, but the latter was richer in vocabulary as it was influenced by other cultures/languages. It was also more widely used by the Dutch Eurasian, *peranakan* Chinese and indigenous press. Dutch Eurasians, *Peranakan* Chinese and indigenous Indonesians called the language used in the press simply "Melajoe" or "Melajoe Betawi" (Batavian Malay), the adjective Rendah (Low) was attached only later after rise of Indonesian nationalist movement. The so-called Melayu-Tionghoa (Chinese-Malay) was also classified in the category of "Low Malay".

3.2 Lie Kim Hok, the father of the so-called Melajoe Tionghoa, did not call the language Melajoe Tionghoa nor Melajoe Rendah but Melajoe Betawi (Lie Kim Hok, 1884). It was only after the rise of the Pan-Chinese movement and *pribumi* Indonesian nationalism, Melajoe Betawi was called Melajoe-Tionghoa. It was wrong to say that "Bahasa Melajoe Tionghoa" existed as early as the mid-19th century (Adam Ahmat, 1994, p.5). For one thing, the term Tionghoa only came into being in the 20th century.

3.3 With the new labeling, one creates the impression that the Malay language used by the *peranakan* was a special kind and different from the Malay language used by *pribumi* Indonesians. Many pre-WW II *pribumi* writers (e.g. Sanoesi Pane and Sutan Taldir Alisjahbana) argued that this was not the case. (Tio Ie Soei, 1958, pp. 112, 115). The Malay language used by the *peranakan*, especially before the mid-1920s, was basically the Malay language used by the population in the Malay archipelago, especially in the Dutch East Indies (Oetomo, 1991). Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana noted in 1934 that the difference between Indonesian and "Chinese Malay" was temporary and not much. The most important distinction, according to Alisjahbana, was the spelling but this would soon disappear. (cited in Tio Ie Soei, 1958, p.115). I have compared the Pre-WW II speeches of Sockarno and Liem Koen Hian and discovered that their languages were similar.

3.4 After World War II, more scholars argued that the so-called Chinese-Malay before

the mid-1920s was not much different from the Malay language used by other Indonesians in Java. (Salmon, 1985). Referring to the Malay language prior to the emergence of Indonesia, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, the leading Indonesian novelist, maintains that the non-Balai Pustaka Malay language should be called the Working Language (Bahasa Kerja)^v or Pre-Indonesian language (Bahasa Pra-Indonesia). He disagreed with the terms "Low Malay", "Market Malay" (Melaju Pasar)^{vi} and "Mixed Malay" (Melaju Campuran) to refer to the Malay language used by the majority of the population as this was politically motivated. (Tan Ta Sen, 1977, p.7) It was meant to downgrade the language and discredit the literature written in such language, because the Indonesian nationalist press and non-official Indonesian literature were written in such a language. This view was later confirmed by a Dutch scholar, Prof. Hendrik Maier, who argued that the Dutch colonial authorities had formulated a policy to marginalize the Chinese-Malay literature (Maier, 1991). As part of the strategy, the Dutch colonial authority established a Publishing House in 1908 which was later known as Balai Pustaka (1917) to sponsor the publication of "good" Indonesian literary works. All publications of Balai Pustaka were in "High Malay" or "Standard Bahasa Indonesia".

3.5 In fact, the so-called Low Malay was so popular; and before the mid-1920s, the overwhelmed majority of Indonesian publications were in this language rather than in "High Malay." Referring to "Low Malay" used by Lie Kim Hok, a leading peranakan writer, Kwee Tek Hoay, commented in 1928 that "The spelling [initiated by Lie Kim Hok] has spread and has been adopted in all over Indonesia. We believe that it will eventually defeat and destroy Riau Malay or the Malay language of C.A. van Ophuijsen, which is now protected by the government."^{vii} But this did not happen because of the success of the Dutch language policy.

3.6 Nevertheless, Chinese Indonesians played a very significant role in developing and popularizing this Language. Leading peranakan Chinese writers before WW II such as Lie Kim Hok (1853-1912), Gouw Peng Liang (1869-1928) and Kwee Tek Hoay (1886-1951) were major figures who used and developed the language. Lie Kim Hok was the first person in colonial Indonesia and beyond to publish a grammar book on the Batavian Malay (1884) in Romanized characters, far ahead of the Dutch and pribumi scholars themselves. Although published over one hundred years ago, the book still retains modern features of the modern Indonesian grammar. (Liaw Yock Fang, 1995). The Malay language of Lie Kim Hok was followed by many major peranakan writers and perhaps some non-Chinese writers as well.^{viii} Gouw Peng Liang, a leading journalist and a peranakan writer himself admitted that he was heavily influenced by Lie (Tio Ie Soei, 1958). Another prewar major writer, Kwee Tek Hoay, was also within the same tradition. (Kwee Tek Hoay, 1928).

3.7 However, the colonial policy eventually crushed the Working Malay. Major Indonesian writers, many of whom were from Sumatra, adopted the standard Bahasa Melayu. Even peranakan writers themselves began to accept the term "Melayu Rendah" to refer to their own language, as if their works were inferior to those of Balai Pustaka. It is worth noting that the publications in Bahasa Kerja were excluded from the Indonesian literature proper as they were not worth studying. This situation remained until the 1990s.

The impact of the colonial policy on the Indonesian language is far reaching. The division between the so-called Chinese-Malay and the Standard Bahasa Melayu (later, standard bahasa Indonesia) became wider. The post-WW II Chinese Indonesian writers such as Arief Budiman (Soe Hok Djien), Abdul Hadi WD (An L.K.), Marga T (Tjoa). and Mira W (Wong?). write in standard Indonesian and can no longer be differentiated from their pribumi counterparts.

3.8 Nevertheless, it is wrong to say that the Melayu Betawi or the Batavian Malay, which was developed prior to WWII, has disappeared completely. It has survived in the spoken language in urban Indonesia. Indonesian movies and TV programs continued to use this kind of language. This fact has often been ignored by many observers as if Indonesians only speak standard bahasa Indonesia.

4. THE LITERATURE

4.1 Language and literature cannot be separated. Peranakan literature started prior to the rise of Chinese nationalism but developed during the nationalist movements. As stated earlier, peranakan literary works were written in Melajoe Betawi,^x which was later known as Bahasa Melayu Tionghoa.^x It emerged together with other literary works in the late 19th century. However, the creative works, which were independent of the Malay classical works, appeared at the beginning of the 20th century. The writers were also journalists, and hence their works were taken from news story. Over 60 to 70 years, peranakan Chinese had produced a large number of "literary works", larger than the indigenous writers themselves. (Salmon, 1981) According to Claudine Salmon, between the 1870s and early 1960s, there were 806 peranakan authors who produced about 3000 titles, which consist of 73 plays, 183 syair, 233 translations of Western works, 759 translations of Chinese works and 1398 novels and short stories. She maintained that these numbers are larger than those of the indigenous writers (175) and publications (400).^{xi}

4.2 Salmon also argued that some of these peranakan works were of high quality but she did not identify them. Nevertheless, one can argue that some of Kwee Tek Hoay's works, for instance, *Drama di Boven Digul* (1927-31, 718 pages), was a major work which could be put at the same level with any prewar pribumi writings such as *Salah Asuhan* (1928) by Abdul Muis and *Layar Terkembang* (1935) by Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana. Kwee's novel discusses politics, philosophy, race-relations, social issues, including women emancipation. In fact, the appearance of peranakan novels was also earlier than the so-called modern Indonesian novels, which dated in 1920 with the publication of Marah Rusli's *Azab dan Sengsara* (1920).^{xii} For instance, Gouw Peng Liang's novel entitled *Lo Fen Koei* and Thio Tjin Boen's novel entitled *Oey See* were both published in 1903.

4.3 With regard to the role of peranakan literature in the history of Indonesian literature, there are a number of questions to be answered. Some writers argued that quality was low while others held opposite view. More research is needed. Besides, there is also a question of influence over Indonesian literature. Did peranakan literature influence the

pribumi literature, or there were parallel developments? Did they mutually influence each other?

4.4 Some scholars are of the view that indigenous Indonesian literature was influenced by the *peranakan* literature which emerged earlier. C.W. Watson (1971), for instance, argues that there is evidence that modern Indonesian literature was influenced by literature written in Low Malay. He maintains that some of the plots in *Sitti Nurbaja* were influenced by *Tjerita Njonja Keng Hong Nio* (on the poison plot) and by *Nji Paina* (on sacrificing oneself in order to save one's family). John Kwee's Ph.D. thesis (1977, pp.232-235) gives more examples: For instance, *Pertjobaan Setia* by Soeman Hs (1931) resembles *Saltima* by Tio le Soei (1925); the theme of *Salah Asoehan* by Abdul Muis (1928) is similar to that of *Nona Olanda Sebagai Istri Tienghoa* (by Njoo Cheong Seng (1925); the theme of *Salah Pilih* by Nur Sutan Iskandar (1928) also resembles that of *Nona Lan-Im* by Tan Boen Kim (1919); *Gadis Modern* by Adlin Affandi (1941) resembles that of *Gadis Modern* by Chang Mung Tze (1939); the theme of *Taufan* by Bajolis (1936) resembles that of *Berdjoeang* by Liem Khing Hoo (1934) and *Manoesia Baroe* by Sanoesi Pane (1940) is similar to *Merah* by Liem Khing Hoo(1939).

4.5 Jakob Sumardjo, a pribumi writer also argues that Indonesian translation work done by the *peranakan*s influenced the publications of Balai Pustaka (Sumardjo, 1983). For instance, Alexandre Dumas' work *The Three Musketeers* was translated by Nur Sutan Iskandar in the 1920s under the title of *Tiga Panglima Perang*. In fact, he borrowed the title from Kwee Kim Hong's translation of the same work in 1914. Sumardjo also points out that the development of indigenous kungfu novels in the 1970s was undoubtedly connected with the popularity of Chinese martial arts novels in Bahasa Indonesia.

4.6 Nevertheless, there was evidence that these two literatures share a lot of similarities and some of the similarities are far from coincidental. However, one needs to conduct further studies before drawing a conclusion. *Peranakan* Chinese literature is rich but it was ignored by many scholars until Claudine Salmon produced her study on the subject. The reasons are complex but the fact that it was written in "Low Malay" was a major reason. Even after the publication of Salmon's works, new research on this literature is few. One of the reasons was due to the difficulties in locating these works as most of them were out of print. One major Indonesian publisher, Grasindo (affiliated to the Kompas Group) planned to reprint the pre-WW II *peranakan* literary works but did not materialize.^{xiii} However, the project was later undertaken by Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia (also affiliated to the Kompas group) and published the first volume in 2000. It plans to publish 25 volumes in total. Between 2000-2002, four big volumes have been published, including Kwee Tek Hoay's major novel.^{xiv} Hopefully, with the republication of these works, *peranakan* literature will have a place it deserves in modern Indonesian literature.

4.7 If the number of *peranakan* Chinese writers was large before World War II, it has been reduced drastically after WWII, except the kungfu novel writers (translators). The reasons for this are complex but certainly this was linked to the government policy, which channeled ethnic Chinese towards the economic rather than other fields. Also, the

assimilationist policy pushed the peranakan Chinese to the indigenous cultural world. Peranakan Chinese writers tended to merge with the pribumi and form the Indonesian national literature. Peranakan writers such as Abdul Hadi WM, Arief Budiman, Ariel Heryanto, Marga T. and Mira W. are no longer known as "peranakan" but Indonesian writers.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 The role of Indonesian Chinese in the development of the Indonesian press, language and modern literature is important. There was no doubt that the peranakan Chinese press played a pioneering role in the initial stage of the development of the Indonesian language press. It constituted part of the pre-independent Indonesian press and merged with the pribumi press after Indonesia's independence. This was also the case with peranakan literature, often known as sastra Melayu Tionghoa before WW II. With regard to the language, Indonesian Chinese "have by far the largest group to communicate in a variety of Malay, admittedly not the one condoned by the colonial government, which later developed into a specific variety of modern colloquial Indonesia." (Oetomo, 1991, p.65). " Their role is, of course, more significant if one considers that with Malay they provided their own group as well as others in both pre- and post-independence Indonesia with a literature, a press and various genres of performing arts more accessible to the general population than those provided by the colonial government." (Ibid.) In the past their contributions were seldom recognized because of political and other reasons. However, with the end of the Cold War and globalization, foreign scholars, followed by some indigenous writers, began to look at the role of this minority and discovered their forgotten role. Nevertheless, the study of their role in the Malay and Indonesian history, society and culture is still few, and it is time for scholars to do more detailed research in these fields.

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Endnotes

¹ Benedict Anderson discussed this "print-capitalism" in his well known book in relations to the rise of nationalism. (Anderson, 1991, p. 44.)

² These studies include: Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1961?); Suryadinata (1971); Surjomihardjo, ed. (1980; 1980); Ahmat B. Adam, (1994; 1995).

³ The periodization of the Indonesian press differs from writer to writer, I have borrowed Toer's broad outline over here, but not the details.

⁴ Dr. Alfian, oral explanation to the paper on the birth of the Nahdatul Ulama submitted to the Second Seminar on National History, Yogyakarta, 27 August 1970.

⁵ Tio Ie Soei has also used this term "Bahasa Kerja" to refer to the Batavian Malay. (See Tio 1951)

⁶ The term Melayu Pasar is often meant to be "pidgins Malay" or "Bazaar Malay", as if the language was used in the language of the market place which is unable to express complete ideas. In fact, the so-called "Low Malay" used in the press is quite advanced by the standard of that era. Therefore it should not be called "Melayu Pasar".

⁷ "Ejaan dan spellingnja soeda mendjalar dan terpakai hampir seloeroe Indonesia dan kita pertjaja pada akhirnya akan kalahkan dan musnahkan sama sekali Melajoe Riau atau Melajoe Ophuijsen jang sekarang masih dilindoangkan oleh pemerintah", cited in Kwee, 1928, p.1684.

⁸ More detailed studies should be conducted on this point.

⁹ Betawi is the Indonesian term for Batavia. In the modern term, it is often called Melayu-Jakarta.

¹⁰ Dr. Dede Oetomo has written a fine paper on the role of the Chinese in the development of the Indonesian language", especially a comparison between the difference between the pre-Indonesian Malay and the Chinese Malay, see Oetomo, 1991.

¹¹ She was referring to A. Teeuw's book. However, in the revised edition of Teeuw's book, it cited 284 writers and 770 books.

¹² In fact, non-Balai Pustaka novels such as "Student Hidjo" (by Mas Marco) was published in 1918 and Hikajat Kadiroen (by Semaoen) was published in 1920. They were also appeared after *peranakan* novels.

¹³ It should be noted that the idea of reprinting prewar *peranakan* literature was in the early 1990s when I discussed this with Frans Parera of Grasindo. We planned to publish them in several batches, for the first batch, we selected 24 titles, including Kwee Tek Hoay's *Drama di Boven Digoel*. However, Grasindo only managed to publish my introductory book. (Suryadinata, 1996). The rest, which have been type-set and proofread, were abandoned.

¹⁴ The series originated from my project with Grasindo. However, it has been taken over by another publisher (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, KPG), which is also in the Kompas group. I was consulted in the initial stage but in the published works, there was no mention of my project with Grasindo. Nevertheless, the KPG project is larger because it includes non-literary works. The general title of this series is: *Kesastraan Melayu-Tionghoa dan Kebangsaan Indonesia*.

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LEON COMBER

**TUN DATO SIR CHENG LOCK TAN'S
ROLE IN SHAPING MALAYAN CHINESE
ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE MALAYS
AND THE CREATION
OF A MALAYAN NATION**

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Leon Comber
Monash Asia Institute
Australia

Abstract

Tan Cheng Lock (1883-1960) was a prominent Malayan-Chinese community leader and statesman. He was a Melaka "baba" who started life as a schoolteacher and afterwards followed interests in the rubber planting industry and shipping. He was active from pre-World War 2 in public service, having served as a Melaka Municipal Commissioner, President of the Melaka Chinese Chamber of Commerce and on several other Malayan government committees. He was an unofficial member of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council in Singapore. He spent the Second World War years in India with his family. After his return to Malaya, he became active in local politics and helped found the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP) with Dato' Onn bin Jaafar. When the party foundered, he helped establish the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), and was elected its first president. He established a close working relationship with Tunku Abdul Rahman, the first prime minister of Malaya, and the United Malays National Organization (UMNO). Tan Cheng Lock believed sincerely in equality, cooperation and non-communalism among all the races in Malaya in order to establish a viable independent Malaya. He is one of the few Malaysians to be respected and honoured by both Malays and Malayan Chinese.

It would be naive to think that the current debate in Malaysia on special rights for indigenous races, which was sparked a few months ago in a column in the Malay-language *Utusan Melayu*, has a direct connection with Sir Cheng Lock Tan, who passed away as long ago as 1960.¹ There is, nevertheless, a link as the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) of which Sir Cheng Lock became the first president, still serves in partnership with the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), and other representatives, as a constituent part of the ruling *Barisan Nasional (BN)* in present-day Malaysia under the leadership of Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohammed.²

This paper deals with the attempts of Tan Cheng Lock to foster good relations with the Malay community and covers his emergence on the political stage in Malaya after the return of the British colonial government in September 1945 to his demise some fifteen years later. It does not attempt to deal with more contemporary political developments in Malaysia or, for instance, the problems that arose from the readjusting of the economic and social imbalances as a result of the Malaysian government's New Economic Policy (NEP) introduced after the 13 May 1969 racial riots.

It will probably be useful initially to provide a brief outline of Tan Cheng Lock's life and

¹ "Abdullah Urges Malays to give up 'crutches' of special rights", *Agence France Press*, 9 June 2002.

² Amarjit Kaur, *Historical Dictionary of Malaya*, Metuchen, N.J., and London: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1993, p. 36.

English education at Melaka High School and the prestigious Raffles Institution, Singapore. It is important to note that as a Melaka Hokkien, 'baba' (based on a Hokkien dialect word (峇峇)), or Straits-born Chinese, which I shall explain later, he received an English and not a Chinese education. He came from a well-established baba family in Melaka descended from a 18th century Chinese navigator, Tan Hay, from Fujian Province, China, who settled in Melaka after marrying a local Chinese woman.⁴ After completing his secondary education in Singapore, he was a schoolmaster for six years from 1902 before taking up rubber planting and other business interests in Melaka. Throughout his life, he was interested in education, and he read widely. While he could not read, write or speak Chinese, he was well acquainted with Chinese philosophical and classical works in English translation and those of classical Greek and Roman and other Western philosophers and historians, and he was often to quote from them in his writing and speeches.⁵ In 1912, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace (JP), which brought him into contact with public affairs for the first time. He was appointed to the Melaka Municipal Commission in the same year and served on it for some ten years before progressing to the Straits Settlements Legislative Council on which he served as an Unofficial Member from 1923-35. He was appointed to the Governor's Executive Council from 1933-5. The knowledge and experience he gained over these years would undoubtedly have stood him in good stead later and provided him with a good understanding of the way in which local and federal governments functioned.

It was during his time on the Legislative and Executive Councils that he stood out as being one of the first Chinese to advocate in his speeches the importance of local Chinese recognising Malaya as their homeland and working out an acceptable *modus vivendi* with the Malay community. In 1931, for instance, he advocated a 'united self-governing Malayan nation' in which Malays and locally domiciled Chinese would have equal rights. His views then were much more conciliatory and less abrasive than those of many other Chinese leaders. In December 1932, he wrote to Sir Samuel Wilson, the British Colonial Secretary, who was visiting Malaya, "I should like to emphasize that we [the Malayan Chinese community] are very sympathetic with the Malays and consider it the duty of the Government to assist them where they are badly handicapped in their competition with the other races."⁶

His views in this respect were remarkably similar to the new economic policy announced by Prime Minister Tan Abdul Razak some thirty-nine years later at the opening of parliament on 23 February 1971 marking the end of twenty months of rule by the National Operations Council (NOC) set up after the 13 May 1969 racial riots. The aims of the new economic development plan were given in the introduction to the *Second Malaysia Plan 1971-75* published on 25 June 1971. It had two prongs: (a) to raise income levels and increase employment opportunities for all Malaysians, regardless of race, and (b) to restructure Malaysian society so as to enable *bumiputras* (the 'indigenous' ethnic groups of Malaysia) to participate in the dynamic sectors of the economy.⁷

Tan Cheng Lock spent the war years in India where he had evacuated with his family

³ Tan Chee Beng, *The Baba of Melaka*, Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn. Bhd., 1988, p. 256.

⁴ Tjoa Hock Guan, "The Social and Political Ideas of Tun Datuk Sir Tan Cheng Lock", in Kernal Singh Sandhu & Paul Wheatley, *Melaka. The Transformation of a Malay Capital c. 1400-1980*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 300.

⁵ The author attended several of Tan Cheng Lock's speeches in Singapore in the early 1950s, which were often cited with such quotations.

⁶ Letter from Tan Cheng Lock to Sir Samuel Wilson in *Malayan Problems by Tan Cheng Lock*, Singapore: Tansco, G.H. Kiat & Co., 1932, p. 47, p. 75.

⁷ *Second Malaysia Plan 1971-75*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1971, pp. v-vi, 1, 41-5, 158-61, 236.

when he perceived that Malaya was in danger of being overrun by the Japanese in 1942. It is often overlooked that India was in political turmoil during the four years he spent there, and while he did not participate in what was going on, he was a keen observer of the struggle for independence from British rule that was taking place led by the Indian Congress Party. This, together with the surrender by the British of the fortress of Singapore to the Japanese in February 1942, made him realise for the first time that British rule in Asia was not as permanent as it had appeared in the peaceful and untroubled years in prewar Malaya. While he was in India away from all the business and other distractions he had in Malaya, he continued to read widely and gave much thought to how he saw Malaya developing politically after the war. It is probable that many of the ideas he advocated on his return to Malaya in 1946 were formulated during this period. He was able to see more clearly that the rather unwieldy way in which the British administered Malaya through the Federated and Unfederated Malay States and the Straits Settlements could be transcended. Further, he was able to give more serious thought to the belief that had already been shaping up in his mind that the three main ethnic groups of Malaya, the Malays, Chinese and Indians, could be brought much more closer together than they had been under British rule.

Meanwhile, at the time of Cheng Lock's return to Malaya, it will be remembered that a group of Malay associations met in Kuala Lumpur to form the United Malays National Organization (UMNO).⁸ The purpose of the new party was to express opposition to the British government's proposals to establish a Malayan Union, which they perceived as undermining the position of the Malays and threatening the traditional standing and authority of the Malay sultans. Dato Onn bin Jaafar, a forceful and prominent Johor politician, was elected the first president of the party. However, when his proposals to change UMNO into a multi-racial party were rejected (Onn proposed changing the name of the party to United Malayan National Organisation), he resigned in June 1951 and formed the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP) with membership open to all Malayan citizens.⁹ The ideals of the party fitted in well with Tan Cheng Lock's own thinking and he gave Dato Onn his support in establishing it.¹⁰ Although IMP foundered a few years afterwards,¹¹ its aims undoubtedly reflected many of Tan Cheng Lock's own aspirations, even in those early days, for a viable independent Malaya that would provide for the fostering of a spirit of cooperation and non-communalism between the non-Malay and Malay communities. With hindsight, however, it would appear that both Dato Onn and Tan Cheng Lock were in advance of popular sentiment in trying to establish a party with multi-ethnic membership as neither the Malay nor the Chinese electorate was ready at that time to merge their separate interests to form a single united party.¹²

When the British government decided to backtrack on its decision to establish a Malayan Union and introduced instead the Federation of Malaya Agreement in order to alleviate many of

⁸ Wan Hashim, *Race Relations in Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1983, p. 46.

⁹ Malcolm MacDonald, the British Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, who knew Dato Onn well, describes him thus: '... a dynamic, courageous and almost always wise man, but sometimes he became too self-assured and stubborn in his views.' (See 'Foreword', Tunku Abdul Rahman, *Looking Back*, Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1977, p. ii). Onn had a special connection with Johor. His grandfather, father, and two elder brothers were Mentri's Besar of Johor, and Onn himself was Mentri Besar 1946-50. (Simon C. Smith, *British Relations with the Malay Rulers from Decolonisation to Malaysian Union 1930-57*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 84).

¹⁰ Tan Cheng Lock was the chairman of the Inaugural Meeting of IMP on 16 September 1951 at Kuala Lumpur (see "Speech of Dato Tan Cheng Lock" published by the Tiger Press, Singapore, 1951).

¹¹ IMP did not command Malay or Chinese popular support, and after being defeated by the UMNO/MCA Alliance at the Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council's elections in February 1952, it ceased to exist.

¹² See 'Foreword' by Malcolm MacDonald to Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra's *Looking Back*, Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1977).

the Malay concerns about the Malayan Union, Tan Cheng Lock was forthright in criticising the British authorities for only taking into account, at least initially, the views of the Malay Sultans and UMNO.¹³ He expressed his reasons for doing so as follows: "Before that Agreement, it had never been realised that the British Government could be party to legislation containing racial concepts which did not ensure the equality of all races and minorities before the law whether judicial or administrative."¹⁴ This remark, however, should not be construed as being anti-Malay as such but in keeping with his long-held belief that all races should be treated equally. He did not spare his fellow Chinese, too, when he described them as being "spiritually degraded or dead being largely absorbed in making money."¹⁵

About this time, Cheng Lock was persuaded, largely by John Eber, a young, charismatic, left-wing, Singapore Eurasian lawyer, who was afterwards detained by the British colonial authorities for alleged pro-communist sympathies, to lend his name to the Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action (PMCJA) (later renamed the All-Malaya Council for Joint Action for Malayan Independence). The PMCJA was made up of a disparate group of associations such as the conservative Straits Chinese British Association, the radical Malay Nationalist Party, and other political groupings some of which were open-front organisations of the Communist Party of Malaya.¹⁶ Tan Cheng Lock was elected but declined the chairmanship of AMCJA when he came to realise that it was dominated by communist and other left-wing elements.¹⁷

In the meantime, Malcolm MacDonald, the British Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, based in Singapore, suggested to Dato Onn that Tan Cheng Lock would be a suitable person to be appointed to the Malayan Communities Liaison Committee. The Committee was largely the 'brain-child' of Malcolm MacDonald, working behind the scenes.¹⁸ Its main purpose, as its name implied, was to draw together the Malay, Chinese and Indian communities living in Malaya. It was an unofficial body and all its meetings were held in private. There is no doubt that Tan Cheng Lock was well qualified to contribute his wisdom and experience to its deliberations. As Leo Suryadinata comments, it is quite likely that during this time Tan Cheng Lock was seeking a "base through which he could realise his long cherished ideal of a united, multi-ethnic Malayan nation."¹⁹

In February 1949, a new political grouping, the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) had come into existence to represent the social, welfare, and political interests of the Malayan Chinese community. Membership was restricted to Chinese who intended to settle permanently in Malaya and had either been born there or lived there for five years. In general, MCA policy was conciliatory towards the Malays and cooperative with the British authorities. Tan Cheng Lock was elected as its first President, a position he was to hold for the next ten years.

¹³ The Federation of Malaya Agreement came into effect on 1 February 1948. (See also Wan Hashim, op. cit., p. 49).

¹⁴ Tan Cheng Lock, "Memorandum on the 1946 Constitutional Proposals for Malaysia", 10 March 1949, in *Miscellaneous Speeches. Memorandum on Federation of Malaya* (Melaka, 10 April 1951 quoted in Tjoa Hock Guan, op. cit., p. 315).

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ See Leo Suryadinata (ed.), *Southeast Asian Culture. The Social-Cultural Dimension*, Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1995, p. 116.

¹⁸ The Communities Liaison Committee was formed at an informal meeting of twenty-one Malay, Chinese, and Indian leaders held at Johor Baru on 31 December 1948 (Smith, op. cit., p. 113).

¹⁹ *ibid.*

There are several versions of the beginnings of the MCA, and its actual genesis is still unclear, but it is likely that Tan Cheng Lock had some part to play in bringing it into existence although he was not actually holding any official office at the time.²⁰ Many of the early MCA leaders had Kuomintang (KMT) affiliations,²¹ but this was tacitly "accepted" by the British colonial authorities, as the KMT was known to be staunchly anti-communist and not likely to support the Communist Party of Malaya that since June 1948 had been waging an armed uprising against the government. It is interesting, therefore, to speculate how Tan Cheng Lock came to be elected as the MCA's first president. What was it that made Tan Cheng Lock so different from many other Chinese leaders of that time?

Firstly, as previously noted, Tan Cheng Lock was a local-born 'baba', and his family had been domiciled for several generations in Melaka. He was very 'Malayan' in his outlook, unlike many of the other Chinese MCA leaders who were more recent immigrants and still retained close ties with mainland China.

According to Tan Chee Beng, the term 'baba' became popularly used in the 19th century to refer to Straits-born Chinese in general and Malay-speaking Chinese in particular. In practice, it was applied to the long established and domiciled Chinese families in Malaya as opposed to the more recently arrived Chinese immigrants, who were referred to as *sinkeh*, literally 'new guests' or 'new arrivals'.²² The two groups were not always on the best of terms, as after WWII 'baba' had acquired a somewhat derogatory connotation and was used by non-baba Chinese to describe local-born, English-educated, Chinese who were perceived to know very little about Chinese culture.²³ This comment was not entirely accurate, and it could not be applied across the board to all 'babas' as many of them, like Tan Cheng Lock, were well informed about Chinese history and culture even though they were not Chinese educated, and habitually spoke English and/or 'baba' Malay (a non-standard *bahasa Melayu* with several southern Chinese loan words in it) at home. Perhaps, we should follow here what Tan Cheng Lock's daughter wrote. She said that Melaka 'babas' were referred to as 'Straits-born Chinese', and that her father could also be termed 'anak Melaka', or 'son of Melaka'. As she pointed out, Melaka was her father's home, and not China, and his family roots in Melaka stretched back some one hundred and fifty years.²⁴ Tan Cheng Lock himself added a further dimension to what she said when he wrote in his *Malayan Problems* that the Melaka 'babas' "have adopted the language and some of the customs of the Malays with whom they had a perfect understanding and for whom they have an affection."²⁵

It seems likely that Tan Cheng Lock was chosen to be the first president of the MCA

²⁰ See Tjoa Hock Guan, op.cit., p. 316. To the information provided in Dr Tjoa's account, the author would like to add that Sir Henry Gurney, while he was High Commissioner in early 1949, told him that he had 'suggested' the formation of the MCA to a group of Chinese members of the Federal Legislative Council, and he had taken the initiative in approaching Tan Cheng Lock. Gurney felt that it would be useful to have a party to represent Chinese interests in the same way that UMNO represented Malay interests. (See Leon Comber, *13 May 1969. A Historical Survey of Sino-Malay Relations*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1983, pp. 40, 110, fn. 19).

²¹ Colonel Sir Henry Hau-sik Lee (H.S. Lee), for instance, had been a colonel in the KMT army during WWII.

²² Tan Chee Beng, op. cit., *passim*

²³ The rather derogatory terms often used in colloquial Cantonese were 'shap yat tim poon' (literally 'half-past eleven') () and 'luk tim poon', 'half-past six' (), and in Malay 'Cina celup' ('imitation Chinese'). The Hokkien dialect equivalents of the Cantonese terms are given in Tan Chee Beng's study, referred to above.

²⁴ Alice Scott-Ross, *Tan Dato Sir Cheng Lock Tan, KMM, DPAMJ, KBE, JP. A Personal Profile by his daughter, Alice Scott-Ross*, Singapore: privately published, 1990, p. 93.

²⁵ *Malayan Problems by Tan Cheng Lock*, op. cit., p. 142.

because he was a 'baba', and therefore more likely to be acceptable to the British colonial authorities as leader of the Malayan-Chinese community than a Chinese having closer connections with mainland China. He clearly had no links with the KMT or the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the two main Chinese political parties. Further, he was a figure regarded with respect by all communities and known to be perfectly honest and straightforward in his dealings. The inner 'cabinet' of the MCA was shrewd enough to accept that he would be the best person to build a working relationship with the Malays and represent the Chinese community in its dealings with the British colonial authorities. He was very much at home in English which he spoke with ease and precision, and he would be able, as the spokesman of the local Chinese community, to communicate perfectly well both with Western-educated Malay and Indian community leaders, as well as British officials.²⁶

As President of the MCA, Tan Cheng Lock came into his element. In his inaugural speech, he stressed that all Malayan-Chinese should wholeheartedly adopt Malaya as their home, "which fed, nourished and sustained them", rally against communism, and live in harmony with their Malay and Indian brethren.²⁷ But he paid dearly for his outspoken stand against communism. In April 1949, just two months after he was elected President of the MCA, he narrowly escaped being killed while addressing a MCA meeting in Ipoh. A communist terrorist threw a hand grenade at him while the meeting was in progress, and he was wounded in the shoulder by grenade fragments.²⁸ When he had recovered from his wounds, he still continued to tour the country, addressing rallies, issuing statements, and stressing at all times the importance of inter-communal harmony.²⁹

In speeches he made at MCA meetings in Pahang at Bentong, Raub, Kuala Lipis, on 20 and 21 August 1951, he made his position quite clear by saying: 'Chinese leaders have realised that one of the main obstacles to the close and cordial Sino-Malay friendship and active and fruitful cooperation between the two major communities in Malaya is the lack of economic opportunities for the Malays as compared to the Chinese, in general, in Malaya.

'To help remove this barrier, it is important that greater efforts should be made towards increasing the economic opportunities for the Malays, especially towards the development of their latent business talents.'³⁰

In 1949, Tan Cheng Lock's services to the Malayan community were recognised by his being created a Dato by Sultan Ibrahim of Johor. He was appointed, too, by Sir Henry Gurney, the British High Commissioner, a member of the Malayan government's Chinese Emergency Advisory Committee.³¹

As President of the MCA, he was the recognised spokesman of the Chinese community in Malaya, and he used his energies in not only looking after the legitimate interests of the

²⁶ Leo Suryadinata, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

²⁷ *ibid.* See also Tjoa Hock Guan, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

²⁸ A Chinese Special Branch Officer, Khaw Kai Boh, who happened to be at a petrol station some hundred yards away, ran towards the scene when he heard the explosion, and opened fire with his pistol at a Chinese man he saw running away, but the man escaped unharmed. (see Leon Comber, "The weather ... has been horrible": Malayan Communist Communications during the Emergency (1948-60)", *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, November 1995, pp. 37-58).

²⁹ Tjoa Hock Guan, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

³⁰ "Speech by Dato Tan Cheng Lock, (President Malayan Chinese Association) 20th & 21st August, 1951, at Bentong, Raub, Kuala Lipis, Pahang", Singapore: Tiger Press, 1951, p. 5.

³¹ Alice Scott-Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

Chinese community but also in fostering cooperation with the United Malays National Organization (UMNO). As Tunku Abdul Rahman, President of UMNO, and the first Malaysian Prime Minister, acknowledged in his memoirs: "Tun Sir Cheng-lock Tan . . . brought the Chinese together as the Malayan Chinese Association and later joined with UMNO. Our partnership was the beginning of the Alliance. Though he took no part in all the conferences and other deliberations that were taking place, he was the spirit behind the unity of the two races, the Malays and the Chinese . . . Tun Sir Cheng-lock Tan urged the Chinese to look upon Malaya as their home and the object of their loyalty."³²

In February 1952, an important development took place that brought UMNO and the MCA together to contest the Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council elections in which UMNO, MCA and IMP candidates were participating. The chairmen of the local Kuala Lumpur UMNO and MCA branches agreed not to run UMNO/MCA candidates against each other in order to present a united front against the threat posed by IMP. Gordon Means argues that the alliance came about as a reaction to IMP under the leadership of Dato Onn, which was perceived to be following a course that "threatened to undermine the political support of UMNO among the Malays".³³ As part of the alliance, Malay candidates received UMNO/MCA votes in predominantly Malay constituencies and Chinese candidates received UMNO/MCA votes in predominantly Chinese constituencies. The result was that the UMNO/MCA Alliance won nine of the twelve seats contested while IMP secured only two. This electoral success encouraged UMNO/MCA to extend their cooperation to national level. Subsequently, the Malayan Indian Congress joined the Alliance, and the resulting arrangements between the three parties were institutionalised in the UMNO/MCA/MIC National Alliance, although the parties retained their separate identities.³⁴

It augured well for a united Malaya that Tunku Abdul Rahman and Tan Cheng Lock, the leaders respectively of the Malay and Chinese communities, saw eye-to-eye on most matters. As their political and personal relationship developed, it became possible to smooth out many of the differences between the separate ethnic groups and present a united front to press the British for independence.³⁵

In 1952, Cheng Lock's services to the nation were recognised by the British government with the award of the KBE. In July 1953, in a touching and significant public ceremony in Melaka, the Youth Section of UMNO presented him with a *songkok* (Malay-style hat) in UMNO colours, and hailed him as a leader of the Malayan peoples. By 1955, he was 72, and his health was not as robust as it had been in previous years³⁶, and he began to assume the mantle of elder statesman. However, one of the last public duties he performed was to support Tunku Abdul Rahman by presenting a combined Malay/Chinese front in attending with him the Baling Talks with Chin Ping, the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Malaya. Although the talks did not bring to an end the armed uprising of the Communist Party of Malaya, Tan Cheng Lock's presence at the talks at Tunku Abdul Rahman's side, made it quite clear to Chin Peng that both the Malay and Chinese communities were united in opposition to communism.

³² Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, *Looking Back*, Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1977, pp. 171-2.

³³ Gordon Means, *Malayan Politics*, New York: New York University Press, 1970, p. 133.

³⁴ Khong Kim Hoong, *Merdeka! British Rule and the Struggle for Independence in Malaya, 1945-1957*, Petaling Jaya: Institute for Social Analysis (INSAN), 1984, pp. 169-73.

³⁵ Wan Hashim, *Race Relations in Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1983, p.

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³⁶ Alice Scott-Ross, op. cit., p. 259.

In March 1958, Lim Chong Eu, a Penang medical practitioner and a member of the Penang MCA branch, challenged Tan Cheng Lock for the MCA presidency. He felt that Tan Cheng Lock did not fight hard enough for Chinese interests. In the ensuing election, he defeated Tan Cheng Lock by 90 votes to 67, and took over as president.³⁷ Thereafter, Tan Cheng Lock played only a minor part in public life, and devoted himself to his rubber planting and other business interests.³⁸ But by this time, Tan Cheng Lock had already established his reputation as a political leader whose knowledge and understanding of the local political scene had helped bring about close cooperation and understanding between the different races of Malaya. There was little doubt that his life-long aim of laying a foundation of goodwill and friendship between the Malay and Chinese communities had been achieved.

Tan Cheng Lock was invested with the Malayan Order of Chivalry (SMN) in 1958 in acknowledgement of his services to the Malayan nation, and at his demise in 1960, he was given the rare honour of a state funeral as befitting a true Malayan patriot.³⁹ The *Straits Times* summed up succinctly his lifelong work to build a lasting working relationship between the Malay, Chinese, and Indian communities, in the following words: "No-one has given more years of constant endeavour to the destruction of communal barriers and the building of a Malayan loyalty and nationhood."⁴⁰

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³⁷ Amarjit Kaur, op. cit., pp. 86-7.

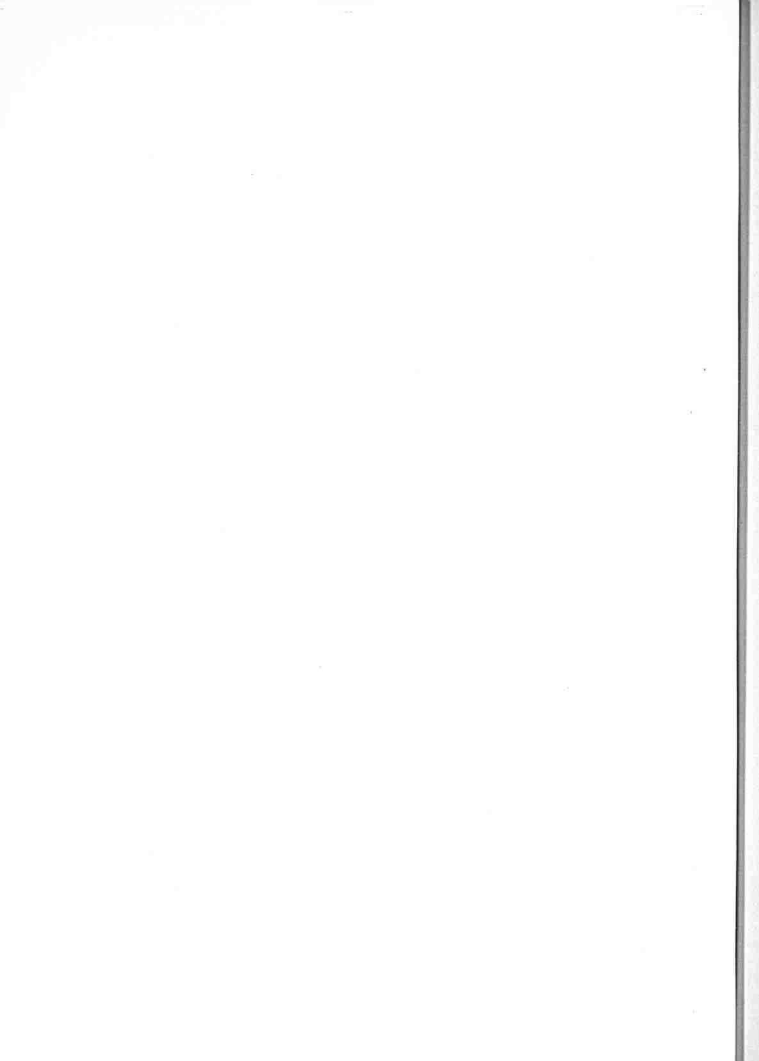
³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 147.

³⁹ Norman Soong, *The Asia Who's Who* (3rd edn.), Hong Kong: Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance, 1960, p. 495. See also Tan Liok Ee, "Descent and Identity: The Different Paths of Tan Cheng Lock, Tan Kah Kee and Lim Lian Geok", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LXVIII, Pt. 1 (1995), pp. 1-28.

⁴⁰ *Straits Times* (editorial), 15 December 1960, cited in Tjoa Hock Guan, op. cit., p. 320.

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The author was hon. police ADC to Sir Henry Gurney, Malayan High Commissioner, in 1949, and personally acquainted with Tun Dato Sir Cheng Lock Tan, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Dato Onn bin Jaafar, and Malcolm MacDonald.



5

MYRA SIDHARTA

**MABUK CINTA: POETRY AND SONGS
BY HOO ENG DJIE
AND ANG BAN TJIONG**

WYOMING

SEAL OF THE STATE OF WYOMING
BY JAMES H. HARRIS
AND WILLIAM H. HARRIS

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Mabuk Cinta: Poetry And Songs By Hoo Eng Djie And Ang Ban Tjong

*Myra Sidharta
Jakarta*

Abstract

This paper discusses the literary life of the Chinese in Makassar, particularly the songs and poetry by two well-known ethnic Chinese singers, Hoo Eng Djie and Ang Ban Tjong. They were extremely popular during the twenties and thirties and were invited to sing at weddings and other parties in Makassar. In spite of their popularity, both singers were poor. It was because of their poverty that they were rejected by the women they loved. As a consequence, they became addicted to alcoholic drinks. Ang Ban Tjong died in 1938, but his songs, in a mixture of Malay and Makassarese language, are still sung in his hometown. Hoo Eng Djie's Makassarese song were even more popular and are still heard today from recordings which were made in the thirties.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 This paper deals with two Chinese Makassarese, who lived in and worked mostly in pre-war Makassar. At the time that the literature in Malay was flourishing in Java, they composed their poetry and songs in the Bugis Makassar dialect which they sang as entertainment for the Chinese Makassar community.

1.2 Both men had a few features in common. They sang mostly about women and love, love thwarted, because they were poor. They both were at their best after a few drinks, but unable to control themselves, they would go on drinking until they were drunk. Hence the title *Mabuk cinta*, meaning "drunken for love".

1.3 The differences between them was that one of them Ang Ban tjong composed his songs in a mixture of Malay and the Makassar dialect. However Ho Eng Djie's songs were entirely in the Makassar dialect. Ho did not leave any printed work behind. We know of him from a biography written by Nyoo Cheong Seng, a writer, playwright and poet, who was impressed by this unusual man. But we know of his songs from gramophone records made before WW II, which are now of poor quality.

1.4 Before we discuss the two men and their works we will first look into the history of Makassar to get an impression, why these men were singing their songs in the local dialect. We will continue with an impression of the Chinese community at the time they lived and worked there.

2. SOME HISTORICAL NOTES ON MAKASSAR.

2.1 Before the arrival of the Dutch and the Portuguese in the Archipelago Makassar had already been a popular port among the seafarers from the Malayan Peninsula, Burma, Siam and the Philipines as well as among those from the interisland trade. Most of all Makassar has been a halfway trading station between East and West. Trading products were spices, sandalwood, products from the sea, such as shark fins and sea cucumber and exotic products like pearls and birds of paradise from the Eastern islands. At the time that the slave trade was still booming, slaves too were a commodity to be transported to the pepper producing islands in the Western islands of the Archipelago. These products then were traded for ceramics and silk from India, Vietnam and China. Besides, trading ships had to be provisioned with rice, meat and fresh water for their journey to other islands or for their journey home when their mission was accomplished.

2.2 In the beginning of the 16th century, the region was ruled by the kingdom of Goa, which brought many significant changes leading to its development into a political and economical power. The first king, Tumapa'risi Kallonna (1511-1546) had during his 36 year reign imposed changes in the legal system and the regulations of war. He appointed a *syahbandar*, to manage the customs and trade. This *syahbandar* by the name of Daeng Pamatte also improved and completed the Lontara Makassar alphabet at the same time making it more simple to learn. This alphabet is still in use in Makassar at present¹.

2.3 After the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511, merchants from the Malay peninsula came to settle, followed by Chinese, Arabs and Indians. By the beginning of the seventeenth century Makassar had become a "bustling, multi-ethnic settlement", whose activities were made possible by the protection and facilities offered by the kings of Goa².

2.4 The conquest of Makassar by the Dutch in 1667 changed the scene of the city as well as the business enterprises. After a seven year long siege, the fort Somba Opu, which was built around the royal palace of the Goa kingdom had been completely destroyed. After the signing of the Treaty of Bungaya, the Dutch settled in the most northern fort named Ujung Pandang, which they renamed Fort Rotterdam after a city in the Netherlands. They built houses and offices for the VOC officials and also storehouses and churches. The land annexe, which was named Vlaardingien, also after a Dutch city, was for the foreigners and *heathens*, the Chinese and natives. According to the treaty, the Dutch had the monopoly of all trade causing many people inclusive the Europeans to seek their business elsewhere³.

2.5 Since then Makassar became like most other cities in the archipelago under Dutch rule, with the dominating part in business and trade going to the Dutch and the Chinese,

¹ See Prof. DR. Mattulada *Menyusuri jejak Kehadiran Makassar dalam Sejarah, Ujung Pandang Hasanuddin University Press, 1991. Pp24-25.*

² See Heather Sutherland, Ethnicity, wealth and Power in Colonial Makassar in P.J. Nas (ed) *The Indonesian City. Studies in Urban development and Planning, Dordrecht-Holland, Foris Publications, 1986*

³ See Prof. Dr. Mattulada, *op. cit.*

Arabs and Indians taking the role of the small and medium size businesses. The population was not only divided according to the business but also in the area where they lived and were segregated from the Dutch community

3. THE CHINESE COMMUNITY UNDER DUTCH RULE.

3.1 According to the *10 Tahun Pertip 1946-56* (10 years Pertip 1946-1956), the majority of the Chinese before the war belonged to the working class. They worked in offices for import and export, banks, shipping etc. Trade was mostly in copra and other agricultural produce.

3.2 Like the Chinese elsewhere in the Archipelago, such as Java and Sumatra they were divided into three groups according to their education, which was in Dutch, Chinese and Malay. However, since the Bugis-Makassar dialect played a dominant part in Makassar and its environment, most people spoke the dialect and wrote in the Lontara script.⁴ Therefore we can find the Chinese classics and the popular stories translated into the Bugis-Makassar dialect and written in the Lontara script. One such example are the books translated by Liem Kheng Yong (1875-1933), comprising more than 60 titles. These books were all handwritten by the translator, who rented them out to the readers for a small fee.⁵ Besides these translation, one can also find a poem consisting of 114 lines, written by Liem in his collection. In this poem he lamented the modern times and the changing values esp. the women, who follow the fashion of the time, by exposing too much of themselves and walking arm in arm with men. Last year mr. Shaifudin Bahrum, a Buginese scholar received a sponsorship from Manassa to translate one of Liem Kheng Yong stories into Bahasa Indonesia. Other lesser known translators were Liem Cheng Heang and Tjoa Yam Hoei.⁶

3.3 When Njoo Cheong Seng, a playwright and writer visited Makasar with his theatre group in 1932, he found a community that was interested in literature and theatre. Besides organizing the plays for his group, he would also mix with the intellectuals, such as journalists and writers. There were at that time several magazines in Malay and several dailies, such as the *Sin Hwa Po* and the *Pembrita Makassar*. His friends provided him with stories about the community which he later retold in his novels. Several of these stories were about love and tragedy. Love that had been frustrated by the materialistic attitude of the people, who were looking for a rich son-in-law. The economic crisis of 1929 had caused a slump in the business world and especially parents with pretty daughters were trying to find a better match than the men, to whom their daughters had fallen in love with. Another favorite theme of Nyoo was that sometimes happily married couples had to face tragedy because of the untimely death of one of them. He also found Chinese educated people, who translated stories and poems from Chinese into Malay. One person Nyoo wrote about was Ma Siong Lin, who not only translated classical

⁴ See Yo Kao Tjiao, Liem Kheng Yong, penterjemah buku-buku tjerita Tionghoa dalam bahasa Makasar in *10 Tahun Pertip Makassar 1946-1956*, Makassar 1956. Pp. 117-119.

⁵ According to Yo Kao Tjiao, Liem had declined to follow his father's footsteps by running a shop, but his family could live comfortably from the rental of the books. These books were still on display in Liem's family home in Kampung Melaju Makassar.

⁶ See Gilbert Harmonic et Claudine Salmon, *La Vie littéraire et artistique des Chinois Peranakan de Makasar (1930-1950)* in *Archipel* 26, pp143-177.

Chinese poems, but was also a poet in his own right and regularly contributed these poems in magazines.

3.4 Besides the men mentioned or described by Nyoo, there were also a few women, who had contributed their short stories and features to magazines. One of them Thio Sumer Nio was one of the young ladies who contributed to the magazine *Panorama* in 1927-29. When one of the other writers founded the *Persatoean Perempoean Joernalis Tionghoa* in 1928⁷, Thio became one of the members.

3.5 In the late 40s a certain Soh Lian Tjie contributed several writings about the culture of the Chinese in Makassar to magazines like *Pantjawarna*. She was a woman, who worked at the Department of Information and was active in the radio broadcasting. In the early nineties, when she was 80 years old, she wrote her memoirs, which unfortunately has never been published. More contemporary works come from Carla Bianpoen a Dutch educated lady who reviews exhibitions of artwork in English medium newspapers.

4. THE LITERATURE OF MAKASSAR.

4.1 According to Roger Tol, the study of the Buginese literature is far behind the study of the literature of Java and Bali. Tol, who had written his Ph. D. thesis about an epic in the Makassar language, *Toloqna Arung Labuaja*, writes that so far only one person had written the largest part about the literature, a certain B.F. Matthes, whose publications date from about a hundred years ago. Although in the last few years more and more works have been published, the quantity is still far behind the Javanese literature.

4.2 The same can be said of the study of the literature in Malay of the Chinese Indonesians. Numerous studies on this literature have been published by Claudine Salmon and her late husband Denys Lombard since the late 1960s in *Archipel*, a journal published in Paris. Leo Suryadinata from Singapore have also discussed diverse works including Kung-fu stories and newspapers. The present writer has focussed on biographical works of the authors. At a seminar held by the Faculty of Letters of the University in Indonesia in 1992, several papers were presented by different persons, including one on old poems. Henri Chambert-Loir, who has written a great deal about old manuscripts, has also written about *syairs* (poems) written by the Chinese in Indonesia.

4.3 In 1996 an attempt was made to republish the old novels by Grasindo, a publisher in Jakarta. Leo Suryadinata had selected the works to be published, but for unknown reasons, the publication had been halted and only a small volume entitled *Sastra Peranakan Tionghoa Indonesia*, edited by Suryadinata and containing works by several authors was published instead.

4.4 After 1998 the interest in this literature has been revived and the publishing company *Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia* was able to launch the first volume of an anthology of the old works on February 2000 with the title *Kesastraan Melayu Tionghoa*. Spurned by

⁷ Association of female Journalists, an association founded under the initiative of Kwee Tek Hoay who wanted to empower women by encouraging them to write.

the success of the first volume, which is now sold out, four other volumes have been published within the two years and the sixth is forthcoming.

4.5 Interest for the literature in Malay was also shown in the Netherlands, where Prof. Dr. Henk Maier has translated two works by Nyoo Cheong Seng and published them in one volume under the title *Maar geluk duurt nooit lang* (But happiness never last)⁸. Interestingly both works concerns mixed marriages, *Raden Adjeng Moerhia* is a story between a Dutchman and a Javanese girl and *Nona Olanda sebagai istri Tionghoa* (A Dutch girl as a Chinese wife) is about the marriage of a Chinese man with a Dutch girl.

4.6 Besides all these works about the literature in Malay, so far only two works can be found on the literature by the Chinese in the Makassar-Buginese dialect, one by Claudine Salmon and Gilbert Harmonic and another one by Roger Tol.

5. ANG BAN TJIONG (1910-1938)

5.1 Ang Ban Tjiong (ABT) was born in Makasar as the second son of Mr Ang Tjong Sioe. He went to a Dutch school for Chinese pupils (Hollands Chinese School or HCS for short) and after graduating from high school, he worked for his uncle Ang Tjong Giau who was the chief editor of the magazine *Favoriet*. Unfortunately *Favoriet* was short-lived in spite of the contributions of well-known authors from Java, such as Ong Ping Lok and Kho Ban Siok. ABT was then placed as feature writer for the daily *Pembrita Makassar*. His writings were mostly about mysticism and spiritualism and social issues. He also wrote short stories under the pen-name *Mendoesin*. (to realize or to be conscious). He was mainly interested in the Theosophical Movement of Annie Bessant and later from Krishnamurti.

5.2 He was very versatile and his artistic talents were expressed in drawing, painting and also in music. He could play the piano, mandoline, guitar, violin, but also the Bugis kecap, a two stringed instrument, while singing the Bugis-Makassarese songs. He excelled in sports and besides playing tennis he was also good in acrobatics and often performed in shows, where he could be seen jumping through a flaming circle and was also able to stand on his head above 4 chairs on top of each other. His weakness was that he liked alcoholic drinks which gave him inspirations to write and talk, but after too many glasses made him sing until late at night. Until his death at the young age of 28 he was still lamenting the girl he loved but had left Indonesia and him for good.⁹

5.3 Before his death he has published a little book entitled: *Pantoen Melajoe-Makassar* containing some 200 verses all written in half Malay dan half Makassarese. He describes the status of his poems as:

Teman sedjati ri taoe towaija
Djimat moestadjab roenkaija

A real friend to the old
An effective charm for the young

⁸ With an introduction and closing account by Henk Maier, Leiden KITLV uitgeverij 2002.

⁹ These biographical notes were taken from Tjie Tong Han, *Sedikit tentang Almh. Ang Ban Tjiong (1910-1938)* in *Java Critic* 1, 6, 1949 pp. 6-7.

Sobat manis ri bainea
Tambah sedap ri taoe tènea

A sweet friend for the women
Nicer still to the sweet ones.¹⁰

5.4 According to Dr Roger Tol, a major line can be seen in his book of poetry. From an unpretentious beginning, full of joy and happy prospects to a serious ending that ponders the hardship and depressing realities of our times. His frustrations are summed up in pantun 198:

Doenia ini pang mantanganta
Ibarat Noraka pakkasiatta
Hidoep tersiksa ri tomo boetta
Teroembang-ambing ri djene matta

This world is our residence
It feels like hell
We live tormented on earth
Tossed about in tears.

5.5 This description of his own poems seems to be quite true, as in the early 80s many Makassarese of Chinese descent could still recite his songs by heart. (Harmonic and Salmon 1983: 154-5). Tol further describes Ang's song as Makassarese *kelong*, rather than the Malay *pantun*. He cites Mathes' observation, that *kelongs* are usually sung by dancing girls (*pajoge*), who while dancing and making all kinds of appropriate gesture answer each other using the songs continuously. It is not surprising then, according to Mathes that most of these *kelongs* were erotic in content.¹¹

6. HO ENG DJIE (1906-1962)

6.1 Contrary to Ang Ban Tjiong, Ho Eng Djie had received very little education and did not finish elementary school, because his parents were too poor. Actually he originated from a wealthy family. His maternal great-grandfather Captain Liem Tjien Liong was an advisor of the King of Gowa and had therefore special rights in the kingdom. He was given land in Samalelang, Tello, Lembo and Butta-butta and was bestowed the title of *Bali-Empoi ri-Gowa*. As a good friend of the king, he was allowed to eat from gold plates, to drink from gold cups and smoke opium from gold rimmed pipes at royal dinners. He had send his sons to Europe and Batavia to study and to work and when he died none of them were in Makassar. One of his nephews declared himself as the sole heir, which was officially recognized by the Dutch authorities. The real heirs were unable to get their rights back.

6.2 Ho Eng Djie's paternal grandmother was a relative of the king of Maros. When he was born his parents were still quite well-to-do, but when he reached the age of 6 or 7, all the wealth was gone and Ho lived a poor boy's life. According to Njoo Cheong Seng he once made a poem:

Inai nanu sarancang
Passarena Bataraiya
Kassiasimu

To whom do you want to give
Because your fate is God's gift
All your suffering and pain

¹⁰ I wish to thank Roger Tol for allowing me to make use of translations from his article, see Roger Tol 1991.

¹¹ Cited by Roger Tol from B.F. Mathes works about Makassarese poetry. A book reviewed by Mathes, that contained a larger number of *kelongs* and some Malay *pantuns* was written by a Chinese, assisted by a Makassarese.

<i>Tunanu na kamasenu.</i>	Is written in your poverty.
<i>Sabbara tena ruanna</i> <i>Palewai risusata</i> <i>Panraki antu</i> <i>Punna kidjalo sarenta</i>	Only when you apply patience Only then will you feel comfort You will destroy your fortune If you try to fight your fate
<i>Tena sunggu tuli sunggu</i> <i>Tunana tuli matuna</i> <i>Asengi lino</i> <i>Empo 'ang sisambe sambe</i>	Luxury is not luxury forever poverty is not poverty forever you have to understand this world men's fortune comes and goes.

This then is the way Ho Eng Djie lived, resigned in his poverty and fate for after he had to leave school, he learned to work by helping his parents. At the age of 13 he went to work as a jack of all trade in a ship and visited many neighboring islands like Buton, Raha, Saparua and even as far as Ambon, and Dobu, the island wher pearls were found. It was here that he learned to sing in his baritone voice, songs from Makasar in their own language. In Dobu he met his "living pearl" Ay Lien, a young girl about his own age. According to himself the love they had for each other was entirely platonic, but his uncle who was on the same ship became anxious and on their return to Makassar he was not allowed to work on the ship again but had to help his parents in their shop. In the evenings he would get his guitar and sing in the streets mixing with the street corner boys.

6.3 He learned the tricks of life from them and was introduced to a drinking, smoking and women. In spite of this, it was also during this time that he learned to read and was introduced to most of the books of the Peranakan writers of that time and read stories like Siti Akbari and Tjihit Liap Seng by Lie Kim Hok, the murder and trial series of Fientje de Feniks by Tan Boen Kiem and the early writings of Nyoo Cheong Seng such as *Nona Belanda sebagai Istri Tionghoa*. He dreamt of becoming a writer and tried to do so by writing poems. He learned about the bitter side of life by his experiences with two women. With the first one, Yangtju he was very much in love. However she was sent to prostitution by her parents who needed the money badly. When Ho Eng Djie wanted to marry her, they refused him as he was not rich enough.

6.4 Another woman was Rosie a shrewd prostitute, who knew how to manipulate him. She was very beautiful and knew how to dress and to put on her make up, in order to seduce men. At the height of his love for her, he saw her being fetched by a beautiful car, the car of the Major of the Chinese. It was during this time that he wrote:

<i>Tjadia sanggengku lompo</i> <i>Nakatuo tutuaku</i> <i>Iya nalili</i> <i>Iyanu kugappa lebba</i>	Since childhood till adulthood My parents brought me up Whatever they forbid All that I met in life.
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In his sadness he escaped to Dobu again, the island where he had found his first love. But he met with disappointment when it turned out that Ay Lien had also been sent into prostitution by her parents. However they could not help to fall in love with each other again. Unfortunately Ay Lien became pregnant after a three months romance and Ho Eng Djie was scolded by her parents and beaten up by her brother. They turned down his offer to marry her because he was too poor. Ho Eng Djie and Ay Lien then tried to run away and her parents send the police after them. After some good beatings by the police he was told to leave Dobu and never to return again.

6.5 Back in Makasar Ho Eng Djie found comfort in drinking. He says that he has found *Tauhid* (Unity with God) in *arak* (wine). It was during the period between 1930 to 1940 that he became very productive and created some 3000 songs, mostly melancholic and lamenting his fate. Besides that he had also adapted some Chinese songs into the Makasar language, such as *Ati Radja*, *Sai Long*, *Pasang Teng* and *Sio Sayang*¹². As he was often asked to entertain guests at parties, especially wedding parties, his repertoire also consisted of songs of joy and hope and love. However his songs of poverty and faith also brought comfort to the people who were all impoverished by the crisis of 1929.

6.6 In the Makassar culture, *Sio Sayang*, *Dendang-dendang*, *Ma'rencong-rencong*, *Ella-ella* and *Tanning-tanning* were tunes, which people used for all kind of text, be it Malay or Makasarese, it could turn into a song of love or of nostalgia. Ho also became involved in politics and showed his sympathy for the leftist movement. However in 1931 he converted to Christianity, and often preached during meetings. Because he was a good orator he was often asked to speak at meetings of political parties. He would accept all the offers, be it from the Christians, the Chinese Muslim Party (Partai Tionghoa Islam) or from the Mohamadiyah, a muslim movement. After some time he was not allowed to speak about religion in public by the Dutch authorities.

6.7 In 1938 he had finally met a woman, with whom he shared the rest of his life. This woman was not a young girl and not a prostitute. She was married to a man who was an activist in the Chinese Muslim Movement (PTI) and had three children. Although she was a dutiful wife, she was not happy as there was no love between her and her husband and she did not feel fulfilment in her life. Thus it was decided that she should leave her husband and live with Ho Eng Djie, who showed respect for her and who would always allow her to take part in discussions about politics and about his songs. He had discovered that she had a great knowledge about the literature and poetry of Makasar.

6.8 A few months later Ho Eng Djie received a contract by the firm Hoo Soen Hoo in Surabaya to make recordings of his songs. He had to bring his own band and singers and made several trips to Surabaya. On one of the trips he asked Soan Kie to come along and it was then that they decided that they would stay together forever. Out of joy, he then improvised the song on the tune of *Sio Sayang*:

¹² *Ati Radja* means the Heart of the King, *Sai Long* refers to the Batong Sai or Lion dance together with the Long or dragon dance usually performed during Chinese New Year. *Pasang Teng* means accor to Yo Kao Tjiao the Pat Sian or eight immortals, but according to Claudine Salmon may refer to the lighting of the lanterns (*teng*) during the 15th day of Chinese New Year. *Sio Sayang* means to love each other.

<i>Kontu intas kungaimu</i>	The joy in my heart is like a diamond
<i>Djamarro kuleba ngannu</i>	Like an emerald is my love for you
<i>Kontu bulaeng</i>	Like precious premier gold
<i>Kubolinu ripamai</i>	Will I keep it in the chest of my heart...

6.9 Two of the most popular songs recorded by Hoo Soen Hoo were *Ati Radja* and *Kola Satoe. Ati Radja*, of which the meaning is given below is still sung today by entertaining artists. A high official in the government once sang this song and the song *Sai Long* at a private party.

<i>Leko kajoedji maroenan</i>	The leaves are falling from the tree
<i>Na inakkemo natoedjoe</i>	and are heading for heaven
<i>Tallalo tongi</i>	It is very painful
<i>Batara na toenainkoe</i>	For the Gods have abandoned me.

<i>Talino ta andja monne</i>	Nothing in this world, nothing beyond that
<i>Lakoe itsen koemangel</i>	is where I can turn to
<i>Empoma anne</i>	That is why I am here
<i>Sitoedangan parrisikoe</i>	With my sorrow.

6.10 After this trip, which they later called their honeymoon, Ho and his wife had to return again to their modest dwelling in Makasar. They lived a simple life until the war broke out. Just before World war II he was arrested again for his predictions about the impending World War II. In 1938 he wrote:

<i>Ritaung patang Puloa</i>	In the years of the forties
<i>Tata katjedji nataba</i>	Not only the poor will complain
<i>Kasiasia</i>	But at all levels
<i>Simpung nasuapa 'mai</i>	suffering and hardship will be felt.

In 1941 he sang:

<i>Sassangi sallang Djumpandang</i>	Ujung Pandang will be dark
<i>Lari ngasengi bonena</i>	All inhabitants run away
<i>Sagala bangsa</i>	People of all races
<i>Susangasing pamaina</i>	Will have fear in their heart.
<i>Labbusu balla batua</i>	Stone houses will be destroyed
<i>Djar romang pintu dua</i>	Templestreet will become a rimbu
<i>Djarimi parang</i>	All will be made level
<i>Lajanga na Bontoala</i>	From Lajang until Bontoala

As reason for his arrest was given that he could cause excessive fear among the inhabitants of Makasar. However, his predictions came true, also that Japan would occupy Indonesia for 42 months. In the meantime three children were born, of which two died very young. In his sadness, HED started drinking again, this time more than just to feel the *tauhid* or unity with God. He would sometimes become abusive and for fear of

insulting the Japanese authorities, his wife thought it was better to evacuate to the mountain areas, where they lived until the war was over.

6.11 When they returned to Makasar in 1945 they found the neighborhood, including the house where they had lived completely destroyed by the bombings of the Allied forces. HED and his sons worked hard selling fish in the market in the morning and with other businesses afterwards. After two years of hard working they could build themselves a simple house and from that time on HED left the business to his two elder children and he himself gave music lessons to young people with simple self-made instruments of bamboo, like the flute, kecapu etc. He, his sons and the pupils soon could form music groups and performed at house parties and weddings. The wind instrument group was given the name Canary, after the pre-war gramophone series. They practised with Ho Eng Djie, but performed mainly under the leadership of Tajem Choi, his eldest stepson, who later played the clarinet in the military band of South Sulawesi and also played for Radio Makasar.

6.12 Nyoo Cheong Seng who came to stay for several months in Makassar in 1947 in order to help set up a theatre group, met Ho Eng Djie there and became a member of his circle of friends. Nyoo was impressed by Ho Eng Djie's philosophy of life with which he could help many people to overcome their personal problems. He made Ho appear in almost all his stories about Makassar, the more serious novels as well as in his *Gagaklodra* detective stories, which were full of adventures and comical situations.

6.13 In February 1950 HED formed the group Singara Kulla-kullawa (Rays of the fireflies) and played mainly music from the Makasar and Bugis region, while developing his own compositions, such as *Hendak ke mana angin* (Wind where do you want to go?) They were soon offered a contract to play for the Radio Republik Indonesia in Makasar, who wanted to promote the regional music.

6.14 In 1953 Ho Eng Djie and his orchestra won the National Radio prize for their music. A few month later he was received by President Sukarno at the Istana Merdeka, who wanted to discuss the regional music and the arts of South Sulawesi with him. According to media reports, President listened with great interest. During the meeting Ho Eng Djie took the opportunity to tell the President that the ethnic Chinese in South Sulawesi are encountering much difficulties esp. economically. And since Indonesia depends very much on the unity of the nation and a healthy economy, he thinks that it is necessary to improve the security of the region. He promised, that he himself will continue writing songs and brings his messages throughout the country by way of the radio. Instead of the allocated 15 minutes, the meeting with President Sukarno lasted for 25 minutes.¹³

6.15 After this meeting he was told that the orchestra had to change its name if it want to continue to perform before the radio. A new leader was also chosen and HED was demoted to just one of the members of the orchestra. He accepted this position but continued to write until the last day before his death. On the 7th of March 1960 he died

¹³ This reception took place on September 3, 1953 and was reported in *Sin Po daily*, on September 4 and 15.

peacefully. This last poem was engraved on his tombstone by his family. A number of his poems could still be found in his son's house, all written on ordinary paper in his own handwriting in the Lontara script. Hopefully they can be preserved, to be enjoyed by the younger generations.

6.16 His songs still live on, they can be heard as songs presented by contemporary artists or through a rather poor recording, but enjoyed at parties and especially at weddings. However, they have inspired young contemporary artists who have recorded them on CD's a more durable form of recording.

7. CONCLUSION.

7.1 Although their works are not as well-known and not as much studied as the Literature in Malay, the Chinese of Makassar too have had their share in contributing to the Literature in the Makassar-Buginese dialect. Classical literary works have been translated from Chinese into that dialect and written in the Lontara script.

7.2 A number of songs have been made in that language, songs that have entertained the whole Makassar society, including the non-Chinese. It is interesting to note that the poets have flourished in a time after the economic crisis of 1929, when the world was hit by poverty and hardship. People, who became impoverished may have found comfort in his songs of fate and resignation.

7.3 The songs have inspired contemporary artists to make their own version of the songs, which are now recorded on CD's a more durable form of recording than the old records. It seems that there is renewed interest in this Makassar Buginese literature and that they will still be enjoyed for many years to come.

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6

OOI KEE BENG

**THE MALAYSIAN STATE AND ITS
CHANGDAO: INCORPORATING ANCIENT
CHINESE CONCEPTS INTO
MODERN POLITICAL**

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The Malaysian State and Its *Changdao*: Incorporating Ancient Chinese Concepts into Modern Political Analysis

Ooi Kee Beng
Stockholm University

Abstract

The debate about Asian values expressed important aspects of political and social life in non-Western nations neglected in modernist West-based thought. These must be taken seriously if a general descriptive model about societies and new states like Malaysia is to be achieved. The changdao (Sufficient Discursive Commonality) is a concept adopted from ancient Confucian notions and apply to nation-building in general, incorporating concepts from the West and from China. In effect, it sustains political identities and feelings of commonness among a population, working through its moralism and rationale: daode and daoli. This attempt at "inter-civilizational dialogics" builds around three related dimensions:

1. *The Dimension of Social Cohesion – Li (Order through conventions) and Fa (Rule of law).*
2. *The Dimension of Social Dynamics – The Structuring Level and the Spontaneous Level.*
3. *The Domestic–External (Nei-Wai) Dimension – Tight relation between View on World Order and Self-justification.*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The debate on Asian values, despite obvious confusions about the concepts used, has always struck me as a legitimate and urgent expression of discontent about the limitations of West-based analytical traditions. Although crude at times, arguments for Asian values hint at important aspects of political and social life in non-Western nations which have been neglected in modernist thought. These need to be incorporated, or at least taken seriously, if a generally applicable descriptive model about societies and States is to be achieved.

1.2 Two fundamental aspects seem highly important to me with regards to this:

- a. The historical process of imperialism and colonialism over the last few centuries within which most countries, if not all, can be described as reactive. However, Western analyses prefer to consider nation-building throughout the world as more or less successful applications of ideology and/or of traditions, and not as

desperate attempts by different cultures and political units to stay afloat in the face of endless pressure exerted by a troubled past and by a powerless present. These reactions, understandably often aggressive, have taken different forms over the years, each influencing subsequent models of nation-building. Theoretically, one may say that postcolonial nation-building is about a struggle to leave the reactive stage behind.

- b. The second aspect was and is something that has always been central to traditional Chinese political thought, namely the dimension of *Li* (禮 cohesion through conventions) and *Fa* (法 cohesion through law). We live in an era with an extreme belief in the correctness of *Fa*, while aspects of social life subsumed under the term *Li*, in an epistemology of Orientalism, have been dismissed as relics of inferior, pre-scientific social organisation (Said 1978: 223-224). I call my rectification of this "colonial knowledge" *The Dimension of Social Cohesion*.

1.3 What I in all humility attempt to do is construct a general descriptive model that minimises Western ethnocentric bias. This I hope to do by introducing traditional Chinese concepts into the very heart of political analysis, thus effecting a synthesis of Eastern and Western notions. Besides modern China itself, postcolonial Malaysia strikes me as a perfect example with which to argue my case.

1.4 I shall start with an illuminating quote from the greatest language philosopher of the Warring States Period, *Xun Zi* 荀子.

故王者之制，名定而實辨，道行而志通，則慎率民而一焉。故析辭作名以亂正名，使民疑惑，人多辨訟，則謂之大奸，其罪憂為符節、度量之罪也。故其民莫敢托為奇辭以亂正名，故其民慤。慤則易使，易使則公。其民莫敢托為奇辭以亂正名，故壹于道法而謹于循令矣。如是，則其跡長矣。跡長成功，治之極也。是謹于守名約之功也。(Xun Zi 22:2).

[As the wise sovereign gives structure, names are determined and forms are discerned, the discourse is practised and the will exercised, and the people are carefully drawn into a single unit. However, when these rectified names are disturbed through the dissembling of concepts and through new coinage of names, the people become distrustful and disagreements abound. This is tantamount to high treason. This crime equals that of a counterfeiter and a tamperer of weights. Therefore, his people dare not allow strange names to disturb the rectified names, and so they stay honest. The honest are easily controlled, and those easily controlled form the general public. His people dare not allow strange terms to disturb the rectified names, and so they stay within the discourse and the law, and cautiously, they obey regulations. That is why his State lasts. Achieving a lasting State is the ultimate goal of government, and this is done through the meticulous defence of the agreement on names.]

Instead of the notion assumed in Western Social Contract theories that individual Free Will is surrendered to form the General Will, the idea expressed by *Xun Zi* is that social knowledge and its terminology predate the civilly functioning stage of society itself.

A civil state needs a coercive start.

1.5 Physical force is most obvious in the early stages of State formation but as the system establishes itself and matures, discursive straitjackets start playing an increasingly greater role. Thomas Hobbes observed in "Of Commonwealth", Part Two of *Leviathan*, that there are essentially two types of political communities—commonwealth by acquisition and commonwealth by institution (Hobbes 1641: 3–16). A similar view is expressed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *The Social Contract*: "the strongest is never strong enough to be always the master, unless he transforms strength into right, and obedience into duty" (Rousseau 1973: 168).

1.6 A recent study of dynastic chaos documented in the Chinese *Histories* carried out at Stockholm University shows the familiar development that "as time passes, the dynasty's legitimacy shifts from being vested in military power to having divine approval" (Pettersson 1999: 22). In the early period of a dynasty, order was achieved through violence and threats of violence. Later, for incumbent power to be justified, discursive measures became imperative and were effected throughout the empire, as widely and deeply as they would reach. A commonwealth by acquisition develops through necessity into a commonwealth by institution. Military conquest alone does not a state make.

1.7 Modernisation, in many ways, involves the reshaping of culture and of political structure to such an extent that it is tantamount to the forming of a new State. We see in all cases that a harsh and militant regime appears in order to carry out reforms, and they will understandably utilise the discursive raw material that is historically present. Thus, the main argument in this paper is that modern projects of nation-building should to a large extent be considered communities undergoing the process of moving from a community by acquisition to becoming a community by institution. A community by institution requires a sense of commonality continually built around a web of communication that integrates the populace to a sufficient level, firstly, to keep it from falling apart, and secondly, in order to gain increasing international influence and independence. This is admittedly a Spinozistic view of entities essentially seeking self-preservation and self-expression, but slogans of early modern nation-building show clear signs of this basic tendency and do give it credit. Given this process, the concept of State formation over time overlaps heavily with the idea of nation-building. Nations as ethnicities are, in a lengthy perspective, politically formed groupings. The terms "nation renewal", "nation in renewal", and so on, are all used for deconstructing the difference between "State" and "Nation".

1.8 While adopting ancient Chinese ideas about political stability and morality into the modern context, two vital disparities are recognised, modifications to which are totally necessary for my model to be applicable. One may at the same time also reverse one's perspective and state instead that Western political thought, due to its Darwinistic

configurations, neglects vital aspects of social organisation that traditional Eastern political philosophy did not. Which perspective one takes is not especially important. I choose to present the case as a rejuvenation of the Chinese tradition.

1.9 The first disparity is related to the fact that the Confucian project was universalistic, constructed for All Under Heaven conceived as one single political unit, meant for application within one all-encompassing State. In the long run, the evident glory and the strong civilizational effect of Chinese culture, it was thought, were to be so welcomed that all would seek to become one with it. This ambition led to the civil (文 *wen*) element of politics being highly developed in theory and practice while the martial (武 *wu*) element was left to the pragmatics of each period. *Wen* refers generally to the administrative, scriptural, cultural and “civilised” part of political and social life while *wu* is concerned with military and police matters, based on physical force. Secondly, orthodox Confucian moralism considered the good to be true and therefore to be without either need or possibility for change. This partiality discouraged the State structure from undergoing radical and profound philosophical change, testified to by the conflicts surrounding the economic and structural reforms of Wang Anshi during the Song Dynasty. Changes in the lower strata of society, be they economic or technological, were thus given a low status.

1.10 I try remedying these anachronisms by first introducing a dichotomy consisting of the domestic discourse (*Neidao* 內道) and the worldview discourse (*Waidao* 外道). This focuses on the internal and intense relationship between inward and outward political posture. The central questions are: To what extent are foreign policies dictated by domestic discursive needs, and to what extent are international politics discursively domesticated? This will be called the *Neiwai* Dimension. Secondly, to balance the traditional Chinese bias for the Dimension of Social Cohesion—expressed by the tension between *Li* and *Fa* mentioned earlier—I introduce the Dimension of Social Dynamics, consisting of the Structuring Level and the Spontaneous Level. This will be explained thoroughly later. It will suffice here to state that the Structuring Level deals with ideations (creation of knowledge and structured thought) while the Spontaneous Level deals with *ad hoc* matters of daily living (the exercise of arts and economic matters). These three dimensions constitute what I call the *Changdao* 常道—translated as Sufficient Discursive Commonality.

1.11 The *Changdao* expresses summarily a relativistic rationality (*Daoli* 道理) and morality (*Daode* 道德). Since this commonality is pragmatic by nature, the *Daoli* and the *Daode* it generates are more rightly understood respectively as *rationale* and *moralism*. These two are in reality strongly integrated in daily social life, where factual statements and ethical expressions are tightly intertwined.

