

Major Library Holdings of Early Malay Books

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Abstrak: Satu tinjauan telah dibuat untuk mencari dan mencatatkan buku-buku Melayu yang diterbitkan di rantau Malaysia-Singapura dalam tempoh seratus tahun pertama sejarah percetakan di rantau ini, dari 1817 hingga 1920. Hampir 2,200 buah bahan telah dikenalpasti di 13 buah perpustakaan negara, umum dan akademik di England, Belanda, Indonesia, Singapura dan Malaysia. Buku-buku ini terdiri daripada penerbitan-penerbitan mubaligh Kristian, beberapa buah terjemahan daripada roman-roman Cina kepada bahasa Melayu Baba, buku-buku sekolah, panduan kepada syaria Islam dan sebilangan besar penerbitan popular dalam bentuk syair dan hikayat. Sebahagian besar daripada buku-buku lama ini mungkin hanya tinggal satu-satu naskhah sahaja.

Abstract: An attempt has been made to locate and record Malay books published in the Malaysia-Singapore region during the first hundred years of printing, from 1817 to 1920. About 2,200 items were located in 13 national, public and academic libraries in England, the Netherlands, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. The books include Christian mission publications, a few Baba translations of Chinese romances, school books, guides to Islamic doctrine, and a great number of popular syair and hikayat. Many of these old books may now survive in only one copy.

This is a brief report of a survey undertaken in 1982/83 and 1985. The aim of the survey was to identify early Malay printed material held in major library collections. The survey covered more or less the first hundred years of Malay printing in the Malaysia-Singapore region.

The first locally printed book in Malay was probably published by the Mission Press at Malacca in 1817. This is the starting point of the survey. The decision to close the survey at around 1920 was not entirely for the sake of convenience. In his recent book *Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century: the Beginnings of Change*, Gullick observes:

The end of an epoch and the beginning of another cannot be dated precisely. But one can recognize that by, say, 1920 an age had ended and another had begun. By that date, the Malay community had set aside its initial doubts about the lay education of its sons (and its daughters) - so much so that the Malays were demanding that the network of vernacular schools, a powerful instrument for change, should be extended throughout the Malay states. It was also the time when rubber cultivation, originally confined to plantations, had be-

come widespread among Malay smallholders, thereby offering an opportunity of economic advance. The motor car, and the rural bus service running on all-weather roads, had begun to narrow the gap between countryside and town. ...

These and other factors of change did not have a clear-cut beginning in 1920. On the contrary, one can find their origins in the twenty years which began at the turn of the century. So 1900 - 1920 may be regarded as a watershed. This is perhaps the period when the modern Malaya (and later Malaysia) began to take shape.¹

Malay publishing had also crossed a watershed by 1920. By then key characteristics of its modern structure had begun to emerge.² By 1920, improved communications had allowed the development of new media more capable of exploiting the opportunities thus created. Thus newspapers and magazines had begun to displace books as the pre-eminent form of mass communication. The predominance of periodicals in this new period also ushered in more modern literary forms. This is remarked by Za'ba in his survey of "Modern Developments".³ Alongside developments in journalism, creative roman-

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tic prose fiction written in Malay, and translations of fiction from mainly Egyptian and English sources, appeared. Such material has been listed by Rugayah Abdul Rashid and by Ding Choo Ming.⁴

Before embarking on the present survey, I had the false impression that nineteenth century manuscripts and printed missionary tracts gave way to a modern twentieth century exemplified by the Malay Literary Series, newspapers, and school books. This proved to be far from true. From 1817 to the 1860's, printing was indeed the preserve of the Christian missions. But during the half-century from 1860 to 1910 a flourishing Malay book trade sprang up in the Straits Settlements, particularly in Singapore. A large number of cheap Malay lithographs were put out by commercial publishers. This should not, perhaps, have surprised me. Wilkinson used many such works in compiling his *Dictionary*, and Winstedt has a few in the bibliography of his *History of Classical Malay Literature*. Overbeck was interested in some of these texts, and Dutch manuscript cataloguers also made passing mention of these early lithographs. Yet this underlines the problem. References to this considerable body of material have so often been *in passing* that it has not received its due. By contrast, William Roff's works have given early Malay journalism its rightful place in the sun.

