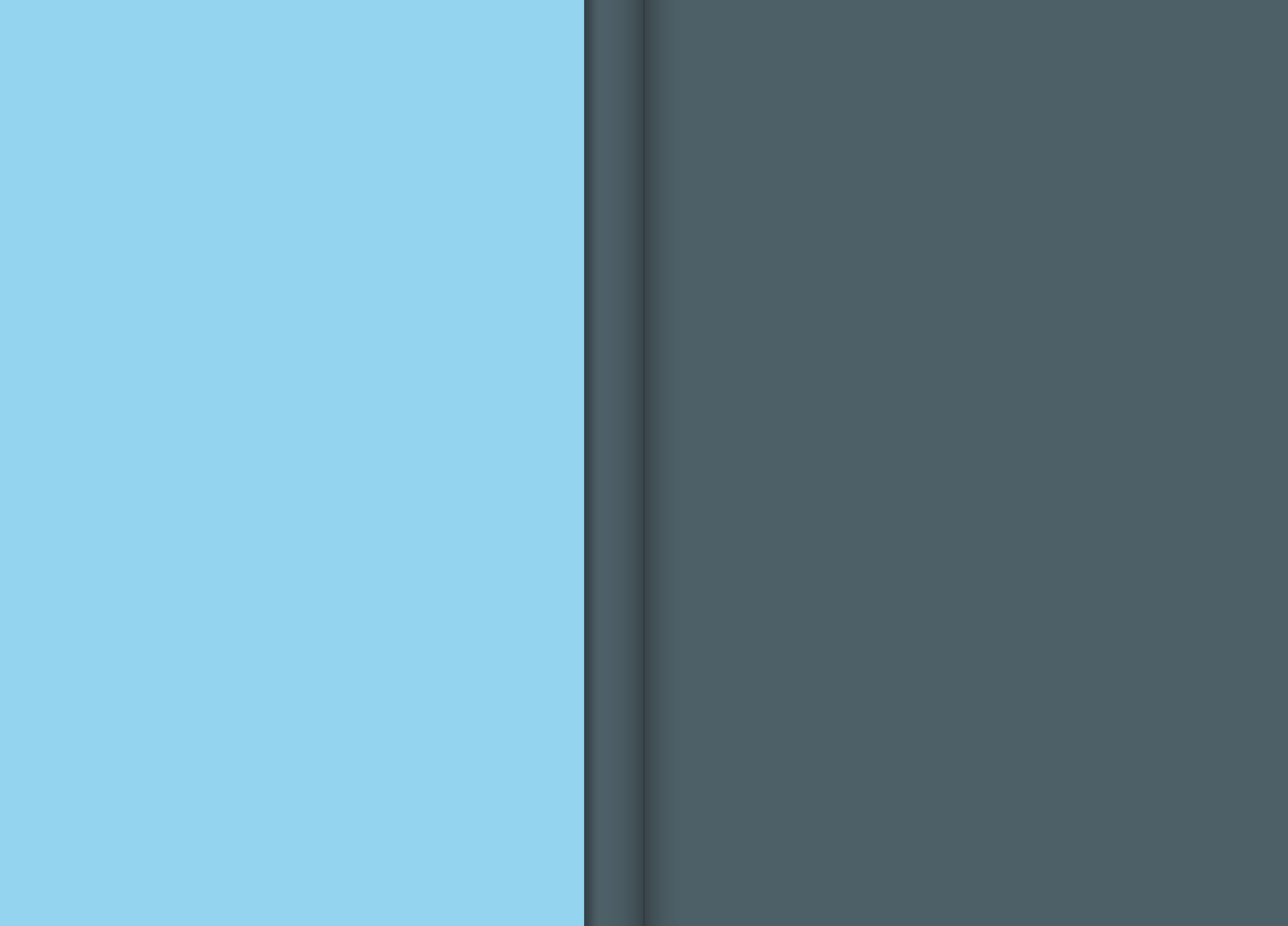




RAFFLES REVISITED

Essays on Collecting and Colonialism in Java, Singapore, and Sumatra

ialism in Java, Singapore, and Sumatra



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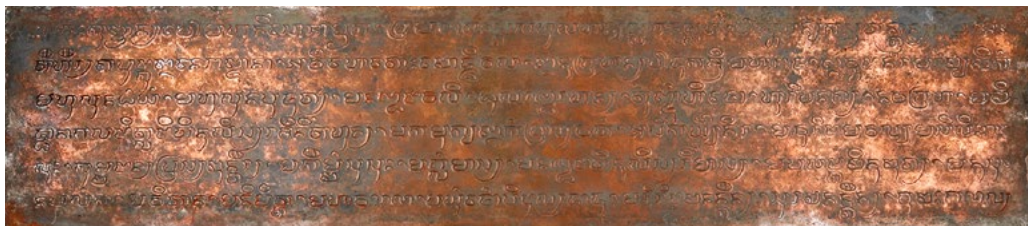
Essays on Collecting and Colonialism in Java,
Singapore, and Sumatra

EDITED BY
Stephen A. Murphy

ESSAYS BY
Leonard Y. Andaya
Peter Carey
Tim Hannigan
Imran bin Tajudeen
Kwa Chong Guan
Martyn E.Y. Low
Stephen A. Murphy
Farish A. Noor
Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan
Grace Tan
Sarah Tiffin
Naomi Wang

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1—
The Sobhāmṛta charter
(issued 2 May 939, reissued
between the 13th and 15th
century), found during
Raffles' governorship, British
Library MS Jav 106.

Thomas Stamford Raffles' *The History of Java* (1817) is often cited as the beginning of the orientalist study of Java.¹ It was the first encyclopaedic treatment of the island in a European language to make a major impression on scholars and the reading public. The two-volume book covers topics on the geography, anthropology, agriculture, economics, law, linguistics, literature, art, religion, archaeology, and history of Java. Though Raffles presented himself as a pioneer, he drew on pre-existing traditions of colonial scholarship, largely in Dutch.² His work had a powerful influence on later scholarship. The German philosopher-linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt's (1767–1835) *On the Kawi Language on the Island of Java* (1836–39), one of the foundational works of nineteenth-century linguistics, drew much of its data from the Javanese texts published in *The History of Java*.³ Karl Marx, in *Capital* (vol. 1, 1867), cited Raffles in his discussion of seventeenth-century Dutch capitalism and colonialism.⁴

I will explore here Raffles' methods as a researcher of Javanese history. I am particularly interested in his efforts to produce a coherent account of the island's premodern kingdoms, based on the diverse sources that he encountered. I argue that Raffles struggled to grasp the complexities of the Javanese traditions that he drew on. His reliance on a handful of intermediaries and informants constrained his access to sources and compromised his judgement of them. Raffles' limited understanding of Javanese historiography and language affected his historical research. These weaknesses were not due solely to his own failings, but also reflected the fact that the European study of Java was still in its infancy.