1.12 *Dao* 道 (say, speak, talk, think, suppose, doctrine, principle, road, way, path, method,) is understood more as a *speech phenomenon* than otherwise, thereby going against the traditional prejudice among scholars to view it as some mystical correct

“way” of doing things. “Way” is the more generic meaning and, being more vague, has been more popularly used. The term *chang* 常 (lit: constant, unchanging) was cast in ancient Chinese in “the role played by ‘truth’ in the Western tradition except in a pragmatic context” (Hansen, 1989: 103). *Chang* is used in such a manner in this present work. It is conceived here as being totally pragmatic and being endlessly subjected to revision despite its function as a general expression of profound national characteristics. The *Changdao* is thus understood as “discursive commonality”. An important contention ventured in this work is that sufficient, and not total, discursive commonality is all that is needed by a political collective. Thus, the term Sufficient Discursive Commonality.

1.13 To be sure, change was of course a much analysed concept in ancient China, as is evident in the *Yijing* 易經 (*Book of Changes*). However, the ideograms of that classic describe changes cosmologically, as a patterned and predictable flux, and the terminology is painfully abstract, as manuals for fortune-telling tend to be. The pendulum movement between the extremes of the *yin* and the *yang* is understood in a very general manner and is widely open to interpretation. Other dyads used to describe change emanate more often than not from the terms *jing* 靜 (stillness) and *dong* 動 (movement). They include *ti* 體 (substance) and *yong* 用 (function), *benti* 本體 (ultimate substance) and *fayong* 發用 (issuance in experience), *wei* 微 (almost imperceptible in its subtlety) and *xian* 顯 (fully manifest), *yuan* 源 (source) and *liu* 流 (flow from the ultimate base) and *ji* 幾 (consciousness without sensation of outer things) and *gan* 感 (sensation of outer things) (Metzger 1977: 84). What is common to them is the notion that manifested changes are deviations from an original state—psychological or cosmological—of natural stillness (*weifa zhi zhong* 未發之中, the state before issuance). Such a view is system-introverted and connotes a cycle of “issuance from” (*fa* 發) and “a return to” (*shoulian* 收斂) the original state. Put into a concrete political context, this exhibits a strong bias against variations from the natural norm as understood by those with the power to decide over such matters. The structural bias lies in the Platonic ontology, the view that the stillness of an original state exists before change, where the latter can only be understood through the former. This tendency, though ethically and aesthetically cogent, makes the notion scientifically unacceptable. The Dimension of Social Dynamics that I suggest as an innovation hopefully allows for a flagrant inductiveness not possible in the ancient Chinese understanding of change.

1.14 In transferring the notion of the *Changdao* into modern and global contexts, some interesting points appear in a comparison with the doctrine of *The Social Contract* that has dogged Western political theory since the time of the Greek philosophers.

If then we discard from the social compact what is not of its essence, we shall find that it reduces itself to the following terms: “Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole”.

At once, in place of the individual personality of each contracting

party, this act of association creates a corporate and collective body, composed of as many members as the assembly contains voters, and receiving from this act its unity, its common identity, its life, and its will (Rousseau 1973: 175).

The General Will that this line of thought leads to—a very uncomfortable and paradoxical position, given that uncoerced individuals were the starting point—does not arise within the notion of Sufficient Discursive Commonality. The general challenges the individual only if the latter is theoretically subordinate and antedated. In Rousseau's world, individuals contribute to political decisions that together amount to a General Will that they subsequently are obliged to obey. This irony derives from the assumption that the articulated individual will existed before the will of the political body. Being the theoretical genesis of the General Will, and so a party to it, he is a conscious accomplice, as it were, and so would do well to avoid resisting what he helped found. However, if one looks at this reasoning from another angle and sees the group as the prerequisite context within which individual consciousness comes into being, the paradox does not appear. The *Changdao* forms the rationale and the moralism of group members to an extent sufficient for the community to survive and for them to partake of its social goods. Unlike the General Will, this commonality is rightly seen as didactic and manipulative, and is neither a compromise nor a compact. We are social beings first, and then individuals. We are not individuals who accept regimentation. We start off as regimented beings, and perhaps, where the inclination exists, work our way out of that state.

1.15 From the line of reasoning of the *Changdao*, it does not follow that social conformism is more natural, moral or desirable, nor does it label individualism deviant behaviour. Personal freedom on the one hand and social harmony on the other, lead to contradictions only if they have hermetic definitions. However, if they are conceived as supplementary notions—social stability requiring merely *sufficient* conformism and individual freedom needing social orientation—tension between them would be minimal. The difference in attitude towards our ability to communicate and to congregate politically has great consequences for our understanding of politics and of society. The Social Contract creates legalistic societies, where the State watches over contract breaches, while the notion of the *Changdao* provides a preference for convention-based order, and where conventions have not been learned, legalistic coercion is exercised.

2. THE CHANGDAO, ITS DAOLI 道理 AND DAODE 道德

2.1 Countries are never completed entities and a people's national identity is always in need of reformation and confirmation. Only by keeping this identity strong enough can the project of nation renewal, for the moment, be considered successful and conducive to the nation's independence (*duli* 獨立) and influence (*shili* 勢力), wealth, power and stability (*fuguo* 富國, *qiangbing* 強兵, *wending* 穩定). The Chinese terms noted here have all been popularly used in patriotic slogans over the years. Aspiring to these national qualities has historically been central to arguments for radical change, and has involved depictions of a world and a nation bound on some fateful and commendable venture within which this image has currency.

2.2 A masterplan in application will in most cases be modified beyond recognition by time and circumstances, and will generate not only successes and failures, but most importantly, also a discourse on co-operation and conflict. The rationale and moralism formed will function in a self-generating manner, and at some point, this commonality reaches critical mass as it were, and a functioning citizenry is effected. This commonality pivots the community.

2.3 The State cannot be without its project of maintaining a community with decided values and ways of reasoning. Morality and rationality, when politically configured, are of course, politically prejudiced. National and ethnic barriers come into being both to separate and to unite, and individuals come together or keep their distance from each other when political categories dictate it. The *Changdao* unites and divides on its own terms, and it solves problems as new ones are created.

2.4 There are a few reasons for my adopting the Chinese word "*Changdao*" to denote sufficient discursive commonality. Firstly, the term's connotations of "speech" and "prescriptiveness" are extremely helpful to the train of thought I pursue. Secondly, it hints at a stability that needs ceaseless effort to maintain. Thirdly, it generates smoothly the further claim I make that the rationale and the moralism of the project command relevance only within it. Fourthly, it serves well as a general term for the different combinations of conventionalism and jurisdiction which go into making a political structure viable. Finally, I draw to some extent on the secular political discourse of ancient China, convinced that the argumentation of the Mohists, Daoists, Legalists and Confucianists touched on profound questions of social coercion and co-operation.

2.5 Various types of language reforms, together with ethnic mapping, are surprisingly common in the early history of a nation in renewal. Such changes try to work out what is necessary to integrate and what is safe to eradicate among the variety of phenomena at the Spontaneous Level. Resistance to the creation of the *Changdao* generally involves, firstly, the advocacy of alternative masterplans of nation renewal and, secondly, the defence of old symbols and rituals, lingual or otherwise, that are threatened. External threats are of course a third possibility. "Inherited *Changdao*", as one may well call traditional political discourses, also tend to regain relevance when seriously challenged by the new *Changdao*. These older *Changdao* may not always be as well equipped to argue their case against a powerful central discourse, but that does not make their resistance less earnest. Identities function very well even without a clear memory or rationale. Pride and moralism are strong human sentiments highly sensitive to external pressure.

Thus in the era before general primary education there was and could be no spoken "national language" except such literary or administrative idioms as were written, or devised or adapted for oral use, either as a *lingua franca* in which speakers of dialects could communicate, or—perhaps more to the point—to address popular audiences across dialectal

boundaries, e.g. for preachers or the reciters of songs and poems common to a wider cultural area (Hobsbawm 2000: 52).

2.6 Forming a *Changdao* is not the same thing as language planning whereby a national language with new appropriate concepts is accepted. It is generally considered that language planning has two approaches: the instrumental approach "sees language fundamentally as a tool" and the "symbolic value of language and language attitudes are not taken into account", while the "socio-linguistic approach" sees language as "a resource that can be used in improving social life" (Fasold 1990: 250). Both these approaches tend to be rather mechanical and particular, where the goals and the means are clearly decided. National integration, however, involves a lot of imprinting of attitudes, political rhetoric and orchestrated discussions among the populace. Stimulating and influencing the direction of common discourse is the vital project in nation renewal, necessarily involving language planning.

...any social group which acts together as a unit must have a common body of beliefs, values, and convictions that "reflects" its understanding of itself, its environments, and of other social groups with which it has transactions. Such a body of common beliefs is indeed a condition of its existence as a group. These beliefs range all the way from knowledge to myth, with no very sharp dividing lines between them, because until they are questioned they all seem to those who share them to be merely the "normal" ways for human beings to think and believe. That every society does and must have such a body of shared ideas is now a commonplace of cultural anthropology (Sabine & Thorson 1973: 708).

2.7 The belief that a cohesive discourse is essential to a community is not considered by most to be controversial in itself, as is clear in George H. Sabine's argumentation from his classic, *A History of Political Theory*. However, this present work's interpretation of *Changdao* as "Sufficient Discursive Commonality" has at least two further important implications. Firstly, it suggests that a society merely needs *sufficient* exercise of a general discourse to function, as has been mentioned. Total integration is not necessary for national stability. Secondly, whether the contents of the functioning commonality are universal truths or not is not important at all. It is enough that a sufficient part of it is used for sufficiently long periods of time as absolute truths and that it expresses sufficient rational and moral structure. Even contradictions may happily exist as long as they do not become painfully pertinent too often. Indeed, this notion of sufficiency may very well be considered the inherent rationale behind democracy's principle of the respect for minorities. The majority has no need to press home its advantage in order to minimise cultural heterogeneity. Even if achieving homogeneity provides stability, and that is doubtful in itself, the heavy-handed politics and inflexible xenophobia involved are decidedly counter-productive.

2.8 Striving for total exercise of the "right" discourse among the populace, or total obedience for that matter, is overkill, and is more the sign of a paranoiac than a

statesman. There is room for a great amount of flexibility within a more or less established *Changdao* before things start falling apart. As long as changes do not occur faster than the *Changdao* can accommodate, enough inertia will exist among the populace to guarantee a comfortable continuation.

2.9 Once a sufficient discursive commonality has been attained, cultural variation and freedom of speech are probably conducive to the continued welfare of the nation and to its ability to survive. Changes and deviations can be allowed, and even encouraged, as long as that sufficiency is not jeopardised. Theoretically, there is room for many types of discursive minorities once a *Changdao* is in place. Seen this way, politics is just as much, if not more, about creating comfortable space for minorities as it is about satisfying the majority. But of course that is where the crux of the problem lies. Where one thinks sufficient discursive commonality has been attained, others may not agree.

2.10 The question is further complicated by the fact that in modern times, changes occur at breakneck speed and on many dimensions at once, with impulses coming into all levels of society rather uncontrollably. On occasion, these take place at rates arguably faster than the *Changdao* can accommodate. Radical measures may then be deemed necessary to stave off a disruption of stability, even at great costs to civil liberties. The skilfully orchestrated application of currency controls in tandem with the destruction of Anwar Ibrahim, the direction from which the strongest opposition to those controls was to be expected, is an example of a regime's preemptive measures against what it sees as a development that threatened the sufficiency of Malaysian discursive commonality.

2.11 Interestingly, during the philosophical "axial period" preceding the first unification of China in 221 BC, the idealistic Confucians were the ones resisting State power and the pragmatic Mohists who welcomed it (Graham, 1989: 45). The tendency towards totalitarianism revealed in *Mo Zi*'s phrase "One Morality Throughout the State" (一同國之義), always lurks as a treacherous ingredient in any *Changdao* of any age.

聞善而不善，皆以告其上，上之所是，必皆是之，上之所非，必皆非之。(Mo Zi: 11)

[When that which is said to be good turns out to be otherwise, it must in all cases be reported to one's superior. Whatever the superior decides to be the case, all must regard as being the case. Whatever the superior decides not to be the case, all must regard as not being the case.]

2.12 This inherent danger in politics in general was ironically expressed in the most famous use of the term *Changdao* at the beginning of the *Daode Jing* 道德經.

道可道，非常道；名可名，非常名。(Lao Zi 1:1).

[The *dao* that can be propounded is not the lasting *dao*, the name that can be proclaimed is not the lasting name.]

In ancient Chinese political science, discourses on political truth were largely about the desirability and the "constancy"—the *chang*—of the *dao*, the patterns of behaviour, the habits of thought and the moral control thus prescribed and, indeed, generated. In a relativistic and neo-Mohistic sense, this *Changdao* is most reliable if based on utility. Though relativist, the *Changdao* expresses to a great extent a universalistic view of the world and strives towards *sufficient*, if not maximum, uniformity in matters of rationality and m

orality. Despite perpetual shifts and changes, it strives to sustain a colossal language game that functions as "the element in which arguments have their life" and thus, it effects continuity and the all-important sense of community in the thoughts and values of the socio-political entity.

3. THE DIMENSION OF SOCIAL COHESION: LI AND FA

3.1 One of the most original contributions to political thought made by Confucius was his insistence that *Li* (ritual or ceremony) was the foundation for all moral, and morally conducive, government. The continuous exercise of such rituals was recognised as "the specifically humanising form of the dynamic relation of man-to-man" (Fingarette 1972: 7). Basic notions of reciprocity (*shu* 恕), justice (*yi* 義) and human kindness (*ren* 仁) all spring from the establishment of conventions for daily human contact, all the way up to the highest echelons of power and all the way down to the simplest individual.

子曰：能以禮讓爲國乎，何有？不能以禮讓爲國，如禮何？
(*Lunyu* 4:13).

The Sage said: What can trouble the prince who manages to govern through rules of propriety and modesty? If he cannot govern by way of rules of propriety and modesty, what has he to do with these rules of propriety?

The idea of ritualism as the basis for good government came historically to be the diametrical opposite of the belief that law is the realistic foundation for a stable and fair regime. These two notions, taken together as dichotomical poles, constitute what I call The Dimension of Social Cohesion. All large societies need some combination of these two to function. Given proper analytical roles, I believe that these notions can be extremely useful in understanding certain tensions within, and between, States: How much should a society at a given time cohere through *Li*, and how much through *Fa*?

3.2 The analytical tool reintroduced here is older than Confucius and has been a main topic of debate in China's long political history. *Fa* refers to laws and to equality before the law, and in an extreme form, it strips citizens of the elements that in daily life distinguish them from each other. *Li* refers to socialisation and social sanctions that are not clearly backed by legal texts and threat of police sanctions. While *Fa* seems to require

the written word and pervasive political control, *Li* is built on rituals, upbringing, training and pervasive social judgmentalism.

3.3 Herbert Fingarette, in his inspiring work on the finer points of Confucius's ideas about social cohesion, *The Secular as Sacred*, defines *Li* as follows:

One has to labor long and hard to learn *li*. The word in its root meaning is close to "holy ritual", "sacred ceremony". Characteristic of Confucius's teaching is the use of the language and imagery of *li* as a medium within which to talk about the entire body of the *mores*, or more precisely, of the authentic tradition and reasonable conventions of society. Confucius taught that the ability to act according to *li* and the will to submit to *li* are essential to that perfect and peculiarly human virtue or power which can be man's (Fingarette 1972: 6-7).

Over a longer period, legalism functions only in combination with conventionalism. We have had cases of extreme legalism where all *Li* was to be eradicated, and we have also had cases of extreme conventionalism where the importance of *Fa* to social cohesion was ignored. This ancient discussion is not irrelevant merely because we now live in a time when the belief in the excellence of *Fa* is at its strongest. Indeed, many of the problems of modern living may be explained as a lack of conventionalism and ritualism.

3.4 *Fa* is the jurisdictional method of control where laws are formulated and written down, having been passed by due process, and the punishment for breaking them is also comprehensively written down and is, at least in theory, predictable. *Li* is the complementary conventionalistic method of social control, a wide term that covers all the different aspects of socialisation from simple social habits to civic-mindedness to social (by definition excepting legal) sanctions.

Anthropologists recognise that one of the most important interfaces between symbols and politics occurs in ritual. This is why political anthropologists are so interested in symbols, and why they conclude that rituals are as important in modern nation-states as they are in any less complex society...Rituals are perhaps the most formal behavioural patterns in any society, and are certainly amongst the most meaningful of prescribed behaviours (Donnan & Wilson 1999: 66).

The extreme stand in favour of the moral superiority of *Li* was made by the old sage himself, whose arguments had a profound effect on the ethical discourse of later times throughout East Asia. Only when *Li* breaks down does an apparent need for lawmakers appear.

子曰：恭而無禮則勞，慎而無禮則意，勇而無禮則亂，直而無禮則絞。君子於親，則民興於仁，故舊不遺，則民不偷。(Lunyu 8:2)

[Confucius said: Respectfulness without rules of propriety is simply laborious; caution without rules of propriety is simply timidity; boldness without rules of propriety is simply rowdiness; directness without rules of propriety is simply long-windedness. When the ruler performs his duties towards his relations, the people are aroused to kindness. When the old are not neglected, the people will not be mean.]

This idealistic longing for humanness through sincere conventionalism contrasts painfully with the legalistic view to the extent that the latter is usually considered the realistic, pessimistic, desperate and inhumane solution. However, rule by law has exhibited tremendous undeniable merits, and in a Confucian spirit of conceptual equilibrium, should have been seen as the opposite of *Li* within a dimension of social cohesion like the one I am suggesting here. In Chinese history, the notion of *Fa* was favoured by philosophers and politicians who considered *Li* the dream of irresponsible idealists. One could not seriously leave the well-being of society to the *probable* civilising effects of good behaviour! The consequences of *Li* failing were too great. The great legalist philosopher *Han Fei Zi* 漢非子 (d. 233 BC) argued:

明王之道，必明于公私之分，明法制，去私恩。夫令必行，禁必止，人主之公義也；必行其私，信于朋友，不可為賞勸，不可為罰沮，大臣之私義也。(Han Fei Zi 1992: 206).

[The enlightened sovereign's way must distinguish clearly between the public and the private. Rule by law must be made comprehensible and personal favours done away with. Whatever is commanded must be done and whatever is prohibited must be prevented. That is the public justice of a ruler of the people. Needing to undertake private goals, putting trust in peers and friends, not being able to encourage through rewards, not being able to curb through punishment; that is the private justice of an official of the people.]

All are equal before the law, according to legalist dogma, and only the sovereign is above it. Interestingly, Western Social Contract Theory also exhibits similarities to Chinese legalism in its weakness for the sanctity of the Sovereign. It is true that the Chinese sovereign is a concrete person, while Rousseau's is the symbol for the General Will. However, this may merely be a difference in style of argumentation, rather than in insight.

Attention must further be called to the fact that public deliberation, while competent to bind all the subjects to the Sovereign, because of the two different capacities in which each of them may be regarded, cannot, for the opposite reason, bind the Sovereign to itself; and that it is consequently against the nature of the body politic for the Sovereign to

impose on itself a law which it cannot infringe (Rousseau 1973: 176).

Social contract narratives place the origins of the individual before that of society. This basically Socio-Darwinistic view is traditionally countered by the Kropotkinesque notion that the co-operative urge is the more successful force in social development, and not the competitive drive, and the socially most capable survives, not the individually fittest (Kropotkin 1914). The *Changdao* narrative, in agreement with Peter Kropotkin, assumes society to predate the individual.

3.5 In the nineteenth chapter of the *Xun Zi*, a theoretical description of the origin of *Li* is attempted.

禮起於何也？曰：人生而有欲。欲而不得，則不能無求。求而無度量分界，則不能不爭。爭則亂，亂則窮。先王惡其亂也，故制禮義以分之，以養人之欲、給人之求。使欲必不窮於物，物必不屈於欲，兩者相持而長。是禮之所起也。（*Xun Zi* 19:1）

[Under what circumstances did rituals come about? This is the answer: Human existence has always involved desire. When desire is unfulfilled, longing is unavoidable. When longing exists without a system of measures and categories, conflict is unavoidable. Conflict leads to chaos and chaos to poverty. The first kings loathed this chaos and so they introduced rituals and exercised justice to provide distinctions with which to feed the desires of humans and still their longing, thus effectuating a state where desire could not deplete things and things could not impede desire. Being mutually supportive the two thus endured. Such was the origin of rituals.]

One may interpret the role of the first kings as a symbolic one. Common desires had to be fulfilled in ways that would not tear the fabric of society apart, and so rules of propriety and systems of arbitration came into being in order to avert the chaos that otherwise would be the lot of humankind. *Li* does not, in perfect cases, leave behind any residue of longing, unlike contractual or coercive solutions.

3.6 Today, we observe that the relationship between societies on the global scene is in the process of being formalised, and both *Li* and *Fa* methods are brought into play. This is as true in the world of business as it is in the world of diplomacy. Many conflicts common to contemporary intercontinental politics can be understood as being due to variations in how the societies involved are organised along the *Li-Fa* dimension. The long-standing discussion about the Rule of Man versus Rule of Law, Asian values versus Western values, governmental paternalism versus ballot-box democracy, social stability versus human rights—all these can, I believe, be fruitfully seen to an extent as scales of conflict created when different *Li-Fa* balances result in incompatible habits of thought. Inter-State diplomacy is complicated by each individual State's discursive patterns and the considerations it has to take to the domestic discourse.

...fail to draw what seem to us, as to much of the population, the obvious conclusions; the more significant and instructive point is that principled objection to the war as "fundamentally wrong and immoral", or as outright criminal aggression—a war crime—is *inexpressible*. It is not part of the spectrum of discussion. The background for such a principled critique cannot be developed in the media, and the conclusions cannot be drawn. It is not present even to be refuted. Rather, the idea is unthinkable (Herman and Chomsky 1988: 252).

Some dramatic forms of this process of erasure in nation-building is mentioned in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, including newness in space and in time, fratricide alongside fraternity, and the propagandistic role of national biographic narrative (Anderson 1991: 187–206). Powerful migrated cultures and colonies, by default gaining independence from the old, seek to symbolise the future and yet represent a revolutionary development of traditional culture. Both in space and in time, they divest themselves of old conceptual fetters.

4. THE DIMENSION OF SOCIAL DYNAMICS: LI AND QI

4.1 Many researchers have conceived of an essentially troublesome tension between the dynamics at lower levels of society and those at higher levels. The term "epistemological space" developed by Bernard Cohn, for example, suggests a gap between higher conceptual constructions and concrete physical existence (Cohn 1996). This is also evident in Furnivall's theoretical apparatus when he speaks of *social will* and the political dimension that it sometimes loses (Furnivall 1956). Shamsul uses the terms "authority-defined social reality" and "everyday social reality" in similar fashion (Shamsul 1994: 3–26). The notion of a structured higher level of social existence contrasting with a lower and fluid level dates back at least to Karl Marx. One can of course go further back in time to the ancient Greeks.

4.2 Confucians and Mohists alike, however, did not consider established society as being necessarily unstable. With the proper and natural hierarchy in place, no contradictions need exist in the State that follows the ideal *Dao*. The legalists, on the other hand, accepted the conflict that must exist between the sovereign and the egos of each individual in the realm, and believed that it could be kept at bay, though never resolved, only through an authoritarian rule of law.

4.3 In Marx's view, at fateful periods in history, tension between the exploitative superstructure and the productive economic base leads to revolution, opening the way for a new class to come to power, and for a new relationship between the superstructure and the base to appear. Marx conceived of ideology, philosophy and religion as thought constructions geared towards class interests and thus, as being pragmatic, manipulative and relativistic. To an extent, my model agrees with him. A nation's *Changdao* is always relativism functioning as a universalism. In that sense, and like identities in general one might add, it is always imagined and it is always an opium for the people, a web of myths

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小國寡民。使有什伯之器而不用；使民重死而不遠徙。雖有舟輿無所乘之；雖有甲兵，無所陳之。使民復結繩而用之。甘其食，美其服，安其居，樂其俗。鄰國相望，雞犬之聲相聞，民至老死，不相往來。(Lao Zi: 80).

[A country shall be small and its populace small in number. Implements that multiply men's strength shall not be used. People are to take death seriously and shall not travel far away. Even though there be ships and carriages, no one shall travel in them. Even though there be armour and weapons no one shall employ them. Let the people tie knots in ropes and use them instead of script. Make their food sweet and their garments beautiful, their dwellings peaceful and their customs joyful. Neighbouring countries may be within eyesight so that one can hear the cocks crow and the dogs bark on either side, and yet shall people reach a great age without having travelled hither and thither.]

In this present work, the two-tieredness of societies is perceived as the *Dimension of Social Dynamics*, expressing tensions between the Structuring Level and the Spontaneous Level. The former, and higher, level encompasses thought constructions like ideologies, philosophies and religions and other such intellectual creations. This is the area of ideation where mental structures "make sense" of existence and strive to make complex social and political phenomena stable and manageable. The level subsumes central policies and analyses, ideological ambitions and politics in general, and even the academic disciplines in general. Here, masterplans are drawn, powers balanced, symbols created and identities woven, all with much consideration being paid, on the one hand, to the traditions and conventions of the region and the spontaneous changes they are going through, and, on the other, to the reality of political powers and discourses influential in the immediate vicinity and also further afield. This level deals with concept creation, both through symbolisms and lingual abstractions and through the physical linking and defining of national territory, citizenship and jurisdiction. Identification here would be a rather consciously orchestrated affair. To use *Xun Zi*'s words, the nation renewer has to "provide a system of measures and categories" (*duliang fenjie* 度量分界; *Xun Zi* 19:1). It is of the utmost importance to note that the adjective "structuring" and not "structural" is

generally unstructured and *ad hoc*. Concretely, this can mean changes through migration, technological innovations, education, change in living standards, etc. Identification here would have a more individualistic nature, less standardised by wider political considerations. Besides the economic side of life, the world of Art (seen as audacious ways of expression) is very much a part of this sphere. Influences and responses here happen with little direct State planning. For example, when *Falungong* demonstrations broke out in China in the Summer of 1999, they were apparently a culmination of changes at a lower social level which had taken place without the knowledge of the State, and were therefore considered subversive. Seen this way, Art in the service of the State, whether Stalinist, Hitlerite or Maoist, is paradoxical in being a planned expression of spontaneous experience.

4.5 In short, one could say that the Structuring Level denotes the area of *Knowledge and Power*—human discourse loosely covered by the more formal academic subjects such as natural science, social science, logic and mathematics that express habits of thought that have the ambition of permanently structuring reality. At the Spontaneous Level, permanence is relational, not conceptual, covering the linguistically less abstract areas of social intercourse and practical habits. Impulses can of course come from any quarter, even from outside the nation as expressions of the structures of foreign *Changdao*, but as long as their effects are not comprehended within a discursive structure, they can be considered spontaneous social phenomena.

4.6 To further clarify the difference between the two levels, one may say, along with the Daoists, that abstractions must manipulate even as they structure. One may thus expand the reasoning and draw a parallel to the dichotomy of “signifier” and “signified”. The former seeks perpetually to contain the essential fluidity of the latter. In a more general sense, the notion being introduced within the Dimension of Social Dynamics may be approached through daily social dualistic phenomena like State and *Volk*, employer and employee, shops and customers, bus services and commuters, schools and students, administrative authorities and citizens, parent and child, man and nature, or even man and woman in a more traditional setting. The first terms express roles that basically desire predictable behaviour from the latter roles. Of course, under rare egalitarian conditions, the roles may become balanced, or they may even go the other way. In most cases, however, they are unequal in the important sense that the first wants structure to be imposed on the second. Social roles expressed in traditional Confucian thought are unequal roles and are considered naturally so. Society at large must always deal with fluidity in social roles and behaviour. When a political agenda is applied onto this changing body, tensions must arise, and it is this that concern us.

4.7 The rush of changes in any given area and at any given time is not always comprehensible to the nation renewer. His attitude lies between the ideological and the pragmatic. The cultures and peoples he is to smelt—one could say manipulate—into a stable citizenry are in change, being influenced greatly in ways he fears are unforeseeable. And so even as he works, the lower level of society transforms itself according to its own loose logic and to various impulses.

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4.8 Nation renewal then, is about relating higher-level notions to daily cultural phenomena *in flux*. How much spontaneous change, how much uncontrolled social activity, can be allowed before too much tension builds up between the two levels? More importantly, how can these changes be monitored? Or can one simply hijack those changes, and make them one's own? These are the worries of the nation renews. Spontaneous changes receive impulses from within national borders and from without, making them basically challenging to the centrally favoured discourse. Therefore, besides ideological considerations, oppositional forces are commonly purported to favour a foreign power or some inherited *Changdao*.

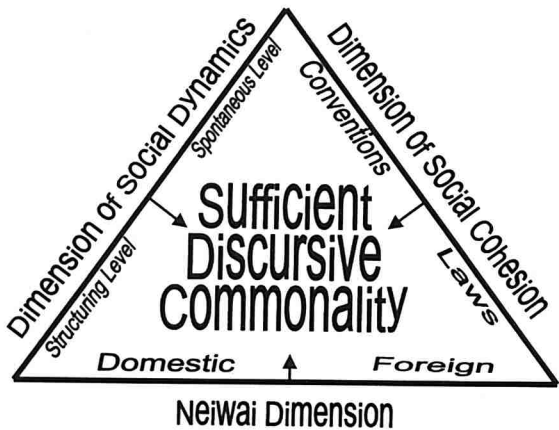
4.9 In introducing the Dimension of Social Dynamics, I shall, for the interest of Sinologists, adopt Chinese terms, hoping that this will illustrate further the two-tieredness of the concepts. What would be a good Chinese term to use for each of the two levels?

The distinction of "above the realm of ordinary experienced forms" (*xing er shang* 形而上) and "the realm of ordinarily experienced forms" (*xing er xia* 形而下) in the *Yijing* 易經 (*Book of Changes*) adopted by the Neo-Confucianism of the Song (960–1279), and ultimately symbolised by the concepts of *Li* 理 (principle) and *Qi* 氣 (matter, energy) seems a good candidate (Metzger 1977: 82). *Li* denotes the principle or principles behind physical objects and relationships among animate and inanimate things, and has essentially been a universalistic concept. *Qi* subsumes all physical existence. Things and relationships are not comprehensible, and would indeed not have form, without *Li*. *Qi*'s connotations of energy and activity make it acceptable as an interpretation of the Spontaneous Level. *Li*, however, needs to be understood as a relativistic term and its latent connection with language structuring must be stressed.

4.10 In this context, the three groups of *Newspeak* vocabulary which George Orwell presents in the appendix of his powerful novel, *1984*, are eerily informative. "The *A* vocabulary consisted of the words needed for the business of everyday life", "the *B* vocabulary consisted of words which had been deliberately constructed for political purposes", while "the *C* vocabulary was supplementary to the others and consisted entirely of scientific and technical terms" (Orwell 1974: 306–615). Without putting too fine a point on it, I note with interest that the *A* vocabulary relates roughly to the language of the Spontaneous Level while *B* and *C* together denote the Structuring Level rather well.

- e. How does the *Waidao* relate to the *Neidao*? The rationale and the moralism that constitute the *Changdao* are informed by answers to this question.

Diagram 1: *The Three Constitutive Dimensions of the Changdao*



5. THE DOMESTIC-FOREIGN DIMENSION: NEI AND WAI

5.1 For a *Changdao* to function, a symbiotic relation between the internal and the external discourse (*Neidao* 內道 and *Waidao* 外道) must be effected. A depiction of significant others is needed to attain and maintain a functional description of the State-self. Continual resuscitation of this requires both an educational and a mass medial propaganda apparatus—in short, the resources of public discourse—of the nation. Depicting other nations and powers in a comprehensive way is part and parcel of the standardisations needed to configure the *Changdao*. Once such a world order is described, it is more a matter of strategy how the continued description of the domestic order, the *Neidao*, is to relate to it. A working stability that will generate wealth and influence, and in specific cases, other pressing goals like the regaining of cultural pride or greatness, is what nation renewal blueprints aim for. Peaceful rhetoric towards other nations need not be part of it. On the contrary, having enemies unites the nation more than most other things.

5.2 At this juncture, the Twentieth Century history of China serves well as an illustration. Her old *Changdao* finally lost all applicability following the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911. This demise was, despite the division into mutually antagonistic regions typical of periods after a dynasty's fall, quite unlike that following the disappearance of earlier imperial regimes. No longer could another family set itself up as the founder of a new dynasty. The republican idea had grown too strong, a fact evidenced by the fatal lack of support for the attempt by Yuan Shikai to become emperor in 1915. Yuan's failure despite his strong executive powers as president and a history of skilful political manoeuvring within the old system, heralded the end of that very system.

5.3 Why was there such weak support for the founding of yet another glorious dynasty? The inflow of new ideas of political organisation and analysis was of course a major factor, but this was mainly a change brewing among intellectuals. Without subtracting from the importance of this, one may suggest that more importantly, aggressive powers with radically different *Changdao* had forced the doors of China and then implanted themselves at strategic points across the fallen empire, and this concrete reality made it impossible for the populace to harbour continued faith in the *Waidao* of the old *Changdao*. The external conditions for the existence of a "universal empire" simply no longer obtained. The *Waidao* no longer made sense. And so a new Chinese self-understanding had to be constructed and the old dismantled. The decades between the fall of Yuan in 1916 and the victory of Mao in 1949 was a time when factions proclaimed their conclusions about the new unstoppable World Order: In what ways was this superior to the dynastic system, and, more importantly, which new national structure could replace the old, and influence to China's advantage the further development of that World Order.

5.4 This preoccupation with the World Order in renewing the nation has basically three lines of development: Isolationism, Regionalism (open or closed) and Globalism.

a. **Isolationism.** By this, I mean the kind of *Changdao* that closes the nation's borders to all external spontaneous influences and consequently inhibits social and political mobility among the citizenry.

This alternative has been practised now and again by certain regimes in East Asia, including Maoist China. Burma and North Korea come also immediately to mind. Asian Communism, often viewed in the West as part and parcel of Global Communism and an active participant in the Cold War, was very often no more than an isolationistic solution fenced in by the deceptive Red Flag of Global Communism. Non-participation in the World Order has not been acceptable to that order itself, and has proven in all cases to be no more than a temporary solution. The forms of adjustment at the Structuring Level common to an isolational State reflect the reasons for that ambition. Antipathy towards foreign powers, and intolerance towards domestic dissidents provide the framework for political conceptualisation. Regimentation and militarisation on all fronts become the result. Independent of whether the isolational regime names itself rightist or leftist, religious or secular, nationalist or ethnocentric, an authoritarian defensive policy characterises it.

b. **Regionalism** views nation renewal efforts as being irretrievably intertwined with the ambitions and the fates of neighbouring countries. This tendency seems strongest among smaller States in areas where small States abound. Countries that feel that they cannot go it alone seek co-operation with neighbours. The rhetoric often used in such cases builds on an ideology of strength in numbers and on mutual aid. Regionalism may also be a way to keep stronger powers at bay to gain time and opportunity for weaker nations to develop without overbearing foreign influence. It may also be a way of living with neighbours culturally too different from oneself.

5 The flora of bodies of regional co-operation blooming in Southeast Asia attests to the popularity of this solution in the region. Malaysia's foreign policy is a case in point. However, the conflict between the concepts of the EAEC (East Asia Economic Caucus) and Apec (Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation) reveals the weakness of regionalistic policies. Small nations whose identity, growth, security, and above all, *internal structure*, rely heavily on the benefits of regionalism must feel extremely uneasy about superior powers that are fellow-members of regional organisations. The very structure of Apec seems globalistic to its lesser members and threatens to nullify the very idea of regional co-operation itself.

For a nation investing in "open" regionalism (as opposed to, for example, the closed regionalism of the defunct Warsaw Pact), adjustments at the Structuring Level are concerned with the benefits and ills of multi-ethnicity (as opposed to the preoccupation with cultural and ideological homogeneity of the isolationistic State) and the advantages and disadvantages of free trade (as opposed to the benefits and ills of the planned economy). Adjusted discourse at the Spontaneous Level will, in a country committed to open regionalism, supposedly dwell on consensual forms of relationships (as opposed to moralistic or legalistic forms common to closed societies) and the social mobility of the

individual (as opposed to the benefits and ills of the stable social roles of the centrally controlled society and the statistically conceived citizenry produced within the isolationistic mode of thought).

Regionalism seems on the whole to have succeeded to no small extent in providing stability and steady growth, at least in the case of Malaysia before the financial crisis of 1997. By withstanding the temptation of globalist terminology, a feat harder for larger nations like China to accomplish, and by concentrating on concrete regional solutions, smaller States seem able to achieve a better balance within the dimensions of social cohesion and dynamics. Apparently, the dual dangers of xenophobia and utopianism tend more to plague *Changdao* with higher ambitions.

c. **Globalism.** A globalistic ideology conceives of national aims as being inherently connected to revolutionary changes in the world as a whole and within which the nation in renewal must itself play a strong contributory role.

The most comprehensive form of globalism in the 20th Century was the proposed Communist World Order. It taught that an alternative and just world order could be achieved, initially as a parallel, and finally as a substitute to the imperialistic Western one constructed over the last 200 years. It is doubtful if this globalism was totally sincere since history has shown that Communist States usually practised isolationism instead. One can of course debate whether or not this tendency was forced on them from the outside, or whether such a development was incidental to, or inherent in, the ideology in practice. The fact remains, however, that this globalism is highly reminiscent of the isolationistic solution, where nationalism is a stronger passion than socialism. Indeed, I venture that isolationism and globalism tend towards synonymy, given the hostile geopolitical terrain within which most nations in renewal grow.

5.5 The globalistic *Changdao* casts the nation in renewal in what it considers an enviable historical and moral role in opposition to the seemingly ineffaceable World Order. Given the threatening tone of such a discourse, one would not expect much elbow-room to exist at the Spontaneous Level. Here, as in isolationism, the discursive balance is maintained by physical coercion. In its extreme form, one might say that we end up with Orwellian *Newspeak*.

The B vocabulary consisted of words which had been deliberately constructed for political purposes: words, that is to say, which not only had in every case a political implication, but were intended to impose a desirable mental attitude upon the person using them (Orwell 1974: 309).

6. SOME MODERN CHANGDAO: THE FIVE WAVES OF NATION RENEWAL

6.1 Just as it would be inadvisable to study the empires of the *Liao*, the *Xi Xia* or the *Jin*, and for that matter, the *Song*, without heavy reference to the earlier *Tang* Dynasty

(618–907) and its powerful influence on the origin and structure of these States, it would also be ill-advised to attempt an understanding of the politics of the modern age without anchoring the project to the revolutions in Europe and America during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries. The modern era can be divided into what I shall call Waves of Modern Nation Renewal, each of which can in a wider sense be considered expressions of successive forms of *Changdao*. It is beyond the scope of this work to go too far into details. What I am proposing here, however, is a certain arrangement over time and space of cases of nation renewing.

6.2 We start by going back to the dawn of the Age of Modern Nations. The exact dates for the start of this are not important. What is clear is that revolutions and reforms, scientific developments and ideological innovations in countries like France, England, the earlier USA and Holland provided the grounds for a phenomenal growth in economic and military strength, not to mention political stability. As the highly successful expansionistic politics of these first modernised nations along the coasts of the Atlantic strengthened them beyond then thinkable levels, it became imperative for other ethnic and political groupings to imitate and to challenge that strength.

6.3 This First Wave—the Atlantic Wave—grew out of political and economic phenomena that in time became categorised as specific events baptised by analysts as “the Industrial Revolution”, “the French Revolution” and “the American Revolution”, etc (Hobsbawm 1964: 45). Researchers like Liah Greenfeld find the origins of the modern State in sixteenth-century England (Greenfield 1992).

6.4 Understandably, the subsequent efforts of nations formed or renewed at the end of the 1860s, specifically Germany, Italy and Japan, all involved globalistic *realpolitik*. This wave of nation renewal corresponds to Benedict Anderson’s observation that “from about the middle of the nineteenth century there developed...‘official nationalisms’ inside Europe” (Anderson 1991: 109). Among these nations, Japan has to be included for analytical purposes. Barrington Moore Jr.’s categorisation, “Revolution from above”, comes also very close to the wave I perceive (Moore 1987: Chap.VIII). It is highly significant that the British and the Germans, perhaps because they had no common border, were often on the best of terms, politically and culturally, until the years leading up to the Great War. The strength of the historical forces that poisoned those ties so quickly and deeply was breathtaking. A commonly accepted explanation, quite clearly Marxistic, is that competition between national capitalist classes was behind the souring of relations. While not disputing that claim, I would add that, given the speed of development of countries like Britain during the Nineteenth Century, the need to defend oneself, or “to catch up”, was at that time most strongly felt and understood by cultures in the immediate proximity. The *Changdao* created to discipline the general population towards building a country capable of matching the stronger nations in exploiting natural and human resources also generated ever-mounting feelings of antipathy and competition.

6.5 Thus, around 1870, new political entities were formed out of regions with a more or less common culture. This is the Fascist Wave. The States of Germany and Italy came

into being at the same time as the Meiji Restoration began in far-off Japan. What is interesting here is that these entities not only competed on the world stage with Atlantic nations like England and France for "a piece of the action", but quite unavoidably also conjured up an alternative World Order that would benefit the home culture to a greater extent.

6.6 The final showdown between the Atlantic and the Fascist waves is more commonly known as the Second World War. The indecisive First World War had, however, helped to create the next wave of nation renewal. The forces unleashed by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was of course globalistic in essence, being Marxist, and came to involve huge areas, in truth stretching from Poland to North Korea to Cuba, in essence constituting the third wave, the Communist Wave. Besides the Warsaw Pact States and China and some minor regimes, the so-called Third World was profoundly affected. The Cold War that could just as well be called the War Between the First and Third Waves, forced nations to limit their international discourse for a time to a single dimension, that of Left versus Right.

6.7 Meanwhile, as a sort of ideological compromise between Communism and Capitalism, the Fourth Wave had grown forth. It was initially small but its influence was to be strong and lasting. This Social Democratic Wave occurred principally in Scandinavia and came to have profound effects on the continued renewal of other nations in Western Europe, a project that was to wind down only during the 1980s and 1990s.

6.8 A wide range of new nations came into being following the rapid fall of colonialism after the Second World War. Since we are concentrating more on nation renewal than on the mere establishment of States, this epidemic of new nations—titled *The Last Wave* by Benedict Anderson (Anderson 1991: 113–140)—does not amount for our purposes to a wave of nation renewal. They had otherwise an important role to play, given the stand-off between the Communist and the Capitalist powers that followed the war. Many functioned as client States to one or the other of the superpowers.

6.9 However, as the impetus of the Communist inspiration died down, nations at the edge of American influence in East Asia elbowed for room under the umbrella of US nuclear defence. These effected in fact a new wave of successfully renewing nations straddled across the western Pacific Rim, forming the next explosion of economic expansion—the Pacific Wave.

6.10 While the earlier alternatives had been global in scope and ambition, exhibiting both an isolationism that bordered on cultural suicide (for example, Bismarck's *kulturkampf* against papal power in the 1870s, Japan's dismantling of the *Samurai* system, and Russia's and China's cultural revolutions in the Twentieth Century), and a globalism that was uncompromising, the new wave of modernisation was ideologically more modest, and definitely less challenging to Atlantic powers discursively, relying more on open regionalism in its economic and political aims. The economic strength

and—in some countries at least—democratising tendency exhibited by the small nations of this wave were surprising. By reducing the ideological problem of World Order to one of Regional Order, a new model of modernisation had evolved. Idealistic globalism does not seem a major concern for nation renewers of this wave.

6.11 The *Five Waves Model* postulates that political cultures, after experiencing serious threats or some other destabilising influence, force themselves through profound social, philosophical and political changes that may even threaten the very means and criteria by which they themselves had until then defined themselves. A strong *siege mentality* is at play here. The mere founding of nations as such does not possess the impetus and political vision required for profound changes.

6.12 The model provides us with a theoretical framework of world-wide nation renewal large enough and flexible enough to be used as a common means for periodising any nation's modern history (see *Diagrams 2A and 2B* for examples of Malaysia and China).

6.13 The Atlantic Wave started with the creation of the Straits Settlements and the establishment of British Malaya over 150 years, followed by a short occupation by the Second Wave representative, Japan, in the early half of the 1940s, which in turn was followed by the Communist Insurgency of the 1950s, and finally the economic upsurge of the whole East Asia region from early in the 1980s. The influence of the Social Democratic Wave is significantly missing. This does not of course mean that certain ideas, like that of the welfare State that we today associate with this wave, have not been present. However, the consensual interaction between organised labour, organised capital and the State, together with the centreing of daily discourse around the conditions of employment are not evident.

6.14 In the case of China, modern history can be divided into the English period from the First Opium War of 1840 up to the time of the First Sino-Japanese War of 1895, from which date the Japanese Period commences, only to end with the defeat of Japan in 1945. The Communist Period for China would slowly start with the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1920, overlapping with the earlier period. There is also an overlap from 1980, when China, still under the Communist structure, but now under Deng Xiaoping, reforms itself economically, and quickly becomes a major part of the Pacific Wave. Even here, the Scandinavian wave seems not to have made a deep impression. It would seem that this model has not been properly tried in the Far East, nor have the moral sentiments important to it been disseminated.

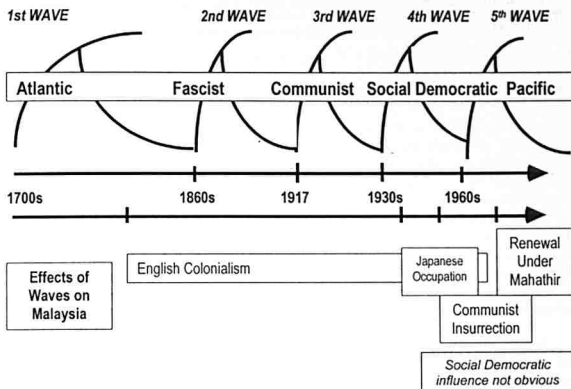


Diagram 2A: The Five Waves of Nation Renewal and Their Effects on Malaysia

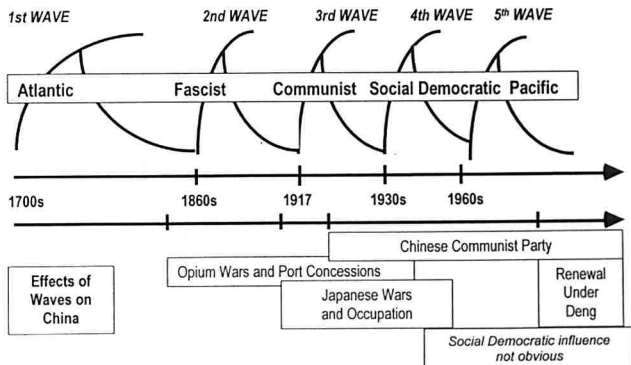


Diagram 2B: *The Five Waves of Nation Renewal and Their Effects on China*

7. DUAL ASPECTS OF THE THREE DIMENSIONS OF THE CHANGDAO

7.1 Further qualifications need to be made on each of the three *Changdao* dimensions in order to make manifest the empirical consequences of their fundamental concepts in the modern period. It appears that they each have two aspects to consider.

a) *The Dimension of Social Dynamics – Classes and Ethnicities*

In a necessary effort to prescribe structure on phenomena from the Spontaneous Level, the modern State, given the ideal positions of German Idealism, Chinese Culturalism and French Republicanism, appears either to utilise *class consciousness* or *ethnocentrism* or both. Communists tend of course to subsume all concepts under the eternal class category, pushing other variables like ethnicity, sex, religion and culture to the sidelines. In Social Democratic *Changdao*, the same holds true theoretically, although the ideological fervour is very much softened. The political ontology is simplified to a great extent into matters related to working life. The colonial activities of the Atlantic Wave were largely ethnocentric and racist, the phenomena of orientalism and slavery being inherent elements in the well-being of those States.

The Fascist Wave encouraged aggressive nationalism besides being racist. The Pacific Wave, still new and still elbowing for equal standing with nations of the Atlantic Wave, is harder to categorise. The importance of pan-Asianism and Asian values seems to suggest a development towards culturalism. The priority given by this wave to economic strength, and not to ideological purity makes it appear a pragmatic strategy in which trade is the means by which the Western challenge can be met.

Malaysia, being a relatively new nation and a former colony, has had to deal with the old *Changdao* of the inheritors of the Malaccan sultanate strongly coloured by Muslim universalism, the colonial heritage, and also Chinese and Indian traditions. As things turned out, democratic competition led to open conflict and the country fell back on explicit ethnocentrism, theoretically temporarily. This shaped politics in a strongly race-based manner. The big question being answered in Malaysian *realpolitik* is how the ethnic-based political structure is to be abandoned. The Islamists wish for a religiously inspired *Changdao*, which in effect also means an ethnocentric policy, while the governing regime tries to neutralise this challenge by cleverly claiming that Malaysia is already a Muslim fundamentalist State. The rationale of the ruling *Barisan Nasional* is that the association between effluence and ethnicity must be eradicated. But since the way to do it seems to involve focusing on ethnicity, the problem of transcending such consciousness remains insurmountable. Parties like the Democratic People's Party (DAP) and *Parti Keadilan Nasional* try to create discursive space for a *Changdao* based on issues and not race. The *Barisan Alternatif* in the 1999 elections could not convincingly stand for an alternative to race-based politics largely because the Islamist party was the front's main component organisation.

A history of anti-communism from the colonial years also meant that unionism, together with class consciousness, was curbed, with worker activism being replaced by a general investment in personal class mobility.

b) *The Dimension of Social Cohesion – The Church and the State*

There are two types of *Fa* – religious and civil. Even in Chinese traditions, the term was largely used in similar fashions. While a central concept for the secular political realists, *Fa* was also used to denote Buddhist dogma, as in *Falungong*. A common argument for the development of democracy, scientism and capitalism in the West has been that the Church could be separated from the State, religious power from secular sovereignty. In time, the politically neutered religions were to lose more and more of their relevance and authority to the extent that they turned into mere bearers of forgotten traditions, and performers of quaint ceremonies. Secularisation has thus theoretically been considered a totally necessary, though not sufficient, prerequisite for the attainment of modernity.

As things turned out in the West, not only did the Church lose authority, political theorisation led to an idealisation of individualism. The State came more and more to become the guarantor of individual rights against all other organisations and social networks in between, often including the family. Undoubtedly, social contract theories bear some of the blame. Individualism also involved a paternalistic (actually maternalistic) regime in the shape of the welfare State. This centralising of loyalty to the State was facilitated by a wide use of legalistic thought to undermine cultural conventions along with the Church and its ceremonies. (The ideals of Social Democracy are eroding to give way to Neoliberal egocentrism, however, and the reactions to this state of affairs are yet to be clearly discerned).

Legalistic nations are abundant today, modernism being defined largely by rule of law. Conventions and traditions, whether religious or civil, are generally considered pre-modern and pseudo-scientific. Corruption and political patronism are seen as the dark side of systems based on conventions, while admittedly, strong personal channels are a strength in the economic and social life of individuals in general.

A modern nation like Sweden has a typical combination of strong rule of civil law with weak civil conventions, weak religious law and weak religious conventions. China, after the Maoist experiments, are now going through Dengist experiments in which legal structures are being put in place as quickly as possible, pushing society at large away from order (or disorder, depending on how one wants to see it) through *Li*. Religious conventions are being allowed in most cases except where the regime perceives signs of political ambitions, as in the case of *Falungong*.

Malaysian non-Muslims may be generally said to live under a relatively balanced *Fa* and *Li* combination, with religion being largely ceremonial, exerting no coercion contradicting federal law. Malaysian Muslims, however, have to comply with religious law and conventions while living like non-Muslims under relatively strong civil law and conventions. Unlike China proper, Malaysia was a proper colony and had therefore inherited a legal system that has undeniably been useful to its modernisation.

c) *The Neiwai Dimension – The Economic and the Political*

As pointed out earlier, isolationism and globalism seem to have much in common. Globalistic ambitions without sufficient means usually simply means isolationism. Regionalistic states, as mentioned earlier, can be more or less closed or open. Furthermore, it appears fully possible for States to have one posture in economics and another in politics. Foreign trade may flourish without the regime's politics being extroverted. The reverse seems less probable – a State that is politically extroverted but economically introverted.

North Korea, for example, may be said to be State whose *Neidao* and *Waidao* are both isolationistic, while South Korea has an aggressively extroverted economy while its politics are internationally less ambitious. Dengist China appears to be going the same way as South Korea (and most other East Asian countries, for that matter). As mentioned earlier, the Pacific Wave appears pragmatic and economic, which by definition means that ideological ambitions are not highest on the list of modernisation priorities.

Diagram 3: *The Changdao, its Three Dimensions and their Dual Aspects*

CHANGDAO 常道

[SUFFICIENT DISCURSIVE COMMONALITY]

Expressing the State's Rationale (*Daoli* 道理) and Moralism (*Daode* 道德)

• THE DIMENSION OF SOCIAL DYNAMICS

1. Structuring level of social dynamics (*Li* 理)

Ideologies, blueprints, masterplans, education, propaganda, symbolisms, rituals, language reforms, standardisations, obligatory schooling, mass medial influence.

2. Spontaneous level of social dynamics (*Qi* 氣)

Ethnic differences, recent migrational effects, economic life, artistic forms, rituals.

Dual Aspects

- Class Mobility (Class consciousness, unionism, caste system).
- Ethnic Purity (Idealism/Culturalism/Republicanism: Ethnocentrism).

• THE DIMENSION OF SOCIAL COHESION

1. Order through conventions and rituals (*Li* 禮)

2. Order through law and egalitarianism (*Fa* 法)

Dual Aspects

- The State – Civil laws and civil conventions.
- The Church – Religious laws and religious conventions.

• THE *NEIDAO* DIMENSION

1. Domestic Politics (*Neidao* 内道)
Balance in the dimensions of Social Cohesion and Social Dynamics
2. Foreign Politics (*Waidao* 外道). Isolationism — Regionalism — Globalism
Co-existence or conflict, superior or inferior roles, acceptance or rejection.

Symbiosis between description of the State and View on World Order.

History of relationship to new neighbours and the first modern nations, present power constellations, role in previous Waves of Nation Renewal and effects of earlier projects.

8. Dual Aspects

1. The Economic (Degree of self-reliance).
2. The Political (Degree of ideological ambition).

8.1 Isolationism, regionalism and globalism are in most cases far too obviously ideal terms, and in reality, most regimes fluctuate between these categories. In the case of Sweden, to take one example, at least until the early 1990s, ideologically globalistic ambitions were explicit while the economy thrived on tremendous export earnings. Since then, with membership in the European Union, its ideology has turned more regionalistic.

8.2 Malaysia, being a former colony, was very much within the Anglo-Saxon sphere of influence, with its economy being wrapped accordingly. In time, this has changed somewhat, and under Mahathir, foreign politics has become more aggressive and participatory as the economy grew tandem with the Pacific Wave. Explicit regionalism in politics has become the *Waidao* through which Malaysians are to re-orientate themselves away from the West. Looking East, buying British last, excluding white nations from the EAEC, all had the effect of undermining the inherited colonial View on World Order.

8.3 Both in the case of politics and economics, conflicts can come about when the external effects of the dialectics between the *Neidao* and the *Waidao* of one nation clash with those of another. Peace-keeping diplomacy, one might say, is the art of rephrasing economic or political foreign policies that have caused international complications with minimal injury to the relationship between the *Neidao* and the *Waidao*.

8.4 In matters of international politics, therefore, this dimension has central importance. One must consistently consider how a particular domestic discourse functions, i.e., how the dimensions of social cohesion and social dynamics are balanced, since it is this that configures the State's international posture, and also how it comprehends events occurring in other States.

8.5 This means that world peace depends on States not entertaining a conflict-seeking *Waidao* informing its *Neidao*. A generalisation of world views involves differentiating

hierarchical from egalitarian internationalism. These two perspectives can both be found in the United Nations. While all member-nations may have an equal vote in the General Assembly, members of the Security Council are more equal than others, having a right to veto all motions they dislike. International politics today, I believe, is moving towards a conflict between these two postures. Imperial pretensions of more powerful nations contradict the ambitions of others working to create reliable systems of international *Fa*. The recent refusal by the USA to fully accept the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Haag is an issue in point. A "compromise" was reached in July 2002 whereby American soldiers were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ICC. While the General-secretary Kofi Annan claimed victory for the authority of the UN, others, like the Swedish Foreign Minister Anna Lindh, were of the opinion that "it is not part of the mandate of the Security Council to interpret agreements that have been reached in negotiations elsewhere" (*Dagens Nyheter* 2002). The asymmetrical relationship that a smaller State has with a powerful one helps explain the lure of regionalism, or even the establishment of international bodies like the UN. The superb analysis of the inter-wars year by G.M. Gathorne-Hardy has some insights still highly relevant today about the conditions of international relations. One is "the negligible capacity for resistance possessed by any States below the rank of a Great Power, in opposition to a nation of a higher category". Another is the tendency of Great Powers to consider international problems as being caused by minor states, and to believe that...

...the main problem is to control the pugnacity of minor states, and to stamp out sparks of war which might otherwise spread disastrously. Yet on a more searching analysis, it is clear that the Balkan danger really arose from the rivalries of the Great Powers in that region, which rendered probable their intervention in squabbles which in other circumstances and in other parts of the world they could have ignored (Gathorne-Hardy 1964: 511).

The model of the rise and fall of modernising waves reacting to the Atlantic Wave gives us some insight into what we can expect in international politics in the near future. With the failure of the colossal resistance mounted by the Fascist nations and the communists, the Social Democratic *Changdao* that had so influenced post-war Europe appears more and more like a compromise needed to limit the lure of Communism. The latest challenge from the Pacific Asian nations exhibit a focused political regulation of the economy. Their success is analysed thus by Joseph Stiglitz:

Here is the key distinction: Each of the most successful globalizing countries determined its own pace of change; each made sure as it grew that the benefits were shared equitably; each rejected the basic tenets of the "Washington Consensus", which argued for a minimalist role for government and rapid privatization and liberalization (Stiglitz 2002).

According to Susan George (George 1999), the incredibly successful proselytisation of Neoliberalism over the last decades developed a simplified discourse with three fundamental points: (a) free trade in goods and services, (b) free circulation of capital,

and (c) freedom of investment. The connection between the super-power status of the USA and Neoliberalism is worthy of study. How do political globalistic tendencies in a liberal democratic superpower express themselves in economic terms?

8.6 Malaysia under Mahathir managed to jumpstart the stalling economy in the mid-1980s, partly through the privatisation and liberalisation advocated by neoliberals. It then grew at an admirable rate, despite social restraints that according to neoliberal dogma were counter-productive, until it was punctured in the crisis of 1997. The vulnerability a small nation has to suffer was harshly felt. The government was, however, powerful enough and flexible enough to attempt a shock remedy through currency controls that on most accounts actually worked. This stopped Neoliberalism from gaining a total foothold in the domestic economy.

The single most important factor leading to the troubles that several of the East Asian countries encountered in the late 1990s—the East Asian crisis—was the rapid liberalization of financial and capital markets. In short, the countries of East Asia benefited from globalization because they made globalization work for them; it was when they succumbed to the pressures from the outside that they ran into problems that were beyond their capacity to manage well (Stiglitz 2002).

What may be the most important consequence of adopting the *Neiwai* Dimension in political analysis is that it puts the Orientalism that has been, and is, such a treacherous part of Western epistemology about other cultures into an State-egalitarian context. Illusions about the Orient in the West are necessary to the illusions about the West in the West, and are “as diverse as the dexterity of Western culture” (Sardar 1999: 117). Such has been the unscientific ontology of politics. This game has been very one-sided due to the superior strength of Western nations in propagating their *Waidao*, and it cannot be ended unless new *Waidao* from States of the Pacific Wave are properly articulated to discredit it. Mahathir’s foreign policies, I believe, have often shown an awareness of the pervasive influence of Orientalism (Ooi 2001a). As new States like Malaysia gain a larger influence in international matters, the extensive and established *Waidao* that is Orientalism can be pushed back, but hopefully with a full awareness of the potentially dangerous dialectics within the *Neiwai* Dimension.

9. DESCRIBING POST-MODERN MALAYSIA

9.1 Since the Chinese empire was essentially culturalistic, the adoption of notions from it will help strengthen my view that an ethnicity is the creation of an older *Changdao*, and therefore, ethnic problems within a new State structure are in many ways tantamount to a peculiar inter-State conflict over time where at least one party no longer has viable political expression. What that party has is a common identification among its members as inheritors of a bygone *Changdao*, or an absent, hibernating or deceased polity. Solutions to this strange “international conflict” must recognise the connection over time between polity and the ethnicity it in effect creates. If the new discourse favours one of the older ethnicities, be it the numerical majority or not, equality between these groups must suffer. An instability becomes inherent in the discourse.

9.2 It is practically a contradiction in terms to say "Chinese race", despite challenging arguments put forth by influential thinkers like Wang Fuzhi (1619–92) and Zhang Taiyan (1869–1936). The huge population of China, the gigantic Chinese ethnicity, is not so much the consequence of a successful gene pool as it is the result of thousands of years of effective political standardisation. The integration of inherited ethnicities into a new *Changdao* is smoother in some cases than in others, depending on how well the Structuring Level handles and understands the dynamics of the Spontaneous Level. Given the multiethnic situation of a country like Malaysia, a skilful handling of that heterogeneity is crucial. In that sense, Chinese Culturalism, with its overt focus on discursive commonality, does in effect provide an alternative perspective to French Republicanism that downplays the State's need for social commonality, and German Idealism that is essentially ethnocentric in the primordial sense.

9.3 In the case of Malaysia, and of Singapore for that matter, we come into interesting contact with all three of the political traditions recognised by Pye to be relevant to Southeast Asian political renewal (Pye 1985: 31–54). The Confucian tradition is very much present through the large and influential Chinese population and the independent State of Singapore. The Hindu tradition resides in the sultanate system inherited from the Muslim Malacca Empire, if not through the relatively less important Indian immigrant group. Over the last 200 years, English rule, basically derived from the *Changdao* of Eighteenth and Nineteenth century England, managed to homestead itself in the region.

A. The Chinese Tradition: Power is seen as the secular expression of cosmic morality. In Southeast Asia, it is defensive against cultural attacks from local regimes.

There is undeniable pride among the Chinese about the secularism of their traditional political culture. It was in fact the fear of being totally drowned by transcendental Buddhist abstractions that pushed the best Confucian minds of the late *Tang*, the *Song* and the *Ming* dynasties to formulate the counter-attack by Confucianism that we know as *Songxue*, Neo-Confucianism. Both branches of this process, the *Lixue* and the *Xinxue* schools, came to influence the whole of East Asian political thinking immediately preceding modern times. Even the Meiji Restoration of Japan claimed Wang Yangming's Philosophy of Action as one of its sources of inspiration.

In Southeast Asia, the Confucian view of power was imported by immigrants who came to live within the political domains of other cultures. Confucianism is notorious for being a universalism where the Structuring and the Spontaneous Levels are theoretically without conflict. When such a culture must survive under the political control of another culture, the dynamics get rather complicated, resulting in serious tensions between the two levels. To some extent, the analogy that a multiethnic country suffers from "internalised international conflicts" holds rather well.

The Chinese concepts of authority are entirely premised on the assumption that both the omnipotent leader and his dutiful subordinates

are Chinese; that a Chinese leader should be a subordinate of a "foreigner" is culturally unthinkable (Pye 1985: 215).

Pye's observation here should be qualified with a culturalistic definition of "Chinese". Manchus could rule China as a people exercising Confucian *Li*, and were to that extent, acceptably Chinese. One must however beware of overdoing such ethnic generalisations, even when it comes to comparing understandings of authority. The advent of *Fa* in modern life has undeniably undermined traditional views on political legitimacy that are so obviously based on *Li*. Pye's postulation above seems somewhat more unconvincing to me today than it used to.

Politically, the situation is explosive because the concepts of power and of the proper use of authority are antithetical. Consequently, when the leaders of one community do what is expected of them in their own culture, the members of the other community are infuriated (Pye 1985: 250).

B. The Indian-Malay Tradition: Power is understood as the non-utilitarian expression of cosmic order. Today, the ability of power-holders to modernise and to hold aggressive alien cultures at bay has gained currency.

Indianised cultures in Southeast Asia considered the exercising of power by a stable hierarchic structure as acts for the preservation of cosmic order. "The various systems of patron-client relations... included a form of dependency in which, in return for manifesting deference and awe, inferiors could expect security and understanding" (Pye 1985: 48).

The Malay political body, though decidedly Muslim, grew out of the imperial discourse of the influential State of Malacca during the 15th Century. The founders of this State were aristocratic refugees of an Indianised culture fleeing the final destruction of the Sumatran State of Srivijaya by the Javanese State of Majapahit (Andaya & Andaya 1994: 31). It is strongly believed that the word *Melayu* (Malay) most probably came from the name of a river or a place in Sumatra (Andaya & Andaya 1994: 45). Modern Malay aristocrats tend to claim some connection to the sacred ancestry of this royal house. After the occupation of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511, the location of that highly influential culture was transferred throughout the archipelago to successor States like Brunei, Johor and Perak. The Muslim religion, together with the pre-Islam belief in the sacred origins of Malay power and the *lingua franca* of Malacca, namely the Malay language, were to configure to a rather large extent the political consciousness of various peoples native to the region.

For Malaysia, the Portuguese influence turned out to be rather limited, as was that of the Dutch. The mercantile English exercised the decisive power on the peninsula, and in their wake came southern Chinese fortune-seekers. With the advent of these formidable

alternative cultures, the traditional Malay willingness to accommodate turned more and more defensive over time, culminating in 1971 with the 20-year implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) that guaranteed heavily preferential treatment for Malays. Besides ethnicity-based policy-making, the project of economic modernisation—critically called “turning Malays into Chinese”—seems to have led to a cultural backlash in the form of the Islamist movement. The seriousness of this challenge became clear after the Islamist party’s strong showing in the 1999 elections, and in the aftermath of USA’s “war on terror”.

C. *The English Tradition*: Power seen as an expression of utilitarian goals and participatory politicking, but ironically also as a system for minority racist rule.

The English colonial milieu created among the Chinese a new class of Anglo-Chinese, Chinese well-versed in the English language. A similar class is found in the Indian and Malay communities, and often, these have more in common with each other than with persons of their own traditional culture. The social ontology of British colonialism caricatured racial traits and cemented the connection between economic role and ethnicity. The Advisory system of colonisation in the Malay states also meant that the hierarchical sentiments of the traditional *Changdao* was not challenged. The greater change occurred in the separation of status from command. While the sultans kept their status, British control over the region developed its own configurations of rank. The administration was staffed by technocrats and professionals with real power, and who were aided in general by Malays trained in such matters (Pye 1985: 256).

9.4 The divide between technocrats with an understanding of British ways of administration and traditional leaders who symbolise Malayness and Muslimness live on today. Anwar Ibrahim, the one-time deputy prime minister, was taken into the government to satisfy the latter group. His punishment by Mahathir led immediately to a serious split in the Malay community and to the subsequent electoral successes of the Islamist party (Ooi 2001b).

10. SUMMARY

It is what human beings *say* that is true and false; and they agree in the *language* they use. That is not agreement in opinions but in form of life (Wittgenstein 1974: 241).

10.1 Conceptual inspiration for this work comes partly from classical Chinese philosophy, and partly from the notion of the language game and its relation to the form of life as presented in Wittgenstein’s posthumously published *Philosophical Investigations*. This common form of life belies not a contractual agreement among freely thinking persons, but a shared indoctrination, a common schooling as it were. In creating political stability, the language games—the discourses—that symbiotically structure the national form of life—the *Changdao*—are a serious matter that must, in the opinion of many, be managed centrally. In Wittgenstein, I find a point of contact between modern

language philosophy and the Chinese trend of thought exemplified by *Xun Zi*'s ideas on language. There is no real need to chart the whole extent of the juxtaposition here since no greater similarity is claimed.

If language is to be a means of communication there must be agreement not only in definitions but also (queer as this may sound) in judgements (Wittgenstein 1974: 242).

Given the fact that we nowadays always live within large interlocking political structures, Wittgenstein's purely philosophical insights must be tempered with the realism of the political philosopher, someone like *Xun Zi*, or *Mo Zi*.

10.2 Commonality brings us into a discussion about the line between natural groupings on the one hand, and societies made possible through forms of coercion on the other. The latter is about politics while the former is about "basic group identity". Harold R. Isaacs defines "basic group identity" with the help of two elements; bodily features and names (Isaacs 1975). I would add a third, that of domain. Family resemblance, connections through the naming process and the sharing of space, together constitute the fundamentals of human society.

10.3 With the forming of larger groups, further abstractions become necessary, and the three basic elements are exploited and their rationale extended. This complex commonality must subsequently suffer from an *ontological insecurity* that seeks continuous bolstering. The reach of commonality may range from that of totalitarian societies to that of pioneer societies. Most political entities, however, do not seek total commonality nor will they permit the potential anarchy of the latter. What is sought is merely sufficient agreement in rationale and moralism. This fact of sufficiency champions the rights of the minority in the face of systematic majority decisions. Society does not need to maximise its commonality. It might in fact do well to minimise it in order for variety to renew the community more effectively than regimentation can.

10.4 The importance I give the idea of "sufficiency" in the political context comes from the realisation that although nations have traditionally sought total commonality and have always failed, relatively stable nations have nevertheless always existed. This in effect shows that sufficient commonality is enough in nation renewal. What is more, we can go further and propose minimal commonality as a healthy and humane state.

10.5 Symbols of the nation's identity, no matter how concrete these may be, gain power only through being talked about and through being incorporated into the collective consciousness. To maintain an ontological certainty, enough of the nation's citizens must exercise a common discourse. This amounts to a *nationisation* of knowledge, of social norms, and of the individual psyche. The salient categories of nationised knowledge, the *rectified names*, give structure to the *form of life* of the citizenry.

10.6 One of the main categories of nationised knowledge is that of *primordial* and/or *prospective* ethnicity, of dividing "Us" from "Them". Be it German Idealism, French

Republicanism or Chinese Culturalism, it must be made certain in most contexts who are of the community and who are not. The concentric circles of ancient China where the most sinicised (civilised) in the centre are bordered by the less sinicised, *ad infinitum*, is a good example of this politically informed ontological distinction between humans (Tu 1994). In both the German nation-state and the French state-nation, the country's boundaries conceive a past ethnicity, and cultivate a future one. But since the State and the nation cannot at any given time be perfectly juxtaposed, minorities are always present. Through political agendas, a majoritisation, together with consequential minoritisations, are exercised on the populace. Some category of people is advantaged in law and/or in practice over others. Majorities and minorities are thus entities that are made salient expediently, and are not naturally given.

10.7 The *depth grammar* of such categories acts tendentially on social and political thought, conjuring more or less given issues with a limited number of opinions and options to choose from. The teleology involved makes "definitions" and "judgements" constituent parts of the *Changdao's* loose but morally informed rationale. The *performative* nature of these concedes a low level of consistency and a high level of *ad hoc* reasoning on the one hand, and encourages outrage interchanging with complacency on the other. In short, answers to three questions can give a basic picture of a given *Changdao*: How is the nation structured, how structured is the nation and how are other nations functionally perceived?

10.8 It might be clarifying to put things another way. What a State does within the Dimension of Social Cohesion can be called the Judicial Reach of the Regime where centralism is balanced against familism or clanism. What the State accomplishes within the Dimension of Social Dynamics may be referred to as the Structuring Agility of the Regime, or the Democracy Factor. One can of course turn things the other way and call the Judicial Reach of the Regime the Ritualistic Reach of the Regime but for the fact that *Li* precedes *Fa*. The "raw material" the legalist works with, exists thanks to *Li*. Agility is a complicated concept in this context, mainly because changes are often unpredictable, and a strong and theretofore flexible regime may, faced with a new military threat or a new technological innovation, suddenly become pathetically weak and stiff. The Democracy Factor is a suitable term for the task of the Structuring Level—which includes both the political and academic establishment—to handle upheavals at the lower levels of society.

10.9 The *Neiwai* Dimension reflects the posture of the nation before other States and expresses the Ontological Confidence of the Regime in its relationship to regions and world structures. Extra-discursive forces, both domestic and, as is often the case, foreign, must somehow be absorbed into the *Changdao*, or they must be neutralised. The stronger the economic, cultural and/or military influence exercised by a State on its neighbours and on the world, the bigger the problem it is for the stability of the *Changdao* of others. The Ontological Confidence of the Regime, then, is very much tied to such strength. The siege mentality of postcolonial nations, it would seem, is rather unavoidable.

10.10 Regions without the cultural ability and the philosophical agility to reform effectively or quickly enough to stymie expansive industrialised States were colonised not only in the political sense. The slower evolutionary dynamics of their socio-political structure were broken. This is in truth the colonial experience. Even societies that already had complex and developed *Changdao*, either cosmological ones as in Bali, or mytho-religious ones as in Malacca or secular ones like that of the Chinese, were all profoundly affected (Pye 1985: chap. 2; Sharifah 1993; Gullick 1987).

10.11 The full consequences of applying the conceptual apparatus built around the *Changdao* on Malaysia are not totally clear to me as yet. I do humbly believe, however, that such a perspective will in time obviate Western bias in political analysis in general. The following aspects are, however, worth mentioning:

- i. Foreign policies have to be studied as the overlapping of *Neiwai* dimensions from different inherited and prospective *Changdao*, with strategic consideration for how much such policies are conscious of the logic of the *Neiwai* Dimension of other States.
- ii. After the fall of Communism, the original project of Neoliberalism sweeps the world unchecked but by its own limitations. Fascism's challenge, Communism's threats and Social Democratic checks are now all swept away. Asian capitalism was badly hammered in 1997 by the financial crisis, but is still very much alive. Malaysian economic and political orientations will continue within the Pacific Wave. However, the added dimension of the Islamic State is important. The apparently delayed Muslim Wave may come to see Malaysia as a model.
- iii. Ethnicities seen in a longer perspective are very much political creations, and hybridisation is always possible if international conditions make ethnic politics on the domestic front detrimental to national affluence.
- iv. Developing ways of analysing politics and society which give strong consideration to missing aspects in the Western social sciences will provide conceptual space for local cultural and historical phenomena.
- v. If the social ontology of a large collective is properly seen to be relative and reformable, and a new *Changdao*, no doubt based on older habits of thought, can provide decisive changes in basic concepts including central ones about class, ethnicity and behaviour, new possibilities become conceivable. If postcolonial States are seen as contingent tools for cultural survival, then fundamentalisms of all kinds become rather quaint and outmoded.

There is tension today between what I call Hierarchic Internationalism and Egalitarian Internationalism. The former hides an imperial view of the world order while the latter, an idea understandably more often held by smaller nations, idealises equality between States. Views like those expressed in Samuel Huntington's book, *The Clash of Civilizations*, go further in dissecting mankind into huge civilizational spheres bound to come into conflict with each other (Huntington 1996). This conceals the decisive historical fact that the West mounted the modern international challenge and the Rest is reacting as best it can. Modern Orientalism, then, at least in Huntington's guise, is of a West being threatened and in need of defending. Beyond military, economic and political

strength, then, control over the means of discourse generation—the international mass media—in the international sphere carries basic strategic importance. What events are worthy of mention, whose suffering is worthy of sympathy, who is good and who is bad, reports about all these must be considered within the *Neiwai* Dimension of whoever is handling the propaganda (Herman & Chomsky 1988: 37-86).

But Orientalism implies something much more, for it is a rewriting through a disproportionate process of relationship in which one part, the Oriental, remains trapped, separate, unheard, though described to enable the freedom of the describing and defining party (Sardar 1999: 116).

To end on the same note as I started, the idea of Asian values must be considered in its original context—as a reaction against the ontological hegemony of the West. Non-Western cultures have to move beyond mere reaction if they are to regain the initiative and stand as proactive members in a world of truly equal States.

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7

ROSEY MA

**CHINESE MUSLIMS IN MALAYSIA
IN DIFFERENT PERIODS OF HISTORY**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
5800 S. UNIVERSITY AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
TEL: 773-936-3700
FAX: 773-936-3701
WWW: WWW.CHEM.UCHICAGO.EDU

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Chinese Muslims in Malaysia in Different Periods of History

Rosey Ma
Kuala Lumpur

Abstract

In the multiethnic, multi-religious Malaysian society, religion and ethnicity are put together as a norm, and Malays are defined as Muslim, while people of other races are 'non Muslim'. That there have been Chinese Muslims in Malaysia and the Malay world since the 15th century is a little known historical fact. This paper traces the presence and impact of Chinese Muslims in Malaysia through a few different periods in history. From Zheng He (Cheng Ho) in the 15th century, the immigrant workers during the British colonial times, to the ones invited to come for special 'dakwah' missions after independence, and the thousands of new converts, Chinese Muslims have been a part of the local Muslim community. The reason why they are not much known, is probably because after a certain time they just disappear as 'Chinese Muslim'. A big number of them assimilate into the majority Malay Muslim community and slowly lose their Chinese ethnic characteristics, while some others integrate with the local Chinese at the expense of their religion. As the country progresses towards higher economic and educational levels, both our Malay and Chinese communities are better acquainted with the global picture of Islam, including the big Muslim population in China. Now could be the ripe time for the Chinese Muslims in Malaysia to retain their ethnic traits together with there Islamic faith.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 In the Southeast Asia region, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei are the three countries where Islam is the predominant religion. Indonesia, with 90% of its' 210 million people being Muslim, is also the largest Muslim country in the world. In Malaysia, a multiracial, multi-religious, and multi-cultural country with a population of 23 million, Malay Muslims stand at a little more than half of the population, followed by Chinese and Indians, the other two large ethnic groups, and many other minorities from various ethnic origins.

1.2 Ethnicity and religion are closely related in Malaysia. In a very simplistic generalization, Malays are Muslim by constitutional definition, and people of other races are usually not; the other races are free to practice their own religion. This simple belief of 'Muslim is Malay' has often led to the undermining of the other Muslim communities in Malaysia who are not Malay, such as the Indians, Pakistanis, Thais, people of Arab / Iranian / Yemeni descent, part of the Melanaus, Dusuns and Kadazans in East Malaysia, and also, the Chinese Muslims.

1.3 In Malaysia, Chinese Muslims may be very little in number. The national census 2000 shows the number at more than 57000.¹ However, they have had a long history in this region, spanning at least 600 years, not only in today's Malaysia, but the whole of the then Malay World. From the original Hui Chinese who came here and settled during the 15th century, to the thousands of Chinese who converted into Islam, the presence and contribution of the Chinese Muslims have unfortunately not been recognized enough by Malaysian historians, scholars and politicians.

1.4 The objective of this research is an attempt to highlight this presence: the Chinese Muslims in Malaysia. This article will present the few Hui Hui communities through various periods in history.

2. EARLY PRESENCE OF CHINESE MUSLIMS – ZHENG HE, THE MUSLIM EUNUCH

2.1 The first Chinese Muslim arrivals on this soil can easily be traced to more than six hundred years ago. As far back as the 15th Century, there were already records of Chinese Muslims in Melaka. During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in China, Admiral Zheng He (Cheng Ho) [郑和] sailed several times to the then Malay world, including Malacca, and went on until the Eastern coast of Africa. Zheng He, a Muslim originating from Yunnan, led seven naval expeditions on behalf of the Emperor, starting during the reign of Emperor Yong Le, with more than 300 ocean going vessels, and many Muslims among his crew of 200.000 to 300.000 men. This article does not intend to explore in detail Zheng He's exploits, but will just touch on the Islamic activities, influence and legacy left by him and his men on the shores of the Malay Peninsula and nearby areas in the 15th century Malay World.