Early book publishing, and particularly early lithographic printing, make up a considerable area of earlier Malay cultural activity which deserves to be better known. The purpose of this survey is to make this neglected material more accessible. I intend that the present short preliminary report should be followed soon by a more detailed inventory which will enable particular titles and editions to be located.

Scope of the survey

The survey covers both Malay-language books and books published for Malay readers. Thus a few books on religious topics published in Arabic and Javanese are included, as are a few bilingual English and Malay works, provided they were published or printed in the Malaysia-Singapore area. However these special cases are insignificant beside the great bulk of Malay-language publication. Of the Malay-language books, most were published by local Malay or Javanese pub-

lishers, mainly based in Singapore. Other significant but less prolific sources of publication were the Christian missions and the publishers of government-sponsored school books.⁵ Baba Malay publishing, though an interesting phenomenon during the latter part of the survey period, is not numerically significant.

The geographical scope of the Malaysia-Singapore area is broadly defined. It is taken to include the Straits Settlements, the Malay States of the peninsula, Sarawak, Riau, Palembang, and Bencoolen. Inclusion of the last three areas deserves comment. Close ties existed between the literary and publishing world of Riau and the neighbouring urban centre of Singapore. As an instance of these links, the Al-Ahmadiyah press of Penyengat-Inderasakti was re-established in Singapore after 1911.⁶ Similarly, a few works issued at Palembang were printed in Singapore. The relationship with Bencoolen is different: early English missionary printing before 1826 in Sumatra and particularly at Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen, may be seen as a precursor of mission printing in the Straits Settlements.

Works printed elsewhere may have been intended for publication in Singapore or Malaysia, or at least for simultaneous release in the region. Some Protestant missionary tracts printed at Parappattan, Batavia, fall into this class.⁷ Similarly Malay Islamic works published in Cairo, Mecca, and Istanbul may have been destined directly and indirectly for the regional market.⁸ Even more specifically directed to Singapore outlets were the Malay-language works published in Bombay.⁹ However, no such items have been included in the survey.

Within these definitions, about 2,200 items were located. Allowing for duplicate copies, these comprise well over 1,700 separate editions of 830 titles. A very large proportion of this material was produced in Singapore, and the overwhelming majority in the urban centres of the Straits Settlements.

	Editions
Straits Settlements	91%
<i>Singapore</i>	81%
<i>Malacca</i>	3%
<i>Penang</i>	7%
Peninsular Malay States	4%

Riau-Lingga	2%
Sarawak	2%
Bencoolen	0.5%

The prominence of Singapore and Penang stems from a number of linked factors, among which are the urban mercantile society of the Straits Settlements, with its higher levels of education and literacy, the communications and trade networks radiating from these centres, and the Settlements' concurrent role as administrative centres.¹⁰

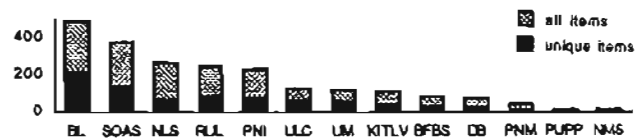
The survey is based upon the holdings of thirteen significant public collections, and a few of minor importance. Each of the libraries holding these collections was visited in an attempt to locate relevant material. As far as the material was available, it was physically examined.

The major collections surveyed are located in Britain, the Netherlands, Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia.

BL	British Library, London
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, London
ULC	University Library, Cambridge
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society, London
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden
RUL	Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden (Leiden University Library)
PNI	Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Library), Jakarta
NLS	National Library of Singapore
NMS	National Museum of Singapore
UM	Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya (University of Malaya Library)
DB	Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur
PNM	Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (National Library of Malaysia), Kuala Lumpur
PUPP	Perpustakaan Umum Pulau Pinang (Penang Public Library)

The following graph shows the size of the

relevant collections of early Malay imprints in the surveyed libraries, and gives an impression of the proportion of each collection which comprises unique items.



In terms of the survey, unique items are those not held in the other collections surveyed. Items which are unique in this sense are very likely to be *in fact* the sole surviving examples of their editions.

BL: British Library

487 items, of which 211 are unique.

The British Library (formerly known as the British Museum) has easily the largest collection of early Malaysian imprints. Its collection is outstandingly strong in two areas.

In 1888, the British Library acquired much of the rich collection of early missionary imprints assembled by the doyen of French Oriental studies, the Abbe Favre.¹¹ At a stroke it gained the finest collection of early to mid-nineteenth century Malay-an imprints.

