Never-Neverland Revisited: Malay Adventure Stories

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1 | The Coastal Trading Town of Barus, North Sumatra, 1851–1857

Introduction

Early in the year 1851, when monsoon rains were still swelling North Sumatra's rivers, the Dutch Bible translator Van der Tuuk embarked a rowing boat in the port of Sibolga (Groeneboer 2002, 109). His destination was Barus, a small coastal trade town on the west coast of North Sumatra, about 120 kilometres north of the larger port of Sibolga. The aim of his first foray to this village on the outer fringes of the Dutch colonial state was to investigate whether Barus was a suitable place for him to settle next. Sibolga had disappointed him. The Malay language had made an advance in this region at the cost of the Batak language; this situation had seriously hampered his study of the latter tongue. He even feared his task, which was to produce a translation of the complete Bible in the Batak language for the Dutch Bible Society (NBG), would end in failure. In Barus he hoped to find a village safe enough to settle in – although slave raids by Batak and forays by coastal Acehnese were still a reality in North Sumatra – and that would provide ample opportunities to converse in Batak (Groeneboer 2002, 183–184, 250, 254).[1] Word had

[1] Although I support the findings of recent studies on the history of the 'ethnicization of the Batak,' it is for practical reasons that I have decided to use the much debated term 'Batak' in this study. Since Van der Tuuk and contemporary visitors to the northwest coast of Sumatra did not distinguish the various ethno-cultural groups of North Sumatra in their reports, I had no choice but to follow them in their use of the term. Bearing Barus' geographic location and trade relations in mind, it was probably Karo, Toba, Mandailing and Dairi who lived in or visited Barus. 'Batak' is used here as a collective term to denote these four groups. They are generally considered as distinct, albeit related, ethno-cultural groups, each with its own language and customs. As the current chapter discusses Barus' Batak population in relation to 'Malayization' – a process involving a shift of ethnic identity – the works of, in particular, Leonard

it that, on market days, Barus was swamped by several thousand Batak from the interior; they came down to the sea port to trade their goods with local and visiting traders, mainly the benzoin and camphor that Barus had been renowned for since times immemorial. Van der Tuuk already envisioned himself engaging in conversations with these men from the mysterious uplands and collecting all the data needed.

This first chapter presents a detailed description of Barus at the time Van der Tuuk lived and worked there; that is, the years 1851–1857.[2] It deals with its geographical location, social and ethnic make-up, local and colonial politics, religion and economy. As Barus formed part of a larger entity generally referred to as the Malay World, this chapter also includes a concise introduction to this specific socio-cultural sphere. Together, the two representations provide the background for the discussion in the next chapter of Malay texts that were written or copied there or circulated there, among them the *Story of Bahram Syah*.

There are several reasons to start this study on Malay adventure stories with the figure of Van der Tuuk. First, without his intervention, we would not even know today that people composed, copied and consumed Malay texts in this Sumatran community. As an avid collector of Malay and Batak writings, he acquired a large number of manuscripts in Barus. Born in Malacca in 1824, Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk passed his years as a young boy in Surabaya, where his father was a member of the *Raad van Justitie*. Probably around the age of 12, Van der Tuuk was sent to Holland to continue his education. He studied law in Groningen, but gradually became interested in the study of Oriental languages through his friendship with Willem Doorenbos, a student of theology and Oriental languages at the same university. Instead of finishing his law courses, he started to take classes in Arabic and Persian with Th. W. J. Juynboll, professor of Semitic languages. When this scholar moved to Leiden in 1845, Van der Tuuk followed him. Beside his law classes, he continued his private lessons with Juynboll and started to study Sanskrit with A. Rutgers, professor of Hebrew. At that time, the only institution prepared to support research of Indonesian languages other than Javanese or Malay was the NBG. After finishing his courses in Leiden, the 23-year old Van der Tuuk applied for the position of delegate of the NBG for the so-called *Bataklanden* in North Sumatra. He was to study the Batak languages and make a start with translating parts of the Bible (Groeneboer 2002, 2–5, 350).

As mentioned in the Introduction, Van der Tuuk also gathered a large number of

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Andaya (2002 and 2008), Daniel Perret (1995), Rita Smith Kipp (1995 and 1996) and Susan Rodgers (1993) are useful to mention here.

[2] Van der Tuuk was already active in Barus a year before he actually settled there in 1852. In 1851, he visited the villages to obtain permission from the local chiefs to settle and to explain to them the nature of his mission. It seems that, during this trip, he managed to contact a local scribe and commission a series of Malay texts to be copied for him. His move from Sibolga to Barus was postponed, because the building of his own house in Barus took many months (Groeneboer 2002, 109–355).

Malay manuscripts in Barus and environs. This paper legacy must be approached with care, though. Van der Tuuk's predilections and presuppositions in relation to Malay culture, Islam and the social networks he succeeded to participate in have influenced the make-up of his manuscript collection and hence, of my research corpus of texts for the second chapter of this study. The kinds of texts he was able to see, borrow or buy largely depended on the social and political status of the locals he managed to socialize with. A local Malay chief or *raja* possessed different writings than a renowned *syaikh* of Arab descent, a recently converted Batak Muslim, a Dutch administrator or a Minangkabau sea captain. His derogatory stance towards the dominant syncretic form of Islam in Barus and surroundings has left its mark on the collection as well. Whereas, for instance, there were scores of Malay narratives of the Islamic-fantastic kind circulating locally, Van der Tuuk's collection contains a relatively low number of these tales. It could well be that he favoured translations and adaptations of religious works by renowned Islamic scholars from the Middle East, the birthplace of Islam, over locally produced tales with a mystical tinge.

Second, Van der Tuuk needs to be discussed in his role as eyewitness. This chapter, as well as parts of Chapter 2, relies heavily on the correspondence between Van der Tuuk and the board of the NBG and the letters he wrote in Barus to individuals, such as his close friend Eliza Netscher and a few colonial officials.[3] Van der Tuuk is notorious for his illegible handwriting. Fortunately, Kees Groeneboer published a meticulously annotated edition of these letters in 2002. Van der Tuuk's epistles present us with a picture of Barus as seen through his eyes. This lopsidedness has been countered by weighing his assertions against the observations and remarks of other contemporary eyewitnesses. In addition, some nineteenth-century ideas Van der Tuuk adhered to and which coloured his letters, have been taken into consideration. As a man of his time, he assumed some cultures to be more pure, stable and original than other cultures, and he attached higher value to the former. For instance, he abhorred the changes among the 'pure' Batak communities on the coast, which he assumed to have been induced by the Islamization of the region. Further, his stance towards Batak and Malay writings was frequently dismissive; he did not think them of any literary value. What he found in Barus was not literature in the European sense of the word, but rather genealogies, text books on Islam, autobiographies, fairytales or romances and writings on law, local customs, invulnerability, warfare and magical practices.

And yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, Van der Tuuk's letters constitute an exceptionally rich and valuable source. Reading through them, one gets the impression of Van der Tuuk as a man of sharp observations, sound judgements and developed social

[3] During the years 1848–1861, Eliza Netscher (1825–1880) worked at the Algemeene Secretarie in Batavia. His career took flight when, in 1861, he was installed as *resident* of Riouw and later, in 1870, as *gouverneur* of Sumatra's *Westkust* (Groeneboer 2002, 94).

skills. That he was not afraid to revisit earlier statements about what he saw and thought to better understand Barus' society, attests to this. Moreover, he was thoroughly aware of the precariousness of own status in Barus. As an employee of a non-governmental organization, one with missionary objectives to boot, his actions were scrutinized by the local colonial authorities. The government did not actively support missionary activities in the colony; it was feared that Christian proselytizing would fuel anti-colonial sentiments among the colony's Muslim population. The local Batak and Muslim-Malays were similarly apprehensive in their contacts with Van der Tuuk. Initially, they interpreted his inquisitive behaviour as a sign that he was a spy for the colonial government. But, by quickly gaining insight into local social hierarchies, Van der Tuuk succeeded in establishing relationships with men from all sections of the local population. His letters to the NBG are marked for their outspoken nature and poignant analyses of societal complexities. He was also an opinionated man. However, his sharp critique, directed at both his own employer and the colonial government, was always accompanied by proposals for improvement and hardly ever became personal. As he himself declared, it was the office and colonial policy he vilified, not the person in office (Groeneboer 2002, 308). Lastly, although a Christian in the service of a Christian proselytizing organization, Van der Tuuk is remarkably critical about missionary organizations and their ways of spreading the Word in the colony (Groeneboer 2002, 344–355). It is this and the general candidness that speaks from the letters, that sets this particular source apart from other contemporary eyewitness accounts.

The third and last reason for introducing Van der Tuuk here is that his person forms a suitable starting point to investigate the different social and political forces that were at work in the port community in this period. These forces, in turn, have shaped the contours of Malay writing in Barus. In short, it is on these grounds that the following story on Barus and the Malay writings that were found there addresses Van der Tuuk and his daily preoccupations in detail.

As for the other sources that were available for a reconstruction of nineteenth-century Barus, both primary and secondary sources proved to be scarce and scattered. The few times Western sources make mention of Barus around the mid-1800s it is usually in relation to maritime trade. In this, the sources reflect the nature of the Dutch colonial interest in this Sumatran port, which was to gain profit from trade. The main goal of the nineteenth-century re-colonization of Sumatra's west coast had been to secure the main trade ports, so that trade taxes could be levied to the benefit of the depleted Dutch treasury.[4] Thus, reports and statistics are primarily dedicated to listing the port's main import and export commodities, the volume of trade that was conducted and the size

[4] Ample evidence of this is found in the various proposals for the exploitation of Sumatra's west coast by the Dutch, which the colonial government received between 1819 and 1841 (Van der Kemp 1894).

and ownership of the indigenous fleet of trade vessels on Sumatra's west coast. Remarks on local politics, religion and cultural expressions only scratch the surface.

As a result, the following description of historical Barus is written in a vocabulary that fits in with a long tradition of discussing various matters Malay – including Malay writing – in terms of trade. Both older and more recent studies on the history of the Malays and the constituents of 'Malayness' highlight the importance of trade for the expansion and coherence of the Malay socio-cultural community over a vast geographical area. The scant evidence found in the colophons and notes in the margins of the manuscripts that were collected in Barus, as well as in Van der Tuuk's notes, seem to validate this discourse. Remarks on author- and ownership and patronage can be linked to maritime trade. For instance, Van der Tuuk borrowed a manuscript from a local, who hailed from Penang. This individual was in all probability a merchant. Intensified trade contacts between Barus and Penang in the first half of the nineteenth century had led to the migration of Penang merchants to Barus (Ritter 1839, 77, 83; Asnan 2007, 80, 184–185). Next, a copy of the Barus *hilir* chronicle *Sejarah Tuanku Batu Badan* was written in 1872 in Sorkam by the son of the former ruler of Barus *hilir*, while he was staying there to trade (Drakard 1990, 283). And lastly, the colophon of an 1851 copy of the *Poem of Silindang Delima* (Syair Silindang Delima; Cod. Or. 3334) reads that it was written by a merchant while he was in Barus for business purposes.

But the situation was more complex. Other patterns of mobility intersected with those of itinerant traders and seafarers, and the dissemination of Malay writing in Southeast Asia followed other routes as well. Malay manuscripts from Barus, which contain references to Muslim *syaikh* and *haji* as patrons or copyists, point to an alternative pattern of mobility and textual transmission. They connect to the idea frequently stated in literature on Malay writing of a wide network of traveling Muslims – pilgrims, students, missionaries, religious teachers and scholars – spanning South, Southeast Asia and the Middle East. In her outstanding study on the wanderings through South and Southeast Asia of the Arabic *Book of Thousand Questions*, Ronit Ricci makes some enlightening remarks on the nature of this network. She successfully argues for the existence of a textual network that not only shared the prominence of the Arabic language and a set of texts, but also genres, themes, protagonists, authors and translators.[5] Over time, these texts, genres and themes originating in the Middle East became vernacularized in Southeast Asia and slowly spread to secular writings (Ricci 2011). Her main contribution to the scholarly discussion of the development of Malay writing lies in the attention she draws to the fact that not only texts moved from one place to the other within a network transcending local writing practices, but authors, translators and copyists as well.