2.2 Much of the information on Zheng He's voyages were compiled by Ma Huan [马欢], also Muslim, who accompanied Zheng He on several of his inspection tours and served as his chronicler / interpreter. In his book *Ying-ya Sheng-lan* [瀛涯胜览] (*The Overall Survey of the Ocean Shores*) written in 1416, Ma Huan gave very detailed accounts of his observations of the peoples' customs and lives in ports they visited. One other book on Zheng He's voyages, *Xing-cha Sheng-lan* [星槎胜览] (*Description of the Starry Raft*) (1436) was written by Fei Shin [费信] who was also secretary / interpreter to Zheng He. In his seven voyages, Zheng He sailed from China to all major ports in Southeast Asia and India, from Champa to Aden, via ports among which are Ayutthaya, Melaka, Palembang, Surabaya, Jakarta, Semarang, etc ...

2.3 Described as an 'explorer, conqueror, and trader', and as an envoy of the Emperor of China, Zheng He's visits to the Muslim Malay World had an undeniable impact as far as Islam is concerned. Indonesian Islamic scholar Hamka wrote in 1961: "*The development of Islam in Indonesia and Malaya is intimately related to a Chinese Muslim, Admiral Zheng He.*"² In Malacca he built granaries, warehouses and a stockade, and most probably he left behind many of his Muslim crew – because the local community was Muslim -- to take care of these interests.

2.4 Even though there is a vast choice of documents relating the Chinese Muslim connection to Indonesia, produced by Indonesian and foreign researchers, not much is found about ports on the Malay Peninsula. This chapter will be an attempt to draw parallel situations and developments from records, of the impact of a mighty Chinese Muslim Admiral's visits on the Chinese who lived in Muslim Indonesian states in the same frame of time, and in a space of close geographical proximity.

2.5 Zheng He had many Muslim Eunuchs as his companions. At the time when his fleet first arrived in this area, there were already Chinese of the 'Mohammedan' faith living there. Ma Huan talks about them as *Tangren* [堂人] (Chinese) who were Muslim.¹¹¹ At places they went, they frequented mosques, actively propagated the Islamic faith, established Chinese Muslim communities and built mosques.

2.6 Parlindungan Mangaradja Onggang writes that when the Ming Dynasty's fleet stopped in Semarang, Zheng He, Ma Huan and Fei Xin often went to the mosque to pray. He adds: "*Under the influence of Zheng He between 1411-1416, in the Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, and the Philippines, there developed many Chinese Muslim areas, and many mosques were built.*"¹¹²

2.7 Claudine Salmon believes that "*.....the expansion of Islam in the East Indies and the simultaneous formation of 'Chinese' communities are two parallel developments.*" She cites Muslim dignitaries with Chinese origin, or Chinese who converted to Islam and married local women, who can be traced in various places from Aceh to Palembang in Sumatra, to Banten in Java, and further to the East in Semarang and Mojokerto. Salmon gives well documented evidence of the Chinese Muslim presence, and their heavy influence on the social, political and economic scenes on the Indonesian islands "*..... the first Muslim kingdoms in Java, the extent to which the presence of the Chinese is perceptible everywhere.*" She adds that the Dutch and English sources provide plentiful information on Muslim dignitaries. Many of them are mentioned with their Chinese surnames, such as Lim Lacco from Banten, who was the advisor of the Pangeran, So Bing Kong, a pepper trader from Kendal, the Han family from Surabaya, a well-known Chinese Muslim family for many generations.¹¹³

2.8 Indonesian scholar Slamet Muljana¹¹⁴ writes: "*Zheng He built Chinese Muslim communities first in Ju Gang (Palembang), then in San Fa (West Kalimantan), subsequently he built same kind of communities along the shores of Java, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines. They propagated the Islamic faith according to the Hanafi sect and in Chinese language*

2.9 Amen Budiman narrates the story of Wang Jing-Hong [王景弘], Zheng He's vice commander. He fell sick as the fleet arrived at the Northern shores of Central Java. Zheng He ordered to stop at Semarang, to seek cure for Wang Jing-Hong. Ten days later, Zheng He pursued westwards with his fleet, leaving behind Wang Jing-Hong and ten men. Wang Jing-Hong loved this place; so when he recovered from his illness, he did not follow Zheng He. He stayed and taught the local people and the Chinese who lived there agriculture and trade, and propagated Islam to them¹¹⁵

2.10 Tan Yeok Seong^{viii} in his article 'Chinese Element in the Islamisation of Southeast Asia' tells about the very interesting Great Lady of Gresik, Shih Ta Niang Tzi Pi Na Ti [Shi Da Niang Zi Bi Na Zhi] [施大娘子俾那智], and their sibling squabble over the inheritance of power, in which Zheng He was asked to intervene. She was Chinese Muslim. In fact, many of the Chinese chieftains in that area were Muslim. Tan, in his conclusion, affirms that "These early settlements were peopled by Chinese Muslims who had created a sphere of influence for themselves with the co-operation of Zheng He. Religion and trade then went hand in hand. Through Islam, the Muslims, in spite of their racial differences, became masters of trade; while, on the other hand, successful maritime trade helped to spread Islamisation. The Chinese settlers of this period were pioneers of both these enterprises. They had been Muslims and had established for themselves Islamic settlements at important trade centres, such as Palembang and Gresik. From these centres a process of converting the indigenous people was begun."^{ix}

2.11 The stone cave where Zheng He stayed during his visit to Semarang was said to be a center for the propagation of Islamic religion at that time, according to a legend recorded by Heru Christiyono *

2.12 Li Tong Cai, in his book 'Indonesia - Legends and Facts', writes : "in 1430, San Bao Tai Jian [The San Bao Eunuch] had already successfully established the foundations of the Hui religion [Islam]..... After his death in 1434, Haji Yan Ying Yu [顏英裕] became the force behind the Chinese Muslim community. He delegated a few local Chinese as leaders, such as Sun Long [孙龙], a trader from Semarang, and Peng Rui He [彭瑞和] and Haji Peng De Qin [彭德庆]. Sun Long and Peng Rui He actively urged the Chinese community to 'Javanise'. They encouraged the younger Chinese generation to assimilate with the Javanese society, to take on Javanese names and their way of life. Sun Long's adopted son Chen Wen, also named Radin Pada is the son of King Majapahit and his Chinese wife."¹⁰

2.13 Among the 'nine saints of Java' a few were of Chinese blood¹¹

2.14 In the Malay World 500 years ago, we see that there was already an active Chinese Muslim community dispersed over large areas, and distinguished enough to occupy high positions and marry local Muslim dignitaries. This active presence was certainly encouraged and strengthened by Zheng He's numerous visits to these places over nearly thirty years, and for the fact that, at that time, Islam was already a religion well established and practiced by the local people.

2.15 However, after Zheng He's death, Chinese naval expeditions were suspended. After a lapse of 400 years, the Hanafi Islam that Zheng He and his people propagated lost almost all contact with Islam in China, and gradually was totally absorbed by the local Shafi'i sect. When Melaka was successively colonised by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and later the British, Chinese were discouraged, (short of being declared illegal), to convert into Islam. Many of the Chinese Muslim mosques became San Bao temples commemorating Zheng He, the seafarer. With time, the influence of Chinese Muslims in

Malacca declined to almost nil.

3. UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

3.1 During the British colonial times (1824-1957), the British companies imported large numbers of laborers, mainly from India and China, to work at the tin mines and plantations. There were also traders from various countries.. The population was of extremely varied ethnicities: Apart from the Malays, Chinese, Indians, Europeans and Eurasians, there were Bugis, Javanese, Bengalis, Arabs, Philipinos (Manila-man), Singhalese, etc... Among these, many were of Muslim communities, the largest group among Muslims being Malays.

3.2 In the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Penang, Wellesley, Malacca) and the Confederation of Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, and Pahang), census were taken every ten years. In 1901, in the four confederated states, namely Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, and Pahang, the number of Chinese stood at 299.739 Chinese.¹²

3.3 An article written by Mohammed Djinguiz, and published in 1908 in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* [*Revue of the Muslim World*] gives the number of Muslims in different states of the British colonies according to ethnic classification.¹³ The number for Chinese Muslims tabulated against non-Muslim Chinese and non-Chinese Muslims are shown as such:

	TOTAL POPULATION OF CHINESE	CHINESE MUSLIMS	TOTAL POPULATION OF MUSLIMS
<i>STRAITS SETTLEMENTS</i>			
Singapore	164.041	4.920 (3%), (8.8%)*	55.673
Penang & Wellesley	98.424	2.952 (3%), (2.2%)	134.110
Malacca	19.394	880 (4.5%), (1%)	77.495
<i>CONFEDERATION OF MALAY STATES</i>			
Sultanate of Perak	149.375	4.479 (3%), (2.7%)	164.746
Sultanate of Pahang	8.695	258 (3%), (0.3%)	74.745
Sult. of Negeri Sembilan	32.901	987 (3%), (1.6%)	60.749
Sultanate of Selangor	108.768	3.251 (3%), (6.2%)	52.478
<i>BRITISH NORTH BORNEO</i>			
Sabah		200 (0.48%)	41.220
Sarawak & Labuan		a few	

*The figures in parenthesis are the ratio of Chinese Muslims to the total population of Chinese and total population of Muslims respectively.

3.4 From the above we can see that the number of Chinese Muslims shows 17.927, among a total Chinese population of 581.598, and a total Muslim population of other races of 661.216. Chinese Muslims consisted of a mere 3% of all Chinese, and only 2.7% of all Muslims. How many of these were original Hui Chinese who came from

China, and how many had converted locally is not known. Almost 18.000 does make up a good size community, even if they are a very small minority. If these people had preserved their Chinese Muslim identities, by the most conservative estimate, there should have been at least 90 to 100.000 Chinese Muslim descendants from them in 4 or more generations. Where are they? How did they disappear?

Two logical assumptions would be that:

1. As new waves of Chinese emigrants arrived on these shores, they married non Muslim Chinese women who did not convert to Islam, and with time, living in a majority Chinese community, they gradually left their Islamic practice. An example is given below through the Kuok clan in Penang.
2. They have assimilated through intermarriage with the local Muslim community, mainly Malay, and the Chinese blood and characteristics have diluted after a few generations, such as the Terengganu Yunani clan.

3.5 Looking at another figure that shows the ratio of female against the male among the Chinese population mentioned above, there were 27.155 female against 272.582 male.¹⁴ That makes ten men to one woman in the Chinese community. With such a huge shortage of female partners, it is logical to think that many of the Chinese Muslim men would have found it easier to marry local Muslim women. There would have been no difficulty for those men who were already Muslim; they would eventually be assimilated into the local Malay Muslim community. For those who were not Muslim, two differing happenings could be assumed: a number of them would have converted to Islam, also making up for the big number of Chinese Muslims in the 1901 census. Children born of these intermarriages would mostly go on marrying Malays, taking one more step towards assimilation. Thus, after a few generations, the descendants would not even be aware of a Chinese ancestor, not a thing they would have been proud of at that time anyway. Many other Chinese men who married local Malay Muslims could have done so without converting. This way they remained Chinese, with a touch of Malay culture, and no Islamic religion – Peranakan --. There is no clear documentation on what happened to these almost 18000 Chinese Muslims in Malaysia at the beginning of the 20th century.

3.6 It is a sociological truth that, even until a decade ago, Malays did not like to acknowledge that they had any Chinese blood in their veins, not so much because of the racial element, but because of the religious 'impurity' for which they would be teased. As Huntington puts it: "*It is alright to be half French and half Algerian, but not half Christian and half Muslim.*"¹⁵ So, if one had a Chinese parent or grandparent, one just kept it a secret, and hoped that nobody would inquire about the fairness of her skin or the slant in his eyes. A young girl whose paternal grandmother is Chinese told of how angry her father would be when people mentioned that her sister had such 'oriental' looks: "*Don't ever say that. We are pure Malay*"; the father would retort. For long years he did not want to discuss with his children when they asked about their grandmother who had Chinese looks, but had become very Malay in her appearance and behaviour. This attitude is not unique to one person or family.

3.7 Times have changed. Today, for various reasons, Malays are not ashamed or shy anymore to tell of their Chinese parentage. However, after a few generations of discretion, it is difficult to trace the lone Chinese Muslim ancestor. The more known story of the Hui Hui of Terengganu shows a clear pattern of this kind of assimilation.

4. THE YUNNANI FAMILY OF TERENGGANU

A well recorded history

4.1 Below is the translation from Malay of the Foreword of the booklet **WARISAN KELUARGA KE ARAH SILATURRAHIM** [from family heritage towards spirit of togetherness]

"At the end of the 19th century, Pak Ali Yunan or Haji Ali bin Idris, after marrying Hajah Halimah, followed her parents, Muhammad Ali and Siti Maryam to Palembang, their hometown in Sumatera, Indonesia.

Around 1903, Pak Ali, his wife, his mother-in-law, and their little daughter Saa'diah, born in Palembang, went to Singapore in search of a new life. In Singapore he met Pak Lah (Abdullah bin Sulaiman) and Pak Musa, both from Guangdong. These three were also relatives. Pak Musa and Pak Lah sold miscellaneous things such as tasbihs (prayer beads), decorative beads, perfumes and traditional medicine. Pak Ali also sold medicine in Singapore. The three of them met in Singapore at the home of an Arab merchant Sakafu, also known as As-Saqqaf, who liked to invite Chinese Muslims to his home for dinner after the prayers at the Jalan Sultan Mosque.

In Singapore, Hajjah Halimah gave birth to a son whom they named Abu Bakar. But the little boy died and was buried at the Muslim cemetery near Jalan Sultan. This cemetery is today full of bushes and large trees.

Pak Ali, Pak Musa and Pak Lah deliberated on where they should go to settle down. They had heard that a person from Yunnan had been in Terengganu on the East Coast of Malaysia before. They also knew that Terengganu was called Darul Iman because there were many faithful Muslims living there, and that Admiral Cheng Ho (Zheng He) had been to Terengganu during his voyages to Southeast Asia. Therefore they decided to settle down in Terengganu.

Later Pak Lah went back to Guangdong to bring his wife Khadijah and his brother Pak Daud (Daud bin Sulaiman) to Terengganu. They travelled by boat.

Pak Musa was Khadijah's (Pak Lah's wife) uncle. After marrying Midah, he moved to Kampung Paya Bunga at Jalan Tok Lam. They travelled from village to village peddling medicine and giving treatment to sick people. Pak Musa specialised in clearing and removing facial moles. After Midah's death he married Kalsom.

Pak Daud married Fatimah binti Qassim in Terengganu, and started trading in various products at Jalan Kedai Payang. They lived in Kampung Paya Keladi.

Pak Lah (Abdullah bin Sulaiman) was also a small time trader. Later he was asked to join a group of prospectors to mine for gold in Hulu Terengganu. But their efforts proved fruitless. While he was away, his wife and daughters started a laundry business in Terengganu. The shop was called Kedai Abdullah Al-Yunani. Finally when Pak Lah went back to Terengganu after failing in his gold mining prospects, he brought with him a second wife, Teh binti Muhammad Ali. He started to sell books, religious books, and rice in the shop. In the end, he stopped selling all other products except books; and his became the best known bookshop in Terengganu, specializing in religious books.

Pak Ali sold medicine and retailed in other miscellaneous goods. He also extracted a kind of pure medicinal oil from the roots of a certain plant; today some of his descendants are still in this medicinal oil business. Later he stopped trading and concentrated on a hardware shop that was later named Ali AlYunani in Jalan Kota. He was related to Pak Lah and Pak Daud.

Haji Hassan bin Salleh was given the name SiFu because he was a talented cook. He married Meriam and lived in Kampung Hangus at Padang Maziah. He worked as a cook and also helped in Pak Lah's shop. He was close to Pak Lah because they were relatives. After Meriam passed away, he married Lijah bte. Awang.

Later, Muhammad Yusof bin Salleh came to Terengganu. He also was from Pak Lah's family. He started trading at Kampung Daik at the side of the canal (today in front of the Fire Station). Then he moved to Pulau Kambang. Later he married Pak Daud's daughter.

Haji Ibrahim bin Muhammad was also from the same family as Pak Lah and Pak Daud Dong. He came to Terengganu with his grandmother and her mother Hajar. They lived in Kampung Banggol and did business in Kedai Payang. Later he moved to Chabang Tiga. He became Pak Lah's son-in-law.

From these seven people, were born our generations, and increased to what we are today."

by:

*Haji Abdul Hamid Mohd. Yusoff
Jalan Air Jernih,
Kuala Terengganu*

4.2 This is the story of the 7 Hui Hui (Chinese Muslim) who came from Guangdong and settled in Terengganu at the beginning of the 20th century, as told in the foreword of the family book published by the 'Keluarga Al-Yunani' (*The Al-Yunani Family*) in Terengganu. Keluarga Al-Yunani is a sort of a clan association of which today, Mohd.

Yacob bin Hj. Abdullah is the Chairman, and Abd Majid bin Hassan is the Secretary. The book gives an extensive picture of the family trees of the 7 Chinese Muslims of Hui descent who first settled down in Terengganu. First Musa Li [李务初], Ali Zhang bin Idris [张连福], and Abdullah Dong bin Sulaiman [董盛泉], and later his brother Daud Dong and Hassan Liu [刘] bin Salleh came to Terengganu during the reign of DYMM Sultan Zainal Abidin III (1881-1918). In the second or third decade of the 20th Century, two relatives of the Dong family, Muhammad Yussof Xiao [萧] bin Salleh and Haji Ibrahim Fu [傅 守志] bin Muhammad came to Terengganu and also settled down during the reign of DYMM Sultan Sulaiman Badrul Alam Syah (1921-1942).

4.3 The history of the Terengganu Hui Hui is the best recorded recent history of Chinese Muslims in Malaysia. Their descendants amount to hundreds and are scattered all over Malaysia. In his article '*A Note on the Orang Yunnan in Terengganu*', Tan Chee Beng gives a detailed account of their cultural, educational, social background and their acculturation and assimilation into the majority Malay community.¹⁶ Interviews with some of the members from this family provided the more personal aspects of this research.

4.4 The 7 Hui Hui mentioned at the start of this article came to Terengganu at the beginning of this century. Between the 7 of them, they had 52 children and hundreds of grand and great-grand children. Today there are the 4th generation for all families, and 5th generation for some. For Ali Idris Zhang's family, there are even the 6th generation, as the pioneers who first came to Terengganu were Ali's parents-in-law, Haji Mohammed Ali and wife Hajjah Maryam. The Al-Yunani family, as they are called, collectively number around 800 to 900 today. Many of them still live in Terengganu, and others have settled in various states in Malaysia, and overseas.

4.5 From these seven Hui Muslim ancestors, today there is this large Al-Yunani Family, related by blood and / or marriage, who wish to retain a common bond of kinship. This clan association and the book with names and addresses of the family members could materialize probably because there still are 5 or 6 people (out of the 52) from the second generation who are alive, and at least two are still active. From the third generation, amounting to more than 200, only a few have passed away until today. There are not many pure Chinese Muslim intermarriage among this third generation, which means that most have intermarried with Malays. But they still hear Chinese (mainly Cantonese) spoken by relatives of their parents' generation, and they remember the Chinese grandparents. This means that they still have some kind of firsthand Chinese connection. Therefore the forming of this association, and the publishing of the Al-Yunani Family book. Looking at many of the 4th and 5th generations today, the common Chinese Muslim heritage may not be a bonding factor anymore, mainly because the children are not told much about it.

4.6 A fact to notice is that, even though the 7 Hui forefathers were all Chinese, there is no mention of even one single name or surname in Chinese in this whole book. The Chinese names in the above writing were included by this writer who took them from other sources¹⁷, or found them after interviews with members of the Al-Yunani Family.

One informant said that in his family, as well as his brothers' families, children are all given Chinese names, but these names are not used. The preference is to use the Muslim name.

4.7 Was this assimilation designed or natural? It is hard to give a correct answer. Did these families try to quickly assimilate because they were such a minority among the Muslim Malays as well as the non-Muslim Chinese? Or did they think it was more important to remain in the Muslim community and much easier to preserve their Islamic way of life rather than their Chineseness, if and when the two did not go hand in hand.

4.8 There is no doubt that they needed to accommodate. Most of all, they needed to be acknowledged by Malays as Muslims, as true Muslims.¹⁷ In Tan Chee-Beng's words: *"Thus, the label 'Yunnan' has become a convenient label for the Hui Hui themselves whenever there is a need to explain their identity to both the Malays and the non-Muslim Chinese. The label 'Yunani' is used to stress to the Malays that the Hui Hui are 'Islam asli' which in Malay means 'original Muslims'.*

4.9 One interviewee explained in these words the source of the label 'Yunnan': *"There used to be Chinese who went around to collect alms saying they were Muslim. So the Malays did not trust them and called them 'Muallaf', meaning convert. But they knew of Chinese people from Yunnan who were practicing Muslims, so they wished to call us 'Orang Yunnan' [people from Yunnan] to distinguish us from other Muslim Chinese. The Terengganu Malays believe their own people came from Yunnan, they used to say: 'Orang Yunnan, orang kita' [Yunnan people, our own people]."*

4.10 These Hui families also needed to let the non-Muslim Chinese know, lest they be looked down upon, that their affiliation with Islam was a heredity from their ancestors, and not something newly acquired either by conversion or by close association with the Malays. Therefore, being recognized as people from Yunnan, a province in China known for its large Muslim Hui population, they obtained recognition and retained cordial relationships with both majority communities, the Malays and the non-Muslim Chinese.

4.11 Each of these families, however, had differing steps towards assimilation into the Malay community. In families where both parents (second generation) were Chinese, there was more resistance towards assimilation. One of Ali Idris Zhang's sons, Mohd. Yusof, married Abdullah Dong's daughter Zubaidah. Both were Chinese Muslim. They had 5 daughters and three sons. Three of the siblings married Chinese. One son married a Chinese Muslim from Taiwan, another son a Chinese Muslim whose father is from Hong Kong. One daughter's husband is from Taiwan; another daughter married a Malay. They still retain their genealogy tree (jia pu) which traces their Hui roots for more than 300 years back in China. Haji Abdul Malik's three grandchildren (6th generation down in Terengganu, but who live in Australia at the moment) are the latest additions to this family tree. Haji Abdul Malik adds that they are very proud of their Chinese Muslim ancestry.

4.12 However for most of the families, assimilation with the Malays started as early as in the second generation. In fact, out of the 7 pioneers, Pak Musa, Pak Lah, and Pak

Hassan had already married Malay women as second wives or when their Chinese wife had passed away. Mohd. Yusoff's Chinese Muslim wife Aminah (Daud Dong's daughter) married a Malay husband after her husband passed away. Among the second generation, of course many married Malays, and in many of these mixed families, Chinese language and culture immediately took a back seat. Many of them still spoke some Cantonese, their home dialect; but it was Malay that became the foremost communication language. Some of the children were taught Mandarin at home in the evenings, while going to Arab religious schools in the morning, and at the same time learning Malay and English as well. There were also children from the Yunnan families who attended the Chinese Primary Schools.

4.13 Interviews with descendants of the Terengganu 'Yunanis' showed that most of them felt more comfortable to be known as Malay as they are almost totally in this community. The most senior in age among my informants is one of Abdullah Dong's (or Pak Lah) sons. The 86 year old Haji Mohd. Yacob Tung Foo Piew [董富标] was tending to his plants in his quiet home in Kota Terengganu when I went to visit him. He happily posed for photographs and answered questions. Still very clear in mind, Haji Mohd. Yacob recalled many details about their childhood in Terengganu. He is the 7th child of Pak Lah. He speaks perfect English, Malay, and Cantonese. His parents, both from Guangzhou, did not speak any Mandarin, so none of the children ever learnt Mandarin either. At that time, there was no Chinese school in town. All 5 boys (the oldest brother Noordin passed away at six years old in China) were sent to English schools, while the two older sisters were not sent to school at all. When Mohd. Yacob was 14 years old, his father asked Pak Musa to teach them Mandarin, but the lessons did not last long.

4.14 He remembered that his father, who already spoke fluent Malay, was very often away up country for mining or business; he only came home once a month. His mother was alone at home with the children. She did not learn to speak Malay. She wore Chinese clothes and cooked Chinese food at home; but, apart from this, they did not observe any other Chinese culture, and did not celebrate the Chinese festivals. He used to help at his father's bookstore. He said at that time they all lived very close to Malays, and naturally assimilation was fast because of the common religion. Their family was respected both by Malays and Chinese and they enjoyed a cordial relationship with both communities.

4.15 Haji Yacob brought out to show many items that were part of their history. He talked about the close friendship between the Sultan of Terengganu and his father and the other Al Yunani heads of families. He was proud to bring out the old, yellowed photographs, showing the Yunani head of families with the Sultan sitting in the middle. One was taken with the three members of a visiting Chinese Muslim delegation led by Haji Ibrahim Ma Tian Ying. When asked about the year the picture was taken, without the slightest hesitation, Haji Yacob replied "in 1940, before the Japanese invasion." He also showed a well preserved piece of paper on which all the siblings' Chinese names were written, but he could not read Chinese. He was happy to know which one was his name when it was pointed it out to him. Haji Yacob married a Malay wife, adopted two

Chinese girls, and today lives with many of his grandchildren, all totally Malay in their everyday life, with little or no trace of Chineseness.

4.16 One of my interviewees from Kuala Lumpur (third generation) said that all her 8 siblings, and all her cousins married Malays. When asked about her Chinese origin, she said her father was one of Abdullah Dong's sons, and her mother is Chinese, adopted and raised as Malay. With two Chinese parents, she certainly has very Chinese features, but always dresses in Malay costumes, cooks and eats Malay food, is very well versed in Malay customs, and observes them meticulously. She speaks fluent Malay, and converses at home in both Malay and English with her family. She does not speak any Chinese dialect, but calls her relatives by their Chinese titles in the family, such as *'Er Sao, San Jie, Ye Ye* (Second sister-in-law, third sister, grandfather) etc...

4.17 She admitted not knowing much about her Chinese origin, but added that her late father used to tell them : *"We all live among Malays, so we have to behave like Malays. But when you think, think the Chinese way. Do not 'mewah mewah, boros boros, (do not go for luxury, and do not squander money away). Be like Chinese business minded in an honest way, be thrifty, and pay attention to cleanliness, etc..."* Her Malay husband's mother is also Chinese, adopted and raised by a Muslim Malay family. She says her two sons actually have $\frac{1}{4}$ Chinese blood; but because even the Chinese grandmothers were raised in Malay families, these boys identify comfortably with Malays. Even though they usually have Malay attitudes, she says she has also inculcated in them her Chinese family values. Combining the two, they are polite and humble, caring and respectful, and diligent and successful in their studies. The younger son, a college student now, is proud of his Chinese heritage and wishes to know more about it. The older son took a Malay bride who is very interested to know more about Chinese Muslims. Her husband is very supportive about keeping his wife's Chinese heritage. He has even come up with a genealogy tree of his wife's Hui family.

4.18 Another interviewee who lives in Kota Terengganu said she feels very much Chinese and Malay. She says she feels Chinese because : *"I look Chinese (she is a third generation Hui, no Malay blood), my grandfather is Chinese from China. But I also feel very much Malay, I speak Malay like the Malays, I live the Malay life, I have many Malay friends. I blend very well."* She feels comfortable in both shoes, even though she does not speak any Chinese at all. Her father spoke fluent Cantonese, but she and her siblings grew up speaking Malay and English. They lived like the other Malay children, and she received her education in a residential Malay school. So she never had the opportunity to learn any Chinese. Sensing the benefit her children would get from the knowledge of Chinese language, she sent her children to Chinese primary schools, and her Malay husband approved of it. They all excelled, and later went on to further studies overseas on government scholarships. She says since their very young age, she instilled in her children the merit of hard work and honesty as taught by her parents: *"Even though they are eligible for scholarships reserved for Bumiputras, I wish them to obtain these on merit, and based on their achievements, so that they can be proud of it. I wish my children to know more about their Chinese heritage, but, I don't know much myself, how can I teach them?"*

4.19 Her daughter, a newly qualified undergraduate, expressed much interest in her Chinese background, yet feels 'very Malay'. She is also convinced that, even though she has many Chinese friends, she will eventually marry a Malay, because 'it makes things easier, it's the same religion and culture.' Her older brothers all married Malay wives; and their children, fifth generation down from the pioneer Pak Lah, probably will not even know that they are descendants of Chinese Muslims.

4.20 This lady, in her late sixties now, remembers how her grandparents and parents were all respected by both the Malays and Chinese; by the Malays, because their families were original and practicing Muslims, and by the Chinese because they were well off. When she was young, the grandparents still practiced some of the Chinese customs, such as eating special birthday long life noodles, burning incense on Friday nights; and among relatives they used to address each other in Chinese titles. Their family 'kubur' (graveyard) had Chinese characteristics. Many of these customs are not being practiced anymore.

4.21 She took me around to see the old Kampung Cina in Kota Terengganu. Today it is just one street. At one end there was a Chinese temple, at the other end a mosque. On this street there used to be all the 4 Chinese Muslim shops, selling books, medicine, and other miscellaneous goods. Her grandmother operated a laundry shop and sold rice. Her grandfather had a bookshop. Kedai Buku Al-Yunani. After her grandfather passed away, the sons operated it, and it became the most famous shop for religious books. After her father passed away her uncle took over, and later passed it on to his Malay son-in-law. She regrets that the shop, under the new owner, has done away now with its famous name, and with it, its Hui identity. Today it still stands there but the name is Alam Akademik Sdn. Bhd. So the last vestige of the Chinese Muslim heritage in Terengganu has thus come to an end.

4.22 How swift was this transformation? From the second generation, the first acculturation began with the language. As they grew up among Malay peers, the second generation children were already fluent in the Malay language, at the expense of Mandarin or their Guangzhou dialect. Most of the boys were sent to English schools while the girls were in Malay residential schools. There was also preference for religious schools. Then as they intermarried with Malays, no more Chinese names were given to the children. This new generation (third) grew up almost like Malays. By the time the fourth generation came along, and with the demise of the first generation, there were almost no Chinese trait left. Here it must be remembered that even though this happened for most families, there also are many who preserved to varying degrees different aspects of Chinese heritage, such as language (Cantonese or Mandarin), Chinese names (registered at birth but not commonly used) and Chinese Muslim traditions like food, and festive days.

4.23 Tan Chee Beng describes the *assimilation* of these Hui Hui in these following steps: "Identification with the Malays is not merely because of the small size of the community. The absence of religious boundary ensures their greater interaction and

eventual identification with the Malays who are Muslim too." So, if at first "Islam and acculturation have pushed them toward identification with the Malays, yet they still know their Chinese origin." Later, with "the loss of Chinese language, and not giving Chinese names to younger generation, by the fourth generation, assimilation is almost complete."¹⁸

4.24 If at first there were still some kind of acknowledgement that there is a common bond between these people resulting from a common origin different from the Malays, with each passing generation, "the increasing assimilation by the Malays is fast breaking the boundary."

4.25 Today, the formation of the 'family association' Keluarga Al-Yunani still points to the recognition of a certain kinship and common history. However, for many of the fourth and fifth generation descendants, this may not mean anymore that they recognize their Chinese Hui origin. In fact, many of them do not even understand the meaning of Hui. One interviewee (third generation) asked me: "I remember they used to call us 'Wei Wei' (in her pronunciation), what does it actually mean?" She was surprised to learn that it just means 'Muslim' in Chinese. Many also did not know the origin of their clan name 'Al-Yunani'. Some actually believed that their ancestors must have originated from Yunnan. When it was explained to them that this was a name taken by their forefathers to be better accepted by the Malay Muslim community who recognized that Yunnan is a province of China with a big population of Muslim, they were a little lost. Living in a Malay community as a Malay today, they have no idea about some difficulties a Chinese Muslim may encounter, if he does not let his Malay peers know that he is a 'Muslim asli', or original Muslim.

4.26 The last pages of the recent booklet on the Yunani families show 109 families' names, telephone numbers and addresses. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the descendants. There are 19 families descended from Pak Musa Li, 30 from Haji Ali Idris Chang, 27 from Abdullah Sulaiman Dong, 9 from his brother Duad Sulaiman Dong, 10 from Hassan Salleh Liu, 5 from Yusoff Salleh Xiao, and 9 from Ibrahim Fu. Among these, 64 families still live in Kuala Terengganu. The others are dispersed in various states, with the biggest number (20 families) living in Selangor, and eight families in Kuala Lumpur. However, for people who come across this book, apart from the foreword in Malay which tells the story of the Hui forefathers, nothing else notifies them of a Chinese heritage. There does not figure even one single Chinese surname or name, and the pictures of these Hui ancestors can be easily confounded with Malay features. Probably, a few decades later, except for a few families only, the Hui Hui of Terengganu will have left no trail in Malaysian history, similar to the Chinese Muslims from Zheng He's time, and those reported in the 1908 census.

4.27 This is a perfect, most recent example of a Chinese Muslim community living in Malaysia who almost totally assimilated into the Malay Muslim community within a few generations, in just a little more than half a century, mainly though intermarriage, and because of the overwhelming Malay Muslim environment.

4.28 Below is an example of the opposite. How a clan of Chinese Muslims remained Chinese by alienating themselves from their religion.

5. THE KOAY CLAN IN PENANG

5.1 The Koay [Guo] [郭] clan originates from Hui An [慧安], Fu Jian [福建]. According to historian Ong Seng Huat who did a research on this unique community, they were Hui Muslims of Arabic descent. Their Muslim ancestry can be traced 20 generations to a Muslim general who controlled Xinjiang and the western part of the Silk Road during the Tang Dynasty. When the political climate became hostile towards Muslims, they suppressed their religious identity, and became more sinicized, easily assimilating into the dominant Han culture.

5.2 This assimilation is explained in the following words in the Guo family tree record: *"First it is the slackening of religious tenets and regulations.....many religious regulations are difficult to observe; furthermore, as the Ming Dynasty superseded Yuan Dynasty, the minority ethnic groups were put in a difficult position. The Guo clan was the only Hui family, immersed within the big ocean of Hans, they could only lead a simple and humble life. As time went by, step by step they became more like the Hans. Secondly, it was the blood lineage; boys and girls from the Guo family became adults, they had to look for marriage partners, because of the change in situation, they took Han girls for wives, this resulted in the thinning of the Hui blood. Thirdly, came the change in belief (faith) and traditions; Hui girls who married Han husbands, slowly took on Han traditions, so as to fit into the husband's lifestyle; family life and customs changed; Buddha and other deity statues found place into their homes; in the end, they started to erect tablets for the ancestors, and worshipped them."*¹⁹

5.3 This original Hui clan, even though they did not practice Islamic tenets anymore, still retained many Hui ethnic customs. For example, when they offer food for worship purposes, they will not use pork meat, or any food cooked in pork oil. Many families have a set of 'clean' kitchen utensils to be used for specific occasions.

5.4 The Koay clan came to Singapore and Penang in the late 19th century. Here they found a big number of Chinese immigrants from Fu Jian who shared their language and culture. Even though there were other Muslim communities, these Chinese Muslims found it difficult to integrate, being so different in language, culture, and even some Islamic beliefs originating from different traditions. It was easier to survive among their compatriots who had a different religion, than with their co-religionists with different living habits. *"They felt alienated from the larger local Muslim community, and closer to the mainstream Chinese community on whom they had to depend for support."*

5.5 Ong reports that the Koay community published in 1975 an edict to be hung in the house of every clansman. *"The notice is a reminder of their religious identity as Muslims. It stated that due to great differences in human relations and environment, they*

had gradually departed from Islamic teachings. To honour their ancestors, however, they would strictly observe the halal food." (STAR, 23rd March 2002)

5.6 Interestingly, one parallel is found in Lugang, Taiwan. Dru Gladney describes in these words: "The Guo 郭 (Kuok / Koay) in Taiwan no longer claim they are Hui, they are certainly not practicing Muslims, but that does not mean that Hui identity may no longer be relevant to them. They do not include pork in the food offerings to their ancestors, lest they "ruin their mouths". The maintenance of the pork tabu in ancestor worship indicates that, at the ritual level, there is still some significance attached to Hui identity among the Taiwanese Muslims."

5.7 In Penang, the Kuok lineage, descendants from the same Muslim ancestor as their counterpart in Taiwan, are live in this same dilemma. Some families still abide by the decree, some do not. They celebrate Chinese festivals, and generally have no remarkable difference in their lifestyle from other Chinese communities. But they will observe a 49 days taboo from eating pork after a family member dies.

5.8 One more family in Malaysia, the Ding 丁 family in Ipoh, are also from a prominent Muslim clan in China, dating as far back as a thousand years, descending from a Muslim Arab ancestor. They have a genealogy tree and an ancestor's monument in Chuazhou in China. Nested among other memorial monuments, the Dings' has a very distinct Islamic look, with a small dome and a crescent, and they have no food offerings. The Ding family members in China are still practicing Muslims, but the Ipoh Dings --- some in Melaka --- have totally assimilated with the Chinese around them, and do not say that they are Muslim. The younger generation very probably does not even know about their family's old Muslim identity.

6. THE TIANJING HUI HUI IN SABAH

6.1 They came as four families: Wang [王], Li [李], Hong [洪] and Guo [郭]. They were the four Muslim families from TianJing among the 108 families of labourers imported from China by the British Charter Companies to work at the railways and plantations in Sabah. This was in the year 1913. The other families were from ShanDong.

6.2 After almost 90 years, today there is in Sabah a small community of Chinese Muslims, descending from these four pioneer families. No previous study has been found on this community. Quite contrary to the Terengganu Hui Hui's descendants, even the fifth generation children speak fluent TianJing Mandarin, and are very well aware of their Chinese Hui identity.

6.3 My interviewee, QC, Saleha Li QingChun, a lady from the 4th generation, works in a construction company owned by her uncle. Her father Li De Xiang, at 66 years old, recalled well their life as children in Sabah. They were ten siblings. There was no doubt that the Chinese heritage was strong, and to be maintained. Even in the second generation, there were already mixed marriages to Muslim Dusuns and Kadazans, and to

non Muslim Chinese. The Chinese had to convert, and the other races who came into the families soon learnt to speak Chinese with their children.

6.4 QC's mother is Hainanese. She converted to marry her father. Initially her family was against her becoming Muslim, but later it was accepted, and good relations prevailed. Her younger brother is married to a Dusun wife who learnt to speak Chinese. Her sister married a Chinese convert. They are still a big Chinese Muslim family.

6.5 Today the descendants of these four families number in a few hundreds, (less than 500 hundred according to QC). Only those who married local Muslims did not give their children any Chinese surnames, and instead used bin / binte

6.6 Trying to find the reason behind the preservation of the Chinese Muslim identity in such a minuscule minority group, the first thing that comes to mind would be the lack of a homogenous majority group like the Malay Muslims in the Malay Peninsula. In Sabah, the Muslim community, rather than being almost all Malay, has many other races such as Dusun, Kadazan, Melanau, who have different cultures and languages than the Malays. Among them, a Muslim of Chinese race would not find it hard to fit in with his Islamic background and a different culture and language. They would just be one of many.

6.7 One other reason is the solidarity shown to these few Muslim families by the other immigrant Chinese community, the ShanDong families who came together with them. This same sensitivity is not seen in the local Chinese community, such as for example, the Hakkas. QC tells of the two different kitchens kept by some ShanDong families and the ShanDong Association. These Muslims are not left out when there is a celebration such as a festive day or a wedding. Their food comes out from the Muslim kitchen, but the celebration and the spirit of togetherness are shared.

7. INTRODUCTION OF ISLAM IN CHINESE TO THE CHINESE

7.1 In the more recent history of Malaysia, Haji Ibrahim Ma Tian Ying [马天英] stands out as the person who contributed most in introducing Islam to the Chinese people, for the first time in the Chinese language. This writing will briefly highlight a few aspects of his life and work pertaining to propagating Islam.

7.2 Haji Ibrahim Ma, from a long-standing Muslim family in Beijing (originally from ShanDong) first came to Malaysia in 1938-1940 as head of a three member Chinese Muslim Goodwill Delegation to the Southeast Asia region. The two other members were Wu JianXun [误建勋] and Ma DaWu [马达吾]. During one and a half year's period, the delegation covered many places and met many people. In Malaysia they went to all the States including Sabah and Sarawak. Everywhere they went they were accorded warm welcome and grand receptions both by the Malays and the Chinese. The local Chinese thus had first hand information about Islam and Muslims in China. During this successful trip, Haji Ibrahim secured many friendships among dignitaries and the general public which would prove to be very useful when he came again to this country.

7.3 Haji Ibrahim Ma came back to Malaysia in 1948, this time with his family and as the Consul General of Ipoh sent by the Kuomintang (Guo Min Dang) government. He had with him his wife Feng Yun Xia [冯云霞], his three daughters and two sons. During the short period of his tenure at this office, Haji Ibrahim Ma not only played with great success his role as a diplomat, but, at every occasion he also showed to the local Chinese a very positive profile of a progressive Chinese Muslim. When China fell to communist rule, the Consulate closed down. Haji Ibrahim chose not to go to Taiwan to join the government, and stayed in Malaysia.

7.4 After a few years trying his hand in rice mill and other businesses, he joined his two daughters in Singapore and lived there for a couple of years. In 1957 Malaysia gained independence from the British. In 1961, the first Prime Minister of Malaysia Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj extended Haji Ibrahim an invitation to come back to Malaysia to assist him in an important aspect of nation building. Tunku had the vision that if more Chinese were to understand Islam, or better still, became Muslim, this would help in bridging the racial gap between Malays and Chinese.

7.5 Thus, PERKIM, a welfare association for Muslims was born, with Tunku Abdul Rahman, Haji Ibrahim Ma and Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard, and Tan Sri Ubaidullah as the founding members. With this, Haji Ibrahim Ma's work in the path of Islam took another step, and did not stop until his last days.

7.6 With his position in Perkim, Haji Ibrahim started his rounds in every corner of Malaysia, giving speeches about Islam in Chinese. He talked on radio, on television, in schools, in non-governmental associations, and even in prisons. In a span of many years he wrote booklets in Chinese, introducing Islam in very simple language, easily understood by any non Muslim reader. These booklets were not sold. They were always, and even until today, are still given free in all the states, all the religious institutions. The titles include: 'Questions and Answers on Islam' [益斯兰教问答], 'Why Muslims

Don't Eat Pork' [为什么穆斯林不吃猪肉], 'The Teachings of Islam and Traditional Chinese Philosophy' [伊斯兰教义与中国传统思想], 'What is Islam' [什么是伊斯兰教]. His last book 'Muslims in China' was written in English.

7.7 Apart from these publications, Haji Ibrahim also started a Chinese-English bilingual, bimonthly newspaper called 'The Light of Islam', or in Chinese, Hui Jiao Zhi Guang [回教之光], later changed to Yi Si Lan Zhi Guang [伊斯兰之光]. He was not only the publisher, but at the same time, the editor, and the main contributor of articles. Once every two months, when the new issue was ready, his gracious wife would sit with mounts of papers, address slips, sheets of stamps, scissors and glue, folding, cutting and sticking addresses and stamps to get them ready for posting to hundreds of subscribers within Malaysia and overseas. Many people will remember Haji Ibrahim and his wife, the grand lady, seated around the large dining table, engrossed in this labor for the love of God. Often, grandchildren who came for a visit would also be enrolled to help in the task. This first Malaysian Islamic newspaper in Chinese was a family commitment for Haji Ibrahim Ma's family.

7.8 In Perkim, Haji Ibrahim Ma was ably assisted by a few other Chinese Muslims, namely Zhao Guo Zhi [赵国治], Hu En Jun [胡恩君], Ma Zhi Bin, and a few others who came on shorter contracts ... They were recruited from Taiwan, Libya, Saudi Arabia or other Middle East countries. They did missionary work, counseling for Chinese converts, and Islamic teachings in Mandarin. It is their combined work that is directly responsible to a very big extent, for a positive understanding of Islam by the Chinese in this country, and also for the conversion to Islam by hundreds or even thousands of Malaysian Chinese over the years.

7.9 Haji Ibrahim passed away almost two decades ago. But the legacy of his work in Islam is carried on by his children. His eldest daughter Aliya Tung Ma Lin [马琳], a lecturer and writer, has published a few books on Islam and is still actively taking part, at the ripe age of 75, in Islamic conferences in various states in the United States where she lives, to give information on Chinese Muslims and Islam in China. His third daughter Minuirra Sabki Ma Min [马珉] is actively involved with Wanita Perkim, the women's branch of Perkim. She served as President of this organisation for many years. His elder son Mustafa Ma Chi [马琦] is also active in Perkim, and is also currently the President of MACMA, the Chinese Muslims Association of Malaysia. His younger son Nasir Ma Lee [马理] is often sought by Chinese friends with children who have embraced Islam, to give advice and clarification on the religion.

7.10 In present day Malaysia, Ibrahim Ma and his children are known as a Hui Chinese family who have contributed to the advancement of Islam among the Chinese in Malaysia. They are also a fine example of selective acculturation towards Malay culture, without bordering on assimilation. All of them speak perfect Malay and Mandarin, in addition to English, and even Cantonese and Hokkian, and are very much at home among the Chinese as well as the Malays. They are knowledgeable about the Malay traditions

blended in the local Islam, as well as the Chinese, especially Beijing culture, including food.

7.11 Among Haji Ibrahim's children, Ma Min is the only one who married a Malay. Her husband speaks perfect Mandarin and is totally at ease within the Chinese community. The children understand some Mandarin, the daughter more than the sons, even though they shy away from speaking. Two of the sons and the daughter are married to Malays, and at their children's level, assimilation may begin. But at least three of her grandchildren take Mandarin lessons and are very familiar and fond of the special home cooked Chinese food. However, they do not have any Chinese names. None of the other siblings' children and grandchildren live in Malaysia, except for the younger son's family.

7.12 The younger son Ma Lee's children grew up in Kuala Lumpur with Mandarin as the mother tongue, and Chinese education at primary level followed by Malay secondary and high schools. Only one among the six pursued Chinese education up to high school. With both parents from Hui origin, and an environment that has become more favourable with time, these children may very well carry on the Chinese Muslim identity in Malaysia at least for a few more generations.

8. NEW SETTLERS

8.1 In the 1980s, when Malaysia started to receive Muslim students from Taiwan and China to study at the Institute Dakwah Perkim and later International Islamic University of Malaysia, requests for admission steadily increased by the year.

8.2 Once these Chinese Muslim students arrive in Malaysia, they find themselves in a friendly, liberal Islamic environment with a good dose of Chineseness wherever they look. For them this is an ideal place to study in a not so unfamiliar environment and to grow in Islam as well.

8.3 Parallel to this, as trade increased between China and Malaysia, many Muslim traders from the Mainland came to try new markets and in quest of new partners; and in general, were satisfied with their Malay Muslim counterparts. As word spread in Muslim communities in China about the accommodating reception in this modern, progressive Muslim country, there followed streams of more Muslim traders, Muslim art and culture groups, Muslim martial arts and Chinese medicine specialists. Some of them came and went, many wished to stay for a longer period. What is important is that almost all of them, when they went back, tried to encourage young Muslim Chinese students to choose Malaysian Islamic Institutions of higher learning to pursue further studies in different fields, in a modern Islamic environment.

8.4 It is not difficult to see why Malaysia has become the preferred destination for Chinese Muslim students. First, this is a Muslim country, and at the same time offering many aspects of Chinese life and culture. As Mandarin is widely spoken here, it is easy for them to communicate, make friends, and also find short term or part time work to supplement their limited scholarship. The moderate cost of living and comparatively

cheaper school fees makes studying in Malaysia more attractive than western countries for education in English medium. The use of English in IIU and other Islamic institutions besides Arabic is one factor to their advantage. Another reason for their preference in coming to Malaysia is the progressive approach of Islam in the learning environment as compared to Universities in the Middle East or Egypt, and of course it is nearer to home.

8.5. The shortest time each of the students stay would be at least 5 to 6 years. One to two years to learn English / Arabic / Malay, and four years at least for a degree course. Some of them, after obtaining their first degree apply for postgraduate studies. This means at least another two years. There are also a few who do their doctorate at Ishtaq after their first degrees in other Islamic countries. While studying here for long years, many of them married with their fellow Muslim compatriots and set up families; a few married local Malays, or, Chinese who converted to Islam.

8.6. In recent years, when the Islamic University put a limit to students they would accept from China, some Muslim families also started to apply to private colleges. Today the Chinese Muslim students in Malaysia, most of them of Hui origin, number about 50 to 60. The number may seem small, but their presence in the campus, at the markets, on public transports, in shopping malls, and assemblies, with the very distinct Hui look and unmistakable Muslim attire and comportment, has made an impact among the local Chinese and Malays as well. Chinese Muslims are not a rarity or an oddity anymore for Malaysian public. One of them commented: *"When I first came here, people would look at me with surprise. A Chinese in Muslim attire? Now, even the taxi drivers are used to seeing us and they ask a lot of questions about Muslims in China, and are happy to know more about us."*

8.7. Some of these students have been recruited to appear on Islamic programmes televised in Mandarin over various TV stations. Pusat Islam has a special budget for these Mandarin programmes. The person responsible for this department, Hajjah Mariam Ma, combines her deep knowledge on Islam with her fluency in Mandarin and Malay, to produce interesting programmes for the benefit of the Mandarin speaking Chinese community in Malaysia. Some other Muslim students from China may also have temporary part-time work with religious institutions such as REISAP or PERKIM; they are also often seen at various functions held by associations such as DarulFitrah, bringing a different face to the local Muslim scene.

8.8. Each student may stay here an average of 6 to 10 years. But there will always be continuity. For Malaysians who see them around, they are not identified as an individual, but, as Chinese Muslim. This presence and continuity should be encouraged by the Malaysian government, the learning institutions, and the public. In a way, it helps to bridge the gap between Chinese and Malays. It shows the Chinese that there are Chinese who are born Muslim and to the Malays that there are Muslims who are of Chinese origin. It is also a very real way of showing the universal facet of Islam, which to some degree is still lacking in Malaysia.

8.9 These Hui students and some professionals or traders, albeit with a temporary status, seem to be the last wave of Chinese Muslim presence in Malaysia today. But, the majority will still be the Chinese converts. They are the Chinese Muslims in Malaysia today.

NOTES

1. Malaysia, National Census 2000. Figures given are: Total number of Chinese Muslims in Malaysia is 57221, which makes up just 1% of the total Chinese population of 5691908. Selangor, with 17246, has the highest number of Chinese Muslims, followed by Sabah (8589), Kuala Lumpur (7991), and Sarawak (7287). There are more women than men, numbering 32271 and 21850 respectively.
2. Quoted from an article by Hamca entitled Zheng He, in *Star Weekly*, Indonesia, 8 March 1961. Paper delivered by Kong YuanZhi at the Conference to Commemorate Zheng He, Kun Ming 1992.
3. Claudine Salmon, *'Islam and Chineseness'*. 2001 Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute. Ma Huan, Zheng He's faithful chronicler who accompanied him on his 4th voyage. (1413-1415) reports that through East Java the population was made up of natives, Muslims (Hui Hui), and Tangren (Chinese) many of whom were Muslims. R.A. Kern, in *'The propagation of Islam'* also writes that Ma Huan, in describing the situation of Islam in Java, says there were three kinds of people: the Arabs who are Muslims from the West, the Chinese, many of whom had embraced Islam, and the Hindu-Javanese, who are not Muslim (the natives).
4. *Parlindungan Mangaradja Onggang*, Tuanku Rao. [Imam Bonjol] 1964, Jakarta: Penerbit Tandjung Pengharapan p.653.
5. *Ibid.* 2 pp 184,186,188.
6. Slamet Muljana, *Runtuknja Keradjaan Hindu-Djawa dan timbulnja Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara (The Fall of the Hindu-Javanese Kingdom and the Rise of Islamic States in the Archipelago)*, 1968, Jakarta: Bhratara. Muljana also reports that there was "influence of a certain Chinese art in the first Islamized monuments of Java's northern coastal area".
7. Amen Budiman, Indonesia 'Times' weekly, 14 September 1985. Also see Budiman, *Masyarakat Islam Tionghoa di Indonesia (The Chinese Muslim Community in Indonesia)* 1979, Semarang: Tanjung Sari p.75. And Budiman, *Semarang, Riwayatmu Dulu*, 1978, Semarang: Penerbit Tanjung Sari p.26
8. Tan Yeok Seong, *Chinese Element in the Islamisation of Southeast Asia*, --A Study of the Story of Njai gede Pinatih, the Great Lady of Gresik --, in *Journal of the South Seas Society* Vol.30, Parts 1&2, December 1975. This is the story of this 'grand old lady', a member of the family of Shih Chin Ching, the Pacifier of Kukang installed by Zheng He in 1405. She had been married to the regent of Madjopahit, and after his death, settled down in Grisee and adopted Islam as her religion. Her tomb, with the writing "Njai Ageng Pinatih" can still be seen in the mosque of Demak.
9. Heru Christiyono, *Perayaan Sam Poo Thay Jian: Ulang Tahun Klenteng Gedung Batu Semarang (Celebrating San Bao Tai Jian: Anniversary of Semarang stone house)*, 1982, in the magazine *Selecta*, no.1104.
10. Li Tong Cai, *Indonesia - Legends and Facts*, 1979, Singapore. p 85
11. *Nine Saints of Java*, edited by Alijah Gordon 1996.
12. This number even surpassed the total Malay population which stood at 285,202, for the same four states. Mustapa Mohamed, *Kemelut Politik Melayu () 2000*, Petaling Jaya : Hakcipta Media Centre. p.3
13. Mohammed Djinguzi, *L'Islam au Borneo Britannique septentrional'* (Islam in the British Northern Borneo), *Revue du Monde Musulman*, June 1908, Vol.V, no 6, Paris:E.Leroux.
14. *Ibid.* 14 p.4
15. Sam P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* 1996 New York: Simon & Schuster

16. Tan Chee Beng, A Note on the Orang Yunnan in Terengganu, 1991, Archipel No.42. Tan talks about a few socio-cultural aspects of these people. In appearance they look physically Chinese (2nd and 3rd generations). Islamic education is emphasized together with formal education in an Arabic school. Few attend Chinese schools. Professionally, many of the descendants are teachers and government employees. There are quite a number of Islamic specialists. Their ethnic status now is Bumiputra, the transition facilitated by intermarriages with Malays.
17. Malays accept more easily an original Chinese Muslim (born to Muslim parents from China) than they will a Chinese who converted to Islam for any reason. In actual fact, in Islam there is no distinction. Any person who becomes Muslim is Muslim.
18. Tan Chee-Beng, A Note on the Orang Yunnan in Terengganu, 1991, Archipel No.62
19. Chen Shu Shi, Bo Kai Yun Wu Jian Qing Zhen (Lift the Fog to see Islam) p.164 2001 Mentor Publishing Sdn. Bhd. Malaysia

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8

CLAUDINE SALMON

**WANG DAHAI AND HIS VIEW OF THE
"INSULAR COUNTRIES" (1791)**

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Wang Dahai and his View of the "Insular Countries" (1791)

Claudine Salmon

France

Abstract

I intend to show how through the notes written by Wang Dahai, a scholar from Fujian province who sojourned in Java from 1783 to 1793 to teach the children of his compatriot's, it is possible now to reconstruct his view on that part of the Malay World that was then under the control of the Dutch East India Company. In order to better appraise the originality of this viewpoint, I will contrast and compare it to those of two other scholars from the same province, namely Cheng Xunwo who hired his services in Batavia some years before the massacre of the Chinese in 1740 and incidentally Chen Hongzhao who spent some months in Java in 1749. If Wang as well as Cheng, at first, have been transformed by the virtuous influences of the Manchu dynasty, both are much concerned with the real political control exerted by the Dutch over the country. Wang also provides a long and rather detailed description on the various nations that are found in these "Insular Countries", ranging from the Westerners and other foreigners to the native population. Speaking of the latter - of which he presents no less than seventeen "suku" - he pays great attention to their political status and emphasizes those which are not yet subject to the Dutch rule. Of interest too is the fact that he ranges the descendants of Chinese, whom he called "Islam", as a class among the natives, just after the Javanese and before the Malays. Judging from the references made by Wang to the use of Malay as a medium of discourse between Dutch, Chinese and natives, "as the Mandarin dialect in China", and from the transcriptions of local terminology, he inserted in his text, one may assume that he had learned it enough to be able to communicate. If Wang pretends to ignore the antagonisms between the Dutch on the one hand, and the Javanese and the Chinese on the other, and if he goes so far as to show the "Insular Countries" as a "paradise", the reason is probably that his main purpose is to emphasize the achievements of the Chinese merchants abroad, and in so doing to show his compatriots that the Chinese values might well take root in a foreign environment.

“余謂西洋之地，有可愛者，亦有可惜者”

《海島逸誌》，第六頁

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Nowadays it is very difficult to know how the 18th century Chinese merchants who flocked to the main harbours of Insulinde experienced their sojourn, how they perceived the local society, and what were their perspectives on the region. Some of their

contemporaries in China, such as Li Shifen 李實發,¹ already complained that they could not obtain satisfying information from the merchants they happened to question; and went as far as to conclude that those who went abroad to make profits had neither the taste nor the capacity to record what they had seen.²

1.2 Fortunately for us, there were a few scholars who, for personal reasons, happened to follow in the wakes of the sea-going merchants. So far we managed to trace three, all native to Fujian province. Two of them – from Zhangzhou 漳州 prefecture – went to Insulinde in order to teach the children of their compatriots; namely Cheng Xunwo 程遜我 (1709-1749), who contracted his services in Batavia some years before the massacre of the Chinese in 1740, and Wang Dahai 王大海, who sojourned in Java for ten years from 1783 to 1793 and apparently visited Banjarmasin. As for the third one, Chen Hongzhao 陳洪照 (1710-1773) – from Dehua 德化 district (Yongchun 永春 sub-prefecture) –, who in 1749 spent five months in Batavia, the purpose of his sojourn has so far remained obscure; but we know that, in Batavia, he was the guest of the head of the Chinese community, Captain Huang Zhenguan 黃鏡官 (or Oeij Tsonko 黃鏡哥, in office 1747-1750)³ and that he also visited Banten and Semarang. The first one, according to his own words,⁴ had been commissioned by Cai Xin 蔡新 (1707-1799),⁵ a high civil servant who was a native of his district, to write a record about Batavia, which he titled *Gelaba jilue* or “Brief Record of Kelapa”⁶ (i.e. Batavia); it was only published after the author had passed away.⁷ The second visitor, who stayed successively in Batavia, Semarang and Pekalongan, wrote in 1791 an essay entitled *Haidao yizhi* 海島逸誌 or “Desultory Notes on the Insular Countries”, which was first published in

¹ Li Shifen was a native of Zhangpu 漳浦 (Zhangzhou prefecture), who graduated as a *jinsi* 進士 in 1727, and had been appointed a bachelor at Hanlin Academy, cf. *Zhangzhou fuzhi* 漳州府誌 (1877) j. 19, p. 5a and j. 13, pp. 41b-42a.

² See his preface to Cheng Xunwo's *Gelaba jilue* 噶喇吧紀略, ed. Xunmintang congshu 遜敏堂叢書, p. 1a-b.

³ See Chen Jiarong 陳佳榮, “Chen Hongzhao ‘Bayou jilue 吧游紀略’ – Qingchu jishu Zhuawa lingyi yaoji 清初記述爪哇的另一要籍”, *Haijiaoshi yanjiu* 海交史研究, 1994, 2, pp. 76-78. At an unknown date, he became a licentiate, but failed in the metropolitan examination.

⁴ Cf. *Gelaba jilue*, p. 9a.

⁵ Cai Xin himself had been approached by Fang Bao 方苞 (1668-1749), who wanted to know his views regarding the measures to be taken towards the VOC after the massacre of 1740 and towards the Chinese trade in Batavia; Cai Xin's reply is to be found in *Zhangzhou fuzhi* (1877), j. 49, pp. 31a-b. For an overview of the debates on the opportunity to continue the Chinese trade with the South Seas, see Jennifer Cushman, “Duke Ch'ing-Fu deliberates: A Mid-eighteenth Century Reassessment of Sino-Nanyang Commercial relations”, *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 17, March 1978, pp. 137-156.

⁶ The place name Kelapa was already in use during the Ming Dynasty (cf. Zhang Xie 張燮, *Dong xi yang kao* 東西洋考 (preface of 1617), Ed. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1981, III, p. 44). It is still known today and sometimes we find it under its Chinese translation “Yecheng 椰城” or the “City of the Coconuts”.

⁷ According to the preface by Li Shifen, the first edition was under preparation in 1748, but if the book was really printed or not, is not clear. So far, the oldest edition still extant is that of the Xunmin tang congshu, which was compiled between 1840 and 1848. For a French translation and more information on the later editions, see C. Salmon, “Un Chinois à Java (1729-1736)”, in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 59, 1972, pp. 279-318.

1806.⁸ As for the third one, after his return, he wrote an essay entitled *Bayou jilüe* or "Brief Record on a Journey to Batavia", which has apparently been lost, but some valuable quotations have been reproduced by Zhu Shijie 朱仕玠 in his *Xiao Liuqiu manzhi* 小琉球漫誌, "Unconventional Record on the Small Liuqiu", that was first published in 1766.⁹

1.3 We know rather little about these three authors. Cheng Xunwo after his return became a licenciate in 1744.¹⁰ Wang Dahai, went to Java after having apparently failed in the examinations.¹¹ Nothing is known about his private life after he returned to Fujian except that among his friends were accomplished scholars, such as Li Wei 李威, who became a *jinshi* in 1778, and who after he had retired, returned to Longxi 龍溪 (Zhangzhou prefecture), where he taught in an academy. As far as one can see, these two scholars decided to go abroad in order to make enough money to pay off their debts. As for Chen Hongzhao, according to Chen Jiarong, he was also an unsuccessful scholar who, after having failed the examinations several times, decided to embark on board a merchant ship.¹² Obviously our three authors belonged to the scholar-gentry and they decided to try their luck abroad mainly because their families had become impoverished in one way or another.

1.4 Cheng Xunwo, who wrote just after the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia, and to order, provides a very informative but very severe presentation of the life in Batavia. In the name of Confucian values, he disapproved of the policy of the Dutch authorities and that of the heads of the Chinese community; according to him, the two were ganging up to oppress the population. Wang Dahai, in contrast, provides a much more ambiguous image of the foreign countries, insisting in contrast on both their pleasant and unpleasant aspects, and suggesting that Chinese values may cohabit with a foreign social order. Considering the fact that he wrote on his own initiative, his account is especially instructive. I will successively scrutinize his political view of the "Insular Countries", his "ethnographical" approach to the various nations, which is rather elaborate for the time, and finally analyse the message he wanted to pass on his compatriots. In order to better appraise the originality of Wang Dahai's analysis, I will contrast it to those of two other scholars.

⁸ This first edition has survived up to now. It was used by W. H. Medhurst for his English translation (*A Desultory Account of the Malayan Archipelago by Ong-Ta-Hae*, Shanghai, The Mission Press, 1849), and more recently by Yao Nan 姚楠 and Wu Langxuan 吳聯璇, along with four later editions, for their own critical edition of the text (Hong Kong, Xuejin shudian, 1992). Here I will refer to this edition, and will borrow the relevant quotations from Medhurst's translation, except where I feel it necessary to give my own translation; these passages appear in italics.

⁹ See Chen Jiarong, "Chen Hongzhao 'Bayou jilüe' - Qingchu jishu Zhuawa lingyi yaoji", *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, 1994, 2, pp. 75-82, and "A la recherche du 'Récit sommaire sur Batavia' Bayou jilüe de Chen Hongzhao", French translation by C. Salmon, in *Archipel* 52, 1996, pp. 19-29.

¹⁰ *Zhangzhou fuzhi* (1877), j. 19, p. 22b

¹¹ The preface of Li Wei (1805) to the *Haidao yizhi*, p. xii, does not state which ones.

¹² Chen Jiarong, "Chen Hongzhao 'Bayou jilüe'", p. 76.

2. THE XIYANG OF THE CHINESE WORLD ORDER AND THE XIYANG AS PERCEIVED IN THE WORLD OF REALITY

2.1 Before investigating the authors' discourses as such, I need to elaborate on the term "Xiyang 西洋" (literally Western Seas) and its derived expressions "Xiyang zhi di 西洋之地" (Regions of the Western Seas), "Xiyang zhi guo 西洋之國" (Countries of the Western Seas), which Wang Dahai uses at several occasions, not in the modern meaning of the term, but indicating the "Nanyang 南洋" (South Seas). Wang Dahai also uses occasionally the term Nanhai, but with a slightly different connotation – following in this a tradition that goes back at least to the Yuan dynasty.¹³ However, in the edition of 1891, the expression Xiyang has been replaced by that of "Xinan yang 西南洋" (Western part of the South Seas).

a. *The "Insular Countries" as part of the Chinese World Order*

The notion of "Chinese political order" is always in the background of Wang Dahai's and Cheng Xunwo's discourses. The first author writes in his preface:

The countries of the Western Seas are on the verge of civilization, and their being now integrated into the empire after the fashion of the villages of Zou 鄒 and Lu 魯¹⁴, is entirely owing to the virtuous influence of our august government; though located in the remote confines, they have been transformed by the innate force of its majesty. (p. xiv).

We may see here that Wang Dahai subscribes to Mengzi 孟子的 idealist view according to which the barbarians could be easily transformed (*hua* 化) just by being exposed to Confucian culture.¹⁵ Then amplifying Cheng Xunwo,¹⁶ as if Wang wanted to make sure that his approach was politically correct, he adds at the beginning of his presentation of Batavia: "The virtuous influence of our Government extending far, all the foreigners have submitted, and thus mercantile intercourse is not prohibited." (p. 2) Having by so doing reasserted his adhesion to the "myth" of the Chinese order, and applied the real world a political matrix that was supposed to soothe his readers, Wang Dahai, like Cheng Xunwo, without any embarrassment provides a description of the political situation in the Insular Countries that greatly contradicts what he had stated before.

¹³ Cf. Chen Jiarong, Xie Fang 謝方 & Lu Junling 陸峻嶺, *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi* 古代南海地名匯釋, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1986, pp. 329-331.

¹⁴ Zou being the native country of Mengzi and Lu that of Confucius, that means highly civilised kingdoms.

¹⁵ On the different Chinese perceptions of World Order, see B. I. Schwartz, "Chinese Perception of World Order, Past and Present", in J. K. Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1968, pp. 276-288.

¹⁶ Cheng Xunwo says: "The majesty and virtue of our dynasty reach far, the foreigners have come to make profession of allegiance; therefore the laws do not prohibit the mercantile intercourse and the people from Zhangzhou, Quanzhou 泉州, Chaozhou 潮州 and Guangzhou 廣州 rush to these countries."

b. The "Insular Countries under the de facto control of the Dutch

Unlike Cheng Xunwo who, at the beginning of his account, tries to clarify the successive appellations of present place name Jakarta, Wang at one time uses Kelapa (Gelaba),¹⁷ at another Baguo 吧國, an abbreviated form for Batavia. He is nevertheless conscious that the two appellations referred to different periods, for at the end of the first use he says this (pp. 2-3):

The territory of Batavia originally belonged to the Javanese, but the Dutch, having by stratagem and artifice¹⁸ got possession of the revenues, proceeded to give orders and enact laws, until squatting down along the sea-coast, they have exacted duties, issued passports, guarded ingress and egress, put down robbers, and brought the natives under their entire control.¹⁹

2.2 He further specifies that the territory was under the authority of a Governor-General (*da wang* 大王)²⁰ and that the Javanese princes who ruled in the interior of the island could no more appoint their civil servants without the consent of the Dutch authorities.²¹ Elsewhere he enumerates the countries of Java that were dependencies of the Dutch, namely Batavia, Banten 萬丹, Pekalongan 北膠浪, Semarang 三寶壠, Gresik 竭力石, Surabaya 泗里貓, and those of the outer islands, Banjarmasin 馬辰, Makassar 望加錫, Ambon 安汶, Banda 萬瀾, Ternate 濶仔低, and Malacca 麻六甲.²² If he deals

¹⁷ Cheng Xunwo makes the following comment: "The natives call the coconut *kelapa*. It was during the Xuande 宣德 era of the Ming [1426-1435], when Eunuch Wang Sanbao 王三保 led the expedition to the South Seas that the Chinese started to call this place Kelapa, because of the great number of coconut trees growing there. The Javanese gave the city the name of Jit-kat-ta-la 二碼頭 (Jakarta), and the Dutch that of Bak-tau-a 日兜子 (Batavia)" (p. 1b).

¹⁸ Here Wang Dahai is influenced by Cheng Xunwo, who retold the following anecdote: "When the Dutch first came to Batavia to trade, they presented the Javanese ruler with gifts and asked for permission to borrow for one year a piece of land, the surface of which was equal to that of an ox's hide; this having been granted to them, they cut the hide into thin strips, and delimited the space where their fortress now stands; later, they annexed Java and established their administration there." (p. 3a). Chen Hongzhao also records a similar story saying: "Formerly Kelapa was an independent country. At the end of the Ming, it was annexed by the Dutch and presently the country is controlled by a man of this nation who is called 'king' (*wang* 王), though the real king resides in Holland". Chen Haozhao also alludes to the fact that the Dutch hired a plot of land where they settled, and he adds: "When they had been used to the country, they attacked the king and killed him. By now the Hollanders hardly amount to 4,000. But they are violent and tricky and have subdued the natives". (p. 80)

¹⁹ Cheng Xunwo at the beginning of his account also states: "All over the South Seas are just aquatic villages and watery countries. The cities, being walled, and moated are well protected; the city of Kelapa, which controls all the other ones, belongs to the Dutch, and constitutes an important strategic base" (p. 2a)

²⁰ At the time, the Governor-General was Willem Arnold Alting (1780-1796).

²¹ In order to get a better idea of the complexity of the relationships between Mataram (the great kingdom that controlled Central Java during the 17th and 18th centuries) and the Dutch East India Company (VOC), see M. C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangubumi 1749-1792. A History of the Division of Java*, London, New York, Toronto, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1974.

²² Cheng Xunwo (p. 2a) and Chen Hongzhao (p. 80) also detail similar lists of dependencies, with the only differences that Cheng also mentions Ceylon 西瀛, the Cape 牛欄, and incorrectly, Aceh 阿齊, and Cheng another place name, Moliling 未留齡, the identification of which has remained uncertain.

separately (pp. 27-28) with the Sultanate of Banten, it is to state that the inhabitants and the prince have lost all liberties:

Banten was formerly called the Shepo country; it lies to the west of Batavia and is inhabited by Javanese. The territory is wide and extensive, while the fields are rich and well-watered. Property is abundant and the people affluent (...) The Hollanders collect the revenues, and hold the lands on the sea-coast in possession, in order to keep in order the various foreigners, who come and go for purposes of trade. The Javanese assemble from all parts in great numbers; but they with their chiefs are very much afraid of the Hollanders, honouring them very scrupulously, and not daring to treat them with the least negligence²³. Their Sultan dwells in the interior²⁴, and the royal palace where he resides is strong and elegantly adorned. Outside the palace there is a small fort; where twelve Hollanders and 100 native troops are stationed, under the name of guards of honour, but really to control the Sultan. When the Sultan dies, his son cannot succeed without an order from the Hollanders. The Javanese are dull and stupid by nature, thinking that the Hollanders reverence them, and therefore take the trouble to collect their revenues; they imagine also that the Hollanders respect them, and have therefore built the fort, and personally act as their guards of honour.²⁵

2.3 Scrutinizing the political status of the Chinese in these regions, Wang Dahai comes to discuss the appointment of their heads. Selection was made at two levels. The candidate had to belong to the commercial elite and must have been tacitly accepted by the other merchants before being in a position to present his candidature to the Dutch.

Our rich merchants and great traders amass inexhaustible wealth, whereupon they give bribes to the Hollanders, and are elevated to the ranks of great Captain, Lieutenant, Commissary of insolvent and intestate estates or Boedelmeester, Secretaris and such like appellations. [...] When the Chinese quarrel or fight, they represent their cause to the Captain, before whom they make a low bow, without kneeling, and call themselves his "juniors". The rights and wrongs, with the crooked and straights of the matter, are all immediately settled, either by imprisonment, or flogging, without giving the affair a second thought. With respect

²³ Wang Dahai seems ignorant of the fact that, since the settlement of the Dutch in Batavia in 1619, the Sultanate of Banten had been constantly at war with the VOC until the last fight in 1682 and the fall of Sultan Ageng. He also does not seem to have heard of the great rebellion of Banten in 1751-1752, which gave the Dutch serious problems, and during which the Chinese of Batavia sided the Dutch, presumably to benefit from the restoration of peace in these regions in order to develop their sugar plantations; cf. C. Lombard-Salmon & D. Lombard, "A propos de quelques stèles chinoises récemment retrouvées à Banten", *Archipel* 19, 1980, p. 113.

²⁴ In fact at this time the sultan had his palace inside the city of Banten.

²⁵ In so doing, the Company protected the sultan that it had chosen against some potential usurpers, so that this view of the facts coincided with a certain reality regarding the Bantanese elite that remained in power.

to flagrant breaches of the law and great crimes, together with marriages and deaths, reference must invariably be made to the Hollanders. (pp. 4-5)

2.4 Some lines below, Wang provides a description of the ceremony by which a captain was established in his new functions, which he probably witnessed during his stay in Semarang, and which was unique for this period:

Whenever any of the Chinese are appointed to be Captains a representation must be made to Europe. The new Captain then selects a lucky period, and assembles his relatives and friends, the guests in his family, and visitors from the villages amounting to some score of persons, when on the appointed day a Hollander approaches bringing the order. The Captain and his friends go outside the door to receive him; the Hollander enters, and stepping up into the middle of the hall, stands conspicuous, and opening the order, reads it; then pointing to heaven above, and earth beneath, he says, "This man is polite, intelligent, and well-informed regarding the principles of things, hence he is promoted to be a captain; you elderly gentlemen, what think you of it?" All the people then with one voice exclaim "Very good, most excellent!". The Hollander then shakes hands with all of them, and this ceremony being completed, they all return to their seats; the European then taking the Captain by the hand, leads him up the steps to the middle of the hall were they pay compliments to each other. (pp. 19-20)

2.5 And Wang Dahai comments: "This is the way in which the Dutch set our people into their net." Cheng Xunwo is also very critical of the attitude of the Captains of the Chinese in Batavia²⁶. He says:

Even the Captains of the Chinese do not excel in their management of affairs. At the beginning the Captain shared responsibility with the Governor-General. He had absolute power over his compatriots. Later on, he was granted the monopoly of the weighting house²⁷ and that of collecting taxes on Chinese ships, and he only returns to the Dutch authorities half of the revenues. Is it not as if the Chinese were devouring each other? (p. 6)

2.6 Regarding the way our three authors appraise the merits and demerits of the Dutch administration, significant differences may be observed between Cheng and Wang. The first author has a tendency to see impediments to his freedom everywhere. When he

²⁶ When Cheng arrived in Batavia Captain Que Bauqua 郭昂官 was still in office, but he passed away in 1733, and was succeeded by Que Tjoenqua 郭春官 who remained in office until he died in 1736, and then by Ni Hoe Kong 連福公.

²⁷ This revenue farm was conferred as early as the 17th century to Captain Siqua [顏]二官, who was in office from 1663 to 1678. Cheng Xunwo (p. 3b) also alludes to the weighting house, stating that the tax levied there was two per cent, and that it produced an annual revenue of more than a hundred thousand taels; but he did not state that the farm was in the hands of the Chinese captain.

reached Batavia he noticed the presence of military ships that were spread out like a belt around the roads (p. 3b). In the city, he observes the presence of sentinels mounting guard near the military posts and adds: "All the cities and all the posts are under military control and closely guarded. [...] The guards are quick and one should not try to resist their weapons; consequently after one has reached this country one has to inquire in detail about all the prevailing regulations". He has the feeling that the "Barbarians" (*qunfan* 群番), are fierce and tough, and that he has "to wash his rice on the point of a sword and to cook on the tip of a spear";²⁸ in other words he felt insecure. (p. 4b)

2.7 As for Wang Dahai, he also notices the control exerted by the Dutch authorities on the inhabitants, only to see its good points: "Those who journey by water and land, must all be provided with passports, to prevent their going and coming in an improper way; from this may be inferred how strict the Hollanders are in the execution of the laws, and how minute in the levy of duties." (p. 4-5) However he showed less admiration regarding the way the Dutch dealt with crimes.

The life of man, however, is not required at the hand of his next neighbour; but Europeans lay great stress on evidence, requiring the witnesses to submit to examination; and to take oath by cutting off the fowl's head, before they dare to settle a matter or decide a cause; thus, when men are killed, they are either thrown out into the streets, or suffered to float down the streams, every one being silent without enquiry, and nobody daring to stand forward as a witness. Alas! alas! that the important affair of human life should after all be treated so lightly.

3. THE XIYANG AND ITS MOSAIC OF NATIONS

3.1 In spite of this coercive political order which the newcomers were faced after their arrival in Java, and to which they had to get used, Wang Dahai enjoyed the way of life of these "Insular Countries". He took great interest in his investigation of the local societies. He had the opportunity to observe all the nations coming to trade in Batavia and himself also visited two other cities of Java; apparently, he also met with merchants who used to travel through the various islands of the Archipelago and inquired about their populations and products. Here and there he even mentions them by name. In his preface, he states that he had read the history of Batavia drawn up by Cheng Xunwo and added: "I approved in some measure of his minute description of the country, but I found his account of the inhabitants defective." (p. xiv) One may wonder if the text Wang read contained the supplement entitled *Gelaba jilue shiyi* 噶喇吧紀拾遺 in which the author

²⁸ This expression is reminiscent of a verse that is contained in the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Account of Tales of the World), Hong Kong. Taiping shuju, 1966, j. 6, 25, p. 204: "One washes the rice on the extremity of a spear and one cooks on the point of a sword."

provides some information on the manners of the inhabitants, mainly Dutch and Javanese, as well as on the products, and oddities.²⁹

3.2 Obviously Wang collected all this information with the intention of writing a kind of monograph on the "Insular Countries", for he wrote: "In drawing my 'Desultory Account of the Islands of the Seas', the character of the inhabitants was inquired into, something was gathered up about the mountains and seas, the islands were examined, various observations recorded, the natural productions alluded to." (p. xiv). Though Wang Dahai had learnt the local language(s), as we will see below, it seems unlikely that he had access to any local chronicles. All that he wrote of the history of these islands is apparently based on information obtained by hearsay.

