

## **The Collection of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Printed Malay Books of Emil Lüring**

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### *ABSTRACT*

*Emil Lüring was a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church based in Singapore, Ipoh and Penang, from 1889 to 1909. After his return to Germany he became a lecturer at the Methodist Training Seminary in Frankfurt. During his stay in Malaya, he kept close connections on leading European experts on Malay languages and literature, such as Wilkinson, Shellabear, Blagden and Skeat. He was able to obtain an impressive collection of early printed Malay books which he either received from the American Mission Press or bought himself from local publishing houses or booksellers in Singapore and Riau. Many of these titles are today extremely rare and are listed here.*

*Key words: Emil Lüring, Nineteenth Century, printed Malay books, local publishers, extremely rare.*

### *ABSTRAK*

*Emil Lüring adalah seorang misionar dari Methodist Episcopal Church dan aktif di Singapura, Ipoh dan Penang antara tahun 1889-1909. Sekembalinya ke Jerman beliau menjadi dosen pada Seminari Pelatihan Metodis di Frankfurt. Sewaktu bermukim di Malaya beliau menjalin hubungan dekat dengan pakar-pakar Eropa untuk kebahasaan dan kesusasteraan Melayu yang piawai, seperti Wilkinson, Shellabear, Blagden dan Skeat. Beliau berhasil men gumpulkan koleksi penting dari terbitan awal buku-buku Melayu yang diterima dari American Mission Press atau yang dibeli dari penerbit-penerbit lokal ataupun dari tokotoko buku di Singapura dan Riau. Banyak dari judul-judul ini, yang kini sangat langka dibahas di sini.*

*Kata kunci: Emil Lüring, Abad ke Sembilanbelas, buku-buku Melayu bercetak, penerbit-penerbit lokal, sangat langka.*

## **COLLECTING MALAY BOOKS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

The nineteenth century saw a great increase in the interest in the Malay World by Western scholars. This is partly reflected by the acquisitions of

large numbers of Malay books for western collections. Colonial administrators, missionaries, scholars or just bibliophiles such as Raffles, Klinkert, van der Tuuk, Crawford, Skeat, von de Wall or Overbeck, to name only a few, bought more or less every book written in the Malay language they could get their hands on. This does not mean that these collectors did not follow certain needs and personal tastes which differed quite significantly from those of a Malay-speaking readership. The genres of Malay historical genealogies (*silsilah*), prose fictional stories (*hikayat*) and law texts (*undang-undang*) are fairly overrepresented in Western manuscript collections, while religious-theological books (*kitab*) or poetry were apparently of lesser interest for the European collectors (Warnk 2009).

The *syair*, long poems with four-lined stanzas, with an end rhyme a-a-a-a, was a genre which escaped to a certain degree the attention of European observers, in sharp contrast to the *pantun* (short four-lined poems with an a-b-a-b end rhyme), which was regarded as natural and pure expression of the Malay people and made its way into the works of French and German romantic literates like Hugo, Baudelaire or Chamisso. The *syair*, however, although the most popular Malay literary genre in the nineteenth century (Proudfoot 1993: 29), are fairly underrepresented in European manuscript collections. Many *syair* were based on materials from Persia, Egypt, Turkey or other Middle Eastern regions (Matheson 1983: 17) which illustrates the importance of Muslim cultural networks and its interactions with maritime Southeast Asia. *Syair* were – for European readers – difficult to understand and to translate compared both to Malay prose fictional or historical stories due to their verse character.<sup>1</sup> Scholars in search for works which could bear Western reason and fit into their literary tastes would judge a *syair* probably as boring or disordered.

Furthermore, Malay literature of the nineteenth century was generally regarded as a result of a period of literary decline which led Hans Overbeck to his well-known laconic statement “Malay literature is dead.” In Overbeck’s opinion (1927: 1) new Malay works of importance had not been written any longer in the nineteenth century, although he was the first European scholar to pay particular attention to the genre of *syair*.<sup>2</sup> Overbeck was not alone with his judgement: inspired by nineteenth-century evolutionary positivism, many administrator-scholars like Frank Swettenham, Hugh Clifford, Richard Winstedt or Richard Wilkinson drew the same conclusion on Malay literature and on Malay culture and society in general.

This assumption is contradictory to all data we have on nineteenth century Malay literature. Overbeck (1927: 11) mentioned that *syair* were still very popular in the Malay Archipelago in 1926. At the tiny island of Penyengat in the Riau Archipelago, just a few kilometers off Singapore, the production of *syair* flourished throughout the

nineteenth century (Matheson 1983: 8). The Dutch resident of Riau, E. Netscher, mentioned in 1858 that a number of poetry and prose works were composed in Riau and reported that there was no decay of Malay literature in Riau at all (Netscher 1858: 67). Ten years later, the Dutch Bible, translator H. C. Klinkert, wrote that *hikayat* were gradually disappearing, whereas there was no shortage in poetry (*syair*) (Klinkert 1868: 312, 370). Only a few years later, a publishing house was established at the court of Riau to print several *syair* (Putten 1997; Barnard 1994). Several new *syair* were composed in the second half of the nineteenth century and subsequently published in Singapore, Penang and elsewhere.

The texts located in European libraries and archives, therefore, reflect more the tastes and needs of its collectors than the kind of literature which circulated among local populations (Warnk 2009: 14). Philology which seems to have a kind of political revival throughout Malaysia and Indonesia played a major role in constructing a Malay World by using materials regarded as ‘representative’ located in relevant collections. While in recent years research in the collectors of Malay manuscripts saw an increased interest (Proudfoot 2003), studies on the collectors and collections of printed literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth century are so far a neglected field.

Contemporary European observers regarded printed books from Asian publishers as inferior to manuscripts. Thus, they were less collected and even more less studied. Overbeck and many other contemporaries hold a low opinion on the physical qualities of these titles (printing style, binding, paper quality etc.) and on the contents which were described as “unimportant” (Overbeck 1927: 1). Overbeck heavily complained on Arab-Malay publishers in Penang and Singapore having not been able to produce new works of quality or to reprint ‘good’ or ‘valuable’ books of former times, but only to publish thin booklets with stories deriving from Arabia (Overbeck 1927: 11). The holdings of these printed works before 1900 in European collections are even more neglected and less described than the manuscripts. We have e.g. so far no catalogue or detailed description of the collection of printed materials in Malay collected by the well-known Dutch scholar H. N. van der Tuuk which today is located in Leiden University Library, although many books of this collection contain his *ex libris*. In very few cases, we have some rough descriptions: After the death of Father P. Favre, his library was sold by Maisonneuve & Leclerc who printed a catalogue of books to be sold (Maisonneuve & Leclerc 1888). At least three of these titles were not mentioned in Proudfoot’s monumental catalogue (1993). Most books apparently have been sold to the library of the *École des Langues Orientales* in Paris, today known under the abbreviation INALCO; but other titles of his Malay collections seem to have been bought by other institutions or private persons. We are quite lucky to

have a documented collection with an ex-libris as well as name entries in old inventories with the collection of Emil Lüring in Frankfurt, which will be described in detail below. Another problem is that several collections are catalogized in libraries, but the transcriptions of Jawi script by inexperienced nineteenth century colleagues which turned out to be inaccurate or insufficient had crept into modern OPAC-systems.

#### THE WORLD OF MALAY BOOK PUBLISHING IN COLONIAL MALAYA BETWEEN 1880 AND 1920

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Malay literary world witnessed a major change through the introduction of lithographic printing. Throughout the Muslim world, this development which meant a revolution in reading habits was enthusiastically welcomed. Invented in Bavaria, Germany in 1798, lithographic printing spread into the Muslim world within decades as it turned out to be highly suitable for publishing books in a less capital-intensive way in the Arabic script. The first printed copies of the al-Qur'an appeared in Teheran (1828), Shiraz (1830), Calcutta (1831), Täbris (1833), Serampore (1833), Cawnpore (1834), Palembang (1853) or Surabaya (1854), all published before the editions from Muslim heartlands, like Cairo (1869/70), Constantinople (1871/72) or Mecca (1884) (Bobzin 2002). Lithographic printing of religious books and other titles was flourishing in Muslim-dominated cities and towns in Northern India from the 1850s onwards (Metcalf 1982: 205ff.).