But people traveled or moved for other reasons than seeking economic gain or a deepening of their religious experience. Before turning to the local sources on historical Barus

[5] Islamic leather book bindings should be added to this list. See Plomp 1993, 571–592.

that have been consulted, a short detour serves to highlight other patterns of mobility that were involved in the spread of Malay writing. First, people left their homes to flee oppression or violence. Nineteenth-century North Sumatra saw a series of local armed conflicts that prompted people to take up their belongings and flee. Acehnese traders used force to establish trade monopolies in the west coast ports, while from the interior Batak undertook slave raids. Also, the incursions in the first half of the century by militant Muslims from West and Central Sumatra called Padris led to a wave of migrations (Dobbin 1983). To these one can add the Dutch colonial military expeditions against 'insurgents' in West and North Sumatra. Next, both Western and local sources on nineteenth-century North and Central Sumatra make mention of people fleeing from their native grounds to escape (debt) slavery or statute labour in the service of local rulers.[6]

In West Sumatra, young, unmarried men of Minangkabau descent were expected to leave their native *kampung* in search of knowledge, experience and wealth. This custom – called *merantau* – prompted a large Minangkabau diaspora, along Sumatra's west coast and beyond. The presence of a successful family member in one place attracted relatives from the Minangkabau heartland who solicited financial support and advice in business undertakings (Kato 1982). In the first half of the nineteenth century, Chinese were becoming increasingly important players in the west coast maritime trade. Whether they hailed directly from China or, what was more common in this period, from other Southeast Asian trade communities, Chinese investors and traders alike often got (distant) relatives involved in trade organizations or *kongsi*. Business ventures that followed from these cooperatives contributed to an important degree to the already high mobility in the area (Kuhn 2008, 170; Vleming 1926, 56–86). And lastly, there are yet other reasons for people to travel or wander: a failed love affair, the inability to repay debts, family conflicts, an escape from persecution or just having an adventurous mind.

Among the indigenous sources for this study are a number of Malay narrative writings that address the dynastic history of Barus' two ruling families. It is commonly agreed upon nowadays that such texts cannot be read as straightforward descriptions of historic events. Various scholars have successfully demonstrated how the works are not histories in the Western sense of the word. Instead, it is argued, they are manipulated representations of past events intended to explain or justify a contemporary, often political, situation (this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2).[7] Yet, with alertness to this particular shaping force, it remains possible to use court chronicles as sources for historical study. It is a fortunate coincidence that an illuminating example of this scholarly

[6] In his letters to the NBG, Van der Tuuk specifically mentions Mandailing, who came to Barus to escape statute labour (Groeneboer 2002, 221). The subject of slavery and bondage on Sumatra's northwest coast will be dealt with in more detail later in this chapter.

[7] This should not sound as exotic to Western readers as it perhaps does. For ultimately, all histories are written to attest to the validity of a presupposed truth or reality.

exercise happens to address two Barus chronicles in their nineteenth-century form. In *A Malay Frontier: Unity and Duality in a Sumatran Kingdom* (1990) Jane Drakard investigates the *hilir* and *mudik* chronicles, the *Origins of the Raja Barus* (Asal Keturunan Raja Barus) and the *History of Tuanku Batu Badan* (Sejarah Tuanku Batu Badan*).* Her analysis shows how the establishment of Dutch colonial authority in Barus in 1839 had a profound impact on local politics. The current study argues that these changes in the political landscape, in turn, influenced local Malay writing practice. Text editions of the Barus' chronicles by Drakard offered easy access to two contemporary historical writings from a region on which not much data is available. They have been used to corroborate information from nineteenth-century Western reports on Barus' ethnic make-up and political organization.

Among the writings that were found in Barus between 1851 and 1857 are two Malay autobiographical writings. They were written in the first half of the nineteenth century by a Muslim teacher from Sunur in West Sumatra named *Syaikh* Daud. The narratives were not produced in Barus, but aptly illustrate the way Malay texts came into being, traveled and were consumed on Sumatra's northwest coast in the nineteenth century. An article by Tsuyoshi Kato (1980) on another autobiographical work from Sumatra's west coast also proved a rich source. The writer of this narrative, Muhammad Saleh, was a Muslim west coast trader of mixed Minangkabau and Acehnese parentage. His story about how he and his father sailed up and down Sumatra's coast and visited its various ports gives a unique inside view of the west coast trade community. His remarks about the importance of literacy and, in particular, the way he was educated helped to form an idea about how Malays in this region entered the world of books and writing.

As for secondary sources, for about a century Barus received little attention from scholars, Western and Indonesian alike. The small town was mentioned mainly in relation to the life and works of the Sufi poet Hamzah Fansuri, who is thought to have been born or to have lived in Barus, and an eleventh-century inscription referring to a Tamil trade guild. The dearth of studies on Barus in the 1800s can be explained by the scarcity of sources and Barus' unremarkable political and economic status in this era.[8] Around the turn of the twentieth century, there was some interest in the dynastic history of the town among colonial administrators. K. A. James, *controleur* in Barus from 1899 till 1901, recounted a fragment of the *hilir* chronicle in an article in TBG (James 1902, 134–143). It is likely that his source was the transliteration made in 1896 in Barus for James' predecessor, Lefebre.[9] Another transliteration of the *hilir* chronicle was made in 1900 on the

[8] The dearth of sources on nineteenth-century Barus is related to the modest scale of the colonial enterprise in the port town. From a Dutch colonial perspective, Barus was a relatively isolated outpost of the colonial state. It was a small, subsidiary trading port.

[9] This text titled *Hikajat Ketoeroenan Radja di Koeria Ilir* is kept at the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam.

request of another government official, J. L. Plas (Drakard 2003, 54–55). Only after an interlude of almost a century did Barus' writings become the object of scholarly research; that is, in the works of Drakard. Her monograph on the two Barus chronicles mentioned earlier, together with the two text editions, remained the only works dedicated to Malay texts from Barus until 2009. In that year, Henri Chambert-Loir published a short article on a narrative poem written at the behest of one of Barus' rulers: *Poem on Sultan Fansuri*, 'Syair Sultan Fansuri' (Chambert-Loir 2009, 506–528).

Since the late 1980s, there has been a rise in scholarly attention for the early history of Barus. Besides the groundbreaking archeological excavations and studies by Indonesian and French archaeologists – Lukman Nurhakim, Claude Guillot and Daniel Perret in particular – the gravestones have been studied for the first time, and the Tamil inscription has been reviewed anew (Nurhakim 1989; Guillot 1998, 2003; Kalus 2003; Subbarayalu 1998). In addition, there is the controversy between Guillot and Kalus and Braginsky over the assumed date of Hamzah's death (Guillot and Kalus 2000; Guillot 2001; Braginsky 1999, 2001; Perret and Surachman 2009). On the topic of Malay writings from Barus though, no new articles have appeared of late.

Recently, Barus has been developed into a Muslim heritage site. It is advocated as the 'nation's gateway to Islam,' and has become a popular destination for day trips by Indonesians.[10]

Barus and the Malay World

Barus formed part of a greater cultural entity that is generally referred to as the Malay World. Therefore, a short introduction to the history of the Malays, the Malay World and Malay writings will precede the discussion of historical Barus in the 1850s.

The question what exactly makes someone, or something, 'Malay' has engaged scholars from both in and outside the Malay World during the last three decades. Post-colonial tendencies in Malay Studies and recent archaeological finds related to maritime trade in the area led scholars to deconstruct the ethnic map of Southeast Asia that has been drawn up in the past by the colonial governments. The Malay ethnic category turned out to be far less monolithic and stable than had been assumed. The list of contributors to the debate is a long one; only a few names can be mentioned hare. A good introduction to the matter is an edited volume by Timothy P. Barnard, *Contesting Malayness: Malay Identity across Boundaries* (2004). The role colonial governments have played in the construction

[10] Indonesian websites such as Suara Media (www.suaramedia.com) and Era Muslim (www.eraMuslim.com) contain articles, documentaries and postings on Barus in relation to its Islamic history. The television series *Gendang Islam Nusantara* by Media Nusantara Citra presented a special feature on Barus' Islamic legacy (websites accessed 8 May 2013).

of a Malay identity based on ethnicity has been brought to the fore by, among others, Anthony Milner in his comprehensive study titled *The Malays* (2008) and Anthony Reid in *Imperial Alchemy: Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia* (2010). Joel Kahn's influential work *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World* (2006) highlights the continuation of colonial concepts of 'Malayness' in post-war Malaysian, nationalist politics. And lastly, there is Henk Maier's original study on Malay writing: *We are Playing Relatives: A Survey of Malay writing* (2004). His main argument centres upon the idea of association through affiliation – becoming Malay by considering oneself a member of the larger Malay 'family.'

For this study, I follow the generally accepted idea among scholars nowadays that the Malay (ethnic) identity is highly flexible and its 'content' historically determined. Especially in Sumatra,

> A common cultural base, the absence of insurmountable ethnic and political boundaries, and a continuing desire by rulers for new subjects enabled neighbouring communities such as the Malayu, the Minangkabau, the Acehnese, and the Batak to move easily in and out of ethnic identities and to participate in activities that defined one or another group (Andaya 2008, 172).

Ethnicization is considered a social process. And in the Sumatran case in particular it "[...] rests fundamentally on calculations of optimal economic advantage to be gained from the rich international trade [...]" (Andaya 2008, 172).

Scholars of Malay writing generally agree on the view that the development that was previously called Classical or Traditional Malay literature is closely related to maritime trade and religious networks (Overbeck 1938; Proudfoot and Hooker 1996; Ricci 2011; Riddel 2001b). Historians speak of the existence of international sea trade routes that connected Southeast Asia with areas as far as the Middle East, India and China, since at least the first few centuries of the Christian era. Due to the Archipelago's location along the major trade route between the main trade centres in the Middle and Far East, and the presence of such sought after trade commodities as gold, camphor and other resins, the islands were frequented by traders and seafarers of various ethnic descent and with different cultural backgrounds.[11] As they depended on seasonal winds for their voyages over sea, they settled temporarily in the transient coastal settlements, awaiting favourable winds to continue their journey or to return home, in the meantime keeping their eyes open for business opportunities. This way, insular Southeast Asia became a crossroads

[11] The word camphor (*kapur* in Malay) is used to denote an aromatic oleoresin that can be extracted from different species of trees. The *kapur* Barus is found in *Dryobalanops aromatica* Gaertn, a large tree from the *Dipterocarporceae* family. This type of camphor is solid and consists of a white, crystallized substance with mother-of-pearl lustre. It has been used in perfumes and for medical purposes. Among the Batak, camphor was used in large quantities to embalm the remains of deceased rulers (*ENI* II 1918, 262–263, 271; Stéphan 1998, 225–232; Marsden 1975, 149–152; De Vriese 1851, 45–47).

for cultural exchange. New religions, such as Hinduism and Islam, and cultural forms, amongst which scripts and texts, found fertile ground in the region and were adapted to local taste. It was through these international contacts, which lasted for centuries, albeit in changing constellations and importance, that religious and narrative texts from the Middle East and India reached the islands. There, these works inspired Malay-language writers to create translations and adaptations or to compose new texts borrowing only what they liked from the foreign sources.

A number of the foreign merchants, religious students and teachers of Chinese, Arab, Persian and Tamil origin never returned home. They settled in the port communities bordering the Strait of Malacca, the Java Sea and the South China Sea, together with seafaring Malays, and they married local women and learned to speak Malay. This was how the 'Malay' coastal port states on the shores of the different islands of the Archipelago came into being. They were populated by the offspring of these foreign merchants, locals and transient merchants, seafarers and men of various religious and ethnic origin. Over time, the label 'Malay' came to be used for all inhabitants of these communities, irrelevant of their ethnic roots.

From the eleventh till the thirteenth century, the trade communities came into contact with a new religion, Islam. From this time onwards, Arab and Persian religious texts, but also adventure stories and framed stories became known among the Malay and became part of Malay writing. Over time, adherence to the Islamic faith became a prime marker of the Malay lifestyle, to such an extent that the phrase *masuk melayu*, 'to become Malay,' became synonymous with conversion to Islam (Andaya 2008, 18–81; Reid 1988, 1993, 2010, 81–91; Milner 2008, 18–46).

