



# Universiteit Leiden

Jedamski, D.A. (2009).

The Vanishing-Act of Sherlock Holmes in Indonesia's National Awakening. In D.A. Jedamski (Ed.), *Chewing Over the West : Occidental Narratives in Non-Western Readings (Cross/Cultures)*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, pp. 349-379

Deze PDF wordt u aangeboden door het Leiden University Repository.  
De PDF kon niet in de oorspronkelijke vormgeving worden opgenomen in het Repository, maar bevat wel de oorspronkelijke tekst. De bladzijden komen hierdoor niet meer overeen met het gedrukte origineel.

|

# The Vanishing-Act of Sherlock Holmes in Indonesia's National Awakening

|

DORIS JEDAMSKI

|

UNTIL THEY WERE INTRODUCED through Western book and film culture, neither the profession nor the concept of the detective had been known in the Malay world. Information (and gossip) was commonly channelled by way of the effective network of household employees, street vendors, and door-to-door salesmen. The Malay society of the early twentieth century, however, soon grew acquainted with the ever-expanding official and semi-official 'investigating agencies', mostly represented by police agents and spies [*mata-mata*] who worked for the colonial government.

Police activities were not confined to apprehending against the myriad laws governing political life or to warning who might do so. There existed a network of undercover police officials masquerading as politically active Indonesians which covered much of the Indies, and this network was aided and assisted in its task of collecting political intelligence by another network of paid informers.<sup>1</sup>

Hence, as far as police practice and spy activities were concerned, the young Chinese-Malay and indigenous writers who emerged during the first decades of the twentieth century would have found plenty of inspiration in their own colonial life-world, but none with regard to detectives – had it not

---

<sup>1</sup> William Joseph O'Malley, *Indonesia in the Great Depression: A Study of East Sumatra and Yogyakarta in the 1930s* (Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 1977): 228. Those representatives of colonial power stemmed from the various ethnic groups in the Netherlands East Indies, with the *pribumi* ['native'] at the bottom of the hierarchy and the 'white' Europeans at its top.

been for the popular novels and movies coming from other Asian and, most of all, Western cultures. Along with the smart, rational detective, these media also brought entertaining images of crime, weapons, and violence, much to the annoyance of the Dutch rulers.

From a position of being able to look back on a long tradition of highly esteemed detectives and related genres in Chinese literature, the Chinese-Malay part of colonial society perceived the genre as perhaps less foreign, less ‘Western’. Whatever the case, they were the first among the non-Western groups of society to consume and, in turn, to produce detective/crime fiction in the Dutch East Indies. As well as being acquainted with such Western crime-fighting heroes as Raffles (Lord Lister) and Sherlock Holmes, Indonesians and Malays became familiar with their equivalents in a number of Chinese detective and police stories, which were translated and adapted into Chinese-Malay.<sup>2</sup> Through their translation activities, Chinese-Malay writers and publishers thus functioned as cultural intermediaries, making the texts selected accessible to a Malay audience.<sup>3</sup>

In a similar vein, Eurasian writers selected Western novels for translation and took on the task of cultural ‘gatekeepers’,<sup>4</sup> but they showed little apparent interest in the detective genre. In their efforts to belong to the (allegedly superior) Western layer of colonial society, most Eurasian intellectuals readily adopted Western cultural values, including the literary hierarchy that consigned popular literature and crime fiction to the very bottom. They would therefore not easily include this kind of popular fiction in their translation, writing, or publication activities – unless for a very good reason, such as commercial benefit or political calculation. However, the presence of imported Western detective novels indicates that both Dutch

---

<sup>2</sup> Chinese Malay was the predominant variant of the lingua franca Malay in the world of print culture at the time, in particular the press, until it was gradually superseded by the Balai Poestaka variant based on the regional variant used in Riau, born of and propagated by the Dutch colonial ‘social agency’ *Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur/Balai Poestaka*.

<sup>3</sup> Examples of translated/adapted Chinese crime stories are: C.P. Chen, *Souw Lian Eng (tjerita politie resia di Tiongkok)* [Souw Lian Eng (a secret police story set in China, 1924)]; Thia Siau Tjeng, *Soeara menggonggongnja andjing: Satoe tjerita dari detective Hok Song* [The noise of a/the barking dog, a story featuring the detective Hok Song, nd, c.1935] tr. Haij Teng Djin; and Nyonya The Tiang Ek (one of the very few women writers), *Huang Jing Hoa (tjerita politie rahasia)* [Huang Jing Hoa (a secret police story, 1925)].

<sup>4</sup> In the legal sense, Eurasians were equal in status to the Dutch, but socially they remained stigmatized and trapped between two cultures, neither of which would fully accept them.

and Eurasians must have taken some pleasure in reading them.<sup>5</sup> But it was not until the 1940s that a number of Eurasian writers began to engage in the production of crime fiction.<sup>6</sup>

The unequal access to education – the *pribumi*, ‘natives’, were the last to be granted such access – constitutes one possible explanation for the fact that modern Chinese-Malay literature emerged in colonial Indonesia decades before indigenous modern Malay literature. The aspect of (Western) education, however, can only partly explain the fact that the Chinese Malays cultivated a liking for Sherlock Holmes, the epitome of Western rationality, while this emblematic detective remained more or less absent from the Islamic Sumatran Malay crime fiction of the 1930s and 1940s. The latter did embrace the detective genre, but soon discarded Sherlock Holmes from its echelon of central characters.<sup>7</sup> The Sumatran Malay writers, more rigorously than others, transformed and re-defined the genre – first and foremost in terms of its core feature, the detective – in response to the colonial situation, and hence made it part of the decolonization process that was slowly gaining momentum.

Popular literature has always been less exposed to colonial monitoring and censorship than other domains of print media (the indigenous press, for instance). It entered the indigenous literary world almost unaltered and without any literary label attached to it that might stigmatize it as inferior. As I have shown elsewhere, indigenous authors and readers would initially encounter the detective genre with an unbiased eye. Indigenous intellectuals perceived the genre of crime fiction as being in no way inferior to other literary genres, for such hierarchical Western categories had not yet been implemented in Malay culture, albeit the categories of ‘low literature’ versus ‘high’ (hence valuable) literature were being strongly advocated by the Dutch colonial publishing house Balai Poestaka – a binary to which in-

---

<sup>5</sup> Most of the detective novels circulating in the Netherlands East Indies at the time were written in or translated into Dutch; others were in English, French, or German.

<sup>6</sup> Ucee [S.H. Ulrich Coldenhoff] is here the exception; as early as the mid-1920s, he created a book series featuring the Eurasian detective Leo Brandhorst and his Eurasian ‘Watson’ Kees. At least one title from this series was also translated into Malay. Faced with the loss of their colony, a number of Dutch officials, surprisingly, turned to the detective novel to express their anxiety, fear, anger, and frustration. They wrote their novels in Dutch with a colonial setting but degraded the indigenous personage to either faithful, voiceless servants or to dark mysterious, almost supernaturally threatening opponents.

<sup>7</sup> It is noteworthy that Sherlock Holmes made a dramatic reappearance during the 1980s and 1990s throughout Indonesia in numerous translations of Conan Doyle’s stories.

digenous intellectuals became increasingly susceptible during the 1930s.<sup>8</sup> But both Chinese-Malay and Islamic Sumatran Malay authors looked at detective literature from an angle that was actually diametrically opposed to the Western evaluation of the genre. Particularly in the eyes of the Sumatran Malays, it constituted a valuable form of literature that could even be of relevance to the process of nation-building.<sup>9</sup> Dutch colonials made some efforts to correct the unwanted re-interpretation of the Western literary hierarchy, although it is doubtful that they actually recognized the full scope of decolonizing potential inherent in this development, of which Malay crime fiction was but one symptom. Operating on the periphery of colonial power, however, the Sumatran Malay authors and publishers were not immediately affected by any colonial measures. Only towards 1939 did public criticism become so pressing that they had to act on it.<sup>10</sup>

### The Detective Arrives in the Dutch East Indies

What was the very first Sherlock Holmes text to be translated into Malay (or any other indigenous language in the colony, for that matter)? This remains an unsolved mystery. In all likelihood, this ‘pioneering’ text appeared in serialized form in one of the urban Malay newspapers of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. During the first decade of the twentieth century, periodicals such as *Bintang Hindia* [Star of Hindia] featured serialized translations on a regular basis, among them Conan Doyle’s *A Study in Scarlet* (Engl. 1887; Malay c. 1904). It is safe to say that the Sher-

---

<sup>8</sup> Doris Jedamski, “Genres of Crime Fiction in Colonial Indonesia,” in *Pramoedya Ananta Toer, 70 tahun: Essays to Honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer*, ed. Bob Hering (Stein: Edisi Sastra Kabar Seberang, Sulating Maphilindo 1995): 167–89. A central role in the westernization of the Malay literary world was played by the *Poedjangga Baroe* [New poet], a small circle of indigenous writers named after the literary forum that they had set up in 1933. For a comprehensive analysis of the intellectual process and the debates conducted by this group (which made considerable efforts to define its position via the reconciliation of the East with the West), see Keith Foulcher, *‘Pudjangga Baru’: Literature and Nationalism in Indonesia, 1933–1942* (Adelaide: Flinders University, 1980).

<sup>9</sup> Jedamski, “Genres of Crime Fiction,” 169–71.