In order to understand Raffles as a historian of Java, we need to understand his Javanese sources in their historiographical context. This essay begins with a discussion of indigenous practices of history writing, followed by an explanation of the divergent evolution of Javanese historical traditions up to the early nineteenth century. Finally, I assess Raffles' handling of these traditions, with a particular focus on problems of translation and interpretation.

Javanese historical practices

The Javanese had been writing history for over a millennium before Raffles set foot on the island (fig. 1). The oldest surviving examples of their historical writing concern the central Javanese state of Mataram, which spanned the eighth to tenth century. An early chronicle from this period is the Wanua Tengah III charter, inscribed on two bronze plates in 908.⁵ The charter describes how the agricultural allocation of a Buddhist monastery had been repeatedly granted and revoked by successive kings over a 150-year period (746–908). An earlier charter by one of these kings (dated 829) is quoted in full, to serve as evidence for the history of the monastery's administrative ups and downs.

The chronological precision and bureaucratic concerns of the Wanua Tengah III charter show that the Javanese possessed what we can recognise as a historical consciousness. They viewed historical events as occurring in sequence along a quantified timeline and as exerting a causal influence on the present. They also explicitly consulted written records as evidence for the occurrence of past events. At the same time, they had a mature tradition of writing chronicles. Two such chronicles have survived from this period, though only in manuscript copies and not in their original form. These are the *Deśavarṇana* (composed in 1365) and the *Pararaton* (probably compiled in the early sixteenth century). These chronicles focus on the history of Javanese kings and queens in the period 1182 to 1483, which they express in a chronologically ordered sequence of dated entries.

A distinctive feature of the Javanese chronicles is their use of chronograms to indicate the year in which a particular event occurred. A chronogram is a device for representing a numeral as a string of symbols. It is used to impart a qualitative significance to moments in time. By convention, each digit is associated with a group of symbolic terms: for example, three is associated with fire, eight with snakes, one with person, etc.⁶ This excerpt from the *Pararaton* illustrates how chronograms work within a historical text:

Then the eruption [in the week] Lanḍēp, in Śaka four–snakes [8]–three–origin [1], 1384. Bhre Daha died, in Śaka hosts [6]–brahmins [8]–fires [3]–one, 1386. Bhra Hyang Pūrvaviśeṣa died and was enshrined at Puri, in Śaka brahmins [8]–nagas [8]–fires [3]–moon [1], 1388.⁷

Each chronicle entry is associated with a chronogram in words, which corresponds to a particular year of the Śaka era, the standard calendrical era used in pre-Islamic Java.⁸

Javanese historians' use of chronograms is important, because it shows that a sense of the quality of time is fully consistent with a linear, quantitative chronology. Chronograms, as I have written before, "highlight the qualitative resonances between historical events and the moments at which they occur, while locating those moments in a quantitative chronological order."⁹ Western scholars

such as M. C. Ricklefs, Ann Kumar, and Edwin Wieringa have insightfully remarked on the Javanese conception of time as being inherently meaningful.¹⁰ The use of chronograms shows how such a conception works in harmony with a precise and linear timeline of historical events. Javanese chronicles were not mired in the cyclical time of a mythic worldview. Instead, they were coherently organised in a linear chronology, both precise with respect to chronology and sensitive with respect to meaning (fig. 2).

Javanese historians consulted evidence and were concerned to ensure the accuracy of what they wrote about the past. Prapañca, the author-narrator of the *Deśavarṇana*, describes his visit to an elderly Buddhist cleric in 1359 to learn about the history of the royal dynasty:

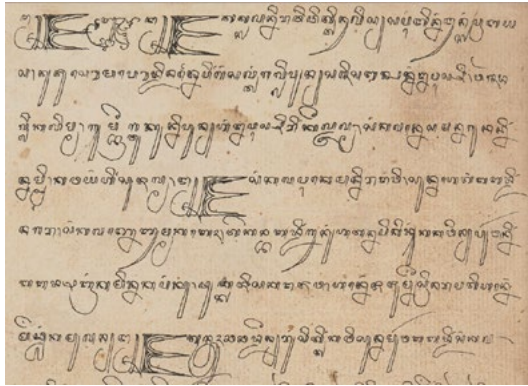
My reason for coming is my desire to enquire about the specifics of the king's ancestors, who are enshrined and to whom homage is always paid. Especially the lord at Kagēñgan! Please speak of him first and tell the ancient story of him as the son of the Mountain Lord.¹¹

Prapañca incorporated the information he heard from the cleric into the *Deśavarṇana* as a list of chronogram entries that outline the fortunes of the dynasty over the period 1182 to 1343. The accuracy of this information was of great importance to Prapañca, who asserted that "the old man's words were true, and his speech was astounding".¹² Accuracy mattered because the study of history was closely linked to ancestor veneration, which ensured the welfare of living descendants. According to Prapañca:

People who hear the story of the kings, look, if their hearts are content, then their devotion increases. Evidently their sinful deeds cease to have power, and suffering, illness, and all the rest are clearly overcome.¹³

This spiritual rationale explains the desire of Javanese historians to obtain accurate historical knowledge from authoritative sources. The study of history had a direct positive impact on the society of the living, by encouraging devotion to ancestors.

2—
Babad ing Sangkala
(completed 17-18 November 1738), an early example of the chronogram list genre in the Islamic Javanese historical tradition, British Library MS Jav 36B, f. 349v.