The first Malay books printed in the Malay Peninsula were published by the London Missionary Society in 1817 and by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1835.<sup>3</sup> Both societies cooperated closely with Malay collaborators to produce their books, the most well-known among them was Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsyi. After the departure of both mission societies to China after the end of the Opium War in 1842, the missionary Benjamin Keasberry stayed on in Singapore financing his activities, especially an important school which educated Malay boys, by publishing books, mainly in the Malay language. Keasberry published several editions of Abdullah Munsyi's works as well as school books and mission journals. The first Malay titles edited by Asian (mostly Malay, Arab-Malay or Indian Muslim) publishers appeared in Singapore in the late 1850s, in Penang in the late 1860s and in Johor in the early 1870s. Among many religious *kitab* works, these lithographic publishers very soon published several other titles, ranging from old and new translations of classical romances and legends of Arabic, Persian or Indian origin and Islamic flavour, traditional folk tales, and poetry (*syair*) to the modern autobiographical chronicles of Abdullah Munsyi and his successors, several *syair* on

recent and current events, lexicographic works or the first newspapers (Roff 1964: 84f.).<sup>4</sup>

Malay titles printed by European publishers were usually not produced as lithography but as letter-print. The most important publishers here were the American Mission Press, later renamed in Methodist Publishing House in 1906 and Malaya Publishing House in 1928 respectively, and Kelly & Walsh, both located in Singapore. Both publishers covered about 90% of the whole European production of Malay books (Proudfoot 1986: 105). Kelly & Walsh were specialised in school books, while the American Mission Press printed among Christian texts more or less every book they were ordered to do, except those with anti-Christian contents, or those promoting the use of alcohol or opium.<sup>5</sup> The colonial government usually had its publications in Jawi printed at both publishing houses, but printed some books in Romanised Malay at its own premises.

Printing Malay books in Singapore, Penang, Riau, Johor and to a lesser extent at other places, meant a huge transformation of Malay literature. Reading habits changed very much as printed books were much easier to obtain and were often read aloud in coffee houses and elsewhere for those who were illiterate. Traditional tales were presented to an audience by a story-teller to the audience, usually centred around a *raja*'s court. This exclusiveness of Malay literature was broken up by availability of the new printed material (Sweeney 1980: 6). Formerly rare manuscripts could circulate now in large numbers at comparatively low costs. This lowered the value of manuscripts in a certain way, but opened new markets (Proudfoot 2002: 126ff.). Furthermore, the former audiences gradually changed from listening to reading audiences and moved from the traditional courts to the bustling colonial cities like Singapore and Penang.

The majority of Muslim publishers in the Malayan Peninsula was located in Singapore and was not of Malay, but of Arabic and/or Javanese descent, while a few Chinese and Indian Muslim presses printed Malay books too (Lee 1989: 6ff; Proudfoot 1987: 2). From the very beginning, since Gutenberg's times printing was a commercial enterprise. Thus, the Malay-language presses published more or less what they could sell: besides religious titles and *syair* several translations of stories from Indian, Persian or Arab sources were very popular.<sup>6</sup> Most publishers had agents throughout all larger towns in the Malay Peninsula, Sarawak, Sumatera and Java. Printed books had to be registered by the British colonial authorities in the Malay Peninsula – at least in theory. From these data we know what titles had been most frequently been re-edited and sometimes even the number of copies. Hans Overbeck (1927: 5) as a contemporary eye-witness, mentioned an average number between 500 to 1000 copies, the highest number ever printed being 2000 copies. Again, it reveals that the interests of local customers

do not correspond with the tastes of European readers. Islamic theological literature, *syair* and prose *hikayat* stories were commercially the most successful books published up to 1920 (Proudfoot 1986: 104; Proudfoot 1993: 29). Networks to the Middle East further strengthened the strong position of religious works in Malay literature. When in 1884 a printing house was established in Mecca, it was a Malay from Patani who ran it for several years and started from the very beginning to edit theological works in the Malay language (Md. Sidin 1998: 109).

As Lüring probably bought many of his books at the publishing house of Haji Muhammad Siraj, the history of this particular publisher is examined here in greater detail. Haji Muhammad Siraj bin Haji Muhammad Salleh al-Rambani was like many of his contemporaries of Javanese-Arab descent and derives from Rembang at the Pasisir coast of Northern Java. It is not known when he arrived in Singapore, nor when he died. According to Khalid (1992: xvii), he published books in Singapore from 1868 until 1903. Proudfoot (1993: 36) lists publications of Siraj from 1873 to 1918 with about 80 editions. Probably some of these activities were carried on under his name by his son(s) or successor(s). His publishing house and bookshop was apparently the biggest of all Muslim booksellers. It was located in 1883 at 44 Sultan Road (Lorong Sultan) in Kampung Gelam and since 1887 at 43 Lorong Sultan (Proudfoot (1993: 639). In 1891 he employed altogether ten persons in his publishing house (Hashimah 1989: 344). Siraj became editor of the first Malay-language newspaper *Jawi Peranakan* from 1889-1891 which he used as a platform for the advertisement and the promotion of his books. After 1901, he seemed to have been not very active any more as most of his titles then were reprints (Proudfoot 1993: 40). Siraj was specialised in *syair*, *hikayat* and *kitab* literature (Khalid 1992: xvii). His religious titles were written in Malay, Arabic or Javanese (*pegon*) script (Proudfoot 1987: 3). He established a network of agents for selling his books outside Singapore:<sup>7</sup>

Penang	1. bookshop of Haji Puteh, 52 Acheen Street 2. publishing house of Lim Seng Hui, 230 Beach Street
Taiping (Perak):	Sheikh Nahar [or Nazir] bin Ahmad Bakhtiar, a teacher
Tapah (Perak):	Haji [Muhammad?] Yaakub bin Raja Bela
Kuching (Sarawak):	Shop of Haji Azahari Juragan
Malacca:	Munsi Muhammad Jaafar
Batavia:	Albrecht & Rusche

Books, therefore, could be obtained in Singapore's Muslim bookshops as well as via several agents throughout the western parts of the Malayan Peninsula. A third channel were postal orders. It becomes evident from a copy of one of his catalogues that he cooperated closely with other publishers as he either sold their books in his bookshop, or had some of his own publications printed at their presses. Siraj even employed the American Mission Press or the Indian-run Denodaya-Press for printing his books as both were able to produce books in letter-print (Proudfoot 1987: 6).

After 1900, Muslim lithographic printing in Singapore and elsewhere in the Malay Peninsula was in decline. While between 1890-1899, altogether 99 titles had been registered by the colonial authorities; the number went down to 50 in 1900-1909 and only 12 in 1910-1919 (Md. Sidin: 1998: 80). The reasons for this decline were many. Lithographic printing was superseded by an increased school book production in letter-print which usually had a better quality of printing, paper and binding. This technology was far more capital-intensive than the former lithographic presses, therefore these titles were mainly printed by the two European-run publishing houses, Kelly & Walsh and the Methodist Publishing House, which received printing orders by the colonial government (Proudfoot 1993). Newspapers and journals became more available to a Malay-reading public, especially in the urban areas. Economic difficulties of several publishers led to a decrease of their book production, especially of *kitab* literature (Proudfoot 1986: 116). Furthermore, the book market was flooded with imported books, especially *kitab* literature from Bombay and Mecca after 1910. Publishers from Bombay had agents or sometimes even branches in Singapore (Proudfoot 1993: 44). Lithographic prints from Bombay, Cairo, Mecca or Istanbul were of better quality, both in print and paper. This internationalisation of the Malay book trade becomes fully evident when one of Singapore's booksellers advertised in 1912 that they stocked books printed in Mecca, Istanbul, Russia [?!], Egypt and Bombay (Proudfoot 1993.). The growing number of titles published outside Singapore, especially those printed in Bombay, led to a rapid decline of the book production in the Malay Peninsula and towards a reorientation in the 1920s.<sup>8</sup>

It was this development which led to the assumption of the German merchant, diplomats, entomologist and last, but not least philologist Hans Overbeck that "Malay literature is dead, faded away, since the glory of the Malay kingdoms vanished." The famous laconic statement became misinterpreted and misunderstood in many distorted and false ways. However, those who were able and willing to read more than rather the very first sentence of his book would have found the following notes: "Its [i.e. Malay literature's] seeds are still there, but they rest in the treasuries of the museums and libraries of the white men and

await the sower, who scatters them again on its native soil” (Overbeck 1927: 3). Having experienced the transformations of Malay and other native cultures of the Malay world at the turn of the century, Overbeck describes museums and libraries as the only institutions where somebody can read Malay literature. Neither native nor European publishers have been able to produce a sufficient stock of Malay texts (Overbeck 1927: 5ff.). This development was criticised too by the colonial administrator, Richard James Wilkinson, a friend of Lüring, who saw an urgent need to read for the Malay society. The decline of native publishing as well as the efforts of the mission societies whose publications did not “stimulate a general taste for reading” would finally lead to a “distaste of the modern Malay for reading” (Wilkinson, Parliamentary Papers Dc. 235). So, those who wanted to study Malay literature, society and culture were highly dependent on the few libraries which had catalogued Malay books.