<sup>10</sup> Notably, criticism did not come solely from the Dutch side. Islamic schoolteachers, imams, and orthodox hajjis, too, demanded a change in the editorial policy of Sumatran publishers. The conflict culminated in the so-called Medan debate on modern media and, preeminently, on the (popular) novel; Doris Jedamski, “The Novel-Humming Ulama: Islamic Debates on Popular Literature in Late Colonial Indonesia,” in *Indonesia – the Presence of the Past. A festschrift in honour of Ingrid Wessel*, ed. Eva Streifeneder & Antje Missbach (Berlin: regiospectra, 2007): 303–24.

lock Holmes stories belong among the first Western texts ever to be translated into Malay by non-Dutch hands. Sherlock Holmes owed his presence in the colony and popularity among the Malay-speaking population primarily to the translation and publication activities of the Chinese Malays. Claudine Salmon makes mention of a Sherlock Holmes serial that appeared in the Chinese-Malay periodical *Hoa Pit* around 1910.<sup>11</sup> Only a few years later, the first translations in book form came out, again translated and published by Chinese Malays in so-called Low Malay.<sup>12</sup> A seven-volume series featuring Sherlock Holmes cases, which had been published in 1914 in Batavia, was still circulating in a Batavian Chinese Malay library in 1951. Like most of the Chinese-Malay Holmes translations, this series, too, generally adhered to the source texts. Once in a while, brief passages were added, omitted or abbreviated, and, here and there, some explanatory remarks were inserted to help the indigenous reader understand certain expressions or aspects of Western culture, but never were plot or meaning intentionally altered.<sup>13</sup>

In 1924, at least five Chinese-Malay publishers launched so-called *roman madjalah* [magazine novel], periodicals containing one short novel(ette) per edition, typically supplemented by an editorial, sometimes a selection of short news features, a couple of photographs linked neither to the story nor to the news, and, in case that the novel was shorter than the usual eighty pages, an additional short story.<sup>14</sup> One of the first magazines of this type, *Tjerita Pilihan* [Selected stories], started off in 1924 with a series of detective novels in Malay translation. In the foreword to the first edition of the magazine, the editor announced the publication of “a selection of

---

<sup>11</sup> Claudine Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia. A Provisional Annotated Bibliography* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme 1981): 527.

<sup>12</sup> The term ‘Low Malay’ covers a number of variants of the Malay language that were used as *linguae francae* among the manifold ethnic groups in the Malay archipelago. The dominant variants were the urban ones shaped by Chinese Malays in large cities such as Surabaya and Batavia. The colonial power disparagingly used the term Low Malay (also Market Malay) while promoting its own policy of linguistic standardization, which favoured the Riau Malay variant.

<sup>13</sup> The translator of “The Red-Headed League,” for instance, decided to provide the information that London was the home of five to six million inhabitants and thus could not be considered a small town. The translator also made sure that the indigenous reader would know that ‘Mr’ in the text did not stand for the Dutch abbreviation of *meester* [master of law] but was the abbreviation for the English ‘Mister’. T.H. Phoa Jr., *Riwajat Sherlock Hokmes dengan pakoempoelan ‘Ramboet Mera’* (Batavia: Tan Ing Liong, 1914): 14; 27.

<sup>14</sup> See Salmon, *Literature in Malay*, 106–107 for a complete list of titles.

novels by famous European, American and Chinese authors which would be full of sophisticated smartness, bravery, evil, and honesty – everything usually to be found in detective literature.”<sup>15</sup> The first issue of *Tjerita Pilihan* appeared, according to the editor, in ‘only’ 5,000 copies – in fact, a remarkably high circulation at the time. The sixth edition of *Tjerita Pilihan* (September 1924) presented the Malay translation of three Sherlock Holmes stories, “The Crooked Man,” “The Priory School,” and “The Singular Experience of Mr. John Scott Eccles.”<sup>16</sup>

*Penghidoepan* [Life] was another, even more successful and long-lived ‘magazine’ of this kind. In the editorial of the January 1926 edition, Nyoo Cheong Seng proclaimed that he would himself be writing a couple of detective stories of great relevance to *Penghidoepan: Life*. In doing so, he took a further step in the process of acquisition – from translation/adaptation to personal creation.<sup>17</sup> He also promised the reader that he would do his utmost to write in a pleasant and palpable manner. Rooted in a long tradition of Malay literature, a decisive element in the production of all indigenous popular fiction was indeed the aspiration to create literature that was both educative/didactic and entertaining. Modern realism as an obligatory ingredient and the promise of significance to real-life experience were new qualities in indigenous literature.

#### No Unanimous Welcome for Holmes & Co.

In its attempt to control the indigenous book market and to counteract Chinese-Malay success in the field of popular literature, the colonial

---

<sup>15</sup> Tio Ie Soei, editorial to *Tjerita Pilihan* 1.1 (1924): 1.

<sup>16</sup> The three stories, “*Orang bongkok*,” “*Anak jang hilang*,” and “*Satoe pertemoean jang aneh dari John Scott Eccles*,” are bundled under the title “Sherlock Holmes (Tjattetan peringatn dari sobatnja Sherlock Holmes, jaitoe H. John Watson, M.D. dari millitairn genesekundigen dienst) [Sherlock Holmes (Notes/Reminiscenes of Sherlock Holmes’ friend, H. John Watson, M.D. of the Army Medical Service),” tr. Tio Ie Soei, *Tjerita Pilihan* 1.6 (September 1924). The title was clearly adopted from the first part of *A Study in Scarlet*. The other issues of the magazine also name the translator but do not mention the Western source-text; the titles and plots, however, give some indication of the country of origin. The first story is most likely based on a French tale; others have a distinct German, Swedish, Chinese, and English ambience (all of them were probably rendered from a Dutch translation).

<sup>17</sup> Nyoo Cheong Seng was one of the most famous, most creative, and most productive Chinese-Malay authors of the twentieth century. He worked as a journalist, translator, editor, novelist, and scriptwriter for theatre and film. Surprisingly, his life and work have not yet been researched.

agency Balai Poestaka eventually launched a number of detective novels in Malay translation, most of them Sherlock Holmes stories.<sup>18</sup> This step was taken with great reluctance. In the eyes of the Dutch colonizers, crime fiction was of no didactic (or any other) value with regard to the ‘civilizing mission’ that, around the turn of the century, the Dutch had officially declared to be undertaking in accord with the ‘Ethical Policy’ doctrine. The Dutch despised the Chinese-Malay publications as being sensational, pornographic, and violent. The publishers of such works were accused of profit-mongering and were deemed irresponsible. A look at the textual material in question, however, shows that perhaps only a very small percentage of it fits that derogatory description. On the contrary, analysis of the Chinese-Malay literature opens up manifold insights into this specific segment of colonial society – and beyond. It conveys intricate social and cultural conflicts, portrays adversaries and allies, and brings to light the multi-layered vision of Chinese-Malay intellectuals. A proper look at the texts reveals that some Chinese-Malay writers and publishers showed keen appreciation of the intellectual challenge of detective stories.<sup>19</sup> Some writers developed a fine ironical undertone in their detective novel(ette)s, wittily mocking the West. It is true that the Chinese Malays, in contrast to the colonial agency Balai Poestaka, had no scruples about presenting the Western detective Holmes as the cocaine addict that he was, or as the male ‘super brain’ outsmarted by a woman. Also, the Chinese Malays preferred translations of Holmes cases that involved some action and violence. In all likelihood, this can be put down to another very successful literary tradition in Chinese literature: the *silat* tale.<sup>20</sup> Any story would sell better when spiced with some *silat* fighting scenes. In deciding whether or not to accept a text, the Chinese-Malay publishers evidently did not follow the Western bourgeois standards of ‘high literature’. After all, they were small entrepreneurs (and not necessarily of their own free will) who had a very hard time making a living in a place where only a tiny percentage of the population could read, and an even smaller percentage could afford the luxury of actually doing so.

---

<sup>18</sup> Other Balai Poestaka translations of Western detective literature were Agatha Christie’s *The Secret Adversary* and G.K. Chesterton’s *Father Brown: The Blue Cross*.

<sup>19</sup> The overtly positive reception of detective literature among intellectuals all over the world deserves separate discussion but clearly exceeds the frame of the present essay.

<sup>20</sup> *Silat* is a highly regarded form of martial art, which also gave its name to an extremely popular genre in (colonial) Indonesia. The latter has not yet found due scholarly appreciation.



For the Dutch, morals were thus one reason to reject crime fiction. Subtle power policy was another. Colonial authorities anxiously watched the print and film media to make sure that no obscene or violent scenes were displayed.

The simple native has a positive genius for picking up false impressions and is very deficient in the sense of proportion. By the unsophisticated Malay, Javanese, or even the Indian and the Chinese, the scenes of crime and depravity which are thrown on to the screen are accepted as faithful representations of the ordinary life of the white man in his own country. [...] The police authorities in the East are unanimous in attributing many of the more important and complicated crimes to the suggestions of the cinema.<sup>21</sup>

It is an undisputed fact that the Dutch colonials shared these anxieties, and not only with regard to foreign film productions which increasingly attracted large (indigenous) audiences in the urban cinemas of the Dutch East Indies.<sup>22</sup> This is a topic for discussion in its own right, and this is not the place to elaborate on it; but the presence of real or fantasized crime in most non-democratic societies appears to be perceived as a direct threat to the powers that be.<sup>23</sup> The ostensible absence of severe crime and violence in a colonial society was to serve as justification and legitimization of the colonial system. The presence of crime, even in an imaginative form, had a destabilizing effect, and crime fiction imagined crime and violence right back into colonial life. Real criminals such as Al Capone and literary figures such as Fantomas were celebrated heroes. The Dutch were understandably very reluctant to tolerate such a state of affairs. Trapped in their own ideals of the Ethical Policy, however, they could not simply ban all

---

<sup>21</sup> “The Cinema in the East: Factor in Spread of Communism (From a Correspondent),” *The Times* (London; 18 September 1926), repr. in “The Cinema and Colonial Rule in Southeast Asia: A Documentary Anecdote,” *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs (RIMA)* 15.1 (1981): 151–55.

