

**IDENTITY POLITICS OF MALAY RAJAS IN *THE MALAY ANNALS* BY
JOHN LEYDEN**

THESIS

PUTRIYANA ASMARANI

NIM 12320072



ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY

2016

**IDENTITY POLITICS OF MALAY RAJAS IN *THE MALAY ANNALS* BY
JOHN LEYDEN**

THESIS

Presented to

Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang State Islamic University of Malang

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Sarjana Sastra

Advisor

Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M. Hum.

By

PUTRIYANA ASMARANI

NIM 12320072



ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY

2016


APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that the Sarjana thesis of Putriyana Asmarani, entitled "Identity Politics of Malay Rajas in *The Malay Annals* by John Leyden" has been approved by the advisor for further approval by the Broad of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) in English Letters and Language Department.

Approved by
The Advisor



Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum
NIP 19680226 200604 2001

Acknowledged by
The head of English Letters and
Language Department,


Dr. Syamsudin, M.Hum.
NIP 19691122 200604 1001

Malang, July 20th 2016

Acknowledged by the dean of
The faculty of Humanities


Dr. H. Astia'dah, M.A.
NIP 1970313 1992032002

LEGITIMATON SHEET

This is to certify that the Sarjana thesis of Putriyana Asmarani, entitled
“Identity Politics of Malay Rajas in *The Malay Annals* by John Leyden” has been
approved by the advisor for further approval by the Broad of Examiners as one of
the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) in English Letters and
Language Department.

Malang, July 20th 2016

The Broad Examiners

1. Dra. Andarwati, M.A.
NIP 19650805 199903 2002
2. Dra. Siti Masitoh, M.Hum.
NIP 19681020 200312 2001
3. Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum
NIP 19680226 200604 2001

(Main examiner) :

(Chair) :

(Advisor) :

Signature

Acknowledged by the dean of
The faculty of Humanities



Dr. Hj. Istia'dah, M.A.
NIP 1970313 1992032002

CERTIFICATE OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

Herewith I,

Name : Putriyana Asmarani

ID Number : 12320072

Faculty : Humanities

Department : English Letters and Language

Declare that the thesis I wrote to fulfil the requirement for the degree of *sarjana Sastra* (SS) in English Letters and Language Department, Humanities Faculty, Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang State Islamic University entitled "Identity Politics of Malay Rajas in *The Malay Annals* By John Leyden" is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person except those indicated in quotations and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, July 20th, 2016

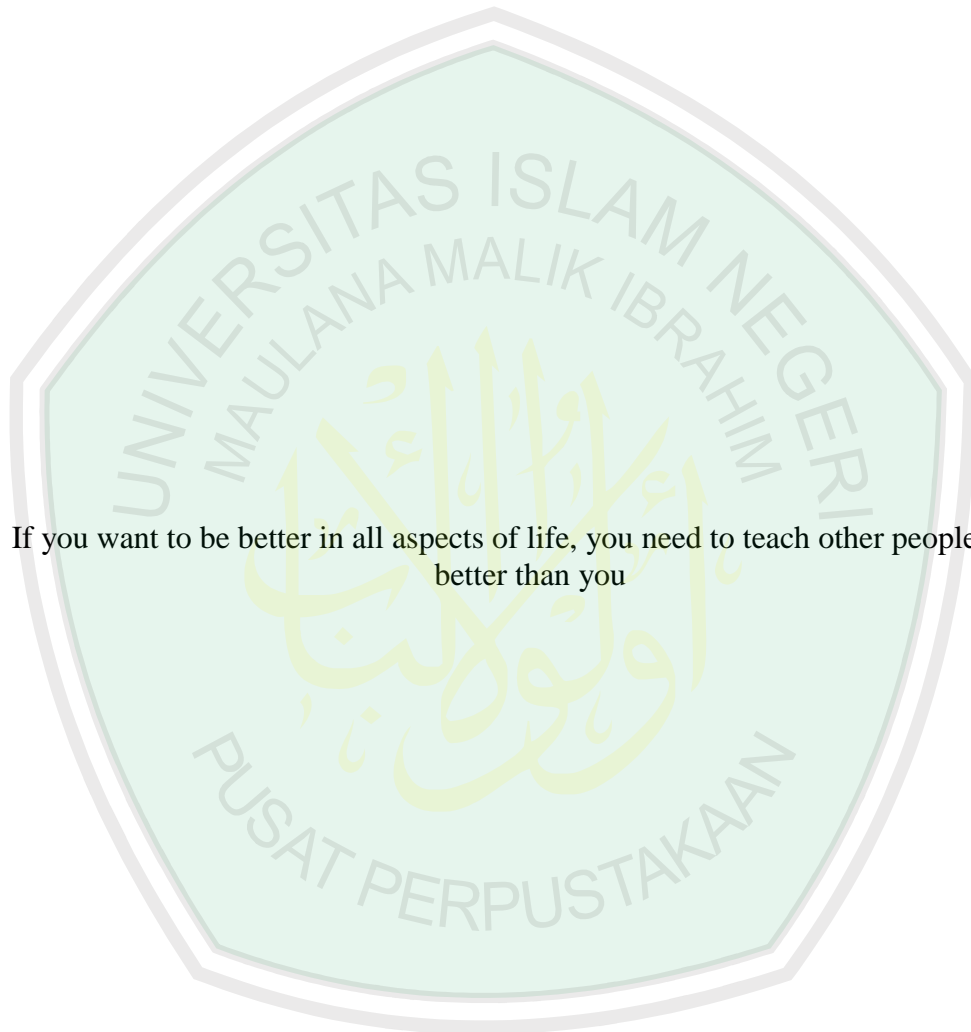


The Researcher,

Putriyana Asmarani

NIM 12320072

MOTTO



If you want to be better in all aspects of life, you need to teach other people to be better than you

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to;

My Mother whose celestial character brings me to the closer universe, because,

Allah S.W.T knows it is a throe research conduct.