In the traders' quarters of the communities, a form of Malay was spoken as lingua franca, while different, more or less standardized, forms of Malay were used for writing. There were narrative texts in prose and poetry, dynastic histories, religious treatises, texts on medicine and official letters to rulers of other Malay states and Western kingdoms.[12] The written forms of Malay overlaid various local Malay dialects and other first languages spoken by the inhabitants of the coastal states. The remarkable consistency of the written forms of Malay and Malay textual practices over a large geographical area and a long period of time has been pointed out by scholars on several occasions (Pijnappel 1870, 148; Sweeney 1980, 63–66; Milner 2008, 79–80). Note, for instance, the title of a chapter on Malay writing in *Illuminations: The Writing Traditions of Indonesia* (1996), 'Mediating Time and Space: The Malay Writing Tradition' (Proudfoot and Hooker 1996, 49–78). This uniformity was the result of the intensity and tenacity of interlinking regional trade and religious networks that spanned the straits and seas between the Archipelago's main

[12] For examples of Malay letters, see the beautifully illustrated publication *Golden Letters: Writing Traditions of Indonesia*, edited by Annabel Teh Gallop and Bernard Arps (1991) and Mu'jizah's *Illuminasi Dalam Surat-Surat Melayu Abad Ke-18 dan Ke-19* (2009).

islands. The movements of goods and people – traders, seafarers, pilgrims, advanced religious students and scholars – linked the different regions of this so-called Malay World (Proudfoot and Hooker 1996, 71–72). The prestige of the Malay language as a language of learning and its use as a mark of sophistication must have formed a considerable impetus to the spread of the language and Malay writing (see also Milner 2008, 80–84).

The courts of the port states of the Malay World were Malay in language and customs. Members of a Chinese delegation to one of these kingdoms in North Aceh in 1416 noticed how the language and customs were 'that of Malacca,' the renowned Malay kingdom on the west coast of the peninsula, which saw its political and economic power reach its zenith around that time (Durie 1996a, 80). Similar Malay customs pertaining to language, literature, dress, religion and law unified the Malays (Milner 2008, 78–80). The international and inter-insular contacts facilitated the interplay of two forces at work in the Malay World: on the one hand, these encounters enriched Malay culture in general and Malay writing in particular. On the other hand, local differences between the Malay port states were filtered out, creating the remarkable cultural homogeneity the Malay World is known for.

Thus, Malay writings were produced, copied and consumed by Malays of various and mixed ethnic descent. It was through these, often bi- or multilingual, Malay writers in coastal kingdoms that Malay textual production developed and remained vibrant. Oft cited examples of such Malay authors are the Gujerat-born Muslim scholar Nuruddin al-Raniri (died 1658) and Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi (1796–1854), who was of Arab and Indian descent (Hooykaas 1937, 5, 128; Riddell 2001b, 116–125; Sweeney 2005, 2006a, b).

Barus 1851–1857

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, greater Barus consisted of a number of small settlements spread out on a narrow coastal strip bordering the Indian Ocean. Barus' two main settlements were situated on the banks of the Aek Batu Gerigis or Camphor River. Barus *hilir* or downstream Barus was situated near the estuary where the river ended in the Indian Ocean. Since 1834 it had been ruled by *Sultan* Perhimpunan, also known as *Tuanku Sutan* Ibrahim.[13] Barus *mudik* or Barus *hulu* was found about an hour by foot, upstream from the *hilir* village; its ruler was called *Tuanku Raja* Barus or *Su-*

[13] The way Van der Tuuk refers in his letters to *Tuanku* Ibrahim and *Tuanku* or *Raja* Sigambo-gambo suggests that the latter name was another title of *hilir* chief *Tuanku* Ibrahim. Sigambo-gambo was the name of a settlement near the coast. Based on Van der Tuuk's list of the members of Barus' native council (*inlandsche raad* in Dutch, *rapat* in Malay), it can be concluded that Sigambo-gambo was synonymous to the *hilir* settlement in this period.

tan Agama.[14] Together, the *mudik* and *hilir* settlements counted no more than six to eight hundred inhabitants. The beach was home to fishermen and fortune-hunters from neighbouring ports who lived in simple shacks. The total population of greater Barus numbered around five thousand. The area was incorporated by the Netherlands Indies government in 1839 and a government official was posted in the modest town with a small administrative staff (Marsden 1975, 367; Ritter 1839, 9–20; Drakard 1990, 44–45; Groeneboer 2002, 285, 306; Epp 1852, 119).

The landscape surrounding Barus consisted of outstretched swamps that alternated with small clusters of simple dwellings and agricultural plots. Immediately behind the settlements rose the densely forested hills where the area's main commodities, camphor and benzoin, from which Barus derives its fame, were produced. The forest products were carried on foot or on horseback over narrow and steep footpaths that converged in the valleys behind Barus (Drakard 1990, 1–3). The inhabitants from the uplands came to Barus to trade their forest products for salt, textiles and small household utensils, while the merchants were attracted by the steady supply of high quality camphor. Knowing that today long stretches of asphalt link the towns in the district of central Tapanuli, it is hard to imagine that when Van der Tuuk settled in Barus in 1852, there was not a single road in the area. The other villages along the coast, such as Singkel to the north and Sorkam and Sibolga to the south, could be reached by boat or on foot over the sandy beach. The mountains, dense forests and swamps formed natural obstacles that made Barus completely dependent on the sea for the transport of its trade commodities (Couperus 1855, 222–231).

When Van der Tuuk was preparing his stay in North Sumatra as a delegate of the NBG, the question arose regarding where he would live and work. A location in the interior, near Lake Toba, was not an option. The area was densely forested and wide rivers, steep ravines and mountain ridges made travelling nearly impossible. Only part of the interior was under colonial rule; the remainder was the so-called independent *Bataklanden*, where small communities were governed by local chiefs. Only a few Westerners had set foot in these lands. In 1853, Van der Tuuk would be the first European to set eyes on Lake Toba on his trip inland. He would later remark that if he had not hurried back to Barus, he "would have been eaten by the Batak" (Groeneboer 2002, 179–185). Although there had been few recent accounts of actual cases of cannibalism in the *Bataklanden*, stories about the cannibalistic Batak still lingered at that time.[15] Van der Tuuk believed the

[14] In 1856, *Sutan* Agama was succeeded by *Sutan Marah* Tulang (Drakard 2003, 32). There is some uncertainty about this date though. In a letter written in 1853, Van der Tuuk speaks about *Sutan* Agama as if he was no longer the ruling *raja* at the time of writing (Groeneboer 2002, 168).

[15] Cannibalism had never been rampant in the area. The eating of a fellow human being amongst the Batak had always occurred in the framework of traditional justice and only in cases of severe criminal behaviour (Weddik 1850, 92–93; Marsden 1975, 390–395). This 'heathen' custom instilled fear and loathing in nineteenth-century Europeans.

capital of the Dutch colonial residency Tapanuli, Sibolga, to be a proper alternative. The colonial presence guaranteed a degree of safety and the town was host to many Batak who could act as his informants. The reality, however, turned out differently. As previously explained, many of Sibolga's Batak inhabitants had already embraced Islam. Their conversion had entailed Malayization. As a result, the Batak language had lost considerable ground to the Malay language.

Barus *mudik* and *hilir* were two separate communities governed by two independent, yet related, Muslim chiefs.[16] They were, respectively, of Batak-Malay and Minangkabau-Malay descent, respectively. Each derived support and recognition from different sections of the upland Batak population. Most of the time, they acknowledged each other's right to rule and supported each other in times of crisis, but there were also periods of outspoken animosity between the two families, (Marsden 1975, 367; Ritter 1839, 20–23; Drakard 1990, 44–45; Michiels 1846, 35; Joustra 1926, 32). The *raja mudik* did not own ships; therefore, there were times when Barus *mudik* depended on the traders and seafarers of Barus *hilir* for the transfer of its trade commodities, mainly forest products. The *hilir* ruler controlled the transport of trade goods to the coast, as the main path to the coast led through his compound. He could close it off whenever he wished to do so (Ritter 1839, 20–23). For local practices to be most effective it was very important that the two rulers got along well. This was apparently the case in the seventeenth century, because when the Dutch traders of the VOC became active in the area they immediately ended the institution of dual kingship in Barus. They deemed the economic success of Barus' two *raja* a threat to the economic interests of the VOC (Drakard 1990, 38–40, 42–45; Drakard 2003, 23; Ismail 1985, 10).

Whereas about a hundred wooden and bamboo houses on poles in the *mudik* settlement, protected by an earthen wall and dense bamboo hedges, looked quite simple, some of the merchants' wooden houses in the coastal compound attested to their owners' riches. The west coast trade offered ample opportunities to make large profits. Big merchants were known for their lavish lifestyle; this included drinking, opium-smoking and gambling. But piracy, fluctuating prices and the possibility of the loss of a vessel made it a risky business as well (Ritter 1839, 20–21; Kato 1980, 734, 749). The houses belonging to the local rulers were not very different from those of the commoners, except for some decorative woodcarving, a few small canons and an additional defensive wall (Ritter 1839, 20–21; Epp 1852, 120).

From a modern day perspective, unhygienic circumstances prevailed. Years after he

[16] Dual kingship was not uncommon in riverine areas in the Malay World. Another Sumatran riverine state that was ruled by two chiefs for a while was Jambi, situated on Sumatra's east coast (Locher-Scholten 1993, 576–597, cited in Kukushin 2004, 59 n. 10) See Bennet Bronson 1977 and Kathirithamby-Wells 1993 for a description of the Sumatran type of Malay *negeri* or state involving an exchange network called *mudik-hilir* or *hulu-hilir*.

had left Barus in 1839, Franz Epp, a German military doctor in service of the Dutch colonial army, still remembered the smell of human faeces and animal droppings that pervaded the air in the *kampung* during his visits (Epp 1852, 119–120).[17] This, plus the swamps in the vicinity made Barus quite an unhealthy place to live. Malaria was a common disease; Van der Tuuk suffered intermittently from it and other tropical ailments. A severe case of dysentery almost cost him his life; he reached the medical facilities in Sibolga just in time (Couperus 1855, 237; Groeneboer 2002, 113, 115, 223, 234). And from 1855 on, Van der Tuuk complained about a chronic disease of the liver (Groeneboer 2000, 18). The remark by Epp that both his predecessor as well as his successor – both medical officers – died in Barus forms another illustration of the unfavourable living conditions in the area. Epp himself fell ill after having worked at the primitive military post near the shore for only half a year; he was forced to return to Europe to recover (Epp 1852, 122–123).

Women formed a minority in Barus, in particular among the transient merchants and seafarers who awaited business opportunities or favourable winds in the port village. Both Petrus Theodorus Couperus, *resident* of Tapanuli from October 1851 till May 1853, and Van der Tuuk, were struck by the 'loose morals' they encountered in Barus and other west coast communities. The seafaring men lacked the company of their spouses and turned to prostitutes, a well-known practice in all ports around the world. For the same reason, homosexual relationships with boys were not uncommon (Groeneboer 2002, 309). This latter practice was found, in particular, among the Acehnese beach dwellers. Sexually transmitted diseases were common (Marsden 1975, 191). Also, addiction to opium was so prominent among the inhabitants of Sumatra's coast settlements that Van der Tuuk once remarked that being a Muslim was synonymous with being an opium user. The habit was found among the ruling elites of Barus as well (Couperus 1855, 238–239; Groeneboer 2002, 312, 283; Ritter 1839, 21). Finally, betting and gambling were widespread among all classes and sections of Barus' population. However, it seems that the Batak in particular were unable to pay their gambling debts and became enslaved to Malay and Chinese money lenders. How strong this compulsion was, and how devastating its consequences are is evident from the following:

> The Batak, in contrast, is a passionate gambler; even when he has lost everything he owns, he continues his game to the point that he forfeits the freedom of his wife and children, his own freedom and that of the relatives over whom he has authority. And even as a debt slave, he continues this habit and becomes deprived of food and clothes (Weddik 1850, 95).[18]

[17] In contrast, in 1825 commissioners H. J. J. L. De Stuers and B. C. Verploegh described the upstream settlement as a "particularly fine Malay kampong" (Van der Kemp 1894, 552).

[18] Daarentegen is de Batta tot razernij aan speelzucht overgegeven; wanneer hij alles verloren heeft, gaat hij door, totdat hij de vrijheid van vrouw en kinderen, zijne eigenen vrijheid en die van al zijne bloedverwanten, welke onder zijne magt zijn of die hij er onder brengen kan, heeft verdobbeld. Ook tot de

But Barus had not always been the relatively tranquil subsidiary port it was in the mid-nineteenth century. The history of Barus as a trade centre, renowned for the export of camphor, goes back to at least the tenth century CE.[19] Both Arab sources and recent archeological finds at Lobu Tua and Bukit Hasang, near modern-day Barus, point to the existence of trade contacts between Barus and such far away regions as the Middle East, Persia, China and India between the ninth and eleventh century CE (Guillot 1998, 2003; Kalus 2000; Stéphan 1998, 225–241; McKinnon 1996). Foreign traders visited Barus' harbour and settled in the area. An inscription found near present-day Barus dated 1088 CE, for instance, bears witness to the presence of a Tamil merchants' guild in this part of North Sumatra (Subbarayalu 1998, 25–33; Drakard 1989, 53–82). Barus probably flourished in the sixteenth century too, economically as well as culturally. It was in this century that the renowned mystic and poet Hamzah Fansuri wrote his religious poems, which became popular throughout the Malay World. Barus regularly features in his poems and camphor and the camphor tree form part of his imagery (Drewes and Brakel 1986; al-Attas 1967, 1970; Drakard 1990, 5).