3.3 Of the seven sections of Wang's account,³⁰ the third especially details the different nations to be found in the Insular Countries, although some scattered information may also be found in other sections, to the extent that there are several overlapping and even contradictory statements. Wang does not explain how he proceeded to classify these nations, but his criteria have obviously something to do with their respective political status and their economic role in the daily life of Batavia. However Wang also takes into account the little demographic information he was able to collect, and which to his eyes was relevant too. Although his presentation is not always consistent, it seems that one may contrast the foreigners to the various Indonesian *suku* or ethnic groups among which fall Chinese Muslim Peranakan, called here Selam 息奈, and Portuguese Mestizos or Seranis 色仔啤. Worth noting is the fact that the Chinese are given a special treatment; instead of describing them as an ethnic group among others, the author opts for "a description of remarkable individuals", which is presented separately (in section II). This may be interpreted as the result of an ethnocentric view of the world, as a means to avoid mentioning their political involvement in the Java war of the 1740s, which may have been deemed highly reprehensible in the eyes of the manchu Court, but also as a bias to show that the Chinese of both sexes could make notable achievements in the "Insular Countries" as well.

3.3.a *Merchants from abroad*

At the top of Wang's hierarchy stand the Dutch, who, he says, have taken possession of Batavia "a little more than 200 years" ago. Here again Wang retells after his own manner the main steps of the conquest, and insists on the last one, without a single allusion to the involvement of the Chinese on the side of the Javanese in the war and against the VOC: "The Dutch then entered into a treaty with the Susuhuanan 巡欄 or

²⁹ Cheng Xunwo's account as circulated in Batavia until the beginning of the 20th century and published by Xu Yunqiao 許雲樵 in *Nanyang xuebao* 南洋學報, IX, 1, June 1953, pp. 8-10, only consists of the main text without the supplement.

³⁰ The seven sections are: I. Description of various places, II. Account of celebrated persons, III. Account of different nations, IV. Miscellaneous matters, V. Other things worthy of observation, VI. On fruits and flowers, VII. Various accounts.

Emperor of Solo, engaging to pay him a certain amount of tribute annually; and thus all the territory along the coast came under the superintendence of the Dutch³¹. They then erected forts and defences, and encroached more and more as the silk-worms devour leaves." (pp. 50-51). Then he alludes to the English and the French, who in Europe shared sovereignty with the Dutch. Wang interestingly emphasises the technical superiority of the former in terms of manufacture of guns, swords and other implements, but at the same time insists on the fact that in Batavia they were controlled by the Dutch. He says:

Those who trade in Batavia all reside in factories, and submit to the regulations of the Dutch; while the latter treat them well, and do not dare to quarrel with them.

And showing his good knowledge of the recent events he adds:

Of late years they have established a new settlement, to the west of Malacca, and the south of Quedah 吉礁, on the opposite side of the peninsula of Patani 大咩, called the island of Pinang 檳榔嶼.³² But the regulations there are oppressive and unfriendly. (pp. 53-54)

As for the French, in the eyes of Wang, their kingdom was large and the population numerous, but there were but few merchants so that they seldom went to Batavia (pp. 54-55). Wang is not very clear as regards the Spanish. Although he says that they were called Song-a by the Chinese in reference to Luzon, he does not state explicitly that Manila was a dependency of Spain. Hence, a certain Huang Yixuan 黃毅軒, possibly a friend of Wang Dahai, wrote a short supplement on Luzon which was appended to the seventh section, along with another one, anonymous, on Taiwan.

After the Europeans, Wang presents the other foreigners whose countries had commercial intercourse with them such as the natives of the Coast of Coromandel, or whose countries were already more or less controlled by the Dutch or the British, such as the Cape 鴿, Mangalore 壠, Ceylon 西壠, Cochin 龜靜 and Bengal 明絞脊; the five last ones are given in an appendix, apparently because their inhabitants visited Batavia rather rarely, although Cheng Xunwo mentioned expressly the Bengalis 望絞喇 among the settlers of that city (p.10a). Indeed Wang Dahai admits that he had difficulty identifying all the countries dependent on Europe, by saying:

³¹ This is the treaty of November 1743, according to which, the Susuhunan, Paku Buwana II, was restored to his throne, but the king ceded to the VOC full sovereignty over West Madura, Surabaya, Rembang, Japara and the Eastern Salient. The VOC was further given an option to take a narrow strip along the entire coast and along all the rivers flowing into the Java Sea, if it desired; cf. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, p. 89.

³² Francis Light officially took possession of the island of Penang on August 11, 1789. Wang seems to ignore that since 1685 the British had also a factory in Bencoolen.

They are intermixed and connected together without end; (...) They cannot all be fully known, nor are there any means of inquiring about them. (p. 90)

As for the inhabitants of the Coast 高奢 [of Coramandel], we learn indirectly that they were Muslims. However, one may wonder if Wang Dahai is not confusing here Muslim Kelings (from Kalinga, a former name of Coromandel) and Arabs³³, or mixing these two ethnic groups (Hadramis were used to immigrate to southeast India), because he says that the Chinese called them "Sayid 些逸". Moreover the physical portrait he draws also gives the impression that he is portraying Arabs. He writes:

They are tall in person, with bushy whiskers, and imposing appearance; they wear flowery tunica, embroidered robes, and white silken trousers. They bind their heads about with white cloth (turbans), and hold rosaries in their hands³⁴. Their country is rich, and their manufacture consist of a fine cotton cloth called *kasah* 絨只 also denominated *mori* 毛里³⁵ ... (p. 58).

This possible confusion, may eventually explain why Wang Dahai only speaks of the city of Mecca in the following section and exclusively in connection with Indonesians making the pilgrimage.³⁶

3.3.b Mapping the natives

One may imagine that for outsiders it was very difficult to identify what we in our modern terminology call "ethnic groups" or in Indonesian *suku bangsa* and what Cheng Xunwo simply called *zafan* 雜番 "various Barbarians", while Wang Dahai made use of

³³ At the time Wang resided in Batavia, the quarters of Arabs as well as Muslim Klings adjoined those of the Chinese, especially that of Pekojan (literally the quarter where the *khajah* or Muslim merchants from north India lived together). The Arabs also had a holy place in Luar Batang where they worshipped the tomb of a certain Said Husain Bin Abubakar Al-Idrus, who died in 1756, according to some sources, and in 1796, according to others. But according to Cheng Xunwo there must have existed a previous *kramat*, for he called the place in Chinese Shengmu gang or "Harbour of the Holy Tomb" (p. 3a). For more information on the Keling and Arab settlements in Batavia at the time, see F. De Haan, *Oud Batavia, Gedenkboek uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 300 jarig bestaan der Stadt in 1919*, Batavia, Weltevreden, Leiden, Uitgegeven door Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen en bij G. Kolff & Co., 1922, I, pp. 486-488.

³⁴ Chen Hongzhao also presents the inhabitants of the Coast of Coromandel, but portrays them in a different manner, saying: "they are not very tall; men have a ring ornamented with pearls in their ears". He also confirms that their country is rich and that they have commercial intercourse with numerous nations. And he adds: "They are clever and know how to value the merchandises." (p. 81).

³⁵ *Kasah, kasa or khasah*, is a Malay term believed to be of Persian origin (cf. Russell Jones, *Arabic Loan-words in Indonesian. A Check-list of Words of Arabic and Persian origin in Bahasa Indonesia and Traditional Malay, in the Reformed Spelling*, Indonesian Etymological Project III, London, SOAS, 1978, p. 40) and used to refer to Indian muslin, lawn or gauze, while *mori* or *muri* refers in Malay to plain white cotton fabric.

³⁶ The phraseology used in this paragraph shows enough that Wang was not much interested in religious facts. He calls Allah the "True Buddha", *zhenfo* 真佛, possibly a parallel form to that of *zhenzhu* 真主, which is a popular designation for Allah (cf. *Hanyu da cidian* 汉语大辞典, 2: 141) and states that Mecca 穆迦 is "popularly called the residence of the True Buddha 俗曰佛地 真佛所居". (p. 95).

the generic term *zhonglei* 種類, a synonym of *zhongzu* 種族, "race", "class" or "tribe", which had been in use since the Song dynasty to refer to the non-Han inhabitants of the empire.³⁷ The two authors try their best to link the ethnic groups to their native regions in the Archipelago. Wang Dahai also provides information on the political situation, insisting on those lands which were still independent (*bu shou helan jiechi* 不受和蘭節制 or *bu shu helan tongxia* 不屬和蘭統轄). This information was of great importance for the natives themselves, but just as much for the Chinese merchants who wanted to have commercial intercourse with them. And possibly because Wang always had commercial intercourse in mind, he links the presentation of the populations with the main products of their countries of origin.

Cheng Xunwo identifies ten ethnic groups, namely Javanese 爪鴉, Malays 無[來]由, Makassarese 夢交虱, Balinese 貓離, Papuas 罷罷, Bugis 武吃, Minangkabau 寧交茂, Kering 吉能, Wugui 烏鬼, "Black Devils", or Seranis and Bacanese 貓章,³⁸ but only elaborates on the Javanese. As for Wang Dahai, he provides more or less information about seventeen ethnic groups, namely all those mentioned by Cheng, with the exception of the Minangkabau, to which he added Peranakan, Butonese 武敦, Li-ba-jiu 里貓柔, i.e. Biaju,³⁹ Timorese 知汶, inhabitants of Pasir 把實, Ambonese 安汶 and Bandanese 萬瀾.

If Cheng Xunwo has a rather limited perception of the native populations of the Archipelago, unlike Wang he pays great attention to their social status in Batavia, seeing most of them as slaves. And he explains this condition in the following way:

The various Barbarians to be found in Batavia have been captured and are brought here by pirates (*zeifan* 賊番) who sell them as slaves.⁴⁰ And the Chinese do purchase some.⁴¹ (p. 311)

³⁷ Cf. *Hanyu da cidian*, 8, pp. 109-110. For a discussion of the ethnic terms used by Chen Lunqiong, another scholar from Fujian province, in his "Record of Things Heard and Seen of the Maritimes Nations" (1730), see Wang Gungwu, « The Melayu in *Hai-kuo wen-chien lu* », first published in 1963 and reprinted in *Community and Nation. Essays on Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, ASAA Southeast Asia Publications Series 6, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong, Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd, 1981, pp. 111-112.

³⁸ There are a few misprints in the Cheng's account, and some of these ethnic appellations had to be "reconstructed", by comparing them with those provided by Wang Dahai and other authors.

³⁹ Wang Dahai made use here of the curious Hokkien transcription Li-ba-jiu, which apparently refers to the Biaju. Worth noting here is the fact that the appellation Biaju was already used and more properly transcribed by the Chinese of the very beginning of the 17th century (cf. Zhang Xie, *Dong xi yang kao*, j. 4, p. 85, under the heading Banjarmasin, where it appears under the [Hokkien] transcription *boe-oo-jiu* 寶哇柔). The Biaju are related to the Olo [Uluh] Ngaju and live between the mouth of the river Barito and the mountain of Kota Waringin.

⁴⁰ During the 17th century the slaves were mainly brought from the mainland of South-East Asia – Coromandel Coast, Malabar, Bengal and from Arakan in Burma. Gradually, the Archipelago became the main source of slaves. At various times Sumba, Sumbawa, Flores, Timor, Nias, Kalimantan and Pampanga in Luzon made their contributions, but the most important sources were Bali and South Celebes; cf. Lance Castles, "Ethnic Profile of Djakarta", *Indonesia*, 3, 1967, p. 156.

⁴¹ Wang Dahai alludes to such slaves, especially to a Papua 暴暴 who worked in the distillery of Captain [actually Lieutenant] Ko Kimko 高根哥 (in office 1775-1777), and who drank so much liquor that after six

There is some exaggeration in Cheng's assessment, first because the slave traffic of the time not only involved pirates but also native rulers, especially in Bali, as well as Chinese, Arab, Bugis and European traders;⁴² secondly, because among the natives residing in Batavia were also free native settlers, among whom an important element was freed slaves who were mainly Christians. But it is not impossible that at the time Cheng Xunwo was in Batavia the free settlers were still outnumbered by slaves.⁴³ Cheng also alludes to the manner in which these slaves, after they had accumulated enough money, could repurchase their freedom and establish their own homes.

We will now turn to the way Wang Dahai portrays the main ethnic groups namely, Javanese, Selam or Chinese Muslim Peranakan, Malays, Bugis, Seranis and Biaju.

3.3.b(i) *The Javanese*

Cheng Xunwo and Wang Dahai both insist on the fact that the Javanese were extremely numerous and that they were widely spread. The latter, who is much concerned with their state of subjugation, even says that "they did not fall short of millions, while the Hollanders could not muster one for their thousand, and these very dispersed." (p. 28) Cheng writes that their country was centered in Mataram 目兜覽 and adds that the cities of Cirebon 井里汶, Pekalongan, Tegal 直葛, Semarang, Surabaya, [Rembang] [南]望⁴⁴, Gresik and Be-tan 尾陳 [?] were under its control (p. 10a). Wang has a much more accurate view of their distribution in the "Insular Countries", and details the different places in the Archipelago where they were to be found: "All along the coast from Banten and Batavia, to Cheribon, Pekalongan, Semarang, Lasem 齊森, Gresik, Surabaya and Blambangan 外南旺". And he adds: "There are also some of this race (*zhonglei*) in Johor 柔佛, Palembang 巨港, Jambi 占卑, Lampung 覽房 and elsewhere" (p. 60). Speaking of their ruler, Cheng says: "Their king is called Susuhunan 顯孫蘭⁴⁵, his assistants, Dipatis 二把致.⁴⁶" (p. 10a) Wang in his turn explains their political organisation as follows: "They generally acknowledge the ruler of Semarang and Solo as their Susuhunan, or

or seven days he was still under the influence of alcohol (p. 69). And Wang himself owned a Kering slave girl from Ceram (p.73), and also a Bugis slave girl, named in Chinese Zhangzhu 掌珠, as we will see below.

⁴² But it is worth noting here that T. S. Raffles, *History of Java*, (1st ed. 1817) Reprint, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1965, vol. 1, p. 233, shared Cheng Xunwo's view, saying: "The sources of slavery in the Malayan countries are chiefly piracy at sea, captivity in war, man-stealing along the coast, and the penalties enacted in the Malayan law respecting debts and sundry misdemeanours."

⁴³ In view of the paucity of sources it is not possible to estimate the composition of the population of Batavia for the 18th century. But, in the third quarter of the 18th century 4,000 slaves were still imported annually, and in Raffles' times only a quarter of the slaves were locally born; see Lance Castles, "Ethnic Profile of Djakarta", p. 154.

⁴⁴ If we read the character *gao* 高 as a misprint for *nan* 南.

⁴⁵ Susuhunan, sometimes abbreviated in Sunan, literally "he whom we obey". A title borne by the sovereign of Mataram since the 17th century, and rendered by the Dutch as "Emperor of Java". But in 1749 came the partition into Surakarta (under the Susuhunan) and Yogyakarta (under the Sultan), which deprived the Susuhunan of about half of his realm.

⁴⁶ Dipati, abbreviation of Adipati or Regent or Viceroy.

sovereign. The chiefs of the other places being merely called Sultan 吏丹.”(p. 60). Elsewhere he completed his description of the administrative organisation by saying: “Amongst their officers, they have [A]dipatis, Tumanggung 淡板公⁴⁷ and Patis 把低;⁴⁸ these have each of them assistants, like our great officers in China, who transact business for them.” (p. 3). None of our three authors noticed the existence of Sundanese in the western part of Java. When Wang, as well as Chen Hongzhao, though with much less details (p. 80), describes the way the Javanese grow rice, it is not possible to know to which ethnic group he means. Referring to the inhabitants of Java (*jumin* 居民) Wang states:

They dwell among hills and dales, cultivating their fields; and reaping only one harvest in the year. In the springtime, after the rains, when the fields are full of water, they spread the seed abroad; and it grows up spontaneously, without the aid of either hoe or plough; weeds do not spring up, and the crop is produced of its own accord;⁴⁹ each ear has hundreds of grains, hence in these western regions the price of rice is very moderate. On the sloping sides of the hills, also rice may be planted, where the ground, if but just chiselled by a bodkin, and a few grains cast in, at the proper season, will yield an abundant harvest. The rice does not need a mill to grind it, but is put into a long wooden trough, when several people beat it with long pestles; as soon as the grain is freed from the stalk they sift it out; and again pound it to clear it from the husk. The rice of Java is a long grain and soft, much superior to that of China. (p. 30)

Speaking of their society, Cheng Xunxo remains in the public sphere, while Wang is more interested in presenting the private sphere. The first provides interesting details on the way justice was administrated:

The criminals are condemned to fight with a tiger; they are given a dagger with which they should stab the feline; if they succeed, then they are freed, if not they are the prey of the tiger.⁵⁰ (p. 10a)

Wang, like Chen Hongzhao,⁵¹ notices the prominent place given to women: “The concerns of each family are managed by women, hence parents consider it of importance

⁴⁷ Tumanggung: In Java a regent or divisional administrator ranking after an Adipati and a Ngabehi but with much the same power.

⁴⁸ Pati: High official.

⁴⁹ One may wonder here if Cheng is not idealising the process. For another description of rice cultivation, Raffles, *History of Java*, I, pp. 115-121.

⁵⁰ Raffles, *History of Java*, I, pp. 347-348, also alludes to this practice saying: “The exposure of criminals in combat with tigers was formerly practised, and is said to have been common on the first establishment of Mataram empire; but of late years, such a method of deriving amusement from the infliction of judicial punishment had almost become obsolete, and is now, as well as mutilation and torture, altogether abolished by treaty”.

to have daughters born, by the marriage of whom sons-in-law are brought into the family; but when a son is born they are less pleased, because at his marriage he goes out to be housed elsewhere." (p. 30). He also gives hints about daily life, and this shows that he happened to witness it:

Their houses are like pavilions, open on all sides; they use neither chairs nor tables, but spread mats on the floor to sit on. The floors of their rooms are all covered with these mats, and surrounded with tapestry: their bedsteads are not high, their mattresses are soft; and their pillows are piled up like a tower, six or seven stories high. They sit generally cross-legged; and squat down when they see a visitor, holding each others hands by way of ceremony. They commonly esteem betel, and when a stranger arrives they present it as a mark of respect...

Regarding cultural life, Wang provides vivid descriptions of the spectacles: *ronggeng* 弄迎 or native dancing girls, *topeng* 多乘 or masks and *wayang* 花英. He says of the shadow-play representations:

They are intended to depict the fabulous relations of the old Javanese; these puppets are fairy-like forms, made either to fly or dive, and the tales regarding them are like the lying and unfounded stories contained in romance. (p. 128)

As for their writing, he contents himself with saying that it "resembles crawling worms" and that "their dialects differ according to the places in which they reside". Obviously he did not try to really understand the way they thought. One will see now that he had almost the same attitude towards the converted Peranakan.

3.3.b (ii) *The Selam*

As regards the Chinese living in Java, Wang Dahai clearly identifies three groups: the newcomers, those locally born (Bachan 吧產) who were still China-oriented and keen to have their daughters married to newcomers (p. 20), and those who were in the process of merging into the local society and had become Muslims. Interestingly he traces the history of the migrations from China to Java to the Ming dynasty and not earlier, probably because he links them with the great expeditions of Admiral Zheng He 鄭和, to which he alludes elsewhere. He writes:

Those who ply the oar and spread the sail, to go abroad, are principally the inhabitants of the Fujian and Canton provinces, who have been in the habit of emigrating. From the early part of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1366) up to the present day, that is for more than four hundred years, those of our countrymen who have

³¹ Chen Hongzhao even retells an anecdote according to which in Java even the hens have spurs and preside over daybreak.

remained and sojourned in those parts, after propagating and multiplying, amount to no less than 100,000. (p. 2)

Elaborating a little more, he identifies among the local born a special group that is in the process of merging into Javanese society:

When the Chinese remain abroad for several generations, without returning to their native land, they frequently cut themselves off from the instruction of the sages; in language, food, and dress they imitate the natives, and studying foreign books, they do not scruple to become Javanese, when they call themselves Sit-lam. They then refuse to eat pork, and adopt altogether native customs. Having multiplied, in the course of time, the Dutch have given them into the hands of Captain, who superintends this class. (p. 33)

Here one may wonder if Wang would have been able to delineate them so clearly, had not the Dutch decided in 1770 to appoint a Peranakan Captain in order to maintain them separated from the natives, so that they could not escape the poll tax. Wang did not dare to make any comment, and we also do not know if he was aware of the fact that the heads of the Chinese community themselves wanted to slow the Islamisation of these Peranakan. Things being as they are, it is nevertheless interesting to notice that in his "ethnographical" survey Wang Dahai places the Peranakan Muslim after the Javanese, and before the Malays.

3.3.b (iii) *The Malays*

Wang Dahai makes use of the transcription Wulaiyou 無來由 to design the Malay people following a usage already well established, at least since 1730, by Chen Lunqiong in his *Haiguo wenjian lu* 海國聞見錄, "A Record of Things Heard and Seen of the Maritime Countries"⁵². And so does Cheng Xunwo⁵³. As for Chen Hongzhao it is more difficult to ascertain whether he was also familiar with the name Wulaiyou. In one of the quotations of the *Xiao Liuqiu manzhi*, in which the author presented different nations outside of Java, he mentioned the Wuwu 武兀, an expression that has been interpreted by Chen Jiarong as a [corrupted] form of Wulaiyou.⁵⁴

Unlike Chen Lunqiong 陳倫炯,⁵⁵ Wang Dahai distinguished clearly between Melayu and Javanese. As regards the distribution of the former in the Insular Countries, he wrote: "This race (*zhonglei*) is exceedingly numerous, scattered about every place: Malacca, Kedah, Padang 巴東, Benkulu 望久里, Banjarmasin, Bima 里里, Timor." (p. 62).

⁵² See Wang Gungwu, « The Melayu in *Hai-kuo wen-chien lu* », pp. 108-117.

⁵³ If the character *shu* 東 is a misprint for *lai* 來 (p. 10a).

⁵⁴ Chen Jiarong, "Chen Hongzhao "Bayou jilüe", p. 80.

⁵⁵ Wang Gungwu, « The Melayu in *Hai-kuo wen-chien lu* », p. 112 : Chen Lunqiong "talks of the people of Borneo, Celebes and Moluccas as Melayu-Javanese. In fact he describes Luzon as being originally the land of the Melayu and also Kelapa (Batavia) as Melayu territory."

Elsewhere, he also mentioned the presence of Malays in Pasir, to the northeast of Banjarmasin (in present Kalimantan) where, according to him, "they have their own king, and are not subject to the Dutch, just paying a small annual tribute" (p. 75); Wang also noticed their presence in Bima in the island of Sumbawa, where they were still independent, as well as in Banda, and Ambon, where they cohabit with Selam (pp. 78, 79, 80).

As for their economic activities, Chen Hongzhao saw them as "a peaceful and clever nation, tacking to agriculture and trade, and self supplying" (p. 80), sharing to some extent the view of Xie Qinggao.⁵⁶ Wang Dahai instead was fascinated by their piracy:

Their dispositions are crafty and treacherous; they are very much addicted to piracy and they keep their nests in the Karimun 吉利門, Lingga 龍牙 &c. being such as we call in our country boat-robbers 艇匪. Their appearance or disappearance is uncertain;⁵⁷ the Cantonese and Fokien people are much disturbed by them. (p. 62)

Cheng Xunwo, who briefly alludes to the manners of the Malays, says that they were very refined and close to the Chinese (p. 10a). As for Wang Dahai, he is interested in their language and writing. For the 18th century he [along with Xie Qinggao] is certainly one of the rare Chinese of, to have made interesting remarks on the Malay language,⁵⁸ by saying that it was the lingua franca of the Archipelago:

Their language is employed by the Dutch, as a medium of intercourse with the Chinese and the natives, as the mandarin dialect is in China. (p. 62)

Wang devotes a special note to their writing which he calls "*tulis* 錐厘":

"The native word for writing is *tulis*. (...) The Javanese, Malays, and Selams use pieces of reed cut to a point for pens; they also write across the paper, but from right to left. The Buginese, the Balinese, persons of Pasir, on Borneo, with the *Biaju*, have each a separate mode of writing." (p. 141)

⁵⁶ See his description of the Malays of Sintang 新當, West Kalimantan, in *Hailu* 海錄, "Record of the Seas", by Xie Qinggao 謝清高, text transcribed by Yang Bingnan 楊炳南 in 1820 and annotated by Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1955, pp. 51-53. For new discoveries regarding this author and his work, also An Jing 安京, "Guanyu 'Hailu' ji qi zuozhe de xinfaxian yu xin renshi 關於'海錄'及其作者的新發現與新認識", *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, pp. 36-46.

⁵⁷ The piracy was really endemic. Raffles, *History of Java*, I, p. 232 had this to say: "The prevalence of piracy on the Malayan coasts, and the light in which it was viewed as an honourable occupation, worthy of being followed by young princes and nobles, is an evil of ancient date, and intimately connected with the Malayan habits. The old Malayan romances, and the fragments of their traditional history constantly refer with pride to piratical cruises".

⁵⁸ See Wang Gungwu, "The Melayu in *Hai-kuo wen-chien lu*", p. 114, who notices that Chen Lunqiong does not mention the Melayu language and who draws attention to the short list of Malay terms - about forty - given by Xie Qinggao in his *Hailu* in the section on Sintang, p. 51 of the edition of 1955).

There is no doubt that Wang had learned some Malay. Speaking of the island of Timor, which he located "to the east of Buton", he comments:

"Timor" in the native language (*fanyu* 番語) means "east"; hence its application to the name of the country. (p.74).

Moreover he introduced in his own account some eighty-eight Malay terms written with Chinese characters, against fourteen in Cheng Xunwo's Record and about forty in Xie Qinggao's account. I have made a list of these Malay words in which they are classified under five headings (see appendix). It appears that Wang, and to a lesser extent Cheng, was much concerned with administrative terms (33), among which were many borrowing from the Dutch; then follows what may be called "human affairs" (22 terms), and a section on "exotic" (*yi* 夷) flowers, fruits and trees (25 terms), only for Wang, who had a real passion for tropical vegetation.

We will see now that apparently Wang used Malay to communicate with his Bugis slave girl.

3.3.b(iv) *The Bugis*

Wang does not make a difference between Bugis 武吃氏 and Makassarese for he says: "*The Bugis* reside in Makassar 望加錫, but their chiefs reside in the interior and are called *rajas* 替若, a title similar to the Javanese *Susuhunan*" (p. 147). He also does not provide much information on their economic activities except by saying that they engage in seaborne commerce and also hire their services in Java for the most part as slaves. He emphasizes their courage, their tenacity and military skills (*wuyi* 武藝):

In foreign countries to the south-west, all the people learn military exercises. The Bugis, in particular, admire bravery, and when their skill in the use of weapons is great, they are praised by their parents, and respected by their townsmen, being honoured with the title of *Gusti* 牛實地, holy, or honourable. Throughout the whole region, men and women, from their 10th year upwards, accustom themselves to the use of sword and spear, and are acquainted with the method of jumping and springing on the foe. (p. 147)

Wang retells two anecdotes which show that the Bugis were used to resisting the attacks of pirates. One is particularly interesting because it gives the impression that Bugis women took part in these fights too:

I had once a slave-girl, called Chang-choo, who accompanied me to Banjarmasin; on the way we fell in with pirates, when I was very much alarmed and lost command of myself. The crew of the vessel also said, few against many, what can we do? The slave-girl said, *Since it has come to this point*, we must exert our

strength. However I did not know what to do; when the girl cried out, Never fear; and grasping a spear she went forth, and mounted guard at the companion, without moving. When the thieves came on board, they rushed aft, but the maid brandishing her spear wounded several of them. The pirates fell back, and said to each other, How it is that she has got the Bugguese mode of brandishing the spear. On which the slave-girl bawled out, I also am a Bugguese, come and let us have another round. The thieves were however alarmed, and retreated in confusion. (p. 148)

It seems that the Bugis were very proud of their martial arts for Wang, quoting one of them writes: "We Buginese are celebrated for our military skill 我等武吃氏武藝皆高強" (p. 64) Wang Dahai expressed all his admiration for the Bugis by saying:

They will not submit to Dutch rule, but have no objection to enter into covenant with them, as friends and brethern. (p. 64)

Wang also alludes to the Butonese, whom he put into the same category as the Bugis because of their bravery, even violence, and because they were without fear of death. He also insists on the fact that they were not subject to the Dutch. The last ethnic group he could easily observe at ease in Batavia was that of the Seranis.

3.3.b(v) *The Seranis*

Interestingly the two biggest mestizo communities of Batavia were named after their religion. The descendants of Chinese, who – as we have seen above – had converted to Islam were simply called Selam by the other Chinese, while the descendants of Europeans – first Portuguese and later also Dutch - who were Christians were called in Malay Seranis⁵⁹ or Nazarene. Like Selam, Seranis were free settlers, but their position in the colonial society of the time was higher, though they were to some extent assimilated to the natives.⁶⁰ Wang writes that were called by the Chinese "black demons" or *wugui* and Wang confesses that he could not explain their origin; he nevertheless had a very close look at them and could perceive the rivalries between them and the Dutch:

There is no account of their forefathers, but they belong to Batavia, in which city they have a church.⁶¹ In their reckoning of time, as well as in their language and mode of writing they follow the Dutch, so also in their apparel, houses, and furniture. Their men are *handsome*, and their women are beautiful, and contract marriages with the Dutch, *whom they prefer*. This class (*qishu* 其屬) is principally

⁵⁹ The Malay word Serani is derived from the Arabic Nasrani.

⁶⁰ De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, I, p. 512-513.

⁶¹ The so-called Portuguese church, the foundations of which dated back to 1628, was located opposite the weighting-house on the right bank of the main river; it does not exist any more. But there is still one that was called in Dutch Portugesche Buiten Kerk or "Portuguese church outside of the [walled] city" that dates back to the 18th century.

employed as clerks, or soldiers; they are of an artful disposition, and the Dutch, out of jealousy, will not allow them to rise in office. (p. 76)

3.3.b (vi) *The Biaju*

It is quite likely that Wang Dahai had a chance to observe the Biaju during his trip to Banjarmasin for he provides rather accurate information, saying:

These people reside on the west of Banjarmasin, the interior of which country they occupy, but have no form of government, and are nominally subject to the Sultan of Banjarmasin. Their appearance is something similar to the Javanese; they are tattooed all over, and have large holes in their ears, through which they insert pieces of wood, until the lobes of their ears reach to their shoulder. The country produces gold-dust, rattans, and dried venison; the inhabitants employ themselves in gathering rattan, killing deer, and washing gold-dust. (p. 77)

4. WANG'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE "INSULAR COUNTRIES"

4.1 Apparently adhering to the Chinese official view of the world order, Wang Dahai says in his preface that he tried to present all he had learned:

Although far from being intelligent, I dare not refuse carefully to record the things which I have seen and heard, together with some references to the country and its inhabitants, in short every individual word and action worthy of being noted down; thus publishing the whole, in order to render some small assistance towards correcting men's minds, and sustaining right principles in the world! (p. xix).

It seems that apart from Cheng Xunwo's account, which is mentioned expressly, Wang also perused a few other books, such as the *Dong xi yang kao* "Research on The Eastern and Western Ocean", written at the very beginning of the 17th century by Zhang Xie, another Fukienese scholar, and also borrowed from them. In effect Wang retells a few anecdotes regarding some mysterious tribes that are to be found elsewhere. One is that of savages with tails (p. 120) or that of the Monkey market in Sidayu 泗大郵 (East Java).⁶² (p. 100). Nevertheless, Wang's text is mainly an eyewitness account.

4.2 What was the main concern of the author? Did he write this book to aid officials of his native province, or to be of service to merchants? Or for both? Although Wang Dahai's account really exhibits a wide range of Chinese interests, from political affairs and customs of the various nations to zoological and botanical matters – some of which are to be found in Cheng Xunwo's record as well –, the major concern of the author appears to have been commerce. The products of the different countries are frequently listed – as was generally the case in such monographs describing foreign countries – and

⁶² Such anecdotes have been reproduced several times since the Ming dynasty; see for instance Zhang Xie, *Dong xi yang kao*, j. 4, p. 86 and j. 3, p. 44.

sometimes their qualities are discussed. The list of native products given in appendix shows that, compared to Cheng Xunwo, Wang had a far better knowledge of their distribution in the "Insular Countries". Moreover, several rare commodities were given a special treatment, such as biches de mer or trepang, *haishen* 海參, swallow's nests, birds of paradise, *wuniao* 霧鳥, crowned pigeons, or New Guinea fowl, *baobao* 暴暴雞, monkeys, bezoars, *houzao* 猴棗, tortoise-shell, *daimao* 玳瑁... Although Wang does not expressly state that Chinese traders were particularly interested in these products, from the descriptions he provided, or also from other sources, we know they were.

4.3 Regarding tortoise shells, the trade of which has a long history in China,⁶³ Wang gives a description of the way the shell is removed that is reminiscent of older ones;⁶⁴ but he also provides new information regarding the places in the Archipelago where they are extracted – namely Ceram, Banda and Ternate –, and the quality of the tortoise-shell:

The form of the animal from whence this substance is taken is like that of the common tortoise, having on its back twelve plates; which are detached in the following manner. The tortoise is suspended with its head downwards, its back is moistened with vinegar, and fire is applied, when the plates of the tortoise-shell fall off. The plates first detached are esteemed of prime quality, and fetch a high price. Should the animal now be let go into the sea, in a year's time the shell will be reproduced, when if taken it must be scorched again, but the plates will be thinner and softer, and are thus called second sort, fetching a lower price on the market. those pieces of tortoise shell in which the black spots are fewest are considered the best, while those which are clear and white are very valuable; but the latter are rare, and seldom obtained. (p. 110)

4.4 As for the swallow's nests, Wang Dahai details the different places where the birds make their nests inside caverns, namely Banten, Batavia, Semarang, Rembang and Gresik, as also Banjarmasin, Bali, Pasir and many places besides. He also insists on the fact that, at the time he was in the "Insular Countries", their collection in Java had already been controlled by the Dutch, and the Chinese revenue farmers had to pay an annual rent to them to the purpose. After having given some information on the different qualities, he provided one of the rare descriptions of the ceremonies that took place before the collection started:

They are gathered in the winter and in summer, only twice a year, and then not to an excess; just like the honey of the bees, which would fail were too much collected. Whenever people wish to take the nests, they build a shed near the place,

⁶³ See Roderich Ptak, "China and the Trade of Tortoise-Shell (Sung to Ming Periods)", in R. Ptak, *China's Seaborne Trade with South and Southeast Asia (1200-1750)*, Aldershot, Brookfield USA, Singapore, Sydney, Ashgate, 1999, pp. 195-229.

⁶⁴ The tortoise shell was already extracted in that way during the Song dynasty; see the description given by Ptak, "China and the Trade of Tortoise-Shell", p. 198.

and having selected a lucky day, they offer a sacrifice, and call the dancing-girls or *ronggeng*, to sing and dance on the occasion. This done, the natives in companies of ten or hundred, provided with a score of bamboo ladders, and bags tied to the ends of poles, proceed to take the nests. Should they obtain many, their profits are incalculable; but in bad seasons they lose money. Perhaps this also depends on the conduct of the individual. (p. 98).

4.5 Moreover, such matters as political affairs, local customs, and law are treated in a manner that could be useful to traders. Unlike Cheng, Wang avoids sensitive problems, and consciously keeps silent on various issues in which the Chinese were involved, especially the massacre of 1740 and the war that spread all over Java during the following years. It seems that in so doing he wanted to show that the Chinese merchants could easily adjust themselves in the Insular Countries. He also gives the impression that for his compatriots Semarang was a better place than Batavia. He says:

Semarang is a district subject to Batavia, but superior to it in appearance. Its territory is more extensive, and its productions more abundant. Merchants vessels are there collected, and its commerce is superior to all the places in the south-eastern regions (...) The country which is under its government extends to hundred of miles; the fields are fertile and well-watered, and the people rich and affluent; whence it may be considered the crown of all those lands. With respect to the climate, the air is clear and cool, and thus superior to Batavia; the inhabitants are seldom troubled with sickness, provisions are reasonable and easy obtained, while throughout the whole region for ages past they have not known the calamity of famine; the manners of the people are so inoffensive, that they do not pick up things dropped in the roads; and the law are so strictly enforced, that men have no occasion to shut their door at night. (p. 19)

4.6 Elsewhere Wang, speaking of the Insular Countries in general, even says: "These lands of the western ocean have something agreeable in them, and something to be lamented 余謂西洋之地，有可愛者，亦有可惜者." (p. 6). From all what has been said above, one may get the impression that Wang was in the end a scholar-merchant, following in the steps of many Fukienese scholars, to name one, Chen Ang 陳昂, Chen Lunqiong's father.⁶⁵

If this were the case, it could explain why Wang Dahai had such a comfortable life during his stay in Java. We are told that he had taken a local wife and had several slave girls with whom he even journeyed as far as Banjarmasin. And this would also explain why his concerns were somewhat ambiguous.

⁶⁵ Wang Gungwu, « The Melayu in *Hai-kuo wen-chien lu* », p. 109, says that Chen Ang was also "forced by poverty to give up his books and enter commerce in the 'outer oceans'".

I have considered here some of the more striking features of Wang Dahai's account. What is significant for the historian is that compared to the other Chinese records written during the 18th century on the Archipelago, although it shares several similarities, it nevertheless remains the most distinctive.

4.7 Among the features it has in common are the three following ones. In terms of structure, these texts all share some similar patterns and are all reminiscent of the travelogues associated with Zheng He. Unlike their Western counterparts, and as already noted by Jennifer Cushman,⁶⁶ they seldom describe specific events or individuals. These texts seem to lack narratives or stories. It is significant that unlike the records devoted to Sinicised countries, they almost never mention any personal names. When they allude to the local rulers, either Malay, Javanese or Bugis, it is just give the transcriptions of the appellations by which they are designated in their own languages, such as *susuhunan*, *sultan*, *raja*. It seems that our Chinese authors are more interested in providing generalities ranging from physical geography and climate, to populations, costumes and customs, than in collecting facts and events in order to perceive these countries in the long run. In other words, they do not really intend to introduce a serious chronological approach in their narrative, as if the history of these countries does not matter for them. Their authors are to some extent puzzled by the presence of Europeans within the region, its impact on the local countries, and its consequences for the Chinese merchants' activities. On the one hand, they admire their technology, and their medicine (which Wang presents in the section called "Other things worthy of observation"), on the other, they are exacerbated by the way they control the natives. They provide a wide range of information regarding law and regulations, crimes and punishments, taxes, and economic products, in other words all what would be useful to sea-going merchants, but keep silent on the way the business was practised.

4.8 As for Wang Dahai's originality, it lies in the fact that he was to some extent what we would now call a participant observer. He greatly enjoyed his stay in the "Insular Countries" and lived there, especially in Semarang and in Pekalongan, in rather close contact with the population, as one may judge from the various descriptions he gave. At the same time, he paid no attention to their religious life, not even alluding to Islam when presenting the Javanese and the Malays, except when he says that they used to join religious societies, which he calls *kampung* 醜嶺, and explains them as a kind of secrete society where they recite charms until they become invulnerable (p. 142). He travelled extensively by sea and by land between Pekalongan and Semarang and also between this last city and Batavia, as one can judge from the detailed enumeration of place names. His geographical view of the Insular Countries is very interesting too, in the sense that he gives much emphasis on what is called now Eastern Indonesia; but he almost ignores

⁶⁶ Jennifer Cushman & A.C. Milner, "Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Chinese Accounts of the Malay Peninsula", *The Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 52, 1 (1979), pp. 1-56.

Sumatra and the neighbouring islands. The geographical framework he gives to his account may possibly be linked up with his own trade interests, which were apparently in native products. Curiously enough he does not allude to the exploitation of tin and gold ores by his compatriots.

4.9 All in all, Wang's account is certainly the most informative account on the Archipelago emanating from a Chinese scholar from the 18th century. And the fact that it was reprinted on several occasions during the 19th century, and more recently in 1992 attests sufficiently to the importance Chinese readers have attached to it. For non-Chinese readers, it also provides a wealth of information on the experiences and perceptions of the Chinese merchants in Insulinde, which has no counterpart in other languages⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ I would like to thank Mary Somers Heidhues who kindly read this article.

List of native products

*x: in Cheng Xunwo's record
 x: in Wang Dahai's account.

	Batavia	Banten	Semarang	Rembang	Gresik	Celebes	Butun	Bali	Irian	Ceran	Tumor	Pasir	Banjer- massin	Bima	Ambon	Banda	Ternate
alcohol	*x																
bêche de mer	*x					x	x	x			x				x	x	x
bird's beaks							x										
bird's nests	*x	x	x	x	x			x				x	x				
birds of paradise								x		x					x	x	
camphor	*x																
cassowaries															x		
cloves	*x										x				x	x	
crowned pigeons									x								
deers																	
diamonds	*x												x				
dragon's blood									x								
fine cloth						x											
gold dust												x	x				x
honey															x		
horses																	
incense							x							x			
ivory	*x																
lead	*x																
mats	*x																
nutmegs	*x																
oil of mace															x	x	
parrots	*x														x		
peacock	*x														x		
pearls	*x																x
pepper	*x																
rattans	*x						x					x	x				
rhinoceros	*x																
sago									x								
sandal-wood	*x								x	x	x						
sapan-wood	*x					x			x	x	x						
sea-weed									x	x	x						
shark's fins								x		x							
cane cane	*x																
tin	*x								x								
tobacco									x								
tortoise-shell										x						x	x

List of Malay words mentioned by Cheng Xunwo and Wang Dahai

An asterisk indicates the words used by both authors
 Words in italics are used by Cheng Xunwo only.

Persons, Human Affairs

abang 阿班 elder brother
 dukun 老君 medicine-man, doctor
 gusti 牛實地 highness, lord
 kuli 藍季 coolie
 kyai 稽 Sir
 mandor 蠻 overseer
 nyai 雅 lady, madam
 ronggeng 弄迎 dancing-girl
 pesta 饗賁 feast
 sayid 些逸 Master, Lord, for an Arab
 selam 息朶 islam
 sembah 占巴 obeissance, homage

*siluman 絲羅蠻 invisible forest elf
 suka 蘇甲 lover
 tandak 丹六 step-dancing
 timor 知汶 east
 toko 土庫 factory
 topeng 多乘 mask
 tuan 損 master
 tuak 酌沃 palm-wine
 tulis 錄厘 to write down
 warung 阿朗 stall
 wayang 花英 shadow-play

Administration

bicara (gedung) 密查叻厝 court
 *boedelmeester 武直速 administrator of estates
 *komandan 公班律/公勃擊 commandant
 dalam 覽內 palace of the Susuhuan
 desa 禮些 country, region, village
 *dipati 二把致 regent or viceroi
 direktur 價頭 director
 *fiskal 美色葛 fiscal agent
 faktor 杯突 factor, agent
 gubernur 賴釐律 governor
 jaga 若呀 guard
 kampung 監光 village
 kampung 酣輪 society
 kapitan 甲必丹 captain
 *komissaris 公勃些里/公字欄里 commissary
 letnan 雷珍蘭 lieutenant
 mayur 媽腰 major

miskin 美色近 poor-house
 *notaris 梁礁 notary
 opas or upas 烏拔氏 watchman
 pabean 泊面 custom-house
 pacinan 八芝蘭 Chinese town
 pati (?) 班 fort
 pati 把抵 high official
 raja (bugis) 齊若, king, prince
 *secretaris 朱葛總 secretary
 soldadu 達氏 soldier
 sultan 史丹 sultan
 *susuhunan/ sunan 額孫蘭/巡欄 emperor of Java
 *syahbandar 沈萬達 harbour-master
 tuan 損 master
 tuan besar 蝦勿殺 term of address for an official
 *tumanggung 淡板公 regent or divisional administrator
 weeskamer 美色甘 chamber for orphans

duit 雷 copper coin
 karat 葛力 karat

Currencies and weights

*fanam 鈔 a small silver coin
 tali 搭里 a quarter of rupee

Implements, textiles

kapal 甲板 ship, vessel
 kasah 較只 Indian muslin, lawn, gauze

mori 毛里 plain white cotton fabric

Flowers, fruits and trees

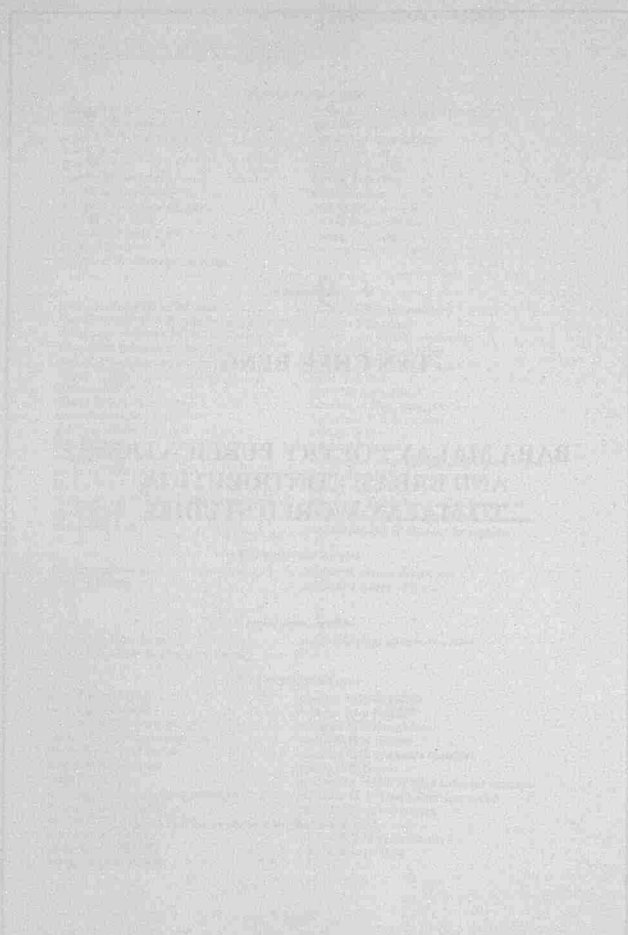
aren 阿達 aren palm
 atap 阿答 nipa palm
 cempaka 尖指甲 frangipanni
 duku 務樺 lansium domesticum
 durian/duren 流連 durian
 jambu 染務 rose-apple
 jeruk 日落 orange
 kenanga 君擊夢 canangium odoratum
 kelapa 葛刺吧 coconut
 lungsat 弄氣 "lungsat", a variety of Lansium domesticum
 mangga 蚊膠 mango
 mangga air 蚊膠膠逸
 mangga ami 蚊膠阿彌

mangga dodol 蚊膠多盾
 mangga quini 蚊膠標年
 manggis 芎吃 mangosteen
 melati 末齊知 jasmine
 namnam 喃喃 cynometra cauliflora
 pisang 皮駝 banana
 puki anjing 浮巢安靜 other name for namnam
 rambutan 紅毛丹 nephelium lappaceum
 salak 些六 calamus zalacca
 sirih 絲里 betel
 srikaya 絲里啞 custard-apple
 tebu 直務 sugar-cane

9

TAN CHEE BENG

**BABA MALAY POETRY PUBLICATIONS
AND BABAS' CONTRIBUTION
TO MALAY WORLD STUDIES**



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Baba Malay Poetry Publications and Babas' Contribution to Malay World Studies

Tan Chee-Beng
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Abstract

In the study of Chinese scholarship on the Malay world studies, the contribution of the Babas is unique as they themselves are very much a part of the Malay world as far as their Malay publications are concerned. This paper will describe Baba writing in Malay to show the Babas' contribution to Malay world studies. The poems produced by the Babas are divided into two categories, those that are relevant to the Babas only and those that could be read by a wider Malay-reading audience. Both are products of their local experience, and are in that sense Malaysian. The poems reflect the Baba interest in their cultural heritage that is both Chinese and Malay, which the Baba find no contradiction, just like they speak Malay and love Malay folk songs and at the same time love China-origin Chinese popular fictions and observe Chinese festivals seriously.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 In the study of Chinese scholarship on the Malay world studies, the Baba contribution is unique as the Babas are very much a part of the Malay world. This is especially so if we consider their Malay publications. Although ethnically Chinese, the Malay-speaking Baba or Chinese Peranakan of the Straits Settlement, Malacca and Singapore in particular, had adopted Malay as their own language. But this is very much a Malay creole that can be called Baba Malay (Shellbear 1913, Tan 1980, Pakir 1986). The educated and especially urban Babas were and still are English-speaking, too. Beginning from the end of the nineteenth century, we find them writing in Malay and English, and indeed they pioneered some publications in romanized Malay in Malaya, by which label I include Singapore.

1.2 This paper will describe Baba poetry writing in Malay to highlight this aspect of their contribution to Malay world studies. This is interesting as the Babas are Chinese but at the same time they have become part of the Malay world studies. Indeed the Chinese Peranakans are very much a Malay world product. Given their knowledge of the Malay language, their interaction with Malays and the popularity of Malay poems, it is naturally that the Babas showed particular interest in Malay poems especially *pantun* and *syair*, in *lagu asli* (Malay folk songs) as well as in *dondang sayang* and *bangsawan* (Malay popular theatre) in the past before modern theatres and televisions reduced the popularity of these kinds of popular culture (Tan C. B. 1986, Tan S.B. 1993). Even to this day the older Babas and Nyonyas (hereafter Babas) are still interested in *dondang sayang*, which cultivates the interest in *pantun*. The Gunong Sayang Association in Singapore, which was established in 1910, continues to hold *dondang sayang* sessions. Even the Dondang Sayang Club in Penang, which was founded in 1954, celebrate the last day of the Chinese New Year (Chap Goh Mei) by holding *dondang sayang* sessions, nowadays with the

to be popular with the "Penang Babas". The Persatuan Peranakan Cina Malaysia has also organized *dondang sayang* sessions in Bukit Rambai in Melaka to train young singers. Although *dondang sayang* has become less popular today, the Babas see it, together with *lagu asli*, as part of their heritage, too. Guests to major Baba functions are usually entertained some *lagu asli* and/or *dondang sayang*.

1.3 *Pantun* is a popular kind of Malay poems, of which the four-line *pantun* is most common. A distinct feature is that the last syllabi of each line are rhymed in the a, b, a, b pattern. *Syair* is a long poem that narrates a theme (e.g. a story) and is usually made up of four lines in each stanza, but are rhymed in the a, a, a, a pattern. *Dondang sayang* is a Malay art form that involves the singing and exchange of *pantun* between two persons to the accompaniment of a small orchestra that uses Malay drums, a violin and a gong. It was and to some extent still is among the Babas. Thomas (1986) has described the Baba style of *dondang sayang*.

1.4 It is thus not surprising that the Baba had in the past contributed in no small way to the development as well as publication of Malay poems. Through the research of Lombard-Salmon (1977a, 1977b) and Tan (1981), scholars and people of this region are familiar with the Baba translated Chinese romances in Malay. However, there has been less attention on Baba publications of Malay poems¹, partly because the Baba-style translation of the Chinese stories are more unique, and scholars on Malay poetry naturally focus on the works of Malays rather than those of the Baba, whose works are to be found in some libraries and personal collections only.

1.5 When we talk of Baba writing and publication of Malay poems, we do not confine it to the present state boundary of Malaysia, for in the past, Singapore was very much a part of Malaya. The Baba did not see Singapore as outside the Malaysian world, so to speak. In fact, even my older Baba informants told me that it was common for the Babas in Singapore to talk of going to Melaka as *balik*, or "go home". Melaka and Singapore were socially interconnected as far as the Babas were concerned. To this day many Babas of the two places continue to have relatives and visit one another. In addition, by the end of the nineteenth century, Singapore had become the most important commercial center in the Straits Settlements and Baba publications were largely printed in Singapore. Obviously we cannot exclude these from our discussion, as Singapore as a separate state is rather a recent phenomenon. To the ordinary people, Singapore was part of the peninsula even after 1948.

2. BABA PUBLICATIONS

2.1 We can consider all Baba publications as part of the heritage of Malaysian literature, both Malay and English. They are produced by the Babas who are products of the Malay world. In 1894 they published the first English-Malay (romanized) bi-lingual newspaper called *Straits Chinese Herald*, also known as *Surat Khabar Peranakan*. The paper lasted less than four months, but in the same year, on 2 July, the well known Singapore Baba Song Ong Siang and Tan Boon Chin, a clerk, started the first romanized all Malay newspaper in Malaya. This paper is useful for research on the views of the Babas at that time. It contains not only news and editorials, but also short stories and poems, in Malay of course. This is an important source for research on early Baba writing in Malay. The paper lasted for less than two years. This was followed quite a number of years later by another short-lived romanized Malay newspapers, namely *Malaysia Advocate* in 1910 and *Kabar Slalu* in 1924. Like the earlier papers, these were published

in Singapore, too. *Kabar Slalu* carried not only news and stories but also translated Chinese fictions².

2.2 The Babas also published magazines. The most significant one is the quarterly English magazine called *The Straits Chinese Magazine*, published in 1897 and ceased publication in 1907. The magazine contained reformist views of its editors Song Ong Siang and Lim Boon Keng, who also promoted Confucianism. The Baba Malay magazines were published in Singapore in the 1930s, both by Wan Boon Sing who was then a prolific Baba writer and translator. *Bintang Pranakan: Straits-born Chinese Romanized Malay Weekly* was published in October 1930 and ceased publication in June 1931, while *Sri Pranakan* was published in April 1932. Both were sold in various towns in Malaya, even in Kuching, Miri and Labuan, as well as Tanjong Pinang of Rhio, Semarang and Surabaya in Java, and Bangkok in Thailand. This distribution of the Baba magazines indicated the distribution of the Chinese Peranakan at that time. Many had migrated to different parts of the Malay Archipelago and even Thailand to do business.

2.3 The Baba Malay newspapers and magazines were also important venues of Baba publication of Malay poems (especially *pantun*) and stories. For example, both *Bintang Pranakan* and *Sri Pranakan* regularly carries "*Panton Dondang Sayang*" by Wan Boon Seng (under his pen-name Panah Pranakan) and in *Bintang Timor* also by Baba Cheong Tat (e.g., no. 27, 25 April 1931, p. 8, and no. 30, 16 May 1931, p. 8) and Bateck (e.g., no. 1, 11 October 1930, p. 20). *Bintang Pranakan* also regularly carried "*Kronchong Sayang-sayangan*", which are in the forms of poems. The poems in *Bintang Pranakan* were reprinted in Wan Boon Seng's *Panton Dondang Sayang & Nyanyian Lain-Lain* (1931). *Sri Pranakan* regularly carried songs written in poems under "*Nyanyi-an Extra-turun Lagu Bahr*". An example of such a poem is a stanza in "*Bungah Mawar*" ("Rose"):

*Puchok paoh slaras paoh
Kalu mengulam gigi nyilu
Adek jaoh abang pun jaoh
Sama-sama terasa rindu*

The Babas had also published Malay poems (*pantun* and *syair*) in separate volumes, and in Tan (1993:45-46) I have listed 15 titles.

2.4 There was relatively less effort by the Babas to write stories, and so those published in the newspapers and magazines are important. Nevertheless there are a few storybooks published by the Babas. For example, *Cherita Fasal Touchang* (Story on the Queue), which was more like a pamphlet (9 pp.), was published in 1899 in Singapore to promote reforms among the Straits Chinese. Koh & Co. published *Cherita Abu Nawas dan Cherita Rampay Rampay* (1917). The first part of the book is on the story of Abu Nawas (pp. 1-88), while the second part is on miscellaneous stories, which were already published in Koh & Company's *Cherita Rampay Rampay dan Panton Dondang Sayang* (1916). There is an interesting fiction entitled *Melor Peranakan* written by Hamim Taib³, and published in Melaka in 1933. I have seen only volume one (167 pages) kept at the British Library. Hamim Taib was most likely a Malay. According to him the book was written at the request of his Baba friends (whom he refers to as "baba-baba peranakan" and "baba-baba China Peranakan") who asked him to write a moral story for the Baba (*baba-baba dan nyonya-nyonya Peranakan*). He reminded Malay readers that the book was written in the Baba-style Malay (*buku ini di-karang mengikut hejaan dan aturan bahasa bahasa Peranakan*). In actual fact the book was written more in the Malay

style although it uses Hokkien loanwords, especially Baba kin terms like *engkoh* (elder brother), *engsoh* (elder brother's wife), *tachi* (elder sister) and *nya* (address for mother).

2.5 *Syair* narrate a full story or event. Some stories are narrated through *syair*. An example is Tan Poh Tek's "*Batu-Blah Batu Bertangkop*" in Tan Pow Tek's *Shair Renchana Piatu* (1916: 88-97). The story begins with:

*Dengar-lah Inchek dan Tuan Tuan
Cherita dahulu kahla satu perempuan
Dua anak-nya dibri-kan Allah Tuhan
Di rumah tinggal tiga beranak chuma
Bekerja memancing ikan suda lama
Kalu pergi mak pergi anak itu bersama*

The story is about a mother and her daughter and son. The mother was angry with their behavior, and she asked the rock to take her in, and it did. This is a familiar legend in Melaka about the origin of the split rock in Pulau Besar.

2.6 As is already known, there are quite a number of Chinese popular fictions translated into "Baba Malay" from the end of the nineteenth century to around the Second World War. I put "Baba Malay" in quote because we cannot take at face value that the Malay as printed in these books are all Baba Malay. In many cases the translators simply substituted Chinese concepts with Hokkien words that may not be part of the usual Baba Malay language, and the quality of translation varies. We shall not deal with the translated literature here, as this has been well reported by Lombard-Salmon (1977a) and Tan (1981) and others. I only need to add that this effort of translation, though aimed at Baba readers, was the earliest Chinese effort at translating Chinese works into Malay. It is in the recent period since the sixties and seventies that we have serious modern effort at translating Chinese works into Malay. Goh Then Chye (1975a, 1975b), for example, has translated Chinese poems into Malay. There are other translators, too (cf. MSTCR 1987: 63-78). However, there is so far hardly any modern translation of Chinese popular fictions (the kind translated by the Babas) into modern Malay. The Baba tradition of translating Chinese into Malay may be a stage of history in Malaysia, but they pioneered the translation of Chinese into Malay, albeit Baba Malay. The Chinese in Indonesia were even more prolific in translating Chinese works into Malay and they also have more original writing in Malay (cf. Salmon 1981, Ding 1978).

3 BABA MALAY POETRY WRITING

3.1 Baba publication of Malay works, including the publication of poems, began towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁴ We have seen that poems and stories were published in the Baba newspapers and magazine. Malay poems were also inserted in some other Baba publications. For example, in the translated Chinese story *Chrita Dulu-kala Bernama "Sam-Hap Beng-Choo Pohkiam"* (*Sambongan Sam-hap Pohkiam*) by Wan Boon Seng and his assistants (1935), there is "*Panton Dondang Sayang Pranakan*" on pp. 80-83. In addition, there are a number of Baba book publications of Malay poems. As there was rather few original story writing, the publication of poems was the most important Baba literary contribution to the Malay world. Unlike the Baba translated Chinese fictions, which are largely not intelligible to the non-Baba readers, many of the Baba poetry publications can be read and understood by non-Babas.

3.2 The Malay poems are mainly *pantun* and *syair*. We can divide them into two main categories, one that is generally of interest or intelligible only to those who are familiar with Baba Malay and Baba culture, and one that can be understood beyond the Baba Malay creole and Baba culture. The difficulty of non-Babas to comprehend the poems in the first category is due more to the Hokkien loanwords used in Baba Malay and certain aspects of Chinese culture that may not be familiar to non-Chinese and in fact non-Hokkien speakers. As the Baba have adopted and constructed Baba Malay as their own language, it is natural that they would use this to express their feeling and culture. However, there has always been a consciousness of the deviation from the "high Malay", the Malay as written by Malays. In fact from the beginning of Baba publication in Baba Malay there was already the controversy about using "correct" Malay rather than Baba Malay, which we now know is a Malay creole. For example, Chia Cheng Sit (1899) had written in *The Straits Chinese Magazine* to call for the use of "correct and dogmatic Malay of the educated Malay people" instead of Baba Malay. As we shall see, some of the Baba *pantun* writers actually tried to relate to what they saw as "high Malay".

3.3 Baba publication of Malay poems also included poems in the form of children's songs (*nyanyian budak-budak*) and *teka-teki* ("guess what"). A nice example of children's song is found in *Shair Renchana Piatu* (see below) (pp. 98-102), which begins as follows:

*Ikan keikik keikek
Masak sama chuka
Nyonya banyak geitek
Baba tidak suka*

*Bunga melor puteh
Kenanga hijoh kuning
Nyonya pandei meliteh
Baba suka jeling*

3.4 In *Shair Renchana Piatu*, there is also an interesting piece for children. Entitled "Asal Usol" ("Origin"), it goes like this:

O Bangoh! O Bangoh!! kenapa angkau kurus; bagaimana sahya ta'kurus; ikan ta'mahu timbol. O Ikan! O Ikan!! kenapa angkau ta'mahu timbol; bagaimana sahya nak timbol, rumpot panjang.... (O Heron! O Heron!! Why are you thin; how can I not be thin; the fish doesn't want to surface. O Fish! O Fish!! Why don't you surface; how can I surface, the grass is tall....). I heard some Baba youths sang this for fun when I did my research in Melaka in 1977.

3.5 The *teka-teki* is interesting although they are mainly for children. *Shair Renchana Piatu* lists forty conundrums (pp. 109-110) with answers provided (p. 111). An example is as follows:

No. 29, *Tiga batang hiosuah terchuchok sa' lengkar ular hitam* (three joss sticks stuck in a coil of a black snake). Answer: *sangol-nya neonya China* (the nyonya's hairpins). The word *hiosuah* is the Hokkien loanword in Baba Malay for joss sticks (as offered to deities). The hairdo with three hairpins refers to the hairdo of the nyonys in Melaka and Singapore, who use three big hairpins.

3.6 *Teka teki* can be presented in *pantun*, and this has been a popular Malay tradition.

Sri Pranakan had a regular column called "*Apa Jugak Itu?*" (What Is It?), and some of the conundrums are composed of poems, such as:

<i>Ada puchok tiada daun</i>	There is tree top but there are no leaves
<i>Ujong-nya bisa sebagi rachun</i>	The tip is venomous like poison
<i>Kasi makan bertaon-taon</i>	It is fed throughout the years
<i>Kenyang-nya tidak taik bertambun</i>	Does not become full but the shit piles up

The answer is "fire". However the conundrums published in *Sri Pranakan* appear to be popular Malay ones. The above *teka-teki pantun* is actually popular among the Malays, although there is a little bit of modification: the word *bertimbun* in the original version for "piling up" is replaced by "*bertambun*" which literally means "becoming plump". The Malay version as appeared in Taib Osman (1987: 23) is as follows:

Ada berpucuk tiada berdaun
Hujungnya bisa seperti racun
Diberi makan bertahun-tahun
Kenyang tidak tahu bertimun

In the following I shall discuss some features of the poems published by the Babas.

4. BABA POEMS FOR THE BABAS

4.1 Poems written in Baba Malay are unique because of the use of Baba Malay. In Tan (1980), I have discussed the main features of the present-day Baba Malay (see also Tan 1988: 132-139). In Baba publication of Malay poems, the most common features of Baba pronunciation include the rendering of the final /au/ to /o/ (thus *kalau* becomes *kalo*) and the final /ai/ becomes /e/ (thus *sampai* becomes *sampe*). These together with the use of Hokkien loanwords make the strictly Baba Malay poems difficult to be understood beyond the Baba community. In addition, Baba Malay is more colloquial, and there is some Chinese style of phrase construction. For example, the Babas say "*itu malam*" (that night) instead of "*malam itu*" in the Malay language of the Malays.

4.2 My favorite example of Baba Malay poems for the Babas is "*pantun pengantin*" written by Si Melata and published in *Bintang Timor* (vol. 1, no. 10, 12 July, 1894). The word *pantun* here probably means "poem" (thus "wedding poem") as the whole poem is in the form of a *syair* that describes a Baba-style wedding at the time. Given the nature of the accurate detailed description of the wedding, Si Melata was most likely a knowledgeable Baba himself. The process of the wedding is described in 18 stanzas. I have explained the poem in a Malay article (Tan 1982). The first two stanzas cited below are sufficient to show that the poem is really for Baba readers who are already familiar with the process of the wedding. The various Hokkien terms make it rather impossible for those not familiar to follow the poem:

Noni noni toom toom pool
Kiasai datang orang kumpul
Pasang petas bagei pistol
Tarik naik ikat simpol

Kiasai jalan masuk di thia
Kiri kanan ada poa-kia
Pak kim lari naik loteng

Pergi champak itu breng-breng

4.3 The poem is very beautiful to read. To follow one need to know that in the past it was common for the Baba to have matrilineal wedding, that is, the wedding was held at the bride's residence. The first stanza tells of the groom going to the bride's residence, accompanied by his relatives and friends as well as Chinese clarinet music and the beating of gongs. Crowd gathers as he arrives, and fire-crackers are let off. *Noni noni* represents the sound of the Chinese clarinet (called *seroni* in Baba Malay and *serunai* in standard Malay). *Toom toom* is the sound of drum and *pool* is the sound of gong. I had problem understanding the last line, which literally means "pulling up and tie into a knot." I consulted my Baba friend in Melaka, the late Mr. Yeoh Kim Swee. He explained that this was a Penang Baba custom. The father of the bride let down a rope tied with fire-crackers from the upstairs window. After the fire-crackers were let off, the rope was pulled up and the father tied the remnants of the fire-crackers into a knot. This ritual symbolizes that the bride is a virgin. "*Ikat simpol*" or "tying the knot also symbolizes that the wedded couple will live a long life together.

4.4 In the second stanza, there are some Hokkien loanwords used in Baba Malay. *Kiasai* means son-in-law, and here it refers to the groom. *Thia* (*thiā* in Hokkien) refers to the living room where most of the wedding rites are performed. Thus having reached the house, the groom enters the living room, accompanied on both sides by *poa-kia* or best men. And the *pak kim* (gong beaters) went upstairs to beat the Chinese gongs.

4.5 In *Nyanyi-an Extra-turns & Pantons* by Wan Boon Seng published in 1933, there is also a Baba wedding poem called "*Sha'er 'Kia^{nh}-sye dan Sin-nio*" (pp. 16-25). It is written in a more humorous way, but is still informative. The difficulty of non-Baba and non-Hokkien Malay readers in comprehension is due to the use of Hokkien loanwords, such as:

Ini kita sebot-kan Chia^{nh}-sia malam
Langkek pon datang-lah di itu malam
Sin-nio pon berdedak sampay lebam
Sudah makan kenyang laok Hylam (p. 18)

Chia^{nh}-sia refers to the ceremony on the third evening of the wedding when the groom held a feast for his friends and relatives. *Langkek* is the Hokkien word for "guests". Thus on that evening the guests came. The crowd and the teasing caused much pressure on the *sin-nio*, i.e., "bride" in Hokkien. And everybody ate much Chinese food ("Hainanese food"). In *chia^{nh}-sia*, the friends of the groom teased the bride, and if she laughed, the groom would have to provide another feast for them (cf. Chua 1973: 104). The following stanza describes that the bride almost smiled, and the *sangkehun* (pronounced *sang-ke-m*, mistress of ceremony who accompanied the bride and guided her) pinched her buttock to prevent her laughing:

Sin-bio kena puji hampir tersenyum
Pantat-nya kena chubit oleh Sangkehun
Langkhek pon terbatok sengaja berdehum
Sudah terlihat hal Sangkehun (p. 20)

Wan Boon Seng gave a good and lively description of *chia^{nh}-sia*, the details of which not many people know today.

4.6 *Nyanyi-an Extra-turns and Pantons* is a small book of 50 pages. Other than the wedding poem, there is "Nyanyi-an extra-turn" (songs, pp. 1-15) and a "Panton" section (pp. 26-50). It was published by Tak Seng Press in Singapore.

Another example of Baba Malay poems about Baba/Chinese culture is "*Slamat Taun Bahru*" (Happy New year) by Bateck published in *Bintang Pranakan* (no. 19, 14 February 1931):

*Jee kow malam bukak pesta
"Wee Law" bernama sudah lah nyata
Macham laok berator di meja
Babi-chin, itek-tim pun smua ada*

*Bertamba pulak hati babi
Babi-chah, chapchye, prot babi
Itek-seohth, jerok sesawi
Datang pong-tay pulak satu lagi*

*Anak chuchu smua sudah berjumpa
Siapa boleh hati tak suka
Malam minom bersuka riya
Masing-masing dudok tertawa*

*Bukak Stout, Brandy, Whisky
Sa-orang sa-glass sudah di bagi
Sklian yang uda muka bersiri
Rasa-nya suka di dalam hati*

*Sa-taun sa-kali bahru begini
Bukan-nya bikin sa-hari hari
Anak-bua smua kompol ka-mari
Kasi slamat Jee Kow May ini*

*Yang dekat, yang jaoh pun datang
Anak chuchu dudok bertentang
Masing-masing bila terpandang
Pikiran yang susa pun smua hilang*

*Betol lah suka boleh di bilang
Mau jumpa bukan-nya gampang
Niat di hati bukan kapalang
Mau berjumpa Taun Bahru yang datang*

*Bunyi jam pukol dua-blas
Masing-masing bangun lah dras
Bukak pintu bakar kertas
Amek api pasang petas*

*Anak chuchu datang ka-mari
Memberi slamat hari ini
Umor panjang Allah membri*

Ber-dokwa serta mura jerki

Angpau pun datang sana-sini

Yang kechik tentu dapat yang besar kasi

Yang tua pulak yang mula membri

Kasi selamat sa-taun sa-kali

4.7 Content-wise this poem describes the Chinese custom of celebrating the Chinese New Year very well. The first two stanzas cannot be understood without knowing the Hokkien and Baba terms. The Hokkiens refer to the Chinese New Year eve as "jee kow evening" or literally the 29th evening, which is the beginning of the celebration of the New Year. The Chinese New Year eve usually falls on the 29th or 30th of the twelve month, hence the term "jee kow" for the 29th or "san chap" for the 30th. This first celebration is the New Year dinner in the family, *Babi-chin*, *itek-tim* (double-boiled duck), *hati babi* (pig's liver), *babi-chah* (fried pork), *chapchye* (mixed vegetable), *prot babi* (pig's intestines), *itek-seohth* (duck cooked with coriander), and *jerok sesawi* and *pong-tay* are all common Baba New Year dishes⁵. "Wee Law" is a Hokkien term that literally means "surrounding the stove", which refers to the New Year reunion dinner, thus "*Whee Law bersama*", or "Wee Law together".

4.8 The other stanzas are easier to follow for those who know Malay. "*Jee Kow May*" in stanza five is the same as "*Jee Kow malam*" in the first stanza. It refers to the New Year eve, i.e., 29th evening, *may* here is Hokkien for evening. The eighth stanza describes that at 12 mid-night, all will get up (whether from sitting or lying), open the door, worship deities and burn joss papers outside, followed by firing fire-cracker. Following that in the ninth stanza, children greet the elders, wishing them living a long life and have good fortunes in life. The sentence "*Umor panjang Allah membri*" means "the gods bless long life". "Allah" as used by the Babas in their religious context refers to Chinese gods, specifically "God of Heaven". It does not refer to Allah in Islam. The last stanza is a very good description of Chinese custom of giving "*angpau*" or money in a red packet. It says the children receive *angpau* from the adult, while the old receive *angpau* from the young. Both the children and the old people receive monetary gift during the New Year, which is a blessing once a year.

4.9 There are a number of Baba poems on Chinese New Year. For example, *Shair Renchana Piatu* (1916) by Tan Pow Tek (see below) also has a *syair* ("*Slamat Tahun Bahru*") that describes the Chinese New Year (pp. 43-48) in details. It describes the celebration from the New Year eve (San Chap Mei) to the fifteenth day (Chap Goh Mei), which is the last day of the celebration. The *boria* (a kind of Malay musical troupe) was employed for the celebration of Chap Goh Mei (cf. Tan 1986: 49):

Boria kluar mendodok kreta
Pergi melawat tempat merata
Pandai menari dengan kleita
Pandai pulak menyanyi cherita

4.10 The New Year theme *pantun* has been popular. A more recent example is that composed by the late Gwee Peng Kwee, Nyonya Tan and the late Yeoh Kim Swee, and sung by Nyonya Tan and Baba Kim Swee on Radio and Television Malaysia in January 1975. Gwee Peng Kwee was a famous *dondang sayang* Baba singer from Singapore, while Yeoh Kim Swee was a Baba from Melaka. At the time of my research in Melaka in

the late 1970s, Nyonya Tan (who married a Malay) together with the late Baba Kim Teck were often cited by my Baba friends as good Baba *dondang sayang* singers in Melaka. An example of a New Year *pantun* by them is as follows:

<i>Terbang se-ekor burung tempua</i>	A weaverbird flies over
<i>Hinggap berhenti di pokok bungah</i>	Resting on a flower plant
<i>Pasang lilin pasang hio-suah^o</i>	Lighting candles and joss sticks
<i>Membau wangi seluruh rumah</i>	The whole house filled with aroma

(courtesy of the late Gwee Peng Kwee)

4.11 Today some Babas, such as William Gwee and William Tan of Singapore continue to compose Malay poems including poems on Chinese New Year. For example, the 1988 Chinese New Year program of the celebration at a church in Singapore carried their New Year *pantun*:

Pagi-pagi bukak pintu
Pasang teng, gantong chye-kee
Uchapan Tahun Baru
Pajang-kan Umor, Murah-kan jerki
(William Tan, 1986)

Naik kan chye kee, pasang pelita,
Rumah chantek hati pun suka
Murah kan jerki negeri kita
Singapura aman sentosa
(William Gwee, 1987)

4.12 In the above poems, *teng* is the Hokkien word for "lantern". While William Tan uses *teng*, William Gwee uses the Malay word *pelita*. *Chye-kee* is the Baba term for the red cloth hung above the main entrance of their house when the Babas celebrate the New Year or when there is a wedding. Thus William Tan's poem means: Open the doors in the early morning/ Light the lanterns, and hang the *chye-kee*/ Giving New Year greetings/ Wishing long life and bountiful fortunes. William Gwee's poem means: Hang the *chye kee*, light the lanterns/ The house is beautiful and the heart is happy/ Good fortunes for our country/ Peace in Singapore.

5. BABA PUBLICATION OF MALAY POEMS FOR WIDER AUDIENCE

5.1 Many of the poems published by the Baba do not contain many Hokkien loanwords, and so they are intelligible to audience beyond the Baba community as long as they get used to the Baba pronunciation. A good example of the Straits Chinese Malay writing that used the form of Malay that can be understood beyond the Baba community is *Buku Sahyer dan Pantun Malayu* by Lim Hock Chee (1890). This is also one of the earliest Baba publications of Malay poetry. The author was also the translator of the popular Chinese fiction *Ban Wah Lau*, which was also published in 1890. As the title suggests, this is a collection of *syair* written by the author, as mentioned in the first *syair*:

Bacha baba skalian nyonya,
Saya mengarang dangan sa-batul-nya;
Apa buat pinjam orang punya,
Ada jahat tak ada baik-nya. (p. 3)

5.2 The book is very entertaining and the *syair* are beautifully composed. In the first *syair* (pp. 1-16), which is the introduction of the book, the author often refers to himself

as coming to Singapore from another place. Lim compares himself to a bird without nest, coming from another place:

*Sa-bagi burung tidak ba-sarang,
Dari lain negri datang menyarang.* (p. 1)

On p. 3 he mentions that the reasons for leaving his native place is explained in *sahyer burung* (syair on birds), which is one of the *syair* in this collection. As Salmon (1977: 75-76) has pointed out, from the end of this *syair*, it is obvious that the author came from Aceh.

5.4 In the first *syair*, Lim mentions that he has *tamba* (added) his writing with high Malay (*Malayu tinggi*):

*Kirim tabek ku dengan samba,
Tabek tuan sakalian baba;
Malayu tinggi ada di tamba,
Yang mana sala tulong di roba.*

Nevertheless the romanized spelling, as can be expected, is the non-standardized older form of the period. For example, *sahyer eni* (this *syair*) is today written as *syair ini*. *Sa-bagi* is today written as *sebagai* in standard Malay or *sebagE* in Baba Malay. Some words are spelt very differently from the present form. For instance, *membuang diri* is *membuang diri*, and *saluwar* is *seluar*. Words like *panday* (for *pandai*), *abis* (for *habis*), *pakay* (for *pakai*), *sampay* (for *sampai*), *kalu* (for *kalau*), *lemoh* (for *limau*), etc. follow the Baba style of pronunciation. Hokkien loanword like *tu* (cupboard) is used, too.

5.5 As indicated in the content, this 87-page book contains various *syair*. The title on the cover mentions the major ones, namely "*Sahyer Burong*" (poem of birds), "*Sahyer Mimpi*" (the poem of dreams), "*Sahyer Malam Siang*" ((poem of day and night), as well as "*Sahyer Bunga*" (poem of flowers). "*Sahyer Jam Malam dan Siang*" (the poem of night and day) (pp. 16-27) is a beautiful love poem. On pp. 16-20, the author uses each hour from 6 p.m. to 5 pm of the second day to compose his poem, to show his love and longing for the woman he loves. The poem begins with sun set when there is intense longing for the loved one:

*Kalu mata hari ampir selam
Tanda-nya suda mulain malam
Ber-tamba rindu hati di dalam
Sa-bagi tar-bubu asam dan garam*

5.6 The stanza is followed by the situation at 6pm when the thought runs wild, and love is expressed in "embracing the pillow, asking the loved one to be together":

*Kalu mula-in la pukool anam
Bintang tarbit mata hari ka-tanam
Datang pikay-ran sagala jaman
Palok bantal ajak bar-gunam*

The poem describes one who is so longing for his woman that he cannot sleep the whole night. By two in the morning he is still "going up the bed and getting down from the bed": *Naik di ranjang turoun di bawa*. During the day, he is equally mad in love: *Kanang-kan adek setenga gila*.

5.7 Having read the poem, one wonders if the author had left his woman in his native "country". Certainly his longing for his woman had led him to write the *syair*: *Sabab rindu saya sa-orang, manjadi sahyer saya yang karang* (p. 18).

5.8 The third *syair*, "*Sahyer Bunga*" or "poem of flowers" (pp. 28-35) is also very interesting in that the author uses the name of different flowers to compose the poems. It expresses the love for his woman and longing for her day and night – the theme of the earlier poem. The first flower mentioned is *bunga botan* (peony), which is a popular flower in Chinese symbolism, and it is often mentioned in Chinese stories. In fact the word *botan* is a Hokkien loanword. The Chinese consider the flower the queen of all flowers: *Bunga botan akan nama-nya, Tidak ka dua la bandingan-nya*.

5.9 The fifteen kinds of flowers mentioned are popular flowers in the Malay world (such as *melati*, *cempaka*, *angsana*, *kemboja*, etc.), some of which are symbolically important to the Baba. The peony is of course symbolically significant to the Chinese than to the Malays. However, *bunga dalima* (i.e. *bunga delima*) or the pomegranate plant has symbolic significance to both the Malays and the Babas, and pomegranate leaves are used in Baba purification and cleansing rituals. It is popularly planted in the yard:

*Poko dalema tumbu di taman
Chantek rupa-nya saranta roman
Adek saperti ayer menoman
Saya nantikan brapa jaman*

5.10 Another flower that is ritually significant is *bunga siantan* (*ixora*), used by the Baba for offering to deities. Some Melaka Babas pronounce it as *bunga santan*. Plants like *bunga telang*, *bunga kunyit*, and *bunga langkoas* are closely associated with food preparation. The blue *bunga telang* is used for preparing the blue coloring of *nyonya kuih* (cakes and sweets). The leaves as well as the root stems of *kunyit* and *lengkuas* are popularly used by the Malays and the Babas in their cooking.

