

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE OF THE INVENTORY

This inventory lists just under 1000 titles comprising over 2000 editions, and locates 2650 items on library shelves. It is restricted to publications in Malay, other Southeast Asian languages and Arabic, which were issued in the Straits Settlements, the Malay States of the Peninsula, and immediately associated areas (Sarawak, Riau, Palembang, and Bencoolen under British rule).

LANGUAGE

The inventory covers *both* works directed to a Malay audience *and* works in Malay and other Southeast Asian languages. Therefore religious works directed to a Malay audience in Arabic and Javanese are included, these being two of the scholarly languages of Malay religiosity. Conversely books using the Baba form of the Malay language and directed to a local Chinese audience are also included.

Bilingual works in Malay and English are included only if they might be used by a Malay readership. Thus dictionaries and vocabularies are included as a rule, while grammars and other studies are included only if intended for use by Malay speakers.¹ Manuals for English students of Malay are not included.²

Publications in other Southeast Asian languages — Bugis, Sundanese, Balinese, Batak, Tagalog, Thai, etc. — are included, although it cannot be supposed that they were addressed to a Malay audience.

PLACE

The geographical scope of the Singapore-Malaysia region is taken broadly. It includes 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, Riau, was re-established in Singapore after 1911.³ 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.

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Works printed outside this region 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 Parapattan, Batavia, fall into this class,⁴ as do Catholic manuals printed in Hongkong. Similarly Malay-language Islamic works published in Cairo, Mecca, and Istanbul may have been destined indirectly for the regional market. Even more specifically directed to Singapore outlets were Malay-language works published in Bombay.⁵ However, such items have not been included in the survey unless the place of publication (rather than printing) is explicitly or unambiguously located in the Malaysia-Singapore region.⁶

Information on place of publication is not always available, however. Beside the books which survive in library collections, others are known through the advertisements inserted in their published books by Malay publishers advising of books available or in the press. While it can be established that most of these advertisements refer to Singapore editions known from other sources, for some few titles this is not evident.⁷ Such titles have nevertheless been included in the inventory, without library locations, in the knowledge that time will prove some to be Egyptian, Meccan, Bombay, or Batavian imprints.

TIME

The survey covers the period up to 1920. As the first Malay book printed in the region was probably published by the Mission Press at Malacca in 1817, the survey can be said to cover the first hundred years of Malaysian printing. The decision to close at 1920 was not, however, taken with this formality in mind. Rather it was through consciousness of a watershed in the development of Malay publishing which was crossed about 1917, the year in which the production of Malay newspapers exceeded that of commercially produced Malay books.⁸ From that time forward, a listing of *books* published becomes particularly inadequate to convey an impression of literate culture.

Undated material is included in the inventory only where there is reason to believe that it was produced before 1920.⁹

NON-BOOK MATERIALS

Newspapers and magazines are noted but not described, being dealt with generally by reference to Roff's *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals* or Proudfoot's "Pre-War Malay Periodicals" if that suffices. The names of persons and institutions associated with their production are included in the index of this inventory as well. A few early serials such as *Cermin Mata* and *Bustan Arifin* are more fully described because some of their material was also published in book form. On the other hand, Malay-language material in periodicals like *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* has been ignored. In the few cases where separate issues and off-prints of scholarly journals were sold as monographs, a note suffices.

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In principle, non-serial non-book material finds a place in the inventory. Such items include posters, charts, invitation cards, and the like. In practice, the inventory is almost entirely concerned with books collected in libraries: non-book ephemera is less likely to have survived, and much of what has survived must lie yet undescribed in archives.

RESOURCES

The information upon which the inventory is based is both empirical and inferred. Empirically, the inventory is based on surveys undertaken in 1982/83, 1985, and 1990 with the aim of identifying early Malay printed material held in major library collections. The key institutions at which which relevant material has been physically examined are:

British Library, Humanities and Social Sciences, and Oriental and India Office
Collections
Cambridge University Central Library, including the library of the British and Foreign
Bible Society
Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Language and Literary Agency of Malaysia)
Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Anthropological Institute,
Leiden)
National Library of Singapore
National Museum of Singapore
National University of Singapore
Oxford Institute of Social Anthropology
Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia (National Library of Indonesia)
Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (National Library of Malaysia)
Perpustakaan Umum Pulau Pinang (Penang Public Library)
Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden (Leiden University)
School of African and Oriental Studies, including the Congregational Council for World
Mission Archives
Universiti Malaya (University of Malaya)

Information has also been deduced from certain secondary sources. These are principally library catalogues, both published and unpublished, and contemporary advertisements and notices. Given that an advertisement provides less reliable witness than does the physical evidence of a surviving book, care has been taken to distinguish empirical from inferred information. In conformity with this principle, books purporting to be held in library collections, but which have not been physically examined, are so noted.

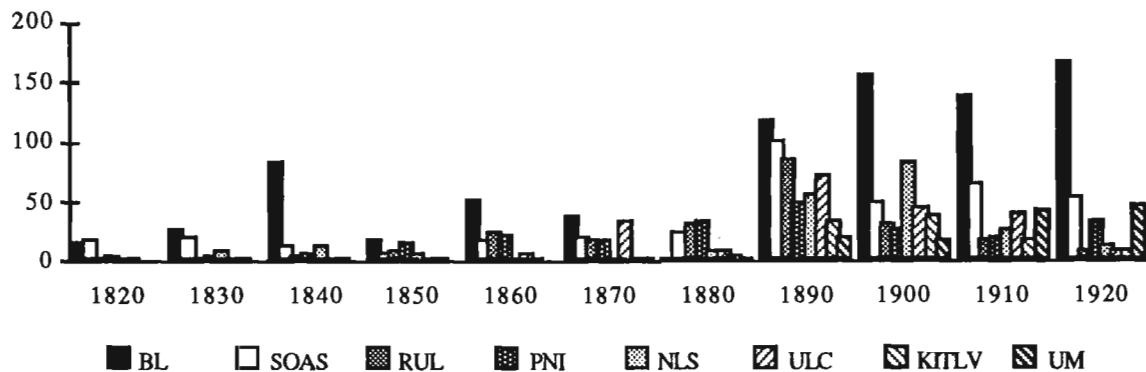
The most important contemporary sources of inference are registrations of published books notified in Government Gazettes under various copyright laws.¹⁰ Such information is highly credible and detailed, though not always accurate, and

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far from comprehensive.¹¹ Because of its importance it is reported fairly fully in this inventory. Other significant contemporary sources are the newspaper press, especially the Malay newspaper *Jawi Peranakan*, which carried extensive book advertising; the Straits Government *Annual Reports on Education*; and advertisements for school books inserted in the *Straits Settlements Government Gazette*. Other less tractable contemporary sources are publishers' catalogues and the notices and stock-lists found in surviving printed books.¹² In a few cases, otherwise unattested editions or titles have been included in the inventory on the strength of such information.

Later sources of inference are published catalogues and book-lists. These often show up losses from surviving library collections, but rarely allow identification of otherwise unattested material. The most significant such source is the published quarterly accession lists of the Batavian Society library,¹³ which is now incorporated in the Indonesian National Library.

Figure 1
Library holdings
(editions by decades)



I have characterised the major library holdings individually elsewhere.¹⁴ Taking a wider view of the collections, two outstanding features emerge. One is the dominance of the British Library collection; the other is the broad spread of extant editions across the libraries surveyed.

The dominance of the British Library collection stands on two pillars. In the 1830s and 1840s it rests on the Favre-Millies collection of mission imprints purchased in 1888¹⁵. In the period after 1886 it rests on the deposit provisions of the copyright law applied in the Straits Settlements and later in the Federated Malay States. For the period after 1886, over 80% of the British Library holdings are copyright deposit items.

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The distribution of the books extant in library collections is noteworthy for the wide dispersal of unique editions, that is of editions not held in any other of the collections surveyed.¹⁶ A fair degree of overlapping might be expected in the larger collections, simply because of their size. But this is only the case with the National Library of Singapore, which has a low proportion of unique items. The other larger collections — the British Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies, Leiden University, and the Indonesian National Library — all boast more than one-third of their collections as unique editions. This is because of the way in which the collections were built up. The Singapore collection was heavily dependent upon the copyright deposit provisions, and therefore shares much material with the better-preserved British Library collection. On the other hand, the divergence of the other collections reflects the independence of their sources: scholarly bequests, Christian mission archives, and the commercial book market. Diversity of independent sources also explains the great richness of the two middle-ranking collections formed more recently in Malaysia, at the University of Malaya and at Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. Nearly half of each of these collections comprises unique editions, a proportion far exceeding that of any other collections surveyed.

How complete, then, is the surviving material? Do the major collections surveyed come close to fully representing publishing activity prior to 1920? The configuration of the holdings certainly gives no grounds for believing so. Although the copyright deposit procedures have been effective in preserving more than 80% of the material registered,¹⁷ the fact remains that only one-third of *extant* editions published in the Straits Settlements were registered. Furthermore, the significant proportion of unique material in every substantial collection surveyed (except that in Singapore) implies that we still have very far from a complete record of publishing activity. Particularly poorly represented are smaller ephemeral pamphlets, almanacs and booklets published both by Christian missions and by Muslims. Among the latter must be many printed devotional aids for Muslim brotherhoods (*wirid*, *ratib*), millenarian tracts (*wasiat*), and spells (*jampi*, *azimat*).

CONTOURS

An initial impression of the known extant material is that the first century of Malay publishing comprises a great diversity of material.

There are translations of Christian tracts and Biblical passages alongside Islamic religious guides. Works of high court culture, like the *Sejarah Melayu*, are there as well as humble folk tales like the mousedeer stories. Legendary romances abound, set in the Middle East, Central Asia, ancient China and, in the case of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, in the Malay lands. A wide spectrum of reference works is found — dictionaries and thesauruses, manuals for letter-writing and ready

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reckoners, astrological guides and dream interpretations, popular scientific tracts, and elementary schoolbooks — along with weighty Malay translations of learned Muslim commentaries and the most frivolous fictional verse. Even what might be thought a modern genre of literature, the short story, is present in a simple form. On the other hand some expected items seem poorly represented: there are but two printed editions of the Quran for instance.¹⁸

Beside a variety of subject, there is variety too in the manner of presentation. The presses of the early Christian missions put out rather clumsy printed typeset books, in marked contrast to the high quality typesetting achieved by the turn of century. Another contrast lies between the fine, neat, multi-coloured lithographs of the Singapore mission press and their commercial counterparts, which were often crudely produced lithographs on poor paper with blurred and untidy print.

Throughout the period Malay was printed in both the modified Arabic script (*jawi*) and in Roman script (*rumi*). The Roman script was used in several spelling systems. The early mission system was later revised to become the approved Government spelling, used for school books. Meantime the missionary Shellabear devised a new spelling for 'low' Malay, while the Catholic mission in Penang followed another system.¹⁹ Few books were published in the Dutch-based spelling current in the Netherlands Indies, and only one was clearly intended for circulation in the Singapore-Malaysia region.²⁰

The alternatives of *jawi* and *rumi* and the different spelling systems overlay the varieties of Malay which found expression in print. Mission publishers made the distinction between 'high' Malay, used in works directed to the Malay community, and 'low' Malay, approximating to what is better known as 'bazaar' Malay, which was used to communicate in the Baba-influenced urban society. The translators of Chinese legendary romances were also conscious of the distinctiveness of their own dialect of Malay and contrasted it with the language of the Malay community. Within the usage of the Malay community further distinctions could be made between the registers appropriate for learned religious purposes and common use.²¹ Another further distinction in literary register lies between the various forms of prose on the one hand and verse on the other. Verse was characteristically in the *syair* form, which was popular with Malay speakers of all ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Jawi books of *syair* verse constitute the popular literature of the late nineteenth century and the staple of the commercial printers. A related form of verse is found in the collections of *pantun*, which however seem to have been directed to a mainly Baba audience.²²

CONCENTRATION OF PRINTING

This very varied material was overwhelmingly printed in Singapore. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Singapore's preeminence is shared to a degree with the other Straits Settlements, as mission printing stations were located in each

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of these British territories. Thereafter Singapore comes into its own. From the 1840s onwards, Singapore became the principal urban centre in the Malaysian region, and provided a strong base for the rise of local commercial printing. For the latter period of this survey, fully 85% of the editions published appeared in Singapore (90% in the Straits Settlements).²³ The prominence of Singapore stems from an array of linked factors. Among them are the urban mercantile environment of the Straits Settlements, with its higher levels of education and literacy. In the field of government publication of course, Singapore's role as the supreme administrative centre of the British territories was decisive. For local commercial printing the key factor was Singapore's place at the node of a commercial network based on Malay, Buginese, Chinese and other local shipping on the one hand, and the steamer links to India, the Middle East and Europe on the other. This made Singapore ideally sited for the dissemination of information into the peninsula and archipelago, and also a staging point for pilgrims from the archipelago sailing to and from Mecca.²⁴ A further factor which made Singapore a desirable location for Muslim publishers in Southeast Asia was that it lay in loosely administered British territory, beyond the reach of the Dutch administration. The Netherlands Indies government applied draconian press laws, which obliged printers to deposit large bonds with the government and required pre-publication censorship.²⁵ It also pursued a policy of active surveillance of Muslim activists. By contrast, under British rule, "a haji or a guru [could] circulate in the Malay lands as freely as an Englishman, coming to police notice only if he breaks the law."²⁶

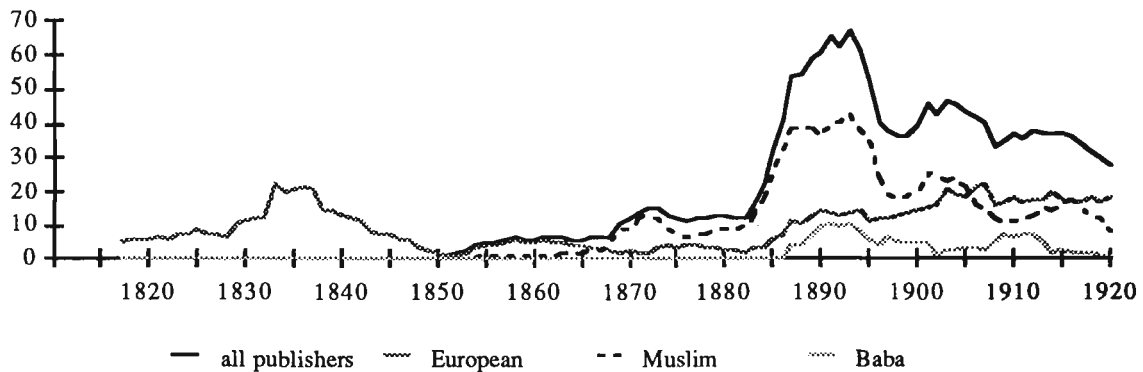
QUANTITY

It might be expected that the number of Malay printed editions would rise in line with increasing economic development and widening access to both European-style and Islamic education. However an examination of the numbers of extant editions over the period shows that this was not so. Rather, there appear to have been two peaks of output: the earlier, lesser peak in the 1830s and 1840s, and the later peak around the 1890s. Finally, from the 1900s onward Malay-language book publishing is in decline. The first low peak is supported by the early operations of the various Christian mission presses.²⁷ For the first forty years, Malay printing was the preserve of the Christian missions, who alone had the technology of print at their disposal. In the period up to 1839, presses operated in Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, producing large numbers of tracts, scripture excerpts, an edition of the Bible in Malay, books for use in mission schools, and a handful of scholarly books. However this activity virtually ceased in the 1840s. Early optimism about the potential of the region as a mission field faded as energies were channelled into new opportunities in China in the wake of the Opium War. Large-scale mission printing revived in Singapore under Shellabear from 1890. He

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undertook much scripture printing for the British and Foreign Bible Society from the turn of the century.

Figure 2
Publishers
(volumes annually)²⁸



But, as its fickle history reveals, Christian mission printing does not necessarily tell us very much about the demand for literary material or its consumption. From this perspective the second peak is more interesting, for the great contributor to this second peak was the Muslim commercial press. Muslim printing dates back to the 1850s and grew steadily through the 1860s and 1870s to a peak in the 1880s and 1890s, when we have evidence of a huge output of editions. While this outpouring from the Muslim presses coincides with the inception of copyright deposit in the Straits Settlements, the evident jump in output can be shown not to be merely an accident of the manner in which the extant material has been assembled.²⁹ What we see in these last decades of the nineteenth century is an explosion of the manuscript tradition through the medium of print. The repertoire of the Muslim publishers of the period was by and large traditional. The variety of religious manuals, legendary romances and ballads committed to print were generally printed copies of manuscript texts. They were reproduced using lithography to achieve a form closely resembling that of the manuscript. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century a torrent of such printed books poured from Muslim presses. This flood began to abate, however, in the twentieth century, as the local printing of traditional works abated as a combination of impacts from the government vernacular schooling system, the availability of newspapers and magazines, changing print technology and offshore printing, especially in Bombay and later Cairo,³⁰ all served to claw back local Muslim publishing. And this decline of Muslim publishing is in turn the main factor underlying the steady decline in global output in the early twentieth century.

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It thus makes little sense to map total printing over time. Global output needs to be understood as the confluence of independent streams of publishing activity.

PUBLISHING STREAMS

This notion of several independent streams of publishing activity fairly reflects reality. Throughout the period of the survey, publishers and printers can be assigned to one of several streams, the members of which share a social identity, a literary tradition, an audience, and a level of technology with others of the class, while at the same time sharing little or none of these with those outside the stream. At the highest level of generalisation, the streams may be conceived as:

- (1) the European press, including mission and government presses and large commercial publishers operating under European or in a few cases Chinese ownership;
- (2) Baba publishers, whose limited output was printed mainly on Chinese-owned commercial presses; and
- (3) Muslim publishers.

Each stream is further described below.

The high degree of segmentation which characterises Malay-language printing mirrors the plural society of the Straits Settlements under colonial rule — indeed of the colonial order in general. It also reflects the technological dualism upon which that plural social order was erected. Yet in the face of these differences, all three classes of this colonial society produced Malay books, albeit of different kinds and for different purposes, thereby demonstrating the vitality of Malay as a medium of communication in this culturally diverse community.

EUROPEAN

The introduction of printed material in Malay and the technology of printing itself to the Malaysia–Singapore area was more or less coeval with colonial involvement in the area.³¹ The Dutch had introduced printing much earlier into the Netherlands Indies,³² and a Malay translation of the Bible had been printed as early as 1629, issued at the cost of the Dutch East India Company.³³ But it was only in the nineteenth century that the Protestant missions launched their great evangelical enterprise using the printed word that any substantial amount of Malay material was printed. The London Missionary Society set up stations at Malacca (1815), Penang and Singapore (1819), and Batavia (1822); the Baptist Mission at Bencoolen (1818), and the American Presbyterians at Singapore (1834). All these stations were equipped with printing presses.

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The missions were, in modern terms, international organisations. Although they profited by association with the colonial powers and local European enterprise,³⁴ they had the ability to cross political boundaries and the facilities to marshal resources across great distances. Their long arm is evident both in the texts which they put into print and in the ways in which they organised publication. Titles printed by one mission were adapted and reprinted by others.³⁵ As for the process of printing, the Catholic mission in Penang sent Malay devotional works for printing in Paris and Hongkong. Protestant tracts in Malay were printed in Serampore, Madras and Cairo.³⁶ Similarly the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, working in Sarawak, had books printed locally, in Singapore, and in London. Singapore's strategic location, its unsurpassed regional communications and, later, the industrial facilities it offered, together with its benign colonial administration, led to its emergence as the major regional centre for mission publishing.³⁷ In the nineteenth century's early days of optimism, the first substantial printing of Thai took place in Singapore,³⁸ as did the first printing of Bugis.³⁹ Later, at the turn of the century the Seventh Day Adventists used Singapore to print for their mission in West Java, and the Rhenish Mission printed there for its mission to the Bataks of North Sumatra. Singapore was also an important base for the largest publisher of Christian religious material, the British and Foreign Bible Society. That Society had supported the publishing of scriptures at a press operated privately by the missionary Keasberry during the 1850s to 1870s. Its major publishing effort was to begin in the 1890s, when Singapore became the major centre for its Southeast Asian publishing — though some of its Javanese printing was also done at Semarang. Under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Singapore produced scriptures in three registers and two scripts of Malay, in the three scripts of Javanese, in Balinese, in Bicol, Melano, and Tagalog (languages of the Philippines), in Vietnamese and in Khmer.⁴⁰ This cost-conscious Society took care in placing its printing. The type for much of its Malay and Javanese material was set up in Singapore (at the Methodist Publishing House) or in Semarang but printed at Yokohama.⁴¹ Thus while the Society was able to exploit its world-wide contacts to the full, Singapore remained the key to its Southeast Asian operations.

The other major branch of European printing in Malay is that undertaken by the colonial government. This was significant only in the field of education. School-books had at first been published by the mission presses, but after 1876, the production of school-books was taken up by the Government Malay Press which operated as a special unit attached to the Education Department, enjoying a substantial subsidy.⁴² A few items were also printed by the Johor Government Press, which although technically under Malay control, functioned in this regard as an instrument of the colonial administration.⁴³ Later the Straits government disbanded its Malay Press, and the printing of school-books was contracted out to private European printers in Singapore who were otherwise little occupied with

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commercial Malay printing.⁴⁴ Like the missions, the European commercial presses had the capacity to send printing off-shore as circumstances demanded. Presumably because of the very large print runs required, plates of the first standard reader *Punca Pengetahuan 1899* etc. were prepared in Singapore by the Methodist Publishing House in Singapore and sent to London for reproduction.⁴⁵ Conversely London publishers had Malay printed in Singapore when expertise in setting Malay in Arabic script was required,⁴⁶ though such books were destined mainly for European hands, and were priced accordingly.⁴⁷

Beside the materials printed for school use, other official printing in Malay hardly deserves notice. Unlike the Netherlands Indies where the government press published extensive Malay translations of government regulations and other technical works, the Straits government took little trouble in this direction.⁴⁸ The publication of government gazettes and enactments in Malay is more characteristic of the peninsular Malay States in the twentieth century⁴⁹ than of the Straits Settlements, where for public purposes Malay remained merely one of three languages of practical communication — four if Tamil is included.⁵⁰

The importance of the mission and government presses in the history of Malay publishing lies in their relative immunity from the need to meet the expectations of a commercial audience. They did not enjoy total freedom from financial constraints of course. The missionary Keasberry operated his press on a profit-making basis, and later Shellabear too was compelled to take in commercial printing on the American Mission Press, though he grudged the time it required.⁵¹ The British and Foreign Bible Society followed a policy of charging a nominal price for their publications in order to guard against profligacy, though this small charge was by no means intended to recoup production costs.⁵² Even the Government Malay Press was expected to meet costs through the sale of books in the Straits Settlements and peninsular Malay states, though it was in fact unable to do so. Yet when all is said, mission and government presses were capitalised and subsidised in order that they might innovate. Their purpose was to lead their audience, even to create an audience. By the same token, their insulation from the disciplines of the market-place carried with it the risk that they would not speak to the audience to whom they were directed.

It is for this reason that the significance of early missionary publishing in the Singapore-Malaysia region is easily over-estimated. It has attracted scholarly attention because of its antiquarian interest and because it is well documented;⁵³ but neither of these factors tell us anything about its effectiveness. In truth, while the long term implications of the new technology were to prove immense, its initial impact was negligible. The press itself apparently excited some interest as a novelty⁵⁴ and some early publications have the air of experimentation: the multi-lingual *Lexilogus 1841* and *Pengajaran dari atas Bukit 1842* produced at Malacca and the Singapore dual-script edition of *Pelayaran Abdullah 1838* with jawi and

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rumi on facing pages are technically interesting. But these elaborate productions were not an effective means of reaching any particular audience.

Indeed the uses to which print was put by the Christian missionaries were so often so far removed from the accustomed and limited uses of literacy in the Malay society of the day that they failed to engage their audience. The product of the early mission presses was difficult for Malay readers either to read or to understand. It was conveyed in clumsy jawi typefaces (or in an alien Roman script) "so unlike their own, and so foreign in its appearance, that they are inclined to reject it on this ground alone."⁵⁵ Further, it was expressed in sometimes nonsensical Malay idiom. The terms and ideas found in the early mission publications were bewildering.⁵⁶ The Penang-based missionary printer Beighton poured immense energy into propagating observance of the Sabbath, an issue of vehemence for English Puritans, but ill-judged to strike a responsive chord in Malaya. The purveying of printed text was itself unanchored in the local environment. Christian missionary hostility to Islam sometimes aligned the local intelligentsia against the new medium. But even when this was not the case, the kind of private literacy which Christian tracts and Bible translations assumed was not found in Malaysia at that time. Literacy rates were low, and the institutions by which religious instruction was transmitted relied on the social respect accorded the teacher and his personal relationship with his pupils.⁵⁷ The impossibility of the missionaries' techniques unlocking a doorway into this Muslim complex was recognised by Milne, who observed that Malays could not conceive of effective prayers to God being in Malay rather than Arabic, yet if the missionaries were to preach in Arabic (assuming that lay within their competence) then very few indeed would understand them.⁵⁸

To attack this problem of access at its roots, the missions set up schools to teach basic literacy and numeracy. The schools were not necessarily direct instruments of propagandising, though the underlying purpose of instruction in literacy was to equip the students to read the printed word of God with, so the missionaries believed, inevitable consequences. So the missions at Singapore, Malacca, and Penang all ran schools, and printed elementary texts on spelling, reading and arithmetic, as well as catechisms which could be used as instructional material.⁵⁹ The most successful schools seem to have been Beighton's in Penang. Although his approach to mission work was highly polemical, his schools succeeded for a time because he bowed to local expectations by operating from mosque premises and employing Muslim teachers.⁶⁰ When a Malay-medium program was offered in the first secular public school, the Singapore Free School, the texts used were still those prepared by the missionaries: spelling books, tracts⁶¹ and Bibles provided by Beighton and the American Mission Press as well as new texts worked up by the missionaries North and Keasberry.⁶² This ambitious multi-racial school, with its bizarre teaching methods, was far removed from any current local experience or expectations, and the Malay stream failed after seven years.⁶³

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Yet the work continued. Even among evangelical missions, the London Missionary Society was egregious in its reliance on the printing and circulation of books.⁶⁴ Their American colleagues were no less reticent, distributing tracts in Malay and Bugis to ships anchored off Singapore “in the hope of thereby conveying the seeds of divine truth to other and distant lands.”⁶⁵ Wide circulation was certainly achieved, but with what result can be seen by the following figures: over seven years the American mission at Singapore printed 14,000,000 pages of literature (not all in Malay) and reported the baptism of five adult Chinese.⁶⁶ Disillusionment set in as new mission fields opened up in China,⁶⁷ leading to the abandonment of the Malayan campaign.

Large scale mission-sponsored printing was revived only when Shellabear arrived Singapore with new printing equipment in December 1890 to establish the American Mission Press (later the Methodist Publishing House).⁶⁸ This event marked a return to belief in the magical potency of the printed word. Shellabear had himself been converted by the chance private reading of a small printed tract entitled “A Gift, will you take it?”⁶⁹ After his conversion, he had prepared himself for his mission by learning the printing trade. He went on to become a prolific missionary translator and printer, undertaking large commissions for the British and Foreign Bible Society over the next two decades. The Society printed enormous numbers of Gospels and Bibles in Malay and other Southeast Asian languages to be distributed among the unenlightened by colporteurs trekking across the countryside.⁷⁰ At least by the turn of the century print literacy was a little more widespread, and the Malay publications of this era tend to be better targeted to the linguistic preferences of the variety of Malay-using communities. The American Mission Press, under Shellabear, issued parallel versions of tracts in jawi and rumi, and designated a few as particularly written for Baba audiences.⁷¹ The British and Foreign Bible Society was similarly sensitive to the need to adopt the appropriate register in reaching different audiences, and the 1890s saw the concurrent printing of three parallel translations of the scriptures: one in so-called Low Malay (in this case meaning Baba Malay, in Roman script),⁷² another in so-called High Malay prepared by Keasberry and Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir (printed in jawi), and a revision of that by Shellabear (printed in both jawi and Roman-script editions).⁷³

When the British and American missions had moved on to China in the 1840s, Keasberry remained, taking over the running of the press and a mission school.⁷⁴ It was still a small venture, but proved to have lasting influence. Keasberry’s school benefited from the increased leverage which the British now exercised in the peninsular Malay states, which enabled it to attract support moral and financial support from Malay royal houses where the Singapore Free School had failed.⁷⁵ But ironically Keasberry’s larger success flowed from the weakness of his personal position. Keasberry was a talented individual, who after 1847 was

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no longer directly beholden to a home missionary society. He had thereafter to fend for himself, eventually receiving government funds for his school while supporting his missionary work through what he could make from his printery and the Malay agricultural settlement he supervised.⁷⁶ Keasberry ran the printery as an adjunct to his school, with printing and book-binding subjects in the curriculum. Using his pupil-apprentices, Keasberry did some commercial jobbing (letterheads, bills of lading, etc.),⁷⁷ printed Singapore's first two Chinese newspapers,⁷⁸ and probably produced *Miskin Marakamah 1857* on commission. Thrown thus on his own devices, Keasberry was responsible for a major initiative in Malay publishing.

That initiative was his development of the technique of lithography. Keasberry had learnt the mechanics of lithography from Medhurst in Batavia in the 1830s. Medhurst valued the technique for its flexibility and cheapness. With lithography he could print Chinese characters, Arabic script, Javanese script or anything else without the trouble and expense of casting fonts.⁷⁹ Indeed Medhurst used lithography as a substitute for type: the meticulously inscribed jawi lithographs published in Batavia are almost indistinguishable from typeset works, so regular is the script and so faithful to the limitations of contemporary Arabic type-fonts.⁸⁰ It was Keasberry's responsiveness to local inclinations which led him to develop a style of lithography which imitated not the printed text, but manuscript. In so doing, he created a form which was not ungainly and alien in the eyes of literate Malays, but which deferred to accustomed scribal conventions. In 1849, Keasberry published the first of several major reference works using this new style of lithography.⁸¹

These editions were a fine demonstration of the capacity of this medium to reproduce Malay text with grace and style, and in harmony with the manuscript tradition. Their effectiveness was enhanced by the fact that they were expressed in better Malay than any previous mission publications and, although their content was novel, did not evangelise directly. In getting them up, Keasberry drew heavily on the skills of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir. In fact the first of these lithographed works was Abdullah's autobiography, *Abdullah 1849*, copied in Abdullah's own hand. Working with Abdullah, Keasberry went on to produce some beautifully decorated multi-coloured lithographs, giving a creditable imitation of the rubrication and illumination found in superior manuscripts.⁸² At the technical level, these were the first printed books which could be comfortably read by literate Malays.

Keasberry extended the reach of this technical innovation by producing a series of lithographed magazines. These presented monthly or quarterly miscellanies on Western civilisation and serialised stories. In this he revived and refined an idea which had earlier been put into action in Malacca with *Bustan Arifin 1820-22*, also titled *The Malay Magazine*. Unlike the bilingual Malay Magazine which relied on European patronage and distribution,⁸³ Keasberry's magazines were aimed unequivocally at a Malay-reading audience. His first magazines, *Taman Pengetahuan 1848-51* and *Pengutib Segala Remah 1852*, were intended for

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school reading, being issued in Roman script, but they were soon accompanied by parallel versions printed in fine lithographed jawi with rubrication.⁸⁴ In this form, the magazine could reach an audience beyond the school as well.⁸⁵ This was also true also of Keasberry's last and finest magazine, *Cermin Mata 1858-59*, produced solely in jawi. This "most spectacular imprint"⁸⁶ was crafted in beautifully decorated multi-coloured lithography.

Keasberry's innovative yet amenable printing marks not one but two turning points in the history of Malay literacy. It proved to have lasting influence both in the application of print technology and in the content and style of written Malay. On the first count, it was the first local demonstration of the potential of lithography. The immense implications of this printing technology for the Malay-Muslim commercial press are discussed below. So far as the content and style of written Malay are concerned, the influence was exercised particularly through government Malay schools.

The Straits government assumed responsibility for conducting Malay schooling in its territories in 1874,⁸⁷ the year of the Pangkor Engagement. The government's taking a direct hand in education thus coincided with the British forward movement, which saw European political influence increase markedly in line with commercial development. During the 1890s the peninsular Malay states under British control emulated the Straits Settlements school system. The result was a rise in esteem for Western-style government schooling along with greatly expanded access to it.⁸⁸ These developments allowed those who ran the government schooling system to wield significant cultural power, and they did so.

Within two years of its assumption of responsibility, the Straits Settlements Government had issued a range of text-books for use in the four levels (known as 'standards') at which Malay education was offered. This range of books included revamped versions of the same texts which Keasberry had used in his Singapore mission schools. So, as Gallop has observed,⁸⁹ the first grade spelling book *Punca Pengetahuan* published in 1876 by the Inspector of Schools bears a marked similarity in content and format with the more imaginatively titled first grade reader *Teki-Teki Terbang* which Keasberry had reprinted several times from 1855 to 1869. Similarly Keasberry's *Ilmu Kepandaian*, an introduction to Western technology, was updated and reprinted by the Johor Government Press and by Kelly and Walsh on behalf of the Straits Settlements Government as *Jalan Kepandaian* for use in government schools as the third standard reader. Such books remained current as texts until 1917 when Winstedt introduced what he termed the "new learning" which, besides prescribing basket weaving for Malay students, required a new range of textbooks more narrowly adapted to Malaysian conditions.⁹⁰ But Keasberry's legacy ran wider than the prescribed standard readers, for the two other major works by Abdullah which he had promoted continued to be used in schools throughout the period of this survey, and indeed

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until after Independence. The journal of Abdullah's voyage up the East Coast, *Pelayaran Abdullah*, first experimentally printed by North, had been reprinted several times for school use in book and magazine form by Keasberry.⁹¹ It was subsequently reprinted for use in government schools by the Straits government in 1886 and kept continuously in print thereafter. Likewise Abdullah's autobiography, first published by Keasberry in 1849, was reprinted for the Education Department by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1880, and by the Government Press in 1888-89, and thereafter kept continuously in print. These two works, together with two Malay court texts, *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hang Tuah*, formed the heart of the Malay Literature Series, which after 1907 embodied a government-sponsored definition of worthwhile Malay literature.