Around 1850, trade was still the main source of income for Barus' inhabitants. In the initial plans for the Dutch exploitation of the west coast ports after the English had left the region, Barus was to be closed to all maritime trade. There were larger ports with better facilities nearby, and a concentration of the trade in a few ports made it easier for the Dutch to control the coastal trade. But in 1841, the Dutch issued a regulation that stated that the harbour at both Barus and Singkel would remain open to all trade. They probably realized that the destruction of local trade networks would ultimately work against them (Van der Kemp 1894, 581, 600, 602, 611–612, 614). Taxes were levied on certain trade transactions and a government official was posted Barus to collect them. The port of Barus formed part of the west coast trade network, with Padang as the largest and most important port and Penang's harbour as entrepôt and gateway to the Malay coasts along the Straits of Malacca and India. North Sumatra's commodities – camphor, benzoin, damar, pepper, rubber and horses – were exported to the other ports along Sumatra's west coast, to Penang and to India, in particular Malabar and Coromandel (Asnan 2007, 332; Weddik 1850, 100, 105; Couperus 1855, 253). Most business with the latter regions in India was conducted through Penang (Asnan 2007, 180, 184–185; Hussin 2007, 90, 329). Around 1850, the trade in camphor had already dwindled, due to a decreasing population in the original camphor producing region of Dairi and growing difficulties in reaching the Indian and Chinese markets (Van der Kemp 1894, 605; Groeneboer 2002,

slavenstand vervallen, kleeft hem die gewoonte nog aan, en hij verspeelt voedsel en kleeding (Weddik 1850, 95).

[19] Chinese sources dating from the sixth to ninth century CE mention the toponym *P'o-lu-shih* for the source of camphor in the area of North Sumatra. However, it is not known whether this name refers to Barus or to the whole region, encompassing much of the north of Sumatra including the north, east and west coasts of the island (Wolters 1967 cited in Drakard 1990, 3).

161). Textiles, opium, earthenware, yarn, iron, glass, paper, tobacco, salt and household utensils arrived in Barus' port on mid-sized sailing boats, mainly from other west coast ports and Penang. This latter port was one of the major trade centres for Barus in the nineteenth century.[20] Especially after the formation of the British Straits Settlements in 1826, with Penang as the seat of the government, the port gained in importance and its traders were able to gain control over the maritime trade with North Sumatra and the various ports on Sumatra's west coast. In the 1850s, Chinese-owned junks from the latter British colony were still a common sight at Barus' roadsteads as well as ships from India. Among Barus' traders – visiting and settlers – were many from Penang (Van der Kemp 1894, 612; Couperus 1855, 252–253; Weddik 1850, 104; Groeneboer 2002, 160, 166; Asnan 2007, 203–253; Hussin 2007).

The trade along Sumatra's west coast mainly involved bulk commodities and was run on an elaborate credit system. Although some sea captains worked for a single employer who was the owner of the boat, many ran their own business. They worked with several financial backers for whom they traded. Business partners were found among family members who had migrated to other west coast ports – notably, among the Minangkabau and Chinese, and Arab diaspora, religious tutors and merchant friends. Thus, personal contacts were very important and to make a good profit one had to possess excellent social skills to build and maintain a network. But the financial system also required good bookkeeping skills. Young men, aspiring merchants, attended small private classes to learn to read, write and calculate (Kato 1980, 733, 735, 745, 748–749). The market place was where the actual trade took place. Barus' largest market area was situated near the coast, along the river, and was named after the Batu Gerigis river. The sailing ships – it would take another twenty years before steam engines would make their appearance – anchored some distance off shore. Their cargo was then loaded onto small boats and transported ashore.

The market place held a gathering of different people, mirroring the social and ethnic make-up of the town. First, there were the Batak men from the interior, who visited Barus on market days. They carried camphor and other forest products on foot or on horseback over narrow and steep footpaths that converged in the valleys behind Barus. They spoke little or no Malay and adhered to an indigenous religion revolving around the worship of forefathers. Their main contacts were with the traders (Groeneboer 2002, 174, 308). The latter were Muslim men of Batak, Malay, Acehnese, Minangkabau, Arab or Chinese ethnic origin. They were either visitors from other places along Sumatra's west coast or had settled down in the *hilir* traders' community. An influential group of merchants consisted of members of Barus' two ruling houses. Mandailing vendors, originally from southern Tapanuli, sold food and tobacco from little stalls near the market area

[20] Intensified slave trade was a concomitant of Padris conquests in the Batak regions; Batak slaves were exported to Penang (Dobbin 1983, 186).

(Groeneboer 2002, 310). Batak traders from neighbouring settlements had moved to Barus lured by the prospects of making a good profit. After having settled there, many converted to Islam and adopted a Malay lifestyle. They favoured the Malay language over their native tongue, read Malay writings, abstained from eating pork and donned Malay clothes. Whereas previously they had lived off the yield of their small plot of agricultural land and bartered if they needed salt, textiles or small household utensils, as Muslims they preferred to engage in commercial activities, like their fellow Muslims. These new converts referred to themselves as 'Malays' (Groeneboer 2002, 214).

A third category was the slaves and bonded workers.[21] (Debt) slavery and debt bondage were still widespread phenomena in this part of Sumatra in the middle of the nineteenth century. If a person was unable to repay a loan or pay off gambling debts, local custom regulated that the defaulter became indentured. The Barus *hulu* chronicle *Origins of the Raja Barus (Asal Keturunan Raja Barus)* mentions two kinds of bondage: *andam berhutang* and *andam karam*. The former refers to a debtor, who works for the person to whom he owes money until he has paid off his debt; one month of labour equalled one *ringgit*. In the case of *andam karam*, the person in bondage remained a slave for the rest of his or her life. This was the punishment for having committed a severe crime, such as insubordination (Drakard 2003, 188; Marsden 1975, 38). The custom of pawning one's dependents for money yielded a fair number of bonded labourers as well (Drakard 1990, 188; Marsden 1975, 382; Reid 1983). And lastly, slave raids by Batak from the interior were another cause of enslavement (Groeneboer 2002, 250, 251 n. 7, 254). Most of Barus' debt slaves were Batak, but there were also slaves from the island of Nias.[22] A major cause of debts and enslavement was betting and gambling. Van der Tuuk refers to these debt slaves several times in his letters to the NBG. He was appalled by the way some slaves were treated by their masters:

> The contempt with which a Muslim treats a Batak is close to unbelievable, and the way the addicted gambler falls into slavery would make the hair stand up on the back of your neck (Groeneboer 2002, 183).[23]

There are two causes that account for this attitude towards slaves and bonded labourers

[21] A standard work on the topic of (debt) slavery and bondage in this part of the world is the edited volume *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (Reid 1983).

[22] In the nineteenth century, Nias was a major source of slaves and indentured labourers. The indigenous custom of pawning or selling relatives yielded a large number of slaves. The Acehnese in particular engaged in the slave trade with Nias. Weddik gives the prices that were paid at the 'slave market': 20 to 30 guilders for a child, 40 to 50 for an adult and up to 250 guilders for an attractive woman. He adds that the slaves were resold in Padang for double the price (Weddik 1850, 111–112).

[23] De minachting waarmede de Islamiet den Batak behandelt, grenst aan het ongeloofelijke, en de wijze hoe hier de aan dobbelen verslaafde slaaf wordt, zoude u de haren te berge doen rijzen (Groeneboer 2002, 183).

among the 'slave owners' of Barus. First, they belonged to society's lowest social rank, and second – and perhaps more importantly – they were non-Muslims, whereas their owners were Muslims; notably, newly converted Muslims. Slave owners were either Muslim-Malays from overseas or local Batak who had recently converted to Islam. To the former, often more affluent, widely-travelled and sophisticated Muslims, a Batak was a primitive country bumpkin, an infidel with an appetite for pig meat and, according to oral tradition, human flesh to boot. As new converts, the latter group was even more eager to discriminate against former fellow Batak (Groeneboer 2002, 161, 163, 171, 284). But when *gouverneur* Johannes van Swieten prohibited the possession of Batak slaves by non-Batak in the residency of Tapanuli in February 1855, the Muslim masters manipulated Muslim priests and made the Batak believe that they would be enslaved anew in the Hereafter if they did not pay a large sum of money to their former owners (Groeneboer 2002, 286, 312).

Captains of ships frequented the market place to conduct private business, to make trade deals for their financial backers and to hire crew for their next sailing. These seafarers were an ethnically diverse party: Malays of various origin, Chinese, Minangkabau, Acehnese, Batak, Arabs, Europeans and Eurasians.[24] Their homes were the ports along Sumatra's west coast, the Batu islands – off Sumatra's west coast – and Penang. One of the captains cum merchants who regularly visited Barus was Charles Brodie from Padang. Of English origin, he had settled in Padang and had made enough profit from trading to buy himself two vessels of average size (*Almanak en Naamregister* 1857, 355, 454; 1858, 338). It is likely that he got acquainted with Van der Tuuk in Barus, perhaps when he was looking for a place to spend the night. As Barus did not have a lodge, Van der Tuuk regularly acted as host to Europeans and Batak alike. With the expansion of Brodie's business he needed an extra hand. When Van der Tuuk was preparing to leave Barus for Holland early 1857, his personal scribe called Timpo found a new employer in Brodie.[25]

The eighteenth century saw a new wave of Chinese immigration to Southeast Asia and an increased importance of Chinese business networks (Hussin 2007, 341). In the following century, Chinese were prominent actors in Sumatra's west coast trade network. Their activities were not limited to a particular field of the maritime trade; one could find ship owners, sea captains, traders and financial backers of Chinese origin. Unfortunately, there are hardly any sources that tell us about the social or ethnic background of the Chinese that lived on Sumatra's west coast. Given the tendency among them to settle permanently and marry local women, many must have been *peranakan*, Chinese of mixed descent. And with the dominance of Islam in Southeast Asian maritime trade, it is not

[24] Inhabitants of the Archipelago who trace their often mixed ancestry back to an Arab lineage were referred to as *sayyid*. See also the recent publication *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet,* by Kazuo Morimoto (ed.), 2012.

[25] A copy of the agreement is found in the margins of Cod. Or. 3380.

unthinkable that a number of them had converted to Islam.[26] In Barus, they were among the wealthiest of the community and acted as money lenders, notably to Barus' Malay elite. It was especially in the salt and linen trade that they dominated the regional market. They were able to purchase linen in bulk for low prices because of their close contacts with Chinese traders from Penang. The large warehouses near Barus' beach were owned by local Chinese middlemen (Asnan 2007, 210–211; Groeneboer 2002, 160–161, 174, 183, 310). Within the constellation of the colonial administration, the Chinese occupied a privileged position. This was largely due to the large sums of money they paid to the Dutch as trade tax. As an important source of money, the Dutch seemed to practice leniency towards members of this group in cases of misdemeanours. In return, the Chinese assisted the Dutch when needed. Once, when *controleur* H. J. J. Gout asked some well-to-do Chinese traders in Barus to finance part of a large community meal intended to win the hearts of neighbouring village headmen, they courteously complied. Needless to say, this close relationship between the Chinese and the local colonial authorities, combined with their economic success, yielded strong feelings of dislike and hostility towards them among the rest of Barus' inhabitants (Groeneboer 2002, 213).