5.11 *Pantun Dondang Sayang Baba Baba Pranakan* published by Koh and Co in five volumes between 1911 and 1916 in Singapore is also written in a style that can be read by non-Baba Malay readers. This is despite of the title that says "*dondang sayang* poems of the Baba Peranakan". There are few Chinese loanwords or Chinese concepts. However, some spelling are characteristic of the Baba-style Malay, such as *kerbau* for *kerbau* (buffalo), *lemo* for *limau* (lemon), *sampay* for *sampai* (arrive), *lantay* for *lantai* (floor), and *toksa* for *tak usah* (no need to do something), etc. The use of Baba-style pronunciation makes the Malay poems quite "Baba", such as:

*Anak malayu di tepi pantay
Jumpa pulak buloh sa-batang
Liat bunga layu di tangkay
Semua kumbang suda terbang*

Here *pantay* is the Baba pronunciation of *pantai* (seaside), and *tangkay* is Baba for *tangkai* (flower stalk). *Liat* is the spelling for *lihat* (see).

5.12 In volume 2, p. 56. the Hokkien word *lowhiok* (more accurately *lauhio*) for betel leaves or *sirih* in Malay is used, but it is explained in the poem:

*Lowliok di kata stray
Bua mempenan di sawa padi*

*Suda elok lagi di pilay
Suda berkenan di dalam hati*

Pantun Dondang Sayang Baba Baba Pranakan does not mention the name of the compiler. The British Library lists the title under Koh Hun Tek. In the preface of volume one, Koh & Co. mentioned that the collection of "*pantun pantun saluka*" was published at the request of some "Baba Baba pranakan". *Saluka* is spelled *seloka* today and it refers to the type of poems that contain moral lessons. From the preface of volume two, it seems that volume one sold very well. In fact, it had been reprinted at least twice (volume 1, third edition, 1920). However, not all the *pantun* are original nor are they all composed by the Babas. This is also due to the fact that in *dondang sayang*, a singer can always adapt an existing *pantun* by modifying it to portray the meaning that he or she wants. The following two *pantun* (vol. 1, pp. 42-43) have been popular among both the Malays and the Babas:

*Brapa tinggi pokok pisang
Tinggi lagi asapan api
Brapa tinggi gunung Laydang
Tinggi lagi harapan hati*

*Dua tiga kucing berlari
Mana sama kucing blang
Dua tiga dapat di chari
Mana sama tuan saorang*

The second *pantun* and its variants are so popular with the Babas that many regard it as Baba. It is of course not possible to say whether it was the Malay or the Baba who first composed this folk *pantun*. Like many old *pantun*, these are really poems of the community, which in this case, includes the Babas.

5.13 As is usual of *pantun* book, each book is divided into different categories of poems. Themes like *puji-pujian* (praising) and *budi* (kindness, good character) are popular and are found in almost all the five volumes. A *pantun* listed under one category may appear in another category. For example, the *pantun* "*Dua tiga kucing berlari*" appears under *Puji-pujian* (v. 1, p. 13) and *Kasay* (Love) (v.1, p. 43). The *pantun* under each theme reflects the theme. For example, the following *pantun* reflecting love appears under *Kasay* (v. 1, p. 36):

<i>Deri mana datang linta</i>	Where does the leech come from?
<i>Linta ada di sawa padi</i>	The leech is in the paddy field.
<i>Dari mana datang cinta</i>	Where does love come from?
<i>Deri mata trus ka hati</i>	From the eyes straight to the heart.

The following *pantun* appears under the category *Nasihah* (Advice), in v. 5, p. 30:

<i>Mari kita memburu rusa</i>	Let's go hunt deer
<i>Rusa banyak di darat rumbia</i>	There are many deer in the sago land
<i>Mari kita membuang dosa</i>	Let's get rid of our sin
<i>Dosa banyak di dalam dunia</i>	There is much sin in the world

5.14 Koh & Company also compiled *Cherita Rampay Rampay dan Pantun Dondang Sayang* (1916). This 32-page volume contains four short stories written in Baba style, a

syair and a *dondang sayang pantun* entitled "*Berchinta Anak*" (loving the children). The short and rather simple stories are aimed at giving moral teaching. The 28-stanza *syair* is "*Syair Sri Hong Ann*". It is about a shipwreck. Sri Hong Ann is the name of the ship that sank on the way from Singapore to Melaka. The 31-stanza *pantun* in "*Berchinta Anak*" advise loving children but not spoiling them. The first and last stanzas are:

*Angin kenchang blayar kapal
Pasang meriam ampat puluh sa
Minkin di diam minkin nakal
Kalu di diam jadi biasa (p. 30)*

*Anak loteng di tepi pagar
Di kejar budak sampay ka tanjong
Ada untong anak di ajar
Nasib yang baik boleh bergantung (p. 32)*

5.15 *Malay Pantun Book* (1929) although contains Baba style of spelling, is actually closer to standard Malay. This work is by Lim Hock Soon of Melaka. It was compiled (*diturunkan*) by T.T. Wee, and published in Singapore. It contains five categories of *pantun*, namely, "*Puji-Pujian*" (praising, pp. 1-20), "*Rendahkan Diri Dengan Dagang*" (humbling oneself, pp. 21-40), "*Budi dan Kaseh*" (good deed and love, pp. 41-80), "*Ingatan Darihial Dunia*" (thought about the world, pp. 81-91), and "*Pantun Sindiran*" (insinuation, pp. 92-104). The work is a collection of Malay *pantun* rather than composed by Lim Hock Soon. Two examples of the *pantun* are as follows:

*Anak China pergi berkebon
Bakar-kan tandok buat baja
Kepada Allah sahya mohon
Mintak-kan plandok menjadi gajah (p. 26)*

*Kain chukin di buat mandi
Sudah basa di bawak pulang
Budi sedikit di bawak mati
Harata tinggal bagian orang (p. 41)*

5.16 In the first *pantun*, what interests me is the *pembayang* (the first two lines), which describes the Chinese burning buffalo horns to make fertilizer. When I did my research in Bukit Rambai, Melaka, in 1977, I actually observed my Baba informant used buffalo horn fertilizer to fertilize his paddy field. In the second *pantun*, *chukin* is the Baba term for a bath towel. It is probably from the Hokkien term *chui-keng*. This *pantun* is very similar to the one that appears in Lim Hock Choon's *Pantun Dondang Sayang*:

*Chukin kechik buat mandi
Suda basa di bawak pulang
Budi sedikit membawak mati
Harata benda tinggal kan orang*

Like other *pantun* collection, the poems are not necessary the work of the compiler. Some are popular ones while others are modification of known *pantun*. This is especially so in *pantun* sung at *dondang sayang*. Lim Hock Choon's work was undated. It was published by News and Stationery Co of Singapore and also by Malacca Commercial Press in Melaka.

5.17 Another *dondang sayang pantun* publication is *Panton Dondang Sayang & Nyanyian Lain-Lain* (1931), compiled by Wan Boon Seng who mentions that it was compiled at the request of *Bintang Pranakan* readers. It contains various items but the main portion is the pantun used in *dondang sayang*, which runs from p. 1 to p. 49 except on pp. 18-19, where the song "*Lagu Slendang Mayang*" is inserted. However, a number of the *pantun* are from *Panton Dondang Sayang Baba Baba Pranakan*. On p. 3, the following *pantun* has already appeared in Lim Hock Soon's *Malay Pantun Book* (1929), p. 50, stanza 248, with very minor modification:

<i>Pisang kaki buah anki</i>	<i>Pisang kaki buah angkee</i>
<i>Bawak orang deri China</i>	<i>Bawak orang dari China</i>
<i>Budi jangan di bawak mati</i>	<i>Budi jangan membawa mati</i>
<i>Terlebeh kurang balas di dunia</i>	<i>Saki banyak balas di-dunia</i>
(In Wan Boon Seng's collection)	(In Lim Hock Soon's collectin)

Anki was spelled *angkee* in *Malay Pantun Book*. It is the Hokkien term for "red persimmon"

5.18 As noted, *syair* was also popular with the Babas. The ones published in *Buku Sa Li Chua* (1910) and *Shair Renchana Piatu* are original, the later being more important in terms of content and style. *Buku Sa Li Chua dan Sha-el Singapura. Meniaga Gutta Dengan Panton Menyanyi* was published in Singapore. It is not clear what is Sa Li Chua in the title although it is clearly a Hokkien transcription. The 67-page book contains *syair* and *pantun* poems. On the last page the author mentions that he was Tan Bulat alias Tan Hin Liang, who was born in Singapore in 1865. "Bulat" means "round" in Malay. He also mentions this nickname in "Sha-el Singapura":

Saya yang karang men nama chek Bulat
Anak Singapore negri nya Selat
Panton ku karang men jadi-kan surat
Siapa yang hacha merasa tak penat (p. 5)

His Malay is obviously not so egalant.

5.19 The first part of the book is "Sha-el Singapura" (*syair* on Singapore), which begins with praising Singapore. The rest of the poem is about Tan Chay Yan who pioneered the planting of rubber in Melaka, and the rubber trade in Singapore. There is description of Tan Chay Yan's relatives in Melaka as well as his rubber estate in Asahan, Melaka:

Kebon Asahan bukit nya tinggi
Pohon nya gutta gemok skali
Orang Eropa pandang nak beli
Baba Tan Chay Yan tarok garanti (p. 8)

He spelled the Malay word *getah* for rubber as *gutta*, making the odd title of the book a bit harder to understand. But then rubber was still a new crop in Malaya.

5.20 *Ini-lah Buku "Kronchong Stengah-Duablas"* (1924) is very much written in the Malay style. The title page says the book *di-hias kan* (literally decorated) by Sengamin, this probably means it was compiled by Sengamin. The preface mentions the nickname

"Amin". Could it be that Sengamin was a Straits Chinese called Seng with a Malay nickname "Amin"? Like *Penghiboran Hati* (see below), there are many advertisements from Chinese firms in Penang, and there is also an advertisement on Chan Kim Boon's translated Chinese romances as obtainable from Chan Yen Tam. The book contains music notes followed by the text of "*Shair Kronchong*" (pp. 1-5) and "*Panton Kronchong*" (pp. 6-100). The title mentions that the music note for violin and guitar is from Mr. Van Hophraael of Soerabaya. Both the *syair* and *pantun* are for *kronchong*, which like *bangsawan*, were very popular also among the Straits Chinese.

"*Shair Kronchong*" is a beautiful piece about a couple of lovers who spend the night together at a seaside:

Sedang di-langit bulan nak-terang
Ketepi laut kita sekarang
Tempat sunyi tiada sa'orang
Kita berdua siapa nak larang

5.21 "*Panton Kronchong*" makes up the main part of the book. It is interesting in that it contains some in which all the last words rhyme as in *syair*, i.e., of the a.a.a.a. pattern instead of the usual a.b.a.b. pattern, such as:

Burong Nuri terbang melayang
Makan padi di-dalam dulang
Orang di-dunia membuat senang
Sebagai bintang di-pandang-kan trang

5.22 It is common of Malay poems to mention places in the Malay Archipelago. In *Kronchong Stengah-Duablas* and *Penghiboran Hati*, both published in Penang, more places in northern Malaya and Sumatra (such as Deli and Aceh) are mentioned. There was much interaction between the Chinese in Penang and those in Sumatra. In fact many Chinese immigrants originally went to northern Sumatra, especially Deli, where they could work in the mines and plantation there. Later many found their way to Penang. The following *pantun* in *Kronchong Stengah-Duablas* mentions about mines in Deli:

Lomba-lomba di-kuala Deli
Pukat plata tenang tenangan
Chuba-chuba kita berbudi
Depat-kah kita kenang-kenangan (p. 19)

5.23 *Panton Kronchong* mention places from all over the Malay Archipelago, and the beginning parts of the poem actually made use of place names in Penang to compose the poem, such as:

Ayer Hitam bukit Tok-kong
Tempat kerita mandaki bukit
Mas perak kalau berjongkong
Buleh-kah lawan budi sedikit (p. 7)

Tanjong Bungah mandi laut
Hari isnevan petang slasa
Bijaksana manis di-mulut
Badan penat haram tak-rasa (p. 7)

Telok Bahang Batu Fringgi
Tempat orang menangkap ikan
Orang berbudi nama-nya tinggi
Tidak jatuh tempat yang bukan (p. 8)

Gesek biola lagu dua
Pulau Tikus kampung serani
Bukan gila membuang jiwa
Budi-nya bagus jadi brani (p. 9)

5.24 *Penghiboran Hati* by H.S. L. was also published in 1924. It was published by The Criterion Press of Penang. It does not say who was or were H.S.L. The catalogue card at the University of Malaya library mentions the following names: Boey Teik-huat, Lee Eng-Seng and Louis Lim. The University of Malaya copy was photocopied from the British Library, where the catalogue mentions Buy Teik Huat and Lim H. Louis. This work is more like a song book, with the first part being the musical notes for 15 pieces of *kronchong* (*Stambol Satoe, Stambol Dua, Kronchong Singapura, Kronchong Bayang Siang, Kronchong Pulau Jawa, Masak Asam, etc.*)⁶, followed by "Syair dan Pantun" (*Syair and Pantun*) (pp. 1-49). The first part of the later explains the nature of the various *kronchong* songs, for example, "*Kronchong Bayang Siang*" is about love:

Kalau mau kaseh dan sayang
Ambil kronchong "Bayang Siang"
Bahru-lah sedar jiwa melayang
Jatoh di-hati herbayang-bayang

5.25 The book has many advertisements in English from firms in Penang. What is interesting is that the last part of the book contains two advertisement songs in Malay with musical notes, as well as other advertisements in English. Both the Malay advertisements are written in eight stanzas of poems. "*Susu CHAP PROMPUAN*" advertises the Lady brand milk, most likely the familiar Dutch Lady condensed milk:

Fa-idah nya bukan tiadak ketentu-an
Bagi sekalian wajah bangsawan
Jika buat barang jamuan
Mahu-lah champor susu Chap Prompuan

The other advertisement is on Lactogen milk powder:

Di-negri Australia tempat jadi-an
Agent menjual negri sekalian
Bebrapa banyak orang membli-an
Sebab baik tepong susu Lactogen

5.26 Advertisement in poems was actual fairly common. Another example is the advertisement on women's wear by The Embroidery Store of Penang published in *Ini lah Buku Kronchong Stengah-Duablas*, p. 101:

Orang Daik pulang ka-daik
Anak pari dari kayangan
Brapa hudok dapat-ku chantek
Dapat di-beli barang kenang kenangan

5.27 Mention may be made of a *syair* that tells the famous Chinese love story Sanbo (Sam Peh in Hokkien) and Yingtai (Eng Tai in Hokkien). This is *Ini Sha-er Sampeck Sama Engtai*. I have seen only the typescript copy kept by my Baba friend Mr. William Gwee of Singapore. There is a pencil mark indicating the year 1916 on the cover, and a chop mark, which bears the name of Teo Keng Boon of Singapore. The story is described as follows in the poem:

*Ini shaer chrita china
Jaman tongtiow itu timpunya
Satu wanguey hijak laksana
Kaya nya masohor ka mana mana*

(This poem is about a Chinese story that took place in the Tang dynasty. There was a noble man who was known for his richness. *Tongtiow* is the Hokkien word for "Tang dynasty", while *wanguey* refers to a rich and powerful man.) The story of Sam Peh Tai was popular with the *bangsawan* (Tan S.B. 1993: 35). In Indonesia this Chinese love story had been translated into Javanese and Malay, as far back as 1873 (Salmon 1987, Quinn 1987, Octomo 1987).

5.28 While *Ini Sha-er Sampeck Engtai* used the Malay poetry form to narrate a Chinese story, Na Tian Piet wrote *syair* about Sultan Abu Bakar of Johor. His book *Shaer Almarhoem Beginda Sultan Abubakar di Negri Johor* was published in two volumes in Singapore in 1896. His writing followed the Indonesian style of spelling. This is perhaps not surprising as he was born in Benkulu. Salmon (1992) has analyzed his views on the Malay world as reflected in his writing, and I shall not deal with this. Instead I want to pay more attention on another local Chinese, namely Tan Pow Tek, whose Malay poems also shed much light on the Malay world.

6 SHAIR RENCHANA PIATU

6.1 *Shair Renchana Piatu dan Pantun Dagang Karangan Bahru Nyanyian Budak Budak, Teka-Teki, Seth Orang China Etc* compiled by Tan Pow Tek deserves separate treatment. This book was printed in Kuala Lumpur in 1916. It has much information on the Baba and the Malay world. In fact he had traveled to many places in Malaya and Borneo, and the poems were mostly constructed from his experiences of travel. As indicated in the title page, the author was from Klang. He also described himself as a Singaporean. As the title mentions, the work contains *syair*, *pantun*, children's songs, conundrums, Chinese surnames and others such as "*Sa'ratus Chakapan Makna*" which lists one hundred proverbs in Malay (pp. 105-108).

6.2 The book has an English and a Malay preface. It is, however, a Malay publication, although the last two pieces, namely, "Danger of the Queue" and "The Chinese Surnames", are in English. In "The Chinese Surnames", Tan Pow Tek compiles Chinese surnames in alphabetical order, and explains the different dialect pronunciation of the same surname, such as Ng in Hokkien is Wong in Cantonese and Bong in Hakka. This is as far as we know the first full list that provides the different Chinese dialect pronunciation of Chinese surnames in Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, Hakka, Hainanese and Mandarin. "Danger of the Queue" is actually written in poetic form and is a campaign against having the queue, which many Chinese then still kept. The stanza that ridicules the queue is as follows:

Once near the engine a Chinaman stood
He did not know if the place was good

One sudden move his queue caught the engine
And how he was injured one may imagine

6.3 The English preface mentions that the book contains "valuable moral advices, strange life adventure, biographical and romantic verses quite practicable among most of our young Babas." It also mentions that since 1908 several verses in the book had already been published in the *Chaya Mata Hari* and *The Malaysian Advocate*. The appreciatory notes from his friends had encouraged him to publish his poems in one volume. The book was published in 1916 and printed at The Khee Meng Press in Kuala Lumpur.

The poems were written for Straits Chinese readers and there are some Hokkien words here and there. For example, the term "*Guek Neo*" in the following stanza from "*Bulan Trang di Singapura*" (bright moon in Singapore) (pp. 1-7) is actually the Hokkien word for "moon" or *bulan* in Malay:

Trang bulan bunga kembang
Angin pukol melawan glombang
Orang muda hati bimbang
Tengok "Guek Neo" mata rambang

6.4 Although the spelling generally conforms to the Baba style, Malay words not normally used by the Babas are introduced. At the end of each *syair*, the author provided a vocabulary to explain some Malay words in colloquial Baba and in English. For example, the first *syair* is on Singapore and there is a vocabulary at the end of the poem on p. 7. Examples of entries are *istri: bini* (wife), *berias: bikin chantek* (decorated), *sabtu: hari anam* (Saturday) etc. The Babas say *bini* rather than *istri* (today spelled as *isteri*) and *hari anam* instead of *Sabtu*. Some Hokkien words are also explained, such as *losoh: cheriwer* (fussy) (p. 59) and *chengkeng: tiada berati kotor* (pious) (p. 59).

6.5 Some of the *syair* reflect the author's traveling experience, namely "*Dagang Berlayer*" (pp. 8-27), "*Siantan Tempat Mengandung Semangat*" (pp. 60-72), and "*Patut Kluar Negeri*" (pp. 85-87). He traveled as far north as Kuala Lumpur, and east from Singapore as far as Sambas in Borneo.

6.6 There is much description of Pulau Siantan, also called "Pulau Tuju" in the South China Seas. According to him, the place was under the Dutch control, and there were many Chinese there:

Tempat ini prenta Blanda
Jalan-nya tiada kreta kuda
Bangsa China banyak ada
Gedong sarat segala benda (p. 10)

6.7 In fact in just a few stanzas, the author provides a detailed description of the island: its landscape, the shops, the people, plants, and local products:

Datok Hokkien tepi pantai
Deri jaho dapat di intai
Kluar lorong pandang kedai
Jumpa Melayu kris pakai

Bua mangga di panggil ampelam

*Jual oleh anak Islam
Ada jugak banyak Hylam
Kluar berjudi hari malam*

*Pokok kelapa banyak paling
Tanaman sluroh pulau kerliling
Di-blah dua jemor kring
Buat berniaga kelapa kring*

*Bua kras di kata kombek pulak
Di sini tempat banyak juga
Mangga, durian, duku, chempedak
Itu-lah jualan budak-budak (p. 10)*

6.8 In "Siantan Tempat Mengadung Semangat", he has more description of the local people:

*Bahasa Melayu dia orang berchapkap
Tertapi ada berlainan deri Singapura
Makna nya jugak sahya dapat tangkap
Senang mengerti jika di kira*

*Peranakan China di tana Siantan
Berlajar surat bahasa China
Pencharian nya semua berkerja hutan
Itu lah duson nior tempat sana*

6.9 The poems describe the local people as speaking Malay, which was different from that of Singapore. However it was not difficult to understand and to learn. The Malays then carried *keris*, the Malay dagger. The local-born Chinese learned to write Chinese, thus indicating that these were most likely not the Malay-speaking Chinese Peranakans. They depended on jungle products for a living, and they had coconut lands. The author provided a vivid description of that part of the Malay world. He described the people and their livelihood as well as the local produce. There were many coconut trees, and the coconuts were split and dried to make copra. There were fruit plants and he mentioned that the local people called *bua kras* (candlenut) *kombek*. In the Malay world, candlenut is an important ingredient for making the chilli paste which the Malays and the Babas called *sambal*.

6.10 Pulau Siantan was where his mother lived. However he did not stay long in the island. After the Chinese Kapitan took over his gambling farm, the author gambled everyday and lost his money. His mother scolded him, and he returned to "negri Selat" (Singapore), where he was unemployed and had to lodge at a relative's place. He even had to write to his mother for some money.

6.11 Since he continued to be unemployed, he decided to travel again, this time to Borneo. He arrived at Kuala Sambas of Borneo on "Bulan duablas" "sah-chap-mei" (p. 18) which is the 30th of the 12th Chinese month. This was the eve of the Chinese New Year, probably the reason he used the Hokkien date in this line. He describes the place as not having much local produce, and there were Hakka Chinese, who were good at doing business:

*Sini juga pukok kelapa
Tertapi asil tidak brapa
Kampong Melayu bersipa sipa
Gudang China bangsa Hakka*

*Hakka orang bangsa Khek
Berniaga sini banyak cherdek
Spanjang jalan dua direk
Kedei besar chantek molek (p. 19)*

And the Hakka were quite localized, as their women wore batek dress:

*Prempuan Khek ini semua
Pakei batek baju warna
Bersiar jalan kmana
Hadat sini orang betina*

6.12 On his way back, he stayed in Pulau Siantan for a few months. After saving some money, he returned to Singapore. There he wrote to his mother again for some money. He sent him then ten dollars, just enough for him to buy a ticket to sail to Kuala Lumpur.

6.13 In "*Siantan Tempat Mengandung Semangai*" (Siantan: Land of the Spirits). There is more description of the island. He mentioned that the Malay language there differed slightly from that of Singapore, but he was able to understand. He also mentioned that the local-born Chinese there depended on the jungle for livelihood (p. 62). Pulau Siantan was known for the sacred sites of the *keramat*, the Malay guardian spirits or the spirits of the Malay saints. He compared this to the famous *keramat* in the Kusu Island of Singapore:

*Kramat Siantan sperti kramat Kusu
Pergi kalu jangan berhati kotor
Jika tarok niatan yang palsu
Jumpa lah hujan ribot dan guntar (p. 64)*

The *keramat* belief is popular among the Babas (Tan 1988: 161-162). There is always the belief that if one is not sincere to the *keramat* in the island, one will encounter a storm and disaster on the way to or from the island. When I did my research in Melaka in 1977, I was told the same thing about visiting Pulau Besar, where there were a number of well-known *keramat*. The Babas who visited the island were careful not to eat pork on the day of visit, so as not to offend the Muslim saints.

6.14 Most of his poems deal with moral advice and teachings. "*Nasihat Anak Neonya China*" (Advice to a Chinese daughter") advises how a *nyonya* (Baba woman) should behave from the age of eight to eighteen years old. The last part of the poem advises on choosing husband: *Bukan chari chuma orang berharta, Tetapi orang rajin dan paham serta* (one should not choose only the rich, but a hardworking and understanding one). In "*Nasihat Budak skola*" (Advice to students), the author urges students to be hardworking and be respectful to teachers and elders. Some examples:

*Bangun pagi bersi kan badan
Kemas buku dan siap kan pakian
Habes makan pakei kasut kopia di tangan
Jalan trus ke skola berlenga jangan (p. 76)*

(On getting ready each morning to go to school.)

*Bangsa bangsa skarang ada berlumba
Chukop pandei dan surat bertamba
Boleh ka kamu kalu tidak uba
Dapat tempat senang antara baba baba*

(On the need to be educated to compete with others so as to be successful in life.)

6.15 The author also campaigned against gambling and smoking opium. In "Tabiat Orang Berjudi" (pp. 80-82), he pointedly said that there was no other "race" like the Chinese who liked gambling so much without restraint:

*Tidak bangsa lain suka judi bagitu
Sperti bangsa kita China satu persatu
Jadi terpaksa lah mesti hilang waktu
Membri cerita pada saudara berjudi itu*

*Bangsa lain berjudi ada dengan waktu
Tidak slalu ashek berjudi sampei bagitu
Banyak nya tempo malam hari sabtu
Pergi tempat berjudi punya rumah pintu*

We have noted that the author had once suffered from gambling.

6.16 In "Buang Chandu" (Abstain from Opium) (pp. 83-84), the author writes of the evil of opium:

*Ingeris kata "opium" kita kata madat
Siapa isap ini mesti lah taubat
Kerna orang isap tidak dapat slamat
Kerja lambat dan lagi kurang adat*

(Those who smoke opium will not lead a secured life, their work performance is poor and their social etiquette bad.)

6.17 He was very conscious of the smoking of opium bringing shame to the Chinese as a whole:

*Apa rupa nya orang isap kalu
Ayer muka nya kurang cahaya slalu
Sebab isap makan tidor siang terlalu
Ini lah bikin bangsa China jadi malu*

And he urged those Chinese who had not yet consumed opium not to try: *chuma kita nasihat orang China, siapa belom isap jangan lah terkena.*

6.18 There is an interesting section called "Perkataan Ampat" ("Four Words") (pp. 103-104), in which the author uses four words in each line of the *pantun*. What is interesting is that the author makes use of the ethnic labels of various Chinese speech groups and other ethnic groups to compose the poems. He plays on the last syllabus of the labels to compose the poems. For example, his poems on the major Chinese speech groups are:

*Ada satu China Hokkien
Pergi pasar beli durian
Habis duit mengisap ahpian*

Pulang rumah dudok tagian

(On a Hokkien smoking opium or *ahpian* in Hokkien.)

*Ada satu China khek
Pergi kedai beli bakek
Habis duit satu pokek
Dudok rumah tidak ghekek*

(On a Hakka buying pepper.)

*Ada satu China Makau
Pergi pasar beli temakau
Habis duit main pakau
Dudok rumah jadi risau*

[On a Macao Chinese (generally referred to the Cantonese) buying tobacco. *Pakau* is the Hokkien term for a gambling game]

*Ada satu China Hylam
Pergi pasar beli ayam
Habis duit berjudi malam
Pulang rumah chuchi tilam*

(On a Hainanese buying chicken.)

*Ada satu China Kwangtong
Pergi kedai beli tong
Habis duit beli patong
Pulang rumah dudok berhitong*

(On a Cantonese buying containers.)

*Ada satu China Taychew
Pergi pasar beli Tauchio
Habis duit bertambang sangchew
Dudok rumah jadi hoaysio*

(On a Teochew buying soybean paste. *Sangchew* is the Hokkien and Teochew word for giving alcohol drinks.)

6.19 In the preface to his work, Tan Pow Tek begins with the following remarks:

A book of Malay poems in the Romanized Malay of the Straits colloquial language like this "Renchana Piatu" has never existed, though several other similar works have already been compiled and published by the Dutch-born Babas in Batavia in a language only appreciative and comprehensible to themselves. The nature of my poems contained in the "Renchana Piatu" greatly differs from other poetic works, thus affording the readers their choice in the various romances and narratives which are most interesting and touching.

6.20 Only after examining the work can we appreciate what he claimed. The richness of his poems tells us much about the Malay world: its diverse places and multi-ethnic people. Indeed his work is special, not only in terms of the quality of his poems, but also in terms of his description of the Malay world. We see through his description places and people in the Malay world. For example, he described the Malays and Dayaks of Borneo and

Pulau Siantan, as well as the Chinese who by then had made up a part of that world. His description of the Hakka in Borneo and the Chinese in Pulau Siantan contributes to our understanding of the Chinese in that part of the Malay world. His poem also corrected that the stereotype that the Hakka were laborers and farmers, for he described them as good businessmen. His playful poems on the Chinese speech groups accurately listed the main Chinese speech groups in Malaya, mentioning first the largest groups, namely the Hokkien and the Hakka. As a localized Chinese, he loved the Malay poetry, but he was also proud of his Chinese heritage and was concerned about the dignity of Chinese identity, as can be seen in his concern about the bad image of Chinese smoking opium and gambling. Indeed in his poem on gambling, he used the phrase "*Sperti kita bangsa China*" (like we Chinese). *Gambling* among the Chinese must be so common that he and other Baba composers of Malay poems often mentioned about Chinese gambling.

7. CONCLUSION

7.1 The Baba had not just learned Malay poetry. They had incorporated that part of the Malay heritage into theirs. The Chinese from China had a long history of contact with the Malay world. In the case of the Babas, the Chinese had transformed from merely outsiders as traders and immigrants to become a very special part of the Malay world. Their appreciation and production of Malay poems is a long way from the early effort of the Chinese to compile Malay vocabularies in Chinese (Tan 1993: 37, MSTCR 1987: 64-66) in order to learn some Malay for their interaction in the Malay world. The Baba had become Malay-speaking and regarded the Malay Archipelago as their home. Nowhere in their poems can we see any nostalgia of China or of ancestral places in China. Where China is mentioned, it is about goods from China (such as preserved vegetable)⁷ or things that have symbolic meanings to them as ethnic Chinese (such as the peony flower). Their description is largely based on places, plants, animals, events and cultural features of the Malay world. In this respect, the *pembayang* of the *pantun* is interesting for it is in this part of the *pantun* that many aspects of the Malay Archipelago are described.

7.2 The works of Lim Hock Chee (1890), Tan Bulat (1910) and Tan Pow Tek (1916) are more original. Lim showed his appreciation and knowledge of Malay poems, and he himself was good at writing romantic poems. His poems on plants informed us of the major such plants in the Malay world. Tan Bulat's poem may not be as good as those of Lim and Tan, but he describes a pioneer in rubber planting in Melaka, its trade and financial life in Singapore. Tan Pow Tek, as discussed, contributes to our knowledge of that part of the Malay world around Singapore and Borneo. He was also unique in describing the Chinese in his Malay poems, making it a unique work on the study of Chinese overseas.

7.3 *Ini-lah Buku "Kronchong Stengah-Duablas* (1924) and *Penghiboran Hati* (1924) published in Penang are useful for compiling the *syair* poems that were popular in Penang, especially to the Straits Chinese. Their poems also reflect the Malay world around Penang, as we have seen. The places and people were described. In the first work, for example, places and special features of the places in Penang were described. For example, the Eurasians concentrated in Pulau Tikus and Ayer Hitam was (and still is) where people drove up the hill to the famous Chinese temple.

7.4 The four-line *pantun* have been popular among the Babas. The differentiation between Malay and Baba *pantun* is in a way misleading as the Babas saw the *pantun* as

part of their tradition, too. Many of the *pantun* that they loved are old Malay *pantun*, at the same time they had modified many of them in words or in style of pronunciation, and they had also created new ones. The Baba publications of *pantun* collections are thus an important contribution to the compilation of *pantun* of the time. Koh & Co's five volumes of *pantun* collection was an important work in that it was an early attempt at compiling the *pantun* and the large number of *pantun* compiled was significant. The work was and is known to many Babas to this day. Lim Hock Soon's *Malay Pantun Book* (1929) was important, too. Other collections include Lim Hock Choon's *Panton Dondang Sayang* and Wan Boon Seng (1931). *Pantun* are important for *dondang sayang*, hence the common publication of *pantun dondang sayang*.

7.5 There are poems that describe aspects of Baba culture, and its style as well as the use of Hokkien loanwords make them uniquely Baba. This is a unique Baba contribution in the Malay world. As we have seen these are special for their description of Baba wedding, and celebration of Chinese New Year, and it is still a meaningful tradition among the Babas.

7.6 The Baba publication of Malay poems is a phase in the history of the Babas, and a phase in the history of the Malay world. While there are Babas who are still interested in *pantun*, there is no modern Baba publication of Malay poetry books. The last such publication was a small book by the well-known Melaka Baba, the late Baba Kim Teck alias Chia Ah Chin. He was good at *dondang sayang* and his poems were written by his grandson Chia Chui Li, and published as *Pantun-Pantun Dondang Sayang* in Melaka in 1950. Although there are some Babas today who are still nostalgic about composing uniquely Baba poems using Baba Malay, Baba Kim Teck's poems reflect the present style of confirming to "standard" Malay. The lack of sufficient Baba *dondang sayang* singers means that Baba singers nowadays often cooperate with Malays, while the famous ones like Baba Kim Teck and the late Baba Gwee Peng Gwee of Singapore were often invited to sing at public functions and by the Malaysian Radio and Television, encouraging the Babas to sing to a wider audience. Furthermore Baba Malay was important in the commercial world of the Straits Settlements, but it is not so today. But some Babas in Melaka and Singapore continue to sing and compose Malay poems, some of which, like those of the late Gwee Peng Kwee and William Tan of Singapore, can be found in Thomas (1986), as well as in Baba souvenir magazines and some printed programs of Baba functions. The printed ones are few and we are yet to see if the Babas today will pick up the interest to publish Malay poems that they compose or sing at *dondang sayang*. Meanwhile let's appreciate Baba Kim Teck's *pantun*:

<i>Sayor asin di kedai Cina</i>	Preserved vegetables at Chinese shop
<i>Salah beli terkena pahit</i>	Choosing the wrong ones give you bitter taste
<i>Biar miskin bertambah hina</i>	Rather be poor and despised
<i>Budi dan bahasa mahu yang baik</i>	Character and speech must be proper

It is ordinary Babas like Kim Teck who enrich Baba culture and the Malay world through their life and their poems.

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¹ I should mention Lombard-Salmon (1974). I do not read French, but from the poems cited, the paper is on *gair* that narrate popular Chinese fictions.

² I shall not write more on the publication of Baba publication of newspapers and magazines as well as the translated Chinese fictions, as I have already described these in Tan (1981). In addition Salmon had revised her pioneering 1977 paper and published as Salmon (1987a).

³ Salmon (1977b, 1987a) has mentioned this work, but the name was misspelled as Hakim Taib.

⁴ This was also the beginning of what Proudfoot (1986: 101) describes as "a revolution in Malay book publishing."

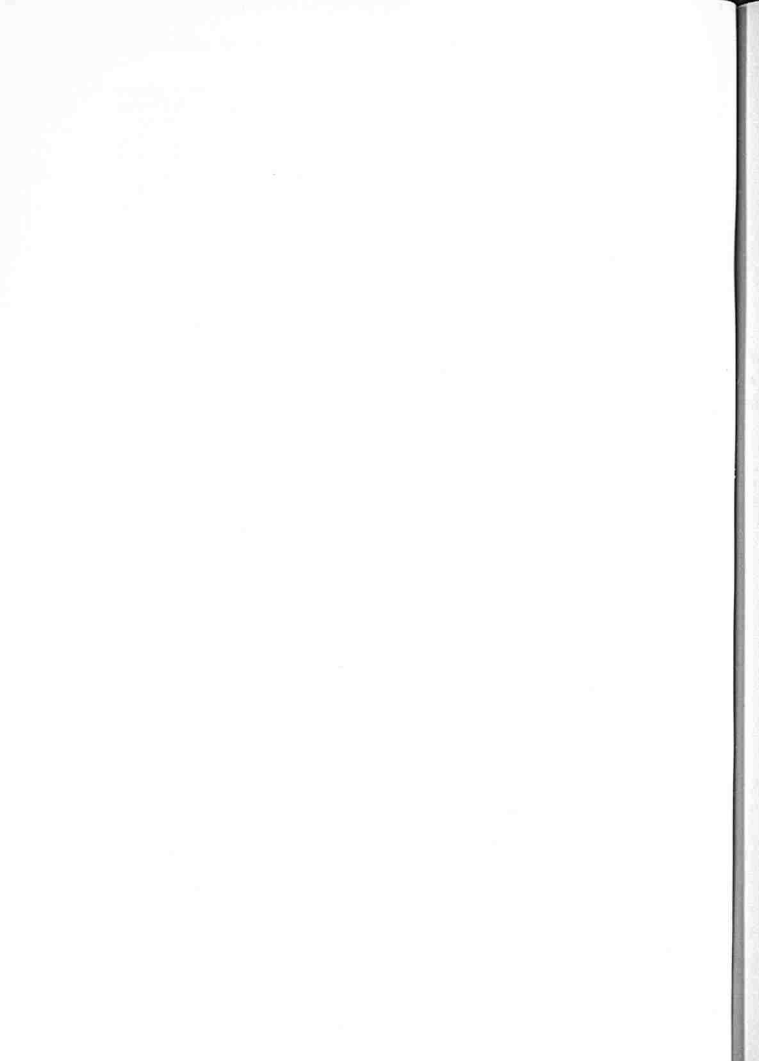
⁵ For a description of some of the Baba dishes here, see Tan (1998).

⁶ These *keroncong* songs were popular with the Babas of Penang (Tan 1986: 49).

⁷ If the following poem was composed by a Baba, then it is interesting as the first line mentions about preserved vegetable from China, and the second line mentions about a kind of lime in Majapahit:

*Sayor asin dari China
Limau bali di-manjapahit
Sunggoh miskin lagi hina
Budi prangai mahu-lah baik*

(Ini-lah Buku *Kronchong Sengah-Duablas*, p. 14)



10

YANG QUEE YEE

**MANLAJIA GUO YIYU:
KAMUS MELAYU YANG PERTAMA
DISUSUN ORANG CINA DAN KESANNYA
DALAM PERKAMUSAN MELAYU**

10

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**Manlajia Guo Yiyu:
Kamus Melayu yang pertama disusun orang Cina
dan kesannya dalam perkamusan Melayu**

*Yang Quee Yee
Singapore*

Abstract

Selama ini Manlajia Guo Yiyu atau Senarai Perkataan Melaka yang terkandung dalam Ge Guo Yiyu atau Senarai Perkataan Pelbagai Negeri, hasil penyelenggaraan Si Yi Guan atau Institut Bahasa-bahasa Asing pada Dinasti Ming di negeri China, merupakan sebuah kamus dwibahasa Cina-Melayu tanpa abjad Melayu yang paling tua dalam sejarah perkamusan Melayu. Fakta kewujudannya boleh disusul sampai ke sumber sejarah pertubuhan Si Yi Guan, atau terbitan-terbitan yang berkenaan dalam semasa. Sebelum Si Yi Guan ditubuhkan dengan rasminya, Huo Yuan Jie memainkan peranan yang penting dalam usaha perkamusan bagi kerajaan China Dinasti Ming. Kamus yang mula-mula sekali dikelolaknya terdapat pada tahun 1368. Kamus itu dikenali sebagai Hua Yi Yiyu dalam bentuk dwibahasa, iaitu Senarai Perkataan Cina Monggolia. Seiring dengan kekerapan dan rapatnya hubungan diplomatik dengan negara-negara asing pada Dinasti Ming, kerajaan China makin menyedari pentingnya fungsi bahasa dalam urusan diplomatik. Maka sampai tahun 1405, atas perintah maharaja Ming Cheng Zhu, sebuah institusi yang dikenali sebagai Si Yi Guan ditubuhkan untuk melatih atau memupuk ahli-ahli bahasa Cina di bawah pimpinan Huo Yuan Jie sebagai pengarahnya. Daripada itu, usaha keleksikografian yang meliputi ge guo yiyu atau pelbagai bahasa asing, termasuk bahasa Melayu yang dinamakan sebagai Manlajia Guo Yiyu pun mula diberi perhatian. Itulah sebabnya kajian sarjana –sarjana tentang sejarah Manlajia Guo Yiyu biasanya disusul sampai ke Hua Yi Yiyu, hasil susunan Huo Yuan Jie.

1. PRAKATA

1.1 Masalah perkamusan Melayu memang tidak asing bagi masyarakat Cina. Akan tetapi kerja perkamusan bahasa Cina jauh berbeza dengan kerja perkamusan bahasa Melayu. Lebih-lebih kerja untuk menyelaraskan kedua-dua bentuk tulisan bahasa itu dalam sebuah kamus dwibahasa. Kerana baik gaya tulisan ataupun fonetik, kaligrafi bahasa Cina yang tradisi ditulis menurut strok-strok dalam jaluran dari atas ke bawah sukar hendak diselaraskan dengan bahasa Melayu yang ditulis dengan ejaan dari kanan ke kiri buat tulisan Jawi, atau dari kiri ke kanan buat tulisan Rumi.

1.2 Kecuali membuat kajian yang teliti, orang tentu sukar memahami bahawa pada ketika bahasa Cina masih tinggal di zaman tulisan tangan melalui kaligrafi yang ditulis satu strok demi satu strok, dan semasa orang Cina belum biasa menulis bahasa Melayu menurut ejaannya pada abad yang ke-15, macam mana mereka sanggup menjalinkan

kedua-dua bahasa ini melalui saluran karya perkamusan. Apa yang lebih menakjubkan adalah sebelum umat manusia di luar dunia Melayu memberi perhatian dan nilai yang sewajar ke atas bahasa Melayu, rakyat Cina telah menunjukkan kenikmatan yang cukup ghairah terhadap bahasa Melayu dengan menyelenggarakan kursus bahasa ini di negerinya untuk melatih atau memupuk pegawai-pegawainya, supaya menguasai bahasa Melayu di sebuah institusi yang digelar *Su Yi Guan* atau Institut Bahasa-bahasa Asing pada dinasti yang diterajui oleh maharaja Ming Cheng Zhu (1403-1424). Di samping itu, demi mengatasi masalah bahan-bahan yang boleh digunakan sebagai alat pengajaran, sebuah kamus bahasa Cina-Melayu yang dikenali sebagai *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* atau *Senarai Istilah Negeri Melaka* dalam bentuk yang kuno dan sederhana pun berjaya diselenggarakan di bawah kelolaan institusi seperti yang tersebut di atas.

1.3 Perkara yang lebih menarik ialah kamus bahasa Cina-Melayu itu disusun dalam bentuk yang luar biasa. Di antara 482 buah lema yang terkandung dalam kamus itu, tidak terdapat sepele pun abjad Melayu digunakan, seluruh ketakrifan atau transkripsi bahasa Melayu ditulis dengan kaligrafi Cina dan dieja mengikut fonetik bahasa Cina atau Mandarin.

1.4 Selama ini, pembentang pernah berusaha menyingkap kewujudan *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* dalam beberapa buah tulisan atau okasi. Namun penyingkapan itu hanya berupa sambil-sambilan saja, sehingga pembentang sendiri pun merasa tidak puas hati. Maka bersempena dengan seminar ini, saya berusaha lebih lanjut dari segala aspek dan mencapai sumber bahan-bahannya yang lebih cukup untuk menyoroti secara mendalam tentang kamus istimewa yang dikelolakan pada 600 tahun dahulu itu dari segi proses pengusahaannya yang saksama, supaya hasil yang cemerlang dan bernilai tinggi dalam perkamusan Melayu itu tidak disalah anggap lagi sebagai benda yang misteri dalam mata sebahagian sarjana.

1.5 Semenjak abad yang ke-15, selain *Manlajia Guo Yiyu*, jumlah terbitan kamus Melayu yang diselenggarakan atau disusun oleh masyarakat Cina melebihi 100 buah. Antaranya ada yang disusun dalam bentuk ekabahasa, dwibahasa ataupun nekahabasa. Namun di antara hasil-hasil susunan yang tercapai itu, bentuk yang paling menarik barangkali terkira kategori dwibahasa, iaitu bahasa Cina-Melayu sama seperti bentuk susunan yang diperlihatkan dalam *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* dan beberapa buah lagi terbitan tempatan dalam bentuk yang serupa yang pernah saya perkenalkan dalam sebuah rencana yang berjudul *Perkamusan Melayu Susunan Masyarakat Cina Di Malaysia*.¹ Namun semenjak wujudnya kamus kategori yang luar biasa itu, dalam satu jangka masa yang panjang, nampaknya terbitan itu belum menarik perhatian atau minat yang sewajar baik dari kalangan rakyat ataupun di bidang akademik. Berkat sampai tahun 1930-an, di bawah usaha dua orang sarjana Inggeris, E.D. Edwards dan C.O. Blagden, khazanah kepustakaan yang sehebat itu baru ditinjau kembali dari segi akademik, sehingga hasil kebahasaan yang bersejarah itu pun sempat diperkenalkan ke atas arena perkamusan Melayu secara rasmi.

¹ Sila rujuk kepada *Sari* 18 (2000), 151-175, jurnal keluaran UKM.

2. PANDANGAN SARJANA-SARJANA

2.1. Sebagai perbahasan lebih lanjut, bahawa hasil kajian kedua-dua sarjana Inggeris itu terdapat dalam sebuah rencana yang berjudul *A Chinese Vocabulary of Malacca Malay Words and Phrases Collected between A.D.1403 and 1511(?)* yang disiarkan dalam *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. Selepas itu, isi tulisan mereka itu sering dijadikan contoh bahan utama buat kajian yang seumpama. Walaupun demikian, jika dikaji lebih lanjut, maka boleh didapati bahawa kajian kedua-dua sarjana itu sebetulnya hanya terlingkar pada lingkungan senarai yang sedia terkandung dalam salah satu komponen koleksi mubaligh Morrison (1782-1843) yang dikenali sebagai *Ko Kwo Yi Yu*² atau *Senarai Perkataan-perkataan Pelbagai Negeri*.

2.2 Huraian kedua-dua sarjana yang paling berhasil ialah dengan menerusi perbandingan di antara sejumlah 482 buah kosa kata dan ungkapan yang dikelasifikasikan dalam 17 kategori itu, dua ciri yang menonjol telah didapati, iaitu yang pertama, kamus itu berkaitan dengan kerajaan Melaka, kerana didapati sebahagian makna kosa kata seperti sultan, hai sultan, anak raja, naik astana, menghadap dan sebagainya yang terkandung di bahagian VIII, IX dan XIV itu jelas membayangkan perkara yang berkaitan dengan kerajaan Melaka; dua, daripada seluruh kosa kata yang terkumpul itu, tidak termaktub sepatah pun kata pinjaman yang berasal dari bahasa Eropah. Dengan kata lain, tanpa kata-kata pinjaman dari sumber itu, boleh dipastikan bahawa senarai kosa kata itu seharusnya disusun dalam jangka masa sebelum orang Eropah (Portugis) menjejaki tanah Melaka pada tahun 1511. Kalau tidak, kesan resapan kata-kata asing tentu tidak boleh dielakkan dari akibat pertembungan seperti gejala yang diperlihatkan bahasa-bahasa umum.

2.3 Oleh itu, mereka pun menarik kesimpulan bahawa senarai kosa kata itu ada kemungkinan besar dihasilkan di antara tahun 1403-1511(?), lalu membuat kepastian bahawa senarai kosa kata itu merupakan sebuah kamus Melayu yang tertua dalam perkamusan Melayu, sedangkan sebuah lagi kamus Itali-Melayu yang dikelolakan oleh Pigaffeta pada 1521 itu terletak di tempat yang kedua seperti berikut:

It appears to be practically, therefore, that the vocabulary was compiled from lists of words collected within the period indicated above, and that is the oldest Malay vocabulary known to us, the next oldest being the one made by Pigafetta in 1521.

Inilah cara kajian akademik yang objektif yang biasa diambil oleh ahli-ahli sejarawan dan budayawan untuk menelusuri kembali sesuatu tarikh jejak peristiwa yang tertinggal atau terlalai dicatat oleh penciptanya.

2.4 Kelemahan kajian kedua-dua sarjana itu, barangkali terlihat pada huraian mereka itu tidak diperkaitkan dengan unsur latar belakang kemasyarakatan yang menjadi daya gerak utama dalam karya perkamusan yang dilaksanakan oleh kerajaan Dinasti Ming dari sejarah China Kuno, apatah lagi bahan yang diambil sebagai dasar kajian mereka itu bukanlah bahan yang asli atau peristiwa-peristiwa yang bersangkutan-paut langsung dengan

² Ejaan yang baku ialah *Ge Guo Yiyu*. Kamus ini mengandungi 10 jenis bahasa asing, termasuk bahasa Melayu.

pihak penyelenggara perkamusan pada masa itu, melainkan hanya didasarkan pada sumber sekunder, iaitu bahan semakan yang telah disunting dan disaring oleh seorang *Tong Shi* atau jurubahasa, Yang Lin namanya, pada kira-kira 40 tahun kemudian. Sehingga citra kegemilangan kamus Melayu yang tertua itu pun menimbulkan kesangsian oleh sarjana yang tertentu, lalu disalah tanggap bahawa sebuah catatan kosa kata bahasa Melayu lain yang disusun oleh Antonio Pigafetta dan diterbitkan pada tahun 1521 lebih bermur daripada *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* yang telah dibuktikan terwujud dalam jangka masa 1403-1511.

2.5 Antonio Pigafetta seorang pelayar Itali yang pernah belayar bersama-sama dengan ahli pelayaran Sepanyol Magellen sampai ke kepulauan Nusantara. Kosa kata yang dikumpulkan itu terkandung dalam sebuah buku catatan pelayarannya.³ Perlu ditunjukkan, bahawa selama ini, kajian tentang citra kedudukan *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* di bidang perkamusan Melayu bukan julung-julung kali diperlakukan. Walaupun hasil kajian yang tercapai itu tidak boleh dikatakan banyak, namun hujah-hujah yang dikemukakan atau sumber bahan-bahan yang digunakan sebagai rujukan cukup jelas untuk memastikan jangka masa kedudukan sejarah *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu*.

2.6 Kekurangannya ialah tulisan-tulisan dan bahan-bahan yang berkaitan itu di samping hasil kajian Edwards dan Blagden ditulis dalam bahasa Inggeris, yang lain hampir semuanya dicatat dalam bahasa Cina. Kesan ini barangkali menyukarkan kerja kajian buat sebahagian sarjana Barat yang tidak memahami bahasa Cina. Seterusnya biar kita merujuk kepada hasil kajian tentang perkara serupa yang diusahakan oleh dua orang sarjana Timur yang berlatar belakang ilmu bahasa Cina.

2.7 Xu Yunqiao (mendiang), terkenal sebagai ahli sejarah dan kebudayaan Nanyang (Asia Tenggara), mantan profesor di Universiti Nanyang. Hasil kajian beliau yang berkaitan dengan kehadiran *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* mula-mula sekali terdapat pada tahun 1940-an. Sebagai kerja asas atau pendahuluan terhadap kamus yang berkenaan, Prof. Xu pernah menterjemahkan artikel E.D. Edwards dan C.O. Blagden ke dalam bahasa Cina dengan sepenuhnya, hasil terjemahan itu lalu disiarkan dalam *Journal of the South Seas Society*,⁴ keluaran bulan Mac 1941. Selepas itu beliau membuat penyelidikan lebih lanjut tentang sebuah kamus dwibahasa yang berjudul *Hua Yi Yiyu* atau Senarai Perkataan Cina-Perkataan Negeri Asing.

2.8 Melalui kajian Prof. Xu, dibuktikan *Hua Yi Yiyu* yang diselenggarakan lebih awal itu menjadi langkah perintis bagi perkamusan *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu*. Hasil huraian yang dibuatnya itu juga disiarkan dalam majalah yang sama dalam keluaran bulan Disember 1954 dengan tajuk *Pemeriksaan Versi-versi Hua Yi Yiyu*. Antara isi huraian, masalah hubungan *Hua Yi Yiyu* dan *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* telah disoroti secara terperinci, termasuk perkara orang yang mula-mula sekali yang ditugaskan oleh kerajaan feudal China pada Dinasti Ming (1368-1644) untuk menangani karya perkamusan di Hanlin Yuan atau

³ Hashim bin Musa, *Sejarah Awal Perumian Bahasa Melayu: analisis sistem tulisan senarai kosa kata Pigafetta dan C. De Houtman*, m.s. 1, Akademi Pengajian Melayu, U.M.

⁴ Nama bahasa Cina: Nanyang Xuebao, sebuah majalah akademik yang bersejarah dan diterbitkan South Seas Society di Singapura semenjak 1940

Lembaga Kesarjanaan. Lalu bagaimana diluaskan menjadi Si Yi Guan, sebuah institusi yang didirikan pada kemudiannya yang dikhaskan untuk menangani masalah-masalah bahasa dan perkamusan yang meliputi kumpulan senarai kosa kata pelbagai bahasa asing yang dikenali sebagai *Ge Guo Yiyu*, serta *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* yang dijadikan salah satu komponen dalam isi kandungannya pun dihuraikan dengan panjang lebar dan terperinci. Manakala kenyataan mengenai latar belakang perkembangan institusi Si Yi Guan dan hubungannya dengan sejarah kuno negeri China, tulisan Prof. Liang Liji, mantan pengarah Institut Pengajian Kebudayaan Indonesia-Melayu di Universiti Peking dari negeri China nampaknya mengambil sikap kajian lebih bersungguh-sungguh dan cermat.

2.9 Perkenalan Prof. Liang yang dirakamkan dalam bahasa Melayu terdapat di sebuah buku tulisannya yang berjudul *Lembaran Sejarah Gemilang, Hubungan Empayar Melaka-Dinasti Ming Abad ke-15*.⁵ Prof. Liang berusaha mencari fakta-fakta yang lebih luas dengan merujuk langsung kepada bahan-bahan kuno seperti *Sejarah Ming, Catatan Hakikat Kerajaan Ming, Catatan Segala Hal Ehwat Kerajaan, Pemeriksaan Si Yi Guan, Peraturan Tambahan Si Yi Guan*, selain itu sebahagian besar kitab-kitab sejarah China yang merakamkan peristiwa-peristiwa di negara-negara Asia Tenggara dan hubungan diplomatik China-Melaka pun dijadikan bahan rujukan penting beliau. Lepas itu Prof. Liang membuat perkenalannya yang bertajuk *Penubuhan Maktab Bahasa Asing "Si Yi Guan"* (Bab 3, 82-90). Daripadanya perkara institusi Si Yi Guan dan tanggungannya ke atas masalah-masalah bahasa dan kerja-kerja perkamusan pada Dinasti Ming juga diperbincangkan dengan luas dan teliti.

2.10 Berdasar pada bahan-bahan rujukan yang kaya-raya dan huraian yang terperinci itu, hubungan *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* dan institusi Si Yi Guan pun diperkaitkan dari aspek yang lebih luas oleh Prof. Liang. Lalu membuat kesimpulannya seperti berikut:

Manlajia Guo Yiyu walaupun sangat kecil dan sederhana, namun maknanya tidak boleh dipandang sangat kecil dan sederhana, masih banyak yang perlu diselami dan dibahas sama ada masalah kebahasaannya mahupun masalah persejarahannya, agar kita boleh memberi penilaian yang lebih munasabah tentang makna kehadirannya dan peranan yang dimainkan pada abad kelima belas.

Di samping itu, seluruh kosa kata *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* dan transkripsinya seperti yang dicatat dalam artikel E.D. Edwards dan C.O. Blagden pun dipindah dan disusun supaya berselaras dengan urutan tulisan Rumi bahasa Melayu moden dalam cetakan. Akhirnya Prof. Liang pun tidak terlalai membuat perbincangan atau kupasan secara terperinci dari segi akademik terhadap perkataan-perkataan yang diragukan atau tersilap yang terdapat dalam teks berkenaan.

2.11 Selain itu, masih terdapat sebahagian huraian atau tulisan yang disiarkan dalam media-media bahasa Cina, namun kerana terbatas pada masa seminar, tidak sempat diperkenalkan satu demi satu.

⁵ Diterbitkan sebagai Siri Monograf Alam dan Tamadun Melayu di bawah naungan ATMA, UKM, 1996.

3. PENTINGNYA PENGENALAN TENTANG SI YI GUAN

3.1 Negeri China adalah salah sebuah negara yang kuno dalam sejarah dunia. Sejarah negeri China meliputi beribu-ribu tahun lamanya. Namun sampai Dinasti Ming, perkara kamus dwibahasa baru diberi perhatian yang sewajar. Lagipun menurut sumber-sumber yang termaktub, pada peringkat awal, usahanya hanya diambil berat pada perkara kebahasaan yang lebih mendasak di dalam lingkungan urusan kerajaan semasa, maka di samping bahasa Cina, bahasa Monggolia lebih diutamakan. Itulah sebabnya semasa *Hua Yi Yiyu* yang diselenggarakan oleh Lembaga Kesarjanaan, sebuah badan kerajaan Dinasti Ming sebelum Si Yi Guan didirikan secara rasmi, hanya dua bahasa saja diamati, iaitu Cina-Minggolia.

3.2 Walaupun demikian, kamus dwibahasa yang tercapai itu tetap boleh dianggap sebagai usaha perintis dalam sejarah perkamusan China. Mengenai proses perkembangan perkamusan Cina dari dwibahasa menjangkau ke pelbagai bahasa, boleh kita merujuk kepada sebahagian bahan rakaman yang masih boleh diperoleh dari kitab-kitab bahasa Cina kuno. Antaranya:

3.3 Menurut kitab *Catatan Hakikat Kerajaan Ming* (jilid 141), pada bulan 1 tahun 15 Hong Wu (1382T.M.) maharaja Ming Tai Zhu⁶ menah ketua pengarah Lembaga Kesarjanaan Huo Yuan Jie bersama penyunting-penyuntingnya Ma Sha, Yi He dan lain-lainnya berusaha menyusun *Hua Yi Yiyu* untuk memenuhi keperluan pengajaran dan pembelajaran pegawai-pegawai kerajaan, supaya sanggup berkomunikasi dengan suku bangsa Monggolia yang baru ditakluki. 7 tahun kemudian, pada tahun 22 Hong Wu (1389), selesailah kerjanya, namun isi takrifnya hanya ada satu, iaitu bahasa Monggolia.

3.4 Lantas sampai tahun 1403, semasa maharaja Ming Cheng Zhu bertahta, perhubungan negeri China dengan luar mulai berkembang. Kononnya masa itu ramai raja-raja dan utusan-utusan negeri asing datang melawat ke negeri China, antaranya ada yang datang dengan membawa rombongan yang besar sekali. Maka sebagai tindakan interaksi, kerajaan China pun mengirim utusan-utusannya melawat kembali ke negara-negara yang bersangkutan-paut. Seiring dengan kekerapan dan rapatnya hubungan diplomatik dengan negara-negara asing pada Dinasti Ming itu, kerajaan China makin menyedari pentingnya ilmu bahasa-bahasa asing dalam urusan kerajaan.

3.5 Maka pada tahun 5 Yong Le (1407), atas perintah maharaja Ming Cheng Zhu, sebuah institusi yang dikenali sebagai Si Yi Guan pun ditubuhkan secara rasmi di bawah pimpinan Huo Yuan Jie. Manakala mengenai peranan Si Yi Guan, selain bertanggungjawab menganjurkan kursus-kursus untuk melatih ilmu bahasa asing kepada pegawai-pegawai dan diplomat-diplomat kerajaan Ming, penyusunan kamus bahasa asing juga menjadi salah satu tugas utama. Sampai sini lingkungan bahasa yang ditangani pun diperluas menjadi pelbagai bahasa, kononnya sebanyak 10 jenis telah dirangkumi, antaranya termasuk bahasa Melayu yang dinamakan *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu*.

3.6 Mengenai motif penubuhan Si Yi Guan, demikianlah dinyatakan dalam peraturan tambahan seperti yang dicatat dalam dokumentasi *Si Yi Guan Zhen Ding Guan Zhe*:

⁶ Maharaja Ming yang pertama.

Negara telah mempersatukan seluruh jagat, berhambuslah segala kemaksiatan dari dalam dan luar empat samudera. Sejauh yang terjangkau oleh kewibawaan dan kemasyhuran kaisar tiadalah yang tidak tertakluk lagi. Akan peri negeri-negeri asing itu berbeza-beza dan bahasa serta tulisannya pun ganjil-ganjil. Maka kalau tiada orang yang mengenali dan memahami, mustahil kita dapat menghebahkan kebesaran kerajaan dan menyiasat keikhlasan negeri yang jauh. Oleh sebab itulah maka Si Yi Guan ditubuhkan. (Liang Liji, 84)

Itulah yang dikatakan pentingnya segala kajian tentang *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* pada kemudian seharusnya menelusuri perkaranya lebih luas sampai ke jejak perkembangan Si Yi Guan dan perkara-perkara sejarah Dinasti Ming yang bersangkutan-paut. Lebih-lebih semasa hendak membuat pemeriksaan untuk memastikan jangka masa kewujudannya.

4. SUMBER-SUMBER RUJUKAN LAIN

4.1. Jika menurut huraian Xu Yunqiao tadi, semasa *Hua Yi Yiyu* tersusun pada tahun 1389, di samping bahasa Cina, hanya terdapat bahasa Monggolia. Sampai masa tertubuhnya Si Yi Guan, baru diperkembangkan ke lingkungan pelbagai bahasa. Kononnya mula-mula ada 8 jenis bahasa, kemudian ditambah lagi beberapa jenis, hingga menjadi sebanyak 10, lalu 13. Maka untuk menyelaraskan sebutannya supaya lebih bersepadan dengan kandungan yang sebenar, judul *Hua Yi Yiyu* yang lama itu pun diubah menjadi *Ge Guo Yiyu*.

4.2. Akan tetapi menurut sebuah versi *Hua Yi Yiyu* (barangkali versi ulang cetak) yang ditebitkan di Taiwan, kandungannya bukan hanya meliputi bahasa Cina-Monggolia, melainkan sebanyak 13 jenis bahasa asing telah dikutip, termasuk bahasa Melayu yang dinamakan sebagai *Senarai Istilah Negeri Manlajia*. Yang berbeza ialah takrif dan transkripsi buat bahasa-bahasa asing, termasuk *Manlajia Guo Yiyu*, semuanya ditulis menurut kaligrafi Cina, tetapi dieja dalam bunyi bahasa Monggolia, sedang *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* yang diperlihatkan dalam *Ge Guo Yiyu* seperti yang tersebut di atas menggunakan fonetik bahasa Cina atau Mandarin.

4.3. Soal yang timbul ialah pertama, jika kandungan yang diperlihatkan dalam versi terbitan Taiwan itu benda betul, maka tarikh kewujudan *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* sebetulnya harus dilanjurkan ke suatu tarikh yang lebih lama, kerana *Hua Yi Yiyu* tersusun pada tahun 1385 sebagaimana yang diperkenalkan tadi. Dua, nama penyelenggara dan penyusun yang dicatat dalam *Hua Yi Yiyu* terbitan Taiwan tadi berlainan sedikit, iaitu penyelenggaranya bernama Di Bo He, sedangkan jawatan Huo Yuan Jie yang dicatat di sini tidak cocok dengan apa yang direkod dalam *Catatan Hakikat Kerajaan Ming* tadi. Di versi yang belakang ini, Huo Yuan Jie dicatat berperanan sebagai penterjemah sahaja, bukan ketua pengarah. Soal ini ditinggalkan buat sementara untuk dikaji dan diperiksa lebih lanjut.

4.4. Sehubungan dengan ini, pembentang ingin menggambarkan satu perkara aneh yang pernah berlaku dalam usaha pencarian saya tentang *Manlajia Guo Yiyu*. Selama ini, untuk

mencapai sumber yang berkemungkinan, pelbagai tempat telah saya usahakan, termasuk di negeri China seperti di Beijing, Nanjing dan beberapa tempat yang lain. Antaranya saya pernah mencari sampai ke Perpustakaan Besar Beijing, Perpustakaan Ibukota di Beijing dan Perpustakaan Universiti Beijing, setiap kali pulang dengan hati yang kesal. Namun hanya pada suatu kali, di bilik khusus koleksi bahan-bahan pustaka kuno di Universiti Beijing juga, tidak tersangka saya menemui *Ko Guo Yiyu* yang terdiri daripada beberapa buah kotak (bilangan yang tepat tidak saya ingat lagi) dengan indah buatannya. Perkara yang lebih terperangsang ialah antaranya terkandung sebuah kotak, jelas dicatat *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* di mukanya. Tapi sungguh kecewa, ketika diangkat, kotak itu terasa ringan, tidak berisi! Apabila diusut dan ditanya, pegawai pemelihara koleksi di bahagian itu pun menunjukkan bingung dan kelu. Sedangkan kota-kota yang lain semuanya berisi penuh dengan tulisan kaligrafi Cina yang rapi dan cantik. Isi kelasifikasi bagi bahan-bahan yang dikoleksi dalam setiap kotak itu setimpal dengan kelasifikasi *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* yang boleh kita nampak dari bahan samakan Yang Lin, atau di artikel E.D. Edwards dan C.O. Blagden, iaitu setiap jenis bahasa dikelasifikasikan dalam 17 kategori yang serupa entrinya.

4.5 Nah, soalnya ialah, siapa yang mengambil isi kandungan itu? Ke mana pula *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* itu pergi? Dan di antara jumlah yang dikoleksi itu, mengapa hanya *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* menjadi benda yang lebih tertarik? Aneh! Betul-betul aneh! Soal lain ialah, apakah koleksi *Ge Guo Yiyu* yang tersimpan di bilik itu bahan original? Jika jawapannya positif, maka sumber rujukan itu sungguh bernilai untuk kajian selanjut.

5. KESANNYA DALAM PERKAMUSAN MELAYU

5.1. Jika bukan bersandar pada syarat-syarat sejarah yang tertentu, dan latar belakang perhubungan kedua negara yang akrab, sebuah kamus tidak berkadung sepele pun huruf Melayu dalam isi susunannya dan boleh memainkan peranannya sebagai kamus Melayu seperti *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu*, mungkin sukar hendak difahami dan akan dianggap tidak berkesan apa-apa dalam perkamus Melayu. Akan tetapi melalui kecerdasan manusia, *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* telah benar-benar mencapai jasa yang cemerlang dalam sejarah perkamus Melayu, nescaya hasil agung ini tidak mungkin diraih contoh yang kedua.

5.2. *Manlanjia Guo Yiyu* sebenarnya lebih berkesan di bidang diplomatik China-Melayu. Maklumlah, kamus itu khususnya disusun untuk orang Cina di negeri China. Ia pernah memainkan peranan penting di antara orang-orang Cina untuk menguasai bahasa Melayu supaya sanggup berkomunikasi dengan rakyat di dunia sebelah sini. Lebih-lebih sejak tahun 1405, semasa laksamana Cheng Ho dan rombongannya berkali-kali melawat ke Melaka, jika mereka tidak menguasai bahasa Melayu, bagaimana mereka boleh bergaulan dengan rakyat setempat dan menyampaikan harsat lawatan mereka ialah untuk mengikat persahabatan dengan kerajaan Melaka?

5.3 Sebagai tanda buktinya, selepas perkara lawatan-lawatan itu, mereka pernah meninggalkan beberapa buah catatan pelayaran yang dianggap sebagai dokumen yang bernilai sekarang, dalam isi catatan itu, tidak terdapat sebarang aduan tentang kerumitan masalah bahasa Melayu yang dihadapi mereka. Daripadanya nyatalah mereka tentu telah

melengkapkan diri dengan ilmu bahasa sebelum datang ke mari. Apalagi kursus bahasa Melayu yang dianjurkan di Si Yi Guan di sekitar tahun 1407 telah jelas dikatakan untuk melatih pegawai-pegawai kerajaan Dinasti Ming. Oleh itu, tak mungkin ahli-ahli rombongan Cheng He tidak diberi manfaat daripadanya. Demikianlah boleh dijangka, sebagai alat pengajaran dan pembelajaran, *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* tentu memainkan peranan yang berkesan dalam peristiwa yang berkenaan.

5.4 Di samping itu, di antara tahun 1870-an dan 1920-an, masyarakat Cina tempatan terus memainkan peranan dalam perkamusan Melayu, mereka telah berjaya mengelolakan sebahagian kamus Cina-Melayu yang bersejenis dengan *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* dalam bentuk istimewa. Antaranya terdapat *Malai Hua/Perkataan Melayu* (1894), *Tong Yi Yiyu/Istilah Melayu Baru* (1877), *Hua Yi Tongyu/Istilah Tionghua-Melayu* (1883) dsb. Walaupun fonetik yang diambil kali ini untuk mengeja bahasa Melayu bukan lagi Mandarin, melainkan dialek-dialek Cina seperti Fujian (Hokkien), Guangdong (Kongfu), Ke (Kek) dan Hainan (Hailam), tapi klasifikasi entri-entrinya hampir serupa dengan *Manlajia Guo Yiyu*, cuma ada yang ditokok tambah di sana sini.

5.5 Semasa masyarakat Cina tempatan masih belum menguasai ilmu fonetik dan ejaan bahasa-bahasa moden, perkamusan ini pernah memainkan peranan yang penting di antara mereka. Ini boleh juga dianggap sebagai kesan tidak langsung yang dibawa oleh *Manlajia Guo Yiyu*.

6. KESIMPULAN

6.1 Walau bagaimanapun, daripada huraian-huraian sarjana dan kenyataan-kenyataan yang diperlihatkan di atas, cukuplah untuk menyatakan bahawa sebelum edisi semakan yang dibuat oleh *Tong Shi Yang Lin* pada tahun 28 maharaja Jia Qing pada Dinasti Ming, iaitu sama dengan 1549 T.M. seperti yang dicatat di hujung terbitan yang berkenaannya, sejarah *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* sebetulnya telah wujud. Baik dari terbitan-tebitan, atau sumber sejarah, bahan-bahan untuk mengesani kewujudan *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* masih banyak lagi, bukan sekadar bahan semakan Yang Lin yang boleh diperoleh dari artikel E.D. Edwards dan C.O. Blagden.

6.2 Perkamusan *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* diproses melalui satu usaha yang berancang yang dikelolakan Si Yi Guan menurut peraturan yang letat. Dan kosa-kata yang dikumpulkan itu bukan diambil dari bahan simpanan arkib yang dibuat oleh pelaut atau peniaga seperti yang disifatkan oleh sarjana yang tertentu. Dengan pandangan yang makro, *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* sebenarnya meninggalkan kesan yang baik dalam perkamusan Melayu. Lebih-lebih kesannya di bidang perkamusan Cina-Melayu. Citra kedudukan *Manlajia Guo Yiyu* sebagai kamus Melayu yang pertama tidak patut disangsikan lagi.

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11

ZHAO YUEZHEN

**PERKEMBANGAN BAHASA MELAYU
DI CHINA DAN IMPAKNYA
DALAM KESARJANAAN CHINA
DALAM PENGAJIAN MELAYU**

REKREASI DAN BAHASA
DI TINGKAT SMP
DAN LAIN-LAIN
MELIPUTI

Perkembangan Bahasa Melayu Di China Dan Impak Kesarjanaan

China Dalam Pengajian Melayu

Zhao Yuezhen

Beijing Foreign Studies University

Abstrak

Tesis ini membincangkan perkembangan bahasa Melayu di China dan kesan-kesan pengajian kesarjanaan China dalam bidang berkenaan. Pembelajaran dan pengajian bahasa Melayu di China memang wujud sejak zaman silam, dan ia berkembang baik pada zaman kini dengan sumbangan usaha sarjana China dari semasa ke semasa.

Perkembangan itu akan ditinjau kembali melalui tiga tahap, iaitu kewujudan pengajian bahasa Indonesia, kewujudan pengajian bahasa Melayu dan Pembukaan Pusat Melayu di China. Dalam hubungan itu perkembangan pengajian Melayu itu telah memakmurkan hasil penerbitan dan mengerapkan penganjuran seminar antarabangsa dan pertukaran pendidikan. Pengajian Melayu memang mempunyai hari depan yang cerah di China seiring dengan kerjasama yang lebih banyak dan lebih luas antara China dengan negara-negara di dunia Melayu.

I. KEMBANGAN BAHASA MELAYU DI CHINA PADA ZAMAN KINI

1.1 Bercabang Dua

Bahasa Melayu telah diperlembagakan sebagai bahasa kebangsaan sama ada di Indonesia, Malaysia mahupun di Brunei. Tetapi disebabkan oleh pengalaman sejarah yang berlainan. Bahasa Melayu di ketiga-tiga negara itu telah berkembang dengan mengikuti landasannya masing-masing. Perbezaan bukan sahaja wujud dalam sebutan, penggunaan perkataan dan tatabahasa, tetapi juga pada namanya, umpamanya Bahasa Melayu di Indonesia dinamakan Bahasa Indonesia, sejak tahun 1928, Sumpah Pemuda Indonesia mengisytiharkan SATU NEGARA, SATU BANGSA, SATU BAHASA. Manakala bahasa Melayu yang telah ditetapkan dalam perlembagaan sebagai bahasa kebangsaan di Malaysia sering juga digelar sebagai Bahasa Malaysia. Cuma yang di Brunei Darussalam itu tetap pakai nama Bahasa Melayu.

Perbezaan itu telahpun memberikan kesan kepada pembahagian jurusan bahasa di Institusi Pengajian Tinggi China (IPTC). Kini pengajian dan pembelajaran bahasa Melayu di China pada umumnya dibahagikan kepada dua jurusan, iaitu Jurusan

Bahasa Indonesia dan Jurusan Bahasa Melayu (yang berorientasikan pengajian bahasa Melayu di Malaysia dan Brunei Darussalam).

1.2 Kewujudan Pengajian dan Pembelajaran Bahasa Indonesia di China.

Pengajian dan pembelajaran bahasa Indonesia mula-mula diwujudkan dengan penubuhan Jabatan Bahasa Indonesia di Institut Bahasa-Bahasa Timur di Kota Nanjing pada 1946 dan kemudian dipindahkan ke Beijing Universiti selepas Republik Rakyat China didirikan pada tahun 1949. Seiring dengan perkembangan hubungan dua hala China-Indonesia yang semakin erat, alih bahasa Indonesia amat diperlukan. Untuk memenuhi permintaan itu, Jabatan Bahasa Indonesia di Beijing Universiti mengambil calon pelajar setiap tahun atau setiap dua tahun, sejak tahun 1950-an hingga 1960-an. Kini pengambilan pelajar Jabatan itu dijalankan setiap empat tahun sekali.

Dalam lebih 50 tahun yang lalu, beratus-ratus graduan bahasa Indonesia telah tamat dari Universiti Beijing. Mereka memainkan peranan masing-masing dalam bidang-bidang diplomatik, perdagangan luar, penyiaran radio, pendidikan, media massa, pelancongan dan sebagainya. Sebagai contoh, semasa Megawati, Presiden Indonesia membuat lawatan ke China pada bulan Mac 2002, Shen Minjun, bekas graduan Jabatan Bahasa Indonesia Universiti Beijing terpilih menjadi penterjemah utama.

Sekarang Jabatan Bahasa Indonesia di Beijing Universiti bukan sahaja dapat menawarkan program ijazah pertama, tetapi juga program ijazah sarjana, dan program kedoktoran. Bagi pelajar ijazah pertama 1428 jam kuliah bahasa Indonesia dan kuliah alam Melayu diwajibkan.

Untuk memperluaskan lingkungan pengajian kesarjanaan, nama Jabatan Bahasa Indonesia di Universiti Beijing diubah menjadi Jabatan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Indonesia Melayu pada akhir abad ke 20. Jabatan bahasa Indonesia turut dibentuk di Beijing Foreign Studies University (Universiti Pengajian Bahasa-Bahasa Asing Beijing, BFSU) pada 1961, serta di Universiti Bahasa Asing dan Perdagangan Luar Guangdong pada tahun 1970.

1.3 Kewujudan Pengajian dan Pembelajaran Bahasa Melayu (Malaysia dan Brunei Darussalam) di China.

1.3.1 Latar belakang penubuhan

Kerajaan China amat mengutamakan hubungan dengan negara-negara Asia dan Afrika. Selepas Republik Rakyat China dibentuk pada 1949, kerajaan China telah berturut-turut menjalinkan hubungan diplomatik dengan negara-negara Asia-Afrika. Sebagai suatu negara yang baru melepaskan diri dari cengkaman penjajahan kuasa luar, China memang memfami perasaan negara-negara yang hampir senasib. Prinsip hormat-menghormati sentiasa diamalkan oleh kerajaan China dalam urusan hubungan

dengan luar negara, termasuklah menghormati bahasa kebangsaan masing-masing, kerana disedarinya bahasa jiwa bangsa. Dalam pertemuan pemimpin China dengan pemimpin asing, bahasa kebangsaan bagi pihak tetamu sering diutamakan. Untuk menawarkan alih bahasa dalam bahasa-bahasa Asia-Afrika, Fakulti Pengajian Bahasa-Bahasa Asia-Afrika dibentuk di Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU) pada tahun 1961. Sebanyak 10 Jabatan bahasa asing telah diletakkan di bawah fakulti itu, termasuk Jabatan Bahasa Melayu dan Jabatan Bahasa Indonesia.

Bahasa Melayu telah banyak digunakan dalam bidang diplomatik, umpamanya semasa lawatan Tun Abdul Razak, Perdana Menteri Malaysia Kedua ke China untuk menubuhkan hubungan diplomatik pada tahun 1974. Bahasa Melayu telah digunakan dalam pertemuan, majlis jamuan, bahkan dalam pengubahan dokumen *KENYATAAN BERSAMA KERAJAAN REPUBLIK RAKYAT CHINA DAN KERAJAAN MALAYSIA* yang mengumumkan penubuhan hubungan diplomatik China-Malaysia.¹

Memandangkan pengajian bahasa Melayu berkembang semakin baik di China, Institut Bahasa Asing Luoyang dan Institut Siaran Radio Beijing turut menawarkan kursus bahasa Melayu mulai tahun 1998 dan tahun 2001.