Its second major strength lies in its comprehensive coverage of material published in Singapore and Penang from 1887 onwards. This springs from its role as a statutory deposit library under the Imperial Copyright Act of 1886. In the Straits Settlements this imperial act was applied through the Books Registration Ordinance 1886 (later the Printers and Publishers Ordinance). Similar provisions were enacted for the Federated Malay States in 1915. Under these enactments, quarterly memoranda listing registered books were to be published in the Government Gazette, and one copy of each book registered was to be sent to the British Museum.¹² This rule was observed, and today in the British Library Oriental Collections (formerly Department of Ori-

ental Manuscripts and Printed Books) one may see registers compiled from the gazetted memoranda marked off as the books had been received. Unfortunately, not all material received was retained. Some interesting items which may have been regarded as ephemera are apparently not in the collection. However, some material from the early twentieth century is still uncatalogued, giving hope that not all is truly lost. At the same time of my visit, about 60% of the registered Malay material could be located through the card catalogues.

Nor was all printed material caught by the registration system. Government publications were exempt from registration, and therefore, ironically, are not well represented in this most official of collections. And a fair number of books liable to registration, slipped past. Of the Singapore and Penang editions covered by this survey and liable to registration, somewhat less than half were in fact registered.

The collection is kept in closed shelves and arranged by the shelf-number system. Books published in Malay and other non-European languages are kept in the Oriental Collections, while bilingual publications which involve a European language will generally be found in the main reference collection.

The main reference collection is accessible through the printed *General Catalogue* of the British Library.¹³ This does not include the books held in the Oriental Collections, except for a few Bible translations. A very few bilingual Malay and Arabic works will be found in the printed *Catalogue of the Arabic Books*,¹⁴ but by and large the material relevant to the survey is currently accessible only through card catalogues in the Oriental Collections. These catalogues are divided according to language -- although Malay-language material is further divided into Malay and Indonesian, apparently on the basis of place of publication. The catalogue contains minimal though generally reliable descriptions. (Note though that books with unnumbered pages often have the number of leaves given as the number of pages in the catalogue description.)

The department of Oriental Collections is in the process of committing its catalogue cards to microform, which will make this major collection

much more accessible to scholars outside Britain. Some of the collection is also now available in microform. The National Library of Singapore has a long-standing project to obtain microform copies of all the Singapore Imprints in the British Library which are lacking in its own collection. I understand the Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia is similarly engaged in obtaining copies of the smaller number of Malaysian imprints.

In 1982, the India Office Library and Records was administratively assigned to the British Library. Since this survey was made, a fair number of early Malay and Javanese books from an India Office warehouse have been added to the Oriental Collections of the British Library. To a large extent these books duplicate items already in collection, but with some very valuable additions (including four copies of the 1849 first edition of *Hikayat Abdullah*). These books, and others from the India Office Library and Records, are listed in its catalogue of South East Asia and Minor Languages, issued by the India Office in microfiche.¹⁵

These books have not been included in the present survey, which therefore underestimates the wealth of the total BL collection.

SOAS: School of Oriental and African Studies

379 items, of which 131 are unique.

Next in size after the British Library's collection is that of the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Its notable strengths are a good collection of school books and a number of unique Sarawak publications. This library also houses the archives of the Congregational Council for World Mission (CCWM). The archives include 20 Malay books emanating from the London Missionary Society's presses in Singapore, Malacca and Penang. Conspicuously absent in a collection of this size are Baba translations of Chinese historical romances.

Unlike the British Library collection, which was built upon legal deposit copies, the SOAS collection has been assembled from diverse sources, and reflects the interests of the colonial scholars who staffed the School in its early days. The collection of school books is the more significant because many school books, as govern-

ment publications, were not subject to legal registration and therefore do not figure in the British Library collection.

Location of items is through a card catalogue, in which books are described minimally. An older version of the catalogue is still in use alongside its newer counterpart. Discrepancies between them attest to a moderate rate of attrition in the collection. About 6% of material listed in either catalogue could not be located. At the time of my visit most items were kept on open shelves, although I understand that many rare items are now being withdrawn into closed stacks.

NLS: National Library of Singapore

261 items, of which 68 are unique.

Formerly the Raffles Library and Museum, this library was, like the British Museum, a depository for books registered for publication in the Straits Settlements.¹⁶ At least half of the items relevant to this survey stem from such deposits, by and large duplicating the British Library in this area. However the Singapore deposits are less complete than those of the British Library: Singapore has 30% of the registered books compared with the British Library's 60% (though the Singapore material does include 52 items not located in the British Library).