My sister Inayah Kharisma Sholihah, who grows even wiser than me the oldest

and My brother Alfian Wahyu Wijaya, the Surrealist.

Dr, Mundi Rahayu, M. Hum

Forgive my sod intuition and sensibility

There is something beyond language I thank you

Prof. Dr. Azhar Ibrahim Alwee

For ameliorating my state of literacy

I concur that what he teaches me is superfluous

I flee from a long journey of folly

I grudge my bovine aptitude

For them I dedicate this thesis truly

Elevated and dilated

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Alhamdulillah, all praises to Allah SWT, the most Gracious and the most Merciful. Allah is the one I worship and ask for help, who has given me guidance and blessing in completing this thesis, entitled “Identity Politics of Malay Rajas in *The Malay Annals* by John Leyden”. Allah is also the one that I love the most and the one that I have when I have nothing to hold on. Sholawat and Salam are also delivered to the Prophet Muhammad SAW who has brought Islam which is *rahmatan lil alamin*.

First of all, my sincere gratitude goes to rector of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Raharjo, M.Si, my academic advisor Rina Sari, M.Pd, the dean of Humanities Faculty, Dr. Hj. Istia’dah, M.A, and the head of English Letters and Language Department, Dr. Syamsyudin, M.Hum. My next gratitude goes to my thesis advisor, Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum, who has patiently and conscientiously guided and helped me in conducting this thesis, with all this gratitude, I must also be thankful for all lecturers who helped me passing the entire semesters in English Letters and Language Departments.

My highest compassion is addressed to my mother; Jami’atin, to whom I receive the truest valor of wisdom, my sister; Inayah Kharisma Sholihah the Wisest, and my brother; Alfian Wahyu Wijaya the Brave. This quest of restless thought would never be done without Prof. Dr. Azhar Ibrahim Alwee, to whom I learn ‘possibility’. My praise for people behind the books I read, Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Timur; Mashuri, M.A., Awaludin Rusiandi, M.A., M. Oktavia Vidiyanti, M. Pd., Yulitin Sungkowati, M.Hum., and Wahyu Bharoto Sasangko, S.E and my state community of awakening, Lilin Lantai and its fellowship. There is something beyond language I thank them.

I must also thank to Momentum Institute teachers who give me perennial advices of social sciences. My deepest appreciation goes for eternal bounds of student-teachers literary addict, Marji’in, M.Pd, Dimaz Tika, M.Pd and Masfufah

Rusli, M.Pd. Friends, I am able to share and gain through these years of study; Nadzarina Hanuranda, Team PKL, Fildi Chelia Ginasya, Advanced Debate Community and the entire society of English Letters and Language Departments. Hail to writers whose books I read and cited, without them, I am just a fool ape.

Finally, as an ordinary human being, I am aware of some weaknesses of this research I conducted; herewith, I wish that everyone in any level of education responses this thesis and gives advices for the betterment of intellectual. Therefore, I expect endless constructive criticism and suggestion for the betterment of the research in this area to help the future researchers to conduct much better researches in Literature and the like.

Malang,.....

Author,

Putriyana Asmarani

ABSTRACT

Asmarani, Putriyana. 2016. *Identity Politics of Malay Rajas in 'The Malay Annals' by John Leyden*. Thesis, English Letters and Language Department, Humanities Faculty, Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang State Islamic University.

The Advisor : Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum.

Key Words : Identity politics, Social memory, Reconstructions

The Malay Annals is a discourse of identity politics narrating the origin of Malay Rajas. This discourse is written under the perspective of British colonizers to build relation with native states, this relation is aimed at projecting the Malay folk's obedience. The fact that history is never been told as it is, makes *The Malay Annals* is the kinds of discourse that is projected for some political reasons. History plays in the memory of posterity, it claims itself as the only source of past information. Somehow, this past information is seen as a discourse that is quite debatable in proofing who the Malay Rajas were. This discourse is purposive, therefore, finding the purpose of the discourse is worth pursuing.

This research conducts investigation on *The Malay Annals*. The problem of this research is how British colonizer constructs the identity politics of the Malay Rajas. Therefore, this research focuses institutions on who wrote *The Malay Annals*, whose identity is politicized and the last is the way *The Malay Annals* politicize the identity of Malay Rajas within the story. Under the colonizer perspective, the identity of Malay Rajas is politicized. It was said that they were the descendants of Rome and the first king of the race of human being, Secander Zulkarnaeni and Raja Suran. This politics of identity leads to how history legitimized the authority of legitimizing identity to avoid resistance and projecting identity. *The Malay Annals* frames history by utilizing collective memory to bring back suffering and fantasy of Malays to legitimize their Rajas. *The Malay Annals* is a project of colonizer to make people obey from the authorized law and praised their Rajas. The colonizer wanted this because the Malays would be willing to be enslaved to fill the interest of power relation between Malay Rajas and colonizers.