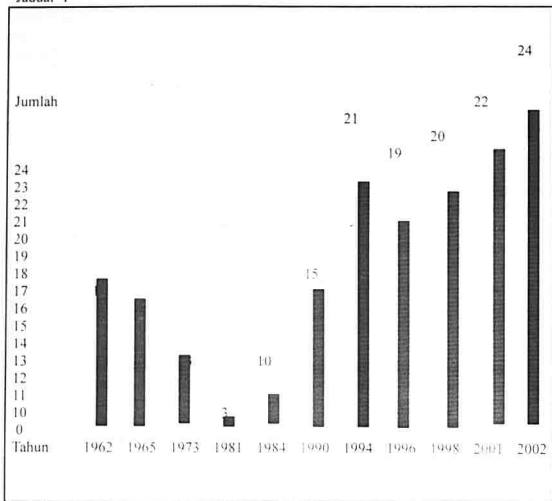
1.3.2 Keadaan Pengambilan Pelajar

Kini terdapat 45 orang pelajar mengaji bahasa Melayu di BFSU, mereka dibahagikan kepada dua kelas, iaitu kelas tahun satu dan kelas tahun 2. Dulu pengambilan pelajar dijalankan 4 tahun sekali, mulai dari pertengahan 1990-an ia dihapuskan menjadi 2 tahun sekali. Calon-calon itu diambil dari seluruh negara China. Menurut statistik, sebanyak 11 angkatan pelajar dengan jumlahnya 178 orang pernah atau sedang belajar bahasa Melayu di BFSU. Dalam tempoh 40 tahun yang lalu, seramai 134 orang graduan telah tamat dari Jabatan Bahasa Melayu BFSU. Sila lihat Jadual 1.

Graduan-graduan Jabatan Bahasa Melayu dari BFSU kini telah menjadi penyarah di universiti, pemandu pelancong, juru penyiar di Radio Antrabangsa China (CRI), pemberita, pegawai di Bank, kakitangan Kedutaan Brunei Darussalam di Beijing dan diplomat-diplomat yang terutamanya di negara-negara berbahasa Melayu. Antara mereka, ada yang pernah memegang jawatan duta besar, konsular atau konsul di Singapura, Malaysia, Indonesia dan Brunei.

¹ -*KENYATAAN BERSAMA KERAJAAN REPUBLIK RAKYAT CHINA DAN KERAJAAN MALAYSIA* 1974 itu telah diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa China, Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Inggeris.

Jadual 1



Jumlah Pelajar Bahasa Melayu BFSU²



Para Pelajar dan Pensyarah Bahasa Melayu di BFSU (1999)

1.3.3 Keadaan Pengajaran dan Pembelajaran

Kini Jabatan Bahasa Melayu di BFSU mempunyai Lima orang tenaga pengajar, termasuk seorang yang dipinjam dari Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Malaysia. Jabatan Bahasa Melayu berperanan mendidik pelajar untuk menjadi tenaga alih bahasa Melayu yang mampu menguasai bahasa Melayu dengan baik, maka pengajarannya tertumpu kepada lima penekanan yang penting, iaitu pemahaman, mengarang, terjemahan, lisan dan pendengaran.

Jabatan Bahasa Melayu menawarkan program ijazah pertama (4 tahun) dan Program Sarjana Sastera (Bahasa Melayu dan Sastera, 3 tahun). Proses pengajaran bagi program ijazah pertama Bahasa Melayu dibahagikan kepada dua peringkat, iaitu peringkat rendah dan peringkat tinggi. Sila lihat Jadual 2.

² Jadual 1 ini dibuat oleh penulis pada 25 Julai 2002.

Jadual 2³

Kursus di peringkat rendah	Kursus di peringkat tinggi
1. intensif	1. intensif
2. sebutan	2. menonton, mendengar dan bertutur
3. lisan	3. latar belakang Malaysia dan Brunei
4. pendengaran	4. sejarah kesusasteraan Melayu dan pembacaan pilihan novel
5. pembacaan dan pemahaman	5. karangan
	6. terjemahan dalam lisan
	7. terjemahan dalam tulisan
	8. pembacaan dan pemahaman surat khabar dan majalah Malaysia

Mata Pelajaran Bahasa Melayu di BFSU

Kecuali kursus-kursus tersebut penuntut-penuntut juga diwajibkan mengambil kursus-kursus bahasa Inggeris dan mata pelajaran wajib atau pilihan yang lain.

1.4 Penubuhan Pusat Pengajian dan Pembelajaran Bahasa Melayu China

1.4.1 Cadangan

Cadangan penubuhan Pusat Pengajian dan Pembelajaran Bahasa Melayu China (Pusat Bahasa Melayu China) itu dibayangkan oleh Menteri Pendidikan Malaysia, Dato' Sri Mohd. Najib sewaktu merasmikan Persidangan Antarabangsa Pengajian Melayu di Beijing pada bulan Mei 1996. Ini disebabkan beliau terpicak dengan penguasaan bahasa dan kesenian Melayu oleh mahasiswa BFSU yang mementaskan nyanyian serta tarian Melayu dengan sangat baik. Memandangkan minat yang meluas di kalangan pelajar di China untuk mempelajari bahasa Melayu dan bahasa Melayu mempunyai potensi menjadi salah satu bahasa penting di Rantau Asia berasaskan kemajuan ekonomi rantau Asia Tenggara, beliau bukan sahaja secara spontan mengundang semua mahasiswa itu untuk melakukan lawatan sambil belajar ke Malaysia, tetapi juga menganjurkan cadangan penubuhan pusat bahasa Melayu China. Cadangan beliau segera mendapat sambutan baik dan sokongan kuat dari pihak kerajaan China.

1.4.2 Penubuhan

Memandangkan BFSU merupakan institusi pengajian tinggi pertama dan tertua memperkenalkan pembelajaran bahasa Melayu Malaysia, maka kerajaan China telah meletakkan pengurusan dan pentadbiran Pusat Bahasa Melayu China ini di kampus BFSU. Kerajaan China telah melantik Prof. Wu Zhongyu sebagai pengarah pertama. Pusat ini telah dirasmikan bersasma oleh Encik Zhu Kaixuan, Menteri Pendidikan China dan Dato' Sri Mohd. Najib, Menteri Pendidikan Malaysia pada 20 Jun 1997.

³ Jadual 2 dibuat oleh penulis pada 25 Julai 2002.

1.4.3 Usaha

Selaras dengan peranan dan tanggungjawabnya, Pusat Pengajian Melayu China telah melakukan usaha gigih dalam menggalakkan para sarjana mengkaji bahasa dan ketamadunan Melayu dan memperluas jaringan antara institusi pengajian tinggi China dengan institusi pengajian tinggi Malaysia khususnya, dan seterusnya mengeratkan hubungan persahabatan antara China dengan negara-negara dunia Melayu amnya.

Semenjak Pusat Bahasa Melayu China ditubuhkan, ia telah tiga kali mengaturkan rancangan untuk pelajar China menjalankan lawatan sambil belajar atau kursus pendek pengajian budaya Melayu ke Malaysia dan Brunei. Dalam usaha membantu pelajar-pelajar Malaysia dan Brunei mengenali China, Pusat telah menyempurnakan lawatan-lawatan rombongan pelajar UKM, Uitm dan UBD (Universiti Brunei Darussalam) ke China pada tahun 2000 dan 2001. Dalam usaha menggalakkan penyelidikan kejarjanaan, Pusat telah bersama DBP Malaysia menayakan *Seminar Antarabangsa Perbandingan Sastera dan Pemikiran Melayu/China 2000*, dan bersama UBD menganjurkan *Seminar Antarabangsa Mengenai Hubungan China-Brunei 2001* di Beijing.

Mengenai penerbitan, Pusat telah menyusun dan menerjemahkan "*Selected Speeches by Dr. Mahathir Bin Mohamad Prime Minister of Malaysia*" (Koleksi Ucapan Dr. Mahathir Bin Mohamad, Perdana Menteri Malaysia) pada tahun 1999. Projek itu mendapat sambutan baik dan sokongan kuat daripada pihak kerajaan Malaysia. Dato' Sri Dr. Mahathir, Perdana Menteri Malaysia sendiri telah menulis Kata-kata Aluan untuk buku itu. Dalamnya beliau berkata, "*Saya mengucapkan terima kasih kepada Pusat bahasa Melayu China, Beijing Foreign Studies University, kerana daya usahanya mengumpul dan menterjemahkan ucapan-ucapan saya ke dalam bahasa Mandarin. Saya anggap usaha ini sebagai satu penghormatan kepada saya dan Malaysia*".

Datuk Seri Syed Hamid Albar, Menteri Luar Negara Malaysia telah melancarkan buku itu semasa beliau membuat lawatan kerja ke China pada Jun 1999. Beliau menilai tinggi sumbangan Pusat dalam ucapan pelancarannya. Kata beliau, "*Sempena pelancaran ucapan-ucapan Yang Amat Berhormat, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang selesai dibukukan, saya ingin merakamkan penghargaan saya kepada Pusat Bahasa Melayu, Universiti Pengajian Bahasa-Bahasa Asing, Beijing dan World Affairs Press di atas usaha mereka menayakan projek ini. Saya juga difahamkan bahawa usaha seperti ini merupakan yang pertama dilakukan oleh pihak Pusat Bahasa Melayu, Universiti ini. Saya percaya usaha ini amat bertepatan dengan masanya, kerana kedua-dua buah negara telah mencapai kejayaan mengadakan hubungan dan kerjasama selama 25 tahun.*"

2. IMPAK KESARJANAAN CHINA DALAM PENGAJIAN MELAYU

2.1 Penerbitan

Jika berbanding dengan jumlah penduduk China yang hampir 1.3 bilion itu jumlah penutur bahasa Melayu khususnya pengaji bahasa dan budaya Melayu amat sedikit. Namun begitu, mereka tetap mengusahakan pengajian kesarjanaan dengan tidak kenal susah payah. Hasil mereka pada pokoknya boleh dibahagikan kepada tiga kategori, iaitu penterjemahan, perkamusan, dan penulisan.

2.1.1 Penterjemahan

Penterjemahan banyak diusahakan oleh alih bahasa Melayu (merangkumi bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Malaysia) di jabatan dalam kerja hariannya, seperti dokumen di badan kerajaan, ataupun berita dan rencana yang disiarkan di Radio Beijing Antarabangsa (CRI). Antara lain yang diterbitkan rasmi hanya merupakan jumlah yang sedikit sahaja. Tentang senarai buku penterjemahan sila lihat Lampiran.

Pada umumnya usaha penterjemahan itu boleh dibahagikan kepada dua tahap:

- i) Tahap pertama (dari 1950-an hingga 1970-an) usaha penterjemahan ditumpukan pada dokumen-dokumen politik, seperti Pilihan Karya Ketua Mao Zedong dan Ucapan-ucapan pemimpin China. Ini disebabkan situasi semasa China yang terlalu mengutamakan politik pada zaman itu.
- ii) Tahap kedua (dari 1980-an hingga sekarang) usaha penterjemahan telah dialihkan kepada karya kesusasteran atau ucapan ketua negara Asia Tenggara, umpamanya novel "*Saamiah*" yang ditulis oleh A. Samad Saïd. Sasterawan Negara Malaysia telah diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa China pada tahun 1985. "*Belunggu*", satu novel popular di Indonesia, cerpen dan cerita rakyat Indonesi dan Malaysia juga diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa China dari semasa ke semasa. Walaupun penterjemahan novel dari bahasa China ke dalam bahasa Melayu itu agak sukar, tetapi "*Pilihan Cerita Aneh dari Balai Pustaka Liao Zai*", salah satu novel klasik daripada empat novel klasik yang terkenal di China telah diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa Melayu oleh Liang Hong pada tahun 1994.



"Sarina" dan Pilihan Cerita Aneh dari Balai Pustaka Liao Zhai"



"Koleksi Ucapan Dr. Mahathir" dan "Cerita Rakyat Malaysia"

2.1.2. Perkamusan

Penyusunan kamus telah banyak diusahakan oleh sarjana bahasa Indonesia di China. Antara lain empat projek yang besar telah menjayakan penerbitan "KAMUS BARU BAHASA INDONESIA-TIONGHOA" (1988), "KAMUS BESAR TIONGHOA-INDONESIA" (1995), "KAMUS LENGKAP INDONESIA TIONGHOA" (2000), dan "KAMUS PERIBAHASA MELAYU - MANDARIN" (2001).

Kamus-kamus itu bukan sahaja mengumpulkan jumlah kata dasar yang paling banyak, tetapi juga memberikan penjelasan yang lengkap dan contoh-contoh ayat yang tepat. Oleh kerana itu kamus-kamus itu mendapat sambutan baik daripada penutur bahasa Indonesia dan juga penutur bahasa Melayu di dalam dan luar negara China.

Tentang senarai kamus sila lihat Lampiran.



"Kamus Baru Bahasa Indonesia-Tionghoa"



"Kamus Besar Tionghoa-Indonesia"



"Kamus Lengkap Indonesia Tionghoa"



"Kamus Peribahasa Melayu-Mandarin"

2.1.3. Penulisan

Jika berbanding dengan perkamusan, penulisan itu jauh lebih banyak hasilnya. Antaranya terdapat peninjauan sejarah hubungan China dengan negara-negara alam Melayu, sejarah sastera Indonesia, keadaan Indonesia dan Malaysia, sejarah perkembangan bahasa Melayu, sejarah kesusasteran Indonesia, penyelidikan budaya Melayu, kaedah pengajaran, nahu bahasa Melayu, pengajian pantun Melayu, buku teks dan sebagainya.

Kecuali buku-buku terbitan rasmi itu, lebih banyak lagi buku teks disusun oleh penyarah-penyarah China yang tidak diterbitkan rasmi, kerana ia hanya untuk kegunaan pelajar China di universiti dari semasa ke semasa.



"Indonesia", "Lembaran Sejarah Cemerlang Hubungan Empayar Melaka-Dinasti Ming AbadKe-15" dan "Peningjauan Kebudayaan Malaysia Indonesia"



"Nahu Bahasa Indonesia Kini", "Buku Percakapan Bahasa Indonesia-China" dan "Pelajaran Bahasa Indonesia"

2.1.4 Majalah Pelajar

Pelajar Bahasa Melayu di BFSU buat kali pertama kali mengadakan lawatan sambil belajar ke Malaysia pada 1996. Dalam lawatan kali itu mereka bergaul luas dengan rakyat Malaysia, mendedahkan diri kepada budaya dan bahasa Melayu dengan lebih dekat. Ekorannya mereka dapat satu ilham hendak meluahkan isi hati mereka. Justeru itu mereka dapat galakan dan bantuan daripada Prof. Yang Quee Yee, Profesor Kehormat BFSU, dan sahabat-sahabat lain di Malaysia, pelajar bahasa Melayu di BFSU mengambil keputusan menerbitkan satu majalah bahasa Melayu yang diberikan nama *JEJAMBAT*, pada tahun 1997. Kini Majalah itu merupakan satu-satunya majalah bahasa Melayu yang dikeluarkan di China. Semenjak itu setiap angkatan pelajar Jurusan Bahasa Melayu di BFSU menerbitkan satu naskhah *JEJAMBAT*. Mereka berusaha menerbitkan majalah itu dengan bertujuan memperkenalkan kehidupan dan pandangan mahasiswa di China kepada rakyat Malaysia, di samping memperkembangkan bahasa Melayu di luar alam Melayu.

Dalam majalah itu mereka telah memperkenalkan sejarah, tempat peninggalan yang terkenal, perkembangan Agama Islam China, adat-istiadat China, dan juga pengalaman diri sendiri semasa lawatan di Malaysia serta peninjauan ketamaduan Melayu mereka. Antara lain judul-judul yang menarik sebagai berikut:

1. *Pemandangan Malam Kuala Lumpur*
2. *Lawatan ke Melaka*
3. *Keluarga Angkat Saya di Pulau Pinang*
4. *Sebuah Pulau yang Memukakan - Pulau Perhentian*
5. *Sahabatku di DBP*
6. *Kenangan Mendalam di UKM*
7. *Makan dengan Tangan*

Majalah ini benar-benar telah memainkan peranannya sebagai suatu jejambat dalam hubungan persahabatan China-Malaysia dan China-Brunei. Ia telah diedarkan kepada pelawat-pelawat Malaysia dan Brunei, antaranya ada menteri, pegawai kanan, diplomat dan warga universiti dari Malaysia dan Brunei. Dan ia telah diterima sebagai majalah simpanan Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia.



Majalah Pelajar Bahasa Melayu BFSU

2.2 Penganjuran Seminar Antarabangsa

Dasar pembaharuan dan pintu terbuka yang dilaksanakan oleh kerajaan China bukan sahaja telah membawakan kemakmuran kepada pembangunan ekonomi negara tetapi juga kepada keilmuan dan keserjanaan dalam semua bidang di China. Perkembangan baru itu telah memberikan kurang sedikit dorongan kepada sarjana pengajian Melayu di China. Mereka dengan aktif menghadiri seminar antarabangsa di luar negara, bahkan telah juga menganjurkan seminar pengajian Melayu dalam bahasa Melayu di China, satu usaha yang belum pernah dilakukan pada masa yang lalu. Sejak Mei 1996, seminar pengajian Melayu antarabangsa dalam bahasa Melayu sudah tiga kali diadakan di Beijing.

Persidangan Antarabangsa Pengajian Melayu 1996 yang dianjurkan bersama oleh BFSU dengan DBP Malaysia itu merupakan seminar antarabangsa pengajian Melayu yang julung kali diadakan di China. Persidangan ini telah mendapat sambutan baik di seluruh dunia, dua ratus orang lebih peserta datang dari 13 buah negara telah menghadiri seminar itu, dan sebanyak 129 tesis telah dibentangkan, antara pembentang itu 82 orang dari Malaysia, 10 orang dari China, bakinya dari Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Singapura, Vietnam, Korea Selatan, Jepun, Perancis, Jerman dan Itali.

Persidangan itu juga telah mendapat sokongan kuat daripada kerajaan China dan kerajaan Malaysia. Dato' Sri Mohd. Najib, Menteri Pendidikan Malaysia dengan

sendirinya merasmikan persidangan itu.

Dalam seminar itu sarjana China telah membentangkan tesis berikut:

1. Prof. Liang Liji, *Pengembangan dan Pengajian Bahasa dan Sastra Melayu di Dunia*
2. Prof. Wu Zongyu, *Meneroka Jalan Baru: Suatu Perspektif Hubungan China dengan Masyarakat Melayu*
3. Prof. Kong Yuanzhi, *Selayang Pandang Tentang Hubungan Persahabatan China-Malaysia Sekitar Abad Ke-15*
4. Prof. Huang Chenfang, *Bahasa Penghubung Rasa*
5. Prof. Ju Sanyuan, *Ciri-Ciri dan Peranan Imbuhan dalam Bahasa Melayu*
6. Prof. Wu Wenxia, *Pengajaran dan Pembelajaran Bahasa Indonesia di Universiti Bahasa Asing Beijing*
7. Prof. Madya Liang Minhe, *Memperluas Lingkungan Pengajaran Bahasa-Bahasa Asing ---- Pembicaraan Tentang Kuliah Kebudayaan Dalam Pengajaran Bahasa Indonesia dan Melayu*
8. Prof. Madya Zhao Yuezhen, *Peningkatan Kemahiran Membaca bahasa Melayu Amat Penting Bagi Pelajar Asing*
9. Prof. Madya Sun Baoping, *Mengenal Mutiara Bahasa Melayu Perbandingan antara Peribahasa Melayu dengan Peribahasa China*
10. Prof. Madya Ji Hui, *Peranan Saran Bahasa Melayu CRI di Bidang Penggunaan Bahasa Melayu*

Ketika kita melangkah masuk ke alat baru, IPT China dengan lebih proaktif dalam aktiviti keserjanaan, di mana seminar antarabangsa diadakan di China setiap satu tahun.

Seminar Antarabangsa Perbandingan Sastra dan Pemikiran Melayu China telah dianjurkan bersama oleh BFSU dengan DBP Malaysia pada Mei 2000, antara peserta-pesertanya 16 orang dari Malaysia dan 30 orang lebih dari China. *Seminar bersama Hubungan China-Brunei bagi Memperingati Sambutan Ulang Tahun Ke-10 Penubuhan Hubungan Diplomatik di Antara Republik Rakyat China dan Negara Brunei Darussalam* dianjurkan bersama oleh BFSU dengan Universiti Brunei Darussalam pada Ogos 2001. Seminar itu telah dirasmikan bersama oleh Enik Wang Yi, Timbalan Menteri Luar China dan Yang Teramat Mulia Paduka Seri Pengiran Anak Puteri Hajah Masna, Binti Al-Marhum Sultan Haji Omar 'Ali Saifuddin Sa' Abdul Khairi Waddien, Ambassador-at-Large, Kementerian Hal Ehwal Luar Negeri, Negara Brunei Darussalam.

Satu lagi seminar antarabangsa pengajian Melayu akan dianjurkan bersama oleh Universiti Beijing dengan DBP dan UPSI (Universiti Perguruan Sultan Idris) pada Oktober nanti di Beijing. Aktiviti keserjanaan itu telah mengeratkan hubungan sarjana China dengan sarjana di luar negara, dan banyak berfaedah bagi peningkatan taraf

kesarjanaan mereka.

3. PERTUKARAN PENDIDIKAN DUA HALA MENJANAKAN PENINGKATAN KESAJAAN

Sejak tahun 1990-an, pertukaran pendidikan dan kebudayaan antara China dan Malaysia semakin menggalakkan. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Malaysia telah menandatangani MOU dengan BFSU dan CRI pada tahun 1995, dan kemudiannya juga menandatangani MOU yang hampir serupa dengan Universiti Beijing. Perjanjian Kerjasama Kebudayaan China-Malaysia, dan Memorandum Persefahaman Pendidikan China-Malaysia telah ditandatangani pada tahun 1999. Untuk merealisasikan matlamat yang ditetapkan, program-program pertukaran telah diaturkan oleh kedua-dua pihak dari semasa ke semasa.

3.1 Pertukaran Pensyarah dan Pegawai Bahasa

Prof. Liang Liji dari Universiti Beijing telah menjalankan pengajian dan pengajaran di Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, pada tahun 1996. Prof. Kong Yuanzhi yang juga dari Universiti Beijing menjadi pensyarah pelawat di Universiti Malaya, pada tahun 1999. Prof. Wu Zongyu dari BFSU pernah mengadakan pengajian di Jabatan Pusat Sejarah Brunei Darussalam, pada 1995. Selepas itu mereka masing-masing telah menerbitkan hasil pengajiannya yang bermutu tinggi, iaitu "*Hubungan Empayar Melaka – Dinasti Ming Abad ke-15*", "*Pelayaran Zheng He Dan Alam Melayu*" dan "*Istilah Bahasa Melayu Nusantara K. M. XI*".

Di samping itu tiga orang pensyarah dari BFSU telah dipinjam untuk mengajar bahasa China di cawangan-cawangan Uitm. Untuk menunaikan perjanjian dalam MOU, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Malaysia telah berturut-turut menghantar pegawai bahasa ke China untuk mengajar di BFSU dan menjadi penasihat bahasa di CRI. Seorang penyusun kamus yang terkenal dari Malaysia, Prof. Yang Quee Yee, juga telah banyak kali dijemput menjadi pensyarah pelawat di BFSU dan di Universiti Beijing.

3.2 Pertukaran pelajar

Menurut rancangan pertukaran pendidikan negara, pihak kerajaan China telah menghantar pelajar ke Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia dan Universiti Putera untuk melanjutkan pengajian pada tahun 2000. Manakala Uitm telah tiga kali menghantar pelajarannya ke BFSU untuk belajar bahasa China sejak tahun 2000.

Dengan sokongan kerajaan Brunei Darussalam, penuntut Jurusan Bahasa Melayu dari BFSU telah melanjutkan pengajian mereka di UBD selama 4 bulan pada tahun 2001.

3.3 Lawatan sambil belajar

Sejak tahun 1990-an rombongan pelajar sambil belajar China, Malaysia dan Brunei telah saling berulang alik melawat negara masing-masing:

3.3.1 Rombongan pelajar Institut Teknologi Mara seramai 17 orang telah melakukan Lawatan Bahasa dan Budaya ke China pada Oktober 1995.

3.3.2 Rombongan pelajar Universiti Brunei Darussalam melawat Beijing pada Jun 2000.

3.3.3 Rombongan pelajar Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia membuat kunjungan budaya ke China pada Oktober 2000.

3.3.4 Rombongan pelajar Jurusan Bahasa Melayu daripada BFSU, angkatan ke 7 menjalankan lawatan sambil belajar ke Malaysia pada September 1996.

3.3.5. Rombongan pelajar Jurusan Bahasa Melayu daripada BFSU, angkatan ke 8 membuat lawatan sambil belajar ke Brunei dan Malaysia pada Julai 1999.

3.3.6. Pada tahun 1995 pelajar BFSU julung kali dijemput menyertai Pertandingan Pidato Antarabangsa Bahasa Melayu yang diadakan di Kuala Lumpur.

3.3.7. Sejak tahun 1996 pelajar BFSU telah lima kali dijemput untuk menyertai Sayembara Deklamasi Puisi Hari Kebangsaan Malaysia yang diselenggarakan bersama oleh Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia dan GAPENA.

3.3.8. Pada tahun 1996, Zhang Yuyan, pelajar Jabatan Bahasa Indonesia Universiti Beijing merangkul anugerah pertama dalam Peraduan Mengarang Bahasa Indonesia yang dianjurkan oleh Redaksi Mingguan Indonesia Tempo untuk siswazah yang belajar bahasa Indonesia di tiga negara, iaitu China, Jepun dan Korea (1996), dan dia telah diberi kesempatan pula melawat ke Indonesia selama sebulan.

Dalam lawatan-lawatan itu pelajar-pelajar sama ada dari China, dari Malaysia, atau dari Brunei telah menjalankan sesi suai kenal dengan warga universiti tempatan, mendedahkan diri kepada cara hidup dan tradisi masyarakat serta kebudayaan tempatan. Kunjungan semacam itu memang dapat memupuk hubungan silaturrahim yang lebih erat antara generasi muda China-Malaysia dan China-Brunei. Pertukaran dan pergaulan antara pelajar itu telah memperluas pengetahuan pelajar China, dan juga mengilhamkan idea pengajian Melayu mereka, seterusnya mempertingkatkan taraf keserjanaan mereka dalam bidang yang diminatinya. Ini telah dapat dibuktikan daripada kertas kerja yang disiapkan oleh pelajar. Sebagai contoh saya menyenaraikan sebahagian tajuk kertas kerja pelajar di BFSU:

1. *Mendekati Kebudayaan Melayu Melalui Bahasa Melayu*, 1998, Wang Yan
2. *Pembangunan Sumber Manusia Merupakan Daya Gerakan Pertumbuhan Ekonomi Malaysia Pada Masa Kini dan Depan*, 1998, Yang Xin
3. *Sistem Kewangan Malaysia dan Cabaran Globalisasi yang Dihadapinya*, 1998, Liu Yue
4. *Kesusasteraan MAHUA Harus Diintegrasikan Dalam Kesusasteraan Negara Malaysia*, 1998, Su Yingying
5. *Pengeragaman Bahasa Malaysia dengan Bahasa Indonesia: Satu Perjalanan Yang Jauh*, 1998, Liu Qian
6. *Perhubungan Antara Perindustrian Malaysia Dengan Pembangunan Ekonominya*, 2000, Wu Yimin
7. *Unsur-Unsur Islam Dalam Puisi Melayu Modern*, 2000, Yao Hui
8. *Pendidikan Tinggi Antarabangsa Di Malaysia*, 2000, Cheng Miao
9. *Pengaruh Politik, Ekonomi Dan Sosial Terhadap Perkembangan Pendidikan Di Malaysia*, 2000, Zheng Shuhui
10. *Periklanan Dalam Masyarakat Malaysia*, 2000, Yan Shaobo
11. *Perbezaan Bahasa Malaysia Dan Bahasa Indonesia Semakin Nyata*, 2000, Zhang Yun
12. *Perbandingan Antara Wayang Kulit China Dengan Wayang Kulit Malaysia*, 2002, Shao Ying
13. *Budi Bahasa Dalam Masyarakat Melayu Brunei*, 2002, Qin Miao
14. *Satu Penyelidikan Pasaran Pelancongan Malaysia*, 2002, Xu Feng
15. *SALINA: Paparan Konsep dan Idea Penciptaan A. Samad Said*, 2002, Bai Liangwen

4. PENUTUP

"Pertukaran pandangan dan ilmu hanya boleh melalui bahasa, maka pertukaran bahasa harus diutamakan. Sekarang memang ramai orang di Malaysia pandai cakap Manderin termasuk orang Cina di Malaysia. Tetapi di China orang yang pandai bercakap bahasa Melayu masih sedikit. Maka, saya menyokong pembelajaran bahasa Melayu di China." Encik Li Lanqing, Naib Perdana Menteri China berkata demikian semasa dalam pertemuan dengan Dato' Seri Mohd. Najib, Menteri Pendidikan Malaysia pada Mei 1996. Dengan sokongan kerajaan China dan bantuan dari pihak Malaysia, pengajian bahasa dan budaya Melayu di China berkembang semakin baik dan luas. Kini telah ada lima institusi pengajian tinggi di China menyediakan program pengajian bahasa Melayu berbanding hanya satu sahaja pada 50 tahun yang lalu.

Ketika mengimbas kembali sejarah perkembangan pengajian Melayu pada zaman kini di China, kita dapati memang banyak sumbangan telah dibuat oleh sarsana-sarjana China, walaupun pada permulaannya banyak kesukaran dihadapinya, seperti kekurangan bahan, dan jarang ada pertukaran lawatan sebelum tahun 1970-an, pengajian dan pembelajaran bahasa Melayu dijalankan dalam suasana yang tertutup. Untungnya selepas tahun 1970-an negara-negara di alam Melayu berturut-turut menjalinkan atau memulihkan hubungan diplomatik dengan Republik Rakyat China,

tambahan pula dasar Pembaharuan dan Pintu terbuka telah dilaksanakan di China mulai 1980-an. Kesemuanya ini telah menciptakan suatu iklim yang amat bermuafakat kepada pengajian Melayu di China.

Pendek kata seiring dengan kerjasama yang lebih luas antara China dengan negara-negara di dunia Melayu, pengajian bahasa dan budaya Melayu di China mempunyai hari depan yang semakin cerah.

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LAMPIRAN

SENARAI BUKU PENGAJIAN MELAYU YANG DIHASILKAN OLEH ORANG CHINA

Perkamusan

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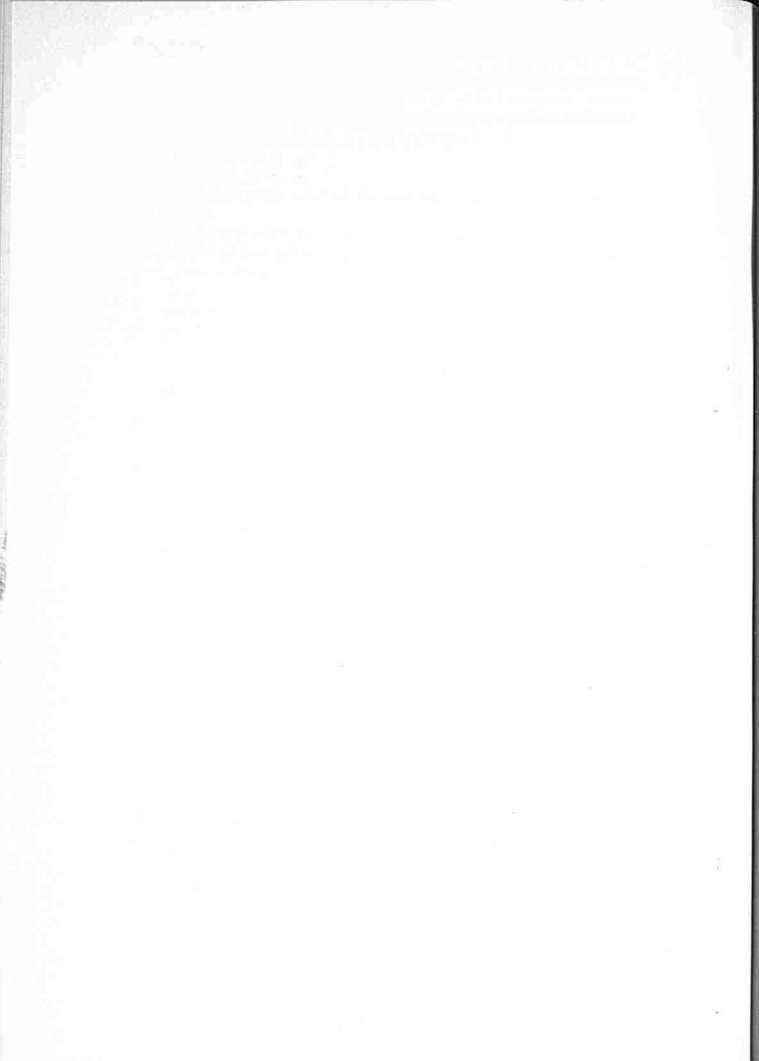
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Bahasa Asing

¹ Senarai Buku ini disusun oleh penulis pada 27 Julai 2002.



12

ZHANG YING LONG

**HISTORICAL VALUES OF
CHINESE RECORDS ON MALAYSIA
FROM THE PRE DYNASTY CHIN PERIOD**

11

THE HISTORY OF THE
CHINESE KINGS IN THE
FROM THE FIRST OF THE

Colloquium on Chinese Scholarship on the Malay World Studies,
16-17th September 2002, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, bangi

The Historical Values Of Chinese Records From Pre Dynasty Chin On Malaysia

Abstract

Before Qing Dynasty, ancient Chinese historical records on the Malay world are very rich. These records cover political, economic and cultural relationships as well as the sea route between ancient Malay world and China. They also contain the records of history, society, trade, custom and foreign relationship of the ancient Malay world. Those records are very important in studying ancient Malay world history and can as they help us to derive more comprehensive picture on the subject.

清代以前中国古籍有关马来西亚的记述以及史料价值

张应龙

中国广州 暨南大学华侨华人研究所

在研究东南亚古代历史之中,中国古籍的记述历来是学者们十分重视的资料来源。同样,研究马来西亚历史,中国古籍也是非常重要的资料来源。本文主要从史料的角度来评论中国古籍有关马来西亚古国的记载对构建马来西亚历史的学术研究价值,而不是以中国史料为基础来论述古代马来西亚的历史发展和变化。因此,本文将分三个部分来讨论这个问题:1,记录马来西亚历史的中国古籍的基本情况,2,从中国古籍看古代中国人对马来西亚的认识,3,中国古籍史料对构建马来西亚历史的学术价值。

从一般意义上,中国古籍的时间范围应该包括整个清朝时期。但是,由于19世纪中叶以后中国发生了重大变化,而马来西亚在16世纪后也变为欧洲国家的殖民地,因此,本文所论述的中国古籍有关马来西亚的记述在时间范围上限制在19世纪中期以前,即1840年以前,1840年以后的史料不在本文所论述的时间范围。本文所论述的中国古籍的选择范围,是以林远辉(Lin Yuan-hui)、张应龙(Zhang Ying-long)所编《中文古籍中的马来西亚资料汇编》(吉隆坡:马来西亚中华大会堂总会出版,1998年)为基础。在叙述不同时代的古籍时,是以该书的出版或者写作时间先后为依据,因为我觉得后代人所写的前代历史,虽然参考了以前的资料,但也掺进了当时的认识或者资料,将它们作放在一起不利于考察某一时代的人们的真实认识水平。

记录古代马来西亚历史的中國古籍基本状况

中国自古有着记述历史的传统。与世界其他国家相比，古代中国的历史学堪称发达，中国历代的历史学家都推崇和坚持客观记载历史的传统，所以，中国古代的历史著作是比较严谨和客观可靠的。

中国古代的历史著作类型包括官方的历代正史和宫廷实录，百科全书式的类书，民间的杂史、游记和地理志等等。

就清朝末期（1644—1840年）以前的中国古籍而言，记述马来西亚历史的中国古籍主要有以下几种类型：

一、正史

正史是指由官方组织编写的中国某一朝代的历史著作。中国很早就由官方组成人员撰写历史的传统。起初是当代人写当代的历史，如《汉书》(Han-shu)[1]等。到后来则由新王朝组织人员撰写前一王朝的历史，从而保持一个王朝历史的完整性。编写官方王朝历史的作者一般学术水平较高，而且具有收集资料以及其他方面的便利条件，所写的著作通常比较严谨，史料价值较高。从汉朝(Han Dynasty, 公元前206年—220年)到清朝(Qing dynasty, 1368—1911年)之间，1,000多年历史中，除了魏晋南北朝时期(公元220—589年)部分王朝的正史如《三国志》(San-guo-zhi)、《晋书》(Jin-shu)、《魏书》(Wei-shu)、《南齐书》(Nan-qi-shu)、《北齐书》(Bei-qi-shu)、《周书》(Zhou-shu)之外，历代正史都有关于马来西亚诸古国的记述。记载马来西亚古代历史的中国古籍有《汉书》、《宋书》(Song-shu)[2]、《梁书》(Liang-shu)[3]、《陈书》(Chen-shu)[4]、《隋书》(Sui-shu)[5]、《南史》(Nan-shi)[6]、《北史》(Bei-shi)[7]、《旧唐书》(Jiu Tang-shu)[8]、《新唐书》(Xin Tang-shu)[9]、《宋史》(Song-shi)[10]、

《元史》(Yuan-shi)[11]、《明史》(Ming-shi)[12]、《明实录》(Ming Shi-lu)[13]、《清史稿》(Qing-shi-gao)[14]、《清实录》(Qing Shi-lu)[15]等等。

二、类书

类书是一种记载历史、政治、制度、经济贸易、交通、地理、气候、文学艺术等等方面的百科全书式的大型著作。资料丰富，取材广泛，条理清楚。记载有关马来西亚古国情况的大型类书有《通典》(Tong-dian)[16]、《唐会要》(Tang Hui-yao)[17]、《太平御览》(Tai-ting Yu-lan)[18]、《册府元龟》(Ce-fu Yuan-gui)[19]、《玉海》(Yu-hai)[20]、《通志》(Tong-zhi)[21]、《文献通考》(Wen-xian Tong-kao)[22]、《明会要》(Ming Hui-yao)[23]、《明会典》(Ming Hui-dian)[24]、《三才图会》(San-cai Tu-hui)[25]、《续通典》(Xu Tong-dian)[26]、《清朝通典》(Qing-chao Tong-dian)[27]、《续文献通考》(Xu Wen-xian Tong-kao)[28]、《清朝文献通考》(Qing-chao Wen-xian Tong-kao)[29]、《宋会要辑稿》(Song-hui-yao Ji-gao)[30]、《古今图书集成》(Gu-jin Tu-shu Ji-cheng)[31]等等。

三、杂史

杂史是指官方编修的正史以外的历史著作。中国民间一向有修编历史著作的传统，编写者有的是政府官员，有的是民间文人，其著作的水平也参差不齐。通常来说，民间编写的历史著作不少史料价值较高，历来是历史研究者十分重视的资料来源。由于民间著作没有像官方著作那样受到政治因素的较大影响，而有的著作是作者利用本人的亲身经历加上参考有关史料写成的，所以，民间历史著作往往保留了许多官方历史著作没有的资料。同时，民间著作的资料也常常是官方编写历史著作的资料来源，官方在编写历史著作时，必然要收集民间著作作为参考，尤其在记述外国的情况时更是如此，有的甚至是从民间著作抄袭过来的。

我们现在看到的有关马来西亚古国情况的杂史主要有《岭外代答》(Ling-wai Dai-da)[32]、

《诸蕃志》(Zhu-fan-zhi)[33]、《云麓漫钞》(Yun-lu Man-chao)[34]、《岛夷杂志》(Dao-yi Za-zhi)[35]、《皇明鸿猷录》(Huang-ming Hong-you-lu)[36]、《皇明象胥录》(Huang-ming Xiang-xu-lu)[37]、《咸宾录》(Xian-bin-lu)[38]、《皇明世法录》(Huang-ming Shi-fa-lu)[39]、《前闻记》(Qian-wen-ji)[40]、《献征录》(Xian-zheng-lu)[41]、《罪惟录》(Zui-wei-lu)[42]、《国榘》(Guo-qu)[43]、《舟山堂别集》(Yan-shan-tang Bie-ji)[44]、《菽园杂录》(Shu-yuan Za-lu)[45]、《五杂俎》(Wu-za-zu)[46]、《西园闻见录》(Xi-yuan Wen-jian-lu)[47]等。

四、地理志

中国一向对地理的研究予以高度重视,中国官方将掌握各地地理情况看成治理国家的一个重要部分。历代的各种书籍无论是官方还是民间的著作,在记述地理情况时通常都与记述户口、民情、物产、交通等方面结合起来。在论述全国性的地理著作中,通常都包括了他们所知道的外国概况。所以,在有关地理方面的著作中,保留了不少关于外国情况的重要资料。记载马来西亚古国情况的地理志主要有《异域志》(Yi-yu-zhi)[48]、《大德南海志》(Da-de Nan-hai-zhi)[49]、《明一统志》(Ming Yi-tong-zhi)[50]、《皇明四夷考》(Huang-ming Si-yi-kao)[51]、《皇舆考》(Huang-yu-kao)[52]、《武备志》(Wu-bei-zhi)[53]、《郑和航海图》(Zheng-he Han-hai-tu)[54]、《殊域周咨录》(Shu-yu Zhou-zi-lu)[55]、《东西洋考》(Dong-xi-yang Kao)[56]、《环宇通志》(Huan-yu Tong-zhi)[57]、《海语》(Hai-yu)[58]、《西洋朝贡典录》(Xi-yang Chao-gong Dian-lu)[59]、《顺风相送》(Shun-feng Xiang-song)[60]、《指南正法》(Zhi-nan Zheng-fa)[61]、《海国闻见录》(Hai-guo Wen-jian-lu)[62]、《大清一统志》(Da-Qing Yi-tong-zhi)[63]、《皇清职贡图》(Huang-Qing Zhi-gong-tu)[64]等。在这些著作中,《郑和航海图》和《顺风相送》、《指南正法》无疑是十分详细的海上交通路线图。

五、游记

在中国古籍中有为数不多的游记。这些游记是作者根据亲身经历而写下的著作,因此在中国古籍中其史料价值非常高。现在我们能够看到的中国古代记载马来西亚历史的游记主要有义净写的《大唐西域求法高僧传》(Da-tang Xi-yu Qiu-fa Gao-seng-zhuan)[65]、汪大渊写的《岛夷志略》(Dao-yi Zhi-lue)[66]、马欢写的《瀛涯胜览》(Ying-ya Sheng-lan)[67]、费信写的《星槎胜览》(Xin-cha Sheng-lan)[68]、巩珍写的《西洋番国志》(Xi-yang Fan-guo-zhi)[69]、王大海写的《海国逸志》(Hai-dao Yi-zhi)[70]、谢清高口述的《海录》(Hai-lu)[71]等。除了《大唐西域求法高僧传》只有很少的记载之外,其他著作的内容都非常丰富。

六、一般文集

在中国古代一些私人文集中,由于作者担任过某种官职或者因为有某种经历,所以他们撰写了一些重要的文章或者政策建议,这些文章或建议被收录到私人文集中去。涉及马来西亚的重要文件主要有宋濂写的《渤泥国入贡记》(Bo-ni-guo Ru-gong-ji)[72]、胡广写的《渤泥国恭顺王墓碑》(Bo-ni-guo Gong-shun-wang Mu-bei)[73]、朱拱写的《海洋贼船出没事》(Hai-yang Zei-chuan Chu-mei-ji)[74]、吴桂芳写的《议阻澳夷进贡疏》(Yi-zhu Ao-yi Jin-gong-shu)[75]等。其中有宋濂写的《渤泥国入贡记》和胡广写的《渤泥国恭顺王墓碑》是关于明代中国与渤泥关系的重要资料。

古代中国人对马来西亚的认识

古代中国人对外国的了解取决于中国人与外部世界的交往深度和广度,也有赖于中国人对外部世界的历史意识。从历史上看,古代中国人与外部世界的交往以及了解有一个渐进的过程,这个过程受到具体历史环境的制约,受到交通技术发展水平的制约。随着中国交通技术水平的发展,随着中国与其他国家政治经济关系的发展,中国人对外部世界了解也不断加

深和扩大，对外部世界的认识越来越清楚和准确。

就目前所能掌握的资料而言，《汉书·地理志》是中国最早记述中国到印度海上航路的资料，也是世界上最早记载这条航路的资料，一向受到学者的重视。这段资料记载中国使者约在公元前 2 世纪时从中国南方出使印度的过程。尽管认定这段资料所记载的地名到底在现在什么确实位置这个问题学者们还存在争议，但中国到印度的航路无疑是经过马来西亚的。有的学者认为这段资料中的皮宗就是位于马来半岛的北部。但是，即使皮宗就是古代马来半岛的一个地方，《汉书·地理志》也都没有提供比一个地名更多的情况。这也是学者比较难以确定具体地方的原因之一。皮宗，也许可以看作是古代中国人对马来西亚的最初认识。

从汉代以后，中国的使节、佛教僧侣和从事海外贸易的商人比较多的往来中国与印度和东南亚之间，尤其到南北朝时期（420—589 年），随着中国经济重心的逐步南移和对外贸易的发展，中国对东南亚的了解也比以前更加清楚。三国时期（220—265 年），吴国派康泰（Kan Tai）、朱应（Zhu Ying）于公元 227 年出使中南半岛，他们将所经过的地方以及传闻的东南亚古国情况写成著作，可惜这些著作早已散失，现在已经无法看到，但他们的著作显然对后人产生了重要的影响。从公元 5 世纪中叶到 7 世纪中叶的 100 多年里，马来半岛和婆罗洲一些国家不断派遣使节出访中国，与中国建立了关系。马来西亚古国使节的到访，使中国人有了直接海外情况的机会，因此，在当时中国南方几个王朝如宋朝（420—479 年）、梁朝（502—557 年）、陈朝（557—589 年）的正史中均有了关于马来西亚古国狼牙脩（Lang-ya-xiu）¹、婆皇（Po-huang）²、丹丹（Dan-dan）³、婆利（Po-li）⁴的记载，并记述了这些古国的方位、气候、风俗、物产、社会、政治、历史的简单情况。这是古代中国人对马来西亚古国的初步认识。

公元 488 年写成的《宋书》，是中国官方正史中首次记载马来西亚的古国婆皇、斤陀利（Jin-tuo-li）和婆利的著作。其中，对婆皇国的记述较多，除了记载婆皇国自公元 442 年至公元 466 年先后 7 次派遣使节访问中国外，还提到中国皇帝授予婆皇国使节“将军”称号的事情。此外，也提到斤陀利国和婆利国信仰佛教的情况，但对这几个古国的其他情况则是空白的[76]。稍后的《梁书》首次提到狼牙脩、丹丹、顿逊⁵，并对几个古国的情况有了一些描述，特别提到丹丹和干陀利两个国家的佛法大盛，并称顿逊国是当时东南亚一个海上贸易的中心之一，每天参加贸易的人数达 1 万多人（这可能是一个夸张的说法），“珍珠宝货，无所不有”[77]。

《梁书》对狼牙脩和婆利两个国家的记述比较详细，主要包括这两个国家的大致范围、民情风俗、物产以及宫廷事迹。据《梁书》第 78 卷所记载，狼牙脩的国土面积东西长度是大约 30 天的路程，南北是 20 天的路程，距广州 24,000 里。首都城用砖砌成，设有几道大门，建有楼阁。国王出门乘坐大象，有一对仪仗队随行。国王以及贵族穿着华丽，一般百姓则以布围身，女人有佩戴装饰品。《梁书》还提到狼牙脩在此 400 多年前就已经立国，后来在王族中出现一个贤能的人，娶了天竺国的公主，在国王死后继位为王。这实际上是讲狼牙脩印度化的问题。515 年，狼牙脩派遣使节阿撒多访问中国，其送达的国书有部分内容被《梁书》所摘录。另据《梁书》第 78 卷的记载，婆利在广州东南海上，距离不详，大约需要航行 2 个月的时间。婆利的国界东西长约 50 天的路程，南北宽约 20 天的路程。有 136

¹ 大约位于现在吉打至泰国 Nakhon Srithamarat 一带。

² 一说位于现在彭亨一带。

³ 位于现在吉兰丹一带。

⁴ 位于现在婆罗洲北部一带，包括沙撈越和沙巴。

⁵ 一说位于吉打或霹雳的 Kintan。

⁶ 一说位于马来半岛北部。

一个部落，稻谷一年收割两次。婆利国王的不同之处是头戴一个高高的金冠，佩戴镶有珍宝的金剑，出巡时乘坐大象拉的车，上有冠盖。522年在位的国王名叫频伽。婆利国在517年和522年派使节访问中国。《梁书》对狼牙脣和婆利的记述在中国古籍中是最详细的了，在以后相当长的历史时间里，其他中国古籍有关这两个国家基本情况的记述仍然没有超过《梁书》的记载。

大概可以这样说，在南北朝时期，中国人对马来西亚几个古国的印象是这些国家距离中国十分遥远，气候炎热，土产丰富，国土面积广阔，流行佛教或印度教（婆罗门教），国王穿戴华丽，具有较高工艺制作水平，先后派遣使节访问中国等，但对这些国家的具体地理位置还是不清楚，描述的对象主要是国王和王族。

到了隋代（581—618年），随着中国的统一，中国对外关系得到更大的发展。公元607年，隋朝皇帝杨广（Yang Guang）派遣常俊（Chang Jun）、王君政（Wang Jun-zheng）出访当时东南亚的大国——赤土国（Chi-tu）¹，这是中国历史上首次派遣使节访问马来西亚。毫无疑问，这次访问使中国对马来西亚有了第一手的感性认识。写于7世纪初的《隋书》对此有非常详细的记载。另外，《隋书》对婆利的记述比以前的著作多了婆利国王的姓名、官职、兵器、祭祀的内容。

《隋书》对赤土的记载无疑在中国古籍中是非常详细和精彩的。据《隋书》第82卷的记述，607年隋朝皇帝杨广派遣常俊、王君政出访赤土，他们从广东出发后经过大约20多天的航行，先到狼牙脣。在赤土国的港口受到赤土国王派来的婆罗门僧侣及其所率领的30多艘船的迎接，之后，再经过1个多月的行程，终于到达赤土的首都。《隋书》对中国使节在赤土国所受到的款待以及赤土国王宫的情况予以非常详细的描述。《隋书》还介绍赤土的面积、王室情况、官职、城市、民俗、宗教、气候、物产以及赤土的邻国、到中国的地理距离等方面的内容。从这些记载中，可以看出赤土国是一个国力强盛、经济繁荣，并具有较高技术水平的大国。《隋书》关于赤土国的记述，几乎成为后来中国古籍关于赤土国情况的样本，后来的其他著作基本上是摘录《隋书》所记述的情况。

唐代（618—907年）是中国历史上一个强盛的时代，对外关系比以前更加密切。写于801年的《通典》首次提到另一个古国哥罗（Ge-luo）国²，并称从汉代时中国就知道这个国家。《通典》介绍了哥罗国王的姓名、王室、城市、军队兵器、税收、物产、民俗等情况。令人惊讶的是，哥罗国属下有24个州，打仗时一个战斗单位（一队）配有大象100头，每头大象配有士兵100人。《通典》还首次详细介绍丹丹国国王姓名、官制、法制、人口、物产等方面的情况，指出丹丹的人口有2万多家，设有州县加以管理。关于哥罗和丹丹的情况以《通典》的记述最为详细。《通典》还首次提及边斗（Bian-dou）国³、都昆（Du-kun）国⁴、拘利（Ju-li）国⁵、比崑（Bi-song）国⁶，并指出这些国家在隋代时中国人就知道了。此外，也首次提到多摩长（Duo-mo-chang）国和羊支跋（Yang-zhi-ba）⁷这两个地方[78]。

唐代也是中国佛教大盛的时代，不少僧侣纷纷到印度取经。唐代高僧义净（Yi Jing）就是其中之一。义净在赴印度学法取经时经过马来亚，在其著作中首次提到羯荼（Ji-tu）国⁸，他

1 一说位于吉打至泰国 Songkhla、Pattani 一带或吉兰丹至彭亨一带。

2 位于现在吉打。

3 一说位于吉兰丹，或者柔佛及新加坡一带。

4 在马来半岛。

5 在马来半岛西岸。

6 即皮宗，在马来半岛。

7 多摩长一般认为在马来半岛；羊支跋在马六甲以及附近的五屿。

8 一般认为在吉打至玻璃市一带。

本人就在羯荼国居住过。而在此期间，另有一些僧侣经过郎迦戎(Lang-ya-shu，即狼牙修)国，根据义净的记录，其中有义辉(Yi Hui)、智岸(Zhi An)、法振(Fa Zhen)等僧人死于郎迦戎。可惜义净没有留下更多的有关马来西亚古国的资料[19]。

唐代中国对外贸易发达，造船与航海技术也有较大的发展。这一方面的发展反映在古籍中是关于海上航行的记载更加清楚。写于1060年的《新唐书》所引用的贾耽(Jia Dan)“广州通海夷道”资料，表明商船从广州出发后沿着海岸线西行到越南，然后南下马来亚，从广州到马来半岛南端的航行时间大约20天左右。《新唐书》还新提到位于马来半岛南端一个叫做罗越¹(Luo Yue)的国家[80]。

由此可见，隋唐时期(581—907年)中国人对马来西亚古国的认识显然比南北朝时期有进一步提高和扩大。这表现在所记述的国家和地方数目有了增加，记述的内容如王室情况、刑罚、民俗、物产等方面更加细致和具体。尤其关于赤土、哥罗的记述是前代所没有的，而对于婆利、丹丹、顿逊等国的描述比以前丰富得多。

进入宋代(960—1279年)和元代(1279—1368年)时期，随着海上交通和对外贸易的进一步发展，中国与马来西亚的政治、贸易关系进一步得到发展和扩大，尤其是中国与位于东马地区的渤泥国的关系非常密切。在这种背景下，中国对马来西亚的记述内容更加全面，更加正确。在这个时期出现了两部重要著作，一部是宋代赵汝适(Zhao Ru-kuo)的《诸蕃志》，一部是元代汪大渊(Wang Da-yuan)的《岛夷志略》。

赵汝适曾经担任过福建负责海外贸易事务的长官，叫市舶提举。由于工作上的关系以及本身负有向皇帝报告的责任，经常向从海外回来的商人以及各国到中国访问的使者和商人了解海外的各种情况。他所写的《诸蕃志》也就是各国概况。《诸蕃志》首次提到蓬丰(彭亨)、登牙依(丁加奴)、凌牙斯加(即狼牙修)、吉兰丹、日罗亭²、单马令³等国名，并称这些国家是三佛齐的属国。《诸蕃志》对单马令、凌牙斯加、佛罗安⁴的情况作了比较详细的描述。

《诸蕃志》对渤泥国的记载最为详细，包括中国到渤泥的距离，渤泥的社会、经济、风物人情、贸易政策以及对中国商人优待政策等，同时也记述了渤泥周围海岛的情况[81]。写于同时代的《文献通考》增加了关于977年渤泥派遣使节访问中国的经过，称渤泥的使节是一个叫蒲卢歇的阿拉伯人带来的[82]，由此可见渤泥在很长的时间里与中国官方已经没有往来了。赵汝适对于渤泥、单马令、凌牙斯加、佛罗安等所作的记述，在很长时间里，基本成为后来中国其他古籍记述这些国家情况的基础。

汪大渊是元代中国著名的航海家，青年时代曾经两次到海外游历，到过马来半岛、菲律宾、婆罗洲、爪哇、苏门答腊、印度、波斯湾、红海以及东非沿岸。他用8年的时间于1349年写成《岛夷志略》一书，涉及的国家和地区220多个，其中有关马来西亚的有无枝拔⁵、丹马令、彭坑(彭亨)、吉兰丹、丁家卢(丁加奴)、苏洛福⁶、浮泥、都督岸⁷、班卒⁸、龙牙菩提⁹、龙牙门¹⁰、东西竺¹¹、万年港¹²等10多个古国和地区，所记载的古国和地区远远超过以前的著作。在《岛夷志略》一书中，首次提到的地名有无枝拔、苏洛福、都督岸、班卒、

1 在柔佛一带。

2 约在马来半岛北部。

3 一说在 Tembeling 一带。

4 一说在 Kuala Dungun 或 Beranang 一带。

5 位于现在马六甲。

6 位于现在吉打。

7 位于现在沙撈越 Datu。

8 一说在柔佛。

9 即现在 Langkawi。

10 一说指新加坡。

11 位于柔佛。

12 一说位于文莱。

龙牙菩提、龙牙门、东西兰、万年港等。汪大渊著作的一个特点就是注意记载这些国家的物产和贸易，中国与这些古国的经济文化关系，所以《岛夷志略》是这一时期关于马来西亚古国历史十分宝贵的资料。汪大渊的记述，成为后来其他著作的主要资料来源。

此外，元代写成的《宋史》也首次提到丹眉流¹，称丹眉流在1001年派遣使节访问中国[83]。另据《元史》的记载，1320年元朝派遣使节出访龙牙门，1325年龙牙门使节回访元朝。1286年丁呵儿（丁加奴）和忽兰赤姆（吉兰丹）的使节到达中国[84]。

进入明代（1368—1644年），郑和七下西洋这个世界航海史上的伟大创举，不但大大加强了中国与各国的关系，而且大大拓展和加深了中国人对海外的了解和认识。首先，郑和与西洋大大加强中国与东南亚国家的各种关系，在跟随郑和下西洋的随从中，马欢、费信、巩珍分别写了《瀛涯胜览》、《星槎胜览》、《西洋番国志》，对以满刺加王国和浮泥国为中心的马来西亚历史进行比较全面和深入的论述。其次，由于这一时期中国与马来西亚古国的关系得到较大的发展，满刺加王国和浮泥国经常组成使团到中国访问，而中国也多次派了使节到马来西亚访问，因此在明朝宫廷档案《明实录》中保留大量关于明代中国与马来西亚古国交往的历史资料，是研究这段历史的重要历史档案。以后，在明代中国其他古籍中，都比较多地介绍马来西亚古国的历史、社会、经济、文化等方面的情况。可以说，明代中国有关马来西亚历史的著作在数量上和质量上都大大超过以前历史时期。在明代后期民间著作中，以张燮的《东西洋考》最为杰出，它系统地记载了马来西亚古国的历史、社会、经济贸易、民情风俗等方面的内容。第三，由于海上交通的发展，明代留下了中国人的海上交通线记录，在《郑和航海图》和《顺风相送》、《指南正法》这三本著作中以及张燮（Zhang Xie）的《东西洋考》中，对中国到马来西亚的海上航路作了详尽和清楚地记载，史料价值非常高。中国人对海外国家的交通方向和距离的认识不再像以前那样的含糊和笼统了。

1511年，葡萄牙人占领马六甲之后，中国与马来西亚的交往受到极大的破坏，中国人对马来西亚的进一步理解和认识也受到极大的影响。加上17世纪末以后，中国实现闭关锁国的政策，在文献上记载马来西亚情况的著作变得少了起来。这种情况一直至1840年鸦片战争后，中国被迫打开国门，中国对世界的了解才重新得到发展。到19世纪末，随着中国派遣官员到国外访问考察，以及派遣驻外外交使节增多，有关马来西亚的记载便大量增多，而且有关马来西亚的记述与以前的记述有很大的不同，能够用比较生动细致的描述来论述有关问题。而在19世纪末以前，中国文献对马来西亚的记述，其风格基本一样。换句话说，中国对马来西亚或者对外国的记述手法，在清代末期发生相当大的变化。有关清代末期中国对马来西亚的记述，需要另外论述，这里暂时省略。

清代前期的重要著作主要有《海国闻见录》和《海录》。《海国闻见录》的作者陈伦炯虽然自己没有到过东南亚，但他长期在福建和台湾工作，对海外情况相当熟悉，所写的著作价值较高。在《海国闻见录》中，作者准确地记述了马来半岛各个国家的地理位置，清楚地记述了这些古国的交通距离。从该书的记述中，可以看出当时的商船是沿着中南半岛南下后，先到丁加奴、吉兰丹、彭亨、柔佛，然后再到马六甲，该书还指出这些国家的民族是马来族，而不是像以前的历史著作那样只是笼统地称为“番人”（外国人）。谢清高写的《海录》是清代另一本重要著作。由于谢清高本人到过马来西亚，所以他的著作就一直是学者高度重视的著作。《海录》对吉兰丹、丁加奴、邦项（彭亨）、旧柔佛（新加坡）、马六甲、沙喇我（雪兰莪）、新埠（檳榔嶼）、吉德（吉打）、柔佛、文莱都有比较详细的记述。《海录》的记述，是研究明末清初马来西亚历史的重要资料来源。

¹ 一说位于马来半岛北部。

从中国古籍的记载反映出来的古代中国人对马来西亚的认识，由于有关记载比较简略，不像记载本国历史那么详细和严谨，所以古代中国人对马来西亚古国的认识也不那么全面和准确。其原因主要是作者大多数没有到过马来西亚，缺乏亲身体验，因此对收集来的资料判断起来有些困难，何况这些资料转来转去，免不了存在错误，因而在最后写成著作时出现一些荒诞的说法。同时，由于专业水平的限制，对马来西亚古国的地理形势的描述也不够精确，这给后来人的研究增加很多困难。当然，中国古籍对其他国家的记载也是如此。

尽管由于历史条件的限制，中国古籍对马来西亚古国的记述有些简略，但这也反映了中国古籍对马来西亚古国的记载是采取比较慎重的态度，不是信口开河乱写一通。值得注意的是，中国正史有记述马来西亚古国新情况时，往往是因为当时有马来西亚的古国派遣使节访问了中国，使撰写外国情况的作者得到第一手资料（尽管这些资料不够全面），而中国古籍对马来西亚古国比较详细记述的部分，往往是因为中国派遣使节出访马来西亚古国后得到比较多的资料而写成的，所以显得详细和生动。至于民间的著作，最精彩的著作是一些亲自到过海外的人所写下的著作。凡是在某一时代没有马来西亚古国到访或者中国没有派使节出访时，或者没有中国人到过马来西亚后写下著作流传于世，中国古籍中所作的记述基本上采取抄袭以前著作的做法，一般情况下是做一点文字上修改而已，但也不是作者自己发挥想象随意描述。因此，中国古籍对马来西亚古国的记述是比较可靠的。从不同时代中国古籍的详细或者简单的记述中，我们也许可以看出两国交往的亲疏程度或者马来西亚古国在东南亚的影响力大小程度。

中国史料对构建马来西亚历史的价值

清代以前，中国古籍中有关马来西亚的记述内容十分丰富，这些记述包含了古代马来西亚与中国双边的政治、经济、文化关系以及海上交通路线等方面的内容，也包含了马来西亚古代社会的历史、社会、贸易、风俗以及对外关系等方面的内容。中国古籍的记载，对认识马来西亚古代历史，对构建马来西亚的历史概貌有着不可替代的作用。

一、保留了许多马来西亚古国王朝历史的资料，有助于认识和构建马来西亚的历史体系

在中国古籍中，不同的历史时期提到马来西亚不同的古国或者地方的名字。在汉代时期只提到一个叫皮宗的地方。在南北朝时期，提到的马来西亚古国主要有婆皇、斤陀利、婆利、狼牙脩、顿逊、丹丹等国。在隋唐时期，新提到古国（地方）主要有赤土国、哥罗国、羯荼国、边斗国、都昆国、拘利加、比嵩国、罗越国。在宋元时期，新提到的古国（地方）主要有蓬丰、登牙依、凌牙斯加、吉兰丹、丁呵儿、佛罗安、日罗卒、单马令、丹流眉、无枝拔、苏洛高、龙牙菩提、龙牙门、东西竺、淳泥、都督岸、班卒、万年港等地方。在明清时期，新提到的古国（地方）主要有文莱、彭亨、满刺加、丁机宜、婆罗、急兰丹、柔佛、吉德、沙刺我、旧柔佛、新埠等等。从不同时期提到的国名或者地名中我们大约可以看出一种历史延续和发展。

当我们研究一个国家的历史时，通常都是以现在的国界为基础，虽然世界各国的现在情况与其历史上的情况基本都不一样，或者历史上的国家版图比现在小，或者比现在大，但都离不开是以现在的疆域为讨论的基础。研究历史还面临一个问题，这就是现在的国家在历史时间顺序上存在不同的王朝，而且甚至在同一历史时期里同时存在不一定互相统属的王朝。中国的历史是这样，马来西亚的历史也是这样。

从中国古籍中，我们大概可以看出中国所记载的马来西亚古国位置大致上以中国明代（1368—1644年）为分水岭。在明代以前，中国古籍所记述的马来西亚古国位置，在马来

半岛地区的主要分布在半岛北部以及马来半岛东海岸的中部和南部地区。明代以后随着满刺加王朝的崛起,以马六甲地区为中心的满刺加王朝以及马来半岛南部的柔佛便成为中国古籍记载的重点。但是,在东马地区,中国古籍所记述的古国则基本上没有变化。之所以出现这种情况,其原因我个人的理解主要有两点,一是在明代以前的中国人主要沿东海岸而下,然后到印尼,再往其他地区,对马来半岛的西海岸地区接触不多或者不是那么清楚。二是对马来半岛西海岸虽然有了接触,但由于记载的地理位置不够清楚,其他人不大好掌握,很难在资料中反映出来。至于东马地区的古国,尽管有关婆利和浮泥的确切范围存在一些争议,但它们的范围包括了东马地区这种认识一般上分歧并不是很大。当然,由于中国古籍的记述没有附带精确的方位地图,导致我们在进行研究时面临不少困难。

尽管如此,除了考古发现以及其他文献来源之外,中国古籍无疑是研究马来西亚历史的重要资料来源。依据中国古籍的记载,马来西亚的历史大概可以追溯到公元前二世纪,即《汉书》提到的皮宗。同时,根据《通典》的记载,中国人在汉代时就知道一个叫哥罗的国家,哥罗国大约位于现在的吉打一带。位于马来半岛北部的狼牙脭,根据《梁书》的记载,其历史可以追溯到公元2世纪。至于婆利、丹丹等古国,也至少在公元5世纪和6世纪时便已存在了。因此,就中国古籍的文字记载而言,马来西亚有文字记载的历史是相当悠久的。

从汉代起,中国对马来西亚古国的记载就延续不断,尽管我们不知道这些古国的继承关系或者分化情况,但从中国古籍对马来西亚古国的记载,总的趋势是越来越详细,越来越多。在中国古籍中,对马来西亚各个古国的记载篇幅不一样,这可能与这些古国的强盛程度以及对外影响力有比较大的关系。东马地区的古国起初是婆利,宋代以后是泥泥,明代以后是文莱,这三个古国基本上一脉相承的。西马地区的古代强国起初是狼牙脭,斤陀利,隋代是赤土,明代是满刺加,这几个古国是否存在互相继承的关系还有待研究,位于马来半岛中北部的狼牙脭和赤土国是不是后来分裂成若干个较小的国家也有待进一步研究。但我们或许可以说,在一般意义上,马来西亚这些古代强国代表了不同时期马来西亚的历史发展水平,而且马来西亚的历史发展呈现出波浪式的发展模式。

除了几个强国之外,在马来西亚还存在不少影响力稍为小一些的古国或者部落,它们的地理分布基本包括了现在马来西亚的各个州。从这个角度来说,中国古籍有关其他小国或者地方的记载,有助于研究马来西亚各个州的发展历史。

虽然中国古籍的记载缺乏有关马来西亚各个古国的创建时间或者灭亡的时间,我们无法建立一个准确、清楚和完整的马来西亚古代王朝史年表,无法准确地描绘这些古国的地理范围,但是,中国古籍以文字记载的形式,保留了许多关于马来西亚的历史资料,这些历史资料对构建马来西亚历史的系统性和全面性的学术努力是具有重要的价值和作用的。

二,保留了许多马来西亚古代社会生活资料,有助于了解和分析古代马来西亚的社会生活史

在漫漫的历史长河中,一个国家的社会生活面貌会发生许多变化。由于古代科学技术条件的限制,缺乏像现在这样的技术手段如录像、照相等等,现在的人们只能从文字的记载中来重组古代人的社会生活图象。中国古籍所记载的马来西亚古国的社会生活情况包括了民俗、经济、宗教、物产等等方面,虽然有关记载不够详细,但在相关文字资料相当缺乏的情况下,中国古籍的相关记载也是比较珍贵的了。

在民俗方面,古代马来西亚社会存在不同的社会阶层,通常是国王或者王族的生活要比平民的生活奢华,主要表现在居住、衣服和日常生活方面。中国古籍在这一方面通常都会予以简单的描述,指出国王和大臣穿华丽的衣服,而一般百姓则是用布围身。王族的房子用木版修建,而百姓的房子用草叶搭成。至于民风,中国古籍所记载的马来西亚古国基本是民风朴素,而且似乎形成一种传统。不同时代的中国古籍在描述马来西亚古国时,用的最多的词

汇是民俗淳朴，并记载这些古国对犯法者采取严厉的处罚措施，如唐代的《通典》称无枝拔（马六甲）“通国守义”，人民性格直爽，如有失信者，罚金2两。丹丹国规定所有盗贼都要处于死刑[85]。中国古籍对婚俗丧葬方面也作了不少记述。显然，马来西亚不同古国的婚俗也不同。如赤土国的习俗是儿子成婚后便分家，只有最小的儿子与父母一起居住[86]。哥罗国婚俗是以槟榔为聘礼，多者200多盘。或以黄金为财，多者200两，出嫁后妇女随夫姓[87]。渤泥举行婚礼的仪式首先是敬酒，其次是敬槟榔，然后是敬指环，最后是敬吉贝布或者金银[88]。无枝拔人注重婚姻，往往指腹成亲。丹马令在定婚时用锻锦和白锡。彭亨谈成婚烟时，一般要互换白银5钱[89]。这些不同的婚俗构成反映了地区和时代的差别。至于丧葬形式一般都采用水葬或者天葬的形式。

在经济活动方面，从中国古籍记载中可以看出马来西亚古国在各个历史时期都保留着与外国密切的贸易往来，因此，古代马来西亚的对外贸易活动呈现出多点贸易的特点。例如，在南北朝时期，顿逊就是一个海上贸易的中心之一。到了唐代，罗越国“商贸往来所湊集”，每年都有商船到广州贸易[90]。宋元时期，有关马来西亚古国的对外贸易活动的地方明显增加。宋代的《诸蕃志》记述了单马令、凌牙斯加、佛罗安、渤泥等贸易据点，其中对渤泥的贸易制度进行了精彩的描述。据赵汝括的叙述，渤泥的民俗重视商人，哪怕商人犯下死罪，也只是罚而不杀。渤泥的国王亲自掌管对外贸易事务，没有他的许可，贸易活动不得开始[91]。另据汪大渊的描述，浮泥在管理贸易方面已是具有较高水准。浮泥国选派一人专门负责出纳税收，没有纤毫之差[92]。在中国古籍所记载的贸易商品清单中，可以看出当时马来西亚从国外购进的商品种类是很丰富的，例如绢伞、酒、米、盐、糖、瓷器、漆器、铁条、金银等等，而且不同的地方对商品种类的需求也是不一样的。除了商品之外，在贸易中还使用中国的货币。

在宗教方面，在明代以前的中国古籍中，所记述的马来西亚各个古国所流行的宗教是印度教（婆罗门教）和佛教。例如《梁书》记述了狼牙修信仰婆罗门教的过程，《隋书》记载了赤土“尤重婆罗门”和印度教在赤土国的显赫地位。在顿逊，来自印度的婆罗门就多达1,000多人[93]。中国古籍在记述马来西亚信仰婆罗门教、印度教的同时，也记述了印度教和佛教对当地其他社会生活的渗透。在明代以及明代以后的中国古籍中，除了记载满刺加信仰伊斯兰教的情况之外，也记述其他古国信仰佛教的情况。这些记述对研究马来西亚的宗教发展史显然具有一定的参考价值。

在物产方面，在南北朝时期（420—589年）中国就知道干陀利出产上等的檳榔[94]。隋朝时赤土国有甘蔗制成的酒，有牛、羊、猪[95]。古代马来西亚除了出产各种香料土产以及沿海地区产盐之外，还有马来西亚最出名的锡，汪大渊记述产锡的地方有无枝拔、丹马令、彭亨、龙牙门，其中称单马令出产上等白锡[96]。明代马欢记述满刺加的产锡之处有两个，由国王亲自管理，铸成的锡块重1斤8两或者1斤4两，每10块用藤捆绑为1捆，40块为1大捆。马欢还记述满刺加的土产有甘蔗、芭蕉、菠萝蜜、菜、葱、姜、蒜、冬瓜、西瓜、牛、羊、鸡、鸭等[97]。

中国古籍所记述的关于马来西亚古国的社会生活资料，对了解和分析研究古代马来西亚的社会生活历史具有比较重要的参考价值。

三、保留了许多古代马来西亚对外关系的资料，有助于研究马来西亚在亚洲历史发展中的作用和地位

在中国古籍中，保留了许多有关中国与马来西亚古国交往关系的资料，保留了一些马来西亚古国与其他东南亚国家关系的资料。如果我们不是从中国的角度来解读这些资料，而是从马来西亚的角度来解读这些资料，那么，我们可以从这些资料中研究古代马来西亚与其他国家的关系史，研究马来西亚在东南亚或者亚洲历史发展中的地位和作用。

以中国与马来西亚古国关系而言，从南北朝时期马来西亚古国就与中国建立了外交往来关系，现在见于文献记载的交往，最早是在公元442年婆皇国、455年斤陀利国、473年婆利国派遣使节访问中国[98]。在以后的不同历史时期中，马来西亚的古国都有派遣使节访问中国的活动。中国派遣使节访问马来西亚古国的活动，最早是隋朝派常骏、王君政出访赤土国，元朝派马扎蛮(Ma Zha-man)、杨庭璧(Yang Ting-bi)出访龙牙门，明朝时期首先是派遣张敬之(Zhang Jing-zhi)访问浮泥，然后是派尹庆(Yin Qing)访问满刺加，后来是派郑和(Zheng He)、王景弘(Wang Jing-hong)等人访问满刺加王国和浮泥国，此后，明朝还多次派人护送来访的满刺加和浮泥的使团回国，有的中国使节还因此葬身大海[99]。从整个历史来看，马来西亚古国访问中国的次数要比中国出访马来西亚古国多的多。这种状态主要是因为古代中国是亚洲的文明大国，也是亚洲的经济发展中心，在经济和文化方面对外国具有较强吸引力，古代中国的统治者认为中国是位于世界的中心，存在自大的心理。对于中国统治者来说，马来西亚古国毕竟与中国的距离较远，因而没有将主要注意力放到遥远的马来西亚。但是，从中国古籍记载中，我们可以看到中国与马来西亚古国一直是保持一种非常友好的关系，这种关系在明代达到最高峰的阶段。

中国与马来西亚各个古国双方不但没有发生冲突，而且中国还几次运用大国的影响力，帮助马来西亚古国摆脱其他国家的控制，走上发展的道路。最著名的例子就是明朝与满刺加王国的关系。据中国古籍的记载，满刺加原来是暹罗的属国，每年要向暹罗缴纳贡金40两。1403年明朝派遣尹庆访问满刺加，两国建立关系。1405年满刺加派遣使节访问中国，明朝皇帝“册封”拜里迷苏刺为满刺加国王，自此之后，满刺加王国摆脱了暹罗的控制[100]。在满刺加王朝时期，满刺加王国与中国的关系非常密切和友好。满刺加王国的前三位国王亲自率领庞大的代表团访问中国，而郑和7次下西洋都到达满刺加，更重要的是，郑和船队将满刺加当作最重要的中转站，在满刺加设立商馆——“官厂”，存放商品、货物、粮食、金钱。郑和船队到其他地方时，先在满刺加的“官厂”装载商品和粮食后才出发[101]。郑和船队将满刺加当作海上贸易活动的据点，对促进满刺加成为东南亚海上贸易的中心之一是起了非常重要的作用。有关这一时期满刺加历史的记载，中国古籍中的材料是相当多的，如《明实录》、《瀛涯胜览》、《星槎胜览》、《西洋番国志》、《西洋朝贡典录》、《东西洋考》等等。这些中国古籍的记载，对研究满刺加这个在马来西亚历史上放出灿烂光辉的王国历史无疑是宝贵的史料来源。

虽然中国古籍的记述重点在于与中国有关系的问题上，是从中国的角度来观察马来西亚古国的，但是，假如我们对中国古籍的记载所表露出来的某种自大的口吻不必太过于认真的话，马来西亚古国与中国建立的关系以及开展与中国的经济政治关系是马来西亚古国参与亚洲历史发展的一个组成部分。古代中国与周边国家关系的特征之一就是中国为中心的朝贡贸易体制。日本东京大学滨下武志教授指出，“在历史上亚洲区域内的各种关系，是在以中国为中心的朝贡关系、朝贡贸易关系中形成的”。“以中国为核心的与亚洲全境密切联系存在的朝贡关系即朝贡贸易关系，是亚洲而且只有亚洲才具有的唯一的历史体系，必须从这一视角出发，在反复思考中才能推导出亚洲史的内在联系”[102]。滨下武志教授的观点无疑富

有启发性,如果我们去掉所谓的“天朝”与“藩国”的色彩,从一个新的视角来看待“朝贡”活动的话,在中国古籍中大量有关马来西亚古国与中国的“朝贡关系”资料,对我们研究马来西亚古国在亚洲或者东南亚历史发展中的地位和作用将是富有价值的。

中国古籍在记述马来西亚古国与中国关系时,也记述马来西亚古国与周边其他国家的关系。如《隋书》提到赤土国王有三个妻子是邻国的公主[103]。宋代的《诸蕃志》提到蓬丰(彭亨)、登牙依(丁加奴)、凌牙斯加、吉兰丹、佛罗安、日罗亭、单马令都是三佛齐的属国[104]宋代的《岭外代答》甚至提到佛罗安的国王由三佛齐选派的[105]。此外,还有渤泥与印尼、苏禄、彭亨、满刺加与暹罗的关系等。所有这些资料,有利于我们全面研究马来西亚古国的对外关系。

如果我们将视野进一步扩大的话,位于东西方海上交通要道的马来西亚在古代亚洲或者世界的贸易活动中也起了重要的活动,在这里,我想特别强调的是,中国古籍有关海上贸易的路线——即“针路”的记载,除了它所表达的路线的意义之外,它从另一方面也反映了马来西亚古国在亚洲海上贸易网络中的作用,因为只有一个地方到另一个地方航线的建立,两地之间才有可能进行贸易等方面的往来,交通航线越多,贸易网络就更加丰富。中国已故向达(Xiang Da)教授指出,16-18世纪中国记载的“针路”大致上分为六个区域,即(1)柬埔寨、赤坎(越南的Ke Ga)、暹罗区。其航线有柬埔寨至彭亨、柔佛、暹罗、大泥(Patani);从赤坎至柬埔寨、彭亨、旧港(Palembang)、顺塔(Banten);从暹罗至大泥、彭亨、麻六甲、马军(菲律宾的Manukan)。(2)马来半岛区。其航线有从峇盘(Tioman)至丁机宜(今Kuantan)、旧港、顺塔、文莱;从麻六甲至阿齐(印尼苏门答腊的Lhokseumawe)、暹罗、旧港;从大泥至池汶(Timor);从阿齐到万丹(Banten)、别罗里(锡兰的Galle)、傍伽喇(Bengal)、古里(印度的Calicut)等。(3)古里区。从古里到忽鲁谟斯(Hormoz)、阿丹(Aden)、祖法儿(Dhufar)。(4)爪哇区。从爪哇到灵山(越南中部的Thach Bi)、麻六甲;从万丹到池汶、马辰(Bandjarasin);从顺塔到迟闷(Timor)、淡目(印尼的Demak);从旧港到杜板(印尼的Tuban);从咬留吧(Jakarta)到长崎。(5)吕宋(Luzon)区。从吕宋到文莱;从双口(Manila)到恶克(菲律宾Panay Island的Oton)、宿务(Cebu)、网申礁老(今菲律宾的Mindanao)、文莱、柬埔寨、长崎。(6)日本区。从长崎到广南(今越南中部)、双口;从暹罗到日本、长崎;从咬留吧到长崎;从大泥到长崎[106]。这6个区域其实是互相联系和互相交叉的,他们构成亚洲的海上交通和商业网络,而马来西亚是其中一个组成部分。