The collection has suffered heavy attrition both because the Raffles Library operated as a public subscription lending library and because little concern was taken with its non-English books.¹⁷ The severity of the wastage is suggested by the small proportion of the registered books now found in the collection. Similarly, of the items relevant to this survey included in two bequests of which we have early published catalogues, only 18% and 28% remain.¹⁸

Malaysiana research material (prefixed MR) is kept in the Southeast Asia room, to which public access is restricted. Two-thirds of the items relevant to the survey, including books deposited after registration, are kept in rare book cabinets at the rear of this room. The deposit material was at some time randomly collated into bound volumes entitled "Books Published in the Straits Settlements". Direct consultation of this rare material is

discouraged. Most has been microfilmed. No complete list of the material kept in the rare book cabinets was available.

The collection is described in a section of the card catalogue devoted to Malay-language books and, in the case of bilingual books, in the main card catalogue. Further, since most of the items have been microfilmed, they are listed in the *Masterlist of Southeast Asian Microforms*.¹⁹ However, the older catalogue descriptions, which derive from the Raffles Library, are rudimentary and not always accurate. There has been consistent error in converting dates of publication from the Muslim calendar.

In a few instances, books inherited from the Raffles Library have not been re-catalogued, and therefore remain inaccessible - although, curiously, a couple have been microfilmed.

In its national role, the Library has a long-term project under way to compile a complete retrospective bibliography of Singapore imprints, and to obtain microform copies of those publications it does not already hold. To this end a considerable number of microform copies have been obtained from the British Library, and a few from the University of Malaya. In time, a useful research collection will be assembled. Indeed, I trust that the information assembled in preparing this survey will assist in the success of this project.

RUL: Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden

243 items, of which 84 are unique.

In the area and time relevant to the survey, this collection is built upon books gathered by a number of scholars, including works of varied date from Ophuysen and van der Tuuk, a mainly 1890's collection from Hurgronje, and a few items from Rinke, van Ronkel, and Uhlenbeck. Items from the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap (Netherlands Bible Society) are also present, mainly from the 1850's and 1860's. Because the books were thus obtained by private agents and through commercial channels,²⁰ they include many Singapore publications which slipped through the registration procedure. Books published off-shore in Riau are also well represented. As with the School of Oriental and African Studies, however,

the scholarly interests of the collectors did not extend to Baba translations of Chinese historical romances.

The scholarly ambience of this collection is reflected in the expert and informed descriptions of books in the catalogue, which are furthermore sometimes accompanied by references to the scholarly literature or comparable manuscript texts.

The catalogue is kept in small binders containing catalogue slips. These are arranged in separate sequences for books in each language. The main catalogue also covers some satellite collections, like that of the Instituut Kern. The books relevant to the survey represent a small part of the Malay-language listings, and minuscule parts of the listings for Javanese, other Indonesian languages, and Arabic. The survey undoubtedly comes close to a full coverage of the relevant Malay-language material, but may be less complete for other Indonesian languages. Locating the few Arabic works published in Singapore within the vast Leiden Arabic-language holdings would have been almost impossibly time-consuming, and was not attempted.

Published access tools are lacking, though a very few items in the book collection are referred to in the manuscript catalogues of Juynboll and van Ronkel.²¹

The books are kept in closed stacks and arranged by shelf-number. At the time of my visit, the Library was preparing for its move into new premises, now complete.

The collection has remained virtually intact. Considering the liberal access allowed to the book collection, this is a tribute to the probity of three generations of Dutch scholars.

PNI: Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia

232 items, of which 73 are unique.

Formerly the library of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, the premier scholarly society of the Netherlands Indies, this collection is now an important part of the Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia (National Library of Indonesia). There was earlier and more sustained scholarly interest in the Malay language

in the Netherlands Indies than in the British colonial sphere, and this strength is reflected in the Bataviaasch Genootschap collection. It has a good selection of mission press publications dating from the 1840's onward. Like the Leiden collections, it is important for books which were not registered in Singapore and for Riau publications.

The books are kept in closed stacks arranged by shelf-number. They are accessible through sheaf-binders kept by the reference desk, which contain entries in one sequence covering all languages of publication. Description of the books is generally accurate and well-informed, as befits the library of a scholarly society.