The message conveyed in the early school texts had two facets. On the one hand, the essays on technology demonstrated the superiority of Western civilization. This theme was fully developed by North and especially Keasberry in collaboration with Abdullah. It underpins the publication of summaries of natural history, geography, history and technology which Keasberry put out as reference books and serialised in his magazines. New technologies are not so much explained scientifically (hardly feasible in elementary readers) as used to conjure up images of the fantastic gas-lit world of Europe or America, conveying a strongly implicit statement of the rewards of adopting Western values. These school books also pick up an implicit attack on Islam which goes back to the earliest mission printing. Ward's *Ilmu Falak 1826* gives several proofs that the world is round, ostensibly to enlighten Malays in a matter of purely scientific interest but covertly attacking prevailing Muslim cosmologies. The same essay was still doing service in the third-grade reader almost a century later in 1914.⁹² The second facet of the early school texts was an overt attack on Malay society. During the period of this survey, the text most frequently reprinted by mission and government alike is Abdullah's *Pelayaran Abdullah*. Presented as a journal of Abdullah's voyage up the East Coast of the peninsula, this work is in fact a concise critique of Malay society and its political institutions, comparing them unfavourably with British rule, and prescribing as the remedy the type of education the missionaries and later the government schools offered. The effect of Abdullah's critique was magnified when the education department supplemented it with the two classical Malay court texts, *Sejarah Melayu 1896* and *Hang Tuah 1908*. Both are set in the golden age of Malay sovereignty at Malacca, and inculcate feudal loyalty, a value which had become useful to British indirect rule. Both show Malacca at the height of its power, and conclude with its ultimate defeat at European hands. To prescribe these classical texts alongside Abdullah's description of contemporary Malay politics was to construct a cogent case for British-guided reform.⁹³

Beyond these continuities of ideology, the government school books also continued to promote the new style of prose which had been pioneered by the missions. This might be characterised as unmeasured expository narrative, and

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Abdullah was its prime exponent.⁹⁴ His journal, *Pelayaran Abdullah 1838*, the account of Western technology, *Ilmu Kepandaian*, which he worked up with North, published the following year, and his autobiography, *Abdullah 1849*, are unprecedented works not only in content but also in style.⁹⁵ As these works were constantly reprinted for school use in the Straits Settlements, Abdullah's expository prose became a staple of European-run schools. Since its sources were in large part the translation of European journalism and, probably, Malay commercial correspondence, it was not too different from the style of early Malay newspapers, which drew on the same sources. Together, these books and the newspapers provided much of the reading material used in Straits government Malay schools.⁹⁶

This style of prose was novel, too, in being adapted to a new reading environment. It was not for enjoyment aloud, as the contemporary popular verse (*syair*) and prose (*hikayat*) forms were; it made no appeal to the ear, being best suited to individual reading. It is for this reason that its rise is inextricably linked with printing, for only through printing could copies of the text be produced in sufficient numbers to offer the potential for individual reading. In schools of the Western type, the new style of printed prose was taught as a skill in reading and writing to be acquired and exercised by each individual. It was expected that each pupil would have an identical printed reader before his eyes, allowing one reader to lead in turn while the others followed in their books. Reading was taught in step with composition.⁹⁷ Both these practices imply the development of the skill of private, silent encoding and decoding of written text. Both were a new experience for Malay pupils, at odds with the practice of the Quran school. In the Quran school, pupils practised translating written text directly into speech — or rather, to get the emphasis right, the pupil's practice in proper oral presentation could be aided by the written form.⁹⁸ If the hubbub of a Quran class struck Western observers as chaotic,⁹⁹ then conversely the disciplined silence of students in a Western classroom must have struck early Malay observers as unnatural.¹⁰⁰

By no means was the whole of the audience for Malay literature ready to make this transition in taste and practice. Government schooling was still unevenly clustered around urban settlements. Furthermore, even though the practice of private literacy was taught in government schools, it did not automatically carry over to contexts beyond the classroom. In 1901, Wilkinson observed that "private enquiries addressed to about fifty vernacular school teachers elicited the fact that a large majority of them had never read any books except those used for their work or for devotional purposes, and that only three of them possessed more than a shilling's worth of literature in their private libraries."¹⁰¹ Wilkinson had reasons for painting a pessimistic picture; and took a very particular view of the proper uses of literacy, which did not include newspaper reading, for instance. Nevertheless, more than just access to schooling was necessary to engender a preference for private literacy. Since private literacy changes the social context of literary consumption, its adoption is not just a matter of the literary skills acquired by an

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individual, but also of the occasions and milieux in which the skill might be applied. The fact that newspapers written in the new prose continued to be enjoyed by group audiences, in coffee shops for instance,¹⁰² is both an adaptation of manuscript reading habits and a product of low functional literacy (and low disposable incomes) in the community. Vast differences in literacy rates and in the opportunities for literary consumption between urban and rural areas and between generations ensured that there was no uniformity in the shift in taste and practice. But by the turn of the century, newspapers and the government-sponsored school system were beginning to set the agenda of future developments.

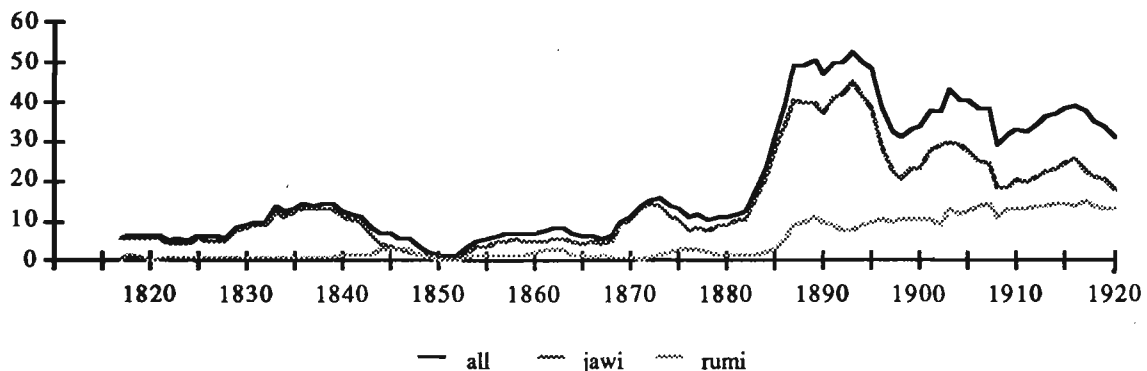
The most explicit piece of cultural engineering undertaken by the Education Departments of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States was the promotion of the Roman script. In the Netherlands Indies, the Roman script (in the Dutch spelling) had become the norm for printed Malay from the middle of the nineteenth century. Most Netherlands Indies Malay-language newspapers had been printed in this script from their first appearance in 1856. By the end of the century, the Roman script found favour with the British government for the same reasons that it had flourished in the Netherlands Indies: it was easily accessible to Europeans, and it had become the form of written Malay most used by the Baba and Eurasians and other non-Muslims for whom Malay was a second language of commerce and official dealings. The first Singapore Malay-language newspaper to use Roman script was the Baba-run *Bintang Timor*, which first appeared in 1894. In the Straits Settlements, the audience for commercially-published rumi books lay among the Chinese, Eurasians and Indians who had been educated in mission schools,¹⁰³ or in the government English-medium and mixed-race schools, which lent on Malay as the lingua franca of the classroom and schoolyard, and used books in Malay in the Roman script both as study aids for learning English and for the study of Malay as a second language.¹⁰⁴ The Selangor Inspector of Schools believed in 1894 that knowledge of Romanised Malay more than doubled a boy's chances of employment.¹⁰⁵ In other words, the Roman script had made headway among the compradors of European interests, who were predisposed by their social and economic situation toward the cultural values and even the religion of the hegemonic culture.

Meanwhile the Muslim community and the government vernacular school system which served it remained the province of the Arabic script. It was not until the publication of a new series of rumi readers in 1897 to 1899 that the Roman script was introduced into the Malay vernacular school curriculum.¹⁰⁶ The plan was to begin with mainly jawi in the lower standards and to place increasing emphasis on rumi in the higher standards.¹⁰⁷ Change in the Malay states was slower, with rumi taught in all standards in Perak only in 1906.¹⁰⁸ The standard rumi readers were at first supplemented by reprints of several Roman-script books which had been used in the Netherlands Indies,¹⁰⁹ changing their spelling to conform to the English-based Straits Government standard. But a more sustained

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push for Roman literacy came in 1907 with the decision taken by the Federated Malay States government on Wilkinson's advice to sponsor a series of worthwhile Malay reading material printed in the Roman script, the Malay Literature Series.¹¹⁰ The argument for the new Series was that if sufficient worthwhile literature was not available, the Roman script would fail to appeal to Malays because of shallowness of cultural experience it conveyed. Malays would then remain captives of the unwholesome commercial book market, which failed to propagate what Wilkinson and other European scholars identified as true Malay values. (This meant, as we shall see, that the commercial press did not inculcate deference to Malay rulers' status and respect for British power.) However the push in favour of Romanisation was not immediately successful, and the imperative for promoting acceptable values was achieved through the reissue of a few key items in the series — *Pelayaran Abdullah* (again!), *Abdullah, Hang Tuah*, and *Sejarah Melayu* — in parallel jawi editions. It was in the form of these jawi editions that *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hang Tuah* gained the status of classics of Malay literature in the minds of two generations of culturally-disoriented Malays attending government schools.¹¹¹

Figure 3
Scripts
(editions annually)¹¹²



To summarise: in form, style and content the European press regularly failed to meet contemporary audience expectations of literature. Very few of its products would have survived as commercial propositions;¹¹³ they depended on financial subsidy or support from powerful social institutions. But from this position of privilege they were able to influence Malay literate culture, drawing it in the direction of the West — that is, in the direction of a literate culture conformable with higher rates of literacy and new ideas of individual participation in reading and writing. If audiences did not exist, they could be created through the same agencies which operated to create new levels of literacy. Wilkinson was guilty of

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self-deception when he argued that in conditions of rapid change, the government school system (and implicitly the literature it taught) acted as a conservative force.

The sudden establishment of a modern settlement in an old-world community such as that of the Malays brings about great social changes. ... The effacing of the old social landmarks brought about a demoralisation which it should be the object of public instruction to combat.¹¹⁴

The reality was that his school system and the uses of literacy which it taught were capable of inducing severe cultural disorientation. When the high iconic text of Malay feudalism, *Sejarah Melayu*, is included in the Malay Literature Series, giving unprecedented circulation to a text which, in its manuscript form, had been the preserve of the royal houses — and when this is done as a means of popularising the new Roman script favoured by colonial government and commercial interests, — then it is not, as Winstedt snidely suggests, incomprehensible that student teachers at the Malay College should believe that text they had been given to study had been written by its editor, the missionary Shellabear.¹¹⁵

BABA

The second stream of Malay-language publication is the publication of books for Chinese whose mother tongue was a dialect of Malay. As Figure 2 above shows, Baba publication has always been the poor relation in Singapore-Malaysian book publishing.

A small number of books for a Baba audience were published by non-Chinese. One instance is the anthology of recreational reading, *Lautan Akal 1907+*, put out by a Penang-born Jawi Peranakan.¹¹⁶ Another non-Chinese source of Baba books was of course Christian mission publications, the most noteworthy being *Bible: Matthew 1896* and translations made, under Shellabear's supervision, of the New Testament, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and *Black Beauty*.¹¹⁷

But understandably most Baba literature was published by Chinese.¹¹⁸ This was always an ad hoc affair. None of the Chinese printers of Baba literature were primarily book publishers. Typically, printing was undertaken on the order of the author by a Chinese commercial press — such as the Kim Seck Chye Press of Singapore.¹¹⁹ It fell to the author to act as publisher, to finance and distribute the work. Lau Say, the translator of *Sun Pang 1904-06*, travelled to Malacca and Kuala Lumpur hawking his serialised translation and taking orders.¹²⁰ With a touch of melodrama, Chan Kim Boon, the translator of five multi-volume historical romances, informed his readers that he faced bankruptcy if his most ambitious venture did not succeed.¹²¹ There was not sufficient sustained output to support an established market for Baba books or a distribution network. Authors had to rely on acquaintances among general merchants to handle their books, resulting in irrational patterns of distribution. *Zheng Dong 1895*, for instance, was sold

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through three agents in Singapore, one in Malacca, one in Saigon, but none in Penang.¹²² In fact, the distribution arrangements for Baba books were generally so poor that they rarely extended beyond Singapore. Altogether agents are listed 49 times in 17 books. Of the 49, fully 41 have addresses within the Singapore town limits. Another 3 are located in Malacca, which for Singapore Babas was virtually an outlying suburb. Even more remarkable is that only two Singapore-published books list agents in Penang. There is no any mention of any Penang sales in the detailed information on how six hundred volumes of *Sun Pang 1904-06* were sold.¹²³ Since virtually all the Baba books in this survey were printed in Singapore,¹²⁴ Baba book publishing emerges as a phenomenon very strongly focussed in Singapore.

Beside the limited amount of Baba literature published in Singapore there was a vastly greater literature in Romanised Malay produced by the Chinese Peranakan of Java.¹²⁵ It is difficult to gauge how much access the Baba of the Straits Settlements enjoyed to this treasury. Reportedly Chan Kim Boon, whose father traded with Sumatra, had become interested in translating Chinese historical novels into Baba Malay after seeing that Indonesian translations of such novels were selling well in Malaya.¹²⁶ The first burst of activity in such translation occurred in the early 1880s in Batavia,¹²⁷ preceding parallel Singapore versions by half a decade. The differences in spelling conventions would not have been a great barrier. *Ilmu Nasib 1897*, which specifies its spelling and script as 'huruf Inggris', nevertheless anticipates circulation in Batavia, Deli, and Padang Panjang, as well as Singapore and Penang, though it is untypical in this regard.¹²⁸ Conversely three works were printed in Singapore in the Netherlands Indies spelling, but by authors from the Netherlands Indies.¹²⁹

A sign of what a small pond the Singapore Baba literature made is that it was possible for a single writer to achieve a dominating role, as Chan Kim Boon did. Chan was born in Penang and educated in both English and Chinese, attending the Penang Free School and the Foochow Naval School. He moved to Singapore in 1872 to work in a lawyer's office.¹³⁰ There, writing under the nom de plume 'Batu Gantong', he translated five Chinese historical romances, his major work being a 30-volume translation of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms. At one time he had in prospect a further sixteen or so translations,¹³¹ but pointed out that his further work depended upon the viability of his main project, the translation of the Three Kingdoms. By the time he had reached volume 22 of this immense undertaking, he rued his earlier ambition, stating that "because this translation of the Story of the Three Kingdoms has demanded so much brain-wracking exertion, I wish to announce with apologies that I have not the strength to translate any further Chinese stories."¹³² However, he did go on at a slower pace to translate two further romances, the Water Margin (*Song Jiang 1899-1902*) and the Journey to the West (*Xiyou Ji 1911-13*), so that by 1913 he had published some 9,000

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pages of printed text. In the period of this survey, more than half of all Baba fiction flowed from the pen of this one man.

As well as being limited in bulk, Chinese-published Baba literature was confined to a rather narrow repertoire. This comprised principally translations from Hokkien Chinese into Baba Malay of *cerita dahulukala*, that is of popular Chinese novels or *tongsu xiashuo*, based on the exploits of folk heroes — the most famous being the Romance of the Three Kingdoms (*San Guo*), and the Water Margin (*Song Jiang*). Altogether twenty such titles were published in Singapore, all in Roman script, the earliest appearing in 1889.¹³³ These constitute a new genre in Malay without precedent in the older manuscript tradition.¹³⁴ Yet while new to Malay, they have deep roots in Chinese popular culture. They were the stock-in-trade of itinerant story tellers¹³⁵ and provided episodes for the renowned Wayang Macau (Cantonese Opera), which was exceedingly well patronised by the Chinese and all other communities in Malaya at the turn of the century.

The rediscovery and translation of these historical romances was part of a redefinition of Baba identity. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Baba community was adapting to both the rise of British capital and to more intense exposure to China. Ever larger numbers of new arrivals from China and the great improvements in communications which allowed Chinese of all linguistic backgrounds to follow current events in China tended to make the Baba more self-conscious participants in both Malay and Chinese cultures. Analogous developments were occurring elsewhere in the Chinese diaspora,¹³⁶ and in the Netherlands Indies the Chinese Peranakan had a substantial Malay-language literature by the turn of the century, including slightly earlier translations of the popular historical romances also published in Singapore.¹³⁷

Prior to this Baba renaissance, Malay-speaking Chinese had been participants in Malay oral and manuscript literature. Their contribution to supposedly traditional Malay manuscript literature is not susceptible to disaggregation. Earlier in the nineteenth century, Chinese were among those who showed an interest in jawi publications put out by the missions.¹³⁸ They are believed to have been associated with the operation of manuscript lending libraries in Batavia, Palembang and probably elsewhere, but the materials stocked by the libraries which have been studied seem not to diverge from the popular tastes of a Malay readership.¹³⁹ It is known that syair tales like *Abdul Muluk* and *Zubaidah* were favourites with Chinese readers,¹⁴⁰ but so they were with ethnically Malay readers too. This older literary orientation was losing ground late in the nineteenth century when Baba works begin to appear in print. Nevertheless a few publications do reflect the older affinities. Among them, the interesting religious works published at Palembang (though printed in Singapore), *Yuli Baochao* 1877 and *Wenchang Dijun* 1882, which emanate from a Chinese community still reading Malay in the jawi script.¹⁴¹ Published in the Roman script, but exhibiting a deference to Islamic popular tradition is the peculiar *Ilmu Nasib* 1897, apparently edited by a Chinese Muslim.

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Another embodiment of Baba participation in Malay-language literary expressions are the collections of pantun enjoyed in musical soirées by Baba Chinese and ethnic Malays alike.¹⁴² The major collection, *Dondang Sayang 1911-16*, is tailored to such use by grouping pantun thematically and listing suitable violin accompaniments. In the period of this survey, printed pantun collections are a peculiarity of the Baba and European scholars. It is interesting that the earliest printed collection of pantun, *Pantun Karang-Karangan 1889*, was edited by a Chinese Muslim.

However the terms of Baba participation in Malay culture began to change as the Baba, always a comprador class, adjusted to a new hegemonic culture under British rule. Symptomatic of this accommodation are an interest in English education (as indeed English began to displace Malay as the Baba mother tongue) and the whole-hearted adoption of Roman script for writing Malay. The complexity of the new adjustment is conveyed in the form and content of the new Baba published literature. It is a new genre of literature in Malay, expressed specifically in the Baba dialect, printed in the English script, on subjects dear to Chinese popular culture. The multiple linguistic orientation of the Baba community is also conveyed by the explanatory notes added to the translations of the historical romances, which may give equivalents to court titles and kinship terminology, for instance, in Chinese, Baba Malay, and Johor Malay.¹⁴³ Indeed a keen linguistic self-consciousness is evident in these works,¹⁴⁴ which stems only in part from the fact of their being translations. Sensitivity to the varieties of Malay springs also from the unstandardised nature of Baba Malay,¹⁴⁵ which until the advent of print had no separate literary tradition.

Yet while it is interesting to see how a new Malay-language literature could thus serve to reinforce Chinese identity, it was increasingly English that was favoured by this comprador class. The shift in favour of English is reflected in linguistic works. In this category, nineteenth century guides to Malay for Chinese speakers designed to equip newcomers with the linguistic skills of the Baba¹⁴⁶ give way to twentieth century guides to English for Malay-speaking Chinese.¹⁴⁷ In a letter to the translator of *San Guo 1892-96*, a correspondent, writing in English, reveals the close affinity in his mind between reading English and Malay in the Roman script: "I wish to mention to you that nearly all the Chinese Babas of Penang, who can read English, and who do not know the story of Sam Kok in Chinese, are very glad to read these books of yours, and spend most of their leisure in reading the said books."¹⁴⁸ The same work contains English poetry, definitions of Chinese terms in English, English-language novelties, like a list of ten words of great length in English,¹⁴⁹ even bilingual sentences.¹⁵⁰ Translation into Malay could be seen as lacking the prestige attached to the colonial language. Chan Kim Boon's *Three Kingdoms* received faint praise from one correspondent, who wrote: "It is a work that should appeal to every Straits-born Chinese man, and perhaps more so the Chinese ladies, many of whom are not yet sufficiently

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advanced to appreciate English literature.”¹⁵¹ In the last volume of the last work Chan translated into Malay is a rather sad epitaph to his massive literary endeavour. There he published a letter from his nephew asserting that his uncle would gain greater fame if his translations were into English.¹⁵²

More than the books of any other stream of Malay-language publishing, Baba books are remarkable for their appeal to the eye. This is immediately evident in the profusion of illustrations accompanying the translations of the historical romances. The main characters and sometimes incidents in the unfolding story are illustrated in these typeset books with interleaved or appended lithographic pages. Such illustration, found in a majority of Baba books, is very rare in Malay-language publishing overall. Among the handful of non-Baba illustrated books the foremost are, interestingly, translations of works which became popular through stage performances mounted by the commercial theatre.¹⁵³ In these instances the illustrations might have been a way of reviving visual memories of the stage performance, a function which illustrations in the Baba translations would certainly have shared. The illustrations included in the Baba translations echo the strong graphic tradition of the popular literature from which they were translated.¹⁵⁴ It is also noticeable that although the illustrations included in the Baba translations are lithographed, they are drawn in the style of wood-cuts, the traditional form of illustration in Chinese xylographic printing. Realising the appeal of illustrations to Baba readers, Shellabear used illustrations of the main incidents in his Baba version of *Pilgrim's Progress* to give the story a Chinese setting, though he did not try to replicate the wood-cut style.¹⁵⁵

But it is not only through illustrations that Baba books address the reader's eye. The typography of the Baba translations is most complex. One of the earlier translations, *San Guo 1889*, opens with an outline of typographic conventions which will be used in the book, informing readers further that the contents of letters will be printed in italics and that numbers in brackets refer to the illustrations. Evident here are both typographic coding and manipulation of the structure of the printed book. The typography could be complex indeed. On a page of *San Guo 1892-96* may be found four type fonts, italics, parentheses, small caps, double and single inverted commas, daggers and asterisks, interspersed with Chinese characters.¹⁵⁶ The title pages of Baba translations were riotous displays of fancy typefaces, reminiscent of advertising hand-bills. And indeed this typographic excess was feasible because the books were printed at commercial presses which customarily produced advertising material of this kind. But the reasons for typographic variation may lie deeper, if it is true that for Chinese literate in the logographic script (which would include the translators and the press operators) “European script produces ... the same impression of monotony and lack of distinctiveness that [Europeans] might experience if faced with pages printed entirely in the dots and dashes of morse code”.¹⁵⁷ Whatever the explanation, the

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effect is a visual one. This extends beyond typefaces. The page layout was also structured, with running head, text and footnotes, as was the organization of the book itself. Chapter headings and subheadings abound. The front cover of *Erdu Mei 1889* details the number of parts, number of pages, number of illustrations, number of pages including illustrations, and the presence of an index. All this information on organisation, structure and typography, assumes that the book will be read in certain way. Since most of this is visual information, most of which cannot be translated into words, it conveys meaning to readers, not to listeners. This is not to deny that the Baba romances were read aloud; indeed colophons mention listening as well as reading,¹⁵⁸ and books of this kind were recommended for reading aloud in the family circle.¹⁵⁹ But the emphasis on visual communication is especially evident in ancillary elements. The cartoons, maps of war movements, mathematical puzzles, play with Chinese characters, and much else included in *San Guo 1892-96*¹⁶⁰ cannot be taken in by ear. All this suggests the primacy of individual reading over listening. This is emphasised by some structural features. Indexes, glossaries, cross-referencing to plates, and tabulated information¹⁶¹ imply not only visual consumption, but non-sequential reading. Flipping back and forth through pages, or alternating between text and footnotes, is only compatible with individual reading.

The Baba books have other qualities which are associated with private literacy. One is the salience of the author or translator. Intimate information about the author-translator's personal circumstances was vouchsafed to readers when this was quite incidental to the theme of the book. Chan Kim Boon, for instance, not only told readers of his trials and tribulations in arranging the publication of his works, related his financial woes, and bewailed his fourth son's typhoid fever, but also provided photographs of himself and his assistants, introduced his eldest son and published his son's drawings.¹⁶² Lau Say, as we have seen, detailed his travels promoting his books, and Na Tian Piet, in his *syair* in praise of Sultan Abu Bakar, not only included an autobiographical introduction and a photograph of himself but advised readers who doubt the veracity of his account to confirm it with his son, who was a clerk in Robinson's, the well-known department store in Singapore.¹⁶³ Tan Beng Teck is less assertive,¹⁶⁴ but in the main there is no hiding of one's light under a bushel.

Another distinctive characteristic of the Baba press is its proclivity for serialisation. In this it prefigures the modern form of the magazine. In part serialisation can be understood as a predictable consequence of the combination of long texts and struggling publishers.¹⁶⁵ (The hope was that early sales would finance the printing of later volumes. In practice, however, the author-publishers and their financial backers had to carry considerable stock.¹⁶⁶) But beyond these economic factors, the serial format seems to have been attractive in its own right. It is hard to imagine any other reason why *Zhuang Zixu 1889*, a slight work amounting to some sixty pages, should have been issued in six parts. Other Baba

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books were also issued serially: the *Dondang Sayang 1911-16, 1915-16* pantun collections (in five instalments), and an anthology of recreational reading *Lautan Akal 1907+* (in four parts). The contents of the latter work recall other Baba anthologies of recreational reading, comprising fantastic, topical or humorous stories in prose. Examples are *Jingu Qiguan 1889*, and the later *Rencana Piatu 1916*, and *Abu Nawas 1916, 1917* with *Cerita Rampai-Rampai 1916*. It is a small step from a serialised anthology like *Lautan Akal 1907+* to the more modern magazine. It is interesting to observe how the long-running serialisation of *San Guo 1892-96* took on the aspect of a fixed-term magazine. It began as fairly straight monthly instalments of the translation but soon took on some of the qualities of a magazine, running a bonus anthology of humorous and amazing stories alongside the main feature,¹⁶⁷ and including news reports on the disastrous progress of the Sino-Japanese war, along with a miscellany of medicinal recipes, brain teasers, jokes and the like. A further approximation to the magazine is the interaction set up between reader and editor, and between reader and reader, through the publication of readers' letters commenting upon previous issues. Chan Kim Boon welcomed, indeed orchestrated, such contributions.

The inclination to serialise is almost wholly confined to Baba publishing throughout the period of this survey. A number of multi-volume works were published by both European and Muslim presses, but only four were serialised.¹⁶⁸ The more common practice of Muslim publishers was to issue long texts either in single very large volumes¹⁶⁹ or in simultaneously released multi-volume sets.¹⁷⁰ The financial advantage accruing from serialisation would have been just as welcome to poorly capitalised Muslim publishers as it was to Baba author-publishers. Why then did Baba publishers so frequently serialise, and Muslim publishers so rarely? There are, I believe, several answers. One is simply that supplying regular instalments of a serial was quite feasible if nearly all the customers lived in Singapore town. It seems that this was more or less true of Baba book-buyers, but we shall see that it was certainly not the case for purchasers of Muslim books. Another factor is that the serialised Baba publications were appearing in Malay for the first time, whereas the long texts issued by Muslim publishers were almost all established in the manuscript tradition before print. Some of the Baba serials were therefore published in instalments as the translation proceeded.¹⁷¹ This was not only a practical work process, but it also gave purchasers the sense that they were sharing in a contemporary experience which they shared uniquely with other purchasers of the serial. A sense of audience solidarity could be reinforced by devices like the publishing of letters from readers discussing reactions to previous instalments. This solidary potential can be generated by serialisation only with newly available material. If a text is already in the public domain, the psychological dynamic actuated by serialisation is weak. It is interesting that two of the handful of works serialised by Muslim publishers have this quality of novelty; namely, *Alf Lailah wa Lailah 1878-79* and *Quran: al-Kitab*

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1920. The attraction of the serial form to Baba readers may well also be a by-product of their familiarity with newspaper reading, which provided similar psychological rewards. In any case, it is a novel use of the print medium.

MUSLIM

The third stream of publishing activity is labelled 'Muslim'. As with the other streams, this category relates to the agents who produced printed works, and not necessarily to the subject matter of the publications. Thus this stream encompasses the printing undertaken by Malay, Javanese, Jawi Peranakan, and other printers who share a common Muslim identity. Not all their publications were overtly Islamic, but a great many were. For the whole period of this survey, Singapore Muslim publishing surpassed the European stream in the number of editions issued, and in the variety of texts committed to print.¹⁷² It could not, however, match government and mission presses in terms of pure bulk.¹⁷³

The Muslim publishing so defined and included in this survey offers important insights into the cultural ecology of the Singapore-Malaysia region and beyond. Its particular interest springs from a combination of two factors. One is the early rise of Singapore to a dominant position in Muslim publishing in Southeast Asia. The other is the changing relationship of Muslim printing to the nineteenth century Malay manuscript tradition, which was extended and transformed by the introduction of printing.

The earliest Muslim printing in the region dates back to at least 1854. In that year a Muslim from Palembang purchased a lithographic press in Singapore and began printing copies of the Quran with introduction and notes in Malay.¹⁷⁴ The next firmly identified and dated Muslim printing appears in Singapore in 1860.¹⁷⁵ During the following decade nineteen Malay titles are known to have been put out by Singapore Muslim printers. A few Muslim religious texts were also printed in Java from the late 1850s and early 1860s, but there is no evidence of the burgeoning commercial printing which characterised Singapore.¹⁷⁶ Beyond the archipelago, Muslim printing in Malay arrives later. Malay books were printed in Bombay as early as 1874. In Mecca, Snouck Hurgronje found the earliest Malay-language works available there had been printed in 1876 and 1880 in Bombay and possibly in Cairo. The printing press at Mecca began issuing Malay language works only in 1884.¹⁷⁷ Singapore thus emerges early as the leading centre of Muslim publishing in Southeast Asia during the nineteenth century, and as the first centre of Malay-language Muslim printing anywhere in the world.

Muslim publication developed in a field previously the domain of the Malay manuscript literary culture. In this it differs from Baba printing as well as from most of the innovative and intrusive mission and school printing. The second is that throughout its evolution it has been a commercial enterprise. The European

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press, we have seen, operated at the discretion of publishers who needed to pay little heed to their audience, indeed who had an agenda for changing the taste and composition of the audience and ample means to support the endeavour. The Baba press was commercial in an embryonic way, lacking sustained output and marketing networks. In contrast to both of those other categories, the Muslim press was a sustained commercial enterprise in the hands of poorly capitalised commercial printers and booksellers, whose survival depended on their ability to sell what their customers wanted. Consequently the Muslim press gives us a much clearer impression of popular reading habits and the realities of cultural entrepreneurship.

REPertoire

It was the custom of the Muslim publishers and booksellers to classify their books into the three broad classes of *kitab*, *hikayat* and *syair*. The former two categories were not hard and fast: the term *kitab* is replaced by *surat* in some cases, as is *hikayat* by *ceritera*, *kitab*, and occasionally *surat*, only *syair* form a truly distinctive category by virtue of their characteristic verse form. But in general the three broad classes are used consistently and may be taken to represent meaningful categories in the minds of those who sold books, and presumably of those who read them too.

The class *kitab* encompasses books used for all kinds of study and reference. Most often it refers to books dealing with the recitation and study of the Quran, prayer, theology, religious law and ancillary matters. In a broader sense, it may also include reference books of a general nature, such as letter-writers, vocabularies and school books.¹⁷⁸

Kitab of the former kind, treating religious subjects, launched the early Muslim press. For the first decade of Singapore Muslim printing from 1860-1870, the majority of the titles published were basic religious texts such as might be studied under an advanced teacher in a pondok-pesantren. *Kitab* appearing in this first decade were, in order of appearance, *Sabil al-Muhtadin*, *Bidayat al-Muhtadi*, *Usul al-Din*, *Tanbih al-Ikhwan*, *Sirat al-Mustakim*, *Kawaid al-Islam*, and *Taj al-Muluk*. Also figuring among the earliest output of Muslim printers were two popular Islamic guides in verse form, *Syair Mekkah*, a guide to the pilgrimage, and *Syair Hakikat*, a collection of moral advice for the young. This list of *kitab* corresponds quite closely with a short list of the religious works most favoured among the Malays in the first half of the nineteenth century which is given by Newbold, probably based on information from Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir. All the works in Newbold's list are known to have been published during the first two decades of printing activity in Singapore, several in two editions.¹⁷⁹ Brumund confirms that *Sirat al-Mustakim* was the foremost *kitab* used by Javanese 'priests' mid-century.¹⁸⁰

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In later decades, the number of kitab published in Singapore increases steadily to peak at about 1900. During the 1890s some 38 kitab are known to have been printed. These included works in Malay and Javanese, sometimes in the form of an Arabic text with interlinear Malay or Javanese glosses, or what is known in Javanese as the 'bearded' (*jenggotan*) format.¹⁸¹ In these works Javanese is written in the modified Arabic script (*pegon*), almost invariably with all vowelling indicated: in only a couple of instances is the text 'bald' (*gundil*).¹⁸² Between 1890 and 1910 nearly twenty such Javanese kitab were published in Singapore.¹⁸³

The heavy weighting towards works of religious instruction indicates an important impetus for the establishment of an Islamic press. As many of these kitab were works of considerable bulk, their production was a major undertaking. In the early decades of Muslim printing they undoubtedly formed the greater part of the printed output of Muslim publishers. Indeed, they remained a staple activity of Singapore Muslim publishers throughout the period of the survey. It is doubtful though that the printing of kitab was a very profitable undertaking, and indeed it may not have been intended to be so. It is suggestive that the first kitab definitively printed in Singapore happens to have been printed as a charitable bequest (*wakaf*),¹⁸⁴ a practice which continued throughout the period.