Javanese historians drew on authoritative sources, placed a premium on historical accuracy, and organised their findings in a chronological format. Despite this, their historical traditions tended to diverge and to generate internal contradictions. The *Deśavarṇana* (1365) and the sixteenth-century *Pararaton* both drew on the same body of historical knowledge, but they presented slightly different versions of the same events. The *Pararaton*, in particular, combines a wide variety of heterogeneous sources without explicitly differentiating them or resolving their inconsistencies.¹⁴ An important feature of the later chronicles is that they draw on manuscript sources for their historical information, rather than on stone or bronze inscriptions. This meant that variation easily proliferated in the historical tradition, as texts were copied over and over, with no checking of their contents against the original inscriptions. The lack of access to primary source materials was exacerbated by the cultural disruptions of the early modern period, to which I will now turn.

Discontinuities in Javanese history

Between the sixteenth and early nineteenth century, Javanese historiography evolved and diverged into separate traditions. By the time of Raffles' arrival in Java in August 1811, two major streams of premodern Javanese historiography were in circulation. I will argue here that the primary reasons for this divergence were the physical precarity of manuscripts, the high degree of cultural discontinuity, and the loss of access to written source materials. These factors were the result of major disruptions and dislocations which had occurred in Java during the sixteenth century.

This was a century of tumultuous change in Java. The island's two major kingdoms, centred at Pakuan in western Java and at Majapahit in eastern Java, collapsed during this period. In their place arose a multitude of smaller, largely coastal, Islamic polities, which drew on certain political legacies of the pre-Islamic states while reorganising the administration of their rural hinterlands and trading ports. Many of the legal precedents that had underpinned formation of states and ensured their longevity in previous centuries were discarded. These political and institutional changes resulted in major disruptions to the transmission of written texts. Since land grants were no longer inscribed on stone or bronze, we have extremely few primary sources for this century.

Crucially, a new dialect of Javanese (so-called Modern Javanese) became the literary standard in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, supplanting the official court language that had been used in previous centuries. The older supplanted form of the language came to be known as "Kawi". The new dialect of Javanese that replaced Kawi seems not to have been its direct

descendant. Instead, it was a separate dialect that evolved into a literary language in the early modern period. By the time of Raffles' administration in Java (1811–16), this had developed into standard Modern Javanese.¹⁵ The history of how Kawi came to be replaced by Modern Javanese is not yet well understood. The ethnolinguist Alexander Oglobin suggested that,

The NJ [Modern Javanese] standard seems to have experienced two shifts since the sixteenth century. A first shift was from the Hindu-Buddhist center in East Java to Java's north coast, where new Muslim states had emerged and much Islamic literature was produced. This literature includes translations from Malay and is often written in *pégon* (an adaptation of the Arabic script). A second shift took place from the northern coast area to the Central Javanese hinterland with the rise of the agrarian state of Mataram in the sixteenth century (cf. Pigeaud 1967). The Mataram literary tradition was continued by authors in the Surakarta and Yogyakarta principalities, where in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a literary standard was created based on the dialect of Central Java.¹⁶

The emergence of Modern Javanese is thus associated with the rise of Islamic kingdoms in Java. As these kingdoms expanded across the island in the sixteenth century, it is possible that they carried with them a dialect that eventually turned into Modern Javanese. The influence of Islam and the Arabic language was also crucial. The appearance of Arabic loanwords constitutes a key lexical differentiator between Kawi and Modern Javanese. P. J. Zoetmulder has argued that the oldest surviving Javanese Islamic texts, which were probably brought to the Netherlands in the late 1590s, exhibit a "somewhat archaic form" of Modern Javanese.¹⁷ This strengthens the link between the adoption of Islam in Java and the emergence of Modern Javanese.

The Kawi of the pre-Islamic period had thus been out of common use for at least three centuries by the time of Raffles' arrival in Java. This meant that the substantial corpus of pre-Islamic inscriptional records, almost all written in Kawi, could no longer be easily understood by Javanese historians who lived during the British occupation. While the poetry, epic prose, and philosophical texts written in the pre-Islamic period continued to be transmitted to a limited degree, historical texts such as chronicles seem to have been extinct in Java and were passed down only in Bali.¹⁸ All surviving copies of pre-Islamic Javanese chronicles have come to us via the Balinese manuscript tradition, where proficiency in Kawi remained much stronger than in Java itself.

Without access to the pre-Islamic historical traditions, the Javanese historians of the early modern Islamic states had to draw on other sources for their knowledge of premodern history. We do not know what these sources were, because the historical

works of the sixteenth century survive only in eighteenth-century copies. These later copies have been revised and edited over the centuries, thus hindering our ability to discern the original source material. The Islamic Javanese traditions are based on an entirely separate body of historical knowledge from the pre-Islamic texts preserved in Bali. Certain personal names appear in both traditions, but the stories associated with them are so markedly different that they seem to refer to entirely distinct individuals. These two streams of Javanese historical writing, the pre-Islamic and the Islamic, continued to develop in isolation from each other until the nineteenth century (fig. 3).



A useful illustration of the divergence between the pre-Islamic and the Islamic historical traditions is in their depiction of the ruling dynasty at Majapahit in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The pre-Islamic version of Majapahit history is represented by the *Pararaton*, which is preserved only in Bali. The Islamic version appears in many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts from Java, such as the *Babad Tanah Jawi*. The table shows the major discrepancies between the two traditions regarding the identities of the respective Majapahit rulers (Table 1).¹⁹

3— *Babad Kraton*, copied in Yogyakarta between 1777 and 1778. British Library [Add. 12320]. This belongs to the Islamic Javanese historical tradition.

Table 1—

Pararaton (pre-Islamic tradition)	Babad Tanah Jawi (Islamic tradition)
Raden Vijaya	Raden Susuruh
Kala Gëmět	Raden Adining Kung
Tribhuvana	Raden Hayam Wuruk
Hayam Wuruk	Lembu Amisani
Wikramawardhana	Bra Tanjung
Dewi Suhitā	Bra Wijaya
Kṛtavijaya	
Bhre Kahuripan	
Bhre Wëngkër	
Bhre Tumapël	

The two traditions claim to tell of the same Majapahit dynasty, but they give almost completely different identities to the members of that dynasty. Certain royal titles, such as *raden* and *bhre*, are shared between the traditions, as is the name of one famous king: Hayam Wuruk, who reigned in the second half of the fourteenth century.²⁰ Some named ministers appear in both traditions, such as Gajah Mada, Arya Nambi, and Mpu Wahan, but they are assigned to different periods and have entirely different biographies. By the nineteenth century, the gulf between the pre-Islamic and the Islamic historical traditions had thus become vast and unbridgeable.