Acquisitions by the Bataviaasch Genootschap library were reported quarterly - not always accurately - in the Society's *Notulen*. It was possible to identify about 80% of these items in the current catalogues.

The collection has suffered considerably over time for a combination of reasons. The tribulations of the war years,²² the fact that it has been a lending library, and the current need for the library to assume the role of a public library have all taken their toll. About 25% of the catalogued collection could not be found on the shelves, though not all those items missing are necessarily lost.

ULC: University Library, Cambridge

123 items, of which 54 are unique.

The high proportion of unique items found in this collection is the contribution of T.J. Chamberlain. Chamberlain had collected Malay lithographs published in Singapore during his postings as a cavalry officer in Labuan and Colombo. His collection is particularly valuable because it covers the late 1860's and early 1870's - before the enactment of book registration provisions upon which so much of the British Library and National Library of Singapore coverage depends, and before the Dutch scholars who contributed to the Leiden University collection became actively interested.

Noteworthy, too, in this collection are lithographs collected by Wilkinson, mainly from the 1890's, and some interesting ephemera in the

Scott collection from the same period. Generally, very little of such ephemera has survived in library collections.

At the time of my visit, Chamberlain's and Wilkinson's lithographs had not been catalogued. The library has subsequently issued a list of the Chamberlain lithographs.²³

UM: Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya

118 items, of which 54 are unique.

Since the re-establishment of the University of Malaya Library in Kuala Lumpur in 1962, the Malay collection has been actively developed. It was greatly enriched in 1976 by the bequest of the personal library of Za'ba (Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad), pre-eminent Malay man of letters and first head of the Malay Studies department in the University. Over one-third of the items relevant to this survey are drawn from Za'ba's extensive library. The collection is particularly important for some early Johor and Kelantan imprints, and includes Baba translations from Chinese.²⁴ Of all the library collections surveyed, this has the highest proportion of unique items, though it has little before the 1890's.

Now named the Koleksi Kebangsaan (National Collection), the Malay collection is housed in a wing of the main building of the University of Malaya Library to which only restricted access is allowed. The books are shelved by Library of Congress order, in two sequences to preserve the integrity of the Za'ba collection.

The collection is accurately described in two library publications, *Katalog Koleksi Melayu* and *Koleksi Za'ba*.²⁵ These catalogues bring the Koleksi Kebangsaan alongside the Koninklijk Instituut collection as one of the two most effectively documented collections containing early Malay imprints, and reflect the positive role the University Library takes in publicizing its collections.

The collection includes microfiche copies of a number of items from the library of the Koninklijk Instituut in Leiden. The University of Malaya Library has in turn provided microfiche copies of its Baba books to the National Library in Singapore.

KITLV: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

108 items, of which 37 are unique.

The earlier range and interests of the library of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology are reflected in its former name and location.²⁶ It was previously known as the Koloniale Bibliotheek (Colonial Library) and situated in the Dutch capital at the Hague. It is now situated in Leiden where it serves the research interests of its membership and the academic community in cooperation with the Leiden University Library. As with that library, the material in the Institute's library relevant to this survey is a negligible part of its whole collection. Of the relevant material, there is little older than the 1890's. From that time on, there is a well-rounded collection of commercial and government-sponsored publications, though not of mission or Baba books. The representativeness of the collection is indicated by the degree and evenness of its common ground with the other three older scholarly libraries.

The books are kept in closed stacks, arranged by shelf-number. The collection shows attrition of 4%.

The books are accurately described in sheaf-binders kept in the reading room, and in an excellent parallel series of published catalogues.²⁷ Although the sheaf-binders are the more fully cross-referenced, the printed catalogues are an outstanding reference tool. They give detailed and accurate descriptions of the Institute's extensive library, which includes a great many books published in Malay (mainly in the Netherlands Indies, of course). The printed catalogues are sub-divided into broad subject areas, within which the order of listing is chronological. Using this resource, the University of Malaya Library has obtained microform copies of a number of important items.

DB: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka

77 items, of which 32 are unique.

The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka was founded in 1959, and its young collection has been gathered by active solicitation of books from private

hands. Given this provenance, it is no surprise that some material is in quite poor condition. At the same time, the uncharacteristic sources from which the material has been obtained give this collection a special interest. With very few exceptions, all material can be dated later than 1895.