This research uses identity politics proposed by Manuel Castell constituting legitimizing identity, projecting identity and resistance identity. To find the project of identity politics on how *The Malay Annals* frames history is interpreted by using social memory. These identity politics and social memory work as interpretative value on how history legitimizes the authority of the powerful and relation between the rulers and the folk. To collect and to find the data, the researcher uses critical discourse analysis method associating the levels of micro, mezzo and macro. From this approach, the researcher finds that *The Malay Annals* is written under the perspective of British colonizer, this perspective claims that the Malays are wild. Second, the researcher finds that in the place of worth remembering British traders were injecting the discourse for the folk the idea that they were the savior of native states. Third, the way *The Malay Annals* narrates the story is based on invented actors Seacander

Zulkarnaeni and Raja Suran. These are answering how identity politics plays within *The Malay Annals*.



ABSTRACT

Asmarani, Putriyana. 2016. *Politik Identitas Raja-Raja Melayu dalam The Malay Annals oleh John Leyden*. Skripsi, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Pembimbing : Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M. Hum.

Kata Kunci : Identity Politics, Social memory, Reconstruction

The Malay Annals adalah wacana politik identitas yang menarasikan asal-usul Raja-Raja Melayu, wacana ini ditulis dalam perspektif penjajah Inggris untuk membangun hubungan kekuasaan dengan Raja-Raja pribumi, hubungan ini bertujuan untuk memproyeksikan kepatuhan masyarakat pribumi. Fakta bahwa sejarah tidak diceritakan sebagaimana adanya membuat *The Malay Annals* sebagai wacana yang ditujukan untuk alasan politis. Sejarah menjadi bagian generasi yang akan datang, sejarah menyebut dirinya sebagai pusat informasi masa lalu. Namun, informasi masa lalu ini dilihat sebagai wacana yang bisa diperdebatkan untuk membuktikan siapakah Raja-Raja Melayu dalam *The Malay Annals*. Wacana ini memiliki tujuan, makadari itu menemukan tujuan tersebut layak untuk ditemukan.

Penelitian ini mengasung *The Malay Annals*. Masalah dalam penelitian ini adalah bagaimana penjajah Inggris membangun politik identitas Raja-Raja Melayu. Makadari itu, penelitian ini berfokus pada institusi yang menulis *The Malay Annals* untuk mengetahui identitas siapakah yang dipolitisi, siapakah yang membangun politik identitas, dan bagaimana identitas itu dibangun. Di bawah perspektif Inggris, *The Malay Annals* dipolitisi yaitu dengan menyatakan bahwa Raja-Raja Melayu adalah keturunan Romawi, Raja seluruh umat manusia, Secander Zulkarnaeni dan Raja Suran. Politik identitas dalam penelitian ini adalah agenda identitas yang mengesahkan untuk menghindari penolakan pribumi. *The Malay Annals* membingkai sejarah Melayudengan menggunakan kenangan kolektif untuk mengembalikan penderitaan masa lalu pribumi beserta fantasi untuk melegitimasi kekuasaan Raja. *The Malay Annals* adalah proyek penjajah untuk membuat masyarakat patuh terhadap hukum dan Raja. Penjajah melakukan ini agar pribumi mau untuk diperbudak demi memuaskan kepentingan kekuasaan.

Penelitian ini menggunakan teori politik identitas yang diusung oleh Manuel Castells yaitu identitas yang mengesahkan, identitas yang memproyeksikan, dan identitas yang melawan. Untuk menemukan politik identitas sebagaimana *The Malay Annals* merangkai sejarah akan ditafsirkan dengan teori sosial memori. Politik identitas dan memori sosial dalam penelitian

ini menjadi teori untuk menginterpretasi *The Malay Annals*. Untuk mengumpulkan dan menemukan data, peneliti menggunakan metode analisis wacana kritis dengan tiga level; mikro, meso dan makro. Dari metode dan teori yang digunakan, peneliti menemukan bahwa dibawah perspektif Inggris *The Malay Annals* adalah wacana yang menyatakan bahwa pribumi adalah manusia liar. Kedua, peneliti menemukan bahwa Inggris membangun wacana untuk menunjukkan bahwa merekalah penyelamat pribumi. Ketiga, narasi *The Malay Annals* mengungkap dua aktor imajiner; Secander Zulkaraneni dan Raja Suran. ketiga temuan ini menjawab bagaimana politik identitas terdapat pada *The Malay Annals*.



المستخلص

بوتريانا اسمراي. ٢٠١٦. هوية السياسة مالك ملايو في تاريخ الملايو التي كتبها جون ليدن. رسالة سرجانا، قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها، كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.

المشرفة: الدكتورة مندي رهايو

الكلمات الأساسية: هوية السياسة، والذاكرة الاجتماعية، والتعمير

تاريخ الملايو هي خطاب الهوية السياسية توصف به رواية عن سيرة مالك ملايو، وقد كتب هذا الخطاب في وجهة نظر المستعمرين البريطانيين إلى إقامة علاقة السلطة مع المواطنين الملوك، وتهدف هذه العلاقة لمشروع مجتمعات السكان المواطنين. وظهر أن لم يخبر التاريخ مالك الملايو يكون هذا التاريخ كخطاب الذي يهدف لأسباب سياسية. وقد أصبح التاريخ جزءا من الأجيال القادمة والتاريخ يسمي نفسه مركز المعلومات السابقة. ومع ذلك، ينظر إلى المعلومات السابقة باعتباره الخطاب الذي هو قابل للنقاش لإثبات من هو مالك ملايو في تاريخ الملايو. وله الغرض من هذا الخطاب، ولذلك تجد هذا الهدف يستحق أن يتم اكتشافها.