<sup>22</sup> Some of the popular films and novels of the time, such as *The Three Musketeers*, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, and *Sherlock Holmes*, reached an even larger audience when they were staged by travelling Malay theatre troupes that also performed outside the urban centres. See Andjar Asmara, “Suka–Duka Dibelakang Lajar Sandiwara: Memoires dari Andjar Asmara” [Joy and sorrow behind the curtain of the sandiwara theatre: Andjar Asmara’s memoirs], *Varia* 1.21 (1958): 28–29 & *Varia* 1.22 (1958): 28–29.

<sup>23</sup> For fear of exposing the state to bad publicity, remarkable efforts have been made in history to deny the existence of criminality, and totalitarian regimes have shown a tendency to reject crime fiction. In Nazi Germany, crime fiction was so effectively shunned that most scholars to date believe that it was actually banned or even did not exist at all (both misapprehensions).

unwanted literature. Taking up the challenge by publishing their selection of Western detective fiction was a bitter compromise.

By the mid-1920s, the nationalist movement had grown threateningly active, and the Holmes translations by Balai Poestaka coincided with the first organized violent upheavals, the communist rebellions of 1926/27 in Java and Sumatra. Taking into account the general policy of Balai Poestaka, it was hardly coincidence that, in this time of turmoil, the Balai Poestaka's texts of choice should be Western fairy tales and 'harmless' Holmes stories. Between 1926 and 1927, Balai Poestaka published in serialized form the stories "The Noble Bachelor," "The Solitary Cyclist," and "The Man with the Twisted Lip" in its Malay weekly. Early in 1929, these Malay versions also came out as booklets and were circulated with the help of Balai Poestaka's extensive system of branch libraries. Like the Chinese-Malay translations, the Balai Poestaka Holmes translations usually did not deviate much from the source-text.<sup>24</sup> It is the text selection that reveals some manipulative intent. The stories chosen by Balai Poestaka all feature a strong Holmes, free of flaws or weaknesses. And they were deemed harmless because they presented cases free of all violence and weaponry. These stories did not even treat of crime as such, or, to put it in Holmes's own critical words directed at his chronicler Watson:

"you can hardly be open to a charge of sensationalism, for out of these cases which you have been so kind as to interest yourself in, a fair proportion do not treat of crime, in its legal sense, at all. The small matter in which I endeavoured to help the King of Bohemia, the singular experience of Miss Mary Sutherland, the problem connected with the man with the twisted lip, and the incident of the noble bachelor, were all matters which are outside the pale of the law. But in avoiding the sensational, I fear that you may have bordered on the trivial."<sup>25</sup>

With reference to such 'non-violent' Holmes stories, Franco Moretti draws attention to another crucial aspect by viewing the texts from a sociological perspective:

---

<sup>24</sup> The Malay version of Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902), translated in 1928 by the writer and Balai Poestaka employee Nur Sutan Iskandar, is a possible exception. Iskandar had a reputation for adapting Western novels in a fairly faithful manner. It would come as no surprise if this Holmes story failed to escape his subtle adjustments. A closer text comparison still needs to be conducted to provide evidence either way.

<sup>25</sup> Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Copper Beeches," in *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1891–82; London: Reed International, 1991): 180.

Uniqueness and mystery: detective fiction treats every element of individual behaviour that desires secrecy as an offence, even if there is no trace of crime (for example, 'The Man with the Twisted Lip', 'The Yellow Face', 'A Scandal in Bohemia'). The idea that anything the individual desires to protect from the interference of society – the liberal 'freedom from' – favours or even coincides with crime is gradually insinuated [...].<sup>26</sup>

The passage above can also be read as a circumscription of one of Balai Poestaka's major concerns and the ultimate goal of early-twentieth-century Dutch colonization policy: securing the state's grip on the colonized mind in order to gain total control without overt measures of violent oppression.

### The Symbolic Order and a New Sense of Subjectivity

Individuality, subjectivity, and identity are issues that form a constant undercurrent in the Malay literature of the 1920s and 1930s – and they were always discussed in relation to westernization and modernity. Despite its entirely different cultural context, the symbolic order as represented in the Western detective genre apparently corresponded in some particular way with the mind-set of the (Chinese-)Malay writers discussed here.<sup>27</sup> They communicated – not much differently from the pioneers of the crime fiction, Edgar Allan Poe and Arthur Conan Doyle, or, more recently through film, Alfred Hitchcock and Brian de Palma – a crucial desire in a ciphered form to appeal to the subconscious of a large audience. One of the premisses of this research can be presented in the words of Meyda Yeğenoğlu:

the psychoanalytic notion of 'fantasy' and the associated term 'object petit a' should not be considered as an individual matter, but rather something conditioned by objective and structural processes.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Franco Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders. Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms*, tr. Susan Fischer, David Forgacs & David Miller (London: Verso & NLB, 1983): 135–36.

<sup>27</sup> Restoring the 'narrative order' was not the most pressing demand. Indigenous forms of narrative were in a phase of drastic renewal and were no longer bound to traditionally defined formats. Efforts to standardize the new literary forms were not tantamount to firm restrictions, as had been the case with Western realism and its emphasis on chronology, which determined modes of production and reception in Western cultures in the nineteenth century. The indigenous producers and recipients of literature were still enjoying the experimental phase.

<sup>28</sup> Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998, repr. 1999): 4. See also Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan In Hollywood And Out* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992). Considering the complex colonial context, a much closer analysis than can possibly be provided

The indigenous writers were striving for emancipation from the Western colonizers, while, at the same time, they were, in Homi Bhabha's term, mimicking them. Their popular literature, in particular, points to emulation as it points to rejection. Detective fiction offered a new, specific, and subtle formula with which to express this dilemma. Any classic detective story begins with a crime or the discovery of the same. The crime threatens the social order presented in the story. It also upsets the narrative and the symbolic order inherent to the text. The detective, most famously Sherlock Holmes, embodies a strong subject whose sole task (and, in fact, *raison d'être*) is to restore this social, symbolic, and narrative order before the eyes of the reader. The story begins with the ending of another – a hitherto untold story symbolized by a crime or a dead body – and is finished

not when we get the answer to 'Whodunit?' but when the detective is finally able to tell the 'real story' in the form of a linear narration. [...] At the beginning, there is thus the murder [or other crime, DJ] – a traumatic shock, an event which cannot be integrated into the symbolic reality, i.e. which appears to interrupt the 'normal' causal chain. From the moment it erupts, even the most ordinary events of life seem loaded with threatening possibilities.<sup>29</sup>

The crime or corpse is seemingly deprived of all connectedness with the other elements or personages of the story. They, too, are rendered 'story-less' and 'meaning-less' until the detective appears on the scene.

The detective, by means of his sole presence, guarantees that all these details will retroactively acquire meaning [...] And the detective's role is precisely to demonstrate how "the impossible is possible" (Ellery Queen), i.e. to re-symbolize the traumatic shock, to integrate it into symbolic reality. His very presence is a kind of pawn guaranteeing in advance the transformation of the lawless sequence into a lawful sequence, in other words, the re-establishment of "normality."<sup>30</sup>

The detective is a response to the anxiety that spread in Western societies around the turn of the last century when people felt confused and powerless as they watched 'modern civilisation' sweeping through their lives. The de-

---

here of the relation between fantasy, desire, and articulation of the Self would be required to display the full range of possibilities that (popular) literature opened up within the decolonizing process.

<sup>29</sup> Slavoj Žižek, "The Detective and the Analyst," *Literature and Psychology* (1990): 27–46. Expanding Lacan's theories and applying them to popular culture, Žižek opens up new perspectives on the genre of detective and crime fiction.

<sup>30</sup> Žižek, "The Detective and the Analyst," 38–39.

tective brings with him the ability to decipher secret codes, to read fingerprints and footprints, to restore identities, and to tell whole life-stories merely by looking at a person's collar. The criminological practice of the nineteenth century aimed at individual identification. Individuality was no longer perceived as singularity but as uniqueness and distinctiveness.<sup>31</sup>

Walter Benjamin located the origin of the modern detective story in the mobile transformation of identity, in 'the obliteration of the individual's traces in the big city crowd' allowed by the modern environment. [...] In new systems of mobility and circulation, the criminal who could hide beneath an assumed identity functioned like a forged banknote, exploiting the rapid exchange of modern currency while undermining the confidence on which it depended.<sup>32</sup>

In the end, it is the detective who, by applying modern ways of observing and analysing, masters the world when it seems to have been tipped off its (alleged) balance. Only when he is successful in solving the case, when he "is able to tell 'the real story'," can the detective confirm the strong modern subject that he himself represents.<sup>33</sup> He thus has to provide everyone and everything with an individual story and a place in the microcosm of this particular imaginative reality.