About half the books included in this survey are kept on open shelves directly accessible to staff of the Dewan and arranged in Dewey order; the remainder - mainly fragile lithographs - are kept in a closed manuscript collection and numbered as part of the manuscript collection. Access to the shelved books is through the card catalogue. Books included in this survey are listed in a section of the catalogue devoted to rare books, which offers cursory descriptions of the books. The material in the manuscript collection is accessible through a brief list kept at the reference desk. An earlier version of this list was published in 1973.²⁸

Of the catalogued and listed material, 17% was not accounted for.

BFBS: British and Foreign Bible Society

79 items, of which 19 are unique.

The Bible society's collection was not physically surveyed. Data have been taken from Darlow and Moule's *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*.²⁹ For the purposes of the survey, this excellent work has two drawbacks. It does not pretend to describe all holdings of the Society's library. It gives a full account of the translations of the scriptures, mentioning other mission publications only incidentally. Secondly, as the description of works in Malay and other Southeast Asian languages was published in 1911, the full time span of the survey is not covered.

PNM: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia

40 items, of which 5 are unique.

The National Library of Malaysia was founded in 1971. This is, therefore, a young collection and has few unique items, though it does contain a sizable number of bilingual works in English and Malay.

The books relevant to this survey are kept in rare book cabinets, in a collection well documented in two short catalogues of rare books published in 1982.³⁰

Like the Singapore National Library, The National Library of Malaysia has a programme to acquire microform copies of early Malaysian imprints from the British Library, although for the period of this survey few items are involved.

PUPP: Perpustakaan Umum Pulau Pinang

11 items, of which 2 are unique.

Stemming originally from the Penang Public Library, which was founded in 1817, this library has the oldest lineage of any in the Malaysia-Singapore area. Its collection, however, has suffered badly from attrition due to its history as a lending library, disruptions of the war years, administrative changes, and a major discard of old stock in poor condition.³¹ However, it probably never included much Malay-language material.³²

Today, the rare books relevant to this survey are kept in closed stacks to the rear of the reading room. Books kept there can be located through the main catalogue, or through a list kept by the librarian.

NMS: National Museum, Singapore

9 items, of which 2 are unique.

The National Museum of Singapore is another successor to the Raffles Library and Museum, housed in the old Museum buildings. The Museum has a small number of Baba publications which have been presented to it since its separation from the National Library. These books are treated as materials for exhibit rather than as library materials, with the result that they are not accessible for consultation by readers. They are kept in a locked cupboard in the Museum administration's workroom.

The works are entered and briefly (though not always correctly) described in a register, which is also kept in the Museum's workroom. The register includes photographic prints of selected title pages.

Other sources

Although the survey covers the major collections of early Malay printed material, it does not pretend to be complete. The omission of a number of books formerly in the India Office Library has already been noted.

A few significant collections have not been surveyed. Some are known to have some relevant material. These include the Yayasan Indera Sakti of Riau, the Arkib Negara in Kuala Lumpur and the Oxford Institute of Social Anthropology.³³ Of these, the Arkib Negara has the most potential for enriching the inventory, especially in the fields of non-book printed materials and government publications of the Unfederated Malay States.

In another category are libraries which may be thought likely to include early Malay printed works but about which little information is available. To be mentioned here are Rhodes House library and the Bodleian library in Oxford, and the Library of Congress in Washington, where publications of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions may be deposited. Perhaps, too, regional and special purpose libraries in Malaysia should be added to this category.

A third category would include libraries which at the time they were surveyed did not have relevant material but which are actively collecting, and may have such material now. As an example, at the time of my visit the Perpustakaan Tun Seri Lanang of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia was on the verge of acquiring a promising private collection from Johor.

Concluding comments

The reasons for the neglect of this often unique material are complex and inter-related. They include the rapid changes in popular literary taste and patterns of leisure during the twentieth century which are associated with the advent of new media - newspapers, film, and the gramophone³⁴ - and with new forms of schooling. Contributory reasons have been the prejudice and political interests of colonial scholars and the preference of the Western philological tradition for working

with manuscripts. Recently younger scholars, discarding the old prejudices and methods, have found this nineteenth century popular literature interesting.³⁵

Yet much early published material has undoubtedly been lost. In time, more early Malay books will emerge in the collections of Europe and America, and more will be collected from dispersed private hands in Malaysia and Indonesia. However it is noticeable that the more recently formed collections in the survey contain very little material dating from before the 1890's. It is therefore likely that a fair proportion of the items identified in this survey as being unique will remain so.