وموضوع هذا البحث هو تاريخ الملايو. المشكلة في هذا البحث هو كيفية يقوم البريطاني بسياسات الهوية مالك ملايو. ولذلك، فإن هذه الدراسة تركز على المؤسسات التي كتبت تاريخ الملايو لمعرفة هوية من هو السياسيين، الذين يمكن بناء الهوية السياسية، وكيف يتم بناؤها الهوية. من ناحية البريطاني، تاريخ الملايو في السياسة بأن أعلنه أن مالك ملايو هو من آل الرومان، وملك جامع البشرية، Secander Zulkarnaeni ومالك سوران. سياسة الهوية في هذه الدراسة هي برنامج الهوية بتشديد لتجنب الرفض المواطنين. وتاريخ الملايو تأطير تاريخ الملايو باستخدام الذاكرة الجماعية الاضي يعاني لاستعادة المواطنين والخيال لإضفاء الشرعية على حكم الملك. وتاريخ الملايو هو مشروع المستعمرين لجعل الناس الامثال للقانون والملك. وقام المستعمرين بذلك بحيث يريد المواطنين أن يكون عبدا لتلبية مصالح السلطة.

تستخدم هذه الدراسة نظرية السياسة الهوية عن طريق مانويل كاستلز وهي تروج أن التصديق على الهوية، وهوية المتوقعة، وهوية المعركة. وللعثور على هوية سياسية كما سيتم تفسير التاريخ التوتير تاريخ الملايو التي نظرية الاجتماعية للذاكرة. الهوية السياسية والذاكرة الاجتماعية في هذا البحث يكون نظرية لتفسير تاريخ الملايو. واستخدمت الباحثة لجمع وتحديد البيانات وسيلة لتحليل الخطاب النقدي على ثلاثة مستويات. الجزئي والمتوسط والكلية. ووجدت الباحثة أنه في ظل المنظور البريطاني أن تاريخ الملايو هو الخطاب الذي ينص على أن مواطن هو

رجل البرية. الثانية، وجدت الباحثة أن البريطاني يبنى الخطاب لإظهار أنهم المنقذ من المواطنين. ثالثاً، سرد تاريخ الملايو تكشف عن عن ممثلين اثنين وهمية Secander Zulkaraneni ومالك سوران. وهذه النتيجة الثالثة يكون الإجابة على كيفية سياسات الهوية الواردة في تاريخ الملايو.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL SHEET	ii
LEGITIMATION SHEET	iii
CERTIFICATE OF THE THESIS AUTHORSHIP	iv
MOTTO	v
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
ABSTRACTS	viii-xiv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xv
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHOD	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.1.1 Research Background	2
1.1.2 Research Questions	5
1.1.3 Research Objective	5
1.1.4 Significance of The Research	5
1.2 Research Method	6
1.2.1 Research Design	6
1.2.2 Data Source	7
1.2.3 Data Collection	8
1.2.4 Data Analysis	9
1.2.5 Definition on Key Terms	9
CHAPTER II: REVIEW ON RELATED LITERATURE	11
2.1 Social Memory	11
2.2 Identity Politics	18

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis	25
2.4 About <i>The Malay Annals</i>	30
2.5 <i>The Malay Annals</i> as Historical Fiction	34
2.5 Previous Studies	38
CHAPTER III: DISCUSSION	44
3.1 The Discourse of Wild Malays	44
3.2 The Discourse of British Colonizer as The Savior	53
3.3 The Discourse of Malay Ancestors	68
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSSION AND SUGGESTION	82
4.1 Conclusion	82
4.2 Suggestion	85
BIBLIOGRAPHY	86

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

This research investigates the historical fiction of *The Malay Annals* which carries the discourse of identity politics on Malay Rajas' genealogy. *The Malay Annals* is one of twenty six versions of *Sejarah Melayu* which is written under the reign of King Regent Johor during the occupation of British colonizer in 1821. In the colonial era, the native states were subjected to the great extent of imperialism. Among many of the colonizers Portuguese, Dutch and the like, British was approaching the discourse of native state by framing their history and took part of having authority on writing the genealogy of Malay Rajas. This approach makes British was advanced in influencing the ideology of the lays in the realm of discourse to legitimate the legitimizing identity. Thus, this research discusses the project of British colonizer discourse in politicizing the identity of Malay Rajas.

This study uses a method of critical discourse analysis and social memory interpretation by the aim of finding the identity politics of Malay Sultanate in *The Malay Annals*. In critical discourse analysis, Fairclough (1989: 2) *Language and Power* deliberates the significance over language that is used to project identity politics and power. This maintenance of background theory develops the foundation of the object of this study *The Malay Annals* translated by John

Leyden as an entity that carries discursive ideology of the past Malay Peninsula Kings with its royal dictates. Hence, idea of ‘constructing’ identity politics comes by the force of social memory theory which constitutes the ‘remembering’ and ‘forgetting’ process. Essentially, language as the corpus of this study is treated by the method of critical discourse analysis and that the interpretative value of maintaining how the ‘project’ towards identity politics lies in the theory of social memory.

This study probes identity politics as presented in *The Malay Annals*. Identity politics as studied and defined by Chris Barker (2004) in his *The SAGE Publication of Cultural Studies* carried meaning as the political construction on ‘how we define ourselves’. It involves the hegemony and power relation for those who have power to construct and to define certain ethnicity. Therefore, based on what is being concerned in *The Malay Annals* is the genealogy of Malay Sultanate in which it surreptitiously describes who they are and how they define themselves. Hence, this study reveals the identity politics in *The Malay Annals* in method by critical discourse analysis and social memory as interpretation.