In the multi-ethnic make-up of Barus, the Minangkabau, Batak and Acehnese formed a marked presence, either in terms of their numbers or the degree of political, economic or cultural influence they exerted. Barus is located on the watershed of a Minangkabau, Batak and Acehnese political and cultural sphere of influence; this made the settlements into a crossroads of different traditions. It also explains the mixed roots of the local Muslim-Malay culture. Both Barus' ruling families claimed to have dual ethnic roots. Their chronicles speak of a Minangkabau-Malay prince from Tarusan as the founder of the *hilir* settlement near the beach, and a mixed (Toba) Batak-Malay ancestry for the *mudik* leader and his extended family. An oral tradition on the origin of local customs displays the same intermingling of Minangkabau and Batak elements. The myth tells of a young Minangkabau man – perhaps a merchant – who visited a trade port on the coast of Central Tapanuli. There he met with a Muslim girl of Batak descent and the two fell in love. After a while, the young couple decided to marry, but due to differences in wedding customs, the wedding almost did not happen. While the Batak girl sat waiting to be visited by the groom, the Minangkabau groom awaited his bride to collect him. In the end, and after long deliberations, a way out was offered by the representatives of both ethnic groups: they came to a compromise and an amalgamation of the two traditions

[26] Conversion to Islam among Chinese merchants on the west coast might have been economically motivated, at least partly. By becoming a Muslim, a trader enlarged his business network considerably; it smoothed his transactions with fellow (Muslim) traders. A Malay letter (dated 12 May 1869) on behest of the ruler of Aceh granting a Muslim Chinese permission to conduct trade in Aceh shows that there were indeed Muslims among the Chinese who were active in the maritime trade (Mu'jizah 2009, 36–38, letter number 5).

came about, consisting of a number of local customs called *adat sumando* (Drakard 1990; Meuraxa [1973], 417).

To the Minangkabau people, the west coast had always belonged to the greater Minangkabau World as the *rantau*, i.e. the areas outside the heartland in West Sumatra's interior. Overpopulation, conflicts and the search for economic opportunities had motivated people from the heartland to either found their own community or settle in existing multi-ethnic communities along the coast. Already at the time of Tome Pires, the Portuguese traveller and observer who visited Sumatra in the early sixteenth century, Barus formed part of the *rantau* (Andaya 2008, 89; Kato 1980, 750). Over time, and on account of the contacts of the coastal Minangkabau with so many other ethnic groups, including coastal Malays and Acehnese, two trends emerged. On the one hand, some of these multi-ethnic west coast communities developed a distinct Malay culture with an eclectic *adat* inspired by Islam. Among their inhabitants were many Minangkabau-'Malay'; with the absence of the extended family, it was difficult for Minangkabau in the *rantau* to organize their life according to Minangkabau customs. On the other hand, the confrontation with different ethnic groups resulted in an ethnicization of the Minangkabau: to safeguard their interests against the coastal Melayu, the coastal Minangkabau created a larger and more competitive identity of 'Minangkabau.' (Andaya 2002, 89–94). The historic roots of the Minangkabau presence on the northwest coast are referred to in a traditional oral poem, *talibun*, a genre once popular in Barus. The reciter would sing of the illustrious ancestors of the coastal Malays inhabiting Sumatra's west coast. They had come from the mountainous Minangkabau heartland to Pariaman, on the coast. Their offspring had multiplied and had left Pariaman to search for new lands to settle along Sumatra's west coast. Thus, new states and port communities, such as Barus, were founded (Meuraxa [1973], 406).

Although the founding of Barus is not recorded in history, except for in this poem, the viability of the newly founded settlement must have depended on the presence of valuable forest products such as camphor. Batak gatherers from the interior descended to the lowlands to barter their commodities with traders and, over time, a number of them settled in the area. Family relations with the interior remained intact, even when the settlers converted to Islam (Drakard 1990; Groeneboer 2002, 153–154). To this day, the Muslim Batak of Barus and Sorkam travel all the way back to their ancestral grounds to participate in the ceremonies and feasts held by the Batak clan they belong to. They refer to themselves as '*Melayu pakai marga*'; that is, Malays with a Batak clan affiliation.[27]

Acehnese traders had been prominent in Barus for a long period. Due to their number and marriage bonds with the *mudik* royal family, they had been quite influential and had, at times, posed a threat to the rulers' trade and political interests. The Barus *mudik* chief had been given his title by the ruler of Aceh. When VOC officials asked him to

[27] Several Malay inhabitants of Sorkam told me this during my visit to the town in 1997.

end his alliance with the Acehnese, he refused. The *mudik* dynasty harboured anti-Dutch sentiments for a long time (Ritter 1839, 20, 22; Weddik 1850, 106; Drakard 1990, 27, 30–31). But the *hilir* rulers also had close ties with the Acehnese. They had been able to influence local government through an advisory body to the ruler (Ismail 1985, 9). Around the middle of the nineteenth century though, the Dutch had put an end to their political and economic aspirations. When a large contingent of Acehnese fled to port settlements north of Barus, the government thought Barus safe enough and drastically lowered the number of soldiers in the fort (Epp 1852, 121; Groeneboer 2002, 183).

The Mental World of Barus

To be able to understand the character of Malay writing practices in Barus, which will be discussed in the next chapter, one first needs to gain insight into the minds of the people who wrote and read the Malay texts. What did their moral compass that steered them in life look like? What values and principles did they hold on to? And what were the issues that occupied their minds? It is through the person of Van der Tuuk and his relationships with members of the different layers of Barus' society that it is possible to find answers to these questions.

For Van der Tuuk, a good understanding with Barus' inhabitants was of prime importance; they were the ones he hoped would supply him with the data for his language study, through conversations or in the form of manuscripts. Moreover, the Batak formed the intended audience for his Bible translation. He was well aware of this and hence spent most of his time away from his writing desk meeting with local and visiting traders, *haji*, Muslim religious teachers, recently converted Batak, Batak (debt) slaves, slave owners, Mandailing vendors and members of the local Malay elite. He was very informal in his contacts with them. He invited them into his house, had long conversations with them or played a game of chess to break the ice. Batak who arrived in Barus with their merchandise could be found sleeping in his living room the night before market day. Van der Tuuk was well aware that his intimate relations with the locals made him stand out among the other Europeans in Barus. In one of his letters to the NBG he calls himself a "*rare bliksem,*" ('an odd fellow') for offering Batak a chair in his house and smoking a cigar with them (Groeneboer 2002, 318, 322). His efforts paid off; he was quite successful in establishing and maintaining relationships with locals who represented Barus' various ethnic groups and all walks of life.

Unlike the German doctor Epp, who chose to live within the earthen walls of the military post, Van der Tuuk had not been afraid to live amongst the locals.[28] His first

[28] Nevertheless, he deemed the situation in Barus as far from safe. On 23 July 1853, Van der Tuuk writes to the NBG about the Acehnese threat. He finishes his letter saying "You should not be surprised if one

disappointment in Barus though, had been the rejection by the local chiefs of his plan to have his house built within the confines of one of the main settlements. On this Van der Tuuk wrote:

> How distrustful this people is becomes clear from their plain refusal to let me settle among them, with the excuse that I would frighten the women and children, who are not used to Europeans (Groeneboer 2002, 152).[29]

Initially, he found the Batak shy and unwilling to talk to him. From their side, the Batak did not know what to make of the white Bible translator and therefore distrusted him. They considered it suspicious that Van der Tuuk did favours without ever asking for a favour in return (Groeneboer 2002, 209, 304). Giving away printed books with Bible stories for free did not help his case (Groeneboer 2002, 165–166 nn. 8, 9, and 10, 198, 209). On this, he aptly remarked:

> One cannot blame the native for distrusting altruism, for it is our self-interest he is constantly confronted with (Groeneboer 2002, 209).[30]

Moreover, the Batak inhabitants of Barus could not grasp the idea of the kind of knowledge Van der Tuuk tried to pry from them. His request for Batak manuscripts fuelled their suspicion towards him even more, as to them the only useful knowledge found in books was magic. And magic could be used against your enemies, in times of both peace and warfare. They were literally from two different worlds; thus, Van der Tuuk was either regarded as a spy for the colonial government or a blatant idiot. Either way, for a long time, the locals kept their distance from him. The clash of world views he had to cope with became most apparent through his attempts to translate Bible stories. It turned out to be impossible to translate some abstract concepts central to Christianity in Batak (Groeneboer 2002, 193–203, 221, 239). It was not just that the Batak language lacked words to convey abstract concepts, but also that the Christian world view and the traditional Batak one proved incompatible. This situation prompted Van der Tuuk to make the following remark:

> Whoever has a sincere interest in the study of language knows that one should dig for gold first,

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day, you will hear that they have killed us here" (Verbaast u dus niet, zoo gij eens mogt hooren, dat men ons hier had vermoord) (Groeneboer 2002, 183–184).

29 Hoe wantrouwig deze natie is, blijke uit het mij finaal weigeren van mij midden onder hen te vestigen, onder voorwendsel dat de vrouwen en kinderen een Europeaan ongewoon, voor mij bang zouden zijn (Groeneboer 2002, 152).

30 Men kan het den inlander niet ten kwade duiden dat hem belangeloosheid wantrouwen inboezemt, want hij ziet van ons wel niet anders dan belangzucht (Groeneboer 2002, 209).

> before one can give it away; and that an immense job needs to be done, before one can start to work on the actual translation (Groeneboer 2002, 294).[31]

The situation frustrated Van der Tuuk, as he was unable to carry out his language study and translation the way he had intended to. He needed informants to gather data and assistants or scribes to help him copy Batak texts and translations. Whereas Malays were willing to work for him, albeit for high monthly wages, the local Batak were initially not interested. In the end, he did succeed in hiring a few men to help him with his tasks. Unfortunately, he was not very pleased with them; in general, he found them working too slowly and not accurately enough (Groeneboer 2002, 200, 204, 252, 317).[32] In one of his letters to the NBG, he wrote that his Batak assistants read with the "speed of snails" (Groeneboer 2002, 207). More positive was the reaction of Barus' inhabitants to his plea for help in locating Batak manuscripts. The news that the white man was willing to pay money for Batak manuscripts had spread quickly. Almost every day, manuscripts – the majority consisting of short letters on bamboo strips – were offered to him, for sale or on loan. Their numbers were overwhelming to the extent that he lacked the funds to buy them and the space to store them.

To the Muslim-Malays, the Bible translator was an infidel, a *kafir*. As such, he was 'impure' and was therefore generally kept at bay. Purity or ritual cleanliness is one of the most central doctrines in Islam. Muslim tradition prescribes that a Muslim should be pure of heart, of clean outward appearance and that the objects he surrounds himself with should be pure as well (Kader 1968; Katz 2001; Kuşçular 2007). Van der Tuuk found it difficult to find owners who were prepared to part with their manuscripts for a few weeks to have him copy the text, even when he was willing to pay. It took Van der Tuuk sometime before he figured out the reason behind the owners' reluctance to lend out or sell their Malay manuscripts to him (Groeneboer 2002, 287).[33] It was directly related to his *kafir* status and the revered status of Malay manuscripts among the Muslims. Malay manuscripts,

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[31] Die waarlijk belang stelt in taalstudie is er van overtuigd dat men eerst het goud moet zoeken voor men het in omloop brengt; dat men dus oneindig veel te doen heeft voor men eigentlijk met vertalen beginnen mag (Groeneboer 2002, 294).

[32] Van der Tuuk was unaware of the fact that Batak were not used to writing down long texts (the partial literacy of the Batak will be discussed later in this Chapter). The 'inaccuracies' in the transcriptions can be explained by the fact an aural culture allows for a certain degree of freedom when texts are (re-)told or copied.

[33] Once Van der Tuuk had figured out why the Muslim-Malays were apprehensive about lending out their manuscripts to him, he changed tactics. He allowed them access to his private collection of Malay manuscripts and let them borrow the texts they wanted to read or copy. However, this did not work out the way he had hoped; Malays did come to his house to borrow texts, but without ever offering a text from their own collection in return. When Van der Tuuk stipulated the condition that a text could only be borrowed if he was offered a text in return, he finally was able to access the Malay texts he had been looking for (Groeneboer 2002, 287).

especially those with religious texts, were prized possessions. First, it cost a small fortune to purchase a manuscript or order a copy; and second, they were highly valued for their sanctity. This revered status was primarily connected to the Arabic language, which had deeply influenced religious writings in Malay and, at a later stage, secular writings as well. This prominent status of Arabic among Muslims worldwide and its consequences for the attitude towards what Ricci calls "Arabicized" texts should not be underestimated. Arabic was the language of God's words, preserved in the Quran. In this regard, it was a unique language and, as God's tongue, it was considered impossible to render its finesses in another language. Originating from a divine source, Arabic was potent and so was its script. The authority of Arabic meant that its script became infused with religious authority and sanctity.[34] Concurrently, any text written in the Arabic script – religious or secular, Malay or Tamil – was imbued with that same authority (Ricci 2011, 153–182). A telling illustration of this is found in Edgar Thurston's 1909 work on the casts and tribes of southern India. His remarks on the sanctity of Tamil books printed in Arabic script are similarly valid for Malay texts written in Arabic script:

> A book so printed [i.e. Tamil language printed in Arabic script] is called a *kitab*, [...] and is considered sacred. It commands almost the same respect as the Koran itself, in regard to which it has been commanded 'touch not with unclean hands.' A book of a religious nature, written or printed in Tamil characters, may be left on the ground, but a *kitab* of even secular character will always be placed on a *rihal* or seat, and, when it falls to the ground, it is kissed and raised to the forehead (Thurston 1909, 4, 206, cited in Ricci 2011, 175).