结 论

综上所述,中国古籍的记载对构建马来西亚历史全貌具有重要的作用和积极意义。中国古籍的史料价值主要表现在:1,中国古籍所记载的历史时间非常长;2,中国古籍记载的马来西亚古国数量非常多;3,中国古籍所记载的内容非常丰富;4,中国古籍的记载是研究马来西亚古代历史不可缺少的重要史料来源。当然,中国古籍的记述由于技术条件和认识水平的限制,对所记述的国家有些模糊,尤其是所记述的国名或者地名,由于没有精确的地图可供参考,使到后人在判断确切地点时困难重重,因而也存在不少争议,例如古代的地名到底等于现在什么地方,正确的认定确切地点对进行研究是非常关键的,否则,差之毫厘,失之千里。这也是通过中国古籍研究古代东南亚国家历史时所面临的主要困难。但是,在中国古籍中,有些记述是比较清楚的,同时,人们可以通过中国古籍记述的其他方面的内容,加上其他材料进行综合的判断。总之,要全面研究马来西亚历史,需要从不同史料来源来加以互相印证,需要利用文字材料以外如利用考古发掘的材料来互相印证。在马来西亚古代历史或者东南亚古代历史中,中国古籍相对其他文字材料而言,具有记述时间比较早、比较有延续性和

比较详细可靠的特点。中国古籍的记载,是我们研究马来西亚古代历史的基本材料,正是有了这些记载,马来西亚古代历史面貌变得更加清楚和有系统性。著名历史学家 Professor D.G.E.Hall 说,中国古籍“对于阐明我们这个地区(指东南亚)的政治地理和贸易的确是 priceless” [107]。可以说,中国古籍在研究马来西亚历史中具有不可替代的作用。

注 释:

[1]《汉书》(Han-shu), 汉代班固(Ban Gu, 32-92年)著。全书共120卷,约80万字。记载自公元前206年至公元24年之间汉朝的历史。其中有关古代马来西亚的记述是该书的《地理志》。

[2]《宋书》,南北朝时期沈约(Shen Yue, 411-513年)著,488年完成。全书共100卷,记载自419-464年之间宋朝的历史。该书的《本纪》和《列传》均有马来西亚古国婆皇国、斤陀利国、婆利国的记载。这也是正史之中首次记载马来西亚古国的情况。

[3]《梁书》,唐代姚思廉(Yao Xi-lian)、姚察(Yao Cha, 533-606年)著。全书共56卷,记载自502-557年之间梁朝的历史。该书的《本纪》和《列传》记有丹丹国、干陀利国、狼牙侗、婆利国、顿逊国的情况。

[4]《陈书》,唐代姚思廉(Yao Xi-lian, 557-637年)、姚察(Yao Cha, 533-606年)著。全书共36卷,记载自557-589年之间陈朝的历史。该书《本纪》记有丹丹国、干陀利国、狼牙侗国的情况。

[5]《隋书》,唐代魏征(Wei Zheng, 580-643年)等编著。全书共85卷,该书《本纪》和《南蛮传》有赤土、婆利、丹丹等国的记载。

[6]《南史》,唐代李延寿(Li Yan-shou)著,659年完成,写作时间前后历时16年。全书80卷,该书《本纪》和《夷貊传》记有婆皇国、丹丹国、干陀利国、狼牙侗国、婆利国、顿逊国的情况。

[7]《北史》,唐代李延寿著,659年完成,写作时间历时16年。全书共100卷,记载自386-618年之间北魏、东魏、北齐、西魏、北周、隋朝的历史。该书《隋本纪》有赤土国的简要记载。

[8]《旧唐书》,五代刘昫(Liu Xun)等编著,完成于945年。全书共200卷,该书《地理志》和《南蛮传》有赤土国、婆利国、丹丹国、狼牙侗国的简要记载。

[9]《新唐书》,宋代欧阳修(Ouyang Xiu, 1007-1072年)等编著,1060年完成。全书共225卷。该书《地理志》和《南蛮传》有罗越国、哥罗国、哥谷罗国、赤土国、婆利国、狼牙侗国、单单国的简要记载。

[10]《宋史》,元代脱脱(Tuo Tuo, 1314-1355年)等编著。全书共496卷,是二十四史中最庞大的一部史书。该书《本纪》、《礼》、《食货志》、《外国传》有渤泥国、丹眉流国的记载。

[11]《元史》,明代宋濂(Song Lian, 1310-1381年)等编著,1370年正式刊行。全书共210卷。该书《本纪》和《外国传》有龙牙门、丁呵儿、急兰亦剌的简要记载。

[12]《明史》,清代张廷玉(Zhang Ting-yu, 1672-1755年)等编著。编写的时间长达95年,1739年正式刊行。全书共323卷,该书《本纪》、《食货》、《外国》有淳泥、彭亨、满刺加、婆罗、急兰丹、文莱、柔佛、丁机宜的记述。

[13]《明实录》(Ming Shi-lu)。《明实录》是记载明朝历代皇帝政治活动和日常生活的重要原始宫廷档案,具有非常高的史料价值。明朝每一个皇帝都有一个独立的档案,后人按照

时间顺序加以编排,《明实录》其实是明朝各个皇帝档案的总称。《明实录》包括《太祖实录》、《太宗实录》、《仁宗实录》、《宣宗实录》、《英宗实录》、《宪宗实录》、《孝宗实录》、《武宗实录》、《世宗实录》等等的系列皇帝档案,在《明实录》中有大量关于浮泥国和满刺加王朝的记述,其中尤以满刺加王朝的记述最多,时间从1370年至1550年之间。

[14]《清史稿》,清代赵尔巽(Zhao Er-sun)主编,共529卷。1928年刊行。

[15]《清实录》,共4406卷。《清实录》有关马来西亚的记载比《明实录》少得多,这主要是因为西方人占领马来西亚之后,两国的政治关系受到极大的破坏。但从少数的记载中,我们可以看出清朝对马来西亚古国采取相当友好的政策,例如在1742年,清朝禁止荷兰统治下的印尼来中国贸易,但对暹罗和柔佛则采取继续开放的政策。

[16]《通典》,唐代杜佑(Du You,735-812年)著,成书于801年。全书共200卷,分经济贸易、政治制度、军事、城市、音乐、边防等等,是一部内容丰富的历史巨著。记述的马来西亚古国有哥罗国、顿逊国、干陀利国、狼牙修国、婆利国、赤土国、罗刹国、丹丹国、边斗国、都昆国、拘利国、比嵩国等。

[17]《唐会要》,五代王溥(Wang Pu,922-982年)著,完成于961年。全书共100卷,是一部百科全书式的巨著。其中有关外国历史的部分,其史料价值在新旧《唐书》之上。记述有婆利国、盘盘国。

[18]《太平御览》,宋代李昉(Li Fang,925-996年)著,984年写成。全书共1000卷,约470万字,引用的著作达2579种,是一部百科全书式的巨著。该书关于马来西亚古国的记载来自历代正史。记述有赤土、干陀利、狼牙修、婆利、婆皇、顿逊、丹丹、边斗、都昆、拘利、比嵩、多摩长等。

[19]《册府元龟》,宋代王钦若(Wang Qin-ruo,962-1025年)等人编著,1013年编成。全书共1000卷,约940万字,是一部百科全书式的巨著。该书有关马来西亚古国的记述也是来自各种资料,所记述的古国有丹丹、赤土、哥罗、干陀利、婆利、顿逊、狼牙修、~~婆皇~~、婆皇等。

[20]《玉海》,宋代王应麟(Wang Ying-lin,1223-1296年)著。全书共200卷,是一部百科全书式的巨著。但对马来西亚古国的记述相当简略。

[21]《通志》,宋代郑樵(Zheng Qiao)著,成书时间不详。全书共200卷,其中有关天文地理、经济贸易、城市、动植物等方面的资料价值较高。记述的古国有干陀利、狼牙修、丹丹、婆利、赤土等。

[22]《文献通考》,宋代马端临(Ma Duan-lin,1254—约1324年)著。1324年正式印行。全书共348卷,是一部百科全书式的巨著。记述的古国有干陀利、狼牙修、婆利、赤土、勃泥等。

[23]《明会要》,明代龙文彬(Long Wen-bin)著。记述有婆罗、浮泥、彭亨、满刺加等。

[24]《明会典》,明代申时行(Shen Shi-xing,1535-1614年)著,1502年写成。全书共228卷,基本上是使用明朝官方资料,是关于明朝国家政治、经济、军事、法律制度的重要著作。记述有彭亨、浮泥、满刺加、婆罗等国朝贡情况。

[25]《三才图会》,明代王圻(Wang Qi)著,成书时间不详。全书共106卷,分14类,内容包括天文、地理、人物、季节、器物、衣服、珍宝、动物、植物等等。该书的特点是将散见在各种书籍中的图谱汇编在一起,图文并茂,方便读者的直观了解,但其中的内容谬误不少。记述满刺加、浮泥、龙牙门、佛罗安、婆罗、顿逊、~~登瀛眉~~等。~~流~~

[26]《续通典》,清代官修,共150卷。记述彭亨、丹眉流、满刺加、丁机宜、柔佛、浮泥、单单等。

[27]《清朝通典》，清代官修，共100卷。记述柔佛、单旦、彭亨、文莱等。

[28]《续文献通考》，明代王圻(Wang Qi)，共254卷，1586年完成。记述满刺加、彭亨、柔佛、丁机宜等。

[29]《清朝文献通考》，清代祁璵(Ji Huang)等编，共300卷，记述柔佛、丁机宜、单旦、彭亨等。

[30]《宋会要辑稿》，清代徐松(Xu Song)编，共366卷。1936年刊行。记述浮泥、丹眉流等。

[31]《古今图书集成》，最初由清代陈梦雷(Chen Meng-lei, 1651-1741年)于1706年编成，后由蒋廷锡(Jiang Ting-xi, 1669-1723年)重新编修，1726年完成。全书共10,000卷，约1亿6千万字，分为6个汇编。在第二汇编中有关于马来西亚古国的资料。这本大型著作的特点就是将过去有关这一问题的资料原本照录，使读者阅读起来非常方便。记述满刺加、斤陀利、狼牙修、婆利、顿逊、婆罗、浮泥、丹眉流、彭亨、佛罗安、单马令等。

[32]《岭外代答》，宋代周去非(Zhou Qu-fei)著，共2卷。记述的古国有佛罗安。

[33]《诸蕃志》，宋代赵汝适(Zhao Ru-kuo)著，共2卷，1225年写成。上卷记载海外各国情况，下卷记载各国的物产。记述的古国有凌牙门、蓬丰、登加依、凌牙斯加、吉兰丹、佛罗安、日罗亨、单马令、渤泥等。

[34]《云麓漫钞》，宋代赵彦卫(Zhao Yan-wei)著，全书共15卷，记述的古国有渤泥、佛罗安、朋丰等。

[35]《岛夷杂志》，元代陈元靓(Chen Yuan-jing)著。记述有凌牙苏加、佛罗安等。

[36]《皇明鸿猷录》，明代高岱(Gao Dai)著。记述有浮泥、彭亨、满刺加、急兰丹等。

[37]《皇明象胥录》，明朝茅瑞徵(Mao Rui-cheng)所撰，共8卷，1629年出版。是作者根据有关编辑而成，对外国的记载比郑晓的《皇明四夷考》要详细一些。记述有满刺加、柔佛、浮泥、彭亨、婆罗等。

[38]《咸宾录》，明代罗日襄(Luo Ri-jiong)所著，共8卷，大约万历年间写成。收集中国周边各国的情况。记述满刺加、婆黎、赤土、彭亨、渤泥等。

[39]《皇明世法录》，明代陈仁锡(Chen Ren-xi, 1581-1636年)著。全书共92卷，记载明朝中国政治、经济、军事、法律制度等方面的情况。资料丰富，参考价值较高。记述浮泥、满刺加、彭亨等。

[40]《前闻记》，明代祝允明(Zhu Yun-ming, 1460-1526年)著。全书共1卷，记述有郑和下西洋时的航行时间和经过地方。

[41]《献征录》，明代焦竑(Jiao Hong)著。记述满刺加、浮泥、彭亨等。

[42]《罪惟录》，明代查继佐(Cha Ji-zuo, 1601-1676年)著，1672年完成。全书共102卷，记述浮泥、满刺加、婆罗、彭亨、急兰丹等。

[43]《国榷》，明代谈迁(Tan Qian, 1594-1657年)著，1656年完成，写作时间长达35年。全书共100卷，428万字。记载自1328-1664年之间的历史。资料丰富，翔实可靠。记述渤泥、彭亨、满刺加、婆罗等。

[44]《弁山堂别集》，明代王世贞(Wang Shi-zhen, 1526-1572年)著。全书共100卷。记述满刺加、浮泥等。

[45]《菽园杂录》，明代陆容(Lu Rong, 1436-1494年)著。全书共15卷，记述郑和下西洋经过满刺加、浮泥等地的名称。

[46]《五杂俎》，明代谢肇淛(Xie Zhao-zhi)著。全书共16卷，有满刺加、彭亨、班卒的简略记述。

[47]《西园闻见录》，明代张萱(Zhang Xuan)著。对淤泥有详细的记述。

[48]《异域志》，元代周致中(Zhou Zhi-zhong)著。全书2卷，记述了200多个国家和民族，主要记述有关风俗、物产的情况。提到马来西亚古国有顿逊、单马令、佛罗安、赤土、淤泥、澄亨等。

[49]《大德南海志》，元代(1271—1368年)陈大震(Chen Da-zhen)于1304年辑录而成，原书共20卷，今只有残本6-10卷，藏于中国国家图书馆。该书第七卷有记载马来西亚的一些地名，如日罗亭、凌牙苏加、吉兰丹、丁迦声、朋亨等。

[50]《明一统志》，明代李贤(Li Xian, 1408-1466年)编，1461年完成。全书共90卷，最后两卷记载中国周边国家的情况。关于马来西亚的有满刺加、浮泥。

[51]《皇明四夷考》，明代郑晓(Zheng Xiao)所撰，共2卷，1564年写成。记述满刺加、浮泥、彭亨等。

[52]《皇輿考》，明代张天复(Zhang Tian-fu)编，刊行于嘉靖年间。共10卷，记载中国以及中国周边国家的地理情况。其第10卷便是外国地理志。记述有满刺加、浮泥、彭亨、波罗、急兰丹等。

[53]《武备志》，明代茅元仪(Mao Yuan-yi, 1594—约1644年)所著。该书是茅元仪参考从唐代到明代的2000多种军事著作，花了15年的时间编撰而成。全书共240卷，内分五大类。第五类是有关天文、地理、气候、海防、航海和外国国情方面的资料。记述浮泥、满刺加、彭亨、婆罗等情况。

[54]《郑和航海图》，原载《武备志》第240卷。该书比较详细记载中国到马来西亚各地的海上交通路线以及行走的方面和时间等。

[55]《殊域周咨录》，明代严从简(Yan Cong-jian)著。记述淤泥、满刺加等。

[56]《东西洋考》，明代张燮(Zhang Xie, 1574-1640年)所撰，共12卷，写成于1617年。主要记载东南亚各国的历史、地理、物产、贸易以及中国与东南亚的海上交通路线等。是明朝一本非常重要的著作。记述赤土、淤泥、吉兰丹、麻六甲、彭亨、柔佛、文莱等的历史、地理、物产、贸易以及海上交通的航线。

[57]《环宇通志》，明代陈循(Chen Xun)著。记述满刺加、浮泥、彭亨、婆罗等。

[58]《海语》，明代黄衷(Huang Zhong, 1474-1553年)著，共3卷，1536年写成。记述满刺加等。

[59]《西洋朝贡典录》，明代黄省曾(Huang Sheng-zeng, 1490-1540年)所撰，共3卷，写于1520年。是综合马欢的《瀛涯胜览》和巩珍的《西洋番国志》两书的材料而成，不是作者亲身经历，书中错误不少。也是对满刺加、浮泥、彭亨记述较多。

[60]《顺风相送》，记述中国到东南亚等地的气象、航线以及经过的地名等。见向达校注《两种海道针经》，北京：中华书局，1982年。

[61]《指南正法》，同上。

[62]《海国闻见录》，清代陈伦炯(Chen Lun-jiong)著，1730年写成，共2卷。上卷8篇，记述中国以及海外的地理情况，下卷是地图。记述柔佛、彭亨、麻喇甲、文莱、丁噶噠等。

[63]《大清一统志》，清代官修著作，前后三次编修，第一次于1743年完成，第二次于1784年，最后一次于1842年完成。全书共560卷。

[64]《皇清职贡图》，清代傅恒(Fu Heng, ?—1770年)等编，初稿完成于1757年，1775年完成，共9卷，图文并茂。记述文莱、柔佛、麻六甲等。

[65]《大唐西域求法高僧传》，唐代(618—907年)义净(Yi-Jing)撰，共2卷，是唐

代初期到印度、南海、西域等地求法的佛教僧侣的传记，以及义净木人在海外的见闻。该书记述的古国有郎迦成国、羯荼国。

[66]《岛夷志略》，元代汪大渊(Wang Da-yuan)著，1349年写成，全书共2卷，记述无枝拔、丹马令、佛来安、彭坑、吉兰丹、丁家卢、苏洛隔、龙牙门、浮泥、单马锡、都督岸、龙牙菩提、班卒、龙牙门、东西竺、万年港等。

[67]《瀛涯胜览》，明代马欢(Ma Huan)著，1416年写成。马欢于永乐、宣德年间3次跟随郑和下西洋。该书记载了东南亚和南亚等地区的历史、地理、政治、经济、风俗等方面的情况。对满刺加国有较多的记述。

[68]《星槎胜览》，明代费信(Fei Xin, 1388-?年)所撰，共2卷，1436年写成。费信在永乐和宣德年间曾经跟随郑和下西洋，该书前集记载本人亲历海外各国的情况，后集收集传闻史实。记述的情况比《瀛涯胜览》多，对满刺加、九州山、东西竺、龙牙门、龙牙菩提、彭坑、渤泥有较多的记述。

[69]《西洋番国志》，明代巩珍(Gong Zhen)所撰，1434年写成。主要记载巩珍在1430年至1433年跟随郑和出使海外的情况，涉及的国家有20个。对满刺加有较多的记述，情况类似《瀛涯胜览》。

[70]《海国逸志》，清代王大海(Wang Da-hai)著，完成于1791年，共6卷，记述有麻六甲、柔佛、吉礁等，比较简略。

[71]《海录》，清代谢清高(Xie Qing-gao)口述，杨炳南(Yang Bing-nan)记录，不分卷，1820年写成。记述有吉兰丹、丁加奴、邦项、旧柔佛、沙喇我、新埠、吉德、柔佛、文莱等。

[72]《渤泥国入贡记》，见明代宋濂(1310-1381年)著《宋学士文集》，共36卷。

[73]《渤泥国恭顺王墓碑》，见《皇明文衡》。

[74]《海洋帆船出没事》，见明代徐学远(1559-1665年)等编《皇明经世文编》，共500卷，收录至万历、天启为止的重要文章。

[75]《议阻澳夷进贡疏》，见《明经世文编》。

[76]《宋书》第97卷，“婆皇国”。

[77]《梁书》第54卷，“扶南”。

[78]《通典》第188卷，“哥罗”、“丹丹”、“边斗”、“多摩长”。

[79]《大唐西域求法高僧传》，上卷“义辉论师传”、下卷“义朗律师传”、“法振禅师传”。

[80]《新唐书》，第43卷，“地理七”。

[81]《诸蕃志》上卷，“渤泥国”。

[82]《文献通考》第332卷，“渤泥”。

[83]《宋史》第6卷，“真宗本纪一”。

[84]《元史》第27卷“英宗本纪一”、第210卷“马八儿等国”。

[85]《通典》第188卷，“丹丹”。

[86]《隋书》第82卷，“赤土国传”。

[87]《通典》第188卷，“哥罗”。

[88]《诸蕃志》，上卷，“渤泥国”。

[89]《岛夷志略》，“无枝拔”、“丹马令”、“彭坑”。

[90]《新唐书》第222卷，“罗越国”。

[91]《诸蕃志》，上卷，“渤泥国”。

[92]《岛夷志略》，“浮泥”。

[93]《太平御览》第788卷，“顿逊国”。

[94]《梁书》第78卷，“干陀利”。

- [95]《隋书》第82卷,“赤土国传”。
[96]《岛夷志略》,“丹马令”。
[97]《瀛涯胜览》“满刺加国”。
[98]《宋书》第5、7、9卷,“本纪”五、六、九。
[99]《皇明象胥录》第5卷,“满刺加”。
[100]《明史》第325卷,“满刺加国传”。
[101]《瀛涯胜览》“满刺加国”。
[102] 滨下武志著,朱荫贵、欧阳菲译:《近代中国的国际契机—朝贡贸易体系与近代亚洲经济圈》,北京:中国社会科学出版社,1999年,第8、30页。
[103]《隋书》第82卷,“赤土国传”。
[104]《诸蕃志》上卷,“三佛齐国”。
[105]《岭外代答》第2卷,“三佛齐”。
[106] 向达校注:《两种海道针经》,北京:中华书局,1982年,第9-10页。
[107] D.G.E.Hall, *The History of South-East Asia*, London: MacMillan & Co.Ltd, Third Edition, 1968, p.15.

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[14]温斯泰德著,姚梓良译:《马来亚史》,北京:商务印书馆,1974年。
[15]D.G.E.Hall, *The History of South-East Asia*, London: MacMillan & Co.Ltd, Third Edition, 1968.
[16]Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, London, 1967.

13

HO KHAI LEONG

**IMAGINED COMMUNION,
IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES:
PERCEPTIONS AND
RESPONSES OF THE MALAYSIAN
CHINESE TOWARDS MALAY
POLITICAL HEGEMONY**

THE STATE OF TEXAS,
COUNTY OF _____

I, _____, County Clerk of the County of _____, State of Texas, do hereby certify that _____ is the true and correct copy of the _____ of _____, as the same appears from the records of said County.

WITNESSED my hand and the seal of said County, at _____, Texas, this _____ day of _____, 19____.

County Clerk

Notary Public

*Colloquium on Chinese Scholarship on the Malay World Studies,
16- 17 September 2002, ATMA, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia*

(Draft. Not For Quotation)

Imagined Communion, Irreconcilable Differences?
Perceptions And Responses Of The Malaysian Chinese Towards Malay
Political Hegemony

*Ho Khai Leong, .
Department of Political Science
National University of Singapore*

Abstract

Immanuel Kant wrote that communities and states are "unavoidably side by side". The Malay and Chinese communities in contemporary Malaysia have no choice but to agree. This recent controversy of implementing English to teach Science and Mathematics in Chinese primary schools provides a good starting point to discuss perceptions and misperceptions of the two largest ethnic groups – Malays and Chinese -- in the country. In particular, how the Malaysian Chinese views the political Malays and their dominance in the political system. This paper will consider, first, the arguments found in the Malaysian study literature that the Malaysian political system has indeed been transformed into a state that impinges on ethnicity and class. It then surveys the Malaysian Chinese perceptions of Malay political hegemony. Finally, the paper considers their public responses to Malay political dominance. Here I address what have emerged as a difficult governance hotspot in this larger context of communalism.

"It (Nation) is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." – Benedict Anderson¹

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 One recent and on-going event is symbolic of the general qualms that the Malaysian Chinese community possesses over policies implemented by the UMNO-dominated Barisan Nasional (BN) government. Its objection to the use of English as a medium of instruction for Science and Mathematics in Chinese medium schools reflects a longstanding perceptions of the Chinese community that the Malay state intends to do

¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition ed. London and New York: Verso, 1991, p. 6.

away with Chinese national-type primary schools (Chinese schools), a motive long embedded in the "ultimate objective" in the 1956 Razak Report and 1961 Education Act.² While the rationales for the objections, in public announcements at least, were based on the belief that mother-tongue education is best suited for teaching whatever subjects, the political reasons could not escape keen observers. Chinese education in Malaysia has been at the periphery of mainstream government education policies, both in terms of financial allocation and staff recruitments. With its marginalization, the Chinese community has constructed, through the passage of time, a set of defense mechanisms against suspicious government moves that are perceived to dilute the teaching of Chinese and Chinese culture in their curriculum. In this recent political tussle, the Malaysian Chinese community seemed united, amidst hesitation and uncertainties among the Chinese-based parties in the Barisan Nasional (BN) Government on the issue. Chinese mass media concluded that there was a consensus in the Chinese community that the policy be dropped.³ They asked: Why should they use English when their students have not done poorly in mathematics and science -- indeed many have excelled in these subjects -- with Mandarin as the medium of instruction? They also argued that if the poor command of English among students is the issue, then the emphasis should be on the improvement of teaching English as a subject. Dongjiao Zong (董教总),⁴ the Chinese educationist movement, believed that the government had introduced the project to implement eventually a new system of school administration and structure and to achieve its 'ulterior motive' of a monolingual education policy.

1.2 At the time when this paper is being written, the controversy has been at a deadlock. The Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, publicly announced that the policy would be implemented in primary one from next year onwards, despite objections from the Chinese community. Meanwhile, opposition political parties -- led by Parti Keadilan Nasional -- planned to continue with "road shows". If the rhetoric escalates, a confrontation seems likely.

² The "ultimate objective" in the Razak Report states: "we believe further that the ultimate objective of the education policy in this country must be to bring together the children of all races under a national educational system in which the national language is the main medium of instruction, though we recognize that progress toward this goal cannot be rushed and must be gradual." (*Report of the Education Committee*, para 12.) The Razak Report formed the backbone of the Education Act of 1961.

³ "华社对数理教学的共识"《南洋商报.社论》, 08/01/2002. ("The consensus in the Chinese Community on the teaching of Mathematics and Science," *Nanyang Siang Pau Editorial*, 08/01/2001.)

⁴ Dongjiao Zong (董教总) is an acronym for the United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia (UCSTAM) and the United Chinese School Committees' Association (UCSCAM). The United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia (UCSTAM) was formed on 25 August, 1951 as a response to the Barnes Education Report. The United Chinese School Committees' Association (UCSCAM) was formed on 21 April 1954.

1.3 Immanuel Kant wrote that communities and states are "unavoidably side by side". The Malay and Chinese communities in contemporary Malaysia have no choice but to agree. This controversy provides a good starting point to discuss perceptions and misperceptions of the two largest ethnic groups – Malays and Chinese -- in the country. In particular, how the Malaysian Chinese views the political Malays and their dominance in the political system. This paper will consider, first, the arguments found in the Malaysian study literature that the Malaysian political system has indeed been transformed into a state that impinges on ethnicity and class. It then surveys the Malaysian Chinese perceptions of Malay political hegemony. Finally, the paper considers their public responses to Malay political dominance. Here I address what have emerged as a difficult governance hotspot in this larger context of communalism. Examining it is a way of dissecting the nature of communalism and identifying specific governance deficits.

2. MALAY POLITICAL HEGEMONY: FACTS AND FICTIONS

2.1 "Hegemonic rather than accommodative ethnic politics characterize the new states." Myron Weiner wrote in 1987 after surveys the new states in Africa, Asia and Middle East. He contends that ethnicity remained a significant explanatory variable in the political development of these countries and put Malaysia within this category of regime-type.⁵ This paper accepts this argument in part, and uses Weiner's framework to guide the analysis of the Malaysian Chinese perceptions of the underlying motives for state policies. Perceptions of action and policy, and their consequences, will determine how the community chooses to respond. All these would have important societal as well as political implications for regime legitimacy in particular and nation building in general.

2.2 Malay and Chinese perceptions of each other have been influenced to a great extent by country's political history, economic development, state policies and political leaders' rhetoric and attitudes. The Malaysian political system, which von Vorg has called a democracy without consensus in the 1960s, seems to have changed somewhat. Consensus, primarily referred to consensus among ethnic groups, remained far-fetched, but the democratic nature of the Malaysian state remains precarious.⁶ The major features of what Arendt Lijhart called "the politics of accommodation" and "consociational democracy" have almost vanished in contemporary Malaysian politics.⁷ Instead, one is constantly reminded of a Malay-dominated state that has increasingly been intolerant of ineffective non-Malay political partnership. If there are remnants of pluralist

⁵ M. Weiner, "Political Change: Asia, Africa and Middle East," in M. Weiner and S. Huntington (eds.), *Understanding Political Development*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1987.

⁶ K. Von Vorys, *Democracy Without Consensus: Communalism and Political Stability in Malaysia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975. For a recent work on Malaysian democracy, see Francis Loh Kok Wah and Khoo Boo Teik (eds.), *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and Practices*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002.

⁷ A. Lijphart, *The Politics of Accommodation*. Berkeley: University of California, 1968.

accommodation and consociationalism, an observer needs to be extremely sharp-eyed and critical, as Malaysian consociationalism, as one author puts it, is coerced at best.⁸

2.3 The nature of the Malaysian state has been extensively discussed in the Malaysian literature in the last twenty-years, before and after the implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1970. Clive Kessler's notion of "Malay State", applied to the state of Kelantan, attached a degree of demographic concentration of a particular ethnic group, the Malays.⁹ The social system – its politics, religion, customs and culture – is essentially defined by the Malay norms and character. The state in essence is inclusive of the Malay government and the Malay society.

2.4 Developments in the 1980s and 1990s raised important new dimensions about the nature of the state. The state, as expressed in education, economic and cultural policies, reflects a complex interplay of institutional, cultural, group and class interests. Clearly, the state in practice is, at the very least, mono-ethnic and class-based. The state by and large serves nationalist and capitalist interests. It sides with Bumiputra capital vis-à-vis non-Bumiputra and foreign capital.

2.5 Different notions of the state have been advanced to capture both the authoritarian features and the "Malayness" of the political system. Some of these notions are: "ethnocratic state"¹⁰, the "syncretic State",¹¹ and "Bumiputera State".¹² Underlying these concepts are two important elements: ethnicity and class. Succinctly put, the intrusion of the Bumiputera into the market economy and the emergence of a powerful and privileged Bumiputera class, both economically and politically, enable the state to incline towards a privileged and authoritarian Malay state. The Malaysian state is conceived as a link between ethnic and class interests that impinges on politics. Accordingly, the preponderance of Bumiputra political resources is exemplified in at least four areas: bureaucracy, state-owned enterprises, the Bumiputra politico-business class, and Bumiputra cultural domination.

⁸ D. Mauzy, "Malay Political Hegemony and Coercive Consociationalism," in J. McGarry et al. *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict*. London: Routledge, 1993. See also, Francis Loh Kok Wah, "Where Has (Ethnic) Politics Gone?: The Case of the BN Non-Malay Politicians and Political Parties," Robert W. Hefner (ed.), *The Politics of Multiculturalism Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia*, Singapore, and Indonesia, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.

⁹ Clive Kessler, *Islam and Politics in a Malay State: Kelantan 1839-1969*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978.

¹⁰ S. Majstorovic, "Malaysia: The Evolution of An Ethnic State," *Journal of Pacific Studies*, Vol. 17:161-186, 1993.

¹¹ J. Jesudason, "The Syncretic State and the Structuring of Oppositional Politics in Malaysia," in G Rodan (ed.) *Political Oppositions in Industrialising Asia*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

¹² Ho Khai Leong, "Political Indigenization of the State in Peninsular Malaysia," in H.M. Dahlan, J. Hamzah, J.H. Ong and A.Y. Hing (eds.), *ASEAN in the Global System*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit UKM, 1997, pp. 210-224.

2.6 *Bureaucracy.* While the Malayanization process in the 50s had the effect of replacing British bureaucrats by Malay officialdom, its position in the Malaysian polity has remained dominant – by its rapid expansion in both quantities and function. The state utilized affirmative action or preferential policies in the civil service as a policy instrument to achieve desirable outcome.¹³ Despite rapid reform in both privatization and decentralization, the Malaysian bureaucracy has been able to maintain its presence. While the NPM has helped to refocus many of the perennial issues of performance, efficiency, control and accountability in the bureaucracy, it has remained largely a Malay institution.¹⁴

2.7 *State-owned enterprises.* The strategic development of the public sector, the state-owned enterprises, and the trust agencies provided a distinct advantage for the Malay elites to consolidate economic resources on behalf of the Malay community. There are two important policy effects. First, there exists a confrontation between a Malay public economy and non-Malay private economy. The study of state-owned enterprises and Malay public sector quickly became a study of competition between Malay public sector and a foreign- and Chinese-dominated private sector. Second, the policy has by and large benefited the urban-based Malay entrepreneurs. The NEP-inspired policies of Malaysia Inc. and privatization, which were a means to relieve the burden of the public sector, are really policies that enhance and reinforce Malay commercial participation.¹⁵

2.8 *Education/cultural policies.* Tendency towards ethnic hegemony is also evident in the policies affecting education and culture. That considerable importance is attached by the Malaysian education policy to the continuation of Bahasa Malaysia as the only language and to the development of a national culture with a Malay core is undisputable. The UMNO-dominated government has been suspected of eliminated vernacular education. The process of collective indigenization, which education and cultural policies invoked, is resisted by the plural interest in the society. It is within this policy area that we now witness probably the most explosive issue since the Anwar Ibrahim affairs.

¹³ Harold Crouch, "Managing Ethnic Tensions through Affirmative Action: The Malaysian Experience," in Nat J. Colletta et al (ed.), *Social Cohesion and Conflict Prevention in Asia*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2001, pp.225-262.

¹⁴ Ho Khai Leong, "Reinventing the Bureaucracy? Malaysia's New Administrative Reforms Initiatives," *The Journal of Comparative Asian Development*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 2002, pp. 87-104. See also Ho Khai Leong, "Bureaucratic Accountability in Malaysia: Control Mechanisms and Critical Concerns," in Hoi-Kwok Wong and Hon S. Chan (ed.) *The Handbook of Comparative Public Administration in the Asia-Pacific Basin*, New York: Marcel Dekker, 1999, pp. 23-45.

¹⁵ Edmund Terence Gomez, *Political Business: Corporate Involvement of Malaysian Political Parties*. Townsville: James Cook University, 1994; and Edmund Terence Gomez, "Political business in Malaysia: party factionalism, corporate development and economic crisis," in Gomez (ed.) *Political business in East Asia*. London: Routledge, 2002, pp. 82 - 114.

2.9 In general, the policy networks have transformed the suzerainty of the Malaysian UMNO-MCA-MIC alliance system, breaking up the coalition's ethnic balance of power. As Malaysia enters into the twenty-first century, the alliance between Malay politico-business elites is more influential. The growth of Malay business interests has had the effect of creating a political link among Bumiputra interests in the UMNO government that is sufficiently strong to have forced large-scale policy change. Despite political turbulence in recent years, this basic coalescence among the Malay elites has not changed.

2.10 Malay hegemony, however, does not necessary or exclusively derives from class solidarity. Hegemony comes from the preponderance of influence exercised by the UMNO in the political process as the party copes with its own internal conflicts and attempts to manage anticipated or unanticipated events. In addition, Malay hegemony does not mean the elimination of dissent. Instead, it possesses the means to funnel dissent to other channels and perhaps to suppress them. Consensus and compromise within the BN are often superficial phenomena as a consequence of UMNO hegemony.¹⁶

2.11 While the interpretation of what constitutes "Malayness" or "bumiputraness" have been a discussion point among the Malaysian academia,¹⁷ it is also intruding into the political arena as the growing of the Islamic Party, PAS, has been spreading in recent years.¹⁸ The nationalist and the religious elements in the state therefore cannot be ignored. The increased rationalization of the Malay project rather than the "Malaysian project" despite the surface of Mahathir's "Bangsa Malaysia" impact on Malaysian political development will continue to attract attention.¹⁹ The assertion of ethnic identity both in culture and politics should be viewed as a quandary both the Malay community in particular and the Malaysian community at large.

¹⁶ Ho Khai Leong, "Political Indigenization of the State in Peninsular Malaysia," in H.M. Dahlan, J. Hamzah, J.H. Ong and A.Y. Hing (eds.), *ASEAN in the Global System*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit UKM, 1997, pp. 210-224.

¹⁷ A.B. Shamsul, "The Construction and Transformation of a Social Identity: Malayness and Bumiputraness Re-examined." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 52:15-33, 1996; S. Jayasankara, "Identity Crisis: Who exactly is a Bumiputra," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 12, 1997.

¹⁸ Patricia Martinez, "Mahathir, Islam and the New Malay Dilemma," in Ho Khai Leong and James Chin (eds.), *Mahathir's Administration. Performance and Crisis in Governance*, Singapore: Times Academic Press, 2001, pp. 215-251. See also John Funston "The Politics of Islamic Reassertion: Malaysia." pp.165-189 in *The Politics of Islamic Reassertion*, edited by Mohammed Ayob. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.

¹⁹ R. Lee, "The State, Religious Nationalism and Ethnic Rationalisation in Malaysia." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1990.

3. CHINESE PERCEPTIONS OF MALAY'S POLITICAL HEGEMONY

3.1 "The non-Malay communities have accepted 'Malay domination' as the price to be paid for security and the opportunity to maintain their own identities."²⁰ This observation made by Harold Crouch, who was commenting on the impacts of Malaysia's affirmative action policy, seemed to have captured the other "bargain" between Malay and non-Malay communities. If that was really the "price", then the Chinese community would expect to get what they have asked for – that is, the maintenance of their cultural identities. Unfortunately, such a transaction seems to be incomplete. Chinese cultural identities under threat, it appeared, has been the dominant strand of thought that preoccupies the Chinese community.

3.2 The Malaysian Chinese community has traditionally been politically active in so far as they felt the need to respond to governmental policies. The factional rivalries among the pro-Kuomintang, pro-Communist and pro-British groups during the 40s and 50s reflected the deep divisions within the community. At any rate, the political Malaysian Chinese played a significant role not only in nation building but also in the formation of pluralistic tradition in the Malayan (Malaysian) political development, and constitutes what Eric Nordlinger called the "autonomy-enhancing capacities" of the state vis-à-vis the interests of the society.²¹ The political inclinations of Malaysian Chinese has been a central concern because the community, though divided, represented a social and mass movement that is capable of mobilization, both for or against the state.²²

3.3 The following table shows the various categories of Chinese communities in Malaysian politics:

²⁰ Harold Crouch, "Managing Ethnic Tensions through Affirmative Action: The Malaysian Experience," in Nat J. Colletta et al (ed.), *Social Cohesion and Conflict Prevention in Asia*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2001, pp.225-262.

²¹ Eric A. Nordlinger, *On the Autonomy of the Democratic State*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981, p. 7.

²² Ho Khai Leong, "Bureaucratic Participation and Political Mobilization: Comparing Pre- and Post 1970 Malaysian Chinese Politics," in Leo Suryadinata (ed.), *Ethnic Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia. A Dialogue between Tradition and Modernity*, Singapore: Times Academic Press, 2002.

Table 1.1 Categories of Malaysian Chinese Government parties and NGOs

		Political Orientations	
		Pro Regime	Anti Regime
Structures	Political Party	Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), GERAKAN	Democratic Actions Party (DAP)
	Non-political party	Chinese Assembly Halls, Chinese Guilds and Association (led by the Hua Zong)	Dongjiao Zong (Chinese educationist group)

3.4 The above categorization of political Chinese has significance for understanding the Chinese perceptions towards Malay political power. First, underlying such categorization is the basic premise that Malaysian Chinese politics operates within the Malay political and cultural hegemony. Malay political supremacy is widely acknowledged in the Chinese community and by Chinese-based political parties. The opposition party, the Democratic Action Party (DAP), for example, makes no pretense that it is opposed to the idea of a "Malay Malaysia" in favor of a multi-ethnic nation that is based on equality and fair treatment to all. Even the political parties within the BN government, there are pervasive apprehensions that the UMNO is the "big brother" and negotiations, if there were any, usually end up in favor of the Malays.

3.5 At the NGO levels, the picture is much more complex. The Chinese guilds and associations have divided political loyalty. They are led principally by three organizations -- The Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia (FCAM) (马来西亚中华大会堂总会) and Dongjiao Zong (董教总). The political positions of the first group have been oscillating between pro- and anti-government. Largely the political position depend very much on the leadership and therefore the elections of officials in these organizations have always been heated affairs because of the need to wrestle control.²³ There were times when the FCAM was in concert with Dongjiao Zong, which has been very consistent in opposing government education policies.²⁴ The height of cooperation between these groups was in 1985 when they issued the *Joint Declarations by the Chinese Guilds and Associations of Malaysia*. The Associated Chinese Chamber of Commerce is another influential organization that predominantly represents the interests of the capitalist Chinese. Its political position has always been pro-government.

3.6 In 2001, there was an event symbolic of the kind of support that Mahathir's

²³ Ho Khai Leong, "The Malaysian Chinese Guilds and Associations as Organized Interests in Malaysian Politics," Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore, Occasional Papers No. 4, 1992, 36 pages.

²⁴ Tan Liok Ee, "Dongjiaozong and the Challenge to Cultural Hegemony 1951-1987," in Joel S. Kahn and Francis Loh Kok Wah (eds.), *Framged Vision. Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia*, Australia: Allen & Unwin, Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1992.

administration received from the Malaysian Chinese, led by Chinese businessmen from the FCAM. With symbolic cups of steaming traditional tea, more than 2,000 ethnic Chinese community leaders pledged their allegiance to Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad in a special ceremony ahead of *Merdeka* day celebrations. The event was one of the biggest shows of support from the Malaysian Chinese since the Prime Minister incensed many ethnic Chinese a year before with a National Day speech criticizing groups that questioned special privileges for the Malay Muslim majority. "The Chinese people have never honored me like this before," Mahathir said in an impromptu speech. "This shows that our Chinese community is faithful and true to this country that we share."²⁵

3.7 It is clear that the Chinese-based political parties within the BN government and the Chinese NGOs share a common perception about Malay political and cultural dominance. Both groups feel the intervention of the Malay state as extensive to the extent that rights of non-Malays were being intruded upon. However, they differ significantly in their approaches in responding to Malay dominance. While many strategies have been adopted, basically they fall into two broad categories: bureaucratic participation for the MCA and Gerakan, and mass mobilization for the NGOs.²⁶

4. CHINESE PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS IN THE MALAYSIAN DISCOURSE

4.1 "Public intellectuals" is a much-discussed concept among the Malaysian Chinese community, especially in the Chinese mass media (Chinese newspapers in particular). They refer to "intellectuals who opine to an educated public on questions of or inflected by a political or ideological concern."²⁷ The work of Edward Said on the roles of public intellectuals has also been invoked often in the Malaysian Chinese public discourse.

4.2 It is no easy task to discuss the perceptions of Malaysian Chinese intellectuals and their arguments on various issues concerning the community and the country. They are certainly not a homogenous group. Some indications of their approaches and concern, however, can be found in a major work published in 2001. The Malaysian Chinese Cultural Society published *Contemporary Malaysian Chinese: Essays* (马华当代文存) in

²⁵ "Ethnic Chinese Malaysians pledge loyalty to Mahathir at rally," 29 August 2001, *Associated Press Newswires*.

²⁶ Ho Khai Leong, "Bureaucratic Participation and Political Mobilization: Comparing Pre- and Post 1970 Malaysian Chinese Politics," in Leo Suryadinata (ed.), *Ethnic Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia. A Dialogue between Tradition and Modernity*, Singapore: Times Academic Press, 2002.

²⁷ Richard A. Posner, *Public Intellectuals: A Study of Decline*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 2.

10 volumes.²⁸ They are a collection of essays – written by journalists, academics, political activists, and cultural elites -- on Malaysian and Malaysian Chinese societies from newspapers, journals, and leaflets. In essence, they reflect a broad spectrum of view regarding issues in culture, politics, economics and education.

4.3 A careful reading of the two volumes on politics reveals a number of concerns. In the first volume that collected essays written in the 1980s, the sections are: The Chinese community and Politics, Politics and Democracy, Ethnic Politics, Civil Society and Political Participation, Constitutional Rules and Human Rights, Two Coalitions System, and Malayan Communist Party and Peace Accord. In the second volume that collected essays written in the 90s, there were addition sections on New Malays, New Chinese and New Malaysians, the Anwar Affair and Political Controversies, General Elections. These headings reflect a spectrum of issues that concerned the Malaysian Chinese public intellectuals in the last two decades.

4.4 A few distinguished features of the volume of politics are worth noting. One, many Chinese public intellectuals are critical of the Malaysian Chinese politicians and the policies that they helped to enact that have affected the Chinese community negatively. The Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), in particular, was singled out for criticism. He Guozhong (何国忠 Hou Kok Chung), for example, argued that the performance of the Chinese-based political parties in the BN in general, and the MCA in particular, has been disappointing. The Chinese voters oscillated between the BN and the opposition, but outcomes of general elections suggested a general trend of Chinese voters abandoning these parties. Hou further argued that such a crisis was an outcome of perpetual internal struggles and factionalism within the parties. Confronted by a powerful UMNO, the Chinese political leadership simply could not deliver.²⁹ The essays in the volumes also showed that even Chinese cultural elites in the political establishment acknowledged the marginalization of Malaysian Chinese politics and they attributed the decline to UMNO dominance and weak Chinese political leadership.

4.5 Second, most of the conceptions of problems by Malaysian Chinese public intellectuals seemed to be conditioned to a great extent by the prior perception of the Malaysian authoritarian state. Malaysian Chinese politics, whether it is pro-regime or anti-regime -- operate within this established framework of reference. This general awareness of Malay authoritarianism seems to be more obvious in the 80s and 90s during the Mahathir administration as compared to the 60s and 70s. While much of the works

²⁸ 《当代马华文存》，吉隆坡：马来西亚华人文化协会，2001。(*Dangdai Mahua Wencun*)[*Contemporary Malaysian Chinese Essays*], 10 Volumes, Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Cultural Society, 2001.

²⁹ 何国忠：〈华人政党：纷争与理念的省思〉，收入《当代马华文存》，吉隆坡：马来西亚华人文化协会，2001。(He Guozhong, "Chinese-based political parties: Reflections on Factionalism and Idealism," in *Dangdai Mahua Wencun* [*Contemporary Malaysian Chinese Essays: Politics*], second volume, Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Cultural Society, 2001.)

and commentaries were not theoretically informed, the empirical assumptions of a powerful Malay capitalist class dominating the system are apparent.

4.6 Third, while many Chinese public intellectuals are concerned about Malaysian political development in general, few writers have focused on the interactions between the Malay and Chinese political communities. Even fewer have paid attention to the political structures and configurations of Malays' political parties and behaviors. In rare cases where there are attempts to understand the political Malays, their understanding of the Malay world seemed shallow.

4.7 Apart from the above publication, scholarly works on Malaysian political elites published in Chinese have been far in between. One particular piece of theoretically informed and scholarly work, which deserves to be highlighted, is Zhu Jiahua's (祝家华) *Deconstruction of Political Myth. The Study of Two-Coalition Politics in Malaysia (1985-1992)*. Zhu's work is built on the perception that the Bumiputera elite class dominates the state.³⁰ He argued that the Malay political hegemony took a turn in the 1990 general elections. That was also the time when UMNO began to decline as a major political force among the Malays. Its legitimacy among the Malaysians in general was also questioned. He labeled the Malaysian state as "ethnic authoritarian democratic state."

4.8 Another publication, which deserves mentioned is Zheng Qingpao's (曾庆豹) *Dancing with 2020. New Malays and Cultural Hegemony* (《与2020共舞——新马来人思潮与文化霸权》).³¹ Zheng argued that Dr. Mahathir's "Vision 2020" is a reflection of a committed Malay race towards modernization and globalization. Embedded in this notion of modernization is the notion of progress and liberalism. Translated into political resources, the impact of the "New Malays" ideology – embodied in Anwar Ibrahim and his team – will not only mean the advancement of Malay political power, but it would also mean further marginalization of Chinese political economy. Hence, the Chinese community needs to buckle up in the decades to come if it were to compete with the modernized and progressive Malays.

4.9 In general, Malaysian Chinese writers and commentators raised many questions concerning the legitimacy of the Chinese-based political parties in the BN government. Many feel that the co-optation of these parties in the Malay dominated system is almost complete. To a great extent, they are not only skeptical of the performance of these parties, they are also critical of the policies of the BN government. There is, however, a limit to their criticisms. Eager to show their loyalty as patriotic Malaysians, public

³⁰ 祝家华：《解构政治神话——大马两线政治的评析》，吉隆坡：华社资料研究中心出版，1994。(Zhu Jiahua, *Deconstruction of Political Myth: The Study of Two-coalition Politics in Malaysia [1985-1992]*, Kuala Lumpur: Huazi Resource & Research Centre, 1994.)

³¹ 曾庆豹：《与2020共舞——新马来人思潮与文化霸权》，吉隆坡：华社资料研究中心出版，1996。(Zheng Qingpao's [曾庆豹] *Dancing with 2020. New Malays and Cultural Hegemony*, Kuala Lumpur: Huazi Resource & Research Centre, 1995.)

comments about the Prime Minister as a person and Ministers in general are generally low-keyed, reflecting a genuine desire not to offend the majority race, and also bearing in mind the nature of multi-ethnic Malaysia.

5. POLITICAL ACTIONS AND REACTIONS: A STUDY OF JOINT DECLARATION (1985) ELECTION APPEALS (SUQIU) (2001)

5.1 In response to governmental decisions, the Malaysian Chinese Guilds and Association have adopted various strategies to influence policy outcome: (1) establishment coalition; (2) Demand from within; (3) Approaching the judiciary; (4) Organizing publicity and submitting memorandums; (5) Protest and demonstrations; (6) Joining the opposition.³²

5.2 Here I would like to make an attempt to analysis two instances where the CGAs, in critical political moments, submitting memorandums to the government for consideration, and thereby created political controversies which were not anticipated.

5.3 Perhaps the most important memorandum submitted by the CGA in recent memory was *The Joint Declaration by the Chinese Guilds and Associations of Malaysia 1985* written by the Civil Rights Committee (CRC). The CRC was formed in October 1985 and *The Joint Declaration* was a massive and ambitious agenda of political and social reform.³³ Between May and June 1985, the *Joint Declaration* was prepared by a group of Chinese intellectuals and professionals, led by Lim Fong Seng. In the declaration, the CRC expressed their opinions on various issues facing the country, arising out of Chinese grievances and in defence of Chinese rights. Issues included the economy, politics, education, and language.³⁴

- a. All government policies must be consistent with the provisions of the Federal constitution, the Rukunegara and the United nations Charter so as

³² Ho Khai Leong, "The Malaysian Chinese Guilds and Associations as Organized Interests in Malaysian Politics," Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore, Occasional Papers No. 4, 1992, 36 pages.

³³ These organizations were: The Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall, Penang Chinese Town Hall, The Perak Chinese Association, Negri Sembilan Chinese Assembly Hall, Kelantan Assembly Hall, Trengganu Chinese Assembly Hall, the Federation of Chinese Associations, Johore State, the federation of Chinese Associations, Sarawak, United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, the United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia, Malacca Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Pahang Associated Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Kedah Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Perlis Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Sabah United Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Hokkien Associations of Malaysia, the Federation of Kwang Tung Associations, Malaysia, All Malaysia Kwangsi Association, the federation of Teochew Associations of Malaysia, the Federation of Kheng Chew Hwee Kuan of Malaysia, Federation of Ka Yin Chu Associations Malaysia, the Associated Eng Choon Societies of Malaysia, the Kuala Lumpur and Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Nanyang University Alumni Association, Malaysia, Johore Associated Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the United Association of Private Chinese Secondary Schools, Sabah, and the Federation of Alumni Association of Taiwan universities, Malaysia.

³⁴ *New Straits Times*, 24 July, 1986.

- to ensure that fundamental human rights and legitimate democratic rights are not violated;
- b. All forms of discrimination, in particular, government policies based on the interests of only one community, are a serious violation of fundamental human rights and the main obstacle to National Unity;
 - c. We condemn all forms of chauvinism, racism and religious fanaticism;
 - d. We fervently believe that equal civil and political rights are the preconditions for the promotion of National Unity and progress – our people can only be united on the basis of freedom, equality and democracy;
 - e. We demand that the Government respect the Malaysian people's basic rights to freedom of organization, assembly, speech, publication and other fundamental liberties guaranteed in the Federal Constitution;
 - f. We demand that the Government implement effective measures to eradicate poverty and uplift the people's standard of living, irrespective of race.
 - g. We call upon the whole nation especially the political parties to support our Joint Declaration.³⁵

5.4 It was obvious that the Joint Declaration was highly critical of the UMNO-dominated government and its policies. What particularly attracted the mass media and political activists was its implicit criticism of the Malay special rights and Bumiputra privileges. On the country's economy, it reasoned, "the New Economic Policy has failed to solve the basic economic problems of our country... Such economic policies based on 'bumiputeraism' have become a major cause of racial polarisation." The declaration argued, "The present interventionist policies of enforced restructuring should be abolished". It even went on to say "we would like to repudiate the myth that the economy is controlled by Chinese or that all Chinese are rich" and then called for "the abrogation of the communally-defined quota system by 1990".

5.5 Not surprisingly, the Joint Declaration had attracted criticisms of several pro-UMNO organizations such as the UMNO Youth and the Federation of Peninsular Malay students. The confrontation escalated when the government sent non-Mandarin administrators to Chinese-medium schools, which accumulated, in the mass rally in Tian Hou Temple by the Chinese associations and political parties. With the arrest of some 120 activists and educationists, many of whom were Chinese, under the Internal Security Act in "Operasi Lalang" in 1987, the issue soon faded away.³⁶

5.6 A continuation of Chinese demands appeared again in 1999 before the General Elections. In August that year, the Election Appeals Committee (EAC) (or Suqiu, which literally means "appeal") – which made up of 13 Chinese guilds and associations -- drew up a 17-point memorandum. Another 2,095 Chinese associations later endorsed the

³⁵ *Joint Declaration by the Chinese Guilds and Associations of Malaysia 1985*. Published by Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall, n.d.

³⁶ Y.S. Tong, "The Struggle of power in Chinese 'sacred land'," *Malaysiakini*, <http://www.gvnews.net/html/DailyNews/alert1989.html>.

memorandum.³⁷ It was presented to the government before the November 1999 general elections. In the Appeal, the Committee again reiterated many of the problems that they voiced 13 years ago in the Declaration – among them were official corruptions, suppression of individual liberty, control of the mass media and illegal immigrants. At the same time, it also disputed the discriminatory policies of the government in favor of the majority Malays. “National unity,” the document said, “must be based on the interests of all Malaysians irrespective of race.”

5.7 At first, the demands looked fair to the Malaysian cabinet. Perhaps the Chinese-based parties within the BN managed to conceive the rest that Suqiu represented to threat to government, and probably by tacitly agreeing to the demands, it would help the BN candidates in getting Chinese votes. However, after the general elections the EAC brought the issues to the surface again. This time the government’s position was a complete reversal. It accused the EAC for being racial and as questioning the legitimacy of the Malays. The UMNO Youth immediately prepared for actions – they organized demonstrations and closed door gatherings to demand for the withdrawal of the EAC demands. A group of UMNO Youth, led by its deputy chief Aziz Sheikh Fadzir, demonstrated outside the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall — where EAC was housed — and demanded a retraction from the EAC. Selangor Menteri Besar Dr Mohd Khir Toyo, who is also UMNO Youth exco member, was reportedly to have said that the Malays were willing to “bathe in blood” to defend their privileges. UMNO-directed Gabungan Pelajar-pelajar Melayu Semenanjung (Federation of Peninsular Malay Students) has converted EAC’s ‘17-Point Appeal’ into ‘83 Chinese demands’ against which GPMS threatened to counterpoise ‘100 Malay demands’.

5.8 The Prime Minister Mahathir joined in the protest. He announced in parliament that he concurred to the EAC’s demands under coercion, because if he did not, many of the BN candidates would have lost their seats in the general elections. Later in the UMNO general assembly, an emotionally charged Mahathir pledged to his supporters that the government would never sacrificed the special rights of the Malays. He likened the Chinese lobby group EAC to “communists in the past” and the extremist Al-Ma’unah cult.

5.9 Did EAC question Malay special rights? Dong Zong (董总) Chairperson Quek Suan Hiang (郭全强) and Jiao Zong (教总) chairperson Ong Chiow Chuen (王超群) argued that EAC “had not raised the issue of special rights but they [the protesters] were not willing to listen. They said no to a dialogue session as well. They only wanted to hear our apologies.” The EAC emphasized that it was seeking a review of the quotas, not the Constitution. It also sought the “abolition in all respects” of the Bumiputra and non-Bumiputra distinction — not part of the Constitution — in favor of a system based on need that would apply to all races.

³⁷ There were, however, internal divisions within the Chinese community. The Associated Chinese Chamber of Commerce refused to sign the Appeal. “不赞同表达方式工商会拒签华团诉求”, 联合早报, 28 August 1999.

5.10 The Joint Declaration and EAC (Suqiu) episodes demonstrated a recurring phenomenon in multi-ethnic Malaysia: distrust and misunderstanding between the two largest political groups. Even the highest political leadership sided with certain groups instead of mediating between them. The Chinese-based political parties often were embarrassed in these types of situation, juggling between pleasing the senior Malay partners and pleasing the Chinese grassroots. Chinese NGOs retreated under political pressure – but their perception of Malay political hegemony has one again been enhanced.

5.11 I have argued elsewhere that “The formation of the Civil Rights Committee (CRC) in 1985 can be considered as a response to the aggressive Malay political leadership but also to the inability of the Chinese-based parties within the government to represent Chinese interests.”³⁸ The Suqiu episode also demonstrated the similar sentiment and political outlook, with a twist perhaps. By the 1990s, the Chinese community played a significant role in helping the Barisan Nasional return to power in the face of a split in Malay voters. Hence, they might have felt that the community has a better advantage in the bargaining process. However, it was precisely this approach that had threatened the Malay political leadership. Prime Minister Mahathir warned that Chinese support for the BN should not be used as a tool to gain leverage, and to make undue demands of the Malays.³⁹

6. CONCLUSIONS

6.1 To conclude, this paper has surveyed the perceptions of the Malaysian Chinese on Malay dominance and their responses, especially the NGOs. The result of this brief survey reflects a profound tension between the two ethnic groups: a conflict between the belief that the state represents the cornerstone of nation-building based on democratic ideals and morality, and the actual role of the Malay state as purveyors of racist discourse, supporters of a powerful Malay political, cultural and economic elites, and a vehicle for reinforcing racial prejudices in the Malaysian society.

6.2 Since the nation's independence, interactions and communications of ethnic elites were confined within the coalition government. At a lower organizational level, the contacts were infrequent and sporadic. It was during elections that the organizational machinery of the coalition government showed the most multi-ethnic and accommodative features. Politics in Malaysia has its inconveniences. Instead, name-calling abound. “Chinese chauvinists” and “Malay extremists” are mistaken terms. Both the communities seem to be exercising their defense mechanisms. The Malays acted against the British who advocated the Malay Federation and later Chinese economic power; the Chinese defense was essentially against the Malays political dominance and preferential and at times discriminatory policies.⁴⁰

³⁸ Ho Khai Leong, “The Malaysian Chinese Guilds and Associations as Organized Interests in Malaysian Politics,” Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore, Occasional Papers No. 4, 1992, 36 pages.

³⁹ “Suqiu, enough is enough,” *New Straits Times*, 28 September 2000.

⁴⁰ Dr. Mahathir has often used the word “chauvinistic” on the Chinese community. Also, dismissing DAP as “extremely chauvinistic Chinese”. (See Mahathir Mohammad, “Lies and bribes

6.3 The dialogues between Malay and Chinese intellectuals were even less frequent. Understanding between the two ethnic groups is limited to exchanges in the English mass media. The Chinese-educated Chinese seemed to be satisfied with communicating within the community itself. While highly critical of the performance of the Chinese leaders and skeptical toward government policies, they often pronounced themselves as patriotic Malaysians. The Malay community, on the other hand, draws most of its resources on their own vernacular press. The dialogue therefore is limited. It is hardly surprising therefore to find emotive and primal response of the communities each time a controversial issue emerged. Indeed these primal responses are a poor basis for establishing long-range policies for responding rationally to the challenges posed by growing regional competition and globalization.

6.4 In 2001, Prime Minister Mahathir realized that the feedback from the Chinese community may not be understood by his administration and the Chinese-based parties in the government have not contributed much in this regard. He appointed two Chinese secretaries (political secretary and press secretary) to be in charge of Chinese affairs. Mahathir previously has three political secretaries and a press secretary - who by tradition are all Malays. It was the first time in Dr Mahathir's 20 years as Prime Minister that he has chosen to appoint aides to advise him specifically on matters concerning the Chinese community.⁴¹ The Chinese-based parties in the ruling Barisan Nasional, however, did not acknowledge that Mahathir's move was a reflection of their own ineffectiveness. The MCA, for example, saw it instead as "reinforcement to win back the Chinese." Since their appointment, there has been no news bearing their name in the Chinese press or the English press. How effective this mechanism in reaching for the Chinese community is unclear.

6.5 Perceptions and responses from the Malaysian Chinese towards Malay political and cultural hegemony therefore have been both intense and vigorous. They believed their actions, aberrant they may be to the Malay community, were merely a reflections of a defense mechanism against a powerful intruder of their cultural identities and political rights as citizens. The products of communal politics since the country's independence have their toil. If ethnic polarization continues and cultural divide deepens, Benedict Anderson's "imagined community" -- as communion in the mind between different ethnic groups in a nation-state -- may prove to be an illusion at best in contemporary Malaysia.

decaying democracy," Monday, Dec. 14, 1999.
<http://www.mainichi.co.jp/english/mahathir/11.html>) So did Malay press. For example, in the article entitled 'Politik orang Cina di Lunas' (Politics of the Chinese in Lunas) by Rozaman Ismail was said to be "inflammatory and unwarranted attack on the Chinese community" according to Lim Kit Siang. This paper, however, is not about Malays' perception of Chinese. So I will leave the subject for future research here.

⁴¹ The last time a Chinese political secretary was appointed to the Prime Minister's Office was in the 1970s when Tun Razak picked Datuk Michael Chen.

6.6 Malaysia today faces new governance challenges. Growing class-consciousness and ethnic interconnectedness has given new meaning to old racial and cultural asymmetries. The rising economic and social problems such as illiteracy, illegal workers, environmental degradation and rising crime rate are beginning to reach deep into the country. Many of these conditions need to be addressed through fairly specialized and focused non-communal efforts. The BN government will have to get involved along with non-governmental actors in solving these problems, instead of indulging itself in party factional struggle.

14

WU ZONGYU

**TAK KENAL TAK CINTA –
BAHASA MELAYU MERAPATKAN KITA**

WE DON'T

THE GREAT THE GREAT

HAROLD WELLS BIRCHMAN LTD

Tak Kenal Tak Cinta – Bahasa Melayu Merapatkan Kita

*Wu Zongyu
China*

1. PENDAHULUAN

1.1 Pada tahun 1980-an saya buat pertama kalinya telah mendapat peluang untuk melawat ke Malaysia. Saya betul-betul masih ingat bahawa pada masa itu di merata tempat di Malaysia telah dipasang sepanduk yang demikian bunyinya:BAHASA JIWA BANGSA. Saya amat terharu dengan slogan ini sebab slogan ini begitu tepat mencerminkan hubungan bahasa dengan bangsanya: bahasa jiwa bangsa, tanpa bahasa di mana jiwa sesebuah bangsa. Kami sudah mengajar di universiti China beberapa puluh tahun. Kami, para pensyarah selalu mendapat suatu kesan atau membuat andaian bahawa sesiapa yang belajar sesuatu bahasa maka dia sewajarnya akan berminat atau mempunyai suatu perasaan mesra terhadap negara sasarannya . Seperti pepatah Melayu yang mengatakan bahawa "tak kenal tak cinta". Sebab kami telah lama belajar bahasa Melayu maka sewajarnya kami lebih mendekati jiwa Melayu. Bahasa juga merupakan suatu alat untuk menjalin hubungan antara negara, bangsa atau perseorangan. Dalam pergolakan dunia ketika ini bahasa memainkan peranan penting untuk mendamaikan dunia kita.

1.2 Bahasa dianggap sebagai alat komunikasi, maka kita boleh menggunakan bahasa untuk memperkenalkan diri atau mengenali pihak lawan. Sejak Perang Dingin berakhir, dunia kita amat memerlukan suasana harmoni di mana rakyat hormat menghormati, faham memahami dan saling bersimpati. Dalam masa Perang Dingin di antara kedua-dua negara kita berlaku banyak salahfaham. Kami hanya mengenal Malaysia sebagai sebuah negara yang anti komunis, anti negara China dan bersekutu dengan negara imperialis sedangkan rakyat Malaysia juga menganggap China sebagai sebuah negara komunis di mana tidak ada kebebasan beragama, negaranya mundur dan rakyatnya miskin. Selepas kami mempelajari bahasa Melayu, kami dapati bahawa bahasa Melayu ialah bahasa yang indah, nahunya sederhana dan sebutannya mudah, bila kita melafazkan sepeatah perkataan terus kita boleh membacanya. Kami lebih-lebih tertarik dengan pantun Melayu, begitu indah iramanya dan begitu halus seninya. Boleh dikatakan bahawa bahasa Melayu telah mendekatkan perasaan kami dengan dunia Melayu. Kami banyak membaca artikel, berita, novel dan cerpen, menonton TV dan menjalin persahabatan dengan sahabat Melayu dalam semua lapisan. Seiring dengan penambahan pengetahuan kami mengenai dunia Melayu , perasaan kami telah berubah, kami suka bahasa Melayu dan berminat kepada budaya Melayu dan juga tertarik dengan sistem dunia Melayu.

Untuk mendekatkan China dengan dunia Melayu, kami wajib memperkenalkan dunia Melayu kepada rakyat China.

1.3 Kebanyakan rakyat China tidak tahu bahawa bahasa Melayu adalah bahasa nombor ke 4 di dunia ini menurut jumlah pengunanya, iaitu bahasa Mandarin menduduki nombor satu—1191.2 juta, bahasa Inggeris nombor kedua—456 juta, bahasa Sepanyol nombor ketiga—362 juta dan bahasa Melayu nombor keempat—250 juta. Kawasan penggunaan bahasa Melayu pun sangat luas, selain Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapura, masih tersebar di Filipina selatan, Thailand selatan, Sri Lanka, Madagaska, bahkan sampai ke Afrika Selatan. Di China pun mungkin terdapat golongan yang menggunakan rumpun bahasa Melayu. Pada tahun 80-an abad yang lalu, saya pernah melawat ke kawasan Ya Xian di Provinsi Hainan China dan di sana terdapat sebuah kampung Autonomi bangsa Hui yang beragama Islam, penduduknya lebih kurang 5,000 orang. Yang menarik hal itu ialah bahasa lisan mereka yang berbeza sama sekali dengan bahasa Mandarin dan bahasa tempatan China. Bilangan “satu” disebut sebagai “tu”, “Empat” disebut sebagai “pat”, “api” disebut “pi”.....Menurut catatan sejarah, pernah ada nelayan dari Malaysia mencari tempat berteduh ke Ya Xian Hainan apabila menghadapi taufan. Saya beranggapan bahawa ada kemungkinan besar penduduk kampung itu ialah keturunan nelayan Melayu dari Cempa.

1.4 Mengenai sejarah, ramai orang China tidak tahu bahawa dunia Melayu mempunyai sejarah yang lama . Sebenarnya Tanah Melayu sudah mempunyai sejarah seribu tahun lebih, lebihkurang pada abad kedua empayar Kedah dan empayar Langkasuka telah ditubuhkan, sampai abad ke 15 Empayar Melaka telah menjadi sebuah negara yang kuat di Asia Tenggara. Di Indonesia, pada abad ke-3 sudah terdapat empayar dan sampai abad ke-7 Empayar Sriwijaya sudah menjadi satu empayar yang kuat . Di Brunei, T.M. 473 nama negara Poli(Brunei sekarang) telah muncul dalam buku sejarah China dan sampai abad ke-16 negara kesultanan Brunei pernah menjadi sebuah negara yang kuat. Semua yang tersebut di atas ini menunjukkan suatu kenyataan, iaitu dunia Melayu bukan sahaja jumlah pengguna bahasanya cukup mengagumkan tetapi sejarahnya pun cukup lama bahkan beberapa negara Melayu pernah mengalami zaman kegemilangannya .

1.5 Di bawah kegiatan penterjemah kebudayaan Melayu pun telah diperkenalkan kepada rakyat China dan lagu-lagu Melayu telah disambut meriah oleh rakyat China seperti lagu Bengawan Solo, Ayo Ma Ma, Sin Sin So dan lain-lainnya. Begitu juga tarian Melayu seperti Tarian Wau Bulan, Tarian Joget, Tarian Lilin, Tarian Payung dan lain-lainnya. Kami masih ingat pada tahun 1950-an abad yang lalu, bekas presiden Indonesia , Sukarno telah melawat ke China, rakyat China dengan Tarian Payung telah mengalu-alukan lawatan Bung Karno, dalam iringan muzik tarian Payung yang merdu Bung Karno sendiri telah naik ke pentas untuk menari bersama dengan penari China. Sebutir mutiara budaya Melayu yang menarik hati kami ialah pantun. Hampir semua pelajar China berminat kepada khazanah dan warisan budaya

Melayu ini. Apabila pantun-pantun Melayu terus menjadi media pengiring dan pemanis kata dalam sesuatu majlis atau upacara rasmi, suasana akan berlangsung dengan penuh mesra, indah dan riang. Penggunaan pantun dalam sesuatu majlis bukan sahaja akan menyentuh perasaan setiap yang hadir, tetapi akan membantu mempertajam penyampaian hajat dan hasrat, pujian dan sanjungan. Pantun telah menjadi salah sebuah puisi Melayu lama yang dapat memberikan warna-warni perasaan. Ambillah satu contoh, baru-baru ini kami di Beijing Foreign Studies University telah mengadakan satu Majlis Malam Muhibah untuk menyambut kedatangan rombongan peniaga Melayu dari Malaysia. Pengacara majlis, seorang anak murid kami telah menggunakan pantun untuk menyelaraskan acara malam muhibah itu. Jikalau pengacara kami menurut kebiasaan China, maka hanyalah dia menggunakan istilah "acara seterusnya....." atau "dipersilakan....." sahaja. Kami cuba menggunakan pantun untuk menyelaraskan acara pada malam itu. (Lampiran A). Sudah nyata bahawa aturan kami ini telah mendapat sambutan yang sangat baik.

1.6 Walaupun sistem masyarakat Malaysia berlainan dengan sistem masyarakat China. Saya beranggapan bahawa perbezaan sistem masyarakat bukan halangan untuk mendorong hubungan saling belajar. Bagi saya kesan yang amat mendalam selepas melawat Malaysia adalah amalan "rumah terbuka" semasa merayakan Hari Raya Aidilfitri. Pada hari itu semua orang, baik orang Malaysia mahupun orang asing, baik orang miskin ataupun orang kaya, baik orang berpangkat tinggi ataupun orang berkedudukan rendah semuanya boleh masuk ke Istana, masuk ke rumah kediaman Perdana Menteri, masuk ke rumah TPM, masuk ke rumah menteri-menteri, bersama-sama dengan DYMM, bersama-sama dengan YAB, bersama-sama dengan YB untuk merayakan hari raya. Saya mengagumi amalan ini. Bukan sahaja amalan itu dijalankan di Malaysia, begitu juga di Brunei. Walaupun Brunei menjalankan sistem MIB (Melayu-Islam-Beraja), pada Hari Raya Aidilfitri, semua orang boleh masuk ke Istana dan berjabat tangan dengan Kebawah Duli. Bersama-sama dengan Sultan untuk merayakan hari raya. Satu hal lain yang menarik saya adalah buku panduan telefon Malaysia. Dalam buku tersebut itu dimuatkan nombor telefon pemimpin negara baik PM, TPM ataupun Menteri-Menteri, baik nombor di pejabat ataupun nombor di rumah. Dua hal yang tersebut ini sekurang-kurangnya telah meninggalkan kesan kepada saya: pertama, negara Malaysia atau Brunei tenteram dan stabil, kedua, ini menandakan hubungan pemimpin kerajaan lebih dekat dengan rakyat. Saya rasa China patutlah belajar daripada Malaysia dan Brunei dalam hal ini.

1.7 Bahasa sebagai suatu alat komunikasi, peranannya seperti menjalinkan jambatan silaturrahim di antara bangsa yang berbeza atau negara yang berlainan, dengan mempelajari atau mengajar bahasa, kita bukan sahaja perlu mengetahui atau mengenali pihak lawan, tetapi juga kita perlu memperkenalkan diri yang sebenarnya kepada dunia luar untuk menghindarkan kesalahfahaman ke atas negara China.

2. AGAMA ISLAM DI CHINA

2.1 China merupakan sebuah negara yang penduduknya paling ramai di dunia ini, lebih kurang 1.3 bilion jumlahnya yang terdiri daripada 56 bangsa dan antaranya terdapat 10 buah bangsa yang beragama Islam, iaitu Hui, Salar, Dongxiang, Bonan, Uyghur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Tatar dan Tajik. Jumlah penduduknya lebih kurang 17,597,370 orang (menurut banci Kerajaan China pada tahun 1990) dan ia tersebar di seluruh negara China dan mereka kebanyakannya tergolong dalam mazhab Sunnah. Di Beijing terdapat 200 ribu penduduk Muslim. Di seluruh China terdapat 37,000 buah masjid dan antaranya ada masjid yang sudah bersejarah 1200 tahun lebih.

2.2 Bilakah agama Islam masuk ke China? Pada umumnya dianggap pada T.M.651 oleh kerana pada tahun itulah Khalifah Othman Ibn Affan telah menghantar utusan ke China untuk menyebarkan agama Islam dan memperkenalkan proses penyatuan negara Arab kepada Maharaja China, Tang Gao Zhong. Selepas itu beberapa sahabat Nabi Muhammad telah datang ke China untuk menyebarkan agama Islam bahkan di antaranya 4 sahabat telah meninggal dunia di China dan makamnya sampai sekarang masih dipelihara dengan sempurna. Setahu saya satu makam di Yangzhou Provinsi Jiangsu, satu makam di Guangzhou, Provinsi Guangdong dan dua makam di Quanzhou, Provinsi Fujian.

2.3 Menurut catatan sejarah China, masjid-masjid di China mendapat perlindungan daripada maharaja Ming Cheng Zhu (T.M.1403-1424). Maharaja Ming Cheng Zhu telah mengeluarkan titah untuk melindungi agama Islam di China dalam mana telah dititahkan bahawa agama Islam adalah suatu agama baik, maka semua orang tidak boleh mengganggunya dan jikalau sesiapa mengganggunya akan dikenakan hukuman berat. Di Masjid Niu Jie, Beijing telah dipelihara sebuah titah maharaja Kang Xi (T.M. 1694) dan isinya sangat menarik: Maharaja telah mendapat maklumat sulit, katanya kaum muslim di Niu Jie akan memberontak sebab mereka siang hari tinggal di rumah tapi malam keluar berkumpul di masjid, maka maharaja sendiri membawa dua menteri pergi menyiasat. Barulah tahu keadaan sebenarnya, sebab masa itu adalah bulan Ramadan. Maka Maharaja Kang Xi telah marah dan mengeluarkan titah, "lain kali sesiapa melaporkan maklumat palsu bunuhlah dia dahulu kemudian baru melaporkannya kepada beta". Sampai sekarang agama Islam tetap mendapat perlindungan kerajaan China, misalnya di China oleh kerana penduduknya terlalu ramai maka dijalankan dasar perancangan keluarga, sepiang suami isteri hanya dibenarkan melahirkan seorang anak tapi bagi 10 buah bangsa yang beragama Islam semuanya dibolehkan mendapat dua anak. Kami menyambut saudara Melayu melawat ke Beijing. Jangan bimbang tentang makanan sebab di Beijing, di mana-mana sahaja terdapat restoran Muslim asalkan anda melihat satu papan notis "Bismillah" dalam bahasa Arab.

3. HUBUNGAN MUHIBAH CHINA-MELAYU

3.1 Menurut catatan sejarah China, hubungan China dengan Alam Melayu sudah bersejarah 2000 tahun lebih. Buku yang paling awal mencatatkan tentang hubungan itu adalah HAN SHU-DI LI ZHI dalam mana telah dicatatkan bahawa jalan laut kapal China pada masa itu pernah melalui Dungun Terengganu di pantai timur Semenanjung Tanah Melayu. Sampai abad ke 15, seiring dengan lawatan armada Laksamana Zheng He, hubungan persahabatan China dengan Alam Melayu telah mencapai suatu tahap baru. Menurut statistik, pada T.M. 1405-1424 Kerajaan Kesultanan Melayu Melaka telah menghantar utusan ke China sebanyak 15 kali, ke Jawa 15 kali, ke Sumatera 13 kali dan ke Brunei 8 kali. Pada tahun 1408, raja Brunei Manarajanana telah membawa 150 orang lebih melawat ke China dan pada tahun 1411 raja Melaka Parameswara telah membawa 540 orang lebih untuk mengadakan lawatan muhibah ke China. Maharaja China amat gembira menerima mengadap dari raja Brunei dan raja Melaka, bahkan Maharaja sendiri telah mengubah sajak untuk memuji raja Brunei yang demikian bunyinya:

*Kapal Samudera terpuak ombak besar
Angin ribut menggulung kapal layar
Betapa susah payah perjalanannya
Negara jauh pada zaman dahulu kala
Bukan mudah untuk datang bersembah
Apalagi Raja Poni datang sendirinya
Bahkan membawa satu keluarga
Maka kebuidan dan keikhlasan raja
Bersinar-sinar seperti batu permata
Negara-negara di daerah barat daya
Mana ada satu yang boleh dibandingkannya
Gunung besar yang menjulang tinggi
Adalah gunung agung di wilayah negara Poni
Ukiran surat di atas batu pergunungan ini
Mempersaksikan kebuidan raja yang tinggi
Dengan kebuidan raja ditunjukkan
Negara baru menjadi sentosa dan aman*

3.2 Begitu juga sajak pujian Maharaja China kepada raja Melaka dengan demikian bunyinya:

*Dari samudera barat daya sampai ke Tiongkok alam menyambung,
berjuta tahun sama-sama dirahmati langit dan bumi dengan berkat dan
untung.
Bersehati mesra disinari suria dan candra dengan cahaya nan lembayung,
bertumbuh subur rumput pokok disirami hujan dan embun yang melindung.
Bersemarak kesuma kencana memancarkan warna-warni kilau nan
membubung.*

nun, di situlah berdiri sebuah negeri dengan rakyatnya yang menjunjung adat agung.