It was exactly the time of the height of Malay book production in the 1890s when Emil Lüring reached Singapore in October 1889 and the beginning of its decline after 1900 when Lüring left Southeast Asia in September 1909. This is fully reflected in his collection of Malay books, only some titles of his collection were published after 1900.

#### EMIL LÜRING: SOME BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND HIS COLLECTION

The Methodist missionary Emil Lüring is one of the forgotten German figures who played a role in Southeast Asia. On the one hand, this is the result of the fact that he did not publish many books and articles during his lifetime. Those articles, mainly written in German, appeared in rather unknown, mainly mission journals like *Der Christliche Apologete* (The Christian Apologete), *Haus und Herd* (Home and Hearth), *Jahresbericht des Frankfurter Vereins für Orientalische Sprachen* (Yearbook of the Frankfurt Society for Oriental Languages), or *Der Evangelist* (The Evangelist). On the other hand, in modern mission histories his name is often misspelled as “Leuring” due to the German Umlaut *ü* in his name, especially by Malaysian and English-American authors.<sup>9</sup> His *ex-libris* produced in Singapore indicates that he used in Malaya the transcription “Luering”. Even present documents produced by the church and school in Sitiawan, Perak, which he founded in 1903 give a misspelled name.

Among his contemporaries, he was a respected person and highly praised. A certain W. H. Phillips, resident of Taiping, described Lüring in a farewell address in the *Perak Pioneer and Malay States Advertiser* (07.09.1909) as follows:

“Dr. Luering was a missionary ordained of God, and not of man. Hence we found in him those qualities which rightly belong to the



genuine servant of God, but which, alas are deplorably rare in a majority of his brother missionaries. The Dr. was no respecter of persons. The white brethren and the black, the yellow and the brown, were all alike to him, and he had a righteous scorn for all racial and ethnological distinction which is the curse of all the missions in the East. (...) His profound scholarship never made him a pedant, nor his religious zeal ever make him a fanatic. As a preacher he had few equals. He was not a mere blatant declaimer against liquor-trade, and opium traffic and such trash.”

His former bishop and fellow missionary, William F. Oldham, gives a more sophisticated view of Lüring:

“He was teacher, evangelist, pastor, pathfinder, presiding elder, colonizer, songwriter and lexicographer. It must be added, that he is an extraordinary botanist, geologist, scientist in the broadest sense, singer, musician and a most pleasant conversationalist too. (...) But above all Dr. L. is shining as an expert on language. With greatest ease he learns each language, which he comes into contact with. On his arrival in Singapore he took over a school, and he was within three months able to converse in the Malay language, a little bit later in the Chinese language too. (...) He is a man who rises early to work for several hours with his books. On his bicycle he rides with ease twenty or thirty miles in a temperature, in which my sweat would be leaking through all pores already during writing.” (Oldham 1905)<sup>10</sup>

From these lines, it becomes evident that Lüring was not only a missionary, but also a person with active academic interests. He was frequently in contact with such experts on Malaya, like William Shellabear (1902), R. J. Wilkinson (1897, 1903), W.W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden (1906). Lüring was a member of the *Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* from 1896 to 1917. Furthermore he was close to the well-known Chinese *Peranakan* author Na Tian Piet (Lüring 1922: 128).

Emil Lüring was born on 9 December 1863 in Delmenhorst, Oldenburg, as second son of the Methodist pastor Adolf Lüring.<sup>11</sup> His father was among the first four pastors of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany. After visiting schools in Bremen, Straßburg and Pforzheim, Emil Lüring studied classical philology and theology at the University of Zürich, Switzerland, for two terms and continued his studies at the University of Straßburg for another five terms. He finished his studies in 1887 with a Ph.D. thesis entitled *Die über die medicinischen Kenntnisse der alten Ägypter berichtenden Papyri verglichen mit den medicinischen Schriften griechischer und römischer Autoren (The Papyri With Informations On The Medical Knowledge Of The Old Egypt Compared To The Medical Writings Of Greek And Roman Authors)*

(Lüring 1888). During his studies, Lüring already laid a focus on Oriental languages. Among his teachers were the Egyptologist Johannes Dümichen (1833-1894), and the Orientalists Julius Euting (1839-1913) and Theodor Nöldecke (1836-1930), all three known as leading experts in their fields in Germany during that time. Lüring, then, received an academic training in a classical German philological tradition. In Straßburg and Zürich he studied among others classical Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Old Persian, Coptic and hieroglyphic Egyptian, Old Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, Middle-high German and even such 'exotic' languages like Old Armenian, Old Bulgarian or the Maya-language of Yucatan, Mexico. No doubt a brilliant academic career would have been open to Lüring.

However, Lüring accepted a pastorage from 1887 to 1889, when he was reached by a call of James Thoburn, then Bishop of the American Methodist Episcopal Church for India, who urged Methodist pastors to become missionaries at the newly opened mission field in British Malaya. The first missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church was the already mentioned William F. Oldham, who opened up a station in Singapore in early 1885.<sup>12</sup> Until 1887 Oldham remained the sole Methodist missionary in Singapore, when Thoburn made an urgent call in America and Europe for missionaries in the new field. Lüring decided in 1888 to follow Thoburn's invitation and was to become the first missionary of the German Methodist Episcopal Church.

Lüring reached Singapore in October 1889 and stayed in Malaya for about twenty years. In 1893 he married Violet Beins (1876-1949), a young Eurasian convert of William Oldham from Roman Catholic faith. Lüring was based in Singapore, North Borneo (Sabah, at the Kimanis River), Singapore again, Ipoh and finally Penang, only interrupted by furlough leaves for health reasons and travels to Methodist conferences in India and the United States. Side trips or inspection trips led him accompanied by colleagues to West Borneo, following the Kapuas River upriver as far as Sintang, to China, to Riau, to Malacca, to the Kinta Valley in Perak, to Kedah and other places. As missionary or presiding elder, he was in charge of the Malay and the Chinese mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, furthermore he and his wife worked in Malay-, Chinese- and Tamil-language Methodist schools.

Lüring was a bibliophile. He bought many books in Malaya and China; most are probably nowadays lost. The surviving Malay material is currently in the Library of Southeast Asian Studies of Goethe-University in Frankfurt, Germany and is listed in the appendix below.<sup>13</sup> This collection includes not only Bible translations, but also many rare Malay titles in *Jawi* script by local lithographic publishers from Singapore, Riau, Johor Bahru and even Mecca, among them a complete edition of Keasberry's illustrated mission journal *Cermin Mata* (1858-

1860?). During his first years, Lüring seemed to have quite good contacts at least some of the Muslim book sellers in Singapore, especially to Haji Muhammad Siraj whose seal is in several of Lüring's Malay books.

Lüring's own writings were mainly mission accounts or articles in mission journals like the *Malaysia Message* (Singapore) or *Der Evangelist* (Bremen). They deliver an interesting view of European life in Malaya at the turn of the century. Lüring's works allow many insights into colonial society which are important because church members are generally ignored by the very few studies on the Europeans in Malaya.<sup>14</sup> His works intended for an academic readership are quite rare. They include three articles in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1897, 1901, 1903) and some shorter papers published in the *Jahresbericht des Frankfurter Vereins für Orientalische Sprachen* (1912a, 1912b, 1913a, 1913b, 1916). However, Lüring's academic training is fully reflected in many of his missionary publications which often read more as ethnographic or historical accounts rather than as mission reports. Take for example his account of his visit to Malacca in 1893: Lüring delivers an introduction on Malay history thrice as long as his information on the mission or churches in Malacca (Lüring 1894). His published letters dated 8 November 1889 and 10 December 1889, written after being only for two respectively six weeks in Singapore, show his remarkable ability for ethnographic and linguistic observations (Lüring 1890a; 1890b); and his short ethnographic note *Amoklaufen und Kopferbeuten (Running Amok And Taking Heads)* would fit more into contemporary anthropological journals rather than in a mission journal with the fuzzy title *Haus und Herd (Home And Hearth)* (Lüring 1891).<sup>15</sup>

In 1903, Lüring was asked by the government of the state of Perak to cooperate in an agricultural project which aimed to establish a migrant peasantry to produce the food supply for the work force in Perak's tin mines and plantations. For this purpose, Lüring was sent to China where he hired 450 Chinese settlers from Foochow who he subsequently brought to Malaya. This group, the majority were Chinese Methodist converts, received land and housing in Perak and were settled down in Kampung Koh in Sitiawan. These Foochow settlers were the first generation of a well-known Chinese community which was the off-spring of many well-known personalities of Malaysian Chinese political, commercial and religious life (Shih 2004).