In the context of the colonial world, the disruption of the symbolic order and the feeling of 'anything can happen', as Žižek puts it, constituted, at least for the indigenous part of society, not so much a menace as a tempting promise – "the impossible is possible" was likely to be interpreted as an opportunity rather than a threat. In the last decades of colonial rule, the symbolic order vehemently demanded re-definition, inevitably posing the crucial questions: Whose story was to be told? Whose order to be restored? The telling of 'the real story', the reconstitution of the symbolic order, was one task taken on by indigenous crime literature, with the detective fulfilling the key function. But, intriguingly, his alter ego, too – the (noble) criminal – could assume the role of the strong subject, making everything and everyone 'fall into place' again:

Elang Emas ... He is a mystery-man [*mysterieman*] [...] He comes where he pleases and he goes where he wants. [...] Here. There. Everywhere. He comes to

<sup>31</sup> Joachim Küchenhoff, "Der Leib als Statthalter des Individuums?" in *Individualität*, ed. Manfred Frank & Anselm Haverkamp (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988): 168.

<sup>32</sup> Tom Gunning, "Tracing the Individual Body: Photography, Detectives, and Early Cinema," in *Cinema and the Innovation of Modern Life*, ed. Leo Charney & Vanessa R. Schwartz (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: U of California P, 1995): 20.

<sup>33</sup> Žižek, "The Detective and the Analyst," 28.

make biographies and he goes, leaving the story. The story stays behind and he is always making new ones.<sup>34</sup>

Moretti's sociological reading of the detective-story genre offers an explanation. He, too, puts the criminal in the place of the subject instead of the detective, arguing that, in contrast to the detective, the criminal truly insists on his individuality and non-conformity, which themselves constitute a threat to the status quo:

The sociological hypotheses are that the detective story dispels from the consciousness of the masses the individualistic ethic of 'classic' bourgeois culture [...]. The structural hypotheses are that the dominant cultural oppositions of detective fiction are between the individual (in the guise of the criminal) and the social organism (in the guise of the detective).<sup>35</sup>

In the colonial context, the basically affirmative detective genre gains a new dimension, in that it is transmuted into a new form drawing on both the above concepts at once: the 'criminal' as the strong subject to challenge and potentially overthrow the colonial social order, and the 'detective' as the one guaranteeing a generally affirmative attitude and safeguarding the new order of the future independent state. The 'criminal' contested the disdained aspects of Western impact (the 'malady' resulting from colonial oppression and exploitation); the detective was employed to promote the desired elements of Western culture (the 'remedy' – for instance, rationality, education, technology). The detective is often labelled *ahli pikiran*, an expert in (Western) thought. He hardly ever needs any weapon other than his intellect. He is not merely the individual investigating a crime, the one outsmarting the authorities (police); he is also the self-assured individual moving effortlessly through the jungle of the modern world. The detective personifies the steadily growing belief in Western education and science, in knowledge and information as the most powerful weapon.<sup>36</sup> It was their

---

<sup>34</sup> Joesoef Sou'yb, *Roemah Hantoe* [Ghost House], *Loekisan Poedjangga* (November 1938?): 3.

<sup>35</sup> Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders*, 134.

<sup>36</sup> Absurdly enough, it is hardly ever any of Holmes's pseudo-scientific approaches that brings the truth to light. Žižek, "The Detective and the Analyst," 28–29, convincingly demonstrates that any interpretation of Holmes as "'bourgeois' scientific rationalism personified" is inadequate; he argues, like others before him, that Holmes has more in common with a psychoanalyst. See also Marcello Truzzi, "Sherlock Holmes: Applied Social Psychologist," in *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, ed. Umberto Eco & Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1983): 55–80.

intellect that the young educated Indonesians were enthusiastically discovering as a weapon already at hand – an effective weapon against colonial domination and a means with which to handle modern life in general. But in addition to this they apparently still felt the need to keep other options open: armed and ‘criminal’ ones if necessary. Both characters, the detective and the noble criminal, contributed in the same measure to the creation of a ‘national self’, as will be shown in the second part of this essay.

After the abortive communist upheaval of 1926/1927, the Dutch were exceedingly alert, but the production of popular literature continued to escape censorship for quite some time. Literary imagination, in particular of the kind present in Damhoeri’s and Sou’yb’s popular novels to be discussed below, was a pertinent element in the otherwise very restricted decolonizing political discourse. Popular literature in general and crime fiction in particular provided a vital forum for cunningly wrought, covert fantasies about the new Indonesia to come. Writers would not have openly fantasized about any political action or armed rebellion against the Dutch; it is perceivable that the reading and writing of crime fiction – which, by definition, centrally features social disobedience, conflict with the hegemonic order, and often armed resistance against it – also assumed the function of a surrogate rebellion on a smaller and individualized scale. It must be noted, however, that some writers included peaceful coexistence of Dutch and Indonesians in their vision of an independent Indonesia. Whatever utopian constellation was favoured in the end, when the colonized discovered their voice, the colonial order was disturbed for good, no matter whether it was the detective or the noble criminal who told the story – it was in any case no story the colonizer wished to hear.

#### Further Appropriation of the Literary Model

During the 1930s and 1940s, most segments of colonial society were still absorbed in their celebration of modernity. The indigenous intellectuals, too, focused on modernization – modernization of the Malay language, Malay culture, and Malay society in general – with the objective of creating an independent Indonesian nation that would eventually join the global network of modern mankind. They also searched the field of literature for new forms of cultural communication, new role models and prototypes of national heroes. The translation and publishing activities of the Chinese-

Malay during the first two decades of the twentieth century had helped the detective genre to become very popular in colonial Indonesia. During the late 1930s and 1940s, the Islamic Sumatran Malay writers took up that thread; they successfully adopted the popular format of the *roman madjalah* previously introduced to the Malay literary world by the Chinese Malays, and they began to produce their own variety of crime and detective fiction and in the regional variant of Malay.<sup>37</sup> It is a matter of speculation whether it was the Balai Poestaka publications, the Chinese-Malay novels, or indeed the many Western detective films (including Sherlock Holmes movies) that provided the most decisive stimulus. Western literary models evidently offered plenty of inspiration. It can also be taken as a fact that the Sumatran writers, most of them situated in Medan, were well acquainted with the above-mentioned printed and cinematic sources.<sup>38</sup>

It is not known which precise source of inspiration helped in moulding the character called Sir John. Despite his obvious affinity with Western models, he is a phenomenon in his own right, not least in the highly remarkable fact that he, as a kind of collectively formed hero, was passed on from one author to the next. It was in December 1938 that Sir John made his appearance as the director of the Singaporean Secret Service in one of the Medan ‘magazine novels’.<sup>39</sup> A month later, Sir John featured again as the main protagonist in another novel by the same author.<sup>40</sup> Again a month later, in February, Damhoeri playfully referred to his Western protagonist in yet another detective novel of his. But this time he introduced an indige-nous detective onto the scene. The setting, however, remained Singapore:

---

<sup>37</sup> The Sumatran ‘*roman madjalah*’ contained translations, too, but noticeably fewer in number than in the Chinese Malay ‘magazine books’ of the 1920s. Straightforward translations of Sherlock Holmes stories were rarely included; Mochtar Nasution’s *Randjang Kematian* [The deathbed], a translation of “The Speckled Band,” appeared in *Loekisan Poedjangga* 3.44 (October 1941). A Chinese-Malay translation of the story had already appeared in 1922.

<sup>38</sup> Yoesoef Sou’yb, for instance, at the time one of the most popular representatives of this group, had honed his skills by writing for the Chinese-Malay magazine *Liberty*. He started off with straightforward translations, and then produced texts of his own. He also went to the movies on a regular basis, for it was there that he got the best ideas for his novels. After the film, he usually went straight home and started writing on a new novel (personal communication, Medan, November 1992).

<sup>39</sup> A. Damhoeri, *Boeaja Deli Diserkap Matjan Singapoera* [The scoundrel of Deli caught by the tiger of Singapore], *Doenia Pengalaman* [World of Experience] 1.3 (December 1938).

<sup>40</sup> A. Damhoeri, *Hantoe Laoet di Selat Malaka* [The sea ghost of the Malacca Straits], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.1 (January 1939).



His colleagues have given him the title Sherlock Holmes from Malaya. Wan Teroena Djaja, the famous detective of Semenandjoeng. His fame equals that of Sir John, who also belonged to the Singaporean police force. Only, recently he has not been heard of in police circles, for whatever reasons. Maybe he is pausing for a while.<sup>41</sup>

In June of the same year, 1939, Sir John resurfaced to play a central role in one of Joesoef Sou'yb's famous Elang Emas novels. In fact, Sou'yb adopts the detective Sir John and his fiancée Suzanne for two further stories in the Elang Emas series (to be discussed later). When, around August 1939, the detective appeared again in a novel by Soeman H.S., he did so in the guise of a Eurasian with an 'indonesianized' name: Sier Djoon.<sup>42</sup> Compared to other detectives created by Sumatran Malay authors (including *Sir John*), Sier Djoon most closely resembles Sherlock Holmes, despite the fact that the former is married with two children.