Another example of the assumed potency of the Arabic language and its scripts concerns Barus. One day, Van der Tuuk witnessed how a Muslim 'doctor' treated a Batak man suffering from an illness. The man was made to drink water that was infused with the healing power of a snippet of a Quran in the water. Needless to say, Van der Tuuk abhorred this scene; he felt that a "gullible" Batak was being "tricked" by a "deceitful" Muslim (Groeneboer 2002).

With a continuum in mind, the use of Arabic in the Malay World varied from texts that were written solely in Arabic, with or without interlinear translation or paraphrase in Malay, to Malay texts that included only sections in Arabic. Almost all Malay writings contained Arabic words that denoted untranslatable religious concepts or, at least, the name of God. Thus, the Muslim population of Barus held on to their Malay manuscripts as if they were life-saving amulets.[35] Van der Tuuk's touch would destroy the text's pure status and sanctity and would render the objects worthless in Muslim circles. This same

[34] Van der Tuuk noticed a similar attitude towards writings on religious topics in either Malay or Arabic among Muslims in West Java (Groeneboer 2002, 106).

[35] Van der Tuuk uses the word 'amulet' in a letter to H. C. Millies in a remark about the reluctance of Muslims in West Java to part with their religious texts (Groeneboer 2002, 88).

issue of purity was also at the root of the conviction among the local Batak that Van der Tuuk's abstinence from eating pork was related to the fact that he wanted to remain pure to be able to handle Malay manuscripts. Clearly, the Muslim-Malays did not share this conviction; to them, he remained a *kafir*. Lastly, Van der Tuuk suspected that local Muslims would prefer him gone, sooner rather than later, as he felt obliged to report any abuse of power by members of the local Muslim elite to the local representatives of the colonial government (Groeneboer 2002, 183).

Whether he wanted it or not, to the locals Van der Tuuk formed part of the colonial establishment. They had no eye for the boundary that existed between government officials and employees of a private organization such as the NBG. There was one person among Barus' inhabitants though, who appeared to set aside all these issues and was apparently happy to associate with the white Bible translator: the chief of Barus *hilir*, named *Tuanku Sutan* Ibrahim. Evidence from the manuscripts suggests that *Sutan* Ibrahim responded positively to Van der Tuuk's request for help in locating Malay manuscripts. He lent Van der Tuuk several of his Malay and Minangkabau texts, and it is likely that he is also the source of the Malay texts relating to court matters acquired by Van der Tuuk. Furthermore, he might have acted as a go-between for Van der Tuuk in the latter's laborious search for copyists. Perhaps, the Minangkabau scribe named *si* Liek, who copied two texts on court customs for Van der Tuuk in Barus, was regularly employed by the *hilir* family, just like the scribe *Haji* Abdul Wahid in nearby Sorkam, who worked for the local ruling elite. It seems that Van der Tuuk owed his contacts in the neighbouring coastal community of Sorkam to *Sutan* Ibrahim as well. The two Barus *raja* each commanded distinct lines of loyalty with different sections of the region's Batak population. The *hilir* family not only had a long relationship with the Batak population of Sorkam, but was also related to Sorkam's Muslim rulers (Drakard 1990, 39, 150–153; 2003, 268). These bonds had always been strong and were still important in 1851 when Van der Tuuk arrived in Barus. By invoking his traditional right to support, *Sutan* Ibrahim would have been able to act as a mediator between Van der Tuuk and Sorkam's elite and their scribe *Haji* Abdul Wahid. The latter copied four Malay texts for Van der Tuuk in the months of August and September 1853, among them the *Story of Bahram Syah* (Cod. Or. 3317).

Apart from the indigenous population, Barus was home to a number of Europeans as well. In 1852, 25 Dutch male citizens were listed as living in Barus.[36] They were mainly government employees and military. The military post near the beach was home to about 25 soldiers (Groeneboer 2002, 183). Probably only the higher ranks were Dutchmen, with 'natives,' such as Javanese, making up the group of common soldiers. Even if Van der Tuuk did not think very highly of soldiers in the Dutch East Indies, because of his assumptions about their 'loose morals' and abuse of alcohol, he nevertheless associated

[36] The total number of Europeans in Barus was higher than 25, as several Dutchmen who lived in Barus had a European wife and children.

with at least a few of them. Shortly after Van der Tuuk arrived in Barus in 1852, he befriended a young soldier from the fort. Van der Tuuk also became well acquainted with the fort's commander Frederik Hendrik Wilhelm Meijer (Groeneboer 2002, 115, 163).

The highest civil representative of the colonial government posted in Barus was *controleur* Carel Hendrik Palm (1814–1864) (Groeneboer 2002, 116 n. 7). Van der Tuuk met him regularly and Palm gave him some of his Malay manuscripts. In 1853, Palm was succeeded by H. J. J. Gout, with whom Van der Tuuk also got along quite well. He translated for Gout and, when an extra hand was needed, assisted him at official events (Groeneboer 2002, 155). For a while though, Van der Tuuk was persona non grata among the men in colonial service. This situation was rooted in a dispute between Gout and his superior, *resident* Netscher. In 1854, Netscher made several accusations against Gout – false ones, according to Van der Tuuk. One of them was based on the fact that Gout had asked Van der Tuuk to translate a complaint filed by a Batak. Netscher had judged this a highly inappropriate action by Gout; he deemed Van der Tuuk a potential spy who would pass on critical information on governmental affairs to the Batak (Groeneboer 2002, 219–220).

Growing Trade and Islamization

During the eighteenth century, Barus had been a small and insignificant port. From around 1840, the trade settlement and the surrounding area began to grow because of the increase in maritime trade that was conducted there (Couperus 1855, 256; Asnan 2007, 338; Van der Kemp 1894, 551–552). This economic upsurge followed a period of economic malaise. During the first half of the nineteenth century, social and political unrest in what is now Central Tapanuli had left houses empty, agricultural plots neglected and the market areas less crowded. Continuous attacks and lootings by Acehnese from rival trade communities who tried to take over economic control of several ports by force, made Barus' merchants pack up their belongings and move away. After the liquidation of the VOC and the signing of the Treaty of London in 1824, which regulated the takeover of three west coast ports from the British by the Dutch, the latter had initially been reluctant to re-establish their authority in this area. All their military power was concentrated on defeating the Padris, revivalist Muslims who spread their religious ideas by force of arms.[37] Originally from the Minangkabau heartland, they were quite successful and were able to invade areas in North Sumatra. Sorkam already saw Padris merchants in its market and Barus' commerce was under threat. The constant fear of armed raids and the oppression by Padris in conquered villages resulted in large numbers of locals

[37] Apart from the spread of their revivalist version of Islam, the establishment of trade monopolies was an important objective of the Padris (Dobbin 1983).

seeking refuge elsewhere (Dobbin 1983, 141–143; 175–187, 207; Weddik 1850, 89, 91). When it became clear that the Padris were on the losing side, the enduring attacks by Acehnese armed troops on west coast settlements threatened Dutch trade interests, and Barus' leaders asked the Dutch for assistance in driving back the Acehnese, the Dutch sent troops and ships (Epp 1852, 117–118; Groeneboer 2002, 183).

A side effect of the Dutch colonization of Barus was that it initiated a period of relative political stability. The Acehnese no longer posed an immediate threat, while the Dutch military action against the Acehnese had also ended a dispute between the two local rulers. Only a decade earlier, two hundred soldiers and a war vessel had been ready to fight off Acehnese or other attackers; now, a mere 25 were deemed enough (Epp 1852, 117–118, 121; Groeneboer 2002, 183). By issuing new trade regulations and incorporating the two local leaders in the colonial administration as governmental employees, the Dutch curbed the economic and political authority of the Barus elite. It seems that previously, both foreign and Sumatran traders were inclined to take their business to nearby ports instead of Barus, because of the unpredictable ways of the *mudik* chief. But now that the *hilir* ruler had regained, at least, part of his authority after mediation by the Dutch, and actively promoted maritime trade, merchants began frequenting Barus again. As a result, Barus' trade thrived and its population increased (Van der Kemp 1894, 552–553).

Former government official Couperus makes an interesting remark on the growing affluence in the region in his description of Barus and surroundings. He claims that the social and economic development of the area in this particular period was related to the spread of Islam. He deemed the economic growth indirectly linked to the growing number of conversions among Barus' Batak inhabitants. In addition to adopting different manners pertaining to dress, food and language, these 'Malays' became active in trade. As a result, the level of welfare among these new converts increased (Couperus 1855, 235).

Around 1850, Islam was a strong presence in Barus *hilir*, where most merchants resided, and growing in importance in Barus *mudik,* where an increasing number of Batak converted to Islam. The successful march of Islam in the middle of the nineteenth century in an area with a predominantly Batak population that adhered to an indigenous religion was facilitated by a myriad of factors. To discuss Islamization in Sumatra, it is useful to turn to an article by Peter Riddell (2001a, 113–128) in which he analyzes the process of Islamization in a Southeast Asian context by following Ferré's 1985 method of studying global Islamization. Ferré's premise was that the spread of Islam followed specific migratory patterns; he distinguished six different migratory mechanisms. Here, it is argued that four of them were at work on Sumatra's west coast in the mid-1800s: the *hajj*, merchants in international or inter-insular trade, pilgrims of religious learning and preachers.

From early times, the northern ports of Sumatra were the points of departure for Muslim pilgrims to Mecca. The pious and adventurous gathered and temporarily settled

in the trade settlements waiting for a ship to leave, or awaiting opportunities to augment their travel budget. Some never made it onto the ship to Mecca and stayed; others went and returned with renewed religious zeal and new religious texts in Arabic (Weddik 1850, 88). For example, the renowned author of the *Poem on Mecca and Medina*, *Syaikh* Daud of Sunur, settled in Trumon, a port to the north of Barus, after he had left his native village in West Sumatra to embark on a journey to the Middle East; he had run out of money (Suryadi 2005, 92). In a predominantly Muslim world like the traders' community, the men who returned from the pilgrimage as *haji* were held in high esteem; as were *syaikh*, learned men of religion (Kato 1980, 749). Due to both the costs and risks involved in the long journey to Mecca and Medina, plus the restrictions by the colonial government on the number of pilgrims that were to embark each year, the number of pilgrims in the 1850s was still quite low. The total number for the whole colony did not exceed two thousand (Benda 1958, 207 n. 30). Yet, the impact these *haji* made on their environment after their return from the pilgrimage should not be underestimated. They had embraced the sources of Islam and, as a result, their religious convictions had deepened. As an outward expression of this inner development some *haji*s changed their appearance and started to wear the typical long white robe, a turban or grew a beard. And while some began to teach in religious schools, others became wandering preachers, either in their home villages or in the Sumatran ports they returned to.

Van der Tuuk noticed how especially Muslims from Kerinci participated in proselytizing activities among the Batak in the district of Barus. He must have been referring to Muslim preachers from the large community of Muslim-Malays of Kerinci descent that was three kilometres to the south of Barus. There, in the village of 'Kota Tinga' lived about a thousand descendants of pilgrims from Kerinci – an area to the South of the Minangkabau region – many of whom had become stranded on their way to Mecca (Groeneboer 2002, 312; Ritter 1839, 22–23; see also Weddik 1850, 88). The northern port town of Natal was another place from which 'Muslim preachers' were active in the region, trying to convert Batak inhabitants (Groeneboer 2002, 207). Natal seems to have been the seat of the Khalidiyya Order, a reformist sub-branch of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order.

The proselytizing words of these men from Kerinci and other preachers fell in fertile soil, as there happened to be two very pressing reasons for Barus' Batak inhabitants to join the Muslim brotherhood: to free themselves of the low status of the Batak ethnic identity, plus to share in the prosperity of the Muslim merchants. As mentioned earlier, Batak were regarded by Barus' Muslims as 'uncultured heathens.' The many Batak debt slaves contributed to this negative image of the Batak. Indeed, the term Batak was, in those days, a term close to abuse (Groeneboer 2002, 134, 212–214, 260, 284, 286, 308, 310). By adopting the Muslim religion and becoming Malay, Batak were able to cast off their shameful ethnic identity. As they saw trade booming and more and more men becoming

successful merchants, they too wanted to share in this new affluence. *Masuk Melayu* was not just about religion, it was also about participating in a larger market economy.