According to *Good Reads* reviewed in May 2012 believes that *The Malay Annals* is a Malay literary work which covers period over 600 years that chronicles then, and now, genealogies of Rulers in the Malay Archipelago. This manuscripts were originally written in the classical Malay language on traditional paper in old Jawi script. According to Nesa’s review in *Good Reads* in August 28th 2012 believes that *Sejarah Melayu* or *The Malay Annals* was listed on UNESCO’s Memory of the World Programme International Register in 2001. The

excerpt of UNESCO during the listed date of *The Malay Annals* describes that *Sejarah Melayu* are unique in that they constitute the only available account of the history of the Malay Sultanate in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. They are in the nature of what may be termed as historical literature conveying a historical narration on the origins, evolution and demise of a great Malay maritime empire...(UNESCO, 2001). Thus, as the nature on how it is termed, *The Malay Annals* is included in the historical literature which portrays the living of Malay kingdoms and its royal dictates. It is moreover chosen because it maintains the genealogy and political life of Malay Sultanate which connects the aim and purpose of this study in finding identity politics agenda.

Historical fiction, the object of this study has long been studied and flourished since nineteenth century when German historian Leopold Von Ranke first turned to the study of history through reading the novels of Sir Walter Scott (Mc. Garry, White, 1963: 17). De Groot comes up with definition of historical fiction as mentioned by Matthew J. Phillpott (2012) in his *A Novel Approaches Prelude: A Brief History of Historical Fiction* that historical fiction represents historical process and towards actual progress, the realism of the novel allows the reader to engage with historical individuals and thence gain a sense of their own historical specificity. Depicting from what have been drawn by Philpott, Groot argues that it is able to communicate with people a sense of their own historicity, and the ways that they might be able to construct historically inflected identities for themselves (de Groot, 2010: 17:Philpott, 2012: 7). Hence, the researcher believes that the historical fiction is specific insight of the writer towards history

which refers to the writer's ideology. It is essentially the problem of the research that the researcher finds the ideological construction of identity politics in Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Memory.

The nexus towards the study of discourse, language and identity politics lies in the notion brought by Fairclough (1989: 3) ideologies are closely linked to language, because using language is the commonest form of social behavior where we rely on 'common-sense' assumptions. Hence, In his *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (1995: 27) there is such a discursive activity in maintaining ideological perspective that directs the reader to certain believe of the building of the truth. Thus he believed in what Faucault (1980: 132: Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995) stated toward the truth that is no more absolute. Since, the discursive activity done in maintaining the direction of perspective, this research signifies *The Malay Annals* as a discursive project highlighting certain language of power used in identity politics.

Social memory on *remembering* and *forgetting* construction of building history proposed by Barry Schwartz ed. (2014) plays significant role in finding the political and identity agenda in this study. The researcher means to pinpoint the theory of social memory on *remembering* and *forgetting* as a part of research analysis in interpreting *The Malay Annals*. Walter Benjamin (2007: 253) in his book *Illuminations* believes that history is not naturally told as it is, it is told as an automaton constructed in such a way that it could play a winning game chess, answering each move of an opponent with a countermove. Social memory stands with this view, that the juncture between the past and present is seen as a

construction activity to make history visible as validation of some agendas. Thus, the researcher analyses *The Malay Annals* by using the theory of social memory.

This research is notable to be conducted because knowing how the discourse history is constructed is necessary. The observation of this research comes to significant responses over identity-making in the social order. Besides, this research is proofing how history or our discourse has been owned by the elitists and ruling nobleman or what is called as the ‘cultural capital’ (Benjamin, 2007). Hence history is made in the behest of ruling classes interests and collectively justified as the image of society as general.

1.2 Research Question

The question of this research is how identity politic is constructed by British colonizer in *The Malay Annals*.

1.3 Research Objective

This research answers how identity politic is constructed by British colonizer in *The Malay Annals*.

1.4 Research Significant

This research is significant to be conducted because language is seen as a powerful process of power relation and legitimacy of identity. Power relation and legitimacy are major problems in cultural studies. In this occasion, the discursive activity is seen as a part of particular agenda in order to direct the society to believe in what the discourse is aimed. Therefore, knowing about this aim and put

it in criticism is essential to be conducted. Moreover, this study uses the lens of social memory as interpretation of analysis and critical discourse analysis as method of the study in which it develops the theory and object study. Thus, this study gives a new insight of *The Malay Annals* which carries identity politics of Malay Sultanate.

1.5 Research Method

A. Research Design

This research is the kind of qualitative research in the form of literary criticism since the object of the study is a discourse of historical fiction *The Malay Annals*. This research is exploring the data technically with critical discourse analysis method. Critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough (1989) *Language and Power* and (1995) *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language* with its level of technical analysis; micro, meso and macro, helped the researcher to observe words, phrases, metaphor, sentences or paragraph that carries the ideological content. Therefore, this research is designed to answer one questions maintained in the point of Research Question. The corpus of this research analysis is word, metaphor, phrase, sentence and paragraph that points to particular ideology used in *The Malay Annals* as identity politics construction. The word, phrase, sentence, and paragraph which present as discursive social context of identity politics would be used as a method in critical discourse analysis. The interpretation of this study in the matter on how the agenda is constructed is based on the theory of social memory, forgetting and remembering

process proposed by Peter Barry Schwartz ed. (2014) *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*.