The indigenous detectives owed their existence to Sherlock Holmes, but they soon went their own way. The Chinese Malays had taken the first step in the process of literary acquisition when translating the Western model into Malay. Sir John was a transitional hero, still Western but moving in the indigenous world like one of its very own inhabitants. A logical next step was eventually to replace the Western master-brain with an indigenous intellectual. But replacing Sir John by putting a *pribumi*, a 'native', at the top of the Secret Service (or any other colonial authority), if only fictionally, must have been too daring or provocative a thought to even playfully contemplate.<sup>43</sup> And, as I intimated earlier, the social world could not yet provide any 'natural slot' for an indigenous 'full-time' detective. Both scenarios could have been fantasized, but apparently the urge to do so was not yet urgent enough to prompt any author to cross that line of colonial

---

<sup>41</sup> Aria Diningrat (i.e. A. Damhoeri), *Rahsia Kaloeng Moetiara* [The mystery of the pearl necklace], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.4 (February 1939): 4. This title was reprinted in 1964.

<sup>42</sup> Soeman H.S., *Teboesan Darah* [Blood revenge], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.8 (1939). The novel was reprinted in 1962, 1965, and 1981.

<sup>43</sup> The Sumatran Malay writer Joesoef Sou'yb did indeed take this astonishing step, albeit one affecting only a minor character, in his novel *Siapa Pemboehnja?* [Who is the murderer?], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.23 (15 November 1939): in place of the Dutch police chief and ignoring real-life hierarchies, Sou'yb put an indigenous official at the head of the Medan Police. Remarkably, Sou'yb chose a Javanese, Mas Tjipto, as his stunning protagonist. It is conceivable that the Moslem nationalist Sou'yb wanted to pay tribute to the Javanese activist Dr Tjipto Mangoenkoesoema, one of the most famous leaders of the Sarekat Islam (a politically pivotal Islamic organization founded in Java in 1912). Mangoenkoesoema was banished to Banda in 1928.

order. Consequently, the detective was allocated a profession more central to the heart of the indigenous intellectual life in the Dutch East Indies: the indigenous journalist was one of the ultimate representatives of the new Western-educated indigenous elite. It was generally accepted at the time that journalists were to play a significant role both in the struggle for independence and in the process of nation-building.

The Sumatran Malay transformation of Conan Doyle's eleven-page-long story "The Crooked Man" into Emnast's eighty-page novel *Pembalasan* [Revenge, 1939] illustrates perfectly the second phase of the process of acquisition and appropriation.<sup>44</sup> The story in question must have been particularly appealing, because it combined suspense with two vital contemporary discourses: romantic love (as opposed to forced marriage) and retaliation (individual vengeance versus divine retribution for injustice endured). Emnast, like most Sumatran writers, applied a vast range of cinematic narrative devices and a great number of dialogue scenes, the latter most likely also inspired by the 'talkies' shown at the local cinema rather than by the few Western novels in the realist mode accessible almost exclusively through Balai Poestaka's libraries. In terms of content, Emnast greatly elaborates the love story, which in the source-text is inconspicuously built into the main plot. The most striking alteration, however, is the absence of Sherlock Holmes, who has to make place for Roeslan, the energetic and congenial journalist – and gifted lay detective. Roeslan is eager to expand his knowledge by drawing information and data from all kinds of books. He has a collection of books on secret codes and scripts, and almost sacred to him is his copy of 'How to become a detective without a teacher' [*Peladjaran djadi detektip zonder goerore*]. Roesli and the police make a bet: whoever solves the case first is invited to dine, all colleagues included, at one of the most expensive restaurants in town. This playful competition could be read as a sly challenge to the colonial authorities. In the end, no side is announced the winner, although Roeslan does solve the case. Instead, they all harmoniously celebrate the restored order at a wedding where the two 'true lovers' are reunited after the 'bad guy' has been justly punished by Allah – the general desire for revenge also being satisfied. Epilogue: when, a month

---

<sup>44</sup> Emnast, *Pembalasan* [Revenge], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.25 (December 1939). In the course of the appropriation process concerning detective fiction, the genre of the short story was, unlike the case of Siam/Thailand (see Harrison in this volume), not retained. It was not until the 1950s that the short story actually gained ground in Indonesia, eventually developing into one of the most popular literary forms, surpassed only by poetry.

later, Roeslan gets to solve another case for *Doenia Penghidoepan*, he has already emancipated himself from the Western role model; he is no longer following in Holmes's footsteps and moving through a borrowed plot, but is now starring in his own story.<sup>45</sup>

The above case serves to illustrate the fact that it was neither the emblematic Sherlock Holmes figure itself that was embraced by the Sumatran Malay writers, nor was it Conan Doyle's typical narrative style. Also prescribed by the limitations of the (serialized) short story, the dialogue form that allowed for some psychological depth was no option for Conan Doyle, who rendered central parts of the plot mostly through detailed but dispassionate reports provided by Holmes, and supplemented by the descriptive narratives of one or two other persons involved in the case, usually the victim and/or culprit. The Malay authors, by contrast, preferred to relate the story like a film narrative, creating the illusion of real time and action. Consequently, they employed an abundance of cinematic devices to keep the reader involved in the plot.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, Conan Doyle's Holmes stories, almost as a rule, starts off with fragments of the past of a particular individual, presenting them in the most logical and seemingly objective narrative order to fill in the gaps in the course of the story – thus 'telling the story' and providing the individual with story and place within the symbolic order. Conversely, Malay literature tends to blur the focus on the individual, clearly prioritizing his allocated position within the social order and the social order itself. Another striking difference is the indigenous detective himself; in no way does he display the repellent egotism that Watson ascribes to Holmes.<sup>47</sup> His behaviour and attitude equal in nothing the casual arrogance, superiority, and assumed infallibility of super-brain Sherlock Holmes. Rather, he is depicted as a person who knows uncertainty and doubt, and who, at times, even shows a hint of self-awareness. In conjunction with the appropriation of the detective figure, the detective-helper, too, was modified or even omitted altogether. Whether the character of

---

<sup>45</sup> The follow-up title is *Waktue Malam di Medan* [Night-time in Medan] and also appeared as a *Doenia Pengalaman* issue (25 January 1940). So far, only an incomplete copy of the text has been retrieved. It is not known whether Emnast produced further novels featuring the detective Roesli, which would make him one of the very few indigenous heroes of the colonial period to have been serialized.

<sup>46</sup> Phrases such as *kita melihat dia* [we see him] or *Lihatlah–lihatlah!* [look! look!] evoke the impression that the reader is actually *watching*. A wide range of semantic elements and a virtuoso handling of perspective help introduce an 'imaginative camera'.

<sup>47</sup> Conan Doyle, "The Copper Beeches," in *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, 179.

Watson as typified by Conan Doyle was disliked or simply conceived of as a dispensable figure can only be guessed – but a ‘typical’ Watson would not have made much sense without the ‘typical’ Holmes.<sup>48</sup>

### The Master-Brain, the Gentleman Thief, and the Phantom

While Emnast still fully relies on the detective to represent the national(ist) Self, other writers favoured the noble criminal as the strong subject. Almost concurrently with the master-brain Sherlock Holmes, two other literary models of crime fiction had come to the Malay archipelago, both focusing on the criminal: the gentleman thief à la Lord Lister or Arsène Lupin, and the phantom criminal à la Fantomas. After Malay translations of all three sub-genres had been well received, the Chinese-Malay writers and publishers soon embarked on writing their own novels in a similar style. Whatever adjustments they made, they usually did not blend these sub-genres of crime fiction; the detective clearly remained the detective, the trickster a trickster; nor would the phantomized criminal turn sleuth.<sup>49</sup>

More than a decade later and in quest of new literary models, the Sumatran Malay writers also came to test the three above-mentioned sub-genres. But in contrast to the Chinese Malays, they almost instantly began to mix and fuse the various plot patterns, character types, and narrative devices. New indigenized heroes emerged. In one of his first creative attempts, Yoesoef Sou’yb explicitly lists Lord Lister, Arsène Lupin, Fantomas, Rocambole, and the Chinese-Malay character Gagaklodra, but also real-life criminals such as Al Capone and “Legs” Diamond as role models for his prototype of an indigenous hero, *Enggang Enggap* [Hornbill].<sup>50</sup> In contrast to the indigenous publishers situated in Java, who more often than not gave preference to the law-abiding detective, the Sumatran authors went for a model

---

<sup>48</sup> Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders*, 146–48, gives a rather laconic, not particularly positive characterization of the literary function of Watson as helper: “While the criminal opens the action and the detective closes it, Watson drags it out [...] Yet Watson’s function is quantitative in a more profound way: *he accumulates useless details*” (146; 147, emphasis in original).

<sup>49</sup> Nyoo Cheong Seng’s creation Gagaklodra [also Gagak Lodra] is a magnificent exception and might have sparked off the creation of the new literary heroes of Sumatran descent. In this context, it is also worth noting that *silat* fiction increasingly absorbed detective elements. More research is required to determine whether there is a tradition of ‘*silat* detectives’ that can be traced back to China, or if the Eastern form of *silat* literature indeed amalgamated with the Western genre of detective fiction.