In 1909, Lüring accepted a call from the Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Frankfurt. Here, Lüring became a lecturer for future Methodist pastors, the subjects he taught were dogmatics, mission studies, geography, biology (botany and zoology), Latin, Greek and Hebrew.<sup>16</sup> The Frankfurt seminary, founded in 1858, was during Lüring's time the sole Methodist institution for instructing the Methodist clergy in Middle Europe, so it indeed can be said that

every Methodist pastor in Germany was educated by Lüring during 1909 and 1933, the year of his retirement.

Lüring was also kept busy in academic circles in Frankfurt. He was a member of the *Senckenbergische Gesellschaft*, a society on natural sciences, of the *Frankfurter Verein für Geographie und Statistik* (*Frankfurt Society for Geography and Statistics*) and was often a guest in the *Institut für Kulturmorphologie* of famous anthropologists Leo Frobenius and Adolf E. Jensen. More important here, Lüring was co-founder of the *Frankfurter Verein für Orientalische Sprachen* (*Frankfurt Society for Oriental Languages*) in 1911. This society cooperated closely with the OrientInstitut of Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt, founded in 1915.<sup>17</sup> Among its members were several well-known Frankfurt public figures like members of Rothschildt's bank or Consul Müller-Beeck and still to become professors like Otto Dempwolff. Honorary members were such leading academics as Franz Boas (anthropologist), Albert Grünwedel (Central Asian studies), Theodor Koch-Grünberg (anthropologist) or Carl Meinhof (African languages). Lüring was very active in this society, he became later its deputy president, president and after 1933 honorary president. He found time not only to publish mission accounts of his experiences (Lüring 1928), but also taught courses in Malay, Chinese and other languages. Some notes by a former pupil of his Malay class survived and are preserved in the University Library in Frankfurt. One of his articles entitled *Wie ich mit zwei Köpfen nach Hause kam* (*How I came back home with two heads*) even won a short story competition of the local newspaper *Frankfurter General-Anzeiger* (Lüring 1911). Emil Lüring died after a long illness which hindered him from work in 1936/7 at 14 October 1937.

Only some parts of his collection have survived the Second World War. The buildings of the Methodist Seminary as well as the residence of his wife in Frankfurt were bombed during the war. The listings in the appendix are, however, still impressive and were drawn from the inventory book of the library of the former Orient-Institute as well as from Lüring's exlibris placed in his books. Some titles have been listed in the late 1940s, but are lost today as indicated in the appendix. However, apart from the books listed below it is known from his and other persons notes that he also possessed at least the following titles which are not located in Frankfurt any more:

- a manuscript of the *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*.
- “Malay laws published by W. E. Maxwell”, probably the *Undang-Undang Cukai Baru* edited by Maxwell and published in 1888 (Proudfoot 1993).
- *Hikayat Syah Mardan* (probably one of the editions printed by Haji Mohammad Taib in the 1890s).

- Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsyi's *Syair Singapura Terbakar* (1843 or 1887 edition).
- *Syair Kampung Boyan dimakan api* (1883).
- a natural history schoolbook in Malay.
- a schoolbook on physics in Malay.
- the Malay Bible translations by William Shellabear.
- Shellabear's *A Malay-English Vocabulary Containing 6500 Words or Phrases with their English Equivalent, together with an Appendix of Household, Nautical and Medical Terms*. (1902).
- the four Gospels published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.
- Roorda van Eysinga's *Maleisch en Nederduitsch woordenboek* (1825).
- *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* from 1895 to 1917.
- Second part of Howell & Bailey's *A Sea Dyak Dictionary* (1900).

Finally, several conclusions can be drawn from Lüring's collection:

1. Commercial Malay printing started in Singapore already in the 1860s and in Penang in the late 1870s. No titles printed or published in Penang are found in Lüring's collection. Although most Singapore publishers had agents (mainly booksellers and other publishers) in Penang and elsewhere, books published in Penang seemed not to have circulated in Singapore on a large scale at that time or were of no interest for Lüring.

2. Several titles in Romanised Malay had been printed in Penang and Singapore by the Catholic Church, i.e. the French Missions des Étrangères. There was obviously no exchange or great interaction between the Methodist Church and the Catholic mission as they were not present in Lüring's collection.

3. Some of the former pupils of Benjamin Keasberry's school in Singapore were still working as language teachers for Europeans in the early 1890s. This becomes evident from the signature of a certain S. Ismail dated 25. April 1860 on the first page of the mission journal *Cermin Mata*. It is highly likely that this man is identical with Ismail who is mentioned in William Shellabear's unpublished autobiography:

“Fortunately I was able to get the interpreter of the Supreme Court to come and teach me two or three days a week. This man, named Ismail, was a pure Malay, and had been a pupil of the former missionary of the London Missionary Society, Rev. B. P. Keasberry, who carried on the old Mission Press, and continued

his work in Singapore until he died, in 1875. Ismail had had a wide experience in teaching the language to the young officers of the Civil Service. He continued to teach me during the three years that I served in the army in Singapore, and I found him to be an excellent teacher, so that it was not many months before I was able to dispense with an interpreter in dealing with the drilling and instruction of my Malay soldiers.” (Methodist Archives, “*Life of the Reverend W. G. Shellabear*”: 30f.)

This training of the soldier-turned-out-missionary Shellabear actually happened between 1887-1890. The copy of *Cermin Mata* was probably given to Shellabear who handed it over to Lüring later. Lüring’s own language teacher was a certain Encik Abdul Majid (Lüring 1922: 37).

4. Lüring visited the islands of Bintan and Penyengat in the Riau archipelago in 1890 and bought some books there. Other titles he might have acquired in Singapore. Titles like the *Hikayat Futuh Asy-Syami* which was lithographed in 1879 must have been still available at that time. At least since the late 1880s a typographic press must have been in existence at Penyengat as two titles from Riau listed below indicate. It is likely that this equipment was made available through publishers in Singapore who also printed with typographic presses at least since 1876, the date of appearance of the first issue of the *Jawi Peranakan*, the first Malay-language newspaper in the Malayan Peninsula (Putten 1997: 728).

5. The existence of the *Kitāb Sullam al-Mubtadī* authored by Daud Abdullah al-Fatani in an edition printed in Mecca in 1890 showed that at least some titles published in the Hijaz were available in Singapore in the 1890s. The circulation of such titles in the Malay world in the late nineteenth century is another little addition to our knowledge of the Muslim networks with the Hijaz, Egypt and the Middle East which had been recently described by Michael Laffan (2003) in greater detail.

6. Although being a missionary Lüring obviously had access to Malay manuscripts. Although he copied the *Bustan as-Salatin* from a manuscript located in a European-run library in Singapore he also was in possession of a copy of the *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* which he must have obtained somewhere (Wilkinson 1897). He had personal knowledge of some of the publishers (Haji Muhammad Siraj), copyists and authors (Muhammad Ibrahim Munysi, Na Tian Piet) and discussed matters of Malay language and literature with them.

7. A collection of Malay books, of course, strongly reflects the personal needs and tastes of its collector. That Lüring as a missionary had a more or less complete set of the available Protestant mission literature is not surprising. His philological and linguistic interest becomes clear by collecting lexicographical material in Malay which is a

nearly complete set of all in colonial Malaya available contemporary literature. He used his text editions for comparative linguistic and philological work which can be seen in his many hand-written notes in Favre's Malay-French dictionary.