But it is in the publication of *syair* and *hikayat* that the commercial face of Muslim printing is most clearly shown. If we consider not the bulk of printing but the number of editions coming from the presses, already by the 1870s the majority were *syair* and *hikayat*. This trend continued, so that even at the peak of kitab printing in the 1890s a vastly greater number of new and reprinted *syair* and *hikayat* were being issued, to the extent that the extensive kitab production was overshadowed.¹⁸⁵ The highest turnover for indigenous publishers clearly lay in the recreational area. The ten most frequently reissued titles were seven *syair* — (in order) *Abdul Muluk*, *Siti Zubaidah*, *Haris Fadhillah*, *Juragan Budiman*, *Unggas*, *Kiamat*, *Dagang*, and three *hikayat* — *Miskin Marakarmah*, *Muhammad Hanafiah*, and *Dermah Tahsiah*.

Syair were undoubtedly the most popular form of literature in the nineteenth century. So popular was this genre that works of prose were versified to supply the easy reading for which the public clamoured.¹⁸⁶ The language of this popular genre is more direct, less inflected, and has shorter and simpler syntactic structures than is characteristic of prose. Thus, although *syair* are marked by some poetic conventions in the choice of vocabulary (especially in finding rhyme words), their language is in general closer to common speech than is the rather artificial style of traditional literary prose. The result is a more effective vehicle for conveying information to a wide audience than were the contemporary forms of prose.

syair ini dengarkan olehmu
sekalian orang mencari ilmu
di dalam kitab banyak yang jemu
dikarangkan syair baru bertemu¹⁸⁷

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Nor must it be forgotten that, in these early days of print, written works were intended to be read aloud, in the manner of the manuscript. Both prose and verse were consumed more often by ear than by eye.¹⁸⁸ The simple predictability of the syair's structure was a great aid to aural comprehension, as well as supporting musical accompaniment.¹⁸⁹ Syair were to be read aloud with vigour and style, according to the concluding verses of one moderately popular text:

membaca dia jangan pelahan
suara yang elok jangan ditahan
supaya dengar taman dan kawan¹⁹⁰

The audience revels in the sweet voice of the singer.¹⁹¹ If his or her rendition is not dull but lively and polished, the reciter may look forward to tokens of appreciation — tea, cigarettes, and sweets:

jangan dibaca perlahan-lahan
supaya terdengar orang sekalian
baca olehmu dengan petua
semuanya suka sambil tertawa
dapatlah upahan teh dan kahwa
serta rokok pangan nan halwa¹⁹²

Such readings were a common form of evening entertainment.¹⁹³ Furthermore the most popular syair are known to have been performed as theatre, among them *Abdul Muluk*, *Siti Zubaidah*, and *Ken Tabuhan* — as well as the prose *Miskin Marakarmah*.¹⁹⁴

Also read aloud publicly were texts of religious significance. Foremost among these are accounts of the Prophet's life, in the various versions known as *Maulud*,¹⁹⁵ and the very frequently reprinted prose epic *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*. The latter is a popular account of the birth, life and death of prophet Muhammad, and of the violent and tragic story of Ali and his sons Hassan, Hussain and Muhammad Hanafiah. It was read publicly during the ten days of Asyura. It opens with an explicit address to both readers and listeners, printed on its title page.¹⁹⁶

Highest on the list of titles which appealed most to book-buyers were romantic adventures. The syair *Abdul Muluk*, *Siti Zubaidah*, *Haris Fadhillah*, *Juragan Budiman*, and the hikayat *Miskin Marakarmah* are all of this nature. These tales are rich in pathos and catharsis. They draw on conventional themes of the separation of lovers, the birth of a child of good fortune in forest exile, the intermediacy of a fairy god-mother or forest hermit, episodes of disguise and mistaken identity, all culminating in a battle in which a lost kingdom is regained, the lovers are reunited, and prosperity and happiness return. A popular additional ingredient is the depiction of the strong heroine who, through steady devotion, wit, resourcefulness and valour on the battle-field, rescues her husband from captivity. This is common to all four of the most popular syair. *Miskin Marakarmah* is rather different. It shares the love of disguise and revelations of true identity, the fairy

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godmother, the loss and regaining of a kingdom, the ups and downs of fortune, and the hero saved from an ogre by his wife-to-be; but the focus is on adventures of the prince. With *Dermah Tasiah* the woman's role is again foremost: a wife suffers grievously when driven out by her husband but remains steadfast in great tribulation and is returned to her husband by Jibrail with admonitions against divorce. It is worth remarking that the titles of *Zubaidah*, *Juragan Budiman*, and *Dermah Tasiah* are all provided by the names of their heroines.¹⁹⁷

These most popular syair are also notable for their strongly Islamic flavour. Although drawing upon themes which are common to a stock of Malay and Javanese literature, they are distinguished by their setting, which is not in the mythical Anta Beranta (as is *Miskin Marakarmah*), nor in Janggala and Kuripan (as is *Ken Tabuhan*), but in imagined Muslim worlds centred on Barbary and Hindustan or Iraq, Yunan and Cambay. Even more weight is lent to this Islamic colouring by the didactic works which also figure among the most popular printed texts. The titles of *Syair Unggas Bersoal Ilmu Akhirat* and *Syair Kiamat* indicate the didactic nature of the texts. The remaining text in the top ten, *Syair Dagang*, is an allegorical poem by the early Malay mystic Hamzah Fansuri expressing the spiritual pilgrim's lonely anguish.

The popularity these works achieved in the market place indicates the appeal of their style and, no doubt, the values they convey. The Islamic horizons of most of these books, the social values their stories embody, and the mercantile environment which they often depict or assume, — these must be seen as aspects of a popular Islamic culture which flourished where these books were sold.

MARKETING

Like Baba and European printing in the British-protected areas of the archipelago, Muslim printing was concentrated in Singapore. Unlike Baba and European printing, however, Muslim printing was distributed from Singapore throughout the archipelago. Singapore was the hub of native shipping movements throughout the archipelago and a collection point for the pilgrimage to Mecca. These factors, and the laissez-faire disengagement of the British administration from cultural affairs, led to the emergence of Singapore as the focal point of Muslim culture in Southeast Asia.¹⁹⁸

From earliest times, Singapore Muslim printing was concentrated on the north-eastern outskirts of the town in Kampung Gelam¹⁹⁹ around the Sultan Mosque, and in particular in the short street running down from the main gate of the mosque, then known in Malay as Lorong Masjid Sultan and in English as Sultan Road, but now called Bussorah Street.²⁰⁰ Other printers' shops adjoined in Baghdad Street, a block to the north in North Bridge Road, or further to the south-west in Arab Street, Haji Lane and Bali Lane. At its peak, Muslim printing was concentrated in the hands of printers in adjoining or closely adjacent shops just

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outside the gate of Sultan Mosque. It was of course in this area that the community gathered on Fridays, and in this area too that the pilgrims using Singapore as a stopover in their course to Mecca congregated.²⁰¹ This was a neighbourhood of bustling commercial activity whose shops then, as now, specialised in tailoring, and selling cloth and religious accoutrements. These included imports from India, the Middle East, and beyond. Merchandise included everything from songkok and haji caps, to Kashmiri cloths and tweeds,²⁰² to medicines and imported perfumes, as well as printed goods: amulets (*azimat*), printed verses and formulae (*wafak*), pictures of religious scenes and portraits of contemporary Muslim leaders (*gambar*).²⁰³ The leading publisher, Haji Muhammad Said, advertises that he not only sells books of various kinds but undertakes book binding, and takes orders for jackets cut in the Turkish style, does copper inlay work, and sells a range of medicines concocted by a friend.²⁰⁴ In this context, a book is a luxury consumer item.

In his study of the periodical press in Singapore, Roff noted that this branch of publishing was largely in the hands of Jawi Peranakan, that is acculturated Muslims of Indian extraction.²⁰⁵ This is not true of the Muslim book press. Jawi Peranakan publishers made a small contribution rather late in the evolution of the press, notably through the Jawi Peranakan Press and the Denodaya Press (which put out *Baba* as well as Tamil and Malay works). But these were peripheral. Rather, it was publishers of Javanese extraction who dominated. The imperfect evidence we have tells us that more than half the individuals known to be Muslim Malay-language publishers in Singapore were Javanese immigrants or of Javanese ancestry.²⁰⁶ More specifically they hailed from the Javanese north coast *pasisir*, from the region about Semarang. Others, whose ancestry is not clear, worked closely in cooperation with Javanese publishers. In fact the role of the Javanese is greater than suggested merely by the ethnic background of individual publishers, for the known Javanese publishers also tended to be more prolific. Of the top four publishers, three are Javanese. Foremost was a family headed by Haji Muhammad Said b. Haji Muhammad Arsyad of Semarang. Haji Muhammad Said and his sons account for about 200 editions published over a period of 45 years from 1873 to 1918. The second most prolific publisher, Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Haji Muhammad Salih of Rembang put out about 80 editions over much the same period. Haji Muhammad Taib b. Haji Muhammad Zain of Pati Negara was responsible for 53 editions. Yet at this time Javanese made up only about one-fifth of the Singapore Muslim population. The Javanese community were exceeded in numbers by the Kling (Tamil Muslims), and by a more stable population of less urbanized Malays.²⁰⁷ Evidently book publishing was disproportionately the preserve of the Javanese community in Singapore.

Retail sales of books were made directly from the publisher's premises, which were in some cases substantial bookshops. There are often exhortations at

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the end of published books inviting readers to come to the publisher's premises to buy books then currently in stock or still in the press, promising competitive prices,²⁰⁸ clear print and strong covers.²⁰⁹ Haji Muhammad Said kept about 100 titles in stock in his shop;²¹⁰ Haji Muhammad Amin kept closer to 200 titles in stock;²¹¹ the largest Singapore retailer, Haji Muhammad Siraj, advertised 120 titles in a catalogue in 1897-98, but this was far from a complete listing of his stock.²¹²

Direct retail sales were also possible through the mails. The use of mail order became more feasible late in the nineteenth century as the reach and variety of postal services between the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, Johor, and the other unfederated states improved, with the parcel post in 1884, money orders in 1885, and the move to carriage by rail during the 1890s and 1900s. Services between the Straits Settlements and the Netherlands Indies improved in parallel, with the Netherlands Indies post office opening special branches in Penang and Singapore in 1878.²¹³ As the mails carried the first Malay newspapers, they also carried advertisements by booksellers, with instructions for ordering by mail. Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Salih developed this marketing technique to its fullest. His regular and extensive advertisements in *Jawi Peranakan* in the years 1889-91 detail prices, postage costs, and give instructions on how to order by mail. He also advertised these facilities in free book catalogues which were sent on request to any inquirer. The mail-order instructions from his 1897-98 catalogue are informative:

The *kitab, hikayat, syair* and newspapers listed in this catalogue may be bought for the prices listed beside each title, paid in cash. Customers abroad wishing to buy these books should forward payment in advance together with the postal charges listed alongside each price. Money from abroad may be sent as bank orders or postal money orders as well as in the form of currency notes. We definitely do not accept stamps as payment for books. Money sent from anywhere in Java, Sumatra or other places using Dutch currency should be converted at the rate of 1.25 Javanese rupiahs to 1 Singapore dollar. All correspondence and payments should be sent to the address given above. Alternatively, the address in English is: *H.M. Sirat, 43 Sultan Road, Singapore.*²¹⁴

Publishers also used agents to sell books on their behalf. The extreme case of this system of marketing was developed by the Penang publisher Haji Putih b. Syaikh Abu Basyir. In *Bustamam 1895* he listed 17 agents, covering the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, Aceh, the east coast of Sumatra, Singapore, and south-west Kalimantan; two years later in *Ganja Mara 1897* he had 26 agents, extending the net to Bangkok as well.²¹⁵ Another Penang publisher had an agent in Colombo.²¹⁶ In Singapore it was again Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Salih who has the best developed network of agents, with representatives in Johor, Muar, Malacca, Penang, Deli, Sandakan, Batavia²¹⁷ and later also in Taiping and the

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Kinta.²¹⁸ In most cases the agents would have taken orders rather than stocking a range of books.²¹⁹

Among the booksellers' agents were vernacular school inspectors, the so-called 'visiting teachers'. These rare individuals bridged the intellectual worlds of the government vernacular school and the Quran school and pondok-pesantren alongside which many government schools had developed.²²⁰ One such dextrous figure was Syaikh Nasir b. Ahmad Bakhdhar of Perak. He was an agent for both Haji Putih in Penang and Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Salih in Singapore. He was highly regarded by the colonial educational authorities, who promoted him to head the Teacher Training College at Taiping,²²¹ while at the same time he personally arranged the reprinting of *Majmuk al-Fawaid 1902†*, a compendium of Islamic teachings which might be used in the more advanced Quran schools.

The government provided free vernacular education but pupils were expected to buy their own textbooks. Booksellers like Haji Muhammad Siraj might supply them in lots to teachers for resale to their pupils.²²² However few books prescribed for use in the government curriculum were actually put out by Muslim publishers²²³ (in contrast to the good use made in schools of the Muslim newspaper press).

Mail-order, the appointment of agents, and using the structures of the government school system are the more formal channels of distribution. Alongside them were informal channels, which are by definition harder to describe.

It is evident that the considerable number of printed treatises on Islamic law, books on religious history, and books of elementary religious instruction were bound for use in Muslim places of learning. Yet such kitab are not so avidly advertised as syair and hikayat. Kitab titles are seldom mentioned in the notices inserted by publishers in their books advising readers of titles planned or in stock, which are nearly always mostly syair and hikayat.²²⁴ Similarly the entrepreneurial bookseller Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Salih includes relatively few religious books in his extensive newspaper advertising and none at all in his stocklist of 1897-98,²²⁵ despite the fact that he was contemporaneously publishing Malay kitab.²²⁶ This suggests that kitab publication lay somewhat outside the purely commercial domain. One way in which this may be true is evident in the printed texts through occasional statements acknowledging that costs of publication have been defrayed through individual *wakaf*.²²⁷ Furthermore, most kitab must have been sold not through formal commercial channels but through contacts in the Islamic teaching networks which were central to the experience of traditional learning.²²⁸ The manner in which books circulated along the lines of these networks is not well attested because of the personal nature of the contacts required. An illustration of what might be involved relates to Muhammad b. Abdullah Suhaimi. A scholar and teacher, Suhaimi is known to have published a couple of Arabic treatises in

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Singapore, which he used to promote the Ghazzaliyah tarikat.²²⁹ He was a native of Wonosobo near Yogyakarta in Central Java. After a period in Mecca, he took up residence in Singapore where he became a controversial scholar and took charge of the Kampung Bahru mosque. Meanwhile he kept in touch with disciples promoting his teachings in the Wonosobo district, both by letter and through personal visits. To the leader of these disciples Suhaimi gave a parcel of books to sell. This disciple wrote to Suhaimi in Singapore to pay his respects after Ramadhan in 1902, remitting fl 25 (about \$20) from book sales, and explaining that further books had been sold on credit while others were still unsold.²³⁰ The links between kitab publishing and Islamic educational institutions become more evident late in the period of the survey, with the rise of more formally organised madrasah.²³¹ So some elementary readers and books of religious instruction were published by a foundation in Singapore for subsidised use in madrasah,²³² and upon the opening of the Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyah in Singapore in 1908, Syaikh Salim b. Awad Basharahil commissioned two kitab at the Al-Imam Press which were probably included in its curriculum.²³³

A recurring feature of the notices placed by publishers in the colophons of their books is the mention of sales in bulk (*berkodi-kodi*), for which they offered substantial though generally unquantified discounts.²³⁴ When considering who the bulk purchasers of books might be, it is worth recalling that Singapore was the focus from which radiated the informal shipping lines of the archipelago. This was the shipping in native hands, with native craft in large numbers bringing their local produce to Singapore for sale and returning with cloth, manufactures and other consumer luxuries — among them books. We gain a glimpse of the farther extremity of just one of these lines of regular communication in a note by a Dutch administrator and litterateur in the Moluccas:

Every year Makasar prows call in at Banda on their way to the Aru islands, bringing a multitude of articles for the native market. Their arrival is awaited with longing, as the natives hope then to be able to make a selection from a stock of kitab, ceritera and syair. In this way I came into possession of the syair of which a Dutch translation follows [*viz.* Syair Perang Aceh, which was published in Singapore] ... At the end of another lithographed syair I have found an announcement placed by Haji Muhammad Siradja [*sic*, = Siraj] in Singapore which informs syair aficionados that these can be obtained from him.²³⁵

No doubt it was through such informal though persistent contacts that many of the books published in Singapore found their way around the coasts of the archipelago.

Such links must have been particularly strong with the pasisir of northern Java, given the family connections of the major Singapore printers and their close involvement with local shipping, for which it will be recalled some were ticket agents.²³⁶ Yet the dynamics of this connection are still little understood. By chance we know that the Leiden University copy of *Futuh al-Arifin 1870* had been

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bought by a Bencoolen man living in Batavia within a year of its publication in Singapore.²³⁷ We know too that there was an upsurge of Javanese-language publication in Singapore during the 1890s. It was then that Haji Muhammad Siraj published kitab on behalf of clients in Semarang and Surabaya.²³⁸ Although not all Javanese-language material was necessarily destined for Java, the great increase in such material printed must betoken a response to new opportunities or new demands — indeed this rise in Javanese-language publishing in Singapore prefigured a similar burst of activity in Bombay a decade later.²³⁹ But little is known of how Singapore books were distributed commercially in Java. We have seen that in the 1890s Haji Muhammad Siraj enrolled Albrecht & Rusche, leading booksellers in Batavia, as agents — though this was probably mainly for handling newspaper subscriptions. Zwemer, though not mentioning Singapore imprints specifically, reports that in about 1920:

In all of the larger cities, Batavia, Weltevreden, Bandoeng, Soerabaya, Samarang, Cheribon, Djokja, Solo, Padang, Palembang, Medan etc., there are Arabic bookshops with a large supply of standard Moslem literature. ... Some of the booksellers publish extensive catalogues. ... Some of this [Naqshabandia and Shathalia] literature we found on sale at railway stations in the hands of book-vendors. ... At small towns, e.g. Blora, we found Indian book-sellers from Bombay carrying on a brisk trade in lithograph Korans and cheap amulets.²⁴⁰

And Drewes recalls:

As recently as the 1920's and the 1930's, the only bookshops catering for the indigenous population were run by Arabs, who imported religious literature in Arabic character from Egypt, Bombay, and Singapore.²⁴¹

PRODUCTION

The activity of the Singapore presses from which these books flowed grew and changed over the survey period. The print industry developed from an embryonic form in the 1860s, in which it essentially undertook a multiplication of the manuscript tradition, to a mature form employing mechanised typographic presses and blessed with new understanding of the book as a literary commodity.

Experiments, 1860-1880

During the first two decades, the printing enterprise in Singapore was still in a pioneering phase. Indicative symptoms are that printing had not yet been concentrated in the hands of a few successful commercial printers, and that print still had a close relationship to the manuscript culture it was replacing.

The major Singapore printers of the period were Haji Muhammad Nuh b. Haji Ismail ahl al-Badawi of Juwana (19 items in this period), Haji Muhammad Said b. Haji Muhammad Arsyad of Semarang (12 items), Syaikh Haji Muhammad Ali b. Haji Mustafa of Purbalingga (9 items), Haji Muhammad Salih of Rembang

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(7 items), Haji Muhammad Tahir (7 Items) and Encik Muhammad Sidin (5 items).²⁴² This covers about half the number of printers known from the period, and two-thirds of the extant works whose printers are known. These proportions indicate that printing was not concentrated in a few hands. Indeed, publishing activity was spread even more widely than these figures suggest because of the significant number of joint publications during this period. Encik Muhammad Sidin and Haji Muhammad Yahya b. Haji Muhammad Salih, for instance, put out several titles together.²⁴³ Other examples are frequent.²⁴⁴ The extreme cases are three works jointly put out by a tripartite partnership.²⁴⁵ Even in those publications put out over the name of a single publisher, there is characteristically a full acknowledgement of those who have contributed to the publication: copyists, owners of the text, owners of the press, printers, sellers.²⁴⁶ This information was not included to meet any legal requirement. Rather it is indicative of an industry which has not yet been 'shaken out', and which, except for Haji Muhammad Nuh's contribution, still ran on a rather ad hoc basis. This of course is just what one might expect in the tentative early stage of a pioneer industry, when the potentials of a new technology are being explored but have not been systematically commercialized.

The aim of the printers and scribes who collaborated in early lithographic production was to reproduce the form of the manuscript. This is occasionally evident in the layout of a book which lacks title page or pagination, for instance.²⁴⁷ *Ken Tabuhan 1868* is one early work which straddles the blurred boundary between lithograph and manuscript. In this work, rubrication was added by hand after the text had been printed. Not only did the end result resemble a common manuscript format, but the effect was achieved simply by applying lithographic technique to one stage of the conventional process of scribal copying in which the setting down of the body text and the subsequent insertion of rubrication were distinct phases.²⁴⁸ The debt of early lithography to scribal practice is also evident in the prominent mention which early lithographed books give to their copyists. These copyists turned their manuscript skills to preparing the transfer sheets which are reproduced by lithography. It is notable that the two principal copyists of the period were both Trengganu men, namely Husain b. Encik Musa orang Terengganu (10 items in this period) and Yusuf b. Tengku Ibrahim Terengganu (7 items). A reason for favouring writers from Trengganu was the reputation of the Trengganu manuscript hand,²⁴⁹ as indeed is indicated by a more insistent mention of their place of origin than is the case with other copyists. The next two most frequently acknowledged copyists are, if not from Trengganu, at least from other Malay states. They are Haji Abdul Samad b. Ahmad of Kelantan (4 items) and Tengku Raden Ali b. Tengku Raden Muhammad (also 4 items). None of the copyists is evidently of Javanese extraction, in strong contrast to the printers.

The picture thus emerges of an infant industry in which Javanese are the entrepreneurs, and in which peninsular Malays provide the skilled labour. This is

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Table of Multiple Editions

5 editions	4 editions	3 editions	2 editions
		publisher: Muhammad Amin b. Abdullah	
<i>Zubaidah</i>	<i>Abdul Muluk</i>	<i>Kahar Masyhur</i> TERASUL	HAJJ DAN UMRAH Indera Putera <i>Juragan Budiman</i> <i>Madhi</i> Md. Hanafiah MUJARRABAT RUKUN SEMBAHYANG <i>Silam Bari</i> <i>Sinar Alam</i> <i>Yatim Mustafa</i>
		Encik Ibrahim Riau	
	<i>Air Mawar</i> <i>Takbir Mimpi</i>	Abu Syahmah <i>Dagang</i> <i>Kahar Masyhur</i> <i>Nasihat Bapa</i> <i>Pantun Seloka</i> <i>Zubaidah</i>	<i>Abdul Muluk</i> <i>Arbah</i> <i>Cinta Berahi</i> <i>Haris Fadhillah</i> <i>Mekah</i> Md. Hanafiah <i>Pengantin</i> <i>Unggas</i>
		Muhammad Said b. Muhammad Arsyad	
<i>Nasihat Bapa</i> <i>Pungguk</i>	<i>Air Mawar</i> Dermah Tasiah Johor <i>Pantun Seloka</i>	Abu Syahmah <i>Aceh</i> <i>Dagang</i> Perang Setambul TERASUL BESAR <i>Terubuk</i>	<i>Abdul Muluk</i> Alf Lailah wa Lailah <i>Cermin Islam</i> <i>Cinta Berahi</i> <i>Dandan Setia</i> <i>Dewa Laksana</i> <i>Haris Fadhillah</i> <i>Ibarat Manikam Pari</i> <i>Iblis</i> <i>Ken Tabuhan</i> KURRAT AL-AIN <i>Mayat</i> Miskin Md. Hanafiah MUKADDAM ALIF-BA-TA Pegar Madi <i>Pengantin</i> Raja Handak <i>Saudagar Besar</i> <i>Sifat Duapuluh</i> <i>Sultan Mansur</i> <i>Taj al-Muluk</i> <i>Takbir Mimpi</i> Tengkorak <i>Unggas</i>
		Muhammad Sidik b. Muhammad Salih	
		<i>Abdul Muluk</i> MUNJIYAT	<i>Bidasari</i> MAJMUAH AL-SYARIAH <i>Taj al-Muluk</i> <i>Zubaidah</i>
		Muhammad Siraj b. Muhammad Salih	
	Indera Sebaha	<i>Abdul Muluk</i> Bakhtiar MUNJIYAT	<i>Aceh</i> Dermah Tasiah <i>Haris Fadhillah</i> Indera Bangsawan <i>Juragan Budiman</i> <i>Ken Tabuhan</i> MAJMUAH AL-SYARIAH Nakhoda Muda TERASUL <i>Zubaidah</i>
		Muhammad Taib b. Muhammad Zain	
	Syah Mardan	<i>Bidasari</i>	<i>Cendawan Putih</i> <i>Dagang</i> <i>Kahar Masyhur</i> RUKUN SEMBAHYANG <i>Samaun</i> <i>Takbir Mimpi</i> <i>Zubaidah</i>

Legend: KITAB
 Hikayat
 Syair

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printing in its experimental stage, still very closely linked to the manuscript tradition.

Expansion, 1880-1900

These characteristics of the industry were to change in the following two decades, which may truly be called the heyday of Muslim publishing in Singapore. During the 1880s the amount of printing increases very greatly, as we have seen, and the earlier rather unstructured printing industry gives way to a more concentrated and consistent endeavour. Most activity now falls into the hands of five principal printers, namely Haji Muhammad Said b. Arsyad, Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Salih, his brother Haji Muhammad Sidik b. Salih, Haji Muhammad Amin b. Abdullah, and Haji Muhammad Taib b. Zain. (See the accompanying Table of Multiple Editions.) As a few leading printers become established, the industry becomes somewhat more institutionalised. Printing is now less frequently credited to ad hoc alliances of individuals, and more frequently takes place under business names, such as Matbaah Haji Muhammad Amin. Reflecting both this institutionalisation and a second-generation Singapore population, printers are now less likely to identify themselves with ethnic or geographical epithets. At the same time the typical product of the Singapore printers is becoming less like a manuscript. Cheap paper, of Indian or more probably Japanese origin,²⁵⁰ is substituted for the good quality European paper used in many early lithographs; books are sold ready bound, again unlike many earlier lithographs; and less care is taken with the calligraphy, though more expertise is evident in laying out the printed sheets.²⁵¹

The salient features of the Muslim printing of this period can be exemplified by focussing on three active individuals.

¶ Haji Muhammad Said b. Haji Muhammad Arsyad Rembang operated from two shops, one three doors down from the gate of Sultan Mosque, at 51 Sultan Road,²⁵² the another a further four doors down at 47. He was far and away the most prolific publisher during this heyday of Singapore Muslim printing. The long list of titles under his name in the accompanying Table of Multiple Editions is indicative.

Said began publishing in 1870, and continued through a long and active lifetime as Singapore's most successful commercial printer. His surviving output from the 1870s is not extensive, but during the 1880s he became a consistent and prolific publisher. As the Table of Multiple Editions suggests he concentrated upon popular syair and hikayat.²⁵³ He seems to have been less concerned with kitab printing than his competitors. This made him the most determinedly commercial of all Singapore printers. Said was first and foremost a press operator. He probably did not himself transcribe any of the books he printed. Early in the 1880s he employed the Trengganu copyist Hasan b. Ishak,²⁵⁴ and later Encik Ibrahim (whose work will be discussed below), Muhammad of Riau,²⁵⁵ and Burhan.²⁵⁶

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However, while he may have engaged copyists to prepare his books, Said does seem to have done nearly all his own printing.²⁵⁷

As Said's business prospered and the demand for his popular brand of printing expanded, he made an opening in the other major regional market by setting up a branch office in Penang in 1892. The running of this outlet was soon taken over by his son Majtahid and developed into a thriving bookshop, selling to the northern peninsular and Sumatran markets.²⁵⁸ This was the first step in transmuting Said's personal achievement into a family enterprise.

¶ Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Haji Muhammad Salih Rembang was the son of another of Singapore's early Javanese printing families. His father Haji Muhammad Salih was a minor printer in the 1870s, as was one of Siraj's brothers, Yahya. Siraj made a somewhat later start but went on to become the second most prolific of the Singapore printers. His shop and printing premises were located at 43 Sultan Road, a few doors down from Said's shop. As he tells us at the end of a *syair* he published:

Haji Muhammad Siraj namanya diri
di Kampung Gelam Singapura negeri
mengecap *syair* demikian peri
inilah kerja sehari-hari.²⁵⁹

In 1891, his successful business employed a staff of ten.²⁶⁰

His output was only half that of Said, but he eclipses Said in other fields, for Siraj was the great retailer of printed books and the most promiscuous entrepreneur. During the years 1889-1891, Siraj was acting editor of the newspaper *Jawi Peranakan* and used the opportunity to advertise his bookshop's wares at length and with maximum prominence. For weeks on end the whole front page of the newspaper was taken up by Siraj's advertisement. Like other publishers, he also made broadsheet catalogues available free on request. The purpose of the advertisements and catalogues was not just to attract customers to the shop, but also to instigate orders either through the small network of agents which Siraj had developed, or through the mail.²⁶¹ Siraj's stock list of 1897-98 shows that he sold a variety of publications, ranging from government school books to Netherlands Indies books in Roman script, to Cairo newspapers, but above all the *syair* and *hikayat* issued by the publishers of Kampung Gelam. The local stock he held for sale was not at all confined to his own products; in fact Said's books predominate while Siraj's own publications are relatively few. Indeed, the Said family directed mail orders for their publications to Siraj.²⁶²

Siraj's forte was the organisation of collaborative enterprises. Perhaps only one third of the extant publications bearing his name are unambiguously his own sole productions. In the majority of cases he was a collaborator, sometimes with copyists, more often with printers. Siraj made occasional use of the working Singapore copyists, Ibrahim,²⁶³ Muhammad Hasan b. Haji Muhammad Jin,²⁶⁴ and Burhan,²⁶⁵ but unlike Said, Siraj was a copyist-editor in his own right. Indeed

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he is explicitly acknowledged as the copyist of a number of works printed on others' presses, including several major kitab in Javanese *pegon*.²⁶⁶ More significant were his collaborations with other printers. Not surprisingly he worked most closely with his brother Sidik. In fact Sidik began work from Siraj's premises. He went on in 1891 to open a shop next door to Siraj at 42 Sultan Road and began running his own press to which he gave a florid Arabic title.²⁶⁷ Siraj's brother became a second-echelon Muslim printer in his own right, as the Table of Multiple Editions shows. The works which Siraj published on Sidik's press were in the main bulky Javanese kitab.²⁶⁸ His other most frequent collaborator was a near-namesake, Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Haji Yahya, commonly known as Haji Siraj al-Jawa, who printed 11 works for Siraj during 1900-1902 over in Palembang Road.²⁶⁹ Others with whom Siraj collaborated were (in chronological order) Termidi,²⁷⁰ Said,²⁷¹ Uthman,²⁷² Taib²⁷³ and Amin.²⁷⁴ At one time his relation with Taib seems to have been particularly close, as an advertisement for his bookshop was issued over both his own name and that of Taib.²⁷⁵

Siraj was also able to cast his net wider than this cluster of lithographic publishers in Kampung Gelam. If clients desired letterpress printing, he could arrange that. For the Dar al-Adab Club he contracted with the American Mission Press to print a set of football rules combining letterpress text and lithographed diagrams.²⁷⁶ To supply the school market, he used the Jawi Peranakan-owned Denodaya Press, under Makhdum Sahib, to print a typeset jawi version of the Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim,²⁷⁷ which was used as a school reader. Like Said, Siraj arranged an outlet in Penang. He did so not by seconding a family member there, but through his favoured strategy of collaboration. In 1887 he forged links with the major Penang publisher and bookseller Haji Putih b. Syaikh Abu Basyir. Siraj printed books on behalf of Putih, put out parallel editions for himself and Putih, and used Putih as an agent for his bookselling business.²⁷⁸ He also undertook printing commissions from Malacca.²⁷⁹ In another direction, in 1889, Siraj marketed a few of his books in Batavia through Albrecht & Rusche.²⁸⁰ Indeed his contacts reached further into the archipelago, as he arranged the publication of religious works for clients in Semarang, Macassar, Palembang, and Pariaman.²⁸¹

¶ Unlike Said or Siraj, Encik Ibrahim Riau was not a very significant printer in his own right. He is interesting for other contributions to publishing. His shop lay just beyond the circle of greatest publishing activity in Sultan Road, at 720 North Bridge Road, across from the Istana between Jalan Kubur and Jalan Kledek. The other second-tier printers similarly worked from premises just beyond the Sultan Road precinct. Haji Muhammad Taib's shop was a few blocks south-west at 31 Kampung Bali Lane, while Haji Muhammad Amin worked from various shops in Bali Lane and then nearer the Sultan Road area at 6 and 7 Baghdad Street.