In *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka*, (2008), Andaya deals extensively with Malayization among Batak in the coastal areas of East Sumatra. There too, Batak switched their ethnic identity and became Muslim-Malays. But also further south, in southern Tapanuli, there were Mandailing (Batak) who dropped their clan names, became Muslim and blended in with the Muslim-Malays (Weddik 1850, 86; Andaya 2008; Rodgers 1993, 157; Milner 2008, 81–82). John Anderson's travel report *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823* includes a drawing of a converted Batak: a recaptured Toba Batak slave (Anderson 1826, 127, 146). The following remark on the Batak motives for adopting a Malay identity apply to Barus and environs as well:

> For the Batak, the flexibility to move between Malayu and a Batak ethnic identity was useful economically and ritually. [...] The ordinary people, perhaps more than the elite, would have made this move between ethnic worlds to seek greater economic advantage (Andaya 2008, 172).

The ethnic boundary between Batak and (Muslim-)Malays seems to have been especially pronounced in the coastal regions. When Van der Tuuk had to decide where in North Sumatra he would settle to study the Batak languages, he was advised to go to Fort Elout (Kota Nopan) in the interior, because there the differences between Batak and Malays were deemed less important (Groeneboer 2002, 89).

Thus, the paths of Muslim merchants, seafaring captains, pilgrims, wandering students of religion, roaming preachers, scholars, writers and translators crossed in the northern trade ports. Merchants hosted visiting religious scholars and sea captains took pilgrims as paying passengers to Aceh or Penang, from where they would continue their journey to Arabia. One of the financial backers of west-coast captain Muhammad Saleh was active in the growing pilgrimage trade. His clients, prospective pilgrims, were sent to him from the Minangkabau heartland by local Islamic leaders (Kato 1980, 737). But the two categories partly overlapped, as *haji* and *syaikh* were also found among the group of wealthy merchants.

Besides these four migratory patterns, there are other factors that facilitated the rapid Islamization of Sumatra's northwest coast in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The fact that all these different processes took place at the same time in the same region meant that they were able to reinforce each other. Together, they were responsible for the growth of Barus' Muslim population. Firstly, Islam was not a new religion to the Batak inhabitants of Barus' settlements and surrounding villages. From the sixteenth century onwards, they had been ruled by the Muslim *raja* of Barus. But it was also through their trade contacts with Muslim Acehnese, Minangkabau and Malays that they had become increasingly familiar with this foreign religion. In the Twenties and Thirties of the nineteenth century, the revivalist Padris invaded northern Tapanuli and their religious

propaganda and oppressive measures had contributed to the Islamization of the area as well. Next, there were debt slaves, who were encouraged by their Muslim masters to convert. In addition, mixed marriages of Batak men with already converted women led to further conversions (Groeneboer 2002, 213, 263). If we are to believe Van der Tuuk, the conversion to Islam did not entail drastic changes in the lifestyle of the Batak:

> [...] he only has to adhere to some rules that have little to do with the actual faith and has to abstain from eating pork. [...] Also, his own religion shares some of its practices with Islam: circumcisions are performed among a large part of the Batak nation, and there is a prohibition on eating pork or dog meat for certain individuals who have received divine inspiration (Groeneboer 2002, 213).[38]

Van der Tuuk witnessed the ongoing Islamization among the local Batak population with indignation. In his letters to the NBG, he time and again lashes out against Barus' Muslims and local Islamic practices.[39] It is important to keep in mind that his harsh critique is primarily based on his concern for the preservation of Batak culture and language, his main field of interest. He laments the large scale and speed of the Islamization that caused a continuous infiltration of Batak language and culture by Malay elements. It was primarily the Batak who, for reasons discussed earlier, were responsive to Muslim missionary activities and adopted a Malay lifestyle. Moreover, to Van der Tuuk, Islam on the west coast of North Sumatra was 'severely degenerated' (Groeneboer 2002, 214, 288–289). The Islamic beliefs and practices he encountered in Barus were very different from what he had learned from the Arabic texts he had studied at university in Groningen and Leiden. To him, Islam, as practiced in Barus, was a corrupted form of a pure religion found in the country of its origin. He felt that the converts-to-be were imbued with all kinds of "superstitious nonsense."

Islamic traditions along the west coast of Sumatra in the nineteenth century were suffused with syncretic elements. Customs such as the pilgrimage to the grave of saints, praying to deceased saints, placing objects on saints' graves to have them endowed with the saint's *berkat* (blessing), the use of charms and amulets to ward off evil, and the use of the Quran as a physical remedy for illnesses distinguished this syncretic variant from orthodox Islam (Riddell 2001b, 79). An example of these practices is found in a scene witnessed by Van der Tuuk and described by him in one of his letters to the NBG. A sick

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[38] Eens schuldenaar zijnde wordt de Batak spoedig tot den Islam overgehaald, temeer daar hem zijn nieuwe geloof slechts het eten van varkensvleesch kost, en hij zich slechts aan met eigentlijke godsdienst weinig gemeens hebbende formaliteiten heeft te houden, daargelaten dat hij eens bekeerd zijnde een betere behandeling ondervindt, en zijne godsdienst reeds eene Muhammedaansche kleur draagt, zoals onder anderen de besnijdenis bij eene menigte individuen zijner natie in zwang en het niet-eten van spek of hondevleesch der door een godhead geïnspireerden (Groeneboer 2002, 213).

[39] See, for instance, his letters to the NBG dated 20 June 1854 and 10 July 1856 (Groeneboer 2002, 212, 298).

Batak man, who suffered from an ailment related to the lungs or airways once consulted a Muslim 'priest'. The priest soaked the sick man's feet in water, uttered a few Arabic phrases and ordered him to sprinkle himself with the water (which was purified and therefore potent, according to Muslim beliefs). This treatment would relieve the patient from his discomfort, it was believed. These same Muslim men of religion sold the locals amulets that guaranteed invulnerability; the amulet's special power could be activated by refraining from eating pork (!) (Groeneboer 2002, 259, 310).

Some of the above practices were linked to Sufism. This mystical branch of Islam had flourished in Sumatra during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several of Southeast Asia's most influential Sufi philosophers and authors hailed from Sumatra. Among them were Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani. Their writings propagate a form of Sufism that claims that man and Creator consist of the same essence and, therefore, are One. Followers of this monist Sufism believe that a Sufi has to study under the guidance of a Sufi teacher to gain insight into this 'truth'. In addition, meditative exercises prepare his mind for the recognition of this knowledge. Together, the study and exercises form the Path that will lead the Sufi through the five (or seven, depending on the Sufi order) Grades of Being. The last grade is referred to as the Essence of God. These Grades of Being can be viewed as different structures of consciousness (Riddell 2001b, 113). The Path, then, is a mental journey that leads to a final 'awakening'; that is, the realization of the fact that God's creation is an emanation of God Himself.

However, it was precisely this idea of the Sameness of man and Creator that formed the crux of an urgent conflict among Sumatran Sufis in this period. To some Sufi, it was heresy to believe that a mere human being consisted of the same substance as the exalted God. In particular, Sufi thinker and author Nur al-Din al-Raniri, who worked under the patronage of the Sultan of Aceh, refuted this idea (Riddell 2001b, 116–122). Throughout the following centuries, representatives of both sides continued the heated debate. In the nineteenth century, at the same time as the colonial powers (re)established their authority in the Archipelago, a large number of different Sufi orders penetrated the region and consolidated their presence. Prime among them were the Qadiriyya, Shattariyya and Naqshbandiyya. Around the middle of the century, the popularity of the Naqshbandiyya grew rapidly. Especially, a new reformist sub-branch of the Naqshbandiyya, called Khalidiyya (Braginsky 1993b, Riddell 2001b, 168–169; Van Bruinessen 2007, 225).[40] Evidence from the manuscripts that circulated in Barus between 1851 and 1857 points to the presence of Khalidiyya on the west coast of Sumatra. A draft letter found among Van der Tuuk's notes mentions the name of a Khalidiyya *syaikh* from the port town

[40] The Khalidiyya was named after its founder, the Kurd Khalid bin Ahmad al-Shahruzi (1779–1827), also known as Khalid al-Baghdadi. More about the history of Khalidiyya in Sumatra and Java, and the names of the main Khalidiyya *syaikh* in the Archipelago can be found in the publications on Sufism and Naqshbandiyya by Martin van Bruinessen (1990, 1992, 1994, 2007).

of Natal, ʿAbd al-Fataḥ al-Khalidi.[41] And in 1852, copies of the *Hikayat Bakhtiar* and *Hikayat Syahi Mardan* were made in Barus on the request of a (grand) son of another *syaikh* of the same order, ʿAbdallāh al-Khālidī al-Nātarī.[42] An author who contributed to the spread of Khalidiyyah to the Malay World was *Syaikh* Ismail bin Abdullah al-Khalidi from West Sumatra.[43] A copy of his adaptation of *Syaikh* Daud's *Syair Makah dan Madinah* was made in 1853 for Van der Tuuk in Sorkam by the copyist *Haji* Abdul Wahid.[44] A witness account of the practices of a Sufi *syaikh* on Sumatra's west coast is found in the memoires of west-coast captain Muhammad Saleh. He tells that a famous Islamic leader of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order was once received as an honoured guest at the house of his tutor and merchant friend Muhammad Said in Sibolga. Every night, people visited this *Syaikh* Abu Bakal of Nalabuh to solicit his advice on matters such as whether it was proper for a Muslim to collect interest on a loan, and what the aim of commercial activities should be. He also handed out strips of paper with Arabic writing that were to be used as amulets (Kato 1980, 749).

But Islam, in all its possible forms, was the natural rival of Van der Tuuk; his work as a Bible translator was ultimately aimed at the spread of Christianity. With the wave of Islamization cum Malayization rolling over the area, Van der Tuuk felt himself rowing against the tide (Groeneboer 2002, 215). On 20 June 1854, Van der Tuuk sourly wrote to his employer in Holland that a complete translation of the Bible in the Batak language in his hand would be considered obsolete within fifty years. Within that period of time, he predicted, all Batak under colonial rule would have converted to Islam and the language would subsequently have undergone so many changes that his Bible translation would no longer be understood (Groeneboer 2002, 214–216, 303, 316, 351). What did not help either was that the local Batak were not interested at all in what Van der Tuuk had to offer them. They found the content of the biblical stories either not interesting – they declared there was nothing worthwhile found in them – or too strange or downright offensive (Groeneboer 2002, 198–202, 204, 206, 247, 249, 257, 292). Two of his best Batak assistant clerks and language teachers even resigned after Van der Tuuk had asked them to translate and copy passages from the Bible; they found the texts objectionable on the basis of their own beliefs (Groeneboer 2002, 303). To Van der Tuuk, it was extremely

[41] Cod. Or. 3260f. The letter seems to have been written by the copyist *Haji* Abdul Wahid, who worked in Sorkam.

[42] Cod. Or. 3197. The *nesba* al-Natari, refers to Natal, a port town on Sumatra's west coast located in the southern part of North Sumatra.

[43] *Syaikh* Ismail bin Abdullah al-Khalidi al-Minangkabawi travelled throughout large parts of Sumatra to propagate the new Khalidiyya ideas. From Batusangkar, West Sumatra, he went to Riau, Langkat, Deli and Johor. Due to his endeavours, Khalidiyya ideas gained acceptance in Malay court circles (*Ensiklopedi Islam* IV, 1993, 9–10; see also Chapter 2).

[44] Cod. Or. 3338. Van der Tuuk borrowed the original in Barus or Sorkam from a certain *Haji Sayyid* Abdullah Natar.

disappointing to see how his translations not only proved to be wasted on the Batak, but were a big success with the Muslim-Malays. They were familiar with some of the stories through the Quran; the story of Yusuf (the biblical Joseph), for instance, is an all-time favourite among Christians and Muslims alike. In his darkest hours, Van der Tuuk was convinced his translations were used by Muslims to spread the faith; they had come to his door to ask for his books. Near the end of his stay in Barus, he tried to convince the NBG to release him from his task and give up its plan for the publication of a Bible translation in Batak. He was sure the work would yield an increase in the number of conversions, not to Christianity, but to Islam (Groeneboer 2002, 198, 264, 281, 290, 303).