Lüring's collection of many rare printed Malay titles in Frankfurt is impressive as the appendix will show. Careful studies of other collections as Favre's or van der Tuuk's Malay printed books will allow further insights into the mechanisms of publishing processes and of the Malay book market in the Malay Peninsula, reading habits between traditionality and modernity and the implementation of new text genres in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> It is difficult to define what precisely attracted Malay in particular to this genre in the nineteenth century. According to Virginia Matheson emotional effects of a poem which was rather sung than recited might have been very important. Furthermore she mentioned that a *syair* fulfilled many ideals of Mulism aesthetics (Matheson 1983: 24ff.). However, *syair* were (and are!) composed well into the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. See e.g. the work of the well-known Malay poet Abdul Halim "R" (2006) who wrote a *syair* on the history of the state of Kedah from its earliest times until the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
- <sup>2</sup> In one of his last papers Overbeck considered the "*syair* being probably the main part of Malay literature" (Overbeck 1938: 300).
- <sup>3</sup> In an recent article Anthony Reid (2009) paid attention on the efforts of the Catholic Church in Penang which edited books in romanised Malay which were printed in Paris in the 1820s. However, already in the 1850s the Catholics in Penang run an own publishing house at a 'St. Maur's Orphanage' which printed Christian texts in romanised Malay. Some scattered notes on some of these titles can be found in the catalogue of Fr. Favre's collection (Maisonneuve & Leclerc 1888).
- <sup>4</sup> On the importance of these early translations for the development of modern Malay(sian) literature see Warnk (2007).
- <sup>5</sup> On the publishing policies of the American Mission Press see Warnk (forthcoming).
- <sup>6</sup> Overbeck's (1927: 11) critique of Malay publishers only publishing thin booklets with stories of Arabian origins must be seen in this light.
- <sup>7</sup> The data derive from Proudfoot (1987, 1993), Khalid (1992) and Hashimah (1989).
- <sup>8</sup> The trade of Malay and Javanese praying books and al-Qur'an editions produced in India to Indonesia and Malaysia did not stop after the Second World War. At least until the early 1960s Malay books were printed in Bombay and were exported to maritime Southeast Asian markets (Padwick 1961: xi).
- <sup>9</sup> See e.g. Robert Hunt's thesis in manuscript as well as in printed form on William Shellabear (1993; 1996). Although Hunt went through all contemporary mission journals where Emil Lüring is correctly spelled as "Luering" for more than 20 years, Hunt was not able to realize the German

spelling.

- <sup>10</sup> Oldham's description seems to be a translation from an English original into German: "Er ist Lehrer, Evangelist, Pastor, Pfadfinder, Vorstehender Aeltester, Kolonisator, Liederdichter und Lexikograph gewesen. Dazu ist hinzuzufügen, daß er ein ausgezeichnete Botaniker, Geologist [sic!], Naturforscher im weitesten Sinn, Sänger, Musiker und ein höchst angenehmer Konversationalist [sic!] ist. (...) Allein vor allem anderen leuchtet Dr. L. als Sprachkenner. Mit der größten Leichtigkeit lernt er jede Sprache, mit welcher er in Berührung kommt. Bei seiner Ankunft in Singapore übernahm er eine Schule und dabei war er innerhalb von drei Monaten im stande, sich in der malayischen Sprache zu unterhalten und ein wenig später ebenfalls in der chinesischen Sprache. (...) Er ist ein Mann, der frühe aufsteht, um sich einige Stunden seinen Büchern beschäftigen zu können. Auf seinem Rad fährt er mit Leichtigkeit zwanzig oder dreißig Meilen in einer Temperatur, in welcher mir schon beim Schreiben der Schweiß aus allen Poren dringt." (Oldham 1905).
- <sup>11</sup> His complete name is Heinrich Ludwig Emil Lüring, but he was called Emil only.
- <sup>12</sup> For a general outline of the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church in colonial Malaya see Hwa Yung & Hunt (1992), Loo (1955) and Haines (1956).
- <sup>13</sup> Lüring was one the first amateur photographers too. Several photos were most probably taken either in Ipoh or – more likely – in Penang between 1900 and 1909. They are now in possession of Lüring's grandson Walter Momberger and Albert Lutjeboer who is married to one of Lüring's greatgranddaughters. Hopefully the author is able to edit these rare materials in future. Others, however, – Lüring (1913a) mentions to have taken several ethnographic photos of the Sengoi in Perak – are nowadays lost.
- <sup>14</sup> I do not want to be misunderstood here: I am fully aware that Lüring's published writings as well as 'official' mission writings were often (self-) censored and intended as stories of success. Better accounts of daily missionary life allow archival materials like station reports, diaries or letter books which, however, in Lüring's case do not exist anymore.
- <sup>15</sup> For a longer analysis of Lüring's writings and ideas on Malay literature and society see Warnk (2002).
- <sup>16</sup> see Zentralarchiv der Evangelisch-Methodistischen Kirche Deutschlands, Reutlingen, *Prediger-Seminar der Bischöfl. Methodistenkirche in Frankfurt a. Main: Berichte des Direktors: Auszug 1922*.
- <sup>17</sup> For further informations regarding establishment, financial background and interests of this institute see Kellner-Heinkele (1991).

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Singapore, Methodist Archives:

*The Life of the Reverend W.G. Shellabear, DD. mss., typescript, ca. 1942.*

## APPENDIX

## THE MALAY LANGUAGE TITLES OF LÜRING'S COLLECTION

The Malay titles have been ordered into seven categories:

1. manuscripts; 2. titles printed by European publishers; 3. titles printed by non-European publishers; 4. educational titles; 5. Bible translations and missionary literature; 6. titles on Malay language; 7. titles on/in other Austronesian languages.

In these categories the books were arranged as follows:

- ❖ number according to the inventory book of the former Orient-Institut
- ❖ author / editor [if known]
- ❖ *title*
- ❖ place and publisher [if known]
- ❖ YEAR
- ❖ current library location [example: LI MI/A 1,a]
- ❖ *Jawi* [J] / *Rumi* [R]
- ❖ lithographic print [LITH] / letter print [LETT]
- ❖ number of pages

## Manuscripts

2095 Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri. *Kitab Bustan As-Salatin*. [LI MI/A 26,1]  
[J]

According to the inventory book this manuscript was acquired by the Orient-Institut at 20 November 1940 three years after Lüring's death. The *Jawi* manuscript written by Lüring is a version of Book Seven, copied from a manuscript found in the collection of Logan (No. 267) (now probably located in Singapore) which is in Lüring's opinion incomplete. Lüring's copy is written with black and red ink on European paper (22,7x17,7 cm) and embraces 209 pages with 22 lines. Lüring wrote words, sentences and even whole sections he thought to be more 'modern' or less 'original' with red ink to distinguish them from the 'older' parts of the text in black.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore he made several pencil notes on certain words and 'faults'.

Lüring's handwritten introduction:

*"The Manners and Customs of Malay Kings at Malacca till their weddings. Copied in Malacca on the 10th Rajab 1237 = 4th December 1831.*

*Added hereto is a continuum of other customs called 'Ini satu cherita ia-itu hubongan.' written in the same hand. It is imcomplete. Logan 320*

*The Bustan Es-salatin was written in the year of the Hejra 1040 (A.D. 1641) [the HejraYear is incorrect and must be 1050, H.W.] by order of Sultan Iskandar Il Ahiyu 'd-din Mughaiyat Shah Johan taz-daulat idillu-llahi di- 'il- 'alam. The author is Nuru- 'd-din ibn 'Ali ibn Hasanji ibn Muhammad al-hamidi, born in Raniri, composing in Acheh*

(Acheen).

*The original of this copy Ms. Logan No. 267 is very delapidated. It is written in a beautiful hand, but large portions have been replaced by a more modern MS evidently based upon the decayed portions of the original. The ancient portion and modern additions are as follows:  $57+196+4+12+8+10+19=88+218=306$  pp.*

*Copied by Dr. H. L. E. Luring. Singapore Sept. 14. 1897 till Oct 26. 1897" (underlined types written with red ink in the original, H.W.)*