Rajanya bijak dan adil tiada lalai berdatang kunjung,

berikhtiar lebih daripada jirannya mematuhi adab unggun yang dijunjung,

Keluar masuk diarak pengiring dengan berapit payung-mayung,

adat resam daripada nenek-moyang dengan khidmat sentiasa dipanggong.

Shahdan bersuratlah pada batu mulia memuji bakti setia nan tak pernah urung,

dibukit barat negerimu bertegak megah selama peredaran dunia berlangsung.

Penjaga gunung dan laut bagaikan pengawal selalu taat mendukung,

nenek-moyang berkenan taurun bermukim di alam nan bercakrerawala langkung.

Dinaungi nujum mulia negerimu kian hari kian makmur beruntung,

dan anak cucumu sekaiannya bertuah bahagia tiada berhujung.

Kutipan dari "Hubungan Empayar Melaka-Dinasti Ming Abad ke-15"

m. s. 45 oleh Liang Liji)

3.3 Dalam buku sejarah China pernah dicatat mengenai batu bersurat yang ditegakkan oleh Maharaja China sebagai bukti pengiktirafan kepada empayar Melayu. Di antaranya satu ditegakkan di bukit China Melaka sebagai bukti pengiktirafan China terhadap empayar Melaka dan satu lagi ditegakkan di bukit Kota Batu di Brunei sebagai bukti pengiktirafan China kepada empayar Poni. Sayang sekali dua buah batu bersurat itu belum didapati sekarang. Menurut sejarah Raja Poni Manarajanana telah berlindung di Nanjing. Maharaja China amat sedih hati dan pernah menitahkan kepada Hu Guang untuk menulis karangan takziah dan diukir pada batu nisan di makam Raja Poni di Nanjing China. Sekarang batu nisan itu telah didapati dan telah dipelihara dengan sempurna. Batu nisan itu merupakan satu bukti yang meyakinkan dalam hubungan muhibah China dengan Brunei. Saya pernah cuba menterjemahkannya ke dalam bahasa Melayu untuk dijadikan sebagai bahan rujukan kepada sarjana Melayu yang berminat ke atas kajian hubungan China-Melayu. (lampiran ke-2)

3.4 Hubungan begitu rapat dan mesra disebabkan oleh Maharaja China menjalankan dasar luar yang damai dan muhibah. Maharaja Ming 'Tai Zu, Maharaja pertama Dinasti Ming pernah meninggalkan pesanan kepada cucu cicitnya: "Negara-negara jiran China semuanya jauh di seberang laut dan diasingkan dengan gunung atau laut. Jika beta merampas tanahnya, ini tidak cukup untuk membekalkan keperluan China. Jika beta memundukkan rakyatnya, maka rakyatnya tentu akan melawan. Jikalau negara jiran yang tidak tahu diri datang mengganggu China maka negara jiran itu tidak memihak kepada keadilan. Jikalau negara-netara jiran itu bukan menjadi ancaman kepada China tetapi beta mengarahkan tentera untuk menaklukkan mereka, maka beta tidak akan memihak kepada keadilan. Beta khuatir cucu-cicit beta akan bersandarkan kepada kekuatan China, sombong dengan kemenangan dalam peperangan sampai menggunakan kekerasan tanpa sebab, membunuh atau mencederakan rakyat. Ingat betul-betul ini sekali-kali tidak

dibenarkan,"(kutipan daripada Huang Ming Zhu Xun) Ming Tai Zu bahkan mengemukakan senarai 15 buah negara yang tidak boleh diganggu, di antaranya ialah Korea, Jepun, Vietnam, Campa, Siam, Jawa, Sumatera, Brunei, Melaka dan lain-lainnya. Di bawah pedoman ini, maka kerajaan China memihak kepada keadilan dalam arena antarabangsa. Bila negeri Siam mengancam Melaka, Maharaja China telah dua kali memperingatkan Siam jangan mengancam Melaka. Begitu juga kisah pelayaran armada Zheng He. Boleh dikatakan bahawa armada Zheng He adalah armada yang terkuat pada zaman itu. Tapi China tidak mempunyai ambisi untuk menduduki tanah luar walaupun seinci. Dibandingkan dengan pelayar Barat, sekali dia menjejakan kakinya di suatu tempat, maka terus dia mengumumkan tempat ini menjadi tanah jajahan negerinya. Cuba lihat perbandingan di bawah ini:

Zheng He (China)	Bartolomeu Dias (Portugis)	Christopher Colombus (Italy)	Vascode Gama (Porgugis)	Ferdinand Magellan (Portugis)
T.M.1405 tujuh kali	T.M.1487 Satu kali	T.M.1492 Empat kali	T.M.1497 Dua kali	T.M.1519 Satu kali
28 tahun		12 tahun	6 tahun	3 tahun
27,800 orang (setiap kali)		90-1500 orang	160orang lebih	265 orang
260 buah kapal, di antaranya 64 buah kapal besar yang panjangnya 125meter, lebar-nya 51 meter dan displacemntnya 14,800 tan dan mempunyai 9 tiang 12 layar	3 buah kapal layar kecil	3 hingga 17 buah kapal. Yang terbesar panjangnya 87 meter, lebar-nya 23.5 meter dan displacemntnya 233 tan, dan mempunyai 3 tiang	4-20 buah kapal yang mempunyai 3 tiang dan displacemntnya 50-120 tan.	5 buah kapal yang displacemntnya 60-130 tan
telah membuka jalan laut ke Lautan Hindia, Laut Merah dan Afrika Timur. 37 negara dan daerah telah dilawati	telah mendapati Tanjung Harapan Afrika Selatan	telah membuka jalan laut Eropah ke laut Carribean dan telah menda-pati benua Ame-rika	telah membuka jalan laut ke Afrika dan India.	telah mengeli-lingi bumi
tujuan untuk menjalankan da-sar luar perdama-ian China, me-ngadakan pernia-gaan	untuk mengada-kan penjelajah-an	tujuan untuk mencari emas dan merampas tanah jajahan. Pernah membunuh dan mencari hamba untuk di jual ke Sepanyol.	ekspedisi ke India kemudian menaklukkan India sebagai tanah jajahan dan menjadi gabnur di India.	untuk mencari emas dan tanah jajahan, me-nganggap dirinya sebagai penjajah di Filipin

4. LEGENDA YANG INDAH

4.1 Hubungan sejarah yang muhibah antara China dengan dunia Melayu itu telah meninggalkan banyak legenda yang manis. Salah satu di antaranya ialah riwayat Puteri Hang Li Po. Siapa Hang Li Po? Dalam buku sejarah China belum kami dapati, tapi saya percaya. Sebab: (1) Dalam sejarah Maharaja China pernah mengkahwinkan

puterinya kepada raja asing, seperti Puteri Wang Zhao Jun dikahwinkan dengan raja Monggol dan puteri Wen Cheng dikahwinkan dengan Raja Tibet; (2) Erti puteri belum tentu mesti ditunjuk kepada anak puteri Maharaja. Anak perempuan kepada raja tempatan, hulubalang, tokoh kenamaan semuanya boleh dinamakan sebagai "puteri". Maka sarjana kedua-dua negara kita ini mestilah berusaha bersama-sama untuk mencungkil bahan sejarah.

4.2 Di Sabah, ada Kota Kinabalu dan ada gunung Kinabalu. Khabarnya ada seorang komandan tentera China telah berkahwin dengan seorang puteri raja. Pada suatu hari, komandan itu telah dipanggil pulang ke negeri China maka puteri itu setiap hari berdiri di puncak gunung menghadap ke Utara untuk mengharap-harapkan suaminya pulang. Puteri setiap hari menangis maka airmatanya telah menjadi satu tasik dan akhirnya oleh kerana tidak mendapat berita apa-apa maka puteri itu putus asa dan kemudian terjun dari gunung. Maka gunung itu dinamakan gunung Kinabalu. Siapa komandan tentera China itu?...Di Bandar Seri Begawan Brunei terdapat sebatang jalan yang dinamakan Jalan Ong Sum Ping. Siapa Ong Sum Ping? Dalam cerita rakyat Kalimantan Utara ada orang mengatakan beliau adalah Wang San Pin (王三品) . Ada orang menganggap beliau adalah Huang Zong Bing (黄总兵), Saya setuju dengan pendapat kedua. Sebenarnya Zong Bing ertinya adalah komandan tentera dan Huang adalah marga keluarga, maka Ong Sum Ping ertinya adalah Komandan Huang. Menurut kajian nama sebenarnya adalah Wang Jinghong (王景弘) Beliau adalah rakan sejawat dengan Laksamana Zheng He .Sebagai komandan tentera beliau pernah 7 kali melawat ke seberang laut dengan Zheng He. Dalam buku sejarah tidak nampak catatan Zheng He pernah melawat ke Brunei tapi ada buku mencatat katanya armada Zheng He pernah dua kali melawat ke Brunei iaitu pelayaran ke 2 dan pelayaran ke 5. Pada pandangan saya, Zheng He sendiri belum tentu pernah melawat ke Brunei, tapi armadanya pernah melawat ke Brunei oleh kerana armada Zheng He besar sekali, ia terdiri daripada 200 buah lebih kapal dan 27,000 orang lebih perajuritnya. Bila armada Zheng He belayar kadang-kadang armadanya dipecahkan dua atau tiga kumpulan misalnya pelayaran ke 2 armadanya dipecahkan kepada tiga iaitu satu menuju ke Afrika, satu menuju ke Siam dan satu lagi menuju ke PONI sedangkan armada yang menuju ke PONI itu adalah dipimpin oleh Komandan Wang Jinghong iaitu Wang Zhong Bing. Jalan Ong Sum Ping di Brunei sekarang adalah kerana rakyat Brunei memperingati pelayaran Ong Sum Ping. Yang menarik hati kita adalah terdapat makam Ong Sum Ping di Brunei, marilah kita membaca catatan di bawah ini: " Makam itu terletak di luar bandar Borneo, lebih kurang satu batu jauhnya. Dahulu kala bandar Borneo terletak di pulau di tengah sungai, maka jikalau diadakan perniagaan patutlah digunakan perahu, ini tentu tidak memudahkan dan kemudian bandar itu pindah ke darat. Dua puluh tahun sebelum ini, ada kawan sekampung saya bernama Huang Zhuo Ru (黄卓如) datang ke Borneo untuk berniaga. Sebab usaha perniagaannya cukup megah maka Sultan Borneo pun memberi pelayanannya yang cukup baik. Tidak lama kemudian diadakan upacara menziarahi makam, Sultan pun menjemput Huang Zhuo Ru ikut menghadiri upacara itu dan di samping itu bersama-sama melancong

juga. Pada masa itu pakaian Sultan setengahnya seperti corak China memakai topi yang bercantumkan dengan bulu burung yang cantik. Seperti pakaian opera Peking. Beliau ikut berjalan ke luar bandar lebih kurang satu batu jauhnya, naik ke suatu bukit di mana nampak satu makam kuno yang sederhana dan ditegakkan satu batu nisan, samar-samar boleh nampak tulisan China tapi sudah tidak jelas. Awang Huang merasa hairan dan kemudian beliau berusaha untuk merabinkan kata-kata nisan itu dengan kertas, maka barulah nampak lima patah perkataan China iaitu MAKAM HUANG ZONG BING (黄总兵之墓) dan tidak ada tulisan lain lagi. ”(kutipan daripada Nan Yang Hua Qiao Tong Shi)

4.3 Saya amat tertarik dengan catatan dari buku tersebut itu. Saya berharap supaya ahli-ahli sejarah dapat mencari batu nisan itu. Bagaimana pun saya beranggapan bahawa Jalan Ong Sum Ping adalah salah satu bukti adanya hubungan persahabatan China dengan dunia Melayu. Seiring dengan kajian kami, semakin mendalam kami mengkaji, semakin berminat terhadap dunia Melayu. Terdapat banyak judul yang sedang menunggu untuk dikaji. Misalnya cerita Hang Tuah, apakah Hang Tuan pernah melawat ke China? Apakah hubungan Tun Perak dengan China? Kenapa pantun Melayu mirip dengan lagu rakyat Guangxi seperti Liu San Jie? Kenapa bentuk rumah Ke Jia Tu Lou (客家土楼) di Fujian persis dengan rumah keliling di Sarawak? Kenapa orang Guangdong menyebut “ayam jantan” (鸡公) sama dengan nahu Melayu, atributifnya di belakang sedangkan dalam Mandarin atributifnya di hadapan, iaitu mesti disebut “jantan ayam” (公鸡). Kenapa orang Guangdong menyebut “sebijil telur” (一粒鸡蛋) sama dengan sebutan Melayu sedangkan dalam Mandarin patut disebut “sebuah telur” (一个鸡蛋)?..... Satu kenyataan yang tidak boleh dinafikan adalah hubungan China dengan dunia Melayu betul-betul sangat rapat. Semua ini telah menarik minat kami seperti bak pepatah Melayu: TAK KENAL TAK CINTA. Boleh dikatakan bahawa seumur hidup kami telah menceburkan diri dalam pengajian Melayu.

4.4 Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa. Kita belajar suatu bahasa ertinya kita sudah mendekati suatu bangsa. Untuk menghadapi pergolakan dunia kita sekarang ini betapa perlunya semangat saling hormat-menghormat, saling faham-memahami dan saling kasih-mengasihi. Hubungan China dengan dunia Melayu sudah cukup baik tetapi masih terdapat masalah. Oleh kerana China pernah mengalami pergolakan apa yang dikatakan Revolusi Kebudayaan maka ramai orang masih mempunyai pandangan lama ke atas China. Kami perlu dengan sikap jujur dan terbuka mengakui kekurangan diri. Dengan sabar mendengar teguran sahabat dan belajar dari yang berpengalaman. Kami betul-betul sangat ingin menghayati suasana aman, damai dan bersatu untuk membina negara sendiri. Pepatah China ada mengatakan bahawa daripada 100 kali mendengar lebih baik melihat sekali dengan mata kepala sendiri. Jemputlah datang ke negeri China

4.5 Sebagai penutup izinkanlah saya menyudahi kertas kerja saya ini dengan dua rangkap pantun:

Buah Langsung di tepi busut,
Mari dimuat di dalam peti;
Besar hajat kami menjemput,
Besar niat di dalam hati.

Bintang barat terbit petang,
Bintang timur terbit pagi;
Jika tidak melarat panjang,
Ada umur ketemu lagi.

Lampiran A

ATUR CARA MAJLIS 'MALAM MUHIBAH'

Sirih berlipat sirih pinang,

Sirih dari Pulau Mutiara;

Pemanis kata Selamat Datang,

Awal bismillah pembuka bicara.

- Puan Canselor BFSU (nama)
- Tuan Yang Terutama Duta Malaysia, Dato' (nyatakan nama penuh)
- Para hadirin dan para pelajar, dengan penuh takzim, diucapkan selamat datang dan salam sejahtera.
Buah langsung di tepi busut,
Mari dimuat di dalam peti;
Besar hajat kami menjemput,
Besar niat di dalam hati.

Sebagai pembuka kata, pemanis bicara, saya dengan segala hormatnya mempersilakan Canselor BFSU Puan untuk memberikan sepatah dua kata sebagai kata alu-aluan.

Terima kasih Puan

Rasanya majlis kita pada malam ini, tidak akan indah dan berseri umpama malam yang tidak berbilang, jika kita tidak mendengar kata-kata ucapan dari YTT Duta Malaysia Dato'..... Sekarang, dengan segala hormatnya saya mempersilakan Dato' untuk memberikan sedikit ucapan. Dipersilakan.

Terima kasih Dato'..... (ulas sedikit.....) Umpama rumah yang tiada bertiang, umpama pohon yang tiada berbuah, begitulah jika tiadanya tokoh ini di Jurusan Bahasa Melayu BFSU. Tokoh yang dimaksudkan tidak lain dan tidak bukan ialah Prof. Wahid. Prof Wahid umpama jambatan yang menjadi penghubung antara China dan Malaysia. Tokoh yang menjadi sebutan antara dua negara. Dengan itu, saya dengan rasa bangga ingin mempersilakan Prof. Wahid untuk memberikan kata-kata ucapan dalam majlis pada malam yang berbahagia ini. Dipersilakan prof. Wahid.

Terima kasih Pak Wahid,

Di sana padi di sini padi,

Padi huma dari seberang;

Di sana budi di sini budi,

Barulah nama di sebut orang.

Tuan-tuan dan puan para hadirin sekalian.
Umpama batu permata yang sentiasa digilap, cahayanya gemerlapan, indah dan amat bernilai. Begitulah didikan dan ajaran yang telah dicurahkan buat para pelajar Jurusan Bahasa Melayu. Kini, dipersilakan wakil pelajar Saudara untuk menyampaikan sedikit ucapan. Dipersilakan.

Terima kasih saudara

Bukan lebah sebarang lebah,
Lebah bersarang dipohon kayu;
Bukan sembah sebarang sembah,
Sembah adat pusaka Melayu.

Para hadirin,
Pusaka dan budaya Melayu, memang tidak lekang dek panas, tidak lapuk dek hujan. Sebagai pembuka acara, sebuah tarian tradisional/Melayu – Joget (tajuknya) akan dipersembahkan oleh pelajar tahun satu. Dipersilakan.....

Tuan-tuan dan puan-puan, para hadirin sekalian,

Akar keladi melilit selasih,
Selasih tumbuh di hujung taman;
Kalungan budi junjungan kasih,
Mesra kenangan sepanjang zaman.

Tibalah kita ke penghujung acara. Dijemput semua hadirin bangun dan bersama-sama menyanyikan lagu 'Rasa Sayang'.

Shingga berjumpa lagi, sambutlah pantun terakhir dari saya,

Permata jatuh ke rumput,
Jatuh ke rumput dibilang-bilang;
Di mata tidak 'kan luput,
Dalam hati tidak 'kan hilang.
Jumpa lagi

Lampiran B

NISAN RAJA GONG SHN NEGERI PONI(浚泥)

Pada 9 September T.M. 1408, Raja Poni Ma-na-ja-ka-na-nei(麻那惹加那乃) telah berangkat ke negeri China dengan membawa pengiring seramai 150 orang lebih, di antaranya termasuklah permaisuri, putera, adik beradik lelaki dan perempuan, sanak saudara dan menteri-menteri. Mereka datang ke istana untuk menyampaikan surat tauliah dan hasil-hasil tempatan yang istimewa. Raja China sendiri datang ke balairong Fong Tian Dian untuk menerima ufti. Bila istiadat

mengadap selesai, pada tiap-tiap hari Raja China berangkat lagi ke balairung Fong Tian Men untuk menerima Raja Poni. Juru bahasa telah menterjemahkan ucapan Raja Poni sebagai berikut:

"Beta bersama dengan permaisuri datang dari negeri jauh lagi miskin, telah banyak menerima didikan dan asuhan duli Tuanku. Beta berharap semasa menghadap ini dapat melihat kecemerlangan Duli Tuanku. Kedatangan beta ke negeri China dengan rendah diri kerana takut mendapat murka. Maka beta harap tidak akan menjejaskan keagungan Duli Tuanku."

Raja Poni meneruskan:

"Beta beratapkan langit dan berpijak di bumi. Tuanku lah yang memberi beta keamanan dan kesejahteraan. Sekarang kehidupan orang tua dan kanak-kanak di negeri beta telah terjamin, mereka mempunyai rumah yang aman, makanan yang lazat, pakaian yang sepadan dan alat perkakas yang lengkap. Yang kuat tidak berani membuli yang lemah, orang yang jumlahnya banyak tidak berani membuli orang yang jumlahnya seikit. Kejayaan-kejayaan itu adalah kurniaan oleh Tuanku. Orang lain tidak akan mencapainya melainkan pada Duli Tuanku. Kebijaksanaan dan budi baik Duli Tuanku melimpah-limpah ke seluruh pelusuk bahkan sampai ke langit dan bumi, akan tetapi beta boleh nampak langit apabila beta menghadap, beta boleh melihat bumi apabila beta tunduk. Sedangkan wajah Duli Tuanku tidak nampak sebab negeri Duli Tuanku terlalu jauh dari negeri Beta. Kesetiaan beta susah untuk disampaikan kepada Duli Tuanku, maka beta bersama dengan permaisuri tidak kira betapa jauhnya dan merbahayanya dalam perjalanan beta tetap belayar menyeberangi laut menuju ke negeri China untuk menghadap dan menyatakan keikhlasan beta."

Raja China bertitah:

"Beta bukanlah seperti apa yang disanjung tadi. Beta telah ditugaskan oleh Tuhan dan nenek moyang beta, Tuhan dan nenek moyang beta mengajar beta, bahawa beta patut memandang rakyat jelata sebagai anak-anak beta. Di dunia ini semua manusia sama darjatnya."

Raja Poni berdatang sembah lagi:

"Sejak Duli Tuanku bertakhta, negeri beta telah aman dan sejahtera. Benda-benda berharga yang tersimpan dalam pergunungan dan sungai telah muncul, pokok-pokok telah berbunga dan berbuah, burung-burung ganjil menyanyi merdu, haiwan mergastua menari gembira. Orang tua di negeri beta mengatakan bahawa ini adalah disebabkan oleh kebijaksanaan orang China. Aka beta sebagai rakyat Tuanku mesti datang menghadap, tidak kira betapa jauhnya negeri beta dari negeri China."

Raja China memuji keikhlasan Raja Poni. Upacara menyambut Raja Poni itu amat meriah dan Raja China banyak mengurniakan hadiah-hadiah. Tiap-tiap hari diadakan

jamuan, mula-mula di balairong Hua Gai Dian, kemudian di balairung Fong Tian Men dan Raja China telah mengarahkan isteri menteri menjamu permaisuri dan putera-putera Raja Poni. Selepas jamuan disajikan lagi dengan makanan-makanan yang lazat. Setiap hari, Raja China mengutus seorang menteri untuk menemani Raja Poni dan mengutus pengiring yang dipercayai untuk menemani permaisuri dan putera-puteri untuk bercakap-cakap dengan mereka dalam suasana mesra. Layanan Raja China cukup sempurna. Bila diadakan persemayaman kedudukan Raja Poni selalu diatur pada kedudukan pertama, mendahului kedudukan menteri-menteri China. Dari situ boleh kita ketahui bahawa betapa Raja China mengutamakan layanan kepada Raja Poni.

Selepas satu bulan tiba-tiba Raja Poni jatuh sakit. Raja China telah mengirim doktor yang terpilih untuk merawat Raja Poni dan Raja China selalu mengirim pengiring yang dipercayai untuk memberi hiburan dan mengutus menteri untuk menanyakan penyakit Raja Poni itu. Raja China merasa syukur bila mendengar berita bahawa penyakit Raja Poni sudah ringan sedikit. Akan tetapi penyakit Raja Poni itu telah teruk. Suatu hari Raja Poni berpesan kepada permaisuri dan orang-orang bawahan baginda:

“Raja China amat memperhatikan penyakit beta. Jikalau suatu hari beta meninggal, itu adalah takdir Tuhan. Beta datang dari negeri jauh lagi miskin, sukurulah dapat datang ke sini untuk melihat kecermerlangan dan kecerdasan Raja China. Beta tidak akan menyesal sekali pun beta meninggal. Selepas beta meninggal diharap beta dikebumikan di negeri China. Beta berharap tidak akan diasing-asingkan dari negeri China. Yang kesal di hati beta ialah beta tidak dapat membalas budi Raja China semasa hayat beta. Sebenarnya beta terhutang budi kepada Raja China.”

Raja Poni berpesan lagi kepada puteranya:

“Jikalau suatu hari beta meninggal dunia, anakanda hendaklah mengucapkan terima kasih kepada Raja China dan berazam turun temurun tidak akan melupakan budi Raja China. Beta akan merasa puas jika anakanda dapat menurut pesanan beta sekalipun beta meninggal”

Pada 19 Oktober T.M. 1408, Raja Poni telah meninggal, umurnya 28 tahun. Raja China berasa amat sedih dan tiga hari tidak bersemayam. Raja China telah mengarahkan kepada badan bersangkutan untuk mengurus hal pengebumian dan memberi takziah. Raja China telah mengurniakan gelaran RAJA GONG SHUN kepada Raja Poni. (GONG 恭 ertinya rendah hati, SHUN 順 ertinya damai dan bersahabat) dan telah mengutus utusan khas untuk menjalankan upacara pengebumian dan menghantar utusan untuk memberi takziah kepada permaisuri dan putera-putera Raja Poni. Permaisuri telah bercakap kepada utusan:

“Malang betul suami ku, baginda tidak dapat membalas budi Raja China dan

tidak dapat berkhidmat kepada Raja China untuk seumur hidup. Akan tetapi Raja Poni telah meninggalkan wasiat kepada kami dan berpesan kepada kami supaya turun-temurun jangan lupa akan budi Raja China. Kami mesti menunaikan wasiat baginda. Dengan demikian barulah kami boleh beranggapan bahawa Raja Poni belum meninggal sekalipun baginda telah meninggal!"

Daripada ucapan permaisuri itu bolehlah kita ketahui bahawa permaisuri adalah seorang yang bijaksana. Pada 3 November T.M. 1408, satu upacara pengkebumian telah dilangsungkan. Menurut protokol makam itu terletak di Se Chi Gang luar pintu tembok An De Men bandaraya Banjing. Raja China telah menitahkan supaya sebuah batu nisan dibangunkan di depan makam Raja Poni. Ayah Raja Poni bernama Manajasanawangsa(麻那惹沙那旺沙), emak Raja Poni bernama Rasepati (刺失八的), permaisuri bernama Taisyed(他係邪), putera Raja Poni cuma seorang yang bernama Shawang (遐旺) dan baru berumur 4 tahun. Puteri raja ada dua orang. Raja China telah bertitah supaya Shawang meneruskan takhta Raja Poni dan telah mengurniakan mahkota baru kepada Raja Poni yang baru, pakaian yang akan dipakai ketika bersemayam, tali pinggang yang bertatahkan jed, kuda untuk barisan penghormatan, pelana, pakaian dan alat perkakas, emas, perak, kain sutera, wang dan lain-lainnya. Raja China juga telah mengurniakan kepada peraisuri pakaian taraf isteri menteri, topi yang bertatahkan mutiara, emas putih, kain sutera, wang dan lain-lainnya. Semua orang dalam rombongan Raja Poni itu telah mendapat kurniaan menurut pangkat masing-masing. Raja China telah mengurniakan pangkat kepada tiga adik Raja Poni yang bernama Srinananaja (施里难那那惹), Sriwinonasana (施里微暗那沙那) dan Nawanosyed (那万嗜邪) untuk membantu Shawang. Raja China bertitah supaya badan berkenaan membina rumah ibadat di depan makam itu dan bertitah juga supaya batu nisan ditegakkan dalam rumah ibadat itu. Raja China telah mengarahkan kepada hamba (penulis) Hu Guang (胡广) untuk menulis surat di atas batu dan kemudian diukir di atas batu nisan Raja Poni itu.

Hamba, Hu Guang amat mengkagumi kebijaksanaan Raja China. Kebijaksanaan dan budi baik Raja china telah melimpah-limpah ke segala pelosok di dunia ini asalkan tempat itu dapat disinari matahari atau bulan. Semua orang dengan suka hati dan tulus ikhlas berdahulu-dahuluan untuk menyatakan kesetiaan kepada Raja China. Banyak negeri datang ke negeri China dengan membawa benda-benda yang berharga sebagai ufti. Raja Poni datang ke negeri China menempuh perjalanan sejauh beberapa ribu batu dengan membawa permaisuri, putera, adik-beradik lelaki dan perempuan, sanak-saudara dan menteri-menteri. Mereka belayar melalui lautan untuk berdatang sembah dengan tidak kira betapa susah dalam perjalanan. Ini cukup membuktikan kesetiaan dan kejujuran Raja Poni. Sikap Raja Poni begitu teguh seperti keteguhan emas dan batu, bahkan meninggalkan lagi wasiat kepada negerinya supaya jangan melupakan budi Maharaja China. Kebijaksanaan Maharaja China telah begitu meresap ke dalam sanubari manusia. Ini betul-betul mengkagumkan! Sedangkan kecerdasan, kejujuran dan kesetiaan Raja Poni selamanya tidak berubah. Maka Maharaja China memberi perhatian yang khas

kepada Raja Poni dan juga generasi seterusnya. Kenyataan-kenyataan itu akan diukir di atas batu nisan dalam bentuk sajak, dengan demikian akan diketahui turun temurun, bahawa hubungan mesra antara Raja Poni dengan Maharaja China adalah disebabkan oleh keikhlasan Raja Poni. Isi sajak itu sebagai berikut:

Dinasti Ming memerintah dunia
Banyak negeri menyatakan setia
Mereka datang menyembah
Mengiktiraf kuasa Ming Ching
Negeri Poni satu negara
Jauh terletak di kawasan panas
Angin menderu awan berkelompok
Raja Poni datang menyembah
Ramai orang telah dibawa
Permaisuri bersama dengan keluarganya
Menteri-menteri termasuk juga
Mereka menyembah ke istana diraja
Ucapan sembah telah dinyata
"Tuanku ibarat orang tua
Memberi beta jiwa gembira
Beta menjunungi langit
Beta memijak tanah
Naungan Tuanku merangkumi semua
Beta menyembah ke istana diraja
Untuk menyatakan tata setia"
Duli Tuanku terharu berkata
"Tuhanlah yang mewajibkan beta"

Raja Poni berlutut menyembah
:Ampun beribu-ribu ampun tuanku
Kemurahan hati kami terima
Budi Tuanku membawa berkat
Musim bunga telah tiba
Lautan tenang tidak bergelora
Muncul juga benda-benda berharga
Rumput menghijau bunga mekar
Pokok rimbun buah melimpah
Burung berkicau menyanyi bersuara
Binatang berkumpul menari gembira
Orang Tua negeri berkatalni berkat budi Maharaja China

Maka sekalipun jauh dari China
Beta mesti datang mengadap”
Duli Tuanku mendengar gembira
Menteri diutus menemani raja
Layanan diberi amat sempurna
Makanan lazat dihidangkan ke meja
Tambah lagi banyak cenderamata
Malang betul sebulan sahaja
Raja jatuh sakit mendadak
Belum lama telah tiada
Kesedihan hati merangkumi dunia
Wasiat raja kami dengar

Sekalipun beta meninggal
Sekali-kali jangan lupa budi Maharaja
Betapa bijak seorang raja
Mempunyai pandangan luar biasa
Tiada tara perbandingannya
Antara negeri-negeri barat daya
Bijak raja dikenang Maharaja
Gelaran pujian telah dikurnia
Turun temurun tiada putusnya
Cukup megah makam raja
Rumah ibadat dibangunkan pula
Jasa raja diingati selama-lamanya
Kekal abadiilah semangat baginda
Nama raja Poni harum bersemarak
Sekalipun tidak balik ke tumpah darah
Anugerah diberi Maharaja China
Cucu cicit menikmati mulia

(Dikutip daripada buku Huang Ming Wen Heng 皇明文衡 jilid ke 81)

15

HAMASHITA TAKESHI

MALACCA, RYUKYU AND
SOUTH CHINA RELATIONS FROM
THE 15TH TO 18TH CENTURIES:
THROUGH LITAI PAOAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT
5300 S. DICKINSON DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

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Malacca, Ryukyu and South China Relationship From the 15th to 18th Centuries: through Litai Paoan

Takeshi Hamashita
Center for Southeast Asian Studies,
Kyoto University

Abstract

The period from the late fourteenth century to the early sixteenth century was one of the most prosperous ages in the history of the kingdom of Ryukyu situated on the eastern rim of the East China Sea and on the western rim of the Pacific Ocean as well. Not only were the Ryukyans in contact with China and Japan, but relations were also established and maintained widely from Northeast Asia to Southeast Asian countries. This paper, firstly, tries to introduce and compare the historical documents to Annam, Siam, and Malacca kings from Ryukyu king found in the Litai Paoan [Precious Documents of Successive Generations](first series) compiled by Ryukyu kingdom. Then, from the related materials, characteristics of the documents to Malacca King will be discussed under wider implications on the relationship between East Asia and Southeast Asia.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The period from the late fourteenth century to the early sixteenth century was one of the most prosperous ages in the history of the kingdom of Ryukyu situated on the eastern rim of the East China Sea and on the western rim of the Pacific Ocean as well. This prosperity was due in large measure to the wide-flung trading activities of its people, who traversed the East and Southeast Asian seas as agents of entrepot trade for countries bordering those seas. Not only were the Ryukyans in contact with China and Japan, but relations were also established and maintained widely from Northeast Asia to Southeast Asian countries. The history of trading enterprises of the Ryukyans in the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries constitutes not only an important chapter in Ryukyuan history but also a significant part of the history of Asia as a whole.

1.2 This paper, firstly, tries to introduce and compare the historical documents to Annam, Siam, and Malacca kings from Ryukyu king found in the Litai Paoan [Precious Documents of Successive Generations](first series) compiled by Ryukyu kingdom. Then, characteristics of the document to Malacca King will be discussed under wider implications from the documents. The Litai Paoan (I-IV series altogether) is a compilation of a large number of documents, written entirely in Chinese, relating to Ryukyuan contacts with China, Korea, and eight Southeast Asian countries (or more exactly, port towns), covering the period from 1424 to 1867. Litai Paoan documents published by National Taiwan University and by the Okinawa Prefecture Archive shed new light on historical events and developments in all these countries. Particularly, they

can introduce supplement and new historical accounts relating to South Sea countries, where Ryukyuan activities were entirely unnoticed in existing chronicles and historical records.

2. RELATION BETWEEN RYUKYU AND ANNAM

2.1 There is only one document in the Litai Paoan, which relates to Ryukyuan contact with Annam. It is a voyage certificate dated 1509. This was about the time when the ruling dynasty of Annam was on the brink of extinction. It was in such a time of turbulence that Ryukyuan came into contact with Annam for a brief period of time. The voyage certificate introduced below is of unusual characteristics, which is different in details from other voyage certificates we have in the Litai Paoan.

< Document 1 >

Volume XLII, Document No. 5 (1509 Annam)

2.2 The King of Chuzan, Country of Ryukyu, as a matter of courtesy and as an expression of appreciation, now dispatches Chief Envoy Senior Official Tei Kyu, Deputy Envoy Masakai, Interpreter Tei Ko, and others, with an official despatch and aboard a seagoing ship bearing the designation Hsin, with a cargo of 10,000 chin of sulphur, 1 iron helmet with gilded copper plates and green leather pieces woven together with thread, 2 short swords in black lacquered scabbards with embossed golden dragons, 6 short swords ornamented with gold and gilded material, 2 long swords in red lacquered scabbards plated with gold and inlaid with mother-of-pearl, 2 black lacquered spears in sheaths plated with gold and inlaid with mother-of-pearl, 4 bows of mulberry wood, 120 hawk-feather arrows plated with gold, 100 bolts of soft local linen in different colors, and 2,000 chin of raw iron; all of which are to be presented to Your Majesty the King of the Country of An-nan [Annam] in token of our appreciation.

2.3 There is no special document, however, upon which the members of this mission now departing can rely, and it is indeed feared that they may encounter the inconvenience of investigations and obstructions by officials along the way. Accordingly, the Royal Court has now issued a certificate stamped with a seal bearing half each of the character Hsuan and the number 176, to be received and borne by Chief Envoy Tei Kyu and others in proceeding on their mission. In the event of investigation by guards at landings and by coastal patrol officers in the course of the voyage, it is requested that the mission be released and that no obstacles which might cause it delay and inconvenience be put in its way. Let this certificate be given to the envoys.

2.4 It is now stated [that the personnel of the mission are as follows]:

One chief envoy, Senior Official:	Tei Kyu
Two deputy envoys:	Masakai, Ryo Ki
One chief interpreter:	Tei Ko
Deputy interpreter:	Ryo Shun
General manager of the ship:	Ushi
Pilot:	Ko Gi
No. of personnel including crew:	130 persons

Cheng-te 4/10/9 [November 20, 1509]

The above certificate has been issued for and received by Chief Envoy Senior Official Tei Kyu, Interpreter Tei Ko, and others.
Certificate

<implication>

According to the "Wu-tsung shih-lu" of the Huang-Ming shih-lu, the following tributary embassies came from Annam to China around this time:

Cheng-te 3/5/day of wu-ch'en (1508)

King Li I dispatched his minister, Li Sung, and others with local products as tribute articles.

Cheng-te 4/5/day of i-mao (1509)

King Li I dispatched his minister, Li Yiian, and others, with gold and silver utensils as tribute articles.

Cheng-te 7/6/day of chia-yin (1512)

King Li Ch'ao: dispatched his minister, Tu Li-ch'ien, and others, with a memorial and local products as tribute articles.

2.5 Li I was the seventh king of the Li dynasty of Annam, known to the Chinese as Wei-mu-ti, and Li Ch'ao the eighth king, known as Hsiang-i-ti. Li I committed suicide in Cheng-te 4, under pressure from his powerful minister Yuan Ch'ung, following which Li Kuang and his group rose to chastise Yuan Ch'ung and put Li Ch'ao on the throne. Chinese records, like the Shu-yu chou-tzu-lu [General Record Concerning Foreign Lands] and Huang-Ming hsiang-hsu-lu, mention that the Ming envoy Chan Jo-shui was dispatched to perform the investiture for Li Ch'ao in Cheng-te 6. But this king Ch'ao, too, was killed by powerful ministers, including Cheng Sui, General Ch'en Sung, who was in charge of the Annamese garrison at Liang-shan, advanced to the capital city of Hanoi, and after pro-claiming his independence there, he again withdrew to Liang-shan, where he consolidated his power, bringing three neighboring prefectures under his control.

2.6 In the meantime, Cheng Sui and his faction put on the throne a certain Li Hui (known later by his royal name of Chao-tsung), who was the son of Li Ch'ao's elder brother. Mo Teng-yung, who had served under Ch'en Sung, fled into the service of Li Hui, and after having built up his power he destroyed Cheng Sui and killed Ch'en Sung. In Chia-ching 5 (1526), he dethroned King Li Hui and put Hui's brother, Kuang (known as Kung-ti) on the throne. Then, in the following year, he pressed King Kuang to abdicate, and in Chia-ching 9 he enthroned his own son as "Great King" (ta-wang), while assuming for himself the title of T'ai-shang-huang, meaning "the father of the emperor." The dethroned king Li Hui fled to Ch'ing-hua Prefecture, but the supporters of the Li dynasty gathered round Hui's son Ning (known later as Chuang-ti) as their king and stood in opposition to Mo Teng-yung's faction.

2.7 Under these unstable situations, the voyage certificate was important to identify who they are and from where they are coming, and what kind of commodities they are carrying. This document was used whenever they feel some dangers to pass through the

coastal area of Annam(term Annam means only geographical location and not kingdom itself here). This unusual character and different in details from other voyage certificates we have in the Lital Paoan implies that Ryukyu ships usually passed by and stopped by this coast either trading or replenishing purposes. Long coastal line of the peninsula played very important role in the whole South China Sea trade. Here are different type of documents from the Ryukyu king to the King of Siam and a reply from the King of Siam to the Ryukyu King.

< Document 2 >

XL, Doc. No.8

The King of Chuzan, Country of Ryukyu, declares with reference to tributary affairs.

2.8 This country does not have anything that is appropriate as an article of tribute, and for this reason we are especially dispatching Chief Envoy Nanzatu and others to lead men and take ships with a cargo of porcelains, to proceed to your productive lands to purchase such goods as pepper and sapanwood, and then to return to our country to prepare our tributary needs.

2.9 They shall also take some presents we have specially prepared for presentation to you to convey our sincerity. We hope that you will accept them. We would like to request that the members of the mission now departing be allowed to obtain sapanwood and other goods through mutually satisfactory arrangements and return to the country speedily with the wind.

2.10 We desire that all within the four seas be regarded as brothers and that intercourse among us be maintained forever.

We list our presents below. Let this dispatch be given to the addressee.

The following:

[Woven-] gold satin	5 bolts	Ornamental satin	20 bolts
Swords	4 [5?]	Fans	20
Sulphur	2,500 chin	Big blue vases	20
Small blue vases	400	Small blue bowls	2,000

Despatch to the Country of Siam

Hsuan-te 4/10/10 [November 6, 1429]

Dispatch

< Document 3 >

XXXIX, Doc. No.1

The King of Chuzan, Country of Ryukyu, has received a dispatch from the Country of Siam in the 6th month of Hsuan-te 5 [1430], [in which it was stated:]

2.11 We have read [the dispatch from Ryukyu, which stated:] "With reference to the matter of tribute to the Great Ming and other matters, we have few goods which are appropriate [as articles of tribute], and we still suffer great inconvenience. We are specially dispatching our envoy Nanzatu Utchi and others aboard a seagoing ship, with a cargo of porcelains and local products, to proceed to the country [Siam] and purchase

such goods as pepper and sapanwood, and then to return to our country to prepare our needs. We have also prepared our presents for you."

2.12 We have received this dispatch. Heretofore, you have purchased goods to make [necessary] preparations. You [present envoys] are now departing at this convenient time with a favorable wind. Therefore, we list our return presents below and inform you through this dispatch. Let this dispatch be given to the addressee.

The goods are as follows: 3,000 chin of sapanwood; 20 bolts of red oiled cotton cloth; 2 variegated velvet carpets; 1 length of soft Western silk.

Dispatch to the King of Chuzan, Country of Ryukyu
Hsuan-te 5/3/21 [April 13,1430]

< Implication >

They recognize each other very clearly and understood the purposes of trade. They mutually expected trading activities under tributary relations with Ming China. These correspondences were regular and formal between two kings.

2.13 Ryukyu ships searching tributary commodities such as pepper and sapanwood in the South China Sea had to understand the changing networks of trade and had to find more lucrative and safer trade partners and trading ports from five different and changing commercial zones of maritime trade in the South China Sea. According to Kenneth Hall's classification, they are as follows:

- i. The Sulu Sea region included the western coasts of Luzon, Mindoro, Cebu, and Mindanao in the Philippines, and the Brunei region of Borneo's north coast. All served to varying degrees as facilitators of trade between China and the Spice Islands to the southeast. These Spice Islands were the source of nutmeg, mace, cloves, sandalwood, all of which flowed through the Sulu Sea to China and Thailand in the north, as well as to Java and Malacca in the west.
- ii. The Java Sea network trade zone included the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Moluccas, Banda, Timor, the western coast of Borneo, Java, and the southern coast of Sumatra. Because Java had limited control over the strait maritime realm there was a rise of piracy in the Strait of Malacca and along the southern Borneo coast in the fourteenth century. It was due to this piracy or the weakness of Java that Malay sea populations with Chinese support established Malacca at the end of the fourteenth century. Chinese traders then could avoid the Borneo coast route to Java and the Spice Islands and acquire the spices from the Javanese at Malacca or from Sulu Sea entrepots.
- iii. The upper Malay Peninsula's eastern coast, Thailand, and the lower coast of Vietnam, the regions bordering the Gulf of Thailand. The Thai state of Ayudhya developed in the first half of the fourteenth century in the lower Chao Phraya Valley and thrived as a result of new foreign contacts.

Ayudhya began to export rice to Malacca in the fifteenth century and was as well a commercial center for trade with the Philippines and China.

- iv. The Strait of Malacca region, which would become the most important of the commercial zones by the fifteenth century—immediately prior to the European incursion—was in the fourteenth century still in a state of transition and was still a bone of contention between the Thais and the Javanese. Malacca's rise was due to the initiatives by the Ming dynasty at the end of the fourteenth century to fill what they perceived to be a political void in the area and to contain piracy, which was jeopardizing the steady flow of commerce into south China's ports. By the 1430s, however, Malacca's prosperity would depend less on Chinese support and more on interaction with Javanese and other Southeast Asian merchants and networks.
- v. Bay of Bengal regional trade network that began on the Coromandel Coast of southern India and Sri Lanka and included Burma, the upper Malay Peninsula, and the northern end and western coast of Sumatra. The northern and western coasts of Sumatra became important in the post-1300 era due to increasing world demand for pepper. In particular, the Samudra-Pasai entrepot became the principal supplier of pepper to Western and Eastern traders, supplementing the pepper exports of India's southwestern Malabar Coast that had met the more limited demand of earlier times. On the mainland Pegu in the Irrawaddy River Delta of lower Burma began to take part in the commerce involving northern Sumatra, the Strait of Malacca, and the Bay of Bengal, especially as a supplier of rice to provision the commercial populations from the East and the West who were frequenting the Malacca Strait's new pepper ports. Among these five interrelated commercial zones of maritime trade, Ryukyu set up their trading and information basis in Malacca after mid-15th century. They acquired Ryukyuan's information of incident in Annam through Malacca.

3. RELATIONS BETWEEN RYUKYU AND MALACCA

3.1 Contact between Ryukyu and Malacca was presumably begun shortly before 1463. In a dispatch sent from the Ryukyuan king to the king of Malacca in 1470, there is a note: "Since our royal predecessor laid the foundations in the beginning, we have maintained the association and have continued to receive your inquiries." The royal predecessor mentioned here is King Sho Toku, and the sender of the dispatch King Sho En. This is assumed to be the case on the basis of an examination of available records.

3.2 According to the Chuzan seikan, King Sho Toku died on June 8, 1469, while the Chuzan seifu says his death occurred on June 1, 1469. We cannot rely on these Ryukyuan records for correct dates of the accession, reign, or death of the kings, but there is a document, an official dispatch sent by King Sho En to the Ming court, which gives us reliable information. This was a despatch dated October 3, 1470, in which Sho En reported the death of his predecessor, Sho Toku, and requested investiture for himself.

The aforementioned dispatch to Malacca is considered to have been written about the same time that the dispatch to the Ming was prepared, and thus the dispatch to Malacca must have been prepared by Sho En.

3.3 The dispatch to Malacca in-1470 says that relations with Malacca were opened during the time of Sho En's predecessor, King Sho Toku, and it would be useful to know when this took place. The Chuzan seikan and seifu record the date of the death of King Sho Taikyū, father of Sho Toku, as June 23, 1460, and the Chinese record Huang-Ming shih-lu reports that Sho Toku's envoy came in May 1462 bringing a message concerning Sho Taikyū's death and a request for investiture of Sho Toku. The latter date was based on a memorial submitted to the Chinese emperor by one of his officials after the Ryukyuan envoy entered Peking. It is presumed that the envoy reached China from Ryukyu in the autumn of 1461. It may be assumed that it was before the spring of 1462 that Sho Toku, after having succeeded to the throne, opened relations with Malacca.

3.4 Ryukyuan kings were in touch with a number of Malaccan kings or sovereigns. For information as to the establishment of Malacca and the reigns and deeds of its kings, there is a Malayan chronicle compiled in 1612 on the basis of oral traditions then extant in the southern Malay peninsular. Historical research in the chronology of Malaccan kings, however, should be based on records of the Ming in order to be complete. Listed below are the names of the Malaccan kings known to have paid tribute to China, based on the Ming-shih and an article by G. Ferrand. "Malaka, le Malayu et Malayur."

"Pa-li-mi-su-la" = Paramesvara, paying tribute in 1405.

"Mu-kan-sa-u-ti-r-sha" = Muhammad Sekandar Shah, in 1414, reporting the death of his father and receiving permission to succeed to the throne.

"Hsi-li Ma-ha-la" = Sri Maharaja, upon his father's death in 1424, ascending the throne and coming to China, accompanied by his wife, children, and officials.

"Hsi-li Pa-mi-kuei(-hsi)-r-tiu-pa-sha" = Sri Paramesvaradeva, in 1445, sending an envoy to request an imperial letter, ceremonial robes embroidered with designs of four-clawed dragons, and umbrellas for the king.

"Su-lu-t'an Wu-ta-fu-na-sha" = Sultan Muzafar Shah, in 1455, requesting investiture.

"Su-tan Mang-su-sha" = Sultan Mansur Shah, in 1459, Crown Prince Su-tan Mang-su-sha dispatching an envoy to pay tribute and requesting investiture.

"Ma-ha-mu-sha" = Muhammad Shah, after 1481, receiving investiture.

"Su-tuan Ma-mat" = Sultan Muhammad Shah, in 1508, paying tribute.

3.5 Among the above kings, "Hsi-li Ma-ha-la" was given a banquet at the time of his departure from Peking, in the fourth month of 1424, and thus it is considered that he probably voyaged to China in the summer of 1423. The envoy sent by "Hsi-li Pa-mi-hsi-r-tiu-pa-sha" is recorded to have requested the grant of various things in the third month of 1445. This would lead us to assume that the envoy's voyage took place in the summer of 1444. As for "Su-lu-t'an Wu-ta-fu-na-sha," he could not have been requesting investiture because as king, he was dispatching a local chieftain, "Ma-na-hung", and others to pay tribute in 1455. The envoys were given a banquet and presents in Peking in the fifth month, and it is considered that they made their voyage the year before.

3.6 The foregoing is intended as background information for the documents relative to Ryukyuan-Malaccan relations.

< Document 4 >

XXXIX, Doc. No. 10

Lo-hsi-ma-na of Malacca respectfully submits this dispatch to Your Majesty the King of the Country of Ryukyu.

We have learned that one of your ships was cast ashore in Chiao-chih [northern Annam], and, wanting to obtain water, [the Ryukyuan] became engaged in a bloody fight with people of Chiao-chih. Having learned of this, Lo-tso-ma-na dispatched envoys aboard a small ship to go to the land of Chan-ch'eng [Champa; Annam], and after a thorough investigation they found only two men, one of whom died of illness before long.

3.7 Now the envoys of the King of the Country of Ryukyu, including Interpreter Tei Raku, have come to this country, and after they did their business peacefully, they returned to their home country. Lo-tso-ma-na is but a servant of Malacca, and thus a servant in the service of Your Majesty the King of the Country of Ryukyu [as well]. On behalf of the man remaining here [in Malacca; i.e., the Ryukyuan wai], I venture to submit this letter to Your Majesty and request a grant of one sword, one bow-adjusting tool, and a horse saddle. These are for use by the servant who comes begging, and I am your servant indeed.

3.8 The number of voyages of your ships is increasing each year, and we always receive presents. I hope you will give consideration to the unchanging feelings [faithfulness] of your servant.

Long live the King!

Ch'eng-hua 16/3/2 [April 11, 1480]

Respectfully,

Lo-tso-ma-na

< Document 5 >

Volume XLII, Document No. 3 (1509 Malacca)

King Sho Shin of Chuzan, the Country Ryukyu, in reference to tributary affairs, now makes this known. This country, being deficient in products and lacking tributary goods, still suffers great inconvenience. For this reason, we are now dispatching Chief Envoy Kamadu, Interpreter Ko Ken, and others aboard a seagoing ship bearing the designation K'ang, with a cargo of porcelain and other goods, to proceed to the productive land of Malacca to purchase such products as sapanwood and pepper through mutually satisfactory arrangements, and then to return to the country to make preparations for the presentation of tribute to the Celestial Court of the Great Ming in a subsequent year.

3.9 There is no special document, however, on which the members of this mission now departing can rely, and it is deeply feared that they may encounter the inconvenience of investigations and obstructions by officials along the way. Accordingly the Royal

Court has now issued a certificate stamped with a seal bearing half each of the character Hsuan and the number 174, to be received and borne by Chief Envoy Kamadu and others in proceeding on their mission.

3.10 In the event of investigation by guards at landings and by coastal patrol officers in the course of the voyage, it is requested that the mission be released and that no obstacles that might cause delay and inconvenience be put in its way. Let this certificate be given to the envoys.

It is now stated [that the mission consists of] :

One chief envoy:	Kamadu
Two deputy envoys:	Manyuku, Gurami
Two interpreters:	Ko Ken, Ko Ga
Pilot:	Ryo Jitsu
General manager of the ship:	Mabuta
No. of personnel including crew:	150 persons
Cheng-te 4/8/18 [September 2, 1509]	

The above certificate has been issued for and received by Chief Envoy Kamadu, Interpreter Ko Ken, and others.
Certificate

< Implication >

Document 4 explain the ship wreck in Chiao-chih [northern Annam] and other difficulties Ryukyuan faced there. Malacca sent some mission to investigate and rescue them. We have another source of Annam information through Malacca.

Document 5 includes ordinal and regular trading purpose with detailed names of commodities they required to buy in Malacca as well as the certificate to identify themselves for security purposes which we found in the document 1 for Annam.

3.11 We can conclude that we found altogether three different types of documents from Ryukyu king to South Sea countries. They are (1) general certificate for security purposes, (2) certificate with trade document, and (3) regular trade document. In the case of Annam, it is a general certificate for security purpose and it reflects geo-economical and geo-political position of Annam in the South China Sea. There Chinese and Ryukyu traders had to move along with the long coastal line of Annam to attain their trading purposes under the situation of rapidly increasing trade with East and West (primarily with India and China) in spices, rice, and other luxury goods of the South Sea maritime region,

4. CONCLUSION

4.1 What is the relationship between Confucianism and maritime sea ? How did Confucians observe maritime sea ? There is a sharp distinction between inland thinking and maritime thinking. Confucians focused inland rather exclusively. They prohibited the migration of peoples in order to stabilize land-based power structure and agricultural production to which power relied on for many centuries, whereas, maritime sea thinking emphasizes exchange of people, commodities, money, and networks. In the case of

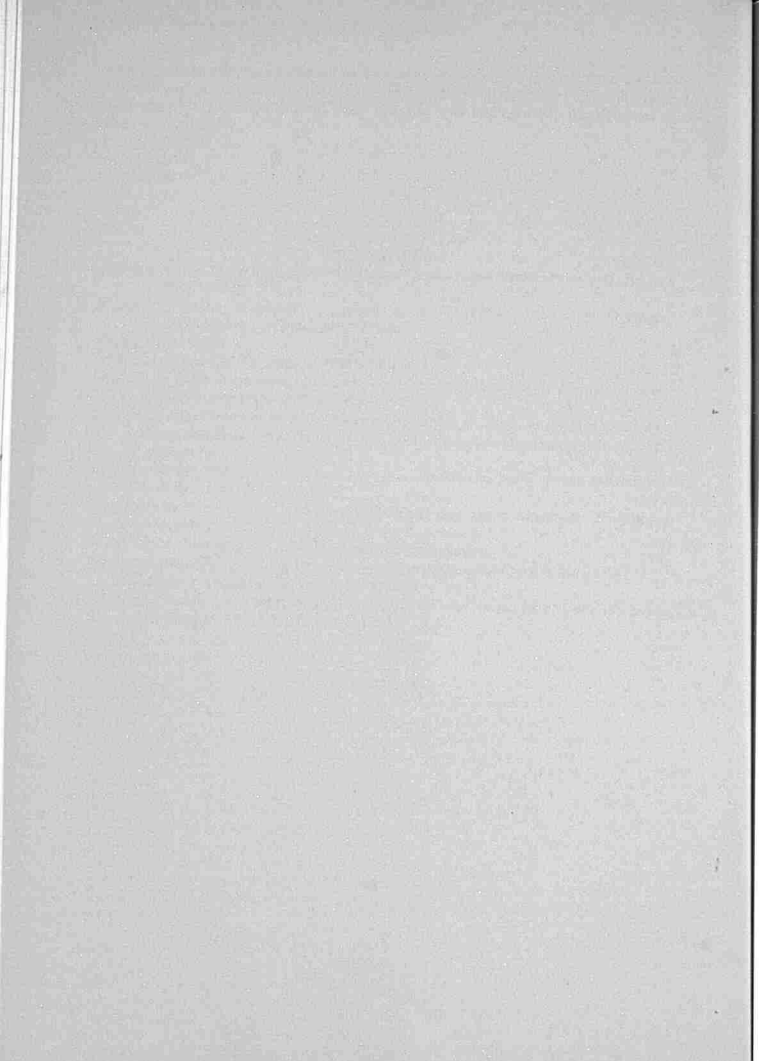
Ryukyuan Confucianists surrounded by maritime seas, they completely ignored sea and trade of sea product, and they advocated and focused self-sufficient village life and agricultural work in the rice field which occupied only small portion of production in Ryukyu Islands.

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BIODATA PENULIS KERTAS KERJA

(1)



Name : Chong Fah Hing
Position : Pensyarah, Jabatan Bahasa Asing
Address : Fakulti Bahasa Moden dan Komunikasi,
Universiti Putra Malaysia,
43400 Serdang.
Tel : 03-89468675
Email : fhchong@putera.upm.edu.my

Research Interests: 1. Kesusasteraan Mahua
2. Sastera Bandingan Mahua-Melayu

Publications : 1. *Duan Ni*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Penterjemahan dan Penulisan Kreatif Malaysia 1998. (Editor)
2. *Nyanyian Sepi: Puisi Pilihan Lim Swee Tin (1973-1998)* Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Siswazah Jabatan Pengajian Tionghua Universiti Malaya, 2000. (Translator)

(2)



Name : Dr. Claudine Salmon
Position : Director of research at the National Centre for Scientific Research,
Paris.

Address : 154, Rue de Vaugirard,
Paris 75015, France.
Email : Claudine.Salmon@ehess.fr

- Publications :
1. *Un Exemple d'acculturation chinoise: la province du Guizhou au XVIIIe s.* (One Case of Chinese Acculturation: The Guizhou Province during the 18th Century), Paris, Publications de l'EFEO, vol. LXXXIV, 1972, 461 p.
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13. *Hainan – entre la Chine et l'Asie du Sud-Est / von China nach Sudostasien* (Hainan Between China and Southeast Asia), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag (Roderich Ptak & C. Salmon Eds, with the assistance of Shing Mueller), 2001, 316 p. (partly in German, partly in French).

(3)



Name : Edmund Terence Gomez

Position : Associate Professor at the Faculty of Economics & Administration,
University of Malaya.

Address : Faculty of Economics,
University of Malaya,
Lembah Pantai 50603,
Kuala Lumpur.

Tel : 03-79673670

Email : terencegomez@hotmail.com

- Publications :
1. *Politics in Business: UMNO's Corporate Investments*, Kuala Lumpur: Forum, 1990.
 2. *Money Politics in the Barisan Nasional*, Kuala Lumpur: Forum, 1991.
 3. *Political Business: Corporate Involvement of Malaysian Political Parties*, Townsville: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1994.
 4. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage and Profits* (with K.S. Jomo), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
 5. *Chinese Business in Malaysia: Accumulation, Accommodation, Ascendance*, London/Honolulu: Curzon Press/University of Hawaii Press, 1999.
 6. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage and Profits* (with K.S. Jomo), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 (Revised Edition).
 7. *Ethnic Futures: The State and Identity Politics in Asia*, (with J.P. Czarnecka, D.R. Senanayake and A. Nandy), New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1999.
 8. *Chinese Business in Southeast Asia: Contesting Essentialism, Understanding Entrepreneurship* (with Michael H.H. Hsiao) (eds), London: Curzon Press, 2001.
 9. *Political Business in East Asia*, (ed.), London: Routledge (2002).
 10. *The 1995 Malaysian General Elections: A Report and Commentary*, Occasional Paper No. 93, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1996.

11. *Political Business in Malaysia*, Occasional Paper No. 8, Department of Intercultural Communication and Management, Copenhagen Business School, Frederiksberg, 1997.
12. *Ethnic Chinese Business (Research) in Southeast Asia* (with Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao), PROSEA Occasional Paper No.25, Program for Southeast Asian Area Studies, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1999.
13. *Chinatown and Transnationalism: Ethnic Chinese in Europe and Southeast Asia* (with Gregor Benton), Canberra: Centre for the Study of the Chinese Southern Diaspora, Australian National University.

(4)



- Name : Prof. Hamashita Takeshi
- Position : Professor, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University
- Address : Institute for Southeast Asian Studies,
Kyoto University,
46, Shimo Adachicho, Yoshida,
Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606-8501,
Japan.
Tel : 81-75-753-7300
Fax : 81-75-753-7350
Email : hama@cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp
- Publications :
1. *Overseas Chinese Remittance and Asian Banking History*. In Olive Checkland (ed). Pacific Banking, 1859-1959, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1994
 2. *The Tribute Trade System and Modern Asia*. In A.J.H. Latham (ed). Japanese Industrialization And The Asian Economy. London: Routledge. 1994
 3. *The Future of Northeast Asia: Southeast Asia?*. In S. Kotokin and D. Wolff (eds). Rediscovering Russia in Asia: Siberia and the Far East. New York: M.E. Sharpe 1995
 4. *The Intra-regional System in East Asia in Modern Times*. In Peter J. Katzenstein (ed). Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. 1997
 5. *Tribute and Treaties: East Asian Treaty Ports Networks in the Era of Negotiation, 1834-1894*. European Journal Of East Asian Studies. 2001

(5)



Name : Dr. Ho Khai Leong
Position : Senior Lecturer
Address : Department of Political Sciences,
National University of Singapore,
Kent Ridge, Singapore 119260.
Tel : 02-6874-3979
Fax : 02-6779-6815
Email : polhokl@nus.edu.sg

(6)



Name : Prof. Dr. Leo Suryadinata
Position : Professor Department of Political Science,
National University of Singapore (up to 30 June 2002)
Address : Department of Political Science,
National University of Singapore.
Email : polleos@nus.edu.sg
: leosuryadinata@yahoo.com

Research Interests: 1. Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia
2. Society and Culture in Island Southeast Asia
3. State, Religion and Nationalism in ASEAN

Publications : 1. *Ethnic Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia: a dialogue between tradition and modernity*. Singapore: Times Academic Press, (forthcoming)
2. *Elections and politics in Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.
3. *Nationalism and globalization: east and west*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000.

4. *Etnis Tionghoa dan pembangunan bangsa*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999.
 5. *Interpreting Indonesian politics*. Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1998.
 6. *Politik luar negeri Indonesia di bawah Soeharto*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1998.
-

(7)



Name : Mr. Leon Comber
Position : Honorary Research Fellow, Monash University
Address : Monash Asia Institute,
P. O. Box 11A,
Monash University,
Victoria 3800,
Australia.
Email : Leon.Comber@admin.monash.edu.au

Research Interests: The role of the intelligence agencies and Special Branch in the first Malayan emergency 1948 – 60.

- Publications :
1. *13 May 1969: a historical survey of Sino-Malay relations*. Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1983.
 2. *Prize-Winning Asian fiction* (ed). Hong Kong: Times Educational Books Ltd. & Hong Kong University Press, 2000.
 3. *The traditional mysteries of Chinese secret societies in Malaya*. Singapore: Eastern University Press, 1961.
 4. *Favourite stories – Malaysia*. Singapore: Heinemann Asia, 1995. (Bahasa Melayu edn. *Cerita-cerita suka ramai Malaysia*. Singapore: Heinemann Asia, 1997).
 5. *Favourite stories – Sabah & Sarawak*. Singapore: Heinemann Asia, 1995. (Bahasa Melayu edn. *Cerita-cerita suka ramai Sabah dan Sarawak*. Singapore: Heinemann Asia, 1997).
-

(8)



- Name : Prof. Liang Liji
- Positions :
1. Professor, the Indonesian-Malaysian Language and Culture, Peking University
2. Director, the Institute of Indonesian-Malaysian, Peking University
3. Honorary Director, the Institute of Southeast Asia, Peking University
4. Chief editor, Indonesian-Chinese Dictionary, Peking University
- Address :
Lan Qi Ying
6-1801,
Hai Dian District, Beijing 100084,
China.
Email : ljliang@pku.edu.cn
- Research Interests:
1. Indonesian-Malaysian language, literature, culture and history
2. Oriental Literature
- Publications :
1. The entries on Indonesian and Malaysian literature in the *Chinese Encyclopedia*, 1982.
2. *History of Foreign Literature (Afro-Asian Section)*. Chief editor, 1983.
3. *Concise History of Oriental Literature*. Vice chief-editor, 1987.
4. *Telaah Sastra (Anthology of Literature Articles)*. Peking University, 1987.
5. Masalah Periodisasi Sejarah Sastra Indonesia, *RIMA*, 1987.
6. *Pengajaran dan Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia di Tiongkok, Kongres Bahasa V*. Jakarta, 1988.
7. *Kamus Baru Indonesia-Tionghoa*. Chief-editor, Peking 1989.
8. *History of Oriental Literature I & II*. Vice-chief-editor, Peking 1995.
9. *Lembaran Sejarah Gemilang Hubungan Empayar Melaka-Dinasti Ming Abad ke-15*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1996.
10. *Four Major Cultures in the World and Southeast Asian Culture*. 2000.
11. *Kamus Lengkap Indonesia-Tionghoa*. Chief-editor, Jakarta Pt Elex Media Komputindo Kelompok Gramedia, 2000.

(9)



- Name : Drs. Myra Sidharta
- Position : Freelance Researcher

Address : Prapanca Raya 27,
Jakarta 12160,
Indonesia.
Tel : 62-21-7222456
Fax : 62-21-7247883
Email : sidharta@pacific.net.id

Research Interest: Indonesian Chinese

- Publications :
1. 'Introduction to the works of Queeny Chang', Archipel 24, 1982.
 2. *The making of the Indonesian Chinese Woman, paper for the Symposium on Images and Ideas concerning women and the feminine in the Indonesian Archipelago.* In Elsbeth Locher Scholten and Anke Niehof (eds). Indonesian Women in Focus. Dordrecht: Foris Publication 1989.
 3. *Menuju Kesejahteraan Jiwa.* Collaboration with M. A. W. Brouwer and Anna Alisyahbana. Jakarta: Gramedia, (1977).
 4. *Wanita Peranakan Cina.* In M. A. W. Brouwer es (ed) Kepribadian dan Perubahannya. Jakarta: Gramedia, 1978.
 5. *Rumah Sakit Dalam Cahaya Ilmu Jiwa.* Collaboration with M.A.W. Brouwer and Anna Alisjahbana. Jakarta: P.T. Grafidian Jaya, 1983.

(10)



Name : Dr. Obaidellah Mohamad
Position : Lecturer at the Department of Chinese Studies Universiti Malaya
Address : Jabatan Pengajian Tionghua,
Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial,
Universiti Malaya,
50603 Kuala Lumpur.
Tel : 03-79675644
Email : obaidellah@hotmail.com

- Research Interests:
1. Penyelaras Projek Epigrafi Arab di Negeri China.
 2. Kajian Islam di Negeri China.
 3. Kajian bahan-bahan sejarah Cina mengenai dunia Melayu.
 4. Penyelidikan tentang pemikiran dalam sastera Cina.
 5. Kajian kategori konsep dalam falsafah Cina.
 6. Penyelidikan tentang falsafah etika Konfusianisme.
 7. Terjemahan sastera Cina Islam.
 8. Penyelidikan tentang tamadun Cina.

- Publications : 1. Lun Yu: Pembicaraan Konfusius, 1994, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
3. Meng Zi, 1995, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
4. Bicara Puisi dan Bicara Penyair Ai Qing, 1996 DTP Enterprise Sdn. Bhd.
-

(11)



Name : Dr. Ooi Kee Beng
Position : Lecturer, Department of Chinese Studies, Stockholm University

Address : Department of Chinese Studies,
Stockholm University, Kraftriket 4 B,
SE-106 91 Stockholm,
Sweden.
Tel : 48-8-164929
Fax : 00468155464
Email : keebeng.ooi@telia.com

- Research Interests:
1. The philosophical, cultural and psychological processes involved in nation-building.
 2. Modern language philosophy
 3. Theories about knowledge
 4. Post-colonialism and contemporary racism
 5. Confucian psychology and ancient Chinese political concepts.
 6. Classical Chinese.
 7. Translating Chinese classics, especially martial works
 8. The psychological effects of *taijiquan* and *qigong*
 9. Taoist ethics.

- Publications :
1. *De åtta kinesiska klassikerna om krigskonst.* (The eight military classics of China). Collection of translations in collaboration with Dr. Bengt Pettersson. Stockholm: *Prisma*. (Forthcoming, Autumn 2003).
 2. *Demoner och idealbilder: Den kollektiva identitetens behov av karikatyrer av den 'andre'.* (Demons and ideals: the collective identity's need of caricatures of the other) in *Orientaliska Studier* nr. 109, 2002. Association of Oriental Studies, Stockholm.
 3. *Wei Liao Zis Krigskonst.* (Wei Liao Zi's counsel on war). Translation of the military classic *Wei Liao Zi*. The Operative Institute, Military College, Stockholm. *Acta Series C12*, 2002.
 4. *Etnicitet som politisk produkt.* (Ethnicity as political product), in *Orientaliska Studier* nr. 107, 2002. Association of Oriental Studies,

Stockholm.

5. *The State and its Changdao: sufficient discursive commonality in nation renewal, with Malaysia as case study.* Chinese Culture Series No.1/2001. Stockholm University.
 6. *Wu Zi's krigskonst (Wu Zi's art of war)*, translation of the military classic *Wu Qi*. The Operative Institute, Military College, Sweden. *Acta Series C10*, 2001.
-

(12)



- Name : Oong Hak Ching @ Ong Hap Ching
- Position : Pensyarah di Pusat Pengajian Sejarah, Politik dan Strategi,
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
- Address : Pusat Pengajian Sejarah, Politik & Strategi,
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia,
43600 Bangi, Selangor.
Tel : 03-829235710,
- Research Interests:
1. Sino-Malay Relation (National Integration)
 2. Chinese Communities in Southeast Asia
 3. Chinese Politics in Malaya
 4. Buddhism
- Publications : 2000. Chinese Politics in Malaya. The dynamics of British Policy.
Bangi: Penerbit UKM
-

(13)



- Name : Rosey Wang MA
- Position : Researcher

Address : 60, Persiaran Syed Putera, 50460 Kuala Lumpur.
Tel : 22742434
Email : roseyma@tm.net.my

Research Interests: Chinese Muslims in Malaysia

- Publications :
1. Research on *Difficulties faced by Chinese Muslims in Malaysia* resulting in a thesis presented to the Postgraduate Centre of International Islamic University Malaysia for the degree of Master of Education. 1994-1995
 2. Co-researcher for the project *Chinese Muslims in Malaysia*, Academia Sinica, July 1999-December 2001
 3. *Translation into Chinese* of the above thesis at the request of Academia Sinica – Central Research Academy of Taiwan, PROSEA 2000-2001
 4. *Chinese Muslims and their Ethnic Relations*, panel paper presented at Third International Conference on Sinology, Taipei, June 2000 Panel: Overseas Chinese and Indigenous People: Ethnic Relations in Overseas Chinese Societies.
 5. *Chinese Muslim settlers in Malaysia*. in Asia-Pacific Research Program, March 2002, Taipei: Academia Sinica
 6. *The new Chinese Muslims in Malaysia*. In Asia-Pacific Research Program, March 2002, Taipei: Academia Sinica

(14)



Name : Prof. Dr. Tan Chee Beng

- Positions :
1. Chairperson, Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong
 2. Honorary Advisor to the Leisure and Cultural Services Department, Hong Kong
 3. Honorary Research Fellow, Quanzhou Maritime Museum
 4. Advisor, Museum of Quanzhou Overseas Chinese History

Address : Department of Anthropology,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong,
Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong.
Tel: 852-26097673
Fax: 852-26035218
E-mail: cbtan@cuhk.edu.hk.

- Research Interests:
1. Chinese overseas, including the Baba
 2. Chinese religion
 3. Chinese in Southern Fujian (China)

4. Transnational relations
 5. Indigenous people in Malaysia (Badeng Kenyah, indigenous communal associations, etc.).
- Publications :
1. *The development and distribution of Dejiao Associations in Malaysia and Singapore.* 1985.
 2. *The Baba of Melaka.* 1988.
 3. *Chinese peranan heritage in Malaysia and Singapore.* 1993.
 4. *Communal associations of the indigenous communities of Sarawak: a study of ethnicity and national integration.* 1994.
 5. *The preservation and adaptation of tradition: studies of Chinese religious expressions in Southeast Asia.* 1990.

(15)



- Name : Prof. Wu Zongyu
- Positions :
1. 1961 – Kini Pensyarah, Jurusan Bahasa Melayu, Beijing Foreign Studies University
 2. 1962-1998 Ketua, Jurusan Bahasa Melayu, Beijing Foreign Studies University
 3. 1997 Pengarah, Pusat Bahasa Melayu China
- Address : Malay Language Section,
 Beijing Foreign Studies University,
 2, North Xisanhuan Ave, Beijing,
 China.
 Email : Zongyu98@yahoo.com
- Publications :
1. *Buku Pilihan ceramah Dr. Mahathir*
 2. *Buku cerita rakyat Malaysia yang terpilih*
 3. *Kajian terhadap Kamus Melayu yang terawal-Ma La Ka Yi Yu*
 4. *Sastera Melayu moden*
 5. *Ilmu mengarang Melayu*
 6. *Bentuk sastera rakyat Melayu*

(16)



Name : Mr Yang Quee Yee
Position : Freelance Researcher
Address : 21, Jalan Mengkudu,
Singapore 577398.
Tel : 02 4522085
Email : teeteey@rocketmail.com

Research Interests: 1. Bahasa, sastra, budaya dan sejarah Melayu dan Cina
2. Masalah penginteraksian pelbagai kaum dalam negeri

Publications : 1. *Kamus singkatan bahasa Melayu, Melayu-Cina (Melayu-China)*. 1969
2. *Kamus umum bahasa Malaysia, Melayu-Cina*. 1972
3. *Kamus sari ejaan bersama, Melayu-China-Inggeris (Melayu-China-Inggeris)*. 1973
4. *Kamus sarian ejaan baru, Melayu-Inggeris*. 1975
5. *Kamus Dewan Bahasa Malaysia, Melayu-Cina-Inggeris*. 1976
6. *Kamus intisari edisi baru, (Melayu-Inggeris)*. 1979

(17)



Name : Prof. Zhang Ying Long
Positions : 1. Associate Professor, Institute of Overseas Chinese Studies,
Jinan University, People Republic of China
2. Vice-chairman, Guangdong Society of Overseas Chinese History.
Address : Institute of Overseas Chinese Studies,
Jinan University,
Guangzhou, China.
Tel : 0086-20-85220291

Fax : 020-825-21941
Email : thlq@jnu.edu.cn
: skb@ihw.com.cn

- Research Interests:
1. History of overseas Chinese
 2. History of Malaysia
 3. History of Sino-Foreign Relations

- Publications :
1. *The History of overseas Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia* (Co-author). Guangzhou: Guangdong Higher Education Press, 1991.
 2. *A Corpus of historical data on Malaysia in Chinese ancient books* (Co-author). Kuala Lumpur: the Federation of Chinese Assembly Halls 1998.
 3. *Encyclopedia of Chinese overseas: on Chinese Hometowns* (Vice Chief Editor). Beijing: Chinese Overseas Publishing House, 2001.
 4. *Guangdong overseas Chinese history studies*. Vol I. (chief editor). Hong Kong: Hong Kong Honor Publishing Co, 1999.
 5. *Guangdong overseas Chinese history studies*. Vol II. (vice-chief editor). Hong Kong: Hong Kong Honor Publishing Co, 2001.

(18)



Name : Prof. Zhao Yuezhen
Position : Ketua, Jurusan Bahasa Melayu, Beijing Foreign Studies University
Address : Fakulti Bahasa-Bahasa Asing Asia-Afrika,
Malay Language Section,
Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU),
2, North Xisanhuan Ave,
100089 Beijing,
China.
Email : kuda@263.net

Research Interests: Pengajian Bahasa Melayu dan budaya Melayu

URUSETIA

Pengerusi

Prof Dato' Dr Shamsul Amri Baharuddin

Timbalan Pengerusi

Prof Dr Robiah Sidin

Setiausaha (Penyelaras)

Prof Madya Dr Ding Choo Ming

Penolong Setiausaha

En Athi Sivan a/l Mariappan

Bendahari

Othman Musa

JK Kertas Kerja

Prof Dato' Dr Shamsul Amri Baharuddin (Ketua)

Prof Dr Robiah Sidin

Prof Madya Dr Ding Choo Ming

Dr Yang Ching Leng

Dr Hou Kok Chung

DR Obaidellah Mohamad

Dr Lim Chooi Kwa

JK Kewangan

Prof Dato' Dr Shamsul Amri Baharuddin (Ketua)

Prof Madya Dr Ding Choo Ming

Othman Hj Musa

AJK Publisiti

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En Ahmad Adzhar Abu Hassan

Cik Arba'eyah Abd Rahman

Cik Norzaimah Zainol

AJK Cenderamata dan Tanda Nama

En Ahmad Adzhar Abu Hassan (Ketua)

Puan Siti Hawa Abu Samah

Cik Noor Zilawati Jais

Cik Arba'eyah Abd Rahman

AJK Logistik

Prof Madya Dr Supyan Hussin (Ketua)

Othman Hj Musa

Cik Haslindawati Hamzah
Sdr Mohd Shuhaimi Umar
En Ahmad Adzhar Abu Hassan

AJK Pengangkutan dan Penginapan

Othman Hj Musa
En Athi Sivan a/l Mariappan

AJK Jamuan

Tuan Hj Khalil Ahmad (Ketua)
Puan Faridah Bujal
Cik Rosiha Abd Mahap
Cik Norzaimah Zainol
Cik Arifah Fasha Rosmani

AJK Percetakan

Prof Madya Dr Ding Choo Ming (Ketua)
En Ahmad Adzhar Abu Hassan
Tuan Hj Khalil Ahmad

AJK Pendaftaran

Prof Madya Dr Supyan Hussin (Ketua)
Prof Madya Dr Nor Hashimah Jalaluddin
Puan Nor Hamah Abd Khalil
Cik Rumaizah Mohamad
Puan Siti Hawa Abu Samah
Cik Noor Zilawati Jais
Cik Arba'eyah Abd Rahman
Cik Haslindawati Hamzah

Penyambut Tetamu

Prof Dato' Dr Shamsul Amri Baharuddin (Ketua)
Pro Dr Robiah Sidin
Prof Dato' Dr Wan Hashim Wan Teh
Prof Dato' Dr Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abdul Rahman
Prof Madya Dr Noriah Mohamad

Peralatan Persidangan

Prof Madya Dr Supyan Hussin (Ketua)
Othman Hj Musa
En Mohamad Shuhaimi Umar

Pengerusi Majlis (MC) Majlis Perasmian dan sepanjang persidangan

En Harun Bintang
En Mardian Shah Omar

Menjunjung Budi

Yang Berhormat Dato' Chan Kong Choy
Timbalan Menteri Kewangan Malaysia

Prof Datuk Dr Anuwar Ali
Naib Canselor Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

Prof Dato' Dr Abdul Samad Hadi
Timbalan Naib Canselor (Hal-ehwal Akademik) UKM

Prof Dato' Dr. Mohd. Salleh Mohd. Yasin
Timbalan Naib Canselor (Hal-ehwal Pelajar) UKM

Prof Dato' Dr. Mohammed Noor Embi
Timbalan Naib Canselor (Hal-ehwal Pembangunan)

Prof Dr Wang Gungwu

Tan Sri Dato Lim Guan Teik
Nantah Education and Research Foundation

Encik Lee Seng Gee
Lee Foundation

Encik Yang Quee Yee

Jabatan Perdana Menteri

The Star

Berita Harian

Nanyang Siang Pau

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Para Peserta Kolokium

Terima kasih kepada semua yang terlibat, baik perseorangan mahupun berkumpulan, yang turut menjayakan Majlis Perasmian Kolokium. Jasa baik saudara tetap terakam dalam kenangan.