However, there was yet another reason why Batak were not interested in reading Bible stories whereas Muslims were. This difference had to do with the nature of literacy among the two ethnic groups. Unlike Muslim-Malays, Batak did not have a tradition of reading long narrative texts. In an illuminating study of literacy among the Batak before the establishment of a local colonial administration in the mid-nineteenth century, Uli Kozok (2000) explains how Batak literacy in the Batak script was both an 'uneducated' and 'partial' literacy. In traditional Batak society, learning to write was not institutionalized; there were no schools where children learned to write. Reading and writing, so Kozok argues, was something you learned along the way, from family members at home or from friends while playing. Information from Van der Tuuk's letters adjust this image somewhat; he asserted that Batak only learned to read by the time they start to carry weapons, for the purpose of consulting texts on issues related to warfare and invulnerability (Groeneboer 2002, 134, 151–155, 206–207). Thus, reading and writing was something that everybody learned sooner or later. Yet, while many Batak were literate, that did not mean they were fluent in reading and writing or that they were avid readers. Their writing was limited to functional purposes only: notes on magic and warfare, and short love- or threatening letters. The renowned *pustaha*, zigzag books made of hammered tree bark and containing divinations, were written in a different register by professional literates. Batak narratives were mostly oral (Groeneboer 2002, 115, 136–7, 194–195).[45] Although Van der Tuuk estimated the literacy among Barus' Muslims to be lower than among the non-Muslim Batak, the former did have a tradition of reading narratives (Groeneboer 2002, 287). Their affiliation with a larger Muslim textual tradition had brought them into contact with the culture of the Book.[46] As mentioned earlier, with the Quran as the Book of Books and model, reading and writing formed an important part of Muslim culture. Van der Tuuk had witnessed this. When he had distributed printed books with his translations of Bible stories among the locals, they were very popular with the Muslims. His

[45] In *Dairi Stories and Pakpak Storytelling* (2014) Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen presents a number of Batak narratives that were collected by Van der Tuuk in Barus and environs.

[46] See also Ricci (2011) on the spread of Islamic texts in Arabic from the Middle East to South and Southeast Asia.

intended Batak audience, however, showed no interest at all (Groeneboer 2002, 198). Different from the Batak writing practices that were restricted to short notes and letters, Muslim-Malay writing comprised various types of narrative texts. Considering the mixed cultural background of Barus' Muslim inhabitants, the ways in which they mastered the *jawi* script must have differed as well. For most Muslims, it must have been a combination of informal teaching, such as described above for the Batak, and formal teaching in a Quranic school or with a private tutor. Merchants and sea captains especially needed to possess both writing and calculating skills, since the west coast trade was run on an elaborate credit system that required detailed bookkeeping. Merchants' sons were sent to school, so that they could follow in their fathers' steps. The father of the aspiring west-coast trader Muhammad Saleh taught his son that being able to write and calculate was not only necessary to be successful in business, but that without these skills 'life was not complete'. From his early teens, Muhammad Saleh had studied at night, in small groups of young traders. For his reading and writing lessons he had paid the teacher fifty cents and a bottle of lamp oil each month (Kato 1980, 733–735). An eighteenth-century autobiographical account of a Minangkabau-Malay pepper trader from South Sumatra also mentions writing lessons as part of the curriculum for young traders (Drewes 1961, 53). The low literacy in *jawi* script in Barus can be explained by the relatively high number of Batak converts, who had only come into contact with this variant form of Arabic script through their recent conversion to Islam.

Van der Tuuks negative stance towards the local, syncretic variant of Islam and the Muslim-Malays was also fed by his grievances against the nature of local power relations. The Muslim-Malay elite (those of Batak origin included) had the upper hand in the local political arena, as well as in part of the local trade, often at the cost of the 'heathen' Batak and Mandailing. The inclusion of Barus in the colonial administration in 1839 had substantially altered indigenous power relations. Although the two local Muslim chiefs had lost their sovereignty and the first right to buy, the privileged position of the chiefs and members of their families seems to have been reinforced by administrative changes imposed by the Dutch. The colonial government established a *landraad* as Barus' legal body that was responsible for the execution of local indigenous laws or *adat*. The *landraad* or *rapat* consisted of 12 locals and was headed by the local colonial official highest in rank, the Dutch *controleur*.[47] However, with all 12 members being Muslim and most of them closely related to the chiefs, who had a seat in the *rapat* as well, the non-Muslim population of Barus was not represented. In the traditional administrative constellation an advisory committee of four *penghulu*, who each represented different ethnic sections

[47] The members of the *landraad* were paid for their services by the colonial government. *Tuanku Raja* Barus and *Tuanku* Sigambo-gambo, the chiefs of the *mudik* and *hilir* settlements, received 75 guilders per month each; the remainder, officials of lower rank, were paid 15 guilders (Groeneboer 2002, 306–307).

of Barus' population, had counterbalanced the chiefs' political power. Now, under the Dutch, the corrective force of this institution was eliminated (Van der Kemp 1894, 588; Groeneboer 2002, 305–307).

Next, there was the criminal behaviour of some of the members of the local elite. The head of the market Batu Gerigis in Barus, for instance, had been caught for several offences. He was nevertheless allowed to keep his seat in the *landraad*, probably because his daughter had married one of Barus' chiefs. Perpetrators of extortion and fraud among this group were seldom charged; if convicted, they often got away with a light penalty. Offenders of a lower class however, received more severe punishments for relatively minor offences (Groeneboer 2002, 183, 306–308).

Also in the field of statute labour, where subjects provide free labour in the service of their ruler, the unequal division of power in Barus became apparent. The colonial government had not only allowed the local elite to hold on to this privilege, but had implemented forced labour in governmental service as well. Thus, Barus' locals were doubly taxed: first by the Malay chiefs, and second, by the Dutch. Moreover, the chiefs were whimsical in the division of statute labour and allowed rich citizens to buy off their part of the work, which resulted in a heavier burden for the commoners (Groeneboer 2002, 253, 308–309).

Most crimes committed by members of the Malay elite were cases of fraud and extortion. Their status as *raja* or a high dignitary prescribed a lifestyle that they could not actually afford. Then, there was their lavish consumption of opium that drained their financial means. With the Dutch colonization of Barus in 1839, the rulers' income from trade transactions and trade taxes had dwindled. The Dutch had made them abandon the forced culture of pepper and trade taxes were no longer flowing to the royal treasury, but to the colonial government instead. The chiefs' complaints were ignored by the colonial administration (Ritter 1839, 21; Weddik 1850, 105; Groeneboer 2002, 308–309). Even in trade, they were no longer able to make as large a profit as in older days; Chinese from Penang and Muslim traders from the coast of Coromandel, India, had been dominating the west coast trade for a while. In the end, these Malays had to turn to the Chinese for large loans; and, in order to repay them, they milked their subjects. With local government officials turning a blind eye, they were able to continue this mode of operation (Asnan 2007, 334–336; Groeneboer 2002, 174, 183, 306).

Van der Tuuk blamed the colonial administration for not trying to curb the speedy march of Islam on the northwest coast. He was even convinced that particular colonial policies had contributed to the spread of Islam in the area, such as the prohibition on keeping pigs (Groeneboer 2002, 208; 213–218, 161, 207–208).[48] In the new

[48] It was *resident* Netscher's seemingly benevolent stance towards the Muslim presence in his residency Tapanuli that made Van der Tuuk sarcastically pose the question whether Netscher had become Muslim himself (Groeneboer 2002, 229).

government-funded indigenous schools Batak children were taught the Malay language and the *jawi* script. Van der Tuuk vehemently opposed this, as he believed that access to the innumerable Muslim-Malay fantastic tales available in *jawi* would harm the minds of a whole generation of Batak. He also suggested that the Malays who headed these schools should be replaced by teachers of Batak origin. One of the government-funded schools in the residency even employed a *haji*, he wrote to the NBG. The advance of the colonial administration in the nineteenth century contributed to the spread of Malay and, to a lesser degree, Malay culture as well. Malay was the government's means of communication with the colony's indigenous peoples, irrespective of their mother tongue. Local Batak leaders received Malay textiles and clothes from colonial officials at the end of each year as a token of appreciation of their support (Groeneboer 2002, 161, 208, 218–219, 258–262).

Concluding Remarks

The colonization of Barus in 1839, preceded by successful military actions against the combatant Padris and coastal Acehnese, had formed a turning point in the nineteenth-century history of the port settlement. The incorporation of the ports on Sumatra's northwest coast into the colonial administration had contributed to changes in the social, political and economic landscape of the region. Prime among them was the increase in safety in the area. The establishment of colonial 'law and order' had made the port a safe place to trade. This, together with the fact that the two ruling families lost their privileged position in local trade, resulted in a favourable business climate for merchants. The growth of commerce went hand in hand with a rise in the population and an increase in affluence.

But the Dutch intervention in Barus is not the sole agent in these developments. The increase in maritime trade on Sumatra's west coast around the middle of the nineteenth century forms part of a wider pattern. From 1826 onwards, the British actively promoted Penang as a free trade harbour. This policy changed the map of maritime trade in this part of Southeast Asia. The favourable trading conditions of Penang attracted a steady stream of merchants. A considerable number of these mercantile entrepreneurs directed their attention to Sumatra's west coast; they were mainly Chinese and Muslims from India's Coromandel Coast. It was primarily their endeavours that stimulated trade along Sumatra's west coast between 1850 and the 1870s (Asnan 2007, 328–331, 339; Hussin 2007, 329).

Islamization stimulated trade and vice versa, but also welfare in a more indirect way. Conversion to Islam entailed the adoption of a new coastal, Malay lifestyle. The entrance of Batak into the Muslim-Malay brotherhood was accompanied by a change in dress, food, textual practices and livelihood. Formerly leading a largely agricultural way of life, the new converts tried their luck in trading. This field of enterprise held greater chances to

accumulate wealth than small-scale farming or, for instance, selling prepared food. With an increasing number of people traveling along the west coast and visiting trade ports to conduct their business, social and professional networks were expanding and inter-regional, inter-insular and inter-ethnic contacts intensified.

The process of Islamization, which took place on Sumatra's northwest coast in the period under discussion, was not a new phenomenon in the Archipelago. But the scale on which it occurred in Barus and surrounding areas was singular. A unique combination of factors was at play on the northwest coast of Sumatra; the most important factor was the social and ethnic make-up of Barus. The low status of the Batak ethnic identity in an environment where Muslims had the upper hand proved fertile ground for conversion to Islam.

With so many new Muslim-'Malays,' the demand for Malay writings in Barus increased. In particular, the demand for Malay writings on religious matters. The expansion of the market stimulated the production of Malay texts and the copying of existing ones. The following chapter presents the Malay writings that were present in Barus and Sorkam between 1851 and 1857 and links them to the socio-economic and political developments that have just been described. This exercise yields a unique picture of what Malay writing looked like at a certain time and place and provides a framework for the analysis of the Malay *Story of Bahram Syah* in Chapter 6.

The upsurge in interest for Malay writings in Barus, which had started in the first half of the nineteenth century, probably only lasted until the 1870s. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Barus' importance as a trade port waned. Traders sought their opportunities elsewhere. Political, economic and technological developments were at the root of this demise. In the second half of the century the production of camphor fell due to a decreasing population in the original camphor producing areas around the region of Dairi. Over time, the trade in camphor proved no longer profitable (Joustra 1926, 321; Groeneboer 2002, 161). Next, colonial policies changed as the result of the liberal victory in Holland. Private trade companies were now allowed to enter the market. They were mainly founded by Europeans and had their seat in Padang. The enterprises owned large, modern ships and benefitted from their close contacts with the colonial authorities. In the same period, Chinese entrepreneurs expanded their trade activities in the area. Through *kongsi* – cooperative organizations based on clan or race – and the trust they enjoyed with the Europeans – they were able to procure a significant share of the west coast trade. As a result of these two developments, (Minangkabau-)Malay merchants lost their prominence; they lacked the money, vessels and contacts to successfully compete with the other traders. Subsequent changes in trade regulations and governmental investments in infrastructure caused a significant shift in trade patterns in the Archipelago. Sumatra's east coast was actively promoted as a trade zone and Batavia as the main centre for inter-island and international shipping and commerce. Lastly, with the rise of the steam engine, vessels became larger and anchored in the bigger port of Padang. From

the turn of the twentieth century until today, trade along Sumatra's west coast has been negligible (Asnan 2007, 323–338; Joustra 1926, 81; Kato 1980, 747, 750).