B. Data Source

The data source of this study is *The Malay Annals* translated by Dr. John Leyden with an introduction by Sir Thomas Raffles. This work was believed to have been commissioned in 1612 by the Junior King or Regent Johor, the Yang di-Pertuan Di Hilir Raja Abdullah (Raja Bongsu). In 1613, the Johor capital of Batu Sawar was destroyed by Acehnese invaders and Raja Abdullah and his entire court was captured and exiled to Aceh. On Thursday, 12 Rabi'ul Awal 1021 corresponds to 13 May 1621 to edit the manuscript of *Sejarah Melayu*, accompanied by the Orang Kaya Sogoh from Gowa. Frontispiece of a copy of *Malay Annals*, the original version of *Sejarah Melayu* was written during the reign of Malacca. It was brought together when Sultan Mahmud Syah fled from Malacca in 1551 AD. The manuscript was once seized by the Portuguese in 1536 AD and returned to Johor Lama by Orang Kaya Sogoh. Therefore, since it is historical fiction and that UNESCO (2001) has described this as vital source of various fields including sociology, anthropology, economics, politics, international relations, linguistics and literature, *The Malay Annals* is used as an object of this study.

These data are the genre of historical literature which covers romance, detective, thriller, counterfactual, horror, literary, gothic, epic, fantasy, and mystery (Phillpott, 2012: 1). Historical fiction was introduced in seventeenth

century with many turbulent development till nineteenth century. Hence, this historical fiction had developed to be the study of social critics since it portrays the identity of the writer in specific way. It is the story of the writer's own day and own perspective on particular historical moment. Thus, from this view *The Malay Annals* is historical fiction or literature since it portrays the living of Malay kings in epoch and descriptively employs the taking side of the writer.

C. Data Collection

The data of this study is collected methodologically in form of words, phrases, sentences, metaphors, and paragraphs that contain ideological content in *The Malay Annals*. This means to find words, phrases, sentences, metaphor, or paragraphs in all chapters begin from the first to the last chapter maintained in the historical literature *The Malay Annals*. Words, phrases, sentences, metaphor, or paragraph is then interpreted and examined its relevant with the theory and problem. Thus, first the researcher finds whether the kind of words, phrases, paragraphs, or metaphor maintained in *The Malay Annals* are considered problematic. Second when the researcher figures out that the words, phrases, metaphors, or paragraphs are problematic the researcher uses them as the data of the study.

E. Data Analysis

Technically the corpus of the data would be found in the form of words, phrase, metaphor, sentence, or paragraph which based on Norman Fairclough

(1989) defined as language that carries social context and construction of ideology. Thus, methodologically in order to answer how the identity politics is constructed the data would be traced by three levels of critical discourse analysis; micro, mezzo and macro. This method directs the researcher to find language that is used as element of power relation and especially to define the kind of identity politics. After finding the data which are found in the form of words, phrases, sentences, metaphor, and paragraph, the researcher explores the data with social memory in the lens of forgetting and remembering process. The part of remembering and forgetting process would be used as the interpretation basis within macro level to answer how the British colonizer constructs the identity politics of Malay people in *The Malay Annals*.

Definition of Key Terms

Identity : defining principle of social organization and analyzing the importance of cultural, religious, and national identities as sources of meaning for people and the implications of these identities for social movements.

Identity politics : identity politics is concerned with the making and maintenance of cultural rights for those persons making identity claims within society and culture. Identity politics is the maintenance

of 'new language' that is used to describe ourselves.

Social Memory : Discursive construction which are the targets of emotional identification of investment.

Reconstruction : The belief over political power relation in the making of the truth, identity, images, and rules of society.

Remembering and forgetting : Process of constructing history as presented in the theory of social memory.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW ON RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provides the definition and elaboration of used theories that are going to be used to interpret *The Malay Annals*. There are two theories that are used in this research, these are social memory and identity politics. Social memory in this occasion of study is proposed by Peter Barry Schwartz and the identity politics is proposed by Manuel Catells. This chapter also provides elaboration on how critical discourse analysis works as method in the study. The last is the background information of what *The Malay Annals* is, to bring the closest understanding of historical fiction as an object study.

2.1 Social Memory

The researcher examines *The Malay Annals* analysis meticulously by the help of social memory theory in the part of remembering and forgetting as the project of identity politics occurring in historical framing. Therefore, critical discourse analysis is used as a method on finding the identity politics through the project of historical framing. Based on the object, the researcher needs the core value of projecting the identity politics. Since, the object constitutes the process of remembering and forgetting, this research therefore, maintain the social memory of constructing history in the part of remembering and forgetting.

The realm of social memory digs the issue on identity making in the environment of collective society with collective memory. Appraisal of this notion has been discussed further by many researches who constitute this theory in the realm of cognitive, psychology, and sociology (Cabecinhas & Abadia, 2013). One of the most distinguished is Peter Barry Schwartz (in Thatcher (ed), 2014) believes that social memory could be broadly utilized to saturate the issue of popular culture, history and narrative. Schwartz (2014: 4) believed that social memory could be beyond the mental process of creating the events, it could be the reason of making up some textual activity by the purpose of building the identity. This is relevant in any texts which preserved the connection between present interest on making the past event validate the present activity.

Schwartz (2014) In his essay, *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* examines how Ancient Judaism and early Christianity shared the same origin, emphasizing that these religions carry different beliefs, Schwartz criticized that both history of Ancient Judaism and early Christianity are framed politically. He argues that these religions are derived from the same origin in which they need to find what makes them different, in order to limit the confusion of their followers. Hence, he proposes three level of social memory on interfluent, relation between past and present, keying and framing.

Relating to what Schwartz (2014) has argued, social memory deals with the activity of documenting history which means it carries textual activity. The broad idea of this textual activity reacts to the study of discourse and literature as general. In the realm of historical fiction or fictionalized history, the notion is

apprehending the textual activity as a project of remembering and forgetting. However, the textual process obtains itself with particular technique so that history could be reliable with the present. In this view, Benjamin (2007: 261) noted the grand technique of history in textual activity, he believes that the initial day of a calendar serves as a historical time-lapse camera. And, basically, it is the same day that keeps recurring in the guise of holidays, which are days of remembrance. Thus, the calendars do not measure time as clocks do.