Ibrahim's name is linked to 95 editions, of which all but 19 are syair. Ibrahim may have worked as a copyist of manuscripts in Riau before moving to Singapore.²⁸² If so, he continued this trade in Singapore, copying now for litho-

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graphic printers. On the available evidence, he began his Singapore career in 1881 by copying two syair for lithography at the press of Haji Termidi.²⁸³ During a brief period 1885 to 1888, Ibrahim operated as a publisher in his own right, printing some 14 editions on his own press.²⁸⁴ However, toward the end of this short period he took on lithographic copying for Said, Siraj and Taib; and from 1889 onward, Ibrahim no longer printed and published independently. Rather, over the next twenty years, Ibrahim became the leading lithographic copyist in Singapore, working with most of the active lithographic printers of the day. Ibrahim, it seems, assumed the role described by Hurgronje when he reported that Singapore printers generally retained 'a destitute haji or some other person with a good writing hand' in their service, and had them copy out for lithographic transfer, works of which the printer had a copy and for which he knew there was demand.²⁸⁵ The loss of Ibrahim's skills upon his death was remembered by Singapore publishers as a considerable setback to their industry.²⁸⁶

Ibrahim's work with Said was considerable, beginning in 1886 and continuing until he ceased to be active about 1910. He is identified as the copyist of 44 of Said's lithographed editions.²⁸⁷ In reality he will have worked on more than this, for he sometimes failed to put his name to lithograph editions which we know were his because he is recorded as author/editor in the copyright registration. With Siraj, he did much less, being known to have written up only 7 editions between 1886 and 1901 (— recall that Siraj was himself a lithographic copyist, and undoubtedly worked up most of his own material).²⁸⁸ With other, less prolific printers, Ibrahim did proportionally more work: 12 editions with Taib over six years,²⁸⁹ 10 editions with Sidik over three years,²⁹⁰ though only 3 with Amin in a connection which lasted only two years.²⁹¹ Ibrahim's involvements from time to time with most of the major publishers confirms the pattern of close collaborative relationships also evident with Siraj's activities.

In fact the extant evidence simply will not let us untangle the web of transactions which lay behind the production of these books.²⁹² There are sometimes colourful imprecations directed against those who would pirate printed books or even copy them by hand — manuscripts were still being copied, sometimes from printed books — but there is rarely a sense of working copyright. The Table of Multiple Editions above shows the same titles recurring in several printers' lists. Many of these books were cheap syair already in the public domain, in which proprietary rights were of no great moment. Even with more substantial works, new books were recopied from old; editions were jointly produced; and sometimes a single imprint might be issued as two editions. The only recorded formal transaction involving the transfer by sale of intellectual property concerned *Miskin Marakamah*, a rare case in which a local Muslim publisher was printing for the Government school market and therefore had more regard for the Western conception of copyright.²⁹³ Closer to the norm was collaboration of the kind found in the 1888 editions of *Panji Semirang*. Two editions of this text appeared

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within days; a third just less than a year later. The list of persons implicated runs the gamut of major active figures: Haji Muhammad (a minor printer), Ibrahim Riau, Haji Muhammad Said, Haji Muhammad Tahir, Haji Muhammad Siraj and Haji Muhammad Sidik.²⁹⁴ However the producers of such books generally felt no need to publish details of those who had contributed to the various processes of production.

So, despite the concentration of printing among a small number of publishing houses in the decades 1880-1900, Muslim book publishing remained an informally organised cottage industry, conducted in the main by men living and working in close proximity, many from strikingly similar backgrounds, some of whom were kinsmen. They were colleagues as well as competitors.

Displacements, 1900-1920

The third phase of Malay Muslim printing in Singapore is one of decline and reorientation. This period sees the marginalisation of the cottage industry which had been so productive in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The nature of the changes is partly revealed through the continuing history of the Said family enterprise. In the new century the leading role passed to Said's sons. As we have seen, a branch office in Penang had been put in the charge of Majtahid by 1898. Meanwhile in Singapore the family shop moved to 82 Arab Street (about 1908) and operations largely fell upon the shoulders of the remaining sons: principally Abdullah, with Muhammad, Khalid and Hamzah taking subsidiary roles. Moreover the nature of those operations was changing. Whereas their father had been above all a printer, both Majtahid and Abdullah became increasingly occupied with retailing books rather than with producing them. Even when they did publish, their books were much more likely to have been printed outside the family, their role becoming that of coordinating the various phases of the production and marketing of the book. As Siraj was not very active after 1901, Abdullah effectively assumed Siraj's mantle as a bookseller, though not as a printer. As Siraj had done, so now Abdullah issued free price-lists to interested inquirers.²⁹⁵ One is known to be extant. It was not printed by Abdullah: he contracted its typographic printing to Matbaah al-Ahmadiyah.²⁹⁶ The Said family's shift out of manufacture into retailing reflects deep changes in a maturing industry.

Around the turn of the century, the position of Singapore book printers was greatly weakened as the markets of Singapore and its hinterland were invaded by imported books printed in Bombay and Mecca. This was not altogether a new phenomenon. As we noted earlier, the earliest Malay-language publishing in other Muslim lands probably took place in Bombay and possibly Cairo in 1876 and 1880. By 1886 tarikat handbooks printed in Javanese pegon in Cairo were circulating in Java along with their Arabic-language counterparts.²⁹⁷ The Malay books printed in Mecca from 1884 had reached Singapore by 1887. Singapore's most active bookseller, Haji Muhammad Siraj, then signalled his entry into the

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retailing of Middle East imprints when he announced that he had just received a shipment of the first Malay-language books printed in Mecca: ‘... *kitab* printed in Mecca in the Malay language comprising various titles written by Syaikh Daud Patani and Syaikh Arsyad Banjar which have been issued within the last two years.’²⁹⁸ In the same year Siraj issued a flurry of notices that he had for sale books in the Arabic and Javanese languages as well as in Malay, explaining further that these included Meccan, Istanbul and Singapore imprints.²⁹⁹ In 1894, Snouck Hurgronje commented that

... it must not be forgotten that over the last decade the Malays have made brisk use of typographic and lithographic presses in Istanbul, Cairo, Mecca and Bombay, and that countless Malay books printed in those places have gained a far wider distribution in the archipelago than the generally pitifully poor Singapore imprints (with due regard for honourable exceptions like Si Miskin). Just the other day, for instance, I received a chest full of new Malay imprints from the abovementioned places; and in the case of Mecca, they are regularly imported here [to Batavia].³⁰⁰

It is also from 1894 that we have the first evidence of direct links between Singapore and the prolific presses of Bombay. An edition of *Hidayat al-Salikin* lithographed in that year in Bombay included in its colophon a notice that it was available for purchase from Muhammad Siddik, 182 Arab Street, Singapore.³⁰¹ The availability of books from Mecca and beyond led to new demands being placed on Singapore publishers. One response was the reprinting in Singapore of books which had first been printed elsewhere.³⁰² But the continuing challenge to the Singapore printers was, as Hurgronje implied, the greatly superior quality of the imported books.

Soon after the turn of the century the full impact of this invasion becomes evident in the Singapore trade. It was then that direct links opened between Singapore publishers and booksellers and Bombay printers. The first instance of such a connection dates from 1905 when, working from his office at 15 Arab Street, Singapore, Ismail b. Syaikh Badal began printing Javanese and Sundanese *kitab* using presses in both Singapore and Bombay concurrently.³⁰³ Another Bombay printer and publisher, Alibhai Sharafali, had printed titles for a Semarang publisher in 1899,³⁰⁴ and went on to publish Malay language titles on his own behalf, eventually setting up an office in Singapore at 75 Arab Street some time before 1921.³⁰⁵ For some time thereafter he published from Singapore while continuing to print in Bombay.

By the second decade of the twentieth century books from Cairo and Bombay were flooding into Southeast Asia.³⁰⁶ The internationalisation of the Malay book trade is fully evident in 1912 when Haji Muhammad Said’s sons advertised that they stocked books printed in Mecca, Istanbul, Russia, Egypt and Bombay.³⁰⁷ Of course not all these books were in Malay, or Javanese, but a great many were, and by this time the number of copies of Malay books printed in Bombay alone had far

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outstripped the local Singapore production.³⁰⁸ Among the titles printed in India and the Middle East, *kitab* are particularly well represented. The impact on local printing was such that, from a peak about 1900, *kitab* publishing in Singapore swiftly fell back to the level of the 1870s, i.e. to about half the peak rate. Moreover, as imprints from Mecca, Cairo, Istanbul, and Bombay were of superior quality, or emanated from the high places of Islam, they were held in greater esteem than the local products. This is evident from the terms in which they were advertised.³⁰⁹

The close of this survey sees the Singapore booksellers still operating their own lithographic presses, but with declining vigour. Overbeck, who, alone of contemporary scholars, took an interest in the popular Muslim press, records that the industry had fallen into a parlous state by the 1920s. New books were not being published, and booksellers were pessimistic about demand for their product. They informed Overbeck that lithographic book production had become a dead art.³¹⁰ The cottage industry was dying. But high quality lithographic publishing continued to thrive. By 1926 two major publishers new to Singapore had put out competing editions of *Syair Siti Zubaidah*, formerly a mainstay of the cottage lithographers. The new publishers were Sulaiman Mari'e, formerly based in Surabaya, who did his printing in Egypt,³¹¹ and Alibhai Sharafali, printing in Bombay. Both had the capacity to supply fine lithographs of the type familiar in Malaysia and Singapore in recent times. Their offshore printing was an immense technical advance over the old Singapore lithographs.

Contemporaneous with the internationalisation of the book market was another technological development with far-reaching effects for local Muslim printing. That was the adoption of typography. There had been typographic publications by Muslim publishers throughout the period of this study but they were rare until the 1890s.³¹² Early commercial printing had been almost wholly lithographic. As already mentioned, lithography provided an easy transition from the techniques of manuscript copying to printing, and reproduced a familiar graphic form. For *kitab* in particular, lithography conveniently reproduced interlinear glosses, dependent commentary and the like, using customary devices of text layout and script size to express hierarchies of textual authority.³¹³ Lithography is so redolent of the prestigious old manuscript tradition that copies of the Quran are almost invariably printed by lithography or similar techniques to this day. But during the 1890s, attitudes began to change. While typeset jawi was still locally the preserve of the newspaper press³¹⁴ and the school-room, typeset *kitab* began to arrive in numbers from Mecca.³¹⁵ Earlier prejudices that typography was an impious Christian artefact began to dissipate.³¹⁶ From about the turn of the century a small but increasing proportion of Singapore Malay books were printed using the letterpress rather than lithography. Apparently, the advantages offered by typography were becoming more widely appreciated, so that by 1915 lithographic

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printers were feeling the pinch: Haji Muhammad Said had *Miskin Marakarmah 1915* printed typographically at the Methodist Mission Press, explaining that while previously the work had always been lithographed, this edition had been produced in clearer and neater typeset print in response to persistent inquiries from purchasers.³¹⁷ In the twenty years 1880-1900 one tenth of Muslim-published editions were typeset; for 1900-1920 the proportion rose to one quarter.

The technology of typography had implications for the organization of the industry. The economics of typography and lithography differ significantly. With typography, high overheads resulting from capital costs of equipment and the employment of skilled staff make idle time expensive. Not until the first newspaper was launched was there sufficient regular work to justify a letterpress. Even for the proprietors of this newspaper, *Jawi Peranakan*, operating overheads, including the need to renew costly type fonts, was crippling.³¹⁸ This limitation was critical in view of the small market for Muslim books: compared with the circulation of manuscripts, the output of the early printing presses may have been enormous, but it was not enough to keep even one press fully occupied, much less the several which produced lithographic printing. The shift into typography therefore implies a change of scale which takes printing beyond a cottage industry on the small plan of the lithographers. The new typographic presses were government run (and therefore immune from capital constraints),³¹⁹ or associated with the production of newspapers or magazines (in which rapid mass production may cover overheads).³²⁰ Their status as formal business enterprises, rather than personally-conducted cottage industries, is symptomatically revealed in the names of the new presses, which are invariably impersonal: Matbaah al-Ikhwan, Matbaah al-Ussrah, etc. Further, the new capital-intensive technology induced functional specialization. Press operators were no longer major book retailers.³²¹

The publishers who had led in lithography did not altogether spurn the new technology, but the occasions on which they used it were rare. Said, Amin, and Idris published a mere handful of typeset books.³²² On the other hand there was no reluctance by the new presses to rely on the old lithographers, who were the largest established retailers, as wholesale and retail agents. We find Siraj specified as an agent for the sale of publications by the Johor and Riau government presses and the Denodaya Press run by the Jawi Peranakan, Makhдум Sahib b. Ghulam Muhyiddin Sahib.³²³

The changes of technology, organisation, and a broadening conception of the market during this period are perhaps encapsulated in the example of the Matbaah al-Imam. Matbaah al-Imam was a typographic press which operated, as a firm, with support from the Riau government. It situated itself in the international market a little vaingloriously, as 'the biggest Muslim press in Southeast Asia'.³²⁴

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Penang & beyond

Beyond Singapore, Muslim publishing began later and was less prolific. As more diffuse regional communications and the economic development of the hinterland reduced the primacy of Singapore as the central node of peninsular communications networks, Penang emerged as a subsidiary centre. Penang had as its hinterland the western Malay states and the east coast of Sumatra, which prospered as tin mines and plantations were opened up at the turn of the century. Among books published in Penang before 1920 were one commissioned from Perak and another from west Sumatra.³²⁵

Muslim printing in Penang is less well attested than in Singapore. Even so it certainly never approached the same quantity. Only one work is known to have been printed before the 1880s, on a still unidentified press.³²⁶ It was not until the 1890s that local printing was well under way, only to decline sharply again in the 1910s. Even at its peak during 1880-1910, Penang's output is quite low. For this period, the number of editions is only 32, one-twentieth the number published by Muslim printers in Singapore in the same period. The number of active publishers is correspondingly small. Indeed fully half of these 32 editions were published or co-published by one leading Penang bookseller, Haji Putih b. Syaikh Abu Basyir, a Jawi Pekan of north Indian extraction.

We have earlier seen that during the high tide of Penang publishing, the two major publishers of Singapore established retail outlets in Penang: Said by opening a branch of the family shop about 1892, which was later run by his son Majtahid; and Siraj by entering a loose arrangement with Haji Putih. Like their Singapore counterparts, Putih and Majtahid operated from premises near the Malay Mosque, in the adjacent Acheen and Armenian Streets. While Majtahid confined his activities mainly to bookselling,³²⁷ Putih was a great innovator who contributed in several capacities: as translator, editor, and publisher, as well as retailer. Putih made two prose translations from Hindi (*Ganja Mara* 1886, 1897; *Bustamam* 1895, 1900) which he had lithographed at three Penang printeries, the Muhammadiyah Press, Freeman Press, and Kim Seck Hean Press. In addition, he published another popular Hindi theatrical piece in Malay verse (*Indera Seba* 1889, 1896), issued jointly with Siraj and printed in Singapore. Haji Putih also commissioned new editions of other titles already available in Singapore from Siraj.³²⁸

Despite the close connections of Majtahid and Putih with Singapore, the organisation of Penang publishing and printing differed from that prevailing in contemporary Singapore. In Penang there was a sharp transition from nineteenth century lithography to twentieth century typography. With the exception of a couple of works printed by the Penang and Straits Printing Co., all nineteenth century Muslim publishing was lithographed, including newspapers.³²⁹ In 1900 the Criterion Press brought out the first newspaper in typeset jawi.³³⁰ Thereafter

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only typeset books are known to have been published for the remainder of the survey period. The rapidity and completeness of this change result from the absence of vertically-integrated printer-booksellers in Penang. Unlike Singapore, where the lithographers carried on after typography had become a feasible alternative, in Penang the functions of publishing and printing had always been separate. One lithographic press, the Muhammadiyah Press (later Freeman Press)³³¹ was in Muslim hands, but it neither published nor retailed books in its own right. In fact, most of Penang's Muslim books were printed on Chinese-run presses. The Kim Seck Hean Press put out a lithographed jawi newspaper, produced fine lithographed texts for Wilkinson to use in schools,³³² and reprinted a title for the Penang bookseller Haji Putih which had earlier been printed at the Freeman Press. When jawi typography became accessible, publishers had no vested interest in the old technology: their choice was between one Chinese-owned lithographic press and another Chinese-owned letterpress which could do the job as well and almost as cheaply.

The lack of vertical integration in early Penang publishing also explains why its publications bear some of the same characteristics as their Singapore counterparts of twenty-five years previously. *Akidat al-Munajjin 1893*, for instance, is depicted as a collaborative effort involving separate credits to all who contributed: printer, commissioner, censor, typesetter, and owner of the text. As with the early Singapore kitab publications, it was apparently conceived as an ad hoc collaborative work of high moral value. Also like the early phase of Singapore Muslim publishing, Penang publishing concentrated on the printing of religious manuals and tracts. Most of the works which did not emanate from Haji Putih fall into this category, amounting to about half of all Penang publications for the period.

As literacy spread and communications became more diffuse in the twentieth century, a multiplicity of smaller centres of publication emerged in the peninsular Malay States. The Penang model was replicated again and again on a smaller scale. The early concentration on books of religious teaching was repeated. Similarly too, the functions of publishing and printing were separate, with printing often undertaken at Chinese-owned printeries. The single important exception to this arrangement was the quasi-governmental press of the Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Kelantan.

The situation in Penang and on the Peninsula confirms the peculiarity of Singapore, which alone had a sufficiently large market for Muslim books early enough to give the opportunity for Javanese entrepreneurs to establish a few viable Muslim printing houses while appropriate technology was still simple and

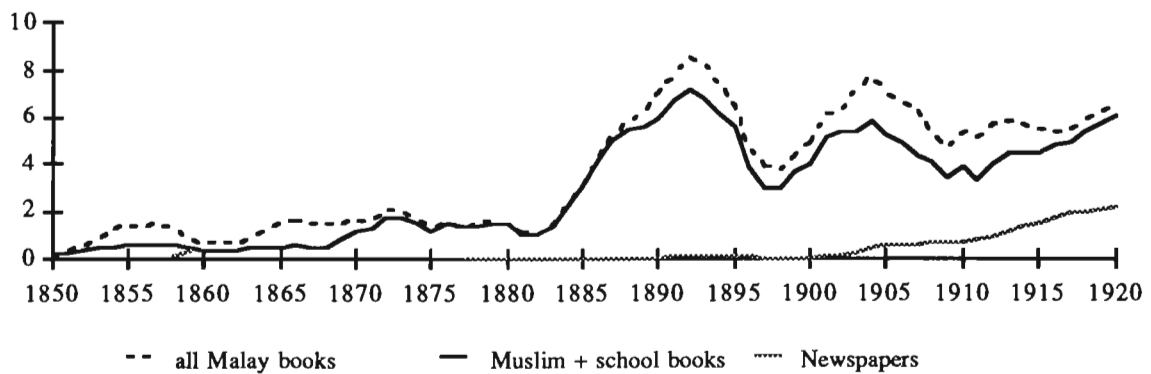
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affordable, and before competition from general commercial printeries and large overseas printers made such a venture foolhardy.

THE PRINT THRESHOLD

The immensity of the increase in the raw materials of literacy during the nineteenth century is hard to comprehend. In the early nineteenth century manuscripts were expensive and hard to come by; by the end of the century, books were cheap and actively marketed. Print allowed an explosion in the amount of available written material. Estimates of the number of literary Malay manuscripts extant in identified collections range around 4,000 to 5,000;³³³ it has been further speculated that all told, including manuscripts in private hands, there may be 10,000 Malay literary manuscripts extant. Even if these figures are considerably awry, it hardly matters when we put them beside the output of the press. In 1890, the first year for which we have orderly data for output of printed works, one Muslim printer registered ten titles for copyright. In all, these ten registered titles accounted for 10,000 printed books.³³⁴ In other words, the number of books produced by *one* Singapore printer in *one* year equalled the estimated number of all the surviving literary manuscripts copied over four centuries. And this is for the registered titles of but one printer; it takes no account of the registered titles of other printers, nor of the fifty or so titles known to have been published by Muslim

Figure 4
Malay-language printing, Singapore-Malaysia
(millions of pages annually)³³⁵



This chart plots trends in the annual publishing output of books and newspapers in Malay measured in millions of pages. The categories of publications are (1) all Malay-language books, including mission and Baba publications; (2) books which might be read by a Muslim audience, i.e. books published by Muslim publishers plus school-books published by government and missions; (3) newspapers.

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printers that year but not registered. Including these titles, we are looking at the production of over 50,000 books for the year. In other words, during 1890, the estimated number of surviving literary manuscripts was equalled in book production by Singapore printers *every two weeks*. And this still ignores all Malay books printed elsewhere; — and ignores newspapers.

This sudden and immense acceleration of the production of literary material cannot be correlated in any reasonable way with an increase in literacy. The history of literacy in the region in the nineteenth century is largely undocumented.³³⁶ Conditions of increasing urbanisation, new commercial opportunities, and the deeper penetration of the cash economy into the urban hinterland during the latter part of the nineteenth were all congenial to the advance of literacy. Yet even in the early decades of the twentieth century the effects of government-sponsored schooling in literacy were only beginning to be felt, and still tended to be an urban phenomenon. In his study on *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, Roff asserts that the nineteenth century audience for newspapers was “the small elite group of literate Jawi Peranakan, Arabs, and Malays in the towns and some of the Malay-speaking Straits Chinese.”³³⁷ Although the audience must have been wider for printed books, which were a cheaper and less radically innovative medium, Roff’s assessment cannot be far off the mark.

Given that the great upsurge in commercial book production during the 1880s and 1890s was not accompanied by a *commensurate* rise in literacy rates, then other factors were also in play. Part of the likely explanation for the phenomenon is that even at the low levels of literacy obtaining in the nineteenth century, there was an unfulfilled capacity for the consumption of literary material. This unfulfilled capacity stemmed in part from the costliness of books produced by manuscript copying. Printing reduced the cost of physical reproduction to about one-tenth of what it had been.³³⁸ But no less important than cost was access. Manuscript literature was not in an established market, and, being relatively scarce, manuscripts were not easy to locate. Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir’s description of his encounter with manuscripts in Kelantan in the 1830s is indicative:

I met Inche Ha, the Raja Bendahara’s man, and asked him to try to get the *Story of Gemala Bahrain* for me. He said that he had a bundle of Malay manuscripts put away, belonging to a relative; he would see what was in the bundle and bring it to me, so that I could choose. I offered to go to his house to inspect the manuscripts, as I was in a hurry to sail, but he said there was no need; he would bring them to me. Then he went home, and later came with a basket wrapped in cloth. I opened it and found manuscripts on the subject of religion and prayer. And there were two chapters of the *Story of Isma Dewa Pekerma Raja*, very well composed; ... And there was one book called *Khoja Maimun*. I borrowed the books from Inche Ha; I asked him to let me take them to Singapore for copying, after which I would return them with a suitable present. Meanwhile I gave him a fine handkerchief of

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Indian cotton, worth 4 rupees. He was delighted and told me that after copying what I wanted I could send the manuscripts back by Inche Buntal.³³⁹

Several points are instructive here. Abdullah failed to find the particular text he had in mind; indeed his expectations do not seem to have been very high. This is not very surprising given that his strategy to locate the text had to rely on the very limited social connections at his disposal, specifically his acquaintance with one of the Raja Bendahara's henchman who had earlier been assigned to protect their party. Further, Abdullah's eagerness to copy odds and ends from the basket of old manuscripts to which he did gain access there in distant Kelantan says much about the general availability of texts in the environs of Singapore.³⁴⁰ The arrangements for the procurement, borrowing and return of these miscellaneous manuscripts were negotiated ad hoc and further relied on a series of personal relationships: the Raja Bendahara under whose protection Abdullah's party visited Kelantan, his henchman Encik Ha, Encik Ha's relative who owned the manuscripts, and another acquaintance Encik Buntal who would return them. Manuscript reproduction is shown by this example to be time-consuming not simply because each copy had to be made by a separate process of scribal copying, but also because procurement of the text could also prove taxing. Printed books, by contrast, were market commodities, stocked and promoted for sale. Once printed and sold, copies circulated in relative abundance. A visit to a bookshop, or to a market stall, or an order from a publisher's catalogue offered a much greater chance of success in obtaining a desired title, and a much more straightforward way of obtaining a wide range of reading material. Manuscripts were later sold incidentally by booksellers,³⁴¹ but the very existence of the bookshop (and indeed the notion of a market in books) was a by-product of the copious and continuous supply of material which printing provided. Printing thus had the twin effects of substantially reducing the price of written material and simultaneously removing impediments of access. The results demonstrated how dramatically elastic the demand for literary material was.

The upsurge in consumption of literary material is thus an aspect of the transformation of text into commodity. Traditionally access to manuscript material had been governed by cultivated social relations, not the promiscuous transactions of the market-place. Manuscripts of religious texts were copied in the pondok-pesantren under a teacher's eye, and duly authorised.³⁴² Access to other manuscript texts had been guarded for reasons of prestige by courtiers³⁴³ or for reasons of livelihood by professional reciters.³⁴⁴ Even owners of manuscripts of recreational literature which brought no remuneration or social cachet might be reluctant to lend.³⁴⁵ Furthermore literary transactions, being conceived as social in nature, were not properly conducted as commercial transactions. The owner of a borrowed manuscript would not expect to be repaid in money.³⁴⁶ As we just saw, Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir recompensed the owner of the manuscripts he borrowed with a gift, not in money. And when the copying was done, he planned to return

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the manuscripts with a further gift. But while Abdullah accepted the convention that a social transaction was involved here, and a gift was the fitting way to return the favour granted by the owner of a manuscript, in his own mind he tended to translate the dealings into commercial terms (as he did with much else), quantifying the cash value of the gift. The reluctance of some manuscript owners to lend stems from the same conflict of values. On the one hand recognising the compelling force of social obligation to lend, they feared that their valuable property would be damaged or simply not returned.³⁴⁷ Only if the manuscript was lost, could they legitimately claim monetary compensation. The deeper intrusion of the commercial values of the urban market-place into manuscript transactions is evident in the commercial manuscript lending libraries of the early nineteenth century, with set fees calculated by the night.³⁴⁸ Printing ultimately undid these social bonds. It undermined the professional reciter's livelihood,³⁴⁹ and the ruling house's monopoly, and began to release the private owner of a text from entanglement in fraught social relations. As publishers of the new printed syair asked, why risk ill-feeling by lending or borrowing when a syair can be bought for a few cents?³⁵⁰

With the advent of commercial printing, the flood of available printed matter began to sweep literature from its social moorings. If hitherto the scarcity of written literature and the conditions of its manuscript transmission had embedded texts in social relationships, the new technology of multiple reproduction released these ties by placing copies of the text in the market-place and the school-house. It was futile to struggle against this intrinsic quality of the new technology. Once a text had been reproduced in several hundred copies, or even one hundred copies, its erstwhile custodians could no longer feasibly regulate access to it. The ambivalence of the custodians of tradition to the new technology is nicely captured in a Riau court publication, *Perjalanan Sultan Lingga 1894*. This journal of royal peregrinations, including photographs of the royal party, was committed to print to achieve maximum publicity:

di dalam matbaah dimasukkan dia
supaya berhamburan seluruh dunia

Yet the Riau court also vainly attempted to keep control of the text by forbidding its reproduction on any other press, averring that to do so would be a sin and *lèse-majesté* (*dosa ... derhaka*). The reality was that once in print a text was readily accessible to any individual who had a small cash sum. Books were advertised and sold alongside patent medicines and bolts of cloth. Texts of the devotional exercises of the religious brotherhoods were published as pamphlets.³⁵¹ Histories of Malay ruling houses, *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, *Sejarah Melayu*, and *Misa Melayu* were put into the hands of common schoolboys by Christian missionaries and the colonial Education Department. Klinkert observed how the *Sejarah Melayu*, which had formerly been kept in the Riau palace wrapped in golden silk and read on ceremonial occasions to the accompaniment of cannon salutes, had been transformed by print into a school text used in the government Malay schools

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in nearby Singapore.³⁵² The *Tuhfat al-Nafis* was saved from this fate, for its text was still within the control of the Riau ruling house, and remained in manuscript. But, dramatic as this transformation of politically-potent texts was, its impact was more than matched by an effect which was more subtle. That was simply that print brought popular recreational texts more often before the eyes of listeners. These deep-seated changes were tantamount to the creation of a new literature by the printing press.

This new literature was brought into being not only by transforming old texts; new texts were also created especially for print. The diversity of literary material available was enhanced by the printing of Baba and Mission material, both unknown before the advent of print, and by translations from Hindi, English, and Arabic.³⁵³ The translation of literary and religious works into Malay has a venerable history, but its pace now accelerated and the results were given more immediate and wider distribution. Due to differences in dialect, script and interest, not all varieties of literary material reached all Malay-reading audiences — in this regard literature contrasts strongly with the developing commercial theatre which spanned linguistic and cultural barriers much more effectively. But the mere consciousness that print-literature was so diverse was itself significant, for it further detached the generalised phenomenon of printed literature from particular social contexts of the kind which inevitably envelop a manuscript or performance of a text.

(Once texts had become commodities, removed from the particularities of their social context, it became possible for the first time to think of literature as an abstract category comparable to our modern understanding of the term. The first implicit statement of the new concept was the bookseller's catalogue. Explicit statements, in the guise of literary criticism and literary history, would follow much later. A term for this new concept would be invented when, in Sweeney's words, "the term 'sastra' was semantically 'refilled' to accommodate the Western concept of 'Literature'."³⁵⁴)

THE NEW READING

Needless to say, this technologically-induced transformation of literature was an uneven process.³⁵⁵ It applied in a society marked by very uneven distribution of literate skills, and operated through several means of reproduction in print. Indeed an interesting insight into the progress of change can be gained by comparing the application of the two print technologies of lithography and typography. We have noted that lithography was at first favoured by commercial printers for its continuities with manuscript reproduction, both in graphic form and as an industrial process.³⁵⁶ Typography on the other hand was associated with innovation in communications media, particularly in the form of the newspaper, and with a greater leap into commodity manufacturing. It had the smack of

modernity about it. In a revealing foreword to his polite letter-writer *Pelita Menyurat 1913*, Muhammad b. Muhammad Ali Sambas remarks that he decided against lithography and in favour of typography for his book because Muslims deserved the best, and in this modern age typography was more in tune with the new ways of thinking.³⁵⁷ It is no surprise, then, to find that innovation in literary forms should be better represented in the repertoire and style of typographically-printed books.

Typographic works characteristically had contemporary reference and were authored by contemporary writers. In the period of this survey, the repertoire of Muslim typographic presses was dominated by two classes of texts which figure less prominently in the lithographer's lists.³⁵⁸ One class comprises moral admonition;³⁵⁹ the other comprises reportage and semi-contemporary history.³⁶⁰ The former, works of moral admonition, have a contemporary reference in being at least implicitly addressed to current religious neglect. It is in the second class, of reportage and semi-contemporary history, that the contemporary orientation of typography is most evident. Historical subjects were also important to the lithographed tradition, but they are history of a particular kind. Lithographed histories are the traditional histories of early Islam like the great story of *Muhammad Hanafiah*, and are set either in the historical-cum-legendary Middle East of early Islam,³⁶¹ or are adventure romances like *Abdul Muluk* unanchored in time and loosely located in place.³⁶² In lithography, locally situated histories were almost wholly ignored³⁶³ and recent events given scant coverage.³⁶⁴ Typography, by contrast, thrives on the recent history of local events (e.g. *Pangeran Kahar 1887*, *Johor 1911*) or world events (e.g. *Napoleon I 1888*, *Matahari Memancar 1906*).³⁶⁵ Maier noticed these two kinds of history when he dealt with the contrast between the old story of Kedah, *Marong Mahawangsa 1898*, which remained close to the manuscript tradition and conveyed a legendary antiquity, and *Salasilah Kedah 1911*, which offered a consciously new history of Kedah "with dates and with many a story about British Glory."³⁶⁶ *Marong Mahawangsa 1898* was lithographed (though not by a Muslim publisher: its local subject matter did not interest any commercial lithographer, but rather a European school inspector). The new *Salasilah Kedah 1911* was printed typographically. In general the move from lithography to typography signals a marked transformation of consciousness: a shift towards a far more specific sense of time and place. Further, this shift in outlook can be related to another use of typographic print. Both the leading classes of new typographic literature — the moral admonitions and the narratives of recent history — show an affinity with the periodical press in its functions as a mirror of the times, commentator on contemporary mores, and a reporter of the passage of contemporary events.

Another principal mark of the new literature is that the author began to achieve prominence as a named individual. This was to some extent simply a by-product of the number of moralising works in the typographic repertoire.