Raffles' use of Javanese sources

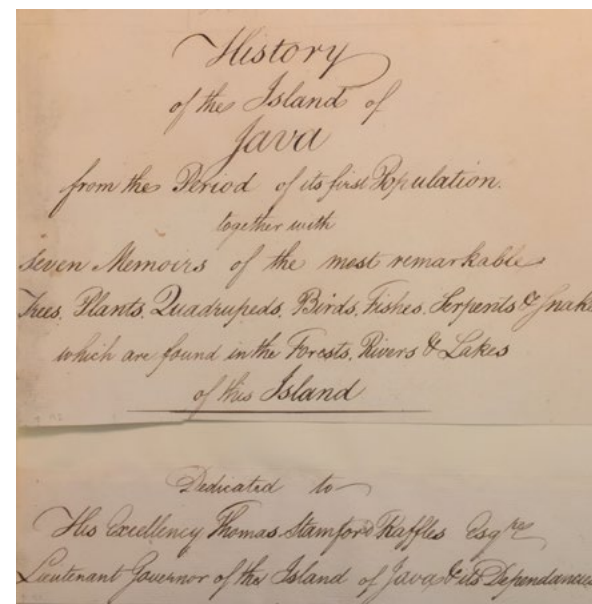
This was the complex historiographical situation that Raffles attempted to analyse in *The History of Java*. His account of Javanese history is mostly found in chapters X and XI of the two-volume book, covering some 200 pages in print. On the final page of chapter IX, Raffles listed the sources on which he based his historical account:

In the archives of the princes of Java are deposited histories of their country, extending from a remote antiquity to the latest date. It is principally from abstracts of these, made at my request, in three different parts of the country, by the Panambáhan of Súmenap [Panembahan of Sumenep], the late Kiái Adipáti of Demak, and the secretary of the Pangéran Adipáti of Súra-kérta [the Patih of Surakarta], all distinguished among their countrymen for literary attainments, that the two following chapters have been compiled. The abstract presented by the Kiái Adipáti of Demak being the most continuous, forms the main stream of the narrative. Copies, versions, and detached fragments of history, are found in the possession of every family of distinction. Of these I have occasionally availed myself. [...] In the course of the narrative, a Dutch abstract of the native history, by Mr. Middlekoop [Jacob Albert van Middelkoop, 1793–1822], has occasionally been consulted.

From this preface, it is clear that Raffles' understanding of Javanese history was mediated by summaries that had been prepared by Javanese aristocrats, and by European officials such as van Middelkoop (fig. 4). Throughout the text of chapters X and XI, Raffles does not clearly indicate the source of each of his claims, and he often does not attribute his direct quotations to any particular source. This makes it difficult to determine how his account draws on specific Javanese traditions.

Raffles apparently sought to downplay van Middelkoop's influence on his account. Based on a thorough reading of an English translation of the Dutch text, Donald Weatherbee concluded that:

large sections of this chapter and the next [chapters X and XI] are borrowed by unattributed close paraphrase or direct quotation, without indication of quotation, from J. A. van Middelkoop's manuscript *History of Java*; from the extent of this borrowing it can be concluded that Middelkoop's manuscript rather than the old [Demak] Adipati's contribution served as Raffles' basic framework.²¹



4—
An English translation of J. A. van Middelkoop's account of Javanese history, prepared for Raffles by Colin Mackenzie. British Library [MS Eur Mack Private 8].

Raffles also claimed to have quoted from a manuscript "recently obtained from Báli" in his account of the founding of Majapahit.²² The content of Raffles' quotation does not appear in van Middelkoop's text and its first sentence reproduces verbatim the beginning of the historical poem *Vijaya and Lawe*, which is extant only in the Balinese manuscript tradition.²³ This supports Raffles' claim that this particular quotation came from a Balinese and not a Javanese source. However, no manuscript copy of this text has been found among Raffles' collections.²⁴

The *Vijaya and Lawe* (also known as *Pañji Vijayakrama* or *Rangga Lawe*) is a two-part verse history of King Vijaya's (reigned 1293–1309) founding of Majapahit, his manipulation and defeat of the invading Tatar army sent by Kublai Khan, and the subsequent rebellion of his follower Rangga Lawe. It presents a historical account that emerged in Java during the pre-Islamic period and was preserved in Bali thereafter. It is closely related

to the *Pararaton* chronicle in its language and subject matter. Its account of the founding of Majapahit therefore differs considerably from that of the Islamic tradition represented by van Middelkoop's précis and the other Javanese texts. Raffles was aware of this discrepancy, stating that the Balinese version "may deserve attention, in as far as it differs from the usually received opinion in Java".²⁵ However, he made no judgement on which version was more likely to be accurate. As I argue below, Raffles already had access to a thirteenth-century inscription that strongly corroborates the *Vijaya and Lawe*'s version of events over the "received opinion in Java", but he failed to recognise the significance of that inscription.

Strangely, Raffles' quoted summary of the *Vijaya and Lawe* deviates significantly from the standard text as it is currently known. Some characters are interchanged, there are major plot differences, and the Raffles version contains an ending where the Tatars depart peacefully rather than being defeated by Vijaya. Most important, Raffles' summary goes only as far as the end of the Vijaya part and excludes the whole Lawe rebellion part of the poem. The author David Bade described this summary as "a truly extraordinary refashioning of the entire story in a few pages".²⁶ Raffles' highly idiosyncratic summary of the *Vijaya and Lawe*'s content makes it difficult to assess his use of the poem as a historical source.