Before coming so far towards the concept of remembering and forgetting, the researcher would first introduce the social memory in which it is dealing with personal to collective remembrance. Olick et. al. (2013) in his *The Collective Memory Reader* believes that the making of history is never been separated from individual process of remembering and forgetting. This notion was driven back from John Locke, the British thinker. Therefore, what is experienced by individual and collective are not separable studies. It is also driving back the notion proposed by Halbwachs (2010) in his *Collective Framework of History* who stated that there is such a historical process of framing, as it plays in cognitive personal remembrance.

A question appears in this occasion on what stimulates the birth of social memory, the personal or collective. The researcher finds that in the study done by Olick et. al. (2013), Halbwachs (2010) and Schewartz (2014) argue that it is like a circle process of memory. It could neither be strictly defined as the personal who maintained the collective memory nor the collective preserve the personal memory. Therefore, this study continues to the tracing back on how the memory

is developed within social context. Many social memory theorists believe in the notion that there is intermingled process that tenets the individual memory and collective memory. This tenet could be seen as memory store of creating history. It is possible to point that individual memory could be influencing the collective memory as general and also the collective that could be influencing the individual memory as general (Halbwachs, 2010: 5).

Halbwachs continues in Olick et. al (2013) that the individual remembrance is determined by his or her social group and takes place in his or her mind as if he or she was participated in particular event. Halbwachs also focused on publicly available commemorative symbols, rituals, and technologies, which some theorists treat these symbols and representations as a vast cultural storehouse because the storehouse is real. Having storehouse means the representation of past event is real because it shares symbol, ritual, and technologies. On performing national identity, collective memory stands to be called as social memory to uphold the collective share of past commemoration, but in feudal society this could mean something else. Critics towards collective memory then raise as notion against the making of history by selecting particular events done by the powerful to build nation.

Social memory, even it enunciates the term 'memory' as its basis of study, this study does not segregate itself with present analysis. Hence, it means that social memory has also been dealing with the present events. The occurrence of present is seen as the core interest on how history is written through memory (Olick, et. al., 2013: 4). This notion could also be meant that what is happening in

the past is determined by the present interest due to cultural or political imperialism. Olick et. al. (2013) mentioned this as the historical framing. The frame occurs as particular technique in presenting the past as the basis of present ideology or identity interest.

Peter Barry Schwartz (2014) also mentioned the historical framing technique. However, he proposes wider idea that this framing is always associated with keying or focusing. The focus of history towards particular events makes the past seems to be valuable to validate the event that the present is really wanted. In this technique historical framing is not writing down the sequential events as it preserved but it is more like selecting some events that is relevant. In critical discourse analysis, this notion is also celebrated in the point of chosen social context to develop ideology and to create the belief. Hereby the picture on how collective society is projected by memory;

Memory and History

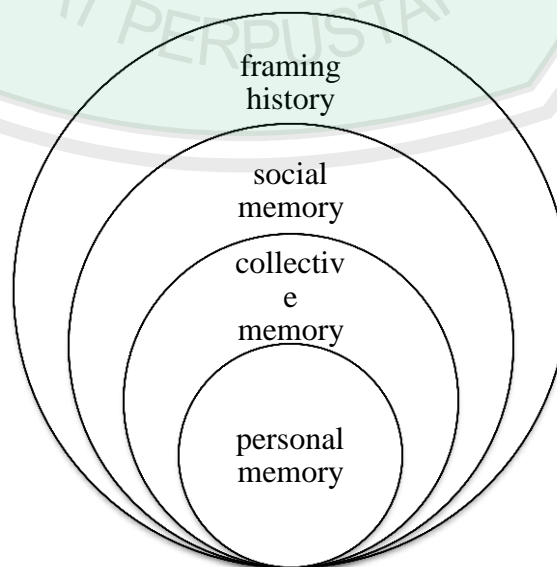


Figure 1: the study of social memory towards personal and collective remembering.

Schwartz is an applied theorist. Thus first of all his theory building is characterized by a fierce commitment to the principle that actual past and its subsequent commemoration are interfluent. What is meant by interfluent is that the present circumstances determine the form of collective memory, the actual past provides memory's foundational content. This means that the past event is the witness over what should be remembered by the present people, in order to build social order. His notion is "memory's limits are fixed to some degree by its point of origin. This is not to say of course, that collective memory could be taken as face value as historical record, nor that the past is immune of manipulation, nor that individuals and societies do not remember selectively" (2014: 2). He also believed that memory is merely a mirror of present power relation but also the actual past is always present in some determinative way 'the way things are is the way things were' (Schwartz, e.d Thatcher, 2014).

Second, Schwartz emphasizes the normative force of commemorated past, exploring ways that groups look to past events and individuals as model and patterns (Schwartz,e.d Thatcher, 2014). In this place, normative force is the past norm to be used for validating the present norm. When present people experiencing crisis and change, the remebered past provides the sense of continuity and common identity and also provides a sense of continuity to make sense the present experience. This is how Schwartz maintains the idea of self-consciousness across the generation especially generation which experiences

dramatic loss and change (Schwartz,e.d Thatcher, 2014). This is how Ancient Jews and Christian draw their past as the tool for survival in the face of overwhelming challenges to their faith (Shwartz,e.d Thatcher, 2014: 2).