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Traditionally the author's name had been highlighted only in the case of kitab, for the reason that the authority of a kitab text rests upon the standing of the teacher. (The sense that a book of religious teaching must be attributed to authoritative figures is ironically evident from the apologetic nature of the attribution in *Masail al-Muhtadi* : 'written by scholars of yore whose names have not been passed down'.³⁶⁷) Contemporary popular works of moral exhortation relied no less upon the author's authority to establish their credibility.³⁶⁸ But this does not explain the author's prominence in other genres. There, identification of the author seems to be a way of signalling the novelty of a recent creation.³⁶⁹ This is no doubt one reason why translator's names are featured in the book versions of the latest Hindi stage-shows.³⁷⁰ Identifying authorship also becomes a way of locating the register of the work in the widening landscape of printed literature.³⁷¹ Yet this still falls short of a full explanation. Again it is the histories which furnish the clearest evidence of a change in attitude toward authorship. All but one of the works of history and semi-contemporary reportage published in typography were by named contemporary authors, while all but two of the comparable lithographed works were anonymous.³⁷² In fact the association of typography and named authors was so strong that the only significant group of typographic texts which were anonymous was government publications.³⁷³ (Government publications, though, convey an explicit institutional authority which substitutes for personal authorship.) The presence of the author could be established by various means: an indication of the author's name on the title page, or inclusion of a signed author's preface,³⁷⁴ or more elaborate devices. The most recent Islamic work included in this survey, *Siraj al-Anam 1921*, forcefully established its translator's presence by opening with his portrait photograph.³⁷⁵ An equally elaborate expression of the author's authoritative contemporary presence is found in the *Salasilah Kedah 1911*, in which the author not only named himself on the title page in such a way as to establish his credentials as a Kedah courtier, but further indicated the number of the page within the book upon which he appeared as a participant in the events described.³⁷⁶

Interestingly, both the ways in which the author of *Salasilah Kedah 1911* promoted himself assume individual reading: a title page with its hierarchies of information implies visual consumption; the page reference implies either non-sequential reading or sequential reading with a concurrent awareness of the non-textual structure of the book (specifically the page numbers). We have seen already that print allowed reading to be taught in European schools as a process of the private decoding of text. Ironically, an effect of private reading was to markedly depersonalise the literary transaction. In days when oral and manuscript literary consumption prevailed, the heart of the literary experience lay in the exchange between reciter and listeners. The reading of print by an individual was no longer a social transaction but an interior mental process. The reader's immediate relationship was now with a text. Moreover, as if to emphasise the social

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deprivation brought by private reading, typography sterilised even the graphic form of the text. It made the form of the text mechanical, and its manufacture an industrial process — recall here the impersonal names adopted by typographic presses. The rise of the author might be understood as a counterweight to this development, a means of retaining a personal exchange, albeit now an imagined exchange, as the vehicle for literary communication. The pains taken to establish the presence of the author of the text are symptoms of this adjustment. The demise of the reciter had parallels in the other ways in which texts might be used. So, analogously, the teacher tended to lose ground before the author of the text, or indeed the text itself.³⁷⁷

The prevalence of individual reading also has implications for style. When the primary act of reception was the hearing of a text, styles of expression which worked well for the ear flourished. We have noted the advantages of the *syair* as a genre for performance, and the consequent popularity of this genre among audiences still used to hearing rather than seeing texts. Print ushered in the *syair* mania of the late nineteenth century, but “while seeming initially to strengthen the old, was gradually undermining it.”³⁷⁸ As the text becomes more often something seen, so the forms of expression better adapted to this mode of reception gain ground.³⁷⁹ The very qualities which made verse an effective aural medium became weaknesses: its low density of information, its reliance on the conventional, and its syntactic amorphousness. The measured conventional prose of the classical *hikayat* shares these qualities to a lesser degree, for the same reason of aural effectiveness. These qualities are less marked in the unmeasured prose style pioneered by Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir, promoted through schools, and made familiar through the newspaper press. The virtues of this new style are not aural. It was at first found rather difficult to read aloud because of the lack of predictable sense divisions.³⁸⁰ But, once aided by new conventions of punctuation, the new style makes for more efficient visual reception.³⁸¹ In the upshot, it is no surprise to find that verse is strongly represented in lithography, while prose gains ground in typography. For the period of this survey just over one-half of all the editions put out by Muslim lithographers were in verse, while for typographers the proportion of verse is just less than one-quarter.

An understanding of these developments shows how misleading the notion of ‘transitional’ Malay literature can be when it attempts to draw a single line from classical to modern prose. The idea that there is a ‘transitional’ Malay literature, in which Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir figures prominently, and which bridges the stylistic gulf between classical and modern prose can be seen to be a vast simplification of the cross-currents and turbulence surrounding the arrival of print.³⁸² Rather it is now clear that the rise to prominence of the author, the interest in contemporary reportage, and preference for prose are all linked to a complex of changes, at the heart of which lies print, and specifically typo-

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graphy.³⁸³ Together they supply the preconditions for the emergence of modern 'creative' prose fiction in the 1920s.³⁸⁴

The changes during this first century of print culminated in a new class of cultural commodity, typographically-printed texts of a new kind, which could begin to be conceived of abstractly as 'literature'. This commoditisation of cultural activity has parallels in theatre and music. The same social and economic environment which favoured new print forms also gave rise to the commercial theatre and ultimately, with new technology, to the cinema. Music similarly experienced the advent of the gramophone.³⁸⁵ All these changes were under way by 1920. The technologies for producing cultural goods for a mass audience had arrived. Access to cultural artefacts was immensely increased in amount and scope — with the concomitant effect of reducing active participation in performance. The new media technologies transformed the uses of leisure³⁸⁶ and extended the information horizon. Exposure to these new media meant radical enlargements of audience solidarity, extending and redefining participation in the imagined communities of public life.³⁸⁷ The conjunction of new print media and the unfolding of new world-views is a theme of Roff's study of *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*.

LITERARY DUALISM

As new media technologies gave expression to new world-views, they might also be adapted to restating the old with new intensity. Such a dualism is evident in the applications of print in the Malay-reading Muslim community. Alongside the new typographic print, lithography retained its attraction. This dualism on the technological level is matched by the dissociation of the repertoire of books produced by these two methods. Despite the relatively late adoption of typography, only 11 of the 85 Singapore Muslim publications produced by typography had previously been lithographed.³⁸⁸ The dichotomy is captured in a pair of publisher's notices. One inserted in the anonymous lithographed traditional romance *Pegar Madi 1903* asked for old manuscripts which had not yet been put into print; the other inserted in the newly translated typeset *Siraj al-Anam 1921* offered to buy new original manuscripts.³⁸⁹ Though their chronology should not be ignored, these notices are separated by more than just time.

The emergence of parallel print technologies with distinctive output, and very different demands for capitalisation and industrial organisation, coincided with and reinforced a divergence in the uses of literacy. Lithography was not rapidly displaced by typography and the new prose. Looking at recreational literature, Overbeck's view in 1934 was that "Malay prose fiction has hardly entered Malay life".³⁹⁰ Despite the collapse of the local lithographic press, lithography continued to flourish in more sophisticated forms, though its repertoire remained by and large frozen in the religious and popular literature of the nineteenth century.³⁹¹ The two

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print technologies can be related to a cultural dualism which emerged as a product of uneven progress from aural consumption of manuscript literature to a mature print culture. This dualism has other dimensions, like urbanisation, education, literacy rates, and reading practices.³⁹² It seems to mirror differences between 'Kaum Tua' and 'Kaum Muda', conservatives and reformers.³⁹³ In Roff's formulation:

the terms 'Kaum Muda' and 'Kaum Tua' came to refer to unanalysed social conflict of considerable complexity. To be 'Kaum Muda' was to espouse modernism ... ; to be 'Kaum Tua' was to be in favour of all that was familiar, unchanging, and secure.³⁹⁴

The traditional-minded remained true to the manuscript-in-print, to the old works lithographed. The innovators, those who learned to read in government schools or madrasahs, who read newspapers, turned increasingly to the new literature in typography.³⁹⁵

It was through the medium of the new madrasah therefore, and indirectly by their publication of newspapers and other literature used in these schools, that the Kaum Muda made most of its impact on Malay society.³⁹⁶

Figure 5
The New Reading
(millions of pages annually)³⁹⁷



Figure 5 is drawn from the perspective of Muslim Malay readers, plotting only material printed in the jawi script. It provides a perspective on the rise of the new styles of reading associated with school-books and newspapers, suggesting the increasingly rapid pace of change in the twentieth century.

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The preferences of these Malay-reading sub-communities were to change substantially only when the political and economic landscape was realigned following Malaysia's independence.³⁹⁸

COLONIAL CONTEXTS

This study has focussed on Malay-language publishing in the Malaysia-Singapore region. It will be clear by now, however, that this was but a portion of all Malay language publishing in the period. In particular, developments in the Netherlands Indies cannot be ignored, for in the Dutch-administered territories there resided a substantially larger number of literate speakers of Malay than could be found in the British-administered territories of the Straits Settlements and Malay States. (In round figures, probably some 800,000 adults in Dutch territories were literate in Malay by 1920, compared with 175,000 in British territories.³⁹⁹) In very broad terms the developments in the Netherlands Indies were comparable with those taking place in Malaysia-Singapore. The availability of the same printing and transport technologies, a comparable monetisation of the economy, and the stimulus of exposure to a European presence were all common factors. However we have observed in the Singapore-Malaysia case how the available technologies were applied selectively by various classes of Malay language users with differing cultural allegiances, and indeed served to some extent to delineate cultural interest-groups. The interactions between printing technology and cultural politics had rather different outcomes in the Netherlands Indies.

The outstanding feature distinguishing developments in the Netherlands Indies from those in the Straits Settlements has already been alluded to; that is, the early emergence of a printed literature in Romanised Malay. Translations of European novels appeared from 1875.⁴⁰⁰ Even more striking is the very early appearance of newspapers in Romanised Malay, the first being published in 1856.⁴⁰¹ These first ventures were the initiative of Dutch and Eurasian authors, translators and printers. From the 1880s the Peranakan Chinese of Java also became major contributors.⁴⁰² This pattern of development can be related to the social and political context in which the new printing occurred. Like the Straits Settlements, urban Java represented a plural society in which the Malay language functioned as a communicative bridge. However, there were significant differences from the Straits Settlements, which centre upon the different contributions of the comprador classes in each case. A major factor in the substantial presence of Malay-speaking Eurasians and Chinese in urban Java was the Dutch administration's long-standing practice of utilising 'low' Malay in the Roman script as a language of administration.⁴⁰³ In the field of publications, this emphasis is evident in the considerable number of translations of regulations, notices, government service manuals and the like into Malay, and it no doubt

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accounts for the early appearance of newspapers in the Roman script. The upshot was that the publishers of the first Malay-language newspaper, *Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe*, thought Roman script the appropriate medium in which to convey commercial intelligence to an audience of Chinese, Arab, Malay, and Indian traders on the north coast of east Java.⁴⁰⁴ We have noted that the British government in the Straits Settlements made little use of Malay in either Roman or jawi script. In short, during the nineteenth century there was a convergence of interests in the Netherlands Indies between mission, government, and Eurasian and Peranakan compradors in the development of a new literature in Romanised Malay — or as it was known, Malay in Dutch script.⁴⁰⁵

The contrast between these developments in urban Java and those in the Straits Settlements are most evident when we compare Malay-language publications by the Chinese in both places. The Chinese Peranakan of Java, while a smaller proportion of the population than their counterparts in the Straits Settlements, were much more numerous in absolute terms. One straightforward consequence of these numbers is that the struggling Baba literature of Singapore is matched by a vastly greater literature in Java, so ably documented in Salmon's study of *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*. The influence of the comprador communities was not, however, simply a function of their numbers. The impact of their contributions was also conditioned by also their accessibility to the local native culture. Here two points are relevant. First, the fact that most Chinese Peranakan and Eurasians were not Muslims was less a barrier to cultural integration in Java than in more uniformly Muslim areas elsewhere in the archipelago. Second, in Java the Peranakan Malay-speakers constituted a well-to-do majority of Chinese, with an attendant self-confidence in cultural definition, while in the Straits Settlements, as in the rest of the Netherlands Indies, Malay-speaking Babas became a culturally defensive minority vis-à-vis a Chinese-speaking majority of recent arrivals (*sinkeh, totok*).⁴⁰⁶ The different situations are reflected in the far wider diversity of subjects upon which literature by Javanese Peranakan touched. Salmon has demonstrated that it comprised an eclectic melange of translations from Chinese traditional, didactic, popular and contemporary works, of syair, and by the turn of the century, a few original prose works. In the Straits Settlements, as we have seen, the limited Baba publishing effort was single-mindedly directed to resuscitating a Chinese heritage through translations of Chinese historical romances. In Java, Chinese Peranakan publications contributed to a burgeoning indigenous Roman-script literature which addressed a multi-racial audience. By contrast, in the Straits Settlements, the boundaries circumscribing Baba culture were becoming less permeable. The Baba translations of Chinese historical romances were virtually the only commercially published Roman-script books, and were closed to non-Chinese Muslim readers of Malay, still wedded to the jawi script.

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In form and content, the Roman-script literature of the Netherlands Indies represented a marked departure from manuscript literacy. A small number of older works were transliterated into Roman script, and sometimes subjected to an even more novel mode of presentation by being serialised in newspapers. But the major categories of the Romanised literature were new to Malay — translations, original contemporary compositions, and newspaper journalism.⁴⁰⁷ It is in this literature that recent scholarship has identified the ‘antecedents’ of modern Indonesian literature.⁴⁰⁸ On the other hand Baba publishing in the British-administered areas never attained much bulk or variety and exercised no lasting impact on the broader development of Malay print literacy. The Roman script, as we have seen, always played second fiddle to jawi in government vernacular schools, and did not gain much favour with Muslim readers. In a departure from current practice, the Ahmadiyah Press issued several titles for Muslim readers in simultaneous jawi and rumi editions, but this experiment was short lived.⁴⁰⁹ So, in contrast to the Roman-script literature of the Netherlands Indies, it is the typographically printed jawi books and newspapers of Singapore and Malaya which can be considered the antecedents of modern Malaysian literature, through a more subtle modulation of forms.

The notion that something is an antecedent, however, implies that it has a latent quality not yet fully realised. To pursue too keenly the nineteenth century antecedents of late twentieth-century national literatures is to run the risk of reading back into the past categories and conditions which obscure the realities of the time. In fact this highlights an ambiguity in nineteenth century developments. How much weight should be given to the division created by separate colonial administrations? It is undeniable that on both sides of the Straits of Malacca, colonial government policy exercised leverage on the cultural development of the plural societies over which they ruled, both through the school system and through the mutual co-option of administration and comprador classes. We have already noted the coincidence in time of the Straits government’s first commitment to vernacular schooling and the British forward movement marked by the Pangkor Engagement. Similarly Dutch interest in the promotion of Malay in the Roman script bears comparison with other strategies designed to gain control of communications and transport in the archipelago, notably in the area of shipping.⁴¹⁰ It was the institution of widespread vernacular schooling early in the twentieth century that gave this leverage real purchase in both British and Dutch territories. The establishment of vernacular government school systems required and invited strategic decisions on cultural policy. In the British territories, as we have seen, the government promoted reading matter which was new both in style and in content, which bolstered European prestige and the feudal order, and acted as an antidote to the Muslim commercial press. In the Netherlands Indies the alternatives were more stark. The expansion of government schooling meant that urban Java increasingly set the agenda. In the mid-nineteenth century the sparse

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government and mission schooling offered in the Outer Islands, conducted in Malay, used both Arabic and Roman script in Muslim areas, and Roman script in Christian areas; but already by the latter part of the century, the weight of Batavia was firmly behind the Roman script.⁴¹¹ By the time of the great expansion of second class vernacular schools in the early twentieth century, the presumption of the Batavia-based administration was that Malay would be written in the Roman script.⁴¹² Through the vastly expanded school system and through a vigorous program of literary publication, the government entrenched the Roman script as the vehicle for the new Malay writings of the colonial power and those who lived in its shadow. The conscious exercise of policy in the twentieth century thus put the seal on a development which stretched back to the alliance of Dutch, Eurasian and Peranakan interests forged around the middle of the nineteenth century.

Yet, as in the Straits Settlements and Malay States, so in the Netherlands Indies, the influence of the colonial administration, its cultural agents and its collaborators was not evenly felt. Least affected, or most resistant, were indigenous Muslims, assigned to the native class and thus legally denied the role of comprador, who valued the pilgrimage to Mecca above homage to Batavia.⁴¹³ Some among them saw use of the Roman script by the Batavia-led media as emblematic of its subservience to the interests of the colonial authority.⁴¹⁴ These were the heirs of the Muslim manuscript tradition, whose education was gained in the pondok-pesantren, readers of *Syair Abdul Muluk*, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* and *Kitab Maulud*, who, like their brethren across the Straits of Malacca, remained faithful to the lithographic extension of the old tradition. As little printing of this nature was undertaken in the Netherlands Indies during the nineteenth century, here lay a major market for the Singapore lithographers (passing in the twentieth century, into the hands of lithographers who printed in Bombay and Cairo).⁴¹⁵ It is easy to fall in with the perspective imposed by colonial administrative boundaries, which were later to harden into national boundaries, and thus to view Singapore in the nineteenth century as an offshore printing location supplying a specialised traditional market in Java and the Outer Islands of the Netherlands Indies. But this does scant justice to nineteenth century realities, especially when we recall that the principal lithographers in Singapore were of Javanese extraction.

For nineteenth-century publishing, then, it makes most sense to see two major concurrent streams of Malay-language publishing in Southeast Asia. One was led by the Dutch administration and its local allies, focussed on the administrative centre at Batavia. It had a pale counterpart under the British government in the Straits Settlements. The other stream involved those not so enmeshed in the colonial superstructure — for whom the Straits of Malacca were a passage to Mecca, not a political boundary — and whose presses were located at the communications node of the archipelago, Singapore.

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- ¹ E.g. H.S. Atkinson, *English for the Lower Standards*, Singapore: Straits Printing Office, 1894.
- ² E.g. W.G. Shellabear's *A Practical Malay Grammar*, Singapore: American Mission Press, 1899; J. Clark's *Penang Free School and Popular Guide to Romanized Malay*, Penang: The Gazette Press, 1869; W. Robinson's *An Attempt to Elucidate the Principles of Malayan Orthography*, Fort Marlborough: Mission Press, 1823; or H.H. Hudson's *The Malay Orthography*, Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, 1892. Note, though, the inclusion of the Straits Settlements Government's *Alphabetical List of Malay Proper Names* (i.e. *Proper Names 1890*) and of *The Travellers' Malay Pronouncing Handbook* (s.v. *Traveller's Handbook*) which, though clearly not intended for a Malay audience, earns its place as a vocabulary.
- ³ See further Hamidy, "Kegiatan Percetakan Riau", p. 72
- ⁴ So, in the British Library collection, they are bound with Malacca publications, and were put through the press by missionaries active at Malacca.
- ⁵ Hurgronje, *Mekka*, pp.286-287; Matheson, "Jawi Literature in Patani", pp.21, 48.
- ⁶ Malay-language books printed (and nominally published) by Kelly and Walsh in Shanghai are treated as Singapore publications, and Catholic missionary publications printed in Hongkong are treated as Penang publications — because obviously not intended for issue at the place of printing (see *Benda Jiwa 1894*; *Catechism 1895.a, .b*; *Jalan Salip 1888, 1894*; *Kebaktian Sehari-harian 1905*; *Litania a*; *Nyanyi-Nyanyian 1898*; *Pengajaran atas Rosario 1891*.) The same applies to Methodist Mission Press books printed at Yokohama on plates made in Singapore (see under Fukuin Printing Co Ltd in the Index of Names).
A good example of the tenuousness of definitions of place of publication is provided by *Acara Manusia 1891* which sold in Singapore, printed in Leiden by Brill, but published formally in Johor when its financier, Hermann Katz, presented a copy to the Sultan of Johor.
- ⁷ In particular this applies to a considerable stock-list of Malay *kitab* advertised for sale by Haji Muhammad Amin in 1894: see *Terasul 1894.a*
- ⁸ See Proudfoot, "Formative Period", p.124.
- ⁹ Dating is most often a problem with the 'Kitab Jawi' as the dates they give are often those of composition or translation, not of publication. See Mohd. Nor, *Kitab Jawi*, pp.3-4. Local reprintings of Mecca or Cairo publications may pass unidentified, van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning". No undated publications of Persama Press, Penang, or of Sulaiman Mari'e , Singapore, have been included.
Three books bearing dates after 1920 are included, for special reasons: *Simpulan Islam 1921* because of confusion over its date; *Siraj al-Alam 1921* because of its innovative presentation; and *Syahinsyah 1921-22* for its information on book distribution.
- ¹⁰ Proudfoot, "Pre-war Malay Periodicals", pp.1-2 outlines the Straits Settlements and Malay States provisions. For the legislation, see 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

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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. See further Lim, "Retrospective National Bibliography", pp.15-33. In addition a small number of relevant Bombay registrations are taken from the quarterly *Catalogue of Books Published in the Bombay Presidency*.

- 11 Mainly because of lax application of the law. In a few cases there may have been political reasons for not submitting to registration: the syair *Perang Aceh*, although frequently published, was never registered, perhaps because of its anti-Western content.
- 12 Two major reservations must be heeded, however. First, as we have already noted with the list of books in stock in *Terasul 1894.a*, it is by no means certain that the books listed for sale by any publisher are all his own publications, or indeed even locally printed books. With titles advertised as forthcoming, we can perhaps be more confident that they represent the activities of the publisher responsible for the advertisement. We cannot be confident at all, however, that these titles ever appeared. Many are indeed found in library collections. Others are not: did they fail to eventuate, or is it simply that they have escaped collection and preservation? On the grounds that this doubt is always alive, that it is interesting and useful to have an idea of what publishers were planning even if their plans did not come to fruition, and that some of the proposed titles or editions might be yet be found — for these reasons, titles known only through advertisement have been included in the inventory if they have adequate support in the notices. For this purpose, a comprehensive survey of publishers' advertisements has been made, though only a very small number of the total are cited as relevant bibliographical references.
- 13 Published as quarterly appendices to the *Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap (NBG)*
- 14 Proudfoot, "Major Library Holdings".
- 15 See Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", p.93. The whole collection is described in *Bibliothèque de M. l'Abbé Favre*.
- 16 Distribution of unique editions in the larger collections, with further break-down into (a) Muslim publishers' works, (b) Christian mission publications, (c) government publications, and (d) Baba publications:

	<u>total editions</u>	<u>unique</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>(a)</u>	<u>(b)</u>	<u>(c)</u>	<u>(d)</u>
BL	833	308	37	121	122	34	14
SOAS	286	112	39	54	34	22	0
NLS	215	37	17	8	19	8	0
RUL	211	77	36	65	6	4	6
PNI	206	72	35	49	16	4	1
ULC	198	50	25	44	1	4	0
KITLV	116	39	34	31	3	3	1
UM	109	50	45	38	4	2	2
BFBS	83	36	43	0	36	0	0
DB	69	29	42	26	0	1	1

- 17 Of 480 registered works relevant to this survey, 17% were found in neither BL nor NLS, 80% were found in BL, and 50% in NLS.
- 18 See *Quran 1854, 1869*, also *Quran: al-Kitab 1920*. Finely lithographed Qurans were imported from Bombay. Cf. van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", pp.230-231.
- 19 Compare *Pelajaran darihal Isa a* (Mission spelling), *Benda Jiwa 1894* (Catholic spelling) *Bunga Rampai 1896* (Government spelling); Shellabear, "Christian Literature", p.383-384.

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- 20 Viz. *Sultan Abu Bakar 1896*. The others are *Ibrahim dan Isaak a; Perempuan Papua a; Tong Yu Jinliang 1889; Peraturan Berumah Tangga 1896; Parsiajaran 1900; Parlajaran Surat Bolanda 1905; Catechism 1916†; Pengajaran buat Pendengar 1916†; Pupujuan 1916; Majusi 1918, 1919†; Perang Dunia: Daniels 1919; Kalender 1920; Zaman Kita 1920*.
- 21 Mission and Baba treatments are discussed below. Register is implicit in the title of a Malay Muslim work; thus in prose the labels *kitab* or *hikayat* and *ceritera* arouse expectations of style as well as content. Note also *Benih Bahasa 1917*, tp, referring to 'bahasa Melayu yang biasa dipakai dalam tanah Melayu'. *Lautan Akal 1907* advertises its non-literary style as 'bahasa Melayu yang senang'.
- 22 Cf. Thomas, *Like Tigers around a Piece of Meat*.
- 23 Editions by place of publication:
- | | to 1850 | after 1850 | whole period |
|----------------------------|---------|------------|--------------|
| no. of editions: | 331 | 1743 | 2074 |
| | % | % | % |
| Singapore | 55 | 86 | 81 |
| Penang | 21 | 3 | 6 |
| Malacca | 19 | 0 | 3 |
| <i>Straits Settlements</i> | 95 | 89 | 90 |
| Bencoolen | 4 | 0 | 1 |
| Sarawak | | 3 | 2 |
| Riau-Lingga | | 1 | 1 |
| Selangor | | 1 | 1 |
| Perak | | 1 | 1 |
| Johor | | 1 | 1 |
| Kelantan | | 1 | 0 |
- 24 Roff, *Origins of Malay Nationalism*, ch.2; Vredenburg, "The Haddj", pp.126-127.
- 25 Zubaidah Isa, "Printing and Publishing in Indonesia", pp.66-68; Kimman, *Indonesian Publishing*, pp.81-83, 88; de Graaf, *Indonesia*, pp.51-52.
- 26 Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke Adviezen*, 2:1387: "waar hadji en goeroe ... als de Engelschman". For Arabs resident in the Netherlands Indies a bitter grievance was their legal classification as Foreign Orientals, subject to pass laws, while the Japanese were given European privileges, *ibid.* 2:1622 etc.
- 27 On the Christian presses, see Byrd, *Early Printing in the Straits Settlements*.
- 28 The chart is based on the number of editions published per year, excluding periodicals, and treating multi-volume works as multiple items. The trend is plotted on a moving five-year average.
- 29 This is evident in two ways: first, looking at the five years before and after registration, the increase in total known editions by Muslim publishers is 105%, while the proportion of such editions actually registered is only 20%, i.e. accounting at most for 38% of the increase; and secondly, the apparent decline in output during the twentieth century coincides with an increasing proportion of registered works, of 30-40%.
- 30 Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", pp.103-104 on Bombay; van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.232 on Cairo.

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- 31 Bloomfield, "Bone and the Beginning of Printing in Malaysia".
- 32 de Graaf, *Indonesia*; Diehl, *Printers and Printing in the East Indies*.
- 33 Kilgour, "The Bible in the Netherlands Indies", p.171; *Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol.2 p.385; Hunt "Translation of the Bible", p.35 (giving date as 1628-1638).
- 34 From the beginning all branches of the European press were closely related. Already in 1818 the Malacca Mission Press had published a constitution for Bencoolen (*Undang-Undang Adat 1818*). To encourage the London Missionary Society, Raffles gave the Mission Press all public documents (Haines, "Protestant Missions", p.179; *Pages from Yesteryear*, p.2). A short time later the Singapore Chronicle press was publishing mission tracts. Keasberry's press was sold to Fraser and Neave about 1882 (cf. *Pages from Yesteryear*, p.5). The new mission Press set up by the Shellabear as the American Mission Press, later known as the Methodist Publishing House became, with Kelly and Walsh, a principal publisher of government school books. It was sold in 1927 to become the Malayan Publishing House (Means, *Malaysia Mosaic*, pp.50-51, 135).
- 35 This goes beyond the sharing of works between mission stations run by the same society, as the early Bencoolen, Batavia, Malacca, Singapore, and Penang stations of the London Missionary Society. Note the RUL copy of *Cermin Mata 1858-59* emanating from the Netherlandsch Bijbelgenootschap which has been marked up and cut out, apparently cannibalised for another publication, perhaps the Batavia edition of 1866. The same work was published in Javanese in 1877. Reprints of same material were mainly in jawi script in the Straits Settlements and in both jawi and rumi in Batavia: e.g. *Jalan Selamat*, Penang, 1838, in jawi parallels *Pengadjaran akan djalan selamat*, Batavia, 1837 in rumi. Chijs, *Catalogus ... Bataviaasch Genootschap*, p.346.
- 36 Cf. Shellabear, "Christian Literature", p.382
- 37 Cf. Tisdall, "Singapore as a Centre for Moslem Work".
- 38 Winship, "L'impimerie thaïlandaise", pp.270-271 and passim; Rhodes, *India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Thailand*, p.93; see *Bible: Genesis 1823* and other early works in the Index of Languages other than Malay.
- 39 *Tract: Bugis 1827* and other works listed in the Index of Languages other than Malay.
- 40 See the Index of Languages other than Malay for details.
- 41 See the Index of Persons and Institutions, s.v. Fukuin Press, Yokohama.
- 42 *Annual Report on Education*, SS, 1886, §4. The subsidy was unintentional, and stemmed from the ineffectual method of distributing school texts. In 1894, for instance, the press cost \$2,600 to run but only \$1,100 was received from the sale of books. Books were sold in bulk to teachers, who had to resell the books to their pupils, and recover "the price, or as much as they can, afterwards from their pupils". Isemonger Report §29 in Wong & Gwee, *Official Reports on Education*, p.22.
- 43 *Jalan Kepandaian 1881, Sifir 1886, Pemimpin Johor 1895, Permulaan Jiografi 1897*.
- 44 *Annual Report on Education*, SS, 1899, §13. Most was given to Kelly and Walsh: *Abdullah 1911-15, 1914-15; Aid to the Study of English 1896, 1891, 1891, 1901; Baja Akal 1919; Empat Serangkai 1908; Hisab I 1918; Hisab III 1919; Hitung Cabut 1903†; Isma Yatim 1901; Jalan Kepandaian 1914; Malay Reader: Standard II 1899.a, b, 1902, 1904; Malay Reader: Standard III 1920†; Malay Reader: Standard IV 1901, 1906, 1908, 1916, 1917;*

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Misal Huruf Rumi 1918.a, .b†; *Neraca Sahifah* 1919; *Pelajaran Bahasa Melayu (No.1)* 1900, 1901, 1903†; *Pelampas Akal* 1919, 1920†; *Pelayaran Abdullah* 1903, 1904, 1915.b; *Pemimpin Pengetahuan* 1903.a†, .b, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1917, 1918; *Penimbau Akal* 1920; *Peperangan Dunia* 1917; *Pohon Pelajaran* 1901.a, .b, 1912, 1916; *Rebung Bacaan* 1919, 1920; *Serba Neka* 1916; *Sultan Ibrahim* 1899.b, 1903, 1911; *Tangga Pengetahuan* 1920; *Tawarikh Melayu* 1918, 1919; *Victoria* 1904-05; *Vocabulary: Pringle* 1895, 1900, 1901, 1902.

While the text-book work given to the American Mission Press was less copious (*Alphabet a* 1900s, *b* 1910s; *Bustan al-Salatin* 1899-1900; *Exercises in Arithmetic* 1901; *Gemala Hikmat* 1906, 1907; *Hang Tuah* 1909, 1914; *Malay Reader: Standard IV* 1897; *Permulaan a* 1900s; *Primer a* 1900s; *Sejarah Melayu* 1896, 1898, 1903; *Straits Vocabulary* 1901) and later Methodist Publishing House (*Anak Kunci Pengetahuan* 1916; *Bayan Budiman* 1920; *Empat Serangkai* 1916; *Exercises in Arithmetic* 1907, 1910†, 1916, 1917; *Hints on Decimals* 1916†; *Ilmu Alam* 1918; *Jalan Belajar* 1911; *Jaya Waras* 1918; *Jiografi dan Sejarah* 1911; *Johor* 1911, 1914, 1916, 1920; *Miskin Marakarmah* 1915; *Nasihat Bidan a* 1910s, 1917; *Penerang Hati* 1911; *Primer* 1916†; *Raffles* 1919; *Rahsia Mengajar* 1914; *Victoria* 1908), it was the publisher of the government's Malay Literature Series (q.v. Index of Persons and Institutions).

Very little work went to others, like the Kim Seck Hean Press of Penang (*Marong Mahawangsa* 1898; *Cendawan Putih* 1900; *Indera Mengindera* 1900) or Singapore Muslim printers, as Denodaya Press (*Sultan Ibrahim* 1908.a) and Haji Muhammad Majtahid (*Alf Lailah wa Lailah* 1903) or the Singapore Press under Thomas Trusty (*Alf Lailah wa Lailah* 1892-94).

The American Mission Press and its successor, the Methodist Publishing House printed few books for local publishers (*Sultan Abu Bakar* 1896; *Haji dan Umrah* 1900; *Manafik al-Insan* 1901; *Peraturan Bola Sepak* 1895; *Undang-Undang Cahaya* 1901 and perhaps *Johor* 1911, *c* 1914, 1916, 1920 and *Undang-Undang Tujuh Jajahan* 1902). Beyond that, their few Malay works were directed primarily to a European audience (*Dictionary: Shellabear* 1916; *Pelanduk* 1915.a; *Penerang Hati* 1911; *Straits Dialogues* 1914; *Traditions* 1900†; *Triglot Vocabulary a* 1898; *Triglot Vocabulary* 1901; *Triglot Vocabulary* 1904), not forgetting the publications of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (q.v. Index of Persons and Institutions). Similarly, Kelly and Walsh's issues extend beyond school texts only to dictionaries and the like (*Dictionary: Wilkinson* 1901-03; *Dictionary: Wilkinson* 1919; *Dictionary: Winstedt* 1914-15, 1917; *Dictionary: Winstedt* 1920; *Handbook for Miners* 1916†; *Handbook of Malay* 1900, 1913; *Vocabulary: Gerrard* 1905; *Vocabulary: Swettenham* 1905, 1908, 1909-10, 1911, 1914).