With the passage of time, there is the risk that even what is now retained in library collections will perish. Much of what survives is now in very poor condition. Time has told severely on the works of indigenous printers, who used poor quality paper which has now become fragile. Tropical climatic conditions have exacerbated the problem for Malaysian and Indonesian collections. Consequently the task of identifying, securing and preserving this material is now urgent. When published, the inventory of early Malay books upon which this survey is based may assist in this task. A coordinated microfilming policy, like the programmes begun by the national libraries of Malaysia and Singapore, is probably the most cost-effective answer to immediate problems. A framework for publishing the results of a concerted microfilming project already exists in the SARBICA-CONSAL project which has produced the *Masterlist of Southeast Asian Microforms*.³⁶

Regrettably, present-day political boundaries have influenced library policies, and helped to deny this valuable material its due recognition. The survey clearly establishes Singapore's dominating role in early Malay-language publishing. The fact that these early books were produced in Singapore does not make them any less a part of the Malay - and Malaysian - cultural heritage. On the other hand, for modern Singapore these are the products of a local minority community, and may not therefore receive the attention their wider significance warrants. On this issue, the National Library of Indonesia shows the way. It has not hesitated to include early Singapore lithographs in the Malay section of its bibliography of regional literatures.³⁷

Notes

1. J.M. Gullick, *Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1987, p.1.
2. See I. Proudfoot, "A Formative Period in Malay Publishing", *JMBRAS*, vol. 59, pt. 2 (1986), pp.101-132.
3. Za'ba, "Modern Developments", *JMBRAS*, vol. 17, pt. 3 (1939), pp.147-148, 151-162.
4. Rugayah Abdul Rashid, *Bibliografi Sastra Kreatif Melayu 1920-1967*, Kuala Lumpur, Jabatan Pengajian Melayu Universiti Malaya, Kertas Data 14 (Julai 1977), 26 (Februari 1979), 27 (Mei 1979); Ding Choo Ming, *Bibliografi Sastera Kreatif Melayu*, jilid I: Brunei, Malaysia & Singapura 1920-1980, Bangi, Perpustakaan Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1980.
5. For a breakdown of categories of book production 1887-1920, see Proudfoot, "A Formative Period".
6. See further UU. Hamidy, "Kegiatan Percetakan Riau Seabad Berselang", *Optimis*, no. 36 (January 1983), p.72.
7. So, in the British Library collection, they are bound with Malacca publications, and were put through the press by missionaries active at Malacca.
8. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, Leiden, Brill, 1931, pp.286-287; V. Matheson and M.B. Hooker, "Jawi literature in Patani", *JMBRAS*, vol. 61, pt. 1 (1988), pp.21, 48.
9. Bombay Malay publication began with lithographs of Islamic treatises in the late nineteenth century. In the twentieth century popular *syair* also appear. The most active publisher had Singapore offices at least by 1921.
10. W.R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1967, ch.2.
11. *Bibliothèque de M. l'Abbé Favre ... en vente chez Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc, 1888*, Paris, G-P. Maisonneuve et Larosse, 1974 [reprint].
12. International Copyright Act 1886 (25 June 1886) at *Straits Settlements Government Gazette*, 22 October 1886, pp.1725-1731, and Books Registration Ordinance No. 15 of 1886 at 26 November 1886, pp.2027-2029, with notifications 31 December 1886, pp.2223-2224; Book Registration Order-in-Council No. 17 of 1895, Perak, 4 November 1895, *The Laws of Perak 1877 .. 1896*, p.588; Book Registration Enactment No. 6 of 1898, Selangor, *The Laws of Selangor 1877 .. 1899*, p.655; Printing and Books Enactment 191[5] (Draft) *Federated Malay States Government Gazette*, 18 June 1915, pp.914-918. The Perak and Selangor legislation did not provide for published memoranda of registration.
13. *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*, 360 volumes, London, Bingley & Saur, 1979-1987.
14. *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum*, compiled by A.G. Ellis, 2 volumes, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1894-1901; with supplements.
15. I thank the Curator of Indonesian and Malay, Oriental Collections, British Library (Annabel Gallop) for information concerning these India Office books.
16. Though it is not certain that deposit copies were invariably placed with the Raffles Library, as this was at the Colonial Secretary's discretion.
17. Edward Lim Huck Tee, *Libraries in West Malaysia and Singapore*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Library, 1970, ch.IV, especially pp.76-77.
18. See *Catalogue of the Logan Philological Library, forming a Trust Portion of the Raffles Library*, Singapore, Straits Times Press, 1880; and R. Hanitsch (ed), *Catalogue of the Rost Collection in the Raffles Library, Singapore*, Singapore, American Mission Press, 1897.
19. Winarti Partaningrat (ed), *Masterlist of Southeast Asian Microforms*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 1978; and subsequent microfiche editions.
20. Note Proudfoot, "A nineteenth-century Malay bookseller's catalogue", *Kekal Abadi*, jil. 6, bil. 4 (1987), p.2 referring to an invoice for sixteen Singapore lithographs.
21. H.H. Juynboll, *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der*

- Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*, Leiden, Brill, 1899; Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Supplement-Catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche Handschriften in de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*, Leiden, Brill, 1921.
22. The PNI catalogue entry for W.G. Shellabear's *An English-Malay Dictionary*, Singapore, Methodist Publishing House, 1916, reads "Dipindjam oleh Gunseikanbu Soombu, hilang".
 23. A.K.D[alby], "Malay Lithographs Collected by T.J. Chamberlain", typescript, Cambridge University Library, [1985].
 24. *Koleksi Sastera Peranakan dalam Pegangan Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya, 1979.
 25. *Katalog Koleksi Melayu Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya/Catalogue of the Malay Collection, University of Malaya Library*, Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya, 1980; *Koleksi Za'ba*, Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Universiti Malaya, 1976.
 26. *Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology*, Leiden, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1984, pp.3-4.
 27. *Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië en het Indisch Genootschap*, door G.P. Rouffaer & W.G. Muller, 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1908; and Supplements.
 28. Ibrahim Kassim, "Katalog Manuskrip", *Dewan Bahasa*, jil. 17, bil. 11 (1973), hal. 516-535.
 29. T.H. Darlow & H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 volumes, London, The Bible House, 1903, 1911. Volume II: Polyglots and Languages Other than English.
 30. *Bibliografi Buku-Buku Nadir dalam Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1982; *Bibliografi Buku-Buku Nadir Malaysia/Bibliography of Malaysiana Rare Books*, [Kuala Lumpur], Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1982.
 31. Cf. P. Lim Pui Huen, "A trail of libraries: a personal memoir", in Michael Cheng (ed), *Library Association of Singapore Silver Jubilee 1955-1980*, Singapore, Library Association of Singapore, 1980, p.30; Lim, *Libraries*, pp.47-52.
 32. Of the published bibliographies, W. Evans (ed), *Catalogue of Books in the Library of the late Mr. D. Logan ... presented by the Government of the Straits Settlements to the Penang Library*, Penang, Criterion Press, 1911, has four relevant items; Robert Greening (comp), *Penang Library. Catalogue under Authors' Names. December 1922*, Penang, Criterion Press, [1923], has but one.
 33. Mohd. Taib Osman, "Laporan: naskhah2 dan alatan2 budaya Melayu di beberapa pusat pengajian di-Great Britain dan Jerman Barat", *Nusantara*, bil. 1 (Januari 1972), pp.60-82.
 34. Wan Abdul Kadir, *Budaya Populer Dalam Masyarakat Melayu Bandaran*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1988, bab 3-4.
 35. H.M.J. Maier and G.L. Koster, "A Fishy Story: Exercises in Reading the Syair Ikan Terubuk", in C.D. Grijns & S.O. Robson (eds), *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, Dordrecht, Foris, 1986 (Verhandelingen van het KITLV 115), pp.204-218, take further the work pioneered by H. Overbeck in the 1920's - see his "Malay animal and flower shafters", *JMBRAS*, vol. 12, pt. 2 (1934), pp.108-148 and other *JMBRAS* articles.
 36. Winarti Partaningrat (ed), *Masterlist of Southeast Asian Microforms*, referred to above. Note however that the descriptions of the material already listed is based on the catalogue descriptions of the contributing libraries, and will sometimes need to be corrected: cf. remarks above concerning the Singapore National Library
 37. Djubaedah Mustafa (ed & comp), *Katalog Bahasa dan Sastera Indonesia-Daerah: Koleksi Perpustakaan Nasional*, Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, 1981.