### Malay Language Titles Printed by European Publishers

- 1738 Hugh Clifford (ed). *The Hikayat Raja Budiman. Part I: Text. Part II: English Translation With Notes*. Singapore: American Mission Press 1896 [LI MI/A 13] [J] [LETT] (140 + 41 pp.)
- 1791 Sulaiman bin Muhammad Nur: *Kitab Gemala Hikmat. Malay Literature Series 1*. Singapore: Methodist Publishing House 1906 [bound together with nos. 1754, 1755, 1790: LI MI 83] [R] (ii + 88 pp.)
- 2049/2050 Syeikh Nuru'd-Din ar-Raniri. *Kitab Bustan Al-Salatin*. (Edited by R.J. Wilkinson).  
Two vols. Singapura: American Mission Press 1899-1900
- 2093/2094 Syeikh Nuru'd-Din ar-Raniri. *Kitab Bustan al-Salatin*. [Edited by R.J. Wilkinson]. Two vols. Singapura: American Mission Press 1899-1900 [LI MI/A 26,2 / LI MI/A 26,3] [J] [LETT] (108 + 128 pp.)  
(Nos. 2050 (vol. 1) and 2093 (Vol. 2) are bound together as well as nos. 2049 and 2094. Identical editions, H.W.)
- 3902 Alang Ahmad bin Muhammad Yunus (translator). *Hikayat Penerang Hati telah Didapati Matannya daripada Bahasa Inggris dan Dipinda serta Diterjemahkan ke Bahasa Melayu*. Taiping: Perak Government Printing Service 1901 [LI MI/A 6] [J] [LETT] (224 pp.) (Entry at the front page: "This book belongs to Ahmad, Anglo Chinese School Ipoh Kinta 21.2.02". This book is an adaptation of 200 of Aesop's fables, H.W.).
- 3999 Goh Hood Keng (translator). *Chrita deri-hal Queen Victoria Tersalin deri-pada Bhasa Inggris*. Singapura: Methodist Publishing House 1908 [YY 4] [R] (ii + 115 pp.)
- 4050 *Hikaiaat Shamsul al-Bahrain. Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 47*. Singapore: Methodist Publishing House 1906 [LI MI/A 10] [J] [LETT] (269 pp.)
- 4053 H. C. Klinkert (ed). *Drie Maleische gedichten of de Sjairs Ken Tamboehan, Jatim Noestapa en Bidasari*. Malay title: *Syair Ken Tambuhan dan Syair Yatim Nustapa dan Syair Bidasari*. Leiden: E. J. Brill 1886 [LI MI/A 4] [J] [LETT] (419 pp.)  
(Title page of the book missing, binding in a very bad shape, H.W.)
- 18 I have so far not been able to cross-check Lüring's version of the *Bustan as-Salatin* with the 'original' copy in Singapore. The Malay manuscripts of James Richardson Logan were formerly a part of Raffles Library in Singapore (Ché-Ross 2002: 20).
- 4057 William G. Shellabear (ed). *Sejarah Melayu (Malay Annals)*. Singapura: American Mission Press 1896 [LI MI/A 19,2] [J] [LETT] (vii

- + 383 pp.)
- 4062 Syed Mahmud bin Abdulkadir al-Hindi. *Hikayat pada Menyatakan Ceritera Tanah-Tanah Melayu serta Pulau Perca dan Sebagainya*. Singapore: Government Printing Office 1885 [J] [LETT] (96 pp.)  
Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsi. *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah*. Title page missing, probably edition printed in Singapore 1886. [J] [LETT] (119 pp.)  
(Lüring used this edition quite frequently. He made several English translations and comments at the pages, H.W.)  
Syed Mahmud bin Abdulkadir al-Hindi. *Hikayat yang Pertama lagi Ilmu Kejadian yaitu yang Menyatakan Sifat dan Keadaan Dunia*. Singapura 1887 [J] [LETT] (95 pp.)  
Syed Mahmud bin Abdulkadir al-Hindi. *Hikayat yang Kedua lagi Ilmu Kejadian yaitu yang Menyatakan Sifat dan Keadaan Dunia*. Singapura 1887 [LI M/A 1,b] [J] [LETT] (105 pp.) (The books are bound together with further titles, H.W.)
- 4065 *Bahoewa ini Kitab Tadjoe 'Isalathen, ja-itoe makoetha segala radja<sup>2</sup>*. (Jawi title: *Bahwa ini Kitab Taj as-Salatin, yaitu mahkota segala raja-raja*). Batawi: Lange & Co. 1864 [LI M/A 29] [J] [LETT] (208 pp.)
- 4081 Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsi. *Sadjarah Malajoe, of de Maleische kronieken*. Malay title: *Sulalatus Salatin yaitu Sejarah Melayu*. Leiden: E. J. Brill 1884 [LI M/A 11,1] [J] [LETT] (392 pp.)
- 4083 Ahmed Kiamil bin Abdoullah Kadri (translator). *Idris Bek El Homra. Satoe Tjerita jang Benar dari Tanah Soetji dalam Tahoen 1886. Tersalin dari bahasa Arab oleh Ahmed Kiamil bin Abdoellah Kadri, Djoeroebahasa dari Bahasa Bawah Angin di Stamboel*. Batavia: P. Lorck & Co. [LI In 150] [R] (vii + 116 pp.)  
(Title page, contents and preface missing, H.W.)
- 4229 William G. Shellabear (ed). *Sejarah Melayu (Malay Annals)*. Singapura: American Mission Press 1896 [LI M/A 19,1] [J] [LETT] (vii + 383 pp.)  
Not listed *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim, yaitu seperti Hikayat yang Tercap di dalam Negeri Breda oleh Tuan Lenting*. Second Edition. Singapura: American Mission Press 1899 [LI M/A 83, bound together with other titles] [J] [LETT] (26 pp.)  
(Not listed in Proudfoot (1993), H.W.)

#### Malay Language Titles Printed by Non-European Publishers

- 4051 *Hikayat Alf Laila wa Laila ya-ini Hikayat Seribu Satu Malam*. Five vols. Singapura 1878, 1879 [LI M/A 16] [J] [LITH] (100 + 100 + 100 + 100 + 100 pp.)  
(Five volumes bound together, H.W.)
- 4052 Abu al-Maali [bin Abdul Muluk]. *Hikayat Malik Saif al-Yazan*. Two vols. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Amin 1894 [LI M/A 17] [J] [LITH] (168 + 176 pp.)  
(Two volumes bound together, H.W.)
- 4055 Muhammad Ibrahim Munsi. *Pemimpin Johor*. Singapura, printed at Teluk Belanga 1878 [LI M/A 27] [J] [LITH] (130 pp.)  
(The page number of this edition does not fit with the description found in

- Proudfoot (1993: 392f.) who mentioned editions with 60 pages only, H.W.)
- 4058 Daud bin Abdullah al-Fattani. *Kitāb Sullam al-Mubtadī fī ma 'rifat tarikat al-mua'tadī*. Mecca A.H. 1308 (A.D. 1890) [LI MI/A 15] [J] [LITH] (192 pp.)  
(Not listed in Proudfoot (1993), H.W.)
- 4059 Haji Muhammad Nur. *Syair Lahirnya Nabi Kita Muhammad Said Ala Nama hingga sampai Wafatnya Elok sekali Ceteranya*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Saadiq A.H. 1307 (A.D. 1889) [RE IS 33] [J] [LITH] (64 pp.)  
(Not listed in Proudfoot (1993), H.W.)
- 4063 *Hikayat Si Miskin*. Singapura: Thomas Trusty 1886 [LI MI/A 5] [J] [Lith] (148 pp.)  
(Thomas Trusty was the proprietor of the Singapore Press which was located at 26 Raffles Place, Singapore and probably after 1891 cooperated with the American Mission Press which then became located in the neighbouring house in 28 Raffles Place. He seemed to have been active as publisher at least until 1894 (Proudfoot 1993: 350). Copyist of this edition was Muhammad Hasan bin Haji Muhammad Jin, who usually worked as main copyist for Haji Muhammad Amin (Ronkel 1942: 129-30), H.W.)
- 4064 Tuan Haji Muhammad Yusuf bin Puspa Teruna. *Hikayat Taman Permata ya'ini Majlis bagi Segala Raja-Raja dan Orang Besar-Besar*. Lingga: Percetakan Kerajaan Lingga A.H. 1307 (A.D. 1889/90) [LI MI/A 18] [J] [LETT] (296 pp.)
- 4066 *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Siraj 1891 [J] [LITH] (123 pp.)  
*Hikayat Indera Bangsawan*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Siraj A.H. 1309 (A.D. 1891) [J] [LITH] (95 pp.)  
Raja Ali Haji bin Raja Ahmad. *Bustan al-Katibin lil-Sibyan al-Mutaallimin, artinya Bustan al-Katibin ya'ini Perkebunan Juru Tulis bagi Kanak-Kanak yang Hendak Menuntut Belajar Akandia*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Said A.H. 1310 (A.D. 1892) [J] [LITH] (72 pp.)  
Muhammad Hasan bin Nasruddin (translator). *Syair Indera Sebaha*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Siraj 1891 [J] [LITH] (79 pp.)  
Encik Ibrahim. *Syair Taj al-Muluk*. Second Edition. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Sidik A.H. 1309 (A.D. 1891) [J] [LITH] (88 pp.)  
*Syair Ikan Terubuk dan Puyu-Puyu*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Siraj A.H. 1304 (A.D. 1887) [J] [LITH] (23 pp.)  
(Title page missing, H.W.)  
Muhammad Salih. *Syair Lampung Karam*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Taib A.H. 1306 (A.D. 1888) [J] [LITH] (37 pp.)  
*Syair Pantun Seloka*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Siraj 1889 [J] [LITH] (15 pp.)  
Raja Ali Haji bin Raja Ahmad. *Syair Pengantin Juragan Awai*. Singapore: Ibrahim, di Kampung Gelam A.H. 1303 (A.D. 1885) [J] [LITH] (31 pp.)  
*Syair Juragan Budiman Namanya terlalu Adil Ceteranya*. Singapura A.H. 1309 (A.D. 189 1/2) [LI MI/A 1,a] [J] [LITH] (104 pp.)  
(All books are bound together. *Hikayat Nakhoda Muda* and *Syair Indra Sebaha* are marked with a stamp: "Hadjee Mohamad Sirat, Singapore", H.W.)