Mistranslations and missed opportunities

It is quite possible that Raffles was working from a flawed translation of the *Vijaya and Lawe*. The text is written in a late variety of Kawi, which was not widely understood in nineteenth-century Java. Elsewhere in *The History of Java*, Raffles commented that the Panembahan of Sumenep, Paku Nataningrat (reigned 1811–54), had “a limited knowledge of the language”.²⁷ Similar linguistic limitations are evident in Raffles’ translations of three Kawi inscriptions, given in Appendix I. He explained that:

The annexed translations from three of the stones collected at Surabáya, were made by Captain Davey [Leyson Hopkin Davey, 1782–1872] at my request, with the assistance of the Panambáhan of Súmenap [...] finding them to be filled with terms of praise and devotion which he could not comprehend, it was not attempted to render a literal translation.²⁸

Based on its date, we can identify one of these inscriptions as the Kudadu charter, issued by King Vijaya himself on 11 September 1294.²⁹ This charter gives a lengthy account of Vijaya’s adventures in the months before taking power, including his retreat from the armies of the usurper Jayakatyěng (also known as Jayakatwang, died 1293). It is therefore a crucial primary source document written only two years after the events it narrates. To a considerable degree, the Kudadu charter corroborates the accounts of Vijaya’s career given in the *Pararaton* and *Vijaya and Lawe* texts. In other words, the charter confirms the accuracy of the pre-Islamic historical tradition.

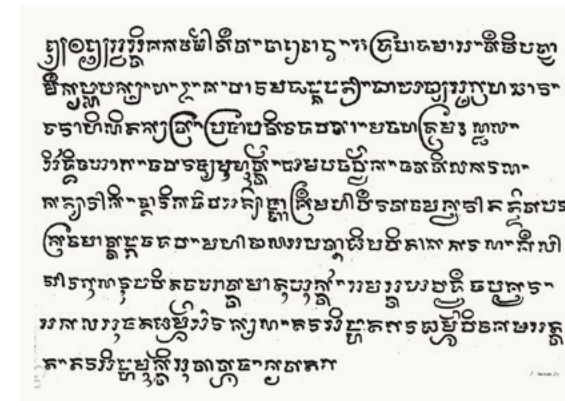
The translation of the Kudadu charter given by Raffles in Appendix I is highly problematic, judged by our present-day understanding of Kawi (fig. 5). Here follows a translation of the charter’s historical section by Stuart Robson, one of the foremost English translators of Kawi literature:

The occasion for it is the conduct of the headman of Kudadu, who once attentively granted His Majesty a place of concealment, when he was not yet king and was still called Narārya Sanggramawijaya, on the occasion when he was led into the village of Kudadu in difficulties and followed by the enemy, in the following circumstances. The then king, His Majesty Kṛtanagara [reigned 1268–92], who departed this life in the Śiwabuddhālaya, was formerly attacked by His Majesty Jaya Katyěng of Gělanggělang, who appeared as an enemy, did things below his dignity, betrayed his friend, and dealt contrary to his agreement out of a desire to conquer His Majesty Kṛtanagara who resided in the kingdom of

Tumapěl. When it was known that an army of His Majesty Jaya Katyěng had come to Jasun, His Majesty Kṛtanagara sent His Majesty the (present) king and Ardharāja against them.³⁰

The translation published by Raffles differs substantially from Robson’s, though the appearance of certain words and names in the same order shows that it is based on the same passage of Kawi text:

Be cautious but firm; the Sri Maharaja cannot injure the descendants of Prabu; great their wisdom, impatient their sway, extensive their power. Young men fearless and bold; the army followed, and were taken by the enemy, because the Sri Nara Nata so intended. Sri Kerta Najara [Śrī Kṛtanagara], when he died, died like a Buda man. Formerly, Sri Jaya Katong [Śrī Jayakatwang] came from Gegelang, and entered like a man in desperation; sent to Kerta Niaka [Kṛtanagara] requesting assistance of foreigners, and desired them to advance in front. Sri Kerto Najara [Śrī Kṛtanagara] went into that country, and assembled the arms of the Sri Jaya Katong [Śrī Jayakatwang].³¹



5— The Kudadu charter (dated 11 September 1294), as reproduced in facsimile in *History of Java*, 1817, vol. II, pp. 58–59.

Raffles’ translation misses the whole import of the first sentence, which is that King Vijaya owed a debt of gratitude to the villagers of Kudadu for protecting him during an emergency. Several crucial toponyms – such as Kudadu, Tumapěl, and Jasun – are not recognised as such in Raffles’ translation. The translation also misinterprets the relationship between Kṛtanagara and Jayakatyěng/Jayakatwang as one of alliance rather than, as was actually the case, deadly hostility.

This is all the more surprising because the Kudadu charter’s account of these events is remarkably consistent with that of the *Vijaya and Lawe* as published by Raffles himself. Translation problems may have been the reason why Raffles

did not make a connection between these two reports of the same historical events. By not recognising the Kudadu charter as a primary source for the history of Majapahit’s founding, Raffles missed a major opportunity to verify the pre-Islamic *Vijaya and Lawe*’s version over the “usually received opinion in Java”, represented by van Middelkoop’s summary and the Islamic Javanese traditions. This insight into the link between the Kudadu charter and the pre-Islamic historical tradition would have to wait another eighty years before being comprehensively demonstrated in 1896 by J. L. A. Brandes (1857–1905).³²

Conclusions

The History of Java had a big impact when it was first published in 1817, but Raffles' research on Javanese history was undermined by his limited knowledge of the relevant historiography and languages. This reflected the rudimentary state of European knowledge of Javanese history at that time, rather than being solely a weakness of Raffles' own scholarship. Europeans did not yet have a good understanding of the traditions from which the Javanese sources had evolved. In particular, Raffles was only dimly aware of the divergence of Javanese historiography into an older pre-Islamic stream preserved in Bali, and a more recent Islamic stream that had become canonical in Java by the early nineteenth century. Therefore, when he encountered conflicting versions of events from these different traditions, he was unable to work out why they differed and could not make an informed judgement about them.

Raffles relied heavily on intermediaries for his information about Javanese history, whether he acknowledged them, like with the Panembahan of Sumenep, Paku Nataningrat, or minimised them, like with J. A. van Middelkoop. The imprecise manner in which Raffles cited and quoted his sources in *The History of Java* makes it difficult to track down the original documents, and hence to assess the novelty and quality of his analysis. It is clear, though, that his lack of proficiency in Javanese and especially in Kawi left him at the mercy of others' translated summaries of the sources. Raffles openly admitted that his English excerpts did not capture the literal meaning of the Kawi originals. In my discussion of the Kudadu charter, I have shown how much valuable information was lost in translation.