<sup>50</sup> Yoesoef Sou’yb, “Engang Enggap,” *Liberty* (July 1936): 50.

of their own brand and of a less acquiescent nature: a masked super-hero with the brains of Sherlock Holmes, the skills of Arsène Lupin, the criminal energy of Fantomas – and the social conscience of Robin Hood.<sup>51</sup> Perfecting his creation *Enggang Enggap*, Yoesoef Sou'yb conjured up *Elang Emas* [Golden Eagle/Hawk], the “burglar gentleman from the East, a match for Arsene Lupin from Paris and Lord Lister from London,” who became probably the most prominent exemplar of his kind.<sup>52</sup> An increasing number of writers adopted the amalgamated form, and labels such as “MR PHANTOM [...] INTERNATIONAL-DETECTIVE” used in the stories became quite frequent.<sup>53</sup> The mingling of the sub-genres, however, involved a dilemma: the masked avenger and gentleman thief presented a law-breaking hero on one side, while on the other side the smart, superior but law-abiding, even law-enforcing detective was at work. Breaking the (colonial) law, ridiculing its representatives, and getting away with it must have been a legitimate fantasy for the colonized. But at the same time, enforcement of and abidance with the law would soon be one of the most essential prerequisites for building the envisioned independent nation.<sup>54</sup>

In some novels, the synthesis or symbiosis of the two competing types, the detective and the criminal, manifests itself in peculiar ways. In the first volume of his *Elang Emas* serial, Joesoef Sou'yb is apparently not yet in doubt whose side to choose, be it in terms of narrative perspective only. The story is told from the viewpoint of the Malay police assistant Soufyan, who, remarkably enough, is not tagged as a police agent but is labelled “cunning *tjariman*,” a \*seek-man.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, Sou'yb ‘borrows’ the de-

---

<sup>51</sup> A case in point is the detective series *Patjar Koenig*, featuring the Javanese detective of noble descent, Raden Pandji Soebrata, who is not only law-abiding but also utterly loyal to the colonial government. It would not be astonishing if the pen name Ketjindoean concealed a Eurasian writer. The series – at least eight volumes are preserved – was published by the private Dutch publisher Kolff-Buning in Djokjakarta around 1940.

<sup>52</sup> “Elang Emas dikota Medan; Burglar Gentleman dari Timoer, imbalanced Arsene Lupin dari Paris, Lord Lister dari London,” advertisement in *Pedoman Masyarakat* 6.14 (3 April 1940): 272.

<sup>53</sup> M.A. Rasjid Hilmy, *Penoempang Rahsia* [The mysterious passenger], *Loekisan Poedjangga* [painting of the poet] 3.43 (September 1941): 17 (emphasis in the original).

<sup>54</sup> A strikingly high number of the crime and spy novels that appeared plentifully after 1949 strongly emphasized the importance of obedience to the law.

<sup>55</sup> Joesoef Sou'yb, *Elang Emas Ketawa*, *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.2 (January 1939). A footnote explains that “*tjariman* = detective” (6). Being a compound, the word *tjariman* combines the Malay word *cari* [seek] probably with the Sanskrit suffix *-man*, indicating a person/profession. Due to the nearby British colonies and a somewhat anglophile penchant among

tective Sir John from his author colleague Damhoeri to place him at Soufyan's side for support.<sup>56</sup> Giving evidence for the decolonization process already set in motion, the indigenous protagonist in this constellation of high-ranked 'white' police agent and smart but insecure 'native' detective is not relegated to play the dark-skinned Watson or worse: an all-obedient Friday. Their relationship has a surprising air of equality, as the following scene illustrates: Sir John (like his famous colleague Holmes smoking his pipe, and after a thoughtful pause) presents his careful conclusions – which Soufyan, after only brief consideration, sets aside as not being the right ones:

Suddenly, Sir John lifted his head. "This is significant, *tuhan*" he said seriously. [...] "*Well* [Wel], Soufyan, what do you think, friend. It is appropriate to arrest that young man, isn't it?" Soufyan went up and down. [...] "I feel, Sir John, that it doesn't make much sense to arrest that kid now."<sup>57</sup>

Instead, Soufyan suggests deploying a number of spies in order to keep an eye on the suspect – to which Sir John unhesitatingly agrees. Hence, not only does the indigenous detective have the right and competence to object, but his advice is also heeded.

Whereas he is the (almost undisputed) hero in the first volume, Soufyan is pushed into the background in the subsequent volumes of the series, where the masked trickster Elang Emas gradually takes over the leading role and the reader's sympathy. Half a year later, Sir John returns to Medan to help Soufyan in his pursuit of Elang Emas.<sup>58</sup> A conversation between Sir John, still representing the top of the Singaporean Secret Service, and the Dutch police chief in Medan establishes the grounds for Elang Emas's popularity with the people. The Dutch chief has no doubts that even "Homlock Shears of Scotland Yard" (18), had he ever lived to face Elang Emas, would have been baffled. He describes Elang Emas as

---

writers of that region, it is also conceivable that the English word 'man' was indeed used. Not only does this expression itself and the attendant explanation once again underline the alienness of the concept of the detective within Malay society. It also suggests a dissociation of the indigenous police agent from the colonial police apparatus that he is working for.

<sup>56</sup> In at least three cases, to be discussed later on, Sir John comes to Soufyan's assistance.

<sup>57</sup> Joesoef Sou'yb, *Elang Emas Memboenoeh* [Elang Emas kills], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.16 (August 1939): 25–26.

<sup>58</sup> Joesoef Sou'yb, *Memikat Elang Emas* [Trapping Elang Emas], in *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.11 (14 June 1939).

sharp-tongued and wild, even Arsene Leupin [sic] appears docile in comparison. We used to laugh about the police agents in Osaka, in India, in Burma; that was what the police in Singapore did, too. Only now we know, Sir John, what it means to be fighting Elang Emas. Vicious, but not vicious enough that people would be horrified. His mockery is very painful. He has carried out some truly grand-scale robberies in gentleman-style, in that American fashion [...], taking from the rich giving to the poor!

Sir John's Dutch colleague continues, his anxiety revealing the true fear in the colonial heart:

Your judgement is sharp and your thinking is swift, Sir John. Yes, that is precisely what he does; usually there are hundreds of unemployed and beggars loafing around the streets of Medan; but since he has been here, all streets of Medan are free of this pitiful scum of society. In the beginning, this change was not obvious but after two days it became more and more visible, and then it attracted our immediate and greatest interest. We heard the wind whispering that this change was Elang Emas's doing. It is peculiar, what sentiment in the heart of this criminal! If taken to the political arena – he would probably be a socialist. However, his wickedness would still be called wickedness, breaking the laws concerning rights of ownership and breaking the laws of the country.<sup>59</sup>

It does not take much imagination to read the above passages as an anti-colonial allegory. But in his story Sou'yb also connects the law-abiding detective, here in the twin version of the 'white' Sir John and the indigenous Soufyan, in such an ingenious manner to the noble-hearted criminal that both come across as amiable characters and easily acceptable role models. The detectives are positive figures, representing the law as a achievement of Western modernity and rationality, including positive power control and efficient administration. The 'bad guy', on the other hand, is not bad but a public-spirited outlaw with a social conscience, almost a philanthropist, law-breaking all right, but transgressing against the laws of colonial rule and always with the aim of guarding humanity. It is Elang Emas, not Sir John or Soufyan, who is determinedly committed to help the deprived (indigenous) people. He feels for them and recognizes their misery, and where the law cannot or would not help he comes to rescue. He is truly involved – something that a detective à la Sherlock Holmes would never allow himself to be. Holmes would always put his 'neutrality' – or aloofness – above

---

<sup>59</sup> Sou'yb, *Memikat Elang Emas*, 18–19.

compassion. Holmes & Co. can be hired; their services are for sale.<sup>60</sup> But the nationalist mind needed heroes that uncompromisingly took the side of the weak and poor, heroes that would not hesitate to break the law, even if that meant making use of a weapon to kill. In his novel *Elang Emas memboenoh* [Elang Emas kills], Joesoef Sou'yb defuses the polarity of detective and 'criminal' further with the help of a conspicuous plot-twist. Elang Emas keeps Sir John and his Malay colleagues captured to keep them out of the way when going after the real culprit himself. Elang Emas and his two closest friends then return to their hideaway and, in a key scene, appear before Sir John and his colleagues looking exactly like them. It turns out that, having taken on the identities of the detectives in perfect disguise, they have successfully brought the real wrongdoer to justice. The core of the passage reads:

In that corner, facing each other now were six men who until then had been the worst of enemies, one side wishing to crush the other. But apparently Elang Emas and his people did not have that desire after all.

When looking at those six men, their stature, their faces, they seemed like twins, three pairs of twins born at once.<sup>61</sup>

The Elang Emas novels, and others soon to follow, thus present the reader with two character types at once to identify with, the detective *and* the law-breaker. But who took the role of the genuinely 'bad guy', then? In this respect, the Sumatran Malay crime or detective fiction communicates quite clearly a national Self that marked certain ethnic groups as the 'Other within', to be excluded from a future national identity (contributing to it, of course, by being the Other).<sup>62</sup> The novels in questions recurrently ascribe to Chinese or Arab characters a criminal nature. They are described as morally corrupted shop owners or rich and ruthless merchants. But nor can the pitiless employer who sacks his workers out of greed, or the old but powerful man who harasses women, escape due punishment – only Europeans are never portrayed as the villains. One can only speculate whether this was out of fear of repression or because these writers were so absorbed in fan-

---

<sup>60</sup> See also Žižek, "The Detective and the Analyst," 40–43. Žižek points out the major discrepancy between the classical detective and the 'hard-boiled' private eye as being a matter of (a lack of) personal involvement – and financial 'compensation'.

<sup>61</sup> Sou'yb, *Elang Emas Memboenoh*, 64.

<sup>62</sup> For the term 'the Other within' as applied in this context, I am dependent on Thongchai Winichakul (2000) as discussed in Rachel Harrison (in this volume).



tasizing a future national identity that the power structure of colonial reality was momentarily suspended.