- 4067 Muhammad bin Umar al-Wakidi. *Hikayat Futuh asy-Syami*. Pulau Penyengat, Riau A.H. 1296 (A.D. 1879) [J] [LITH] (593 pp.)  
Muhammad bin Umar al-Wakidi. *Perang Yarmuk Futuh asy-Syami yang Kedua*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Taib A.H. 1311 (A.D. 1893) [LI MI/A 3] [J] [LETT] (373 pp.) (The two books are bound together, H.W.).
- 4068 Syed Mahmud bin Syed Abdulkadir al-Hindi. *Kamus al-Mahmudiyya*. Singapura: Singapore Government Press 1893 [SW MI 35] [J] [LETT] (233 pp.)
- 4069 Muhammad Khalid bin Haji Abdullah Munsyi (ed). *Kitab Majmuk al-Ahkam. Perhimpunan Hukum-Hukum Syarak al-Islam*. Johor Bahru: Jabatan Cap Kerajaan Johor A.H. 1308 (A.D. 1890) [RE IS 19] [J] [LETT] (424 pp.)  
(Lüring made use of this book on Islamic duties and made remarks in red and black ink. At the front page he gives the following entry: “*The pagination at the bottom of the page is that of: Kitab Mukhtasar sheriah islam. Amsterdam 1844*”. A book with this title could not be located in Dutch or German libraries. Probably Lüring gives an inaccurate title and/or publication date, H.W.).
- 4070 Lim Kong Chuan (ed). *Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsyi*. Singapura: Koh Yew Hean Press 1880 [LI MI/A 50] [J] [LITH] (496 pp.)
- 4071 *Charita dahulu kala dari yaman Tong Teaw. Sixth Book*. [R]  
(Missing. Can not be identified safely as the entry in the inventory book is obviously erroneous, H.W.).
- 4086 Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad bin Abdullah al-Banjari. *Kitab Perukunan bagi Haji Abdul Rasyid Banjar yang Empunya yaitu Perukunan Besar Namanya*. Singapura: Haji Muhammad Siraj A.H. 1318 (A.D. 1901) [RE IS 16] [J] [LITH] (62 pp.)

#### Malay Educational Titles (Teaching Manuals, School Books etc.)

- 1754 *Hikayat Robinson Crusoe yang ter-sangat ber-guna bagi kanak-kanak di-dalam sekelasekola Malayu dengan ka-handak tuan yang men-jadi nather sekola-sekola Malayu bagi tiga buah negri*. Singapura: Chétakkan Karaja-an Singapura 1893 [Bound together with nos. 1755, 1790, 1791: LI MI 83] [R] (77 pp.)
- 1755 *A Malay Reader (Romanized) for the Use of Pupils in the Second Standard of the Vernacular Schools of the Straits Settlements*. Singapore: Kelly & Walsh 1899 [Bound together with nos. 1754, 1790, 1791: LI MI 83] [R] (23 pp.)
- 1790 *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim. Edited for the Use as a Third Standard Reader in the Vernacular Schools of the Straits Settlements*. Singapore: Kelly & Walsh 1899 [Bound together with nos. 1754, 1755, 1791: LI MI 83] [R] (27 pp.)
- 4056 H. C. Belfield, D. G. Campbell and R. J. Wilkinson (eds). *Romanised Malay Spelling Being the Report to a Committee Appointed by the Government of the Federated Malay States to Discuss the Subject of Writing Malay in the Roman Character, together with a List of Malay Words Spelt According to the System Recommended*. Kuala Lumpur: F.M.S.

- Government Printing Office 1904 [R] (xiv + 74 pp.)
- R. J. Wilkinson (ed). *A Malay Reader, Edited for the Use of Pupils in the Fourth Standard at the Government Vernacular Schools in the Straits Settlements*. Singapura: American Mission Press 1897 [SW MI 39] [J] [LETT] (ii + 114 pp.)  
(These two books are bound together. Wilkinson's *Malay Reader* was intended as textbook for Malay schools. Lüring seemed to have assisted the editor. As noted in the preface he made a manuscript of the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* available for the use in the reader. So far I have not been able to locate this manuscript, H.W.).
- 4060 Benjamin P. Keasberry (ed). *Cermin Mata bagi Segala Orang yang Menuntut Pengetahuan*. Singapura: Teluk Belanga 1858, 1859 [ZS 187] [J] [LITH] (68 + 68 + 68 + 100 + 100 + 100 + 100 pp.)  
(All volumes bound together. Missionary journal in Malay, 7 nos., starting from no. 1 April 1858, no. 2 August 1858, no. 3 October 1858, and four further vols. 4-7 1859 or 1860 (?). Handwritten entry at the title page: "S. Ismail, 25. April 1860". This journal is probably the most important book in Lüring's collection. Neither Roff (1972), Proudfoot (1993) nor Adam (1994) are able to list a complete set of this journal in British, American, Dutch or Malaysian libraries. *Cermin Mata* was the most ambitious and voluminous of all nineteenth century missionary journals printed in Malaya. Beautifully coloured and partly illustrated is contains articles on the Bible and Christian religion, on Francis Drake, Napoleon and other famous (European) statesmen, it edits translations of European texts like *Robinson Crusoe* or Malay originals like Abdullah Munsyi's *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke negeri Jeddah*, H.W.).
- 4062 *Hikayat Jahidin yang Berguna didalam Tempat Belajar Kanak-Kanak Melayu yang di dalam Singapura, Pulau Pinang dan Melaka*. Singapura: Inspector of Schools, S.S. 1888 [J] [LETT] (119 pp.)  
Syed Mahmud bin Abdulkadir al-Hindi (ed). *Hikayat Panca Tanderan yang Dinamai didalam Bahasa Melayu 'Hikayat Galila dan Damina', iaitu Dicapkan bagi Kanak-Kanak di sekolah*. Singapura: Inspector of Schools, S.S. 1887 [J] [LETT] (107 pp.)  
*Hikayat Bakhtiar yang sangat Indah-Indah Ceriteranya, Nalir bagi Sekalian Sekolah-Sekolah Government yang di Negeri Singapura, Pulau Pinang dan Melaka*. Singapura: Inspector of Schools, S.S. 1889 [J] [LETT] (75 pp.)  
Syed Mahmud bin Abdulkadir al-Hindi (translator). *Kitab Kejadian Selera Anggota Manusia bagi Pergunaan Sekalian Kanak-Kanak di dalam Sekolah Melayu*. Singapore: Government Printing Office 1891 [LI MI/A 1,b] [J] [LETT] (40 pp.)  
(Bound together with other titles mentioned above, H.W.).
- 4079 Muhammad bin Mahbub (ed). *Jalan kepandaian*. Singapura: Johor Government Printing Office 1881 [LI MI/A 53] [J] [LETT] (212 pp.)  
(This book served in government Malay schools as text book for a long time and was reprinted for the fourth time as late as 1914. Za'ba (1939) lists as its author Syed Mahmud al-Hindi, while Proudfoot (1993) gives Muhammad bin Mahbub (d. 1922). However, the text is in great parts identical with Benjamin Keasberry's *Cerita Ilmu Kepandaian Orang Putih* which was for the first time published as lithography in Singapore in

1855, H.W.).

- 4082 *Ingat Jabatan*. Singapura: Raffles Place 28 [i.e. American Mission Press, H.W.] A.H. 1310 (A.D. 1892) [LI MI/A 49] [J] [LETT] (32 pp.)  
(A book on administration, not listed in Proudfoot (1993), H.W.).