Raffles' research on Javanese history was influential in its day, but it has not stood the test of time. Most of chapters X and XI of *The History of Java* can no longer be used as a source of reliable information about premodern Javanese history. They stand only as a record of the state of European knowledge of Java in the early nineteenth century. It was up to later generations of historians, both foreign and Javanese, to revisit Raffles' source materials with a deeper understanding of their language and context. Perhaps the primary contribution of *The History of Java's* historical research is that it impelled subsequent scholars to tackle the challenges of Javanese history and to further investigate its claims for themselves. Raffles can thus be held indirectly responsible for the core body of nineteenth-century research that underpins our current knowledge of Java's premodern past.

- 1 Bastin 2007, p. 262; Tiffin 2008, p. 341.
- 2 Tiffin 2016, pp. 18–43.
- 3 In addition to *The History of Java*, Humboldt's study of Kawi made use of the notes and publications of John Crawford, one of Raffles' subordinates who had conducted substantial research of his own in Java; see Weissbach 1999, p. 35.
- 4 John Bellamy Foster, Brett Clark, and Hannah Holleman, "Marx and the indigenous", *Monthly Review*. [https://monthlyreview.org/2020/02/01/marx-and-the-indigenous/#en17] Last modified 1 February 2020.
- 5 Boechari 2012, pp. 484–91.
- 6 These conventional associations originated in Indian practices but were gradually adapted to the Javanese language; see Noorduyn 1993, Teeuw 1998.
- 7 My English translation of the Javanese text given in Brandes 1896, p. 32.
- 8 The Śaka era runs 78 years behind the Common era of modern Western chronology. It was in use between the seventh and fifteenth centuries throughout Southeast Asia, including in Sumatra, Cambodia, Vietnam, and the Philippines.
- 9 Sastrawan 2020a, p. 224.
- 10 Ricklefs 1999; Kumar 2008; Wieringa 2012.
- 11 My English translation of the Javanese text given in Pigeaud 1960, p. 29. See also the English translation by Robson 1995, p. 52.
- 12 Pigeaud 1960, p. 36.
- 13 Pigeaud 1960, p. 36.
- 14 Sastrawan 2020, p. 5.
- 15 Oglobin 2005, p. 592; Adelaar 2011, pp. 341–42.
- 16 Oglobin 2005, p. 591.
- 17 Zoetmulder 1974, p. 35.
- 18 Ricklefs 1978, McDonald 1983, pp. 52–58, Arps and van der Molen 1994, p. xxiv.
- 19 Brandes 1896; Bale Poestaka 1939.
- 20 Sastrawan 2020, p. 12.
- 21 Weatherbee 1978, p. 64, used the British Library's MSS Mack Eur Private 8.
- 22 Raffles 1817, vol. 2, pp. 101–8.
- 23 This text is traditionally known by two titles, *Pañji Vijayakrama* and *Rangga Lawe*, but since both Vijaya and Lawe are equally important protagonists in the poem, I refer to it by the compound title *Vijaya and Lawe*. The standard reference for this text is C. C. Berg, ed. *Rangga Lawe: Middelljavaansche Historische Roman*. Weltevreden, 1930.
- 24 I thank Annabel Gallop for her advice on this issue (by email, 10 October 2019). Ricklefs et al. 2014.
- 25 Raffles 1817, vol. 2, pp. 101–2.
- 26 Bade 2013, pp. 101–2.
- 27 Raffles 1817, vol. 1, p. 411.
- 28 Raffles 1817, vol. 2, p. 54.
- 29 This charter was published in two parts; the first six plates in Brandes 1896, pp. 78–80 and plates 8, 10, 11, and 12 in Brandes and Krom 1913, pp. 195–98.
- 30 Robson 2013, pp. 183–86.
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- 32 Brandes 1896, pp. 76–85.

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Author biographies

Leonard Y. Andaya is professor of Southeast Asian history at the University of Hawai'i. He has written extensively on Southeast Asia in the early modern period, particularly Indonesia and Malaysia. His most recent publications are *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka* (2008); and, with Barbara Watson Andaya, *A History of Early Modern Southeast Asia, 1400–1830* (2015) and *A History of Malaysia* (3rd ed., 2017).

Peter Carey is Emeritus Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Adjunct (Visiting) Professor at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia. He has conducted fieldwork in Indonesia (1971–73, '76–78) and taught Modern History as a Fellow & Tutor at Trinity College (1979–2008). Among his published works are *The British in Java, 1811–1816: A Javanese Account* (1992), *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785–1855* (2007), and his latest, an edited volume with Farish A. Noor, *Racial Difference and the Colonial Wars of 19th Century Southeast Asia* (2021).

Kwa Chong Guan is Senior Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University, Fellow at the Archaeological Unit of the Temasek History Research Centre at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and Honorary Adjunct Associate Professor in the Department of History at National University of Singapore. While at the Ministry of Information and the Arts, he reorganised the Oral History Department at the National Archives of Singapore, and while Director of the Singapore National Museum in the early 1990s, led strategic planning to transform it into three museums (including ACM) under the National Heritage Board.

Tim Hannigan was born in Cornwall in the far west of the UK. He was formerly based in Indonesia, where he worked as a teacher and journalist. He now lives in Ireland, but often visits Southeast Asia. He is the author of several narrative history books, including *Raffles and the British Invasion of Java*, which won the 2012 John Brooks Award, and the bestselling *A Brief History of Indonesia* (2015). His most recent book is *The Travel Writing Tribe: Journeys in Search of a Genre* (2021). He holds a PhD from the University of Leicester for research focused on ethical issues in contemporary travel literature.

Martyn E. Y. Low is research associate at the Lee Kong Chian Natural History Museum (which holds the zoological collection of the former Raffles Library and Museum). His research interests lie at the interface between history and zoology, and include natural history, zoological nomenclature, and the bibliography of natural history. He was the lead researcher for *200: A Natural History*, an exhibition at the LKCNHM held in conjunction with and supported

by the Singapore Bicentennial. He is co-author of *200: Points in Singapore's Natural History*, and an editor of and contributor to *Voyageurs, Explorateurs et Scientifiques: The French and Natural History in Singapore* (2019), and *Diard and Duvaucel: French Natural History Drawings of Singapore and Southeast Asia* (2021).