Damhoeri's *Azimat Toea Abad 17 (Topeng Hitam)* appeared in 1938, a year before Sou'yb's *Elang Emas* novels, and already exemplified the specific interconnectedness of the law-abiding detective and the 'rebellious criminal'. While *Elang Emas* and Sir John/Soufyan are unified in a highly symbolic act of staged mimicry, Damhoeri comes up with a more straightforward literary solution. At one point in the second half of the story, the detective, this time well-equipped with a pistol, stands face to face with the masked criminal; and a criminal he must be, as he apparently has escaped from prison. Before the reader gets to know the criminal's story, however, a whole chapter is devoted to the lay detective, Sjamsoe, under the heading "Wishing to become the Sherlock Holmes of Indonesia" [*Maoe djadi Sherlock Holmes Indonesia*].<sup>63</sup> Sjamsoe underlines his determination to accomplish this goal in discussion with his Watsonian friend, explicitly asking him "to become his Watson" [*Akoe akan djadi Scherlock (sic) Holmes dan kaulah koeharap djadi Watsonnja*].<sup>64</sup> The chapter in question, full of praise of European detective novels in general and Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes in particular, gives the text a playful touch, whereas the final confrontation between the young 'Sherlock Holmes of Indonesia' and his opponent, the Black Mask, is narrated with surprising sincerity. However, any psychologist's heart would jump with joy when reading the last part of the story. Here it is finally revealed that both protagonists are identical twins separated at birth. Sjamsoe's brother turns out to be a noble criminal [*pendjahat jang ksatria*] (50) who has always distributed his haul among the poor. On top of this, he turns out to be a communist who took part in the rebellion of 1926/27, the fictionalized description of which, amazingly, fills several pages. Realistically fearing reprisals, the majority of writers would not as much as refer to the rebellion or any other form of armed nationalist struggle in their writing, let alone explicitly build it into the plot of their stories.

❧ ❧

---

<sup>63</sup> A. Damhoeri, *Azimat Toea Abad 17 (Topeng Hitam)* [The old, seventeenth-century charm (The Black Mask)] *Doenia Pengalaman* 1.1 (1938): 20.

<sup>64</sup> Damhoeri, *Azimat Toea Abad 17 (Topeng Hitam)*, 23.

In present-day Indonesia, as in almost all countries in the world, Sherlock Holmes is a celebrity. Everyone knows this master detective, his deerstalker cap and pipe, his legendary skill at deduction and induction – and his loyal companion, Dr Watson. Far beyond the realm of popular literature, Holmes has become a symbol of modern rationality – despite the fact that the indigenous detective fiction of the 1930s and 1940s soon abandoned this characteristic and charismatic detective. He did, however, live on in advertisements, essays, articles, and illustrations – as an icon, detached from his own literary universe. It can be suggested that the literary figure of Sherlock Holmes was indeed perceived as the idealized manifestation of modern reason, and that he was adopted precisely for that reason. Holmes provided a first rough literary design of a strong subject, a subject superior to the police apparatus and other unloved authorities, a subject that effortlessly negotiates modern urban life, not only reading and interpreting the signs of modernity but also deploying them whenever needed. But the classic detective à la Sherlock Holmes did not correspond sufficiently to the needs and fantasies of nationalist-minded writers. The combination of his superiority, his gift for observation and his almost machine-like intellectual capacities had certainly made the detective suitable material to make him a role model, but he failed to meet all of the formulaic expectations, apparently lacking the commitment and lawlessness provided by other fictional blueprints. The local literary imagination thus gradually distanced itself from Holmes. The detective genre, however, with Holmes as its pioneer, had provided a fruitful field for experiments with new forms of expression and characterization that were to flourish in the decades to come.

#### The Quest for the Ultimate National Hero:

##### *The ksatria* with a Modern Touch

When the Chinese Malays got involved with popular literature, they were not particularly driven by the urge to search for a literary figure with the potential to qualify as a national hero. Their discourses did not orientate themselves primarily towards nationalism and its heroes but, rather, dealt with the average individual and his position in a rapidly changing world, seeking ways to cope in a modern, capitalistic, yet still colonial society. All the more energetically, the Sumatran Malay writers were on the lookout for a literary hero of national magnitude. They tested, as described above, various self-designed but Western-inspired models, Elang Emas surely being

one of the more successful ones. In the end, it was the Scarlet Pimpernel in his transformation as Patjar Merah (the Malay equivalent of the flower ‘scarlet pimpernel’) that filled the void. This Malay Scarlet Pimpernel – a follow-up model to Elang Emas but more sophisticated, more politicized, and more elusive still – provoked a remarkable historical phenomenon.<sup>65</sup> Only remotely based on the famous Scarlet Pimpernel novels created by Baroness d’Orcey in 1905, the Patjar Merah novels were in fact inspired by the biography of Tan Malaka – or what the nationalists wished to see in him. Tan Malakka, one of the most prominent nationalists of the 1920 and 1930s, had to flee from the Dutch East Indies after the failed communist rebellions in 1926/1927.<sup>66</sup> After years in hiding, he was captured and finally executed. While the real-life Tan Malaka was leading a miserable life on the run, his fictional counter-ego, Patjar Merah, constantly mocked the Dutch in their attempts to detain him and his comrades. As was the case with Damhoeri’s character Sir John, Patjar Merah/Tan Malakka, too, featured in a series of novels (by the Sumatran Malay writer Matu Mona) but was also adopted by other authors. The literary imagination knows no bounds. Such was Patjar Merah’s fame that, in the eyes of readers, the defeated political figure Tan Malaka could become the charismatic and flawless Patjar Merah. This idolizing and phantomizing of one of its foremost characters cloaked the painful political setback of the nationalist movement so successfully that, at one point, it is said, Tan Malaka himself actually believed himself to be Patjar Merah.

The literary figure of Patjar Merah combines the rationality of the detective with the skilful opposition to law and order of Elang Emas, but he adds to the character the nobility, will-power, and loyalty of a *ksatria* [knight]. By reverting to the traditional (and aristocratic) concept of the *ksatria*, the genre of crime fiction takes its last step in the process of appropriation, turning decisively away from Western value patterns.<sup>67</sup> Surprisingly, the

---

<sup>65</sup> For a more detailed discussion of this special case of adaptation, see Doris Jedamski, “Dummy Subjects and National Heroes. Some Thoughts About Identity, Mimicry, (Auto) biography, and the Novel in Indonesia,” *Tenggara* 47–48 (2004): 27–36.

<sup>66</sup> For a detailed portrait of Tan Malaka and an assessment of his historical and political significance, see Harry Poeze, *Tan Malaka, Strijder voor Indonesië’s Vrijheid: Levensloop van 1897 tot 1945* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), and Tan Malaka, *From Jail to Jail*, tr. & intro. Helen Jarvis, three vols. (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1991).

<sup>67</sup> The expression *ksatria* or *satria* appears with a strikingly high frequency in crime literature of the 1930s and 1940s and evidences the re-orientation towards a local tradition.

value patterns reverted to are deeply rooted in Javanese ethical codes. Elsewhere in the present volume, Keith Foulcher shows that, among Javanese nationalists, such a turn to traditional values during the phase of the nationalist awakening was indeed a rather common phenomenon. He, among others, refers to one of the most famous nationalist leaders, Tjipto Magoenkoesoema, who was convinced that the *pergerakan* movement was being tested on its “qualities of determined will and firm character which Javanese tradition recognized as the attributes of the warrior/knight [*satria*]” and that “the evolution and liberation of Java was possible only when the people reincarnated the essence of the genuine *satria*, his moral quality, through uncompromising struggle against the suffocating oppression and exploitation of the Dutch-*priyayi* regime.”<sup>68</sup> The Sumatran Malay writers of popular fiction apparently shared this assessment and found the concept of the (*k*)*satria* appealing enough to adopt it from the Javanese tradition, but the *ksatria*, now become the nationalist hero of their dreams, had to remain equipped with modern rationale and a sense of non-conformity – and with the requisite dose of criminal energy.

### Conclusion

Scholarly research has produced a great number of studies on Sherlock Holmes, the most emblematic representative of both the detective story and Western rationalism. On the genre of detective fiction in general, the number of studies is even more remarkable. Still, the appropriation of the detective figure, and specifically of Sherlock Holmes, outside Europe and the USA has not yet been systematically researched – astonishingly so, for it is a long-known fact that a wide range of detective stories were translated and adapted into, among other, Malay, Burmese, Chinese, Japanese, and Thai during the first decades of the twentieth century. In the case of the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), it is hoped that this essay has managed to shed some light on how Chinese-Malay publishers introduced the detective genre through Sinomalay translations of Sherlock Holmes during the first two decades of the twentieth century to the Dutch-ruled part of the Malay world. The first Malay adaptations and their detectives celebrated Western

---

<sup>68</sup> Keith Foulcher, “Moving Pictures. Western Marxism and Vernacular Literature in Colonial Indonesia,” in this volume; second part of the quotation: Takashi Shirahshi, “The Disputes between Tjipto Mangoenkoesoema and Soetatmo Soeriokoesoema: Sastra vs. Pandita,” *Indonesia* 32 (1981): 108, as quoted by Foulcher.

modernity, only rarely with a critical undertone. In the course of the 1930s and 1940s, however, the basically affirmative genre took on new qualities and communicated new value patterns and designs of identity within the decolonizing discourse. It was the Islamic Sumatran writers who abandoned the socially and emotionally rather detached Sherlock Holmes in favour of a ‘hero tandem’, also born out of the impact of Western popular literature: the law-abiding detective and a daredevil criminal with a social conscience, the latter inspired by fictional characters such as Arsène Lupin, Lord Lister, and Fantomas. Both of these competing characters answered to the needs of the nationalist movement in its attempt to redefine the social and symbolic order. As a team, they could both dismantle the – colonial – order and shield the new, delicately nascent order. Drawing on yet another source of Western inspiration, the Scarlet Pimpernel, and fictionalizing the biography of the famous nationalist Tan Malaka, the two character types soon merged to become the super-hero of nationalist aspirations, Patjar Merah.