- 45 See notes to *Pemimpin Pengetahuan* 1899, 1917. Another case is *Abdullah* 1911-15 (volume 2).
- 46 E.g. *Malay Colloquial* 1878; *Travellers' Handbook* 1894; *Vocabulary: Swettenham* 1886-87, 1889, 1896.
- 47 See Proudfoot, "Formative Period", p.110
- 48 An early exception being *Undang-Undang Singapura* 1823. The Straits Government did later have translations of important notices published in the Malay newspapers. Note also *Hadiah* 1894; *Kanun* 1861; *Penyakit Ketumbuhan* 1838; *Pesanan Tuan Hakim* 1857; *Police Act a* 1856; *Ucapan Aga Khan a* ±1915; *Undang-Undang Cukai* 1862; *Undang-Undang Cukai Baru* 1888; *Undang-Undang Kapal* 1916; *Undang-Undang Polis* 1848; *Undang-Undang Polis* 1860.
- 49 *Kedah Enactments* 1910+; *Percanangan Dalam* 1920+; *Warta Kerajaan Perak* 1897+ and particular laws: *Ahkam Johor* 1913; *Peraturan Gambir* 1894; *Peraturan Hasil Tanah* 1894; *Peraturan Jenazah* 1895; *Police Catechism* 1891†; *Surat Abdul Samad* 1876; *Undang-Undang Adat* 1818; *Undang-Undang Candu* 1917; *Undang-Undang Jemaah* 1914; *Undang-Undang*

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- Pinal Kod 1907; Undang-Undang Sarawak a 1840s; Undang-Undang Tertib Mahkamah 1917.* Also in this category are the Johor ceremonial handbooks *Aturan Darjah 1897; Darjah Kerabat 1897; Mahkota Johor 1897.* The Riau Government similarly printed official materials: *Furuk al-Makmur 1895; Jadual Takwim 1895, 1897; Perhimpunan Plakat 1899; Rumah Ubat 1894; Saat Musytari 1856; Taman Penghiburan 1895; Undang-Undang Polisi 1893.*
- 50 E.g. *Hadah Besar 1894* (in English, Malay, Chinese, Tamil), *Undang-Undang Kapal 1916* (in English, Chinese, Malay).
- 51 Means, *Malaysia Mosaic*, p.48-50. Shellabear financed a new press by a loan of £100 to be repaid in printing.
- 52 See *Bible: Old Testament 1912, 1916; Bible: New Testament 1911; Bible: Mark 1912.a; Bible: Luke 1912.a; Bible: Acts 1909; Bible: Romans 1912* (the first two covering production costs, but the smaller items being heavily discounted). On sales, see Canton, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol.5, p.160.
- 53 See Ibrahim, "Early Printing in the Straits Settlements", and "Missionary Printing in Malacca 1815-1843", with O'Sullivan, "The London Missionary Society" in addition to Byrd, *Early Printing in the Straits Settlements*.
- 54 A Brunei chief minister came to inspect the Singapore mission press under Ira Tracy, *Missionary Herald*, vol.31 (1835), p.240. The Singapore *New Testament 1831* was a major achievement in technical terms and attracted some interest: at Malacca, Medhurst was sent for by 'the rajah' for a discussion in 'his house, where a number of learned natives were assembled, with a Malay Bible open before them.' It had been given to one of those present in Singapore. Medhurst, in *Missionary Herald*, vol.26 (1830), p.218 (excerpted from the *Missionary Chronicle*, London, April 1830)
- 55 Medhurst in *Missionary Herald*, vol.25 (1829), p.193.
- 56 "Besides all this, there is every reason to believe that many of the books circulated were far from being intelligible, and very imperfect in point of style." Brown, *Propagation of Christianity*, vol.2, p.255 & n.1, quoting Malcolm's *Travels in South-Eastern Asia*. Also Hunt "Translation of the Bible", pp.38-41 on Abdullah's untiring efforts to get the missionaries "to do justice to their own scriptures in the language of the Malays." (p.41)
- 57 So, ironically, illiterates would take the scripture tracts to ulama to have them read. Cf. Abeel, *Journal*, p.164.
- 58 Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, p. 167, cit. Haines, "Protestant Missions", p.176. The opinion is well based, see *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, no.17 (July 1821), pp.145-146.
- 59 Examples of such school books printed in Singapore are: *Arithmetic 1824.a; Spelling Book 1824; Mengeja Bahasa Melayu 1827; Pelajaran 1827; Pelajaran 1828; Mengeja Bahasa Melayu 1831; Reader 1831.a; Pelajaran Bahasa Melayu (No.1) a 1838, b 1838; Reader a 1839; at Malacca: Arithmetic 1824.b; Jumlah Pesanan 1827; Mengeja Bahasa Melayu 1837; Menolong Segala Kanak 1818.a, .b, .c, 1819; and at Penang: Arithmetic 1825; Ilmu Hisab 1825; Mengeja Bahasa Melayu 1837; Pelajaran 1832, 1835.a, .b, .c, .d). The catechisms are listed under that heading in the Description.*
- 60 Haines, "Protestant Missions", p.200.
- 61 *Singapore Institution Free School Report*, 1835, p.13; 1836-37, p.8; 1837-38, p.25.

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- 62 *Singapore Institution Free School Report*, 1839-40, pp.11-12. E.g. *Bacaan Kanak-Kanak 1840*; *Ilmu Kejadian a ±1841*; *Ilmu Kepandaian a ±1840*; *Pelajaran Bahasa Melayu (No.1) a, b 1838*; *Reader a 1839*; *Sentences 1842*; *Tabiat Jenis-Jenis Kejadian 1841*.
- 63 *Singapore Institution Free School Report*, 1842-43, p.4.
- 64 Brown, *Propagation of Christianity*, vol.2, p.255.
- 65 Brown, *Propagation of Christianity*, vol.2, p.255.
- 66 Haines, "Protestant Missions", p.219.
- 67 Harrison, *Waiting for China*. The Treaty of Nanking 1842 conferred special privileges upon missionaries.
- 68 Means, *Malaysia Mosaic*, p.48. The press was sold in 1927, becoming the Malayan Publishing House, later the well-known MPH.
- 69 Means, *Malaysia Mosaic*, p.47; Shellabear, "Life", p.26: "the tract 'A Gift, will you take it?' led to my conversion ... I took it to my quarters in fort Blockhouse, and sitting alone in the diningroom of our 'Officers' Mess', I immediately read through its 27 small pages. Then I at once knelt down right there at the dining room table and told God that I would receive His great gift, and be His follower."
- 70 Canton, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol.5, pp.159-62. On the vast scale of output, note also Kilgour, "The Bible in the Netherlands Indies", p.176: the British and Foreign Bible Society alone had to 1933 distributed 25,140 Bibles in Malay, 64,483 New Testaments, and 962,815 scripture portions.
- 71 See for instance, the catalogue in *Orang yang Cari Selamat 1905*. This very work recalls the fine instance of multiple register in the translations of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* which at different times appeared in several different guises. The direction of the earliest translation, by Beighton, is conveyed by the flavour of its Arabic title, *Safar al-Zafid*, which sets the tone for a religious work in the minds of a Muslim — and hence predominantly Malay — audience. Somewhat later another translation, possibly by Keasberry, appeared as *Orang Cari Selamat*. This more neutral title was published both in jawi and in rumi in magazines directed to a broad Malay-reading public, both native-born and Baba. Finally, an adaptation by Shellabear appeared in 'low' Malay as *Orang yang Cari Selamat*. The audience to which this work was directed is clear from the illustrations showing figures of Chinese appearance and dress, quite in the style of the Chinese legendary romances (reproduced in *Pages from Yesteryear*, p.28)
- 72 See *Bible: Matthew 1896*. See M. McMahon in the Index of People and Institutions.
- 73 See Keasberry and Shellabear in the Index of People and Institutions. Note that Keasberry's older translation continued to be printed after the preparation of Shellabear's revision. See also Brown, *Propagation of Christianity*, vol.3, p.537; Hunt, "Translation of the Bible", p.36 and passim.
- 74 Buckley, *Anecdotal History*, pp.321-322; Byrd, *Early Printing in the Straits Settlements*, p.16
- 75 *Singapore Institution Free School Report*, 1838-39, p.3; cf. 1843-44 & 1844-45, p.27, 1855-56, p.3; 1872, §vii. Hill, *The Hikayat Abdullah*, p.24. Also Chelliah, *Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements*, p.59.

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- 76 Buckley, *Anecdotal History*, p.322; Haines, "Protestant Missions", p.222. Chelliah, *Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements*, p.94.
- 77 Including the government publications *Police Act a 1856* and *Kanun Polis 1860*.
- 78 Means, *Malaysia Mosaic*, p.12; *Pages from Yesteryear*, p.5
- 79 Medhurst, *China*, pp.572-573
- 80 Note Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", pp.94, 113 n.14, 116. Note further the procedure Medhurst used to print roman script and Chinese characters together (Diehl, *Printers and Printing in the East Indies*, vol.1, pp.289-298): first setting the roman letters in type leaving spaces for insertion of the Chinese characters, then printing with lithographic ink on transfer paper, which then had the Chinese characters filled in by a calligrapher also using lithographic ink, the whole then being transferred to the stone and struck off lithographically. The point of this cumbersome technique was to approach the qualities of typography as far as practicable in the absence of adequate Chinese types. In *Missionary Herald*, vol.25 (1829), pp.192-193 Medhurst does assert that lithography could print Malay "more like their own written books", and would facilitate the inclusion of points, which were so difficult to set in type. But he did not advance far down this path in practice.
- 81 *Abdullah 1849* (441pp.); *Dunia 1850* (238pp.); *Perjalanan Orang Mencari Selamat 1854* (267pp.); *Pengutib Segala Remah a 1850s* (probably multi-volume); *Benua Asia 1855* (235pp.); *Ilmu Kepandaian 1855* (123pp.); *Teki-Teki Terbang 1855* (58pp.); *Dunia 1856.a* (238pp.).
- 82 See Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", p.98. Elaborate use of colour is found in *Cermin Mata 1858-59*, *Teki-Teki Terbang 1859* (on which Gallop, pp.98, 109, 120), *Bible: New Testament 1856*, and *Galila Damina 1868*.
- 83 See *Bustan Arifin 1820-22*, vol.2 no.6, preface p.2 (quoted in Description below).
- 84 *Pengutib Segala Remah a 1850s* is an interesting compromise between the new printing technique and the manuscript tradition, for its head-words are outlined in print and filled in by hand in ink. This replicates the practice of manuscript copying in which after a page had been copied up in black ink, the rubrication would be added in blank spaces.
- 85 Note, though, that North's *Reader a 1839* in printed jawi was reportedly also read outside the schoolroom: *Singapore Institution Free School Report, 1839-40*, p.11.
- 86 Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", p.98.
- 87 Chelliah, *Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements*, pp.64, 65.
- 88 See Khoo, "Malay Society, 1874-1920s", pp.184-189 for a good survey.
- 89 Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", p.109
- 90 *Annual Report on Education, SS & FMS, 1918*, §94; 1919, §72. The titles issued up to 1920 were: *Baja Akal 1919*; *Hisab I 1918*; *Hisab III 1919*; *Ilmu Alam 1918*; *Ilmu Alam 1919*; *Malay Reader: Standard III 1920†*; *Malay Reader: Standard IV 1916*; *Malay Reader: Standard IV 1917*; *Misal Huruf Rumi 1918.a, .b†, 1919*; *Misa Melayu 1919*; *Neraca Sahifah 1919*; *Pelampas Akal 1919, 1920†*; *Pemimpin Pengetahuan 1917, 1918*; *Penambah Akal 1917*; *Penimbau Akal 1920*; *Rebung Bacaan 1919, 1920*; *Tangga Pengetahuan 1920*; *Tawarikh Melayu 1918, 1919*
- 91 *Pelayaran Abdullah 1852, 1859, 1862*, and in magazine form in *Cermin Mata 1858-59*.

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- 92 Wilkinson, "Education of Asiatics", pp.687-688, comments on this item, noting Malay rejection of the argument and its incompatibility with popular Islamic cosmology. Also *Annual Report on Education, SS, 1899*, §10.
- 93 Another classical work, *Sultan Ibrahim*, was used as the third-standard government Malay reader during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It seems to have been chosen for its combination of brevity, simple narrative, lack of local reference (it is set in Iran), and absence of overtly Islamic values.
- 94 Winstedt, "Classical Malay Literature", p.177 calls Abdullah "master of an easy colloquial Malay style" taking as his model the conversational passages in the *Sejarah Melayu*, which he edited. Colloquial is, as the rest of Winstedt's comments shows, a misnomer. The rather curt style of the *Sejarah Melayu*, which Abdullah and European scholars found attractive, was not typical of more widely read recreational prose texts. The term 'unmeasured' here differs little from Sweeney's 'non-stylized': see his "Professional Malay Storytelling".
- 95 Sweeney, *Reputations Live On*, pp.15-17, makes a further point about the jarring *rhetoric* of the authorial voice in *Abdullah*.
- 96 Birch, "Vernacular Press", p.193; *Annual Report on Education, SS, 1888*, §148-150; 1909, Report on the Malay College. Dussek's report of 1912 quoted in Roff, *Origins of Malay Nationalism*, p.135. The close relationship of early government Malay schools and the first newspapers cannot be overstated. See Proudfoot, "Formative Period", pp.125-126. It is no accident that *Jawi Peranakan* began publication in 1876, the year which also saw the first government Malay schools.
- 97 Stewart-Nagle, *Educational Needs*, Table XIII, etc.
- 98 Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, vol.2, pp.3-4; van den Berg, "Mohammedaansche godsdiensonderwijs", p.519. *Abdullah 1903*, vol.1, pp.17-18, and Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account*, vol.1, p.92 (note that writing, not composition, is taught). Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs*, p.3 and frontispiece. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters*, pp.28-29. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p.28 on *sorogan*. Reading might well be learnt at a Quran school, but not silent reading.
- 99 Abeel, *Journal*, pp.185-186.
- 100 Cf. *Empat Serangkai 1916*, pp.5, 46-48.
- 101 Wilkinson, "Education of Asiatics", p.687. Wilkinson here advances one of his personal hobby-horses, the need for school libraries supplied with good literature. His account of the Malay literary scene is somewhat jaundiced on this account. Here and elsewhere he ignores or dismisses locally-published books.
- 102 Zainal Abidin, "Malay Journalism in Malaya", p.249 (on the older generation in the 1930s).
- 103 This was the basis of Shellabear's arguments about spelling reform, Hunt "Translation of the Bible", pp.43-44.
- 104 In English schools, *Annual Report on Education, SS, 1899*, §19. Hence books like *Difficult Words 1890*, *Straits Vocabulary 1894*, *English 1894*, *Vocabulary: Pringle 1895* etc., *Vocabulary: Kessler 1895* etc., *Improved Illustrated Reader 1895*, *Aid to the Study of English 1896* etc. On mixed-race institutions, *Annual Report on Education, SS, 1878*, p.417; Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, vol.14, pt.3, pp.149-150.
- 105 *Annual Report Selangor, 1894*, §64.

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- 106 These new rumi readers are *Malay Reader: Standard I 1897*(new edition), *Standard II 1899.a*(new edition), *Standard IV 1897*, and *Sultan Ibrahim 1899.b* (for Standard III).
- 107 See Stewart-Nagle, *Educational Needs*, Table XIII. *Annual Report on Education, SS*, 1891, §33. Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, vol.14, pt.3, pp.160 (SS), 46-47 (FMS).
- 108 *Annual Report on Education, FMS*, 1906, §28.
- 109 These include the rumi *Robinson Crusoe 1893*, *Sultan Ibrahim 1899.b*, *Duabelas Ceritera 1893*, and *Perumpamaan 1894*, as well as the jawi *Jahidin 1888*.
- 110 The titles comprising the series are listed under the heading Malay Literature Series in the Index of Persons and Institutions.
- 111 Note again Dussek's report of 1912, quoted in Roff, *Origins of Malay Nationalism*, p.135: "there was once again a serious shortage of books in the schools, and often reaching was done almost entirely from the *Hikayat Abdullah*, the *Sejarah Melayu* (the two best known Malay histories), and the newspaper *Utusan Melayu*."
- 112 Figure 3 is constructed similarly to Figure 2, but treats multi-volume editions as single items.
- 113 Cf. Wilkinson, "Malay Literature", p.17.
- 114 Wilkinson, "Education of Asiatics", p.686. See also Maier, *In the Center of Authority*, p.120.
- 115 *Annual Report on Education, SS & FMS*, 1918, §92.
- 116 And thus also a member of a comprador community, S.P.S.K. Kader Sahib was moreover editor of an English language newspaper
- 117 *Bible: New Testament 1913*; *Orang yang Cari Selamat 1905*; *Hitam yang Cantik 1913*.
- 118 The best survey of the Chinese-published Baba material is Lombard-Salmon, "Littérature en Malais romanisé", revised and translated as "Writings in Romanized Malay".
- 119 The Koh & Co. Press which published mainly Baba miscellanea is advertised as 'printers, stamp-makers, merchants and commission agents', *Lautan Akal 1907*.
- 120 *Sun Pang 1904-06*, vol.3, pp.i-iii.
- 121 *San Guo 1892-96*, vol. I, p.130. Allowance must be made for some sympathy-seeking hyperbole.
- 122 *Zheng Dong 1895*, vol.2, end, vol.3 p.i, etc.
- 123 See note 167 below.
- 124 The exceptions are *Rencana Piatu 1916* (Kuala Lumpur); *Vocabulary: Ang 1919* (Malacca); *Pantun Majlis 1908†*, *Dictionary: Chia 1918* (Penang). During this period, all the great translations of historical romance appeared in Singapore.
- 125 Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*.
- 126 Teo, "Chinese Popular Fiction", p.xviii, referring to Wen Zichuan, "About Chan Kim Boon", p.184

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- 127 Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, pp.21-25. Teo argues for a Batavian influence on Singapore translations, Teo, "Chinese Popular Fiction", p.36
- 128 Note the price given in both Straits dollars and Netherlands Indies guilders, and the advertisements included.
- 129 *Tong Yu Jinliang* 1889 and *Peraturan Berumah Tangga* 1896 by Lim Tjay Tat (of Batavia), and *Sultan Abu Bakar* 1896 by Na Tian Piet (originally of Sumatra).
- 130 For biographical information, see Song, *One Hundred Years*, pp.166-167; Lombard-Salmon, "Littérature en Malais romanisé", pp.84-86 (= "Writings in Romanized Malay", pp.74-75).
- 131 E.g. at *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.3, finally appended 2 pages.
- 132 *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.22, in the finally appended 2 pages: "Sabab salin-an Chrita 'Sam Kok' ini ada banyak banting kapala punya kreja saya dengan mintak mahap mau nyata-kan yang saya suda tiadak ada itu kwasa mau turun-kan lain lain chrita China lagi".
- 133 Namely, *Erdu Mei* 1889; *Fan Tang* 1889, 1891-93; *Jingu Qiguan* 1889; *Leifeng Ta* 1889, 1911; *Luo Tong Sao Bei* 1907; *Mai Youlang* 1915; *Qin Xuemei* 1899; *San Guo* 1889, 1892-96; *Sanhe Baojian* 1910-16; *Shuo Tang* a ±1896; *Song Jiang* 1899-1902; *Sun Pang* 1904-06; *Wanhua Lou* 1890, 1910-13; *Wumei Yuan* 1891-92; *Xiyou Ji* 1911-13; *Yue Fei* 1891; *Zheng Dong* 1895; *Zheng Xi* a ±1896; *Zhongjieyi* 1889, 1915; *Zhuang Zixu* 1889.
- 134 This seems true for Singapore-Malaysia, if not quite so entirely for Java, as will be noted below.
- 135 Teo, "Chinese Popular Fiction", p.65
- 136 Cf. Salmon, *Literary Migrations*.
- 137 Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, §V (pp.473-504).
- 138 Medhurst, "Voyage up the East Coast", 1 September 1828; Arms in *The Missionary Herald*, 33 (1837), p.166.
- 139 Iskandar, "Jakarta Lending Libraries"; Poerbatjaraka, *Indonesische Handschriften*, p.180.
- 140 Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, pp.20-21; Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p.521.
- 141 Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, pp.16-17. The former was reprinted many times in roman script in the Netherlands Indies: *ibid.*, pp.510.
- 142 *Dondang Sayang* 1911-16, 1915-16, 1920; *Pantun Karang-Karangan* 1889; *Pantun Majlis* 1908. See Thomas, *Like Tigers around a Piece of Meat*.
- 143 E.g. *Yue Fei* 1891, footnotes passim; *Erdu Mei* 1889, appendix, tabulating equivalents in 'chakup China' and 'chakup Malayew'; most elaborate is the table of equivalents at *San Guo* 1889, p.iv-vi which gives 'bahasa Melayu halus batol', 'bahasa Melayu Jawi Pakan' and 'bahasa China Jawi Pakan', the last being Baba Malay.
- 144 Note Chan Kim Boon's autobiographical discussion of changes in his dialect in the introduction to *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.1, p.i. Also *Syair dan Pantun* 1890, p.87; *Ilmu Nasib* 1897, tp; etc. The choice of register was also a subject of correspondence in *Bintang Timor*, 24 Sept 1894, 29 Dec 1894, etc.

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- 145 This sensitivity was partly aroused, as Kratz rightly observes (pers. comm.), by the use of Roman script, which aims to represent Malay fully phonemically, making dialectal differences problematic. By contrast the use of jawi script, with its non-phonemic conventions and poor representation of vowelling, not only worked against a consciousness of even marked dialectal divergences, but posits a less direct relationship between spoken and written registers.
- 146 *Tongyi Xin Yu* 1877; *Tong Yu Jinliang* 1889; *Vocabulary: Lim* 1888
- 147 *Dictionary: Chia* 1918; *Vocabulary: Ang* 1919
- 148 *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.10, within pp.i-x
- 149 *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.24, p.iv; vol.1, pp.ii-iv; vol.27, within pp.4135-4157 respectively.
- 150 *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.30, p.viii: "In volume XIII, page 1,766, line 18 from top, surat 'brat' patot-nya di bacha 'ter-sarat'."
- 151 *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.5, preface, cited in Teo, "Chinese Popular Fiction", p.48. Note also Teo at p.47 n.2. It is suggested that these stories might be read aloud to in-laws by the dutiful daughter-in-law (pace Teo's translation).
- 152 *Xiyou Ji* 1911-13, vol.9, end.
- 153 Of Baba books, over two-thirds of volumes are illustrated, in many cases profusely. Of Muslim books only 2% of volumes have illustrations, in the main cover illustrations, or diagrams associated with the subject of the text (e.g. the surrounds of the Ka'ba in *Hajj dan Umrah* 1900); only four works have illustrations of characters at all comparable to the Baba books: *Pelanduk* 1890, 1891 which has an attached final page picturing the animal players in the tales; *Indera Sebaha* 1889, 1891, 1901 and *Laila Majnun* 1888, two works with interleaved illustrations, both of which are translations of Hindi plays which gained local popularity through theatrical performances; and *Alauddin* 1890.b which is a translation from a Western source of a tale popularised on the stage. Reproductions of some of these illustrations will be found in Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", pp.101, 106, and *Pages from Yesteryear*, plates 11, 36.
- 154 Liu, *Story of the Chinese Book*, pp.55-56.
- 155 *Orang yang Cari Selamat* 1905. See reproduction at *Pages from Yesteryear*, plate 14.
- 156 For an example, see reproduction of *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.20 p.2901 in *Pages from Yesteryear*, plate 36 (which has taken this reproduction from a third source without acknowledgement; the frame and legend below the frame belong to the secondary reproduction.)
- 157 Sampson, *Writing Systems*, p.164.
- 158 *Fan Tang* 1899, colophons of vols 1, 4; *Fan Tang* 1891-93, colophons of vols. 5, 6; cf. the colophon of vol. 7, mentioning reading only.
- 159 Cf. Teo, "Chinese Popular Fiction", p.47 & n.2 (quoting Wan Boon Seng, *Chrita Dulu Kala Bernama Sam Ha Lam Tong di Zaman Song Tiow (Song Tye Cho Tio Kong In Jadi Hongtay)*, Singapore: Wan Boon Seng, 1931-32, vol.2, p.98).
- 160 *San Guo* 1892-96 vol.18, within pp.i-xxxiv etc., vol.7, after p.xiii, etc., vol.9, p.ii etc., vol.15 pp.xxi-xxvi, respectively.
- 161 E.g. the chronology of the Sino-Japanese war in *San Guo* 1892-96, vol.19, pp.i-xv.
- 162 *San Guo* 1892-96, scattered across the introductory sections of each volume.

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- ¹⁶³ *Sultan Abu Bakar 1896.*
- ¹⁶⁴ Notably in *Erdu Mei 1899*, in which his authorship is not evident. He is named in the Gazette registration.
- ¹⁶⁵ Proudfoot, "Formative Period", p.112. The books were offered for sale by the 'set', both when printing was complete and while it was still in progress, however no discount was offered: *San Guo 1892-96*, vol.6, final 2 pages.
- ¹⁶⁶ In July 1896, Chan Kim Boon was still offering complete sets of *Fan Tang 1891-93* (completed in February 1893) and *Wumei Yuan 1891-92* (completed in May 1892): *San Guo 1892-96*, vol.30, final p.iii. *Sun Pang 1904-06* vol.3 pp.i-iii & vol.4 appended p.1-2, gives a good account of the marketing of a four-volume work printed in 200 copies, sold over a two and a half year period:

SALES OF *SUN PANG 1904-06*

	vol.1		vol.2		vol.3		vol.4		all
	<u>sales</u>	<u>stock</u>	<u>sales</u>	<u>stock</u>	<u>sales</u>	<u>stock</u>	<u>sales</u>	<u>stock</u>	<u>stock</u>
May 1904		200							200
May 1904	70	130							130
± Sept 1905		116		200					330
± Sept 1905	14	116	75	125					241
late 1905		116	7	118					234
1904-05	10	106	10	108					214
Apr 1905	<u>13</u>	93	<u>13</u>	95					188
Apr 1905	7	86	7	88					174
Jun 1905		86		88		200			374
1905	4	82	4	84	4	196			362
Oct 1906	45	37	44	40	145	51	200		328
Oct 1906		37		40		51	32	168	296
Oct 1906		37		40		51	14	154	282
anticipated	<u>20</u>	17	<u>20</u>	20	<u>20</u>	31	<u>20</u>	134	202
Total sales			598						
Singapore			478						
Kuala Lumpur			106						
Malacca			14						
Stock remaining			202						

Sales key:
subscribers
Singapore
Kuala Lumpur
Malacca

- ¹⁶⁷ Cerita-Cerita Lotong as the 'Ka-tamba-an' in *San Guo 1892-96*, vols.17-, and Jingu Qiguan in vols.28-.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Alf Lailah wa Lailah 1878-79, 1891-94* (5 vols.); *Hasan Masri 1905* (4 vols.); *Quran: al-Kitab 1920*; *Victoria 1904-05* (2 vols.).
- ¹⁶⁹ Works of over 300 pages from the Muslim presses: *Amir Hamzah 1883, 1888, 1896*; *Anbiya 1892, 1900*; *Burdah 1904*; *Bustamam 1874, 1895, 1900, 1914*; *Cindur Mata 1904*; *Faiz al-Rahman 1894*; *Furuk al-Masail 1874*; *Futuh al-Syam 1879, 1893*; *Ganja Mara 1886*; *Ghulam a 1886, 1894*; *Jauhar al-Tauhid a 1880s, 1906†*; *Majmuah al-Syariah 1892, 1894, 1906, 1890*; *Majmuk al-A'mal 1894*; *Minhaj al-Atkia 1906*; *Muhammad Hanafiah a ... 1911* (8 editions); *Munjiyat 1893.a, .b, 1895, 1901*; *Nabi Muhammad 1885*; *Panji Semirang 1874*; *Quran 1854*; *Sabil al-Muhtadin a, 1859, 1872*; *Sirat al-Mustakim 1864, a ±1878, b 1900s*,

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- 1912; *Syah Kubat a* ±1893, 1903; *Tajwid al-Quran a* 1870s; *Tanbih al-Ghafalin* 1888; *Zubaidah* 1874 ... a 1920s (15 editions)
- ¹⁷⁰ From the Muslim presses: *Alf Lailah wa Lailah* 1903 (5 vols.); *Anbiya* 1897-98 (2 vols.); *Bustan al-Salatin* 1899-1900 (2 vols.); *Dandan Setia* 1894, 1902 (4 vols.); *Dewa Laksana* 1904 (2 vols.); *Indera Jaya* 1905 (2 vols.); *Pegar Madi* 1903 (3 vols.); *Perang Setambul* 1879, 1902 (3 vols.); *Quran: al-Kitab* 1920 (4 vols.); *Saif al-Yazan* 1894 (2 vols.); *Sultan Mansur* 1903 (2 vols.); *Syams al-Alam* 1894 (3 vols.); *Syams Bahrin* 1891 (2 vols.); *Taman Melayu a* ±1899 (2 vols.)
- ¹⁷¹ In *San Guo* 1892-96, Chan Kim Boon gives regular reports on the progress of his translation. He had not finished drafting all 30 volumes until volume 11 was going into print. Knowledge that the whole translation was complete perhaps reduced the excitement of shared new discovery, but Chan hoped it would encourage confidence in subscribers.
- ¹⁷² For the period 1860-1920, Muslim publishers account for 60% of editions compared with government and mission at about 37%. The proportions of titles are similar.
- ¹⁷³ It is impossible to know this with certainty, for print-runs are known generally only for mission publications and works registered for copyright. For the evidence as far as the registrations go, see Proudfoot, "Formative Period". The near parity suggested there markedly understates school-book publishing, which was not liable for registration if printed at a government press.
- ¹⁷⁴ von Dewall, "Eene Inlandsche Drukkerij".
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ahmad dan Muhammad* 1860, followed by *Bidayat al-Mubtadi* 1861. Of less certain status are *Miskin Marakamah* 1857 probably printed at Bukit Zion (Keasberry's press) and *Sabil al-Muhtadin* 1859
- ¹⁷⁶ This judgement is based on an examination of the *Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek*, which reveals only two works on religious subjects for the 1860s, one in jawi, *Taj al-Salatin* (Semarang, 1866), and one in rumi, *Kitab Undang-Undang Mendirikan Imam Khatib* (Batavia, 1861). Note also early publications in Javanese (*Kitab Kuran* [sic], in Javanese script, Batavia, 1858) and in Sundanese (*Kitab Tuhpah*, Batavia, 1853, 1858). All the Batavian imprints are, however, most likely government publications.
- ¹⁷⁷ Hurgronje, *Mekka*, pp.286-287.
- ¹⁷⁸ The list of kitab in Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Salih's catalogue of 1897 gives a good impression of the range of secular reference works which were put out by Singapore Muslim publishers, all classed as kitab. These included the few school books published by the Muslim commercial press together with dictionaries, letterwriters and ready-reckoners. See Proudfoot, "Nineteenth Century Bookseller's Catalogue", p.6.
- ¹⁷⁹ Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account*, vol.2, pp.336-337. Newbold's list begins with the *Quran*, 1869. Then follow *Kitab al-Salah*, described as a collection of prayers, probably equating with *Rukun Sembahyang*, published in 1879; *Sirat al-Mustakim*, 1864, ±1878; *Bidayat al-Mubtadi* ("Musalet al Mubtadi"), 1861, 1865; *Surat al-Kiamat*, 1872, 1873; *Sabil al-Muhtadin*, 1859, 1872.
- ¹⁸⁰ Brumund, *Volksonderwijs*, p.22. Its early Singapore editions are *Sirat al-Mustakim* 1864, a ±1878.
- ¹⁸¹ E.g. Arabic with interlinear Malay, many works including *Umm al-Barahin* 1883, *Akidat al-Munajjin* 1893; with Javanese pegon *Faiz al-Rahman* 1894, *Mukhtasar al-Hikam* 1894, *Ghayat*