Stephen A. Murphy is Pratapaditya Pal Senior Lecturer in Curating and Museology of Asian Art, at SOAS University of London. While Senior Curator at the Asian Civilisations Museum he co-curated *Raffles in Southeast Asia: Revisiting the Scholar and Statesmen* (2019). He specialises in the art and archaeology of early Buddhism and Hinduism in Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia, and Malaysia. He is particularly interested in the seventh through ninth century, and trade and connections between Southeast Asian cultures and the wider world of Tang China, India, and beyond. He engages with issues surrounding colonialism and post-colonial studies, and debates surrounding the limitations and possibilities of decolonising museums.

Farish A Noor is Professor in the Department of History, Faculty of the Arts and Social Sciences, Universiti Malaya. He has written extensively about nineteenth-century colonial Southeast Asia, and his latest works include *Racial Difference and the Colonial Wars of 19th Century Southeast Asia* (with Peter Carey, 2021) and *Before the Pivot: America's Encounters with Southeast Asia 1800–1900* (2018).

Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan is a postdoctoral research fellow at the École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris. He is a historian specialising in the premodern history of Indonesia. He is especially interested in using indigenous Southeast Asian sources to rethink how history is practised. Jarrah has written widely on Southeast Asian history in leading history and area studies journals, and has given public and academic talks on his research. His current research, funded by the European Research Council, focuses on the development of social institutions and state formation in eighth- to tenth-century Java.

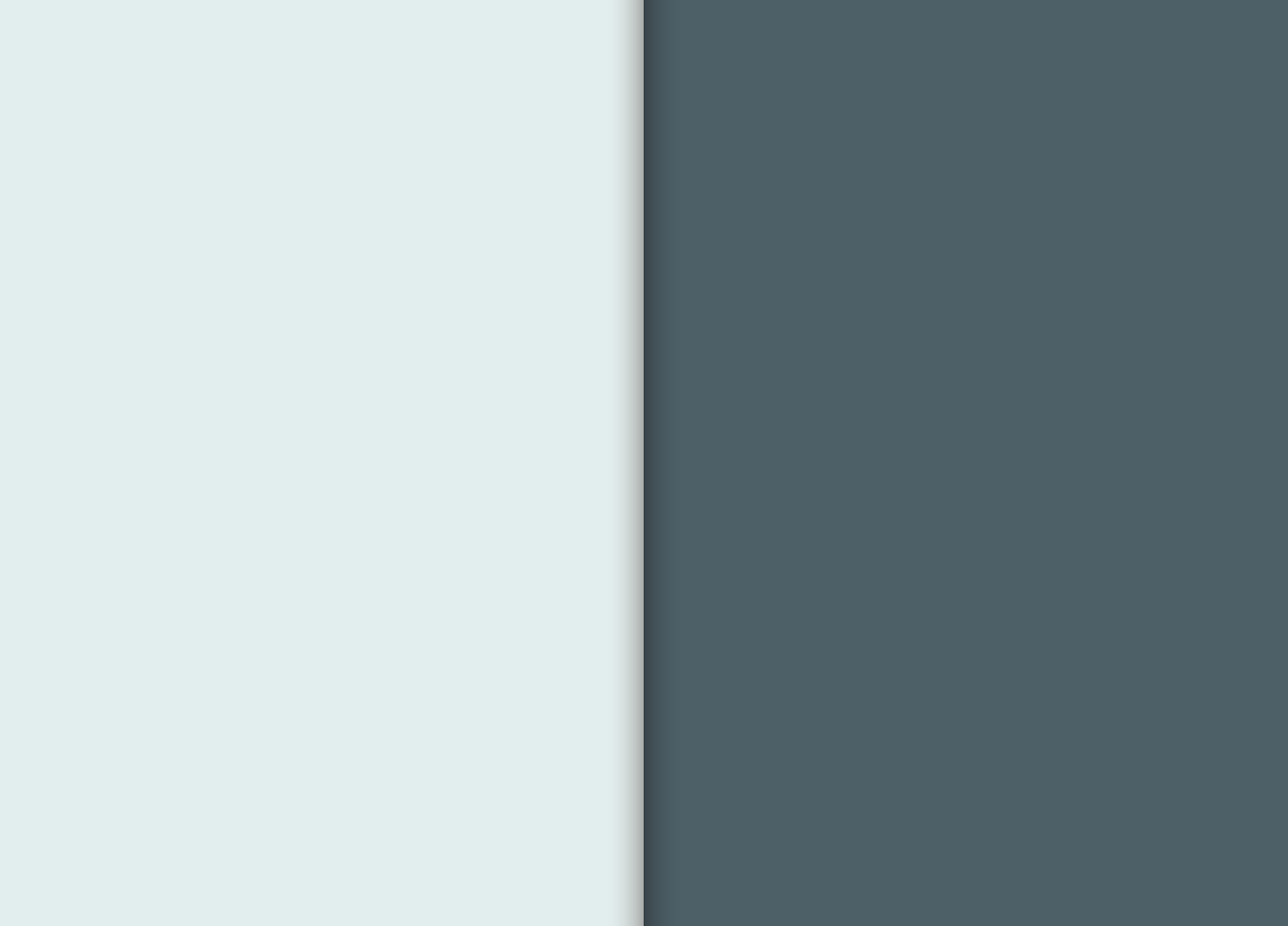
Imran bin Tajudeen is Abdul Aziz al-Mutawa Visiting Fellow the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, and Senior Lecturer at National University of Singapore's Department of Malay Studies. He researches architectural encounters in maritime Southeast Asia across the *longue durée*. Imran's doctoral dissertation (NUS, 2009) examining the vernacular city and its heritage tropes won the ICAS Book Prize in 2011. He was a postdoctoral fellow at MIT's Aga Khan Program (2009–10) and the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden (2010–11). He is co-editor of *Southeast Asia's Modern Architecture* (2018) and has published on Southeast Asia's mosques in transregional and vernacular-Indic translations. He is currently working on a monograph on this subject.

Grace Tan is a contemporary artist based in Singapore. She began her practice in 2003 under the kwodrent series to explore wearable

fabric structures based on the study of rectangles and construction methods. Tan's interest in material and construction led her early wearable works to evolve into sculptural objects and site-specific installations. Geometry is a key influence in her work, and her art is distinguished by tactile nuances that accentuate matter and form. Tan, in collaboration with Randy Chan, was awarded a President's Design Award (Singapore) for *Building as a Body* (2012), and she was a Young Artist Award (National Arts Council Singapore) recipient in 2013. In 2014, her collaborative entry with FARM Architects, *GROUND*, was selected for National Gallery Singapore's *Art Connector* project. Her work *n. 355 – natural progression*, was on display at the ACM's contemporary gallery during the *Raffles in Southeast Asia* exhibition.