While the Chinese-Malay crime fiction typically presented its detective heroes as possessing worldly qualities and a quotidian robustness, the Sumatran Malay heroes of the 1930s and 1940s gradually receded behind a facade of mystification, taking on almost super-human features. They are no longer detectives but, like Elang Emas and Patjar Merah, solve crimes because it is simply necessary to do so, not for the sake of solving them with aesthetic elegance, not in order to celebrate Western science, modern technology, or human rationality. Rather, they act as judges, putting themselves above colonial law; they “relieve the innocent from suspicion. Indeed, relieving the innocent from suspicion is the function of the fictional version of ‘Tan Malaka’ even when he is not a detective.”<sup>69</sup> Elang Emas has no outspoken political mission; instead, out of compassion he generally takes the side of those in need – specifically, the working class [*kaum pemburu*]. Patjar Merah, by contrast, is a self-declared opponent of the Dutch authorities and a celebrated leader of the nationalist movement. He is the upright, fearless knight fighting for the good of all Indonesians – whoever that was, precisely, remained a matter of perspective.

Elang Emas and Patjar Merah show a clear politicization but become so elusive in the process that one might wonder whether, possibly, the nation-

---

<sup>69</sup> James T. Siegel, *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution* (Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1997): 162.

alist-minded writers, even in their imagination, might not yet be prepared to enter into open confrontation with the Dutch colonizers. But regardless of their ethnicity, Chinese-Malay or Sumatran, the literary imagination transferred them all beyond the real world of colonial oppression to the land of utopia, of unlimited dreams of justice and equality, but also of power and supremacy. The popular genre of detective fiction encouraged and nourished this dream and provided one possible form of expression. On the imaginative plane, Holmes and the other popular characters from the West opened up the opportunity to challenge and mock the colonizers with impunity in order to disrupt the symbolic order, to shut out those who were perceived as the unwanted ‘Others within’ – and to take the place of judge and executioner, re-defining the law according to their own values and needs. Without Holmes & Co., the Scarlet Pimpernel most likely would not have been transformed into the national hero Patjar Merah alias Tan Malaka, a step that paradoxically ‘re-personified’ the hero by referring to a real-life nationalist, taking away the aloofness and anonymity, and which, at the same time, came close to sacrificing the rebellious potential of literature to an escapist fantasy.

#### WORKS CITED

- Asmara, Andjar. “Suka–Duka Dibelakang Lajar Sandiwara: Memoires dari Andjar Asmara” [Joy and sorrow behind the curtain of the sandiwara theatre: Memoirs of Andjar Asmara], *Varia* 1.21 (1958): 28–29, and *Varia* 1.22 (1958): 28–29 (nine parts in total).
- “The Cinema in the East. Factor in Spread of Communism (From a Correspondent).” *The Times*, London, 18 September 1926, repr. under heading “The Cinema and Colonial Rule in Southeast Asia: A Documentary Anecdote,” *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs* 15.1 (1981): 151–55.
- Damhoeri, A. *Azimat Toea Abad 17 (Topeng Hitam)* [The old, seventeenth century charm (Black Mask)] *Doenia Pengalaman* 1.1 (1938).
- . *Boeaja Deli Diserkap Matjan Singapoera* [The scoundrel of Deli caught by the tiger of Singapore], *Doenia Pengalaman* [World of Experience] 1.3 (December 1938).
- . *Hantoe Laoet di Selat Malaka* [The sea ghost of the Malacca Straits], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.1 (January 1939).
- Diningrat, Aria [A. Damhoeri]. *Rahsia Kaloeng Moetiara* [The mystery of the pearl necklace], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.4 (February 1939).
- Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan. *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1891–92; London: Reed International, 1991).

- “Elang Emas dikota Medan; Burglar Gentleman dari Timoer, imbangan Arsene Lupin dari Paris, Lord Lister dari London” [Elang Emas in Medan; the gentleman burglar from the East, a match for Arsene Lupin from Paris, Lord Lister from London], book advertisement in *Pedoman Masyarakat* 6.14 (3 April 1940): 272.
- Emnast. *Pembalasan* [Revenge], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.25 (December 1939).
- Foulcher, Keith. ‘*Pudjangga Baru*’: *Literature and Nationalism in Indonesia, 1933–1942* (Asian Studies Monograph 2; Adelaide: Flinders University, 1980).
- . “Moving Pictures. Western Marxism and Vernacular Literature in Colonial Indonesia,” in this volume.
- Gunning, Tom. “Tracing the Individual Body: Photography, Detectives, and Early Cinema,” in *Cinema and the Innovation of Modern Life*, ed. Leo Charney & Vanessa R. Schwartz (Berkeley & Los Angeles & London: U of California P, 1995): 15–45.
- Harrison, Rachel. “‘Elementary My Dear Wat’. Influence and Imitation in the Early Crime Fiction of ‘Late-Victorian’ Siam,” in this volume.
- Hilmy, Rasjid M.A. *Penoempang Rahasia* [The secret traveller], *Loekisan Poedjangga* [The poet’s painting] 3.43 (15 September 1941).
- Jedamski, Doris. “Genres of Crime Fiction in Colonial Indonesia,” in *Pramoedya Ananta Toer. 70 tahun. Essays to honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer*, ed. Bob Hering (Stein: Edisi Sastra Kabar Seberang, Sulating Maphilindo 1995): 167–89.
- . “The Novel-Humming Ulama. Islamic Debates on Popular Literature in Late Colonial Indonesia,” in *Indonesia – the Presence of the Past. A festschrift in Honour of Ingrid Wessel*, ed. Eva Streifeneder & Antje Missbach (Berlin: regiospectra 2007): 303–24.
- . “Dummy Subjects and National Heroes: Some Thoughts About Identity, Mimicry, (Auto)biography, and the Novel in Indonesia,” *Tenggara* 47–48 (2004): 11–36.
- Küchenhoff, Joachim. “Der Leib als Statthalter des Individuums?” in *Individualität*, ed. Manfred Frank & Anselm Haverkamp (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988): 167–202.
- Moretti, Franco. *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms*, esp. chapter “Clues,” tr. Susan Fischer, David Forgacs & David Miller (London: Verso & NLB, 1983): 130–56.
- Nasution, Mochtar. *Randjang Kematian* [The deathbed], *Loekisan Poedjangga* 3.44 (October 1941).
- Njoo Cheong Seng. *Boeaja Soerabaia, Penghidoepan* (1926).
- O’Malley, William Joseph. *Indonesia in the Great Depression: A Study of East Sumatra and Yogyakarta in the 1930s* (Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 1977).
- Phoa, T.H. Jr. *Riwajat Sherlock Hokmes dengan pakoempoelan ‘ Ramboet Mera’* (Batavia: Tan Ing Liong, 1914).
- Poeze, Harry. *Tan Malaka, Strijder voor Indonesië’s Vrijheid: Levensloop van 1897 tot 1945* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1976).
- Salmon, Claudine. *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia. A Provisional Annotated Bibliography* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1981).
- Siegel, James T. *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution* (Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1997).

- Soeman H. S. Teboesan Darah [Blood revenge], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.8 (1939).
- Sou'yb, Joesoef. *Elang Emas Ketawa* [Elang Emas laughs], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.2 (January 1939).
- . *Elang Emas Memboenoeh* [Elang Emas kills], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.16 (August 1939).
- . “Enggang Enggap” [Hornbill], *Liberty* (July 1936): 50–55.
- . *Memikat Elang Emas* [Trapping Elang Emas], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.11 (14 June 1939).
- . *Roemah Hantoe* [Ghost house], *Loekisan Poedjangga* (November 1938?).
- . *Siapa Pemboenoehnja?* [Who is the murderer?], *Doenia Pengalaman* 2.23 (15 November 1939).
- Tan Malaka. *From Jail to Jail*, tr. & intro. Helen Jarvis, three vols. (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1991).
- Tio Ie Soei. Editorial to *Tjerita Pilihan* 1.1 (1924): 1.
- . “Sherlock Holmes (Tjatetan peringatan dari sobatnja Sherlock Holmes, jaitoe H. John Watson, M.D. dari millitairen geneeskundigen dienst) [Sherlock Holmes (Notes of Sherlock Holmes’ friend, H. John Watson, M.D. of the military health service),” tr. Tio Ie Soei, *Tjerita Pilihan* 1.6 (September 1924).
- Truzzi, Marcello. “Sherlock Holmes: Applied Social Psychologist,” in *The Sign of Three. Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, ed. Umberto Eco & Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1983): 55–80.
- Yeğenoğlu, Meyda. *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998).
- Žižek, Slavoj. “The Detective and The Analyst,” *Literature and Psychology* (1990): 27–46.
- . *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan In Hollywood And Out* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992).