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- al-Takrib* 1893; also with Sundanese *Faslatan* 1905; and with Bugis *Barzanji Makna Bugis* 1896. Cf. van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.235 on this format.
- 182 *Mukhtasar al-Hikam* 1894, *Husn al-Akhlak* 1900 are examples.
- 183 See the list of Javanese works in the Index of Languages other than Malay
- 184 *Sirat al-Mustakim* 1864; *Abu Syammah* 1901. Cf. also *Bidayat al-Mubtadi* 1861, which however does not use the term.
- 185 In the 1890s, 31% of Muslim editions were kitab, 19% hikayat, 41% syair.
- 186 *Sifat Duapuluh* 1873 etc., *Pelanduk* 1883 etc., *Perang Setambul* 1885, *Indera Putera b* ±1911, *Cendawan Putih* 1913. The copyist of *Pelanduk* 1890 tells us that he is turning *Hikayat Raja Boma* into verse ("...l bermacam surat hamba surati l Hikayat Raja Boma yang sakti l dibuatkan syair melipurkan hati"), though his work seems never to have appeared in print. There were also syair versions of newspaper reportage: *Aceh a* 1870s etc., *Lampung Karam* 1884 etc., *Dasima* 1912 etc.
- 187 From *Syair Burung*, quoted in Abu Hassan Sham, "Karya-Karya yang Berlatarbelakang Islam", p.252.
- 188 Many syair refer to those listening as well as to those reading (as e.g. *Dagang* 1884, *Kahar Masyhur* 1889.a, *Juragan Budiman* 1886, *Lautan Akal* 1914, etc.). A conventional opening used in syair also anticipates listeners: "Dengarkan tuan suatu madah/rencana/cerita/riwayat" etc. — though this phrase is so formulaic that not too much should be made of it. Prose, too, was for shared reading: *Gul Bakawali* 1905. Wilkinson, "Malay Literature", pp.58-59. Sweeney, *Reputations Live On*, p.11. Cf. Maier, *In the Center of Authority*, p.83.
- 189 Heins, "Melody in syair performance". McNair, *Perak and the Malays*, pp.435-436, 309-310. Further, the relationship of syair to kroncong is intimate, cf. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, p.42; *Pantun-Pantun Melayu*, Penang: Criterion Press, [1924].
- 190 *Ken Tabuhan* 1873 (taman *metri causa* = teman).
- 191 Wilkinson, "Malay Literature", p.58-59. Wilkinson admires a more conservative performance, emphasising the courtly grace of the singer's diction and evocation of the golden past.
- 192 *Juragan Budiman a* (petua: rules of the craft).
- 193 See references at Reid, *Age of Commerce*, p.230; also Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account*, vol.2, p.348; Hose, "Inaugural Address", p.7; Reith, *Handbook to Singapore*, p.133; St. John, *Life in the Forests*, vol.2, pp.284-285; Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, p.19.
- 194 On theatre, Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp.516-521, and Abdul Kadir, *Budaya Popular*, ch.2. According to van Kerckhoff, "Het Maleisch Tooneel", the syair *Abdul Muluk*, *Bidasari*, *Seri Baniar* (Selindung Delima), *Zubaidah*, *Ken Tabuhan*, *Taj al-Muluk* and the hikayat *Syah Mardan*, *Juragan Budiman* (Jauhar Manikam) were popularly performed on the west coast of Sumatra in the late nineteenth century. For *Abdul Muluk* see also Nafron Hasjim, "Syair Abdul Muluk dalam Pementasan", and Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, pp.20, 229, on its popularity among the Peranakan Chinese and performances at Chinese New Year. These syair texts should probably be distinguished from the 'book of the film' in hikayat form published in the wake of successful Malay and Parsee Opera performances such as *Laila Majnun*, *Indera Bangsawan*, *Dewa Mandu*, and *Gul Bakawali*. *Syair Dewa Laksana* may also belong to this class. *Hikayat Dewa Mandu* survives only in advertisements. Note that the

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- reissue of Syair Dandan Setia in 1926 coincided with a stage performance: Overbeck, "Shaer Dandan Setia", p.141.
- 195 van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.261.
- 196 *Muhammad Hanafiah 1875* etc. "Dimaklumkan kepada sekalian encik dan tuan-tuan yang membaca atau yang mendengarkan hikayat ini ...".
- 197 Syair Abdul Muluk too often has the full title "Syair Abdul Muluk Isterinya Siti Rafiah"; Syair Haris Fadhillah is once named "Syair Siti Dhawiah", often "Syair Haris Fadhillah dengan Siti Dhawiah", and once more subtly "Syair Haris Fadhillah Suami Siti Dhawiah".
- 198 Roff, *Origins of Malay Nationalism*, ch.2. Press freedoms were matched by a particular aversion by the British to involvement in religious questions. As Roff comments, this made the Straits Settlements "sniping posts" for critics and reformers. The Dutch, by contrast, endeavoured to keep a watch on religious agitation in Singapore as it frequently involved natives of the Netherlands Indies and spawned publications largely destined for the Indies: Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam", p.274; also Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke Adviezen 2:1652, The Achehnese*, pp.182-183. An example is the inauguration in 1906 in Singapore of the reformist magazine *Al-Imam*, destined for circulation in the Netherlands Indies. Such activities were reported to Batavia.
- 199 Parts of which were also known by various other names, including Kampung Dalam because of proximity to the Sultan's palace, Kampung Sultan, Kampung Melayu (also applied to a street running east of the Mosque), Kampung Masjid Baru (in the 1860s), Kampung Masjid Sultan or simply Kampung Masjid, Kampung Haji, and Kampung Kalang. Sultan Road is not to be confused with Jalan Sultan, several blocks to the east. Even at the end of the nineteenth century this area was on the margin of the urban settlement.
- 200 The name Bussorah Street was also current, but may have applied to the block contiguous with Beach Road, also known as Kampung Intan.
- 201 *Kisah Singapura 1876* passim. The bustle of this neighbourhood are a concluding theme at the end of several syair.
- 202 *Dasima 1912, Kahar Masyhur 1889.a*
- 203 *Jawi Peranakan* no.701 (22 September 1890); cf. Bird, *Golden Chersonese*, pp.168, 256.
- 204 *Juragan Budiman b 1880s, Aceh 1884.*
- 205 Roff, *Origins of Malay Nationalism*, pp.48-52; also *Malay and Arabic Periodicals*, pp.3-5.
- 206 I.e. the statistic excludes publishers who are incorporated bodies, such as Jawi Peranakan, Matbaah Melayu.
- The following printers have evident Javanese backgrounds:
from undefined locations in Java
 Tuan Ismail min Jawa
 Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Haji Muhammad Yahya al-Jawa
 Haji Termidi b. Sidi Wangsa
 & ? his son, Abdul Karim Termidi
- Banyumas*
 Tuan Syaikh Haji Muhammad Ali b. Haji Mustafa Banyumas, Purbalingga
 & his brother, Haji Muhammad Nuh b. Mustafa Banyumas, Purbalingga
- Juwana*
 Haji Abdul Rahman b. Haji Abdul Razak Juwana

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Haji Muhammad Nuh b. Haji Ismail Juwana
Haji Muhammad Kassim negerinya Juwana dan Bawean
Pati Negara
Haji Muhammad Taib b. Haji Muhammad Zain Pati Negeri
Rembang
Abdul Karim b. Suradin orang Jawa negeri Rembang
Haji Muhammad Salih Jawi Rembani
& his sons
Tuan Haji Yahya b. Haji Muhammad Salih ahl al-Jawi
Haji Muhammad Siraj b. Haji Muhammad Salih Rembang
& probably Haji Muhammad Sidik b. Haji Muhammad Salih
Semarang
Haji Abdullah Semarang
Haji Muhammad Said b. Haji Arsyad Semarang
& his sons
Haji Muhammad Majtahid b. Haji Muhammad Said
Haji Abdullah b. Haji Muhammad Said
Khalid b. Haji Muhammad Said
Hamzah b. Haji Muhammad Said
Muhammad Salih al-Samarani

- 207 Marriott, "The Peoples of Singapore", pp.357-359, in Makepeace, *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, vol.2, with Djinguiz, "L' Islam aux Straits-Settlements", pp.303-304.
- 208 E.g. *Arbah 1887.b*
- 209 *Syah Mardan 1891*
- 210 *Ibarat Manikam Pari 1893*, concerned almost exclusively with syair and hikayat. Incidentally, Overbeck gives the notional stock of a Malay bookseller as a hundred titles (*Malaiische Weisheit und Geschichte*, p.2).
- 211 *Terasul 1894.a, .b*
- 212 *Daftar Kitab a 1898*; see Proudfoot, "Nineteenth Century Bookseller's Catalogue".
- 213 T.A. Melville, "The Post Office and its History", ch. XIV of Makepeace, *One Hundred Years of Singapore*. See pp.121, 130, 140, 155.
- 214 *Daftar Kitab a 1898*; for a transcription of the Malay text, see Proufoot, "Nineteenth Century Bookseller's Catalogue".
- 215 For the lists of agents, see the relevant editions in the Description.
- 216 *Amir Hamzah 1896*, p.401. Cf. Hussainmiya, "Baba Ounus Saldin", p.131 n.48. The book sold for \$2.50 in Penang and \$3.00 in Colombo.
- 217 *Jawi Peranakan* no. 638 (8 July 1889), no. 644 (19 August 1889), no. 709 (29 December 1890), *Indera Sebaha 1889*.
- 218 *Daftar Kitab a 1898*
- 219 In the case of separately advertised titles, like *Indera Sebaha 1889*, the agents may have held stocks, but generally they must have taken orders in the same way that the agents for newspapers took subscriptions. (There is not surprisingly a congruence between the agents of Siraj and those for *Jawi Peranakan*. — and not too much about its distribution can be inferred

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- from the fact that the newspaper *Jawi Peranakan* had an agent in Paris!). However van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.228 describes the later practice of publishers sending off almost the entire edition of a newly reprinted kitab to retailers all over the country.
- 220 *Jawi Peranakan* no.832 (3 July 1893). On Quran schools in Perak, e.g. *Annual Report Perak*, 1891, §107. Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, vol.14, pt.3, p.8.
- 221 *Annual Report, Perak*, 1898, p.28 (§93).
- 222 Proudfoot "Formative Period", p.113, referring to the Report of the Committee appointed to Enquire into the System of Education in the Colony (The Isemonger Report), reprinted in Wong & Gwee, *Official Reports on Education*, p.22; Chelliah, *Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements*, pp.63-64.
- 223 Apart from a couple of titles published at the Johor Government Press (*Pemimpin Johor* 1878, *Jalan Kepandaian* 1881, *Permulaan Jiografi* 1884, *Sifir Muhammad* 1886), only two put out by Haji Muhammad Majtahid (*Miskin Marakarmah* 1903, 1915; *Alf Lailah wa Lailah* 1903) and one edition by Haji Muhammad Siraj (*Sultan Ibrahim* 1908.a).
- 224 Of 1800 such advertisements found in the colophons of books included in the Survey, only 10% relate to scholarly religious texts. There is an understandable tendency for syair to be advertised in syair, hikayat in hikayat, and so forth. Nearly 30% of the Muslim publishers' titles were kitab. Might the lack of advertisement for kitab might be thought therefore to stem from a reluctance to advertise in a revered work of learning? This notion is weakened by the prominent mention of publishers and others associated with the production of kitab books, and futher by the attachment of stock lists to some kitab, albeit to none published in Singapore (cf. *Ghayat al-Takrib*, Mecca: Matbaah al-Karimiah al-Amirat al-Islamiah, 1310). In Singapore, advertisements were carried only in the popular syair of admonition (e.g. *Cermin Islam* 1907, *Hakikat al-Islam* 1903, *Kawaid al-Islam* 1879, *Sifat Duapuluh* 1886, *Siraj al-Kalbi* 1916, *Tajwid* 1890) and, in the same category, in the prose *Mahsyar* 1900, along with a single notice in *Barzanji Makna Bugis* 1896 and a brief list in the modern work *Umm al-Madhahib* 1905.
- 225 E.g. *Jawi Peranakan* no.655 (4 November 1889) advertises 5 Muslim texts in 35 titles, no.660 (16 December 1889) advertises 17 Muslim texts in 89 titles; no.709 (29 December 1890) advertises 18 Muslim texts in 96 titles. *Daftar Kitab a* (Proudfoot, "Nineteenth Century Bookseller's Catalogue") has no Muslim texts in 115 titles.
- 226 *Tahsil al-Ujur* 1887, *Masalah Seribu* 1888, *Hajj dan Umrah* 1888, *Fath al-Mu'in* 1889, *Bidayat al-Salikin* 1889, *Wasiat Rasul Allah* 1890, *Majmuk al-Ahkam* 1890, *Majmuah al-Syariah* 1892, *Munjiyat* 1893.a, b, 1895, *Durrat al-Mudhiyat* 1893, *Majmuk al-A'mal* 1894, *Mukhtasar al-Hikam* 1894, *Majmuah al-Syariah* 1894. In any case, most of the titles he advertises are not his own publications.
- 227 *Bidayat al-Mubtadi* 1861, *Hukum Muaffak* 1880, *Akidat al-Munajjin* 1893, *Hidayat al-Awamm* 1903 (printed in Ipoh).
- 228 *Annual Report Trengganu*, 1916, §25. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "Traditional Islamic Education", pp.23-24 & *Tradisi Pesantren*, pp.25-28, bab III.
- 229 *Futuhat al-Ilahiyah a*, 1900; *Kudsiyah* 1901, 1902.
- 230 This information comes from documents seized by the Dutch administration, see Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke Adviezen*, 3:1948-1952.
- 231 See *Takwim* 1918

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- 232 *Benih Bahasa 1917, Tiang Ugama 1918.*
- 233 Namely *Wisayah al-Afrāh 1908†, Munyah al-Musalli 1908†*. They are included among the books used for instruction in the Kota Bharu mosque in 1920: see Abdullah Alwi, "Development of Islamic Education in Kelantan," p.200 n.88.
- 234 *Durar al-Hisan 1918* offers an effective discount of 15% for bulk purchases.
- 235 Blok, "Sjair Perang Atjeh", pp.568-569
- 236 Haji Muhammad Said advertises the fact in some of his books: *Bustan al-Katibin 1892, Dandan Setia 1902*. A Javanese ticket is bound into the KITLV copy of *Raja Budak 1891* printed by Haji Abdul Karim.
- 237 *Futuh Arifin 1870*, note p.[iii].
- 238 *Mukhtasar al-Hikam 1894* (for Haji Abdullah, Semarang), *Majmuk al-A'mal 1894* (for Syaikh Salim Mahrus, Semarang), *Husn al-Akhlak 1900* (for Abdul Salam, Surabaya)
- 239 Proudfoot, "Malay and Javanese Printing in Bombay".
- 240 Zwemer, "Native Press of the Dutch East Indies", pp.40, 41
- 241 "Balai Pustaka and its Antecedents", p.98, apparently basing his remarks on first-hand observation of the book-trade in Java.
- 242 See the Index of Persons and Institutions under the respective names.
- 243 *Abdul Muluk 1870, 1871; Indera Bangsawan 1871; Seri Banian 1871; Ken Tabuhan 1872*
- 244 *Ken Tabuhan 1868* (Encik Long & Encik Abdul Rahman b. Abdul Samad); *Bidayat al-Salikin 1872* (Haji Abdul Rahman b. Haji Abdul Razak & Haji Muhammad Kassim); *Bab al-Bai' a 1873* (Haji Abdul Rahman b. Haji Abdul Razak Juwana & Haji Muhammad Kassim Boyan); *Targhib al-Nas 1873* (owned by Haji Muhammad Apib b. Haji Ahmad, Palembang & Haji Hamzah, Singapura); *Abdul Muluk 1874* (Haji Abdul Majid & Haji Ishak).
- 245 *Bab al-Bai' a 1873, Bidayat al-Salikin 1873, and Juragan Budiman 1873*, all by Tuan Haji Abdul Majid & Tuan Haji Ishak & Tuan Ismail min Jawa
- 246 See e.g. *Juragan Budiman 1868; Kawaid al-Islam 1865; Taj al-Muluk 1869; Terasul Besar 1868*.
- 247 E.g. *Abdul Muluk 1867*, lacking title page, title at head of text, and has unnumbered pages. Similarly *Sabil al-Muhtadin a, 1859, 1872*; etc., etc. Pagination is lacking in one-third of the books put out by Muslim printers during the first two decades, in one-tenth during the second decades, and is virtually universal in the last decades of the survey.
- 248 Cf. Keasberry's *Pengutib Segala Remah a 1850s*. See note 85 above.
- 249 *Pelayaran Abdullah 1907*, p.38.
- 250 In India in the 1880s country-made paper suitable for printing was still more expensive than imported European paper (Butt, "Nineteenth Century Book Trade in Sind", p.157; Hunter, *Papermaking*, p.542). Japan began producing mechanically milled wood-pulp paper after 1874 (*ibid.*, pp.570-572), and later for export. The likelihood that Japanese paper was used by Muslim publishers in Singapore is increased by evidence that the stencilled, block-printed or screen-printed decorative coloured wrapping paper they used for book covers was imported from Japan. Gallop reports this discovery, "Early Malay Printing", p.109 & p.115 n.43.

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- 251 Cf. *Sabil al-Muhtadin a*, 1872; *Abdul Muluk* 1874, which have irregular pagination or blank pages owing to errors in laying out the sheets before folding and cutting. The same inexperience is evident in early typeset books: see *Penggeli Hati* 1878.a
- 252 In *Sifat Duapuluh b* 1882, Said gives his address in precise detail as 'Kampung Masjid Sultan Ali dari ujung sebelah kiri jikalau masuk masjid tiga pintu dari ujung, nombornya rumah limapuluh satu 51.'
- 253 It is to be remembered though that the table is based upon a count of editions, not on value or bulk of publications, and thus favours the syair, which could be slim volumes printed cheaply.
- 254 *Sifat Duapuluh b* 1882.
- 255 *Dewa Laksana* 1904, *Kuris Mengindera* 1906.
- 256 *Anak Raja* 1900, *Barzanji Makna Bugis* 1896, *Nabi Lahir* 1900, *Perang Setambul* 1902, *Saudagar Besar* 1896, *Sultan Mansur* 1903, *Tengkorak* 1896, *Terasul Besar* 1900
- 257 A few works are registered as having been printed by Zainal, who may have been an employee of Said for his address is that of Said's shop. See *Alauddin* 1890.a, *Malay History* 1890.a†, *Malay History* 1890.b†, *Ken Tabuhan* 1890, *Mayat* 1890.a, *Nasihat Bapa* 1890, *Pelanduk* 1890, *Ardan* 1891, *Syams Bahrun* 1891. Zainal is registered as author of *Rejang* 1893 and *Ulamak* 1890, also published by Said.
- 258 See below regarding Penang.
- 259 *Abdul Muluk* 1887.b
- 260 *Singapore and Straits Directory*, 1891, cit. Hashimah, "Early Book Publishing", p.343.
- 261 See Proudfoot, "Nineteenth Century Bookseller's Catalogue".
- 262 *Dandan Setia* 1902
- 263 *Sultan Mansur* 1888
- 264 *Indera Sebaha* 1889, 1896
- 265 *Juragan Budiman* 1902†
- 266 Among the works for which Siraj can be identified as copyist are *Yatim Mustafa* 1887, *Majmuah al-Syariah* 1892, *Majmuk al-A'mal* 1894, *Mukhtasar al-Hikam* 1894, *Terasul* 1894.a, *Munjiyat* 1893.a, .b, 1895, *Ken Tabuhan* 1901, *Abdul Muluk* 1901, *Indera Sebaha* 1901. No doubt others which he published and which acknowledge no copyist were his handiwork.
- 267 viz. *Al-Matbaah al-Sinkapurah al-Zahrat al-Masyhurat al-Bahiyat al-Kainat (Majmuah al-Syariah* 1892, 1894; *Munjiyat* 1901).
- 268 *Sultan Mansur* 1888, *Hajj dan Umrah* 1888, *Panji Semirang* 1888.c, *Abdul Muluk* 1892, *Majmuah al-Syariah* 1892, *Munjiyat* 1893.a, .b, *Majmuk al-A'mal* 1894, *Mukhtasar al-Hikam* 1894, *Majmuah al-Syariah* 1894, *Munjiyat* 1895
- 269 *Nakhoda Muda* 1900, *Nailah* 1900, *Husn al-Akhlak* 1900, *Ken Tabuhan* 1901, *Perukunan* 1901, *Abdul Muluk* 1901, *Nur Muhammad* 1901†, *Juragan Budiman* 1901, *Indera Bangsawan* 1901, *Bakhtiar* 1902, *Juragan Budiman* 1902†
- 270 *Aceh* 1886.b, *Juragan Budiman* 1886; cf. *Haris Fadhillah* 1888

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- 271 *Taj al-Muluk* 1887, *Sultan Mansur* 1888, *Panji Semirang* 1888.c†, *Bah Singapura* 1891, *Bidasari* 1903.b†, *Yatim Mustafa* 1903†
- 272 *Abdul Muluk* 1887.b, *Indera Bangsawan* 1901, *Panji Semirang* 1888.c
- 273 *Sifat Duapuluh* 1889.b, *Syah Mardan* 1891
- 274 *Raja Hirmaya* 1893, *Terasul* 1894.a, *Indera Sebaha* 1896
- 275 *Syah Mardan* 1891
- 276 *Peraturan Bola Sepak* 1895. Another work using the same technology, but apparently not by Siraj, was *Haji dan Umrah* 1900, illustrated in Gallop, “Early Malay Printing”, p.106.
- 277 *Sultan Ibrahim* 1908.a
- 278 *Terasul* 1887, 1894.a; *Dagang* 1887.b; *Bakhtiar* 1888; *Indera Sebaha* 1889, 1896, 1901; also *Pantun Seloka* 1889; *Indera Bangsawan* 1889
- 279 *Jubili Melaka* 1891
- 280 *Indera Sebaha* 1889, *Pantun Seloka* 1889, *Indera Bangsawan* 1889
- 281 *Mukhtasar al-Hikam* 1894 (for Haji Abdullah, Semarang); *Majmuk al-A'mal* 1894 (for Syaikh Salim Mahrus, Semarang); *Daurat al-Mudhiyat* 1893 (for Muhammad As'ad al-Yafi'i, Macassar); *Wasiat Rasul Allah* 1890 (for Raden Aji Azhari b. Syaikh Mahmud, Palembang); *Bidayat al-Salikin* 1889 (for Haji Muhammad Nur b. Abdul Rahman, Pariaman).
- 282 Cf. Abu Hassan Sham, “Karya-Karya yang Berlatarbelakang Islam”, p.265 re *Syair Sifat Duapuluh* (Klinkert 146, no.223 in van Ronkel, *Supplement-Catalogus*).
- 283 *Air Mawar* 1881, *Zubaidah* 1883
- 284 *Pengantin* 1885, *Iblis* 1885, *Mekah* 1886, *Sifat Duapuluh* 1886, *Unggas* 1886, *Arbah* 1887.a, *Anak Raja* 1887, *Arbah* 1887.b, *Air Mawar* 1887, *Dagang* 1887.a, *Takbir Mimpi* 1887, *Pantun Seloka* 1887, *Kiamat* 1888.a, *Bidayat al-Mubtadi* 1889
- 285 Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke Adviezen* 3:1763.
- 286 I believe Overbeck, *Malaiische Weisheit und Geschichte*, p.6 reports this recollection: “Ein solcher Schreiber lebte einst in Singapore und schrieb fast alle größeren Werke für die malaiischen Verleger, aber er starb, und es fand sich niemand, der seine Stelle einnehmen konnte, wenigstens nicht für größere Arbeiten.” Although Overbeck identifies this copyist as responsible for *Kuris Mengindera* 1906, which the Gazette memorandum attributes to Haji Muhammad (also of Riau), the description of the copyist's career fits only Ibrahim.
- 287 *Azimata* 1891, *Juragan Budiman* b 1880s, *Sungging* 1886, *Air Mawar* 1886, *Terubuk* 1887.a, *Muhammad Hanafiah* 1889, *Dagang* a ±1890, *Haris Fadhillah* 1890†, *Kumbang Cumbuan* 1890, *Mayat* 1890.a, *Ulamak* 1890, *Tajwid* 1890, *Jimak* 1891†, *Kaifiyat Khatam Quran* 1891, *Pantun Seloka* 1892, *Usul Anka* 1892†, *Rejang* 1893, *Perang Setambul* 1893, *Ibarat Manikam Pari* 1893, *Dandan Setia* 1894, *Air Mawar* 1900†, *Pantun Seloka* 1900†, *Nasihat Bapa* 1900†, *Cinta Berahi* 1900, *Abu Syahmah* 1901†, *Pungguk* 1901†, *Kubur* 1903†, *Pengantin* 1904†, *Nasihat Bapa* 1904†, *Dermah Tasiah* 1906†, *Takbir Mimpi* 1909†, *Abu Syahmah* 1909.a†, *Terasul Besar* 1910†; (with Said al-Jawa:) *Bustan al-Katibin* 1892; (with Tahir:) *Panji Semirang* 1888.b; (with Taib:) *Aceh* 1889; (with Zainal:) *Alauddin* 1890.a†, *Malay History* 1890.a†, *Malay History* 1890.b†, *Ken Tabuhan* 1890, *Nasihat Bapa* 1890, *Pelanduk* 1890, *Ardan* 1891, *Syams Bahrin* 1891

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- 288 *Seri Banian 1888, Sultan Mansur 1888, Raja Handak 1900†, Haris Fadhillah 1900†, Terasul 1900.at, Raja Hirmaya 1893, Unggas 1887*
- 289 *Mekah 1888, Lampung Karam 1888, Takbir Mimpi 1888.a, Takbir Mimpi 1888.b, Kahar Masyhur 1889.a, Cinta Berahi 1888.b, Silam Bari 1889, Dagang 1889, Futuh al-Syam 1893, Syams al-Alam 1894, Kahar Masyhur 1889.b, Rukun Sembahyang 1889*
- 290 *Yatim Mustafa 1889, Dewa Syahdan 1889.b, Abdul Muluk 1890, Taj al-Muluk 1890, Taj al-Muluk 1891†, Zubaidah 1890, Abdul Muluk 1891, Kahar Masyhur 1891, Muhammad Hanafiah 1891, Zubaidah 1892*
- 291 *Perang Zaitun 1893, Gharib 1894†, (with Siraj:) Raja Hirmaya 1893. Perhaps also Hilyat al-Anam 1893.*

292 The complexities of these webs are further illustrated by some of the editions upon which Ibrahim worked with Said. First, two of the editions which Ibrahim prepared and printed at his own press were in fact titles which Ibrahim had acquired from Said. In the copyright registrations of *Dagang 1887* and *Air Mawar 1887*, Ibrahim informed the Registrar that the publication was a copy of a book belonging to Said, the implication being that Said owned or had himself previously published the titles. The two prior editions *Dagang 1883, 1884* were indeed published by Said; but the prior edition *Air Mawar 1886* was also published by Ibrahim, but for sale by Said, suggesting either that Ibrahim had then been commissioned by Said or that Ibrahim was even then working with Said's permission. (There is no evidence of an even earlier publication of *Air Mawar* by Said.) Second, in eleven of the editions which Ibrahim prepared for Said, the printing was undertaken by a third party, most frequently Haji Zainal,^a but also Taib,^b Tahir,^c and Haji Said al-Jawa.^d None of these printers is known to have done other work for Said, implying that the principal working relationship was between Ibrahim and the respective printers. Said's role is clearly stated both in the texts themselves and in the memoranda of registration as being that of proprietor. In the absence of a claim to proprietary rights to the texts concerned,^e this must imply that Said financed printings actually undertaken by Ibrahim with Zainal, Taib, Tahir and Siraj al-Jawa.

The linkages are illuminated after 1886 not only by the information recorded by copyists and publishers on the printed books, but also in some cases by an alternative set of information in the memoranda of copyright registration. A major difficulty in using the latter source is the mismatch between the presumptions of the registration, which are predicated on typographic production in a mature print culture, and the reality of a cottage industry of lithographers. For instance, the registration wishes to distinguish author/editor and printer. Thinking of the lithographic process, how is the preparer of the lithographic transfer-paper to be categorised? In the terms of a manuscript literary culture he is in a sense the author, in that he has produced a new copy of the text. The term used (*yang menyurat*) is ambiguous. Or is he an editor, adapting a traditional text to this new form? — this notion makes more sense in Western categories than those of the Singapore lithographers; in their terms an editor is rather one who restores a text (*benarkan, betulkan*) previously erroneously copied. Or is he the printer (*yang mengecapnya*), for the preparation of the transfer sheets is the major task of the processes of reproduction by print? The roles of author and printer defined by the registration form could be reversed, and indeed there are instances of this. We noted above a few syair copied by Ibrahim and printed by Zainal for Said. In other cases, syair whose printed texts credit Ibrahim as author (*yang menyurat*) are registered with him as printer, and Zainal as author/editor.^f

^a *Ken Tabuhan 1890, Nasihat Bapa 1890, Pelanduk 1890, Ardan 1891, Syams Bahrin 1891*, and two unidentified works *Malay History 1890.at, .bt*.

^b *Aceh 1889*.

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^c *Panji Semirang 1888.b*

^d *Bustan al-Katibin 1892*

^e Said had previously published only *Ken Tabuhan 1873* and *Nasihah Bapa 1883*.

^f *Mayat 1890, Ulamak 1890, and Rejang 1893*; cf. *Panji Semirang 1888.b* (in which the text has Ibrahim as copyist and Said as publisher, while the registration has Tahir as author/editor, Ibrahim as publisher and copyright holder, and Said as printer), and *Haris Fadhillah 1890, Pengantin 1904, and Nasihat Bapa 1907* (in which conversely Ibrahim is named author/editor in the memoranda of registration, while other writers' names appear in the printed texts).

²⁹³ *Miskin Marakarmah 1903*, colophon: 'adapun hikayat ini pada awalnya dicap dan direjisterkan oleh Thomas Trusty maka pada 27 Nopember 1902 itu telah dijuallah naskah dan rejister hikayat ini pada Haji Muhammad Majtahid bin Haji Muhammad Said ialah yang berkuasa mengecap selama-lamanya dengan rejister'.

Another interesting case is *Azhar al-Tasdik 1898*. As printed it title-page assigned copyright to Haji Muhammad Amin, while its colophon and the relevant Gazette memorandum gave ownership to Haji Muhammad Apip. The trouble has been taken to paste a slip of paper over Amin's name on the title-page replacing it with Apip. Was this done only on the copies submitted to the copyright Registrar? They are all we have now.

²⁹⁴ It would appear that two editions appeared within a day or so, over the names of different publishers, and in slightly different format, though both following the same pagination and number of lines per page: either because both were copied from an earlier printed edition no longer extant (the 1874 edition is different in layout), or — and this is perhaps more likely — that the nominally earlier edition of Haji Muhammad is a retouched reprint using the same sheets as the Ibrahim-Said edition.

²⁹⁵ *Nasihah Laki-Isteri 1917*

²⁹⁶ Abdullah, *Daftar [Kitab]*.

²⁹⁷ van den Berg, "Mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs", p.554

²⁹⁸ *Syair Taj al-Muluk 1887*, p.88: "... kitab2 cap Mekkah bahasa Melayu macam2 namanya karangan Syaikh Daud Patani dan Syaikh Arsyad Banjar di dalam 2 tahun ini baharu keluar ...".

²⁹⁹ *Kitab Surat Terasul 1887*, front cover; with colophons of *Abu Samah 1887*, p.39, *Dermah Tasiyah 1887*, p.72, *Haris Fadhillah 1887*, p.84. *Taj al-Muluk 1887*, p.88. An earlier notice of similar effect is found in *Iblis a 1880*, p.21

³⁰⁰ Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke Adviezen* 3:1762-3: "moet dan niet vergeten ... hier regelmatig geïmporteerd." The reference must be to *Miskin Marakarmah 1857*, which may have been Keasberry's work. It is interesting to compare Hurgronje's observations with those of van den Berg, "Mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs", who in 1886 noticed only Arabic-language books printed in the Middle East in the libraries of the scholars he visited in Java (see pp.521, 523, 529, 553); these books were printed in Cairo, Istanbul, or in Syria (*Le Hadhramout*, p.170)

³⁰¹ Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke Adviezen*, 3:1893. However, as noted above, Malay publishing in Bombay goes back at least to 1874.

³⁰² The diversity of outside influences is nicely conveyed by the note to *Jimak 1891* which states that this Singapore edition has been produced in response to customer demand following the production of a fine edition of the same work in Mecca by "Matbaah Brii", surely a reference to

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the Leiden publisher of orientalia. We find also the converse, the direct reproduction of a Singapore imprint in Istanbul: *Perang Setambul 1879*.

- ³⁰³ Note the pairs *Bidayat al-Salikin 1906, 1912*; *Faslatah 1905, 1906*; *Lataif al-Taharat 1906.a, 1906.b*; he had earlier commissioned the printing of *Panjsurah 1903f* in Bombay. For Syaikh Badal's other Bombay printings see Matbaah al-Karimiah in the Index of Persons and Institutions, The books he printed in Bombay display on the title page the addresses of both the Bombay printery and the Singapore office. Syaikh Badal's example was followed by Muhammad Idris, with whom he had placed some printing in Singapore. Muhammad Idris went on to put out *Primbunan Sembahyang 1914* in Riau on his own behalf, advising that its places of publication were Singapore, Penang and Bombay.
- ³⁰⁴ E.g. *Majmu'at al-Syari'at 1899*, colophon: "Kitab ini telah dicapkan dengan pesuruhan al-Hajj Ali bin Muhammad Fadhil Semarang di dalam tempat cap yang bernama 'Matba' Muhammadi' di dalam negeri Bombai bi yad Muhammad Taib".
- ³⁰⁵ *Terasul*, Singapore: Alibhai Syaraf'ali, 1921. The title page clearly identifies Alibhai Syaraf'ali's office at 75 Arab Street as the place of publication. Page 3 however identifies the printer as the Alibhai Syaraf'ali company in Bombay: "bi ihtamam Alibhai Syaraf'ali and Company Private Limited tajir al-kutub wa malikan Matba' Muhammadi, Bombai".
- ³⁰⁶ Zwemer, "Native Press of the Dutch East Indies", p.40 and the anonymous "Arabic Literature in Java" report imports of Arabic books to the value of fl 10,000 into West Sumatra and Samarang in 1916 and note a piece in *De Locomotief* a year later reporting increased importation of Arabic books from into Java from Cairo, Mecca and Singapore.
- ³⁰⁷ *Dasima 1912*, back cover. In about 1917, Siraj issued a comprehensive catalogue of books in Arabic, Malay, and Javanese, of which over half the listed editions were printed in Cairo: see "Singapore Book Catalogue".
- ³⁰⁸ The data for measuring output is very imperfect, relying heavily on memoranda of registration published in the respective government gazettes. Available evidence suggests that in the period 1900-1920 Bombay Malay kitab printing achieved a bulk four times that of Singapore. This undoubtedly understates the Bombay production quite substantially. 'Bulk' here means output measured as number of pages.
- ³⁰⁹ Meccan imprints are most often singled out for special mention by booksellers, although they will not have constituted the majority of the books in stock. See e.g. *Ibarat Manikam Pari 1893*, *Pegar Madi 1903* vol.1, *Rejang 1893*, *Pegar Madi 1903*, *Makrifat al-Salat 1903*. Note the priorities in *Ganja Mara 1897*: "sedia bermacam2 kitab2 Arab dan kitab2 Melayu tab' Mekah Setambul Mesir Bombai dan lain2".
- ³¹⁰ Overbeck, *Malaiische Weisheit und Geschichte*, pp.2, 6, 11. (These specific observations should be distinguished from rhetorical references to the death of Malay literature: *Malaiische Erzählungen*, p.3; *Malaiische Weisheit und Geschichte*, p.1 etc. Kratz, "Hans Overbecks Wissenschaftliches Werk", p.348.
- ³¹¹ van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.232. In 1918, still in Surabaya, Sulaiman Mari'e styled his press 'Matbaah al-kutub al-Arabiyah al-Misriyah' (*Tuhfat al-Rahgibin*, 2nd ed., Surabaya, 1336). Egyptian presses had long been the specialists in Malay-language lithographic printing in the Middle East, especially that of Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi ("Kitab Kuning", p.231). The majority of kitab in the Za'ba collection, assembled in the earlier part of the century, are Egyptian imprints: cf. *Koleksi Za'ba*.