Sarah Tiffin is an independent, Melbourne-based scholar interested in depictions and descriptions of Southeast Asia in British art and creative literature of the seventeenth through nineteenth century. Formerly a curator of Asian Art at the Queensland Art Gallery/Gallery of Modern Art, Sarah is the author of *Southeast Asia in Ruins: Art and Empire in the Early 19th Century* (2016). That book was shortlisted for the International Convention of Asia Scholars Book Prize in the Humanities (2017) and longlisted for the William MB Berger Prize for British Art History (2017). She contributed a chapter on the 1682 embassy from Banten (Java) to the Court of Charles II for *Engaging Asia: Essays on Loas and Beyond in Honour of Martin Stuart-Fox* (2019), and is currently working on a study of the upas – “poison tree” – of Java in British art and literature of the long nineteenth century.

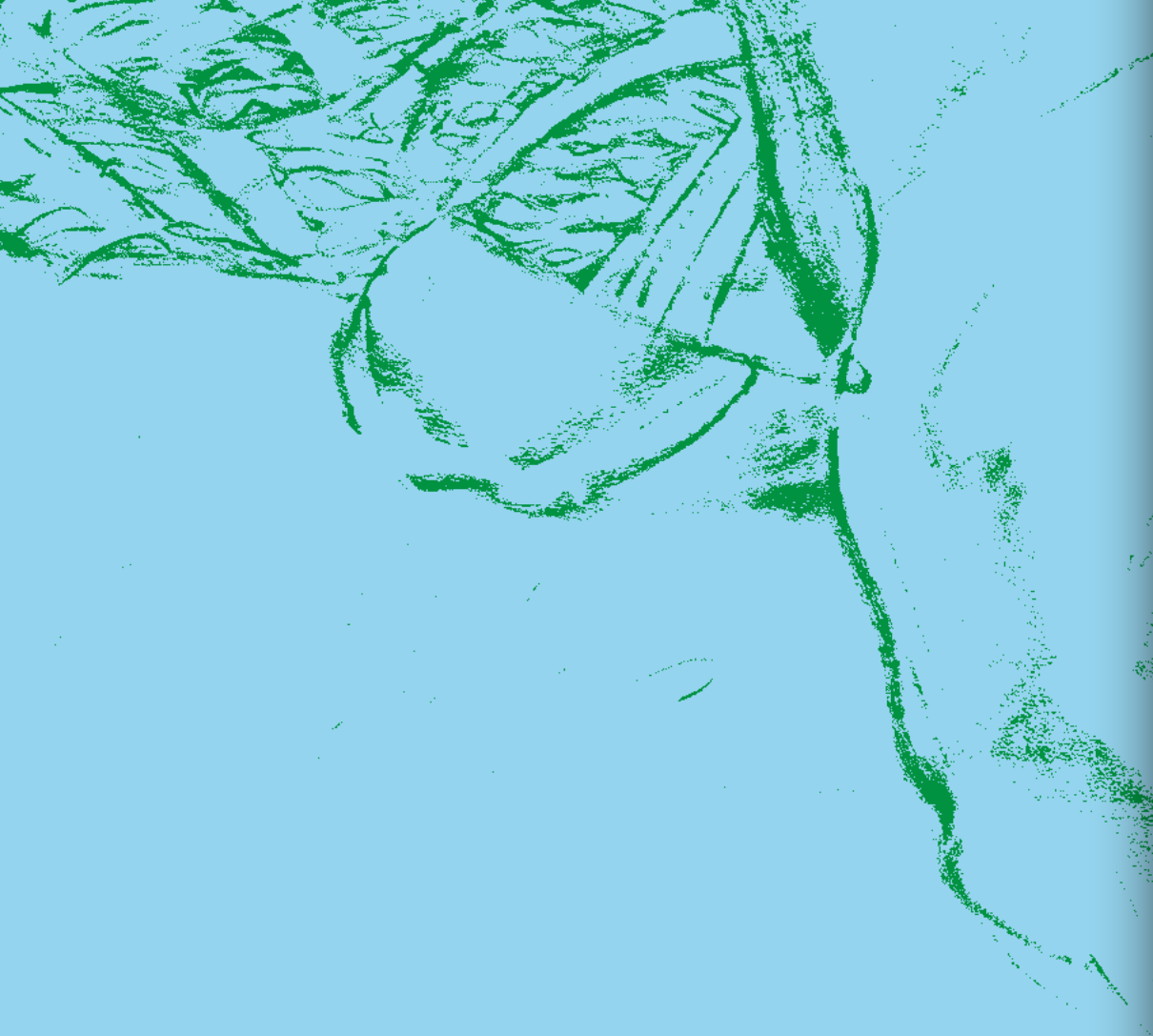
Naomi Wang is curator for Southeast Asia at the Asian Civilisations Museum. She curated the Mary and Philbert Chin gallery of Island Southeast Asian jewellery; and co-curated the exhibitions *Raffles in Southeast Asia: Revisiting the Scholar and Statesman* and *Port Cities: Multicultural Emporiums of Asia, 1500–1900* at ACM. Her research interest is cross-cultural metalwork traditions from the Malay-Indonesian world.



This book of essays arose out of the *Revisiting Raffles* symposium and evening lectures at the Asian Civilisations Museum held in conjunction with the exhibition *Raffles in Southeast Asia: Revisiting the Scholar and Statesman* (1 February to 28 April 2019). Contributions from scholars, writers, and an artist – based in Singapore and internationally – explore issues surrounding collecting, colonialism, and writing about the culture and past of Southeast Asia.

Part One revisits Raffles, the man and the myth, questioning and correcting much previous scholarship. Part Two provides fresh perspectives on aspects of the art, architecture, and historiography of Java, Singapore, and the Malay world. Part Three explores the role natural history, past civilisations, and landscapes played in the colonial project.

Overall, the volume offers new approaches and perspectives to Singapore and Southeast Asia's colonial past.



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