#### Malay Bible Translations and Other Missionary Literature

- 3898 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Matius*. Singapura 1867 [RE CH 5,a] [J] [LITH] (112 pp.)
- 4054 *Hikayat Beni Israel*. Singapura: Methodist Publishing House 1907 [RE CH 28] [J] [LETT] (80 pp.)
- 4061 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Kitab Kejadian ia-itu daripada Taurit Nabi Allah Musa*. Singapura: American Mission Press 1894 [J] [LETT] (140 pp.)  
Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Perumpamaan Sulaiman*. Fourth edition. Singapura: American Mission Press 1896 [J] [LETT] (59 pp.)  
Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Matius*. Third edition. Singapura: American Mission Press 1895 [J] [LETT] (92 pp.)  
Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Markus*. Third edition. Singapura: American Mission Press 1896 [J] [LETT] (94 pp.)  
Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Lukas*. Singapura: American Mission Press 1893 [J] [LETT] (186 pp.)  
Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Yahya*. Second edition. Singapura: American Mission Press 1894 [J] [LETT] (77 pp.)  
Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Kitab Perbuatan Rasul-Rasul*. Singapura: American Mission Press 1894 [J] [LETT] (98 pp.)  
Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Surat Rasul Paulus kepada Orang Rum*. Second edition. Singapura: American Mission Press 1894 [RE CH 4] [J] [LETT] (73 pp.)  
(All these Malay Bible translations are bound together, H.W.).
- 4072 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Yahya*. Singapura 1867 [RE CH 5,d] [J] [LITH] (96 pp.)
- 4073 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Markus*. Singapura 1867 [RE CH 5,b,1] [J] [LITH] (74 pp.)
- 4074 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Markus*. Singapura 1867 [RE CH 5,b,2] [J] [LITH] (74 pp.)  
(Same edition as above, H.W.).
- 4075 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Taurit Nabi Musa yang Bernama Keluaran*. Singapura 1872 [RE CH 3] [J] [LETT] (174 pp.)  
(Title page missing, H.W.).
- 4076 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Kisah Segala Rasul*. Singapura 1867 [RE CH 5,e] [J] [LITH] (124 pp.)
- 4077 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Injil Lukas*. Singapura 1867 [RE CH 5,c] [J] [LITH] (120 pp.)
- 4078 Benjamin Keasberry (translator). *Kitab Kejadian ia-itu daripada Taurit Nabi Allah Musa*. Singapura: American Mission Press 1894 [RE CH 2] [J] [LITH] (140 pp.)  
(Same edition as in the bound volume no. 4061.)
- 4080 John Bunyan. *Perjalanan Orang Mencari Selamat*. Singapura, no

printing date can be ascertained (1880s?) [LI MI/A 48] [J] [LITH] (264 pp.)

(Title page missing. Not listed in Proudfoot (1993), H.W.).

- 6882 John Bunyan. *Chrita Orang yang Chari Selamat. Di-Pindahkan dalam Bhasa Malayu oleh W.G. Shellabear*. Singapura: American Mission Press 1905 [LÜ LI 41] [R] (iii + 246 pp.)

#### **Books on the Malay Language (Dictionaries, Grammars etc.)**

- 1681 Alfred Tugault. *Grammaire de la langue Malaye*. Paris: Victor Gaupy 1868 [SG MI 11] (94 pp.)

- 1706 P.(ierre) Favre. *Grammaire de la langue malaise*. Vienne: Imprimerie Impériale et Royale 1876 [SG MI 13] (xxii + 242 pp.)

- 1707a/1707b P.(ierre) Favre. *Dictionnaire malais-français*. 2 vols. Vienne: Imprimerie Impériale et Royale 1875 [SW MI 10,a / 10,b] (xvi + 916 + 879 pp.)

(Lüring worked intensively with this comparative dictionary. He gives additional handwritten entries, partly in Jawi, from Malay texts he knew and probably possessed – he made a list of used texts at the front page of the first volume – and notes further meanings and explanations in English in black and red ink, H.W.).

- 1734 J. Pijnappel. *Maleisch-Hollandsch Woordenboek*. Third revised edition. Haarlem, Amsterdam: Joh. Enschede & Zonen, 1884 [SW MI 14] (xii + 343 pp.)

(Lüring made intensive use of this dictionary which served him as initial starting point for learning Malay during his trip to Singapore (Lüring 1922). It contains many additional handwritten entries in red and black ink, partly with Chinese equivalents. However, he very soon realized that the Malay language presented in this dictionary quite differed from the daily Malay conversation actually spoken in Singapore (Lüring 1890a), H.W.).

- 1741 William G. Shellabear. *A Practical Malay Grammar*. Singapore: American Mission Press 1904 (vi + 83 pp.)

(Missing, H.W.).

- 1745 A. Seidel. *Praktische Grammatik der Malayischen Sprache nebst einem Lesebuche, sowie einem malayisch-deutschen und einem deutsch-malayischen Wörterbuche*. Wien: A. Hartleben 1891 [SG MI 12,2] (x + 176 pp.)

- 1787 J.J. deHollander. *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische taal- en letterkunde*. Third revised edition. Utrecht: J. G. Broese 1856 [LI MI/A 21,b] (93 + 336 pp.)

(Title pages missing. Volumes 2 (*Letterkunde*) and 3 (*Leesboek*) only, both parts bound together. Volume 1 (*Spraakunst*) is not listed in the inventory, H.W.).

- 1815 William Edward Maxwell. *A Manual of the Malay Language with an Introductory Sketch of the Sanskrit Element in Malay*. London: Trübner & Co. 1882 [SL MI 11,2] (viii + 182 pp.)

- 1912 Frank A. Swettenham. *Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages with Notes. I: English-Malay. II: English-Malay dialogues*.

- London: W. B. Whittingham & Co 1889 [SW MI 6] (xvii + 200 + 81 pp.)
- 3486 R. J. Wilkinson. *A Malay-English Dictionary*. Singapore: Kelly & Walsh 1903 [SW MI 1] (ix + 700 + liv + v pp.)  
(Lüring as well as the well-known administrator-anthropologist W. W. Skeat were listed as collaborators in the preface by Wilkinson, H.W.).  
not listed A.E. Pringle. *English and Malay Vocabulary for Use in Schools in the Straits Settlements*. Singapore: The Singapore and Straits Printing Office 1895 [SW MI 6] (106 pp.).

#### **Titles On or In Other Austronesian Languages**

- 1712 William Howell and D.J.S. Bailey: *A Sea Dyak Dictionary, in Alphabetical Parts, with Examples and Quotations Shewing the Meaning of Words*. 2 parts. Singapore: American Mission Press 1900 [SW Ib 2] (xii + 85 pp.)  
(Only part 1 with letters A to K in the library, part 2 is missing, H.W.).
- 1753 H.N. van der Tuuk. *Kurzer Abriss einer Batta 'schen Formenlehre, verdeutscht durch August Schreiber*. Barmen: Missionshaus, ca. 1866 [SG Ta 4,1] (iv + 82 pp.)
- 1782 Juan deNoceda and Pedro deSanlucar. *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala, compuesto por varios religiosos doctos y graves*. Third edition. Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier 1860 [SW Tg 6] (xv + 642 pp.)  
(Lüring used this dictionary for comparative linguistic research. He made notes in Jawi on related words and terms of the Malay language., H.W.).
- 1803 Toribio Minguella: *Ensayo de gramatica Hispano-Tagala*. Manila: Establecimiento Tipografico de Plana Y. C. 1878 [SG Tg 9] (302 pp.).
- 1813 Johannes Warneck: *Djamita Kuria*. Two vols. Singapore: American Mission Press 1901, 1902 (97 + 106 pp.).  
(Missing. Same edition as no. 3895, H.W.).
- 1933 *A buk na tiniri ma ta ri ra nige bileg ta ra niaga Patpatar. Catechism in the Patpatar Language Translated by Rev. Alfons Pratsch, Namatanai, New-Ireland*. Rabaul: Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia 1919 [RE CH 13] (49 pp.).
- 3895 Johannes Warneck: *Djamita Kuria*. Two vols. Singapore: American Mission Press 1901, 1902 [RE CH 14] (97 + 106 pp.).  
(A book on church history written by the German missionary Johannes Warneck in the Toba Batak language and printed in Roman letters. At the same time an edition was printed also in Batak letters (Proudfoot 1993). Besides books in Toba Batak the Methodist Publishing House published also materials in Iban, Javanese, Sundanese, Tagalog and Bikol, H.W.).
- 4094 *A buk na tinir ta ra lotu, a buk na kakaille, ma ta ra umana maqit bula ure ra lotu*. Sydney: Epworth Printing and Publishing House 1902 [RE CH 11] (92 pp.).  
(A small book on Christian moral and ethics in form of question and answer in the Tolai language spoken in Papua New Guinea, H.W.).

**Others**

3511-3516      *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*  
No. 1, 1878 – 27, 1894. [ZS 110]  
(Bound together in 6 volumes, H.W.)

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