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- 312 As early as 1879, Haji Muhammad Said experimented with typeset printing, having the Mission Press publish *Abdul Muluk 1879* on his behalf. But, for whatever reasons, no further work was placed with the Mission Press until Haji Muhammad Siraj had *Peraturan Bola Sepak 1895* done there, followed by Haji Muhammad with *Haji dan Umrah 1900* and another unidentified title *Traditions 1900?*. Meanwhile the few commercially published Muslim works to appear typographically before 1890 were those published by the Jawi Peranakan Press (*Penggeli Hati 1878.a, .b*; *Kampung Boyan 1883*; *Dhikir Naksybandiah a 1880s*; *Perang Singapura-a 1885*; *Pangeran Kahar 1887*; *Alauddin 1890.b*) and *Hukum Muaffak 1880*.
- 313 Cf. van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.235. Rubrication was conveyed by the thickening of the pen stroke. See illustrations of such text in Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, pp.29, 32.
- 314 After a short initial period, *Jawi Peranakan 1876+* switched from lithography to typography, though its competitors *Nujum al-Fajar a 1870s*, *Syams al-Kamar a 1870s* and *Sekolah Melayu 1888* were lithographed. The editor of *Jawi Peranakan's* rival, *Sekola Melayu*, felt obliged to apologetize for using lithography. (Taib, *Editorials*, p.50).
- 315 Before the arrival in Southeast Asia of typographic books in Malay from Mecca in 1887, typographic books in Arabic from the Middle East were already accepted, indeed esteemed: see van den Berg, "Mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs", p.529 n.1, where the text conventions described are those of a typeset book.
- 316 Typography had long been notorious for its association with the Christian missions. See Saint, *A Flourish for the Bishop*, p.26; Begbie, *Malayan Peninsula*, p.468.
- 317 "adapun Hikayat Si Miskin ini telah biasa dicap dengan cap batu maka baharu ini dicap dengan huruf timah terlebih terang dan bersih daripada cap batu sebab pun dicap dengan huruf timah ini kerana banyak pembeli2 minta-minta cap dengan huruf timah". Cf. the earlier Penang publication *Gul Bakawali 1892* in which the translators also explain that they had abandoned lithography for the clarity of typography ("pada tahun 1880 telah khatamlah dengan cap batu tetapi tiada begitu terang maka pada tahun ini hamba capkan kembali dengan huruf timah pulak adanya").
- 318 *Jawi Peranakan* no.867 (23 April 1894).
- 319 Thus the government presses of Riau-Lingga (in various guises as Matbaah al-Riauiyah, Ofis Cap Gaberment Lingga, Lingga and Straits Press, Percetakan Kerajaan Lingga and its Singapore affiliates Matbaah al-Ahmadiyah and Matbaah al-Imam) and of Johor (Jabatan Cap Kerajaan Johor etc.) are contributors. The first typographic printing for the Riau press is *Undang-Undang Polisi 1893*; for the Johor Press *Sifir 1886* followed by *Majmuk al-Ahkam 1890*.
- 320 The Jawi Peranakan Press had published a few books much earlier, beginning with the recreational anthology *Penggeli Hati 1878.a, .b*. The Denodaya Press published a Tamil weekly, *Singai Nessian* from 1887 to 1890. In the period under consideration, Matbaah Melayu printed *Al-Imam 1906+*, Matbaah al-Ikhwan put out *Majallah al-Islam 1914+*, and Matbaah al-Usrah put out *Suara Perniagaan 1919+*.
- 321 In this period the only typographic publisher of Malay-language books with more than nominal vertical integration of production and retailing was the Methodist Publishing House, a gargantuan organisation measured against any of the Malay presses, which published more in English than in Malay. In fact even in this case we find instances of extreme vertical specialization as the British and Foreign Bible Society used the Methodist Publishing House to

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- set up Malay books in type and cast plates which were then sent for printing offshore in Yokohama: see Fukuin Press in the Index of Names and Institutions.
- 322 E.g. *Abdul Muluk 1879* and *Kurrat al-Ain 1892* by Said (printing the former at the Mission Press, and claiming himself to be the printer of the latter), and *Miskin Marakarmah 1915* by Majtahid (at the Methodist Mission Press); *Gharib 1894* by Amin; *Raja Ghitrif 1916*, *Benih Bahasa 1917* by Idris, who was not a significant lithographer.
- 323 *Majmuk al-Ahkam 1890*, *Napoleon III 1889*, and *Gul Bakawali 1905* respectively.
- 324 *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis 1911*.
- 325 *Nasihat Perempuan 1903* and *Cindur Mata 1904* respectively.
- 326 *Mawahib Rabb al-Falak 1868*, reprinted, apparently at the same press, in 1882.
- 327 *Miskin Marakarmah 1915* was published for Majtahid by his brother Abdullah in Singapore; but this was in all senses a Singapore reprint, destined for school use. Note also Majtahid's involvement in *Kuris Mengindera 1906* with his father.
- 328 *Dagang 1887.b*; *Terasul 1887*, *1894.a*, *1899.a*. The Singapore printer Amin was involved in reprinting *Indera Sebaha 1896*, *Terasul 1899.a*, *Terasul 1894.a*. He was later to reprint *Bustamam 1914*, translated by Putih.
- 329 *Tanjung Penagri 1984+*, *Pemimpin Warta 1895+* and *Lengkongan Bulan 1900* were all lithographed.
- 330 *Bintang Timor 1900*, later renamed *Cahaya Pulau Pinang 1900+*
- 331 Both were operated by Ahmad b. Ibrahim, interestingly enough of Singapore extraction.
- 332 *Marong Mahawangsa 1898*, *Cendawan Putih 1900*, *Indera Mengindera 1900*
- 333 Ismail Hussein, "Selected Bibliography", p.94, estimates the number of Malay literary manuscripts in European, American, Indonesian and Malaysian collections as 5,000. For other estimates, see Ding, "Access to Malay Manuscripts", p.433.
- 334 Haji Muhammad Said. For the items making up this total, see the index of Persons and Institutions.
- 335 In order to give a better picture of reading material actually accessible to the general reader, certain classes of material have not been included in this chart. Excluded are all works in languages other than Malay, with the sole exception of Muslim kitab in Javanese (which may have been used in Malayan pondok-pesantren); publications aimed primarily at a European audience, for example the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society and the various dictionaries and vocabularies, other than those used in schools; mission publications clearly destined for the Netherlands Indies, in the Dutch Romanised spelling; and non-book materials such as calendars, tickets, charms and the like. Books and periodicals are plotted separately, the Baba serialised books being taken for this purpose as books. The hypothetical nature of the figures plotted must be appreciated. For a small number of publications there is no information on number of pages; for a substantial number of publications not registered for copyright, there is no information on size of edition. The calculation of bulk of output therefore depends to a degree on the imputation of the missing data. In the case of pagination, it is usually a simple matter to extrapolate from editions of the same work. For size of edition, the imputations are more tenuous, relying on the known practice of private and government printers. Thus while much of the plotted data is hypothesised, it has been kept as far as possible to a careful extension of known data. For this reason, and because of the likely incompleteness of our present

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- knowledge, the plots should be taken to express trends rather than absolute quantities. The plots are all smoothed by taking moving five-year averages.
- 336 The first censuses to consider literacy took place only in 1911 (*Report on the Census of the Federated Malay States, 1911, The Census of British Malaya ... 1921*) and 1920 (*Netherlandsch-Indië. Volkstelling ... 1920*). The former are very inadequately cross-tabulated.
- 337 Roff, *Origins of Malay Nationalism*, p.51
- 338 This is based on information noted in Proudfoot, "Pioneer Publisher", p.14, Klinkert, ["Schrijven"], p.177, and Proudfoot, "Formative Period", 111. In the first article, Proudfoot infers a reduction of one-third to one-fifth in cost from manuscript to typography; however lithography was about half as costly as typography. Klinkert's information on costs in Riau in the 1860s accords surprisingly well with the information from Palembang in the 1900s. The information in Iskandar, "Jakarta Lending Libraries", pp.148-151 suggests somewhat higher costs for manuscripts in Batavia ca. 1850-1875.
- 339 Coope's translation, *The Voyage of Abdullah*, p.42. *Pelayaran Abdullah 1907*, pp.70-71.
- 340 Even in the literary centre of Riau, Klinkert's strategy for finding any particular title was to send messengers around the villages to make inquiries. Abdullah's eagerness to pick up whatever was available is perhaps explained by the account he gives of his father's mission to collect manuscripts on behalf of the Dutch government (*Abdullah 1903*, vol.1, pp.6-7). To collect or copy 60 to 70 books, his father had had to traverse a large territory (Riau-Lingga, Pahang, Trengganu, Kedah), and had required letters of introduction from the Dutch Governor of Malacca, a ship flying the Dutch flag, and expenditure of \$500. On the other hand Abdullah says that in Malacca Raffles collected 360 Malay prose works, and that people were eager to sell manuscripts 'when they commanded a good price' (p.61). Ding, "Access to Malay Manuscripts", pp.427-428, 437, sees this as evidence of commercialisation of the manuscript. However even then Raffles had to borrow other books and had them copied by four or five copyists employed on this task alone (Abdullah, *ibid.*). Cf. Kratz, "Hikayat Raja Pasai", p.45, suggesting procurement from Makassar of a copy of a manuscript from Semarang, though in the absence of much explicit information about how this transpired. In 1878, Hose, in his "Inaugural Address", p.9, suggests another development whereby in his view Malay manuscripts had become "more and more difficult to obtain", asserting that, with the advent of printed school books and especially the newspaper press, "the manuscripts (never very numerous) are likely to be less prized, and more rarely copied ...". Elsewhere, however, Hose shows himself not altogether well informed on Malay literary commerce. The qualification 'never very numerous' perhaps deserves more emphasis.
- 341 So a manuscript copy of *Berma Syahdan* dating from 1826 was sold by the Singapore printer and bookseller, Khalid b. Muhammad Said, probably after 1912.
- 342 Brumund, *Volksonderwijs*, p.9. At a higher level, copies were authorised (ditashihkan) by a guru of note. On access to religious writings, cf. Hurgronje's amusing story in *Mekka*, p.166; Mohammed Makki Sibai, *Mosque Libraries*, p.105.
- 343 Hussainmiya's observations on the Malay literature known to the Malays of Sri Lanka are pertinent: "The absence of manifestly dynastic Malay chronicles in Sri Lanka, may be understood as an indication of the community's lack of interest in the history of distant Malay regions. ... A further question may be raised as to whether such dynastic chronicles of Malay courts were as readily available to the members of this community as other kinds of manuscripts containing popular literary and religious works. Before the advent of the printing press,

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- manuscripts were usually in the exclusive possession of Malay aristocratic and noble families.”
Orang Rejimen, p.140.
- 344 E.g. Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, vol.2, p.158, n.4.
- 345 Again the tenor of the remarks at the end of the printed texts suggests unease by manuscript owners over the damage their manuscripts are likely to incur through careless handling (e.g. *Kahar Masyhur 1889.a*), and the awkwardness arising when borrowers fail to return manuscripts in good time (e.g. *Sultan Mansur 1903*). In a later day, note de Josselin de Jong’s experiences described in “Privately Owned Manuscripts”.
- 346 *Bidasari 1905*.
- 347 *Ganja Mara 1886*.
- 348 Iskandar, “Jakarta Lending Libraries”, pp.148-151; Kratz, “Running a Lending Library”, p.3; Proudfoot, “Pioneer Publisher”, p.14. The question of whether these manuscript lending libraries were a Chinese innovation is not so relevant here as their association with the cash economy and urban settings. Lending libraries continued to operate with stocks of printed books. It is possible, even likely, that late nineteenth century booksellers also loaned books on hire, but I have no contemporary evidence of this.
- 349 Sweeney, *A Full Hearing*, has discussed this process from the point of view of an expansion in the skill of literacy. Here I am suggesting that, at least to begin with, the important expansion was not so much in the skill of literacy as in the opportunities to use literary texts. In the longer term, greatly increased levels of literacy undoubtedly became the prevailing influence.
- 350 *Cinta Berahi 1884* etc.
- 351 *Dhikir Naksybandiah 1883* etc. Though perhaps these had always had a market in manuscript form as well.
- 352 Klinkert, [“Schrijven”], p.177. Maier, *In the Center of Authority*, p.89; also his p.115.
- 353 E.g. from Hindi: *Gul Bakawali 1880* etc.; *Laila Majnun 1888*; *Indera Sebaha 1889* etc.; *Bustamam 1895* etc., *Ganja Mara 1897* etc.; from European languages: *Alf Lailah wa Lailah 1878-79* etc.; *Napoleon I 1888*; *Napoleon III 1889*; *Alauddin 1890.b*; *Seribu Satu Hari 1919*; from Arabic (aside from kitab): *Sinar Gemala 1894*; *Gharib 1894*; *Hayat al-Hayawan 1896*; *Sempurna Pelajaran 1906*; *Matahari Memancar 1906*; *Mazlan 1913*; *Raja Ghitrif 1916*; *Hayy bin Yazkan 1918*; *Adab al-Fati 1921*; *Simpulan Islam 1921*; *Siraj al-Anam 1921*.
- 354 Sweeney, *A Full Hearing*, p.9.
- 355 Sweeney, *A Full Hearing*, p.72, makes this point.
- 356 European printers, mission or government, were not starved of capital as were their local Muslim counterparts. Consequently European publishers had access to both fine lithography and the more capital-intensive technology of typography. Their presses carried out English-language printing and printing of Malay in the Roman script, for which typography was invariably used. Since European publishers could choose either typography or lithography for printing jawi, it is instructive to note that until the 1890s lithography continued to be the medium of choice. (Note the lithographic printing of *Abdullah 1880* by the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch; and Wilkinson’s Penang lithographs *Marong Mahawangsa 1898*, *Cendawan Putih 1900*, *Indera Mengindera 1900*.) The exception was the higher standard school readers, which were typeset, and thus in a similar graphic style to that of the newspapers which

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were also used as reading material. (The second standard reader *Pohon Pelajaran* and all higher standard readers was typeset. The first standard reader *Punca Pengetahuan* was always lithographed, or produced by photo-mechanical techniques which produced a result indistinguishable from lithography. However this cannot be taken as preference for the lithographed graphic form, as jawi type large enough for elementary readers was not available.)

357 “Adalah pada permulaan jadinya dahulu hendak dicap dengan batu, tetapi apakala diperhatikan kepada kaum kita islam tamak jua geram dan gemar hendak mengejar kemuliaan dunia akhirat oleh sebab itu berpalinglah pikiran saya mengecapnya dengan hurup timah diatas kertas yang bagus, supaya mudah padan dengan kehendak masa dan pikiran baharu pada masa ini, ...”
Pelita Menyurat 1913, tp.

358 Of 80 titles typographically printed by indigenous publishers in the Singapore area, a subject breakdown follows:

	<u>titles</u>	<u>of which syair</u>
popular moral tracts	18	7
historical accounts and reportage	17	6
kitab	14	0
fiction	11	5
students' books	8	0
other books of reference	7	0
official publications	5	1

359 *Thamarat al-Muhimmat 1886, Mukaddimah 1887, Sempurna Pelajaran 1906, Penghiburan dan Teladan 1906, Pertunjukan 1907, Kumpulan Ringkas 1910, Bandung 1915, Nasihat Laki-Isteri 1917, Penambah Akal 1917, Agama Islam 1918, Peringatan 1919, Sifat Duapuluh 1920.*

360 *Perang Singapura a 1885, Pangeran Kahar 1887, Napoleon I 1888, Napoleon III 1889, Perjalanan Sultan Lingga 1894, Intan Jubli 1897.a, George 1911, Salasilah Kedah 1911, Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis 1911, Dasima 1919.*

361 E.g. *Muhammad Hanafiah 1875 etc., Amir Hamzah 1883 etc.*

362 E.g. *Abdul Muluk 1867 etc., Bidasari 1887, Kahar Masyhur 1885 etc., Zubaidah 1874 etc., Taj al-Muluk 1887 etc.*

363 The nearest offering for contemporary history would be *Aceh*; the allusive histories of the Animal and Flower Syair cannot be counted here for their references and indeed the notion that they contained references had long since passed.

364 In a few syair: *Lampung Karam, Aceh, Bah Singapura, Kampung Boyan, Perak, Dasima*; and even fewer prose works: *Perang Setambul* and perhaps *Nakhoda Muda*.

365 Also *Kampung Boyan 1883; Perang Singapura a 1885; Napoleon III 1889; Jubli Melaka 1891; Perjalanan Sultan Lingga 1894; Intan Jubli 1897.a; Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis 1911; Johor c 1914, 1916, 1920; Pelayaran Muhammad Ibrahim 1919*. The exception is *Mahmud 1912*, a new versified translation from Arabic of the story of Sultan Mahmud b. Sultan Umar.

366 Maier, *In the Center of Authority*, p.99. Maier does not comment upon the contrast in technology.

367 “karangan ulama yang dahulu tiada disebut namanya”, in *Usul al-Din 1863*.

368 Examples of this are popular tracts like *Thamarat al-Muhimmat 1886, Mukaddimah 1887, Sempurna Pelajaran 1906, Penghiburan dan Teladan 1906, Pertunjukan 1907, Kumpulan*

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Ringkas 1910, Penambah Akal 1917, Agama Islam 1918, Peringatan 1919, and in verse: *Penjaga Ikhwan 1903, Taj al-Hadi 1903, Bandung 1915, Nasihat Laki-Isteri 1917, Sifat Duapuluh 1920*.

- 369 This seems to be the motive for author identification in the compilations *Penggeli Hati 1878, Penerang Hati 1911*. A non-authorial acknowledgement underlines this point: *Napoleon III 1889* establishes its novelty not by acknowledging an individual author but a substitute contemporary source, "tersalin dari Pembrita Betawi".
- 370 *Gul Bakawali 1893, 1905, Gharib 1894, Penerang Hati 1911, Mazlan 1913, Raja Ghitrif 1916*. This was a feature shared by these typographic works with lithographed translations and adaptations cf. *Bustamam 1900, Indera Sebah 1889* etc., *Ganja Mara 1897, Dasima 1912 and 1916, Seribu Satu Hari 1919*. The point is that the number of translations was increasing as the use of typography also increased. On the other hand, anonymous works established in lithography do not gain authorial acknowledgement simply because they are reset in type: *Abdul Muluk 1979, Abu Nawas 1916, 1917, Silam Bari 1887, 1890, Taj al-Muluk 1898*.
- 371 So the name of S.P.S.K. Kader Sahib (*Lautan Akal 1907+*) would identify the work as non-traditional creation of a Jawi Peranakan Malay-speaker, if this were not already obvious from the use of Roman script. To make the point the author followed his name with the sobriquet 'Peranakan Pulau Pinang'. This need to identify style or register lay also behind the use of epithets like 'seorang daripada ahli Johor' (*Teka-Teki 1914*: here perhaps to differentiate the style to be expected from the author from that suggested by the name of the publisher Syaikh Uthman b. Muhammad Ali al-Hindi), or 'seorang pengarang Jawi Peranakan ... Singapura' (*Penggeli Hati 1878.a*, referring to the compiler, M[unsi] M[uhammad] S[aid] bin Dada Muhyiddin), and perhaps 'budak jauhari' for *Aceh 1884* etc. if it is to be taken as an allusion to Johor. The style in which a name was given might also be telling: active in the newspaper press were E. Abubakar (Muhammad Yusuf b. Abu Bakar), Mohd. Eunon b. Abdullah (Muhammad Yunus), Ismail b. Syaikh Badal chose to register one of books under the name E.S. Badal (*Manafik al-Insan 1901*).
- 372 The exceptions being *Perak 1883, Bah Singapura 1891*.
- 373 *Taman Penghiburan 1895, Surat Abdul Samad 1876, Suluh Pegawai 1891, Undang-Undang Polisi 1893, Aturan Darjah 1897* etc., *Undang-Undang Cahaya 1901*. A notable exception is *Majmuk al-Ahkam 1890*. Some government school readers share this nominal anonymity.
- 374 This was a favourite of the Baba translators, it will be recalled. Beyond Baba books, the use of an author's preface is almost wholly confined to non-fiction works. It appears mainly in government-published school-books and some late kitab (*Tashil al-Taflin 1914, Nukhbat al-Bahiyah 1918*, and perhaps *Umm al-Madhahib 1905*). So far as I am aware, no lithograph published by a local Muslim publisher has an authorial preface. Cf. *Malai Zaban 1912*.
- 375 In this case, the authorial role is that of the translator. *Siraj al-Anam 1921* opens with portraits of Masjid Zahar, of the book's royal patron and of the translator in that order, thus conveying a hierarchy of authority. This book is modern in so many ways that it signals the arrival of a new era in local publishing. Its presentation has many modern features (punctuation, use of typesetting and moreover of newly imported typefaces, photogravure illustrations), and its publishers are self-consciously innovative (advertising their new equipment, appealing for new original manuscripts).

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Inclusion of portraits of the author/translator was common in Baba publications, as were autobiographical notes (*Sultan Abu Bakar 1896, San Guo 1892-96* etc.), but in 1921 this is still a distinct novelty in a Muslim book.

- 376 This peculiarity is not mentioned by Maier, *In the Center of Authority*.
- 377 The symptoms of this change are depicted in Noer's account of modernist reforms of schooling, *Modernist Muslim Movement*, ch.2, as well as in studies like Abdullah Alwi, "Development of Islamic Education in Kelantan".
- 378 Paraphrasing Sweeney, *A Full Hearing*, p.70, who paraphrases Ong, *Orality and Literacy*. Wilkinson, "Malay Literature", p.59, makes a similar point.
- 379 Wilkinson, "Malay Literature", p.59: "The tale that is intended to be read is replacing the tale that was intended to be sung."
- 380 Reporting on a public examination at the Singapore Free School, the missionary North noted: "Buyung Gadang received half a rupee for best minding the stopping places in reading. This requires more care than in English, because the Arabic character has no punctuation." (Singapore Institution Free School Annual Report, 1838-39, p.14) Buyung Gadang was, of course, being asked to read aloud the new prose from a school text. Cf. also Ennis, *Missionary Herald*, vol.34 (1838), p.450.
- 381 Of course lithography is capable of graphic richness, which we noted made it especially suited to the kitab form. The point about the new method of punctuation is not that it matched lithography in marking segments of the text (which is in fact as far as the earliest punctuation went) but that as it became a more complex system of signs, it provided means for indicating syntactic hierarchies and relationships. This could better accommodate the greater syntactic variety of the new prose.
- 382 Skinner's partial elaboration of the notion ("Transitional Malay Literature: Part I") gave no role to print, nor to the interplay between prose and verse.
- 383 The deeper psychological implications of these changes for the literary experience cannot be discussed here. Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral*; Ong, *Orality and Literacy*; and Anderson, *Imagined Communities* are all suggestive. Sweeney, *A Full Hearing*, takes up some important impacts of the interiorisation of print for literary and intellectual styles.
- 384 Za'ba, "Modern Developments", pp.147-148, 151-162. Such works are listed in Rugayah Abdul Rashid, *Bibliografi Sastra Kreatif Melayu 1920-1967*; Ding Choo Ming, *Bibliografi Sastera Kreatif Melayu*.
- 385 Cf. Wilkinson, "Malay Literature", p.59.
- 386 Abdul Kadir, *Budaya Popular*.
- 387 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
- 388 Namely *Abdul Muluk 1879, Abu Nawas 1917*, probably *Akidat al-Munajjin 1893, Bidayat al-Mubtadi 1917, Dasima 1919, Majmuk al-Ahkam 1890, Miskin Marakarmah 1915, Sifat Duapuluh 1920, Silam Bari 1887, Silam Bari 1908, Taj al-Muluk 1898*. One work, *Bidayat al-Mubtadi 1861*, was to be published subsequently in both lithograph and type. For this purpose, 'Singapore publishers' has been taken to include Riau and Johor publishers.
- 389 *Pegar Madi 1903*: "dan barang siapa2 ada menaruh syair hikayat yang belum pernah dicap boleh bawa kepada hamba supaya hamba beli atau hamba capkan", the implication of 'menaruh'

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being that this is a manuscript in one's possession, not of one's composition; similarly *Barzanji Makna Bugis 1896*; note also the trope of seeking manuscripts high and low for reproduction, *Kumbang Cumbuan 1890*, *Lela Kayangan 1890* etc. Cf. *Siraj al-Anam 1921* "demikian juga suka membeli naskah karangan2 baharu".

- 390 Overbeck, "Animal and Flower Shaers", p.109.
- 391 Rare exceptions are *Syair Bunga Akal*, Bombay: Alibhai Sharafali, 1930s? and *Hikayat Perempuan Asyik*, Bombay: Alibhai Sharafali, 1934, both labelled 'karangan baru'.
- 392 The conventions of the two media strongly suggest differences in the manner in which they were read: the preference for prose in typography, together with its graphic poverty, increasingly discriminating and 'modern' punctuation, and its more regular spelling all point toward more private reading.
- 393 Cf. van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p.227-228 on an analogous dualism in Indonesia, though there expressed in a preference for jawi script or Roman script.
- 394 Roff, *Origins of Malay Nationalism*, p.87; also p.77. Note how the parties respond to threats to Islam: in lithography, popular titles are concerned with the military defense of Islamic states, as in *Aceh, Perang Setambul*; in typography the challenge is to learn from the successes of non-Muslims, as in *Napoleon, Matahari Memancar*.
- 395 Even so, few typeset books of commercial recreational reading were available even by the mid 1920s. A catalogue issued by the Singapore bookseller Abdullah bin Muhammad Said in 1925 lists some 600 locally published and imported items of literature likely to interest Malay readers. It includes works in both Arabic and Malay. Among its Malay-language works are books in both jawi and rumi. It classifies Malay-language publications under several headings, and distinguishes those which are typeset from those which are lithographed. It shows that typography is strong in the area of textbooks, both those used in the government schools, and kitab, but not significant elsewhere. The figures for the Malay-language listings are summarised under the headings which Abdullah uses:
- | | | | | | |
|--|-----|----------|-----|---|---------|
| Kitab-Kitab Melayu | 147 | of which | 51 | % | typeset |
| Kitab-Kitab dan Hikayat-Hikayat Melayu Pelajaran Sekolah | 56 | | 94 | | |
| Bahasa Melayu huruf Inggeris Romanais | 45 | | 100 | | |
| Hikayat-Hikayat Melayu | 19 | | 5 | | |
| Syair-Syair | 56 | | 19 | | |
| Azimat-Azimat Kitab dan lainnya sehelai kertas | 29 | | 0 | | |
- It is to be remembered that typography was by now exercising its main influence through the periodical press.
- 396 Roff, *Origins of Malay Nationalism*, pp.73-74
- 397 The chart depicts only jawi material, but is otherwise is constructed on the same basis as Figure 4. The qualifications outlined for Figure 4 apply here also.
- 398 Rogers, *Local Politics in Rural Malaysia*, p.37; Grenfell, *Switch On: Switch Off*, ch.ix.
- 399 Based on *Netherlandsch-Indië. Volkstelling ... 1920*; *The Census of British Malaya ... 1921*; and *British Malaya. A Report on the 1931 Census*. All these censuses record literacy in both rumi and jawi script without distinction.
- 400 Namely, *Hikajat Robinson Crusoe*, trans. A.F. von de Wall, Batavia, 1875; *Tjarita ... Lawah-Lawah Merah*, Batavia 1875. See *Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek*, p.294; Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, p.31.

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- 401 Hoffman, "Indies Malay", p.81.
- 402 Pramoedya, *Tempo Doeloe*, pp.6-7; Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, p.95-96.
- 403 Pramoedya, *Tempo Doeloe*, p.3; Hoffman, "Indies Malay".
- 404 Hoffman, "Indies Malay", p.81
- 405 Malay in Dutch script (*huruf Belanda*, *huruf Olanda*) was counterposed simply to Malay script (*huruf Melayu*) or to Malay in Arabic script (*huruf Arab*). For these terms, see the stocklists in *Ceritera Seorang Berpusaka*, Batavia: Lange, 1857; *Lawah-Lawah Merah*, Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche, 1891, and in other Batavian publications. In the Straits Settlements, where use of the Roman script was less widespread and less culturally fraught, the more neutral term 'Romanized' (*huruf rumi*, also *huruf romanais*, *huruf Romanized*) was current alongside 'English script' (*huruf Inggeris*) or 'European script' (*huruf orang putih*) in contradistinction to jawi script (*huruf jawi*), Malay script (*huruf melayu*) or Arabic script (*huruf Arab*). See respectively *Bintang Timor*, passim; *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis 1911*, *Lautan Akal 1907* (advertisement by Siraj); *Ilmu Nasib 1897*, *Lautan Akal 1907* (advertisement by Koh & Co); *Intan Jubli 1897.a*; *Bintang Timor* 29 November 1894 (advertisement by Siraj), etc.
- 406 In 1921, Chinese speakers of Malay in Java amounted to 55%, in the Outer Islands 10% (*Netherlandch-Indië.Volkstelling ... 1920*). In 1911 Straits-born Chinese accounted for only 13% of the Singapore population (Marriott, "The Peoples of Singapore", in Makepeace, *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, vol.2, p.362).
- 407 Pramoedya, *Tempo Doeloe*, esp. p.9. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, pp.16-17, 20 argues convincingly for Peranakan participation in the manuscript culture which pre-dated print.
- 408 Watson, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature"; Sykorsky, "Some Additional Remarks on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature"; Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, pp.93-94; Pramoedya, *Tempo Doeloe*.
- 409 Dual-edition books published by Matbaah al-Ahmadiyah were *Kitab Adab al-Fatij*, *Kitab Panduan Kanak-Kanak*, and *Syair Syahinsyah*, all dating from 1921. Surviving rumi editions have not been located.
- 410 See Dick, "Rise and Fall of Dualism".
- 411 For the situation mid-century, see Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters*, pp.341, 305-307, 402; Brumund, *Volksonderwijs*, pp.60-63, 70, etc. Bartholo, *Inlandsch Schoolwezen*, [Aanhangsel:] *Verzameling-staat*. See also *Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek*, §qq (pp.331-340).
- 412 So the Commissie voor de Volkslectuur or Balai Pustaka, charged with providing wholesome reading material to support the schooling system, printed most of its Javanese titles and some of its Sundanese and Madurese titles in traditional scripts, while printing Malay in the Roman script. (The Malay Literature Series launched contemporaneously by the British also used Roman script only but, as we have seen, was overtaken by parallel jawi editions.)
At the turn of the century, the style of Malay taught in Netherlands Indies government schools was brought closer to that taught in the Straits schools (mainly in jawi script). Klinkert and later Ophuysen, as Inspector of Native Education, had been influential in promoting a standardised Riau or Peninsular Malay as 'high Malay' appropriate for government school use. See Forbes, "Klinkert's Malay Bible"; Hoffman, "Indies Malay", p.89.

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Ophuysen's policies no doubt influenced the house style of Balai Pustaka, but did not accord with newspaper practice.

- ⁴¹³ Cf. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, on secular administrative pilgrimages. Interestingly he does not consider the Muslim alternative.
- ⁴¹⁴ See Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke Adviezen* 2:1622. A correspondent to *Thamarat al-Funun* (Beirut) in 1899 comments that his friends who cannot read Arabic ask about the contents of the Arabic newspapers. They propose that a Malay-language newspaper in Arabic script would attract many subscribers and generate great interest, for the existing Malay newspapers in Roman script do not take up any issues which are unacceptable to local authorities. The date is significant, for at this time no Malay-language jawi script newspapers were available from Singapore. (See Proudfoot, "Nineteenth Century Bookseller's Catalogue", p.3)
- ⁴¹⁵ During the nineteenth century there appears to have been little lithography produced in the Netherlands Indies. An exception is the numerous books and pamphlets published in the 1890s in Batavia by the Government mufti, Sayid Uthman b. Abdullah b. Akil and associates. Sulaiman Mari'e becomes active in Surabaya only in the early twentieth century, shortly before his move to Singapore. In the 1910s, another centre of Muslim lithography emerged in Bangil, interestingly in north central Java.
- The Singapore printers who relied increasingly on typographic jawi in the twentieth century, catered more and more exclusively for a Malayan audience. Note that *Syahinsyah 1921*, published by the Ahmadiyah Press, which had moved to Singapore from Riau a decade before, lists 12 sales agents, all located in British-administered areas, with the one exception of Patani.