Third, in a more specific and narrow way Schwartz has developed two memory techniques that “keying” and “framing” the interaction to support social cohesion. Therefore, as Schwartz has proposed “keying is the act of associating, often unconsciously, a present person, event, institution or experience to a past counterpart. When the keyed entity and the values are associated, it becomes “frame” that provides an interpretative context for present experience.

Schwartz e.d. Thatcher (2014) added that in simple terms memory look to the past in explaining what is happening now, however, it is not as easily as citing historical events. Keying and framing is mnemonic not rethoric thus it is generative forces in the manifestation of themselves in a variety ways on the surface of the text. It is because memory unites the remembered past and its commemorative in a reciprocal (used to describe relationship in which two groups or people agree to do something similar for each other to have the same rights) cycle of influence (Schwartz, e.d. Thatcher, 2014: 3). It is making “keying” is a tool to draw past to present and frames becomes a powerful norm to form social identity. It drives to the analytical science on how Cristian and Jew draw some elements of the past and ignore the other it also gives some interpretative implication of the strategies between remembering and forgetting (Schwartz, e.d. Thatcher, 2014: 3).

Peter Barry Schwartz Memory Techniques

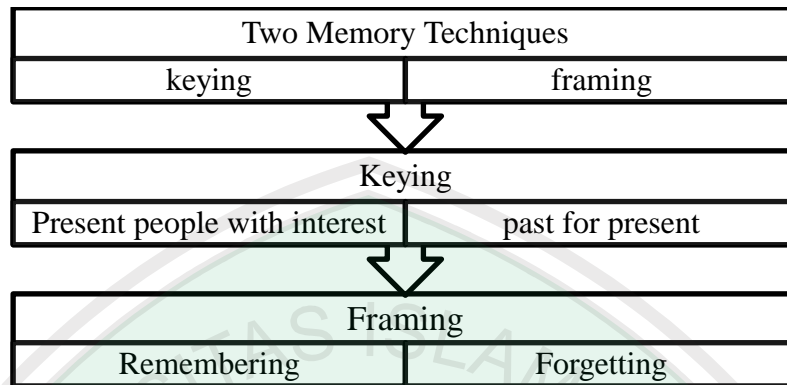


Figure 2; two memory technique as proposed by Peter Barry Schwartz.

Therefore, the researcher notes that the memory studies deals with how history is constructed through many ways and techniques which are available for the present. The memory studies comprehend how people remember not just what they remember. *The Malay Annals* is historical fiction which carries with it some events in the past, narrating the genealogy of Malay Rajas as they were descended from Rome. It is the field of events that caused people to remember as it is named the annals. Therefore, the researcher attempts to find the project of remembering and forgetting maintained in *The Malay Annals* as it is called history, fiction and discourse.

By those points of view, the researcher finds that critical discourse analysis and social memory has the same core belief. When critical discourse analysis plays significant role in revealing the social and ideological construction and struggle under the veil of language and its properties to project people, social memory deliberates the historical project to settle the identity and political aim of

nation. In this occasion, critical discourse analysis maintains the style of historical language that used in power relation and social memory plays the belief on the technical construction of history. By this nexus, the researcher believes that social memory as critical analysis and critical discourse analysis as method of study could intermingle to better the process of discussion.

2.2 The Politics of Identity

In this point the researcher presents the definition and concept of identity politics which are defined by many theorists. Then the researcher focuses on the concept brought by Manuel Castells (2010) in his *The Power of Identity*. Based on *The SAGE Dictionary of Cultural Studies* written by Chris Barker (2004: 95) identity politics is concerned with the making and maintenance of cultural rights for those persons making identity claims within society and culture. Identity politics is the maintenance of 'new language' that is used to describe ourselves. Thus, Barker (2014) added that identity politics is a sub-set of cultural politics and is thus also concerned with the 'power to name'.

Further, the study of identity politics is linked to the study of hegemony, citizenship, nationalism and cultural politics. These studies formed the grand idea on how identity politics is developed. It is also to note that identity politics and hegemony is not separable unit, to the researcher this is the kind of causal activity amongst hegemony and identity politics since Barker (2014) connects identity politics with power relation. It is to say that the powerful determines us which this notion is celebrated by Walter Benjamin (2007), Fang (2013) and other post-

Marxist theorists. When the powerful determines us, it means that the study of identity politics is linked to the cultural capital maintained in cultural politics. Challenge on answering “Who is the owner of our culture?” is to relate it in the power relation and the idea of plutocracy and elitist.

It is the vice versa, intermingle, causal, structural, and practical simulation of identity politics putting the construction of defining who we are. The researcher notes in this occasion that this making also relates to the identity project when it junctures the past and present making of identity. In the study of cultural imperialism Benjamin (2003: 46) and Fang (2013: 4) argue that the ruling class dictates during the time occurs is the power over culture, it is not only a matter of taking the reign but also to rule people and own culture to define who we are. Thus, in this study, identity politics is seen as the project of nationalism on how it generates people to feel belonging on values and practices. History is beyond the past, it is the pursuit of existence. Text in historical documents denounces the glorification of past events that make the present people are willing to conserve. Thus, political identity takes history as the discursive plan of obtaining identity.

Benjamin (2007: 111) adds that the past carries with it a temporal index by which it is reffered to redemption. There is a secret agreement between past generation and the present one. Hence, this view inaugurates the study of identity politics with memory studies and discourse. The juncture towards identity politics, memory studies and discourse lie in the occasion of history as self recognition in identity politics which deals with the making of the past as it is

demanding by the present which deals with memory studies and that the text of ideological form is maintained in critical discourse.

Juncture of Identity Politics, Discourse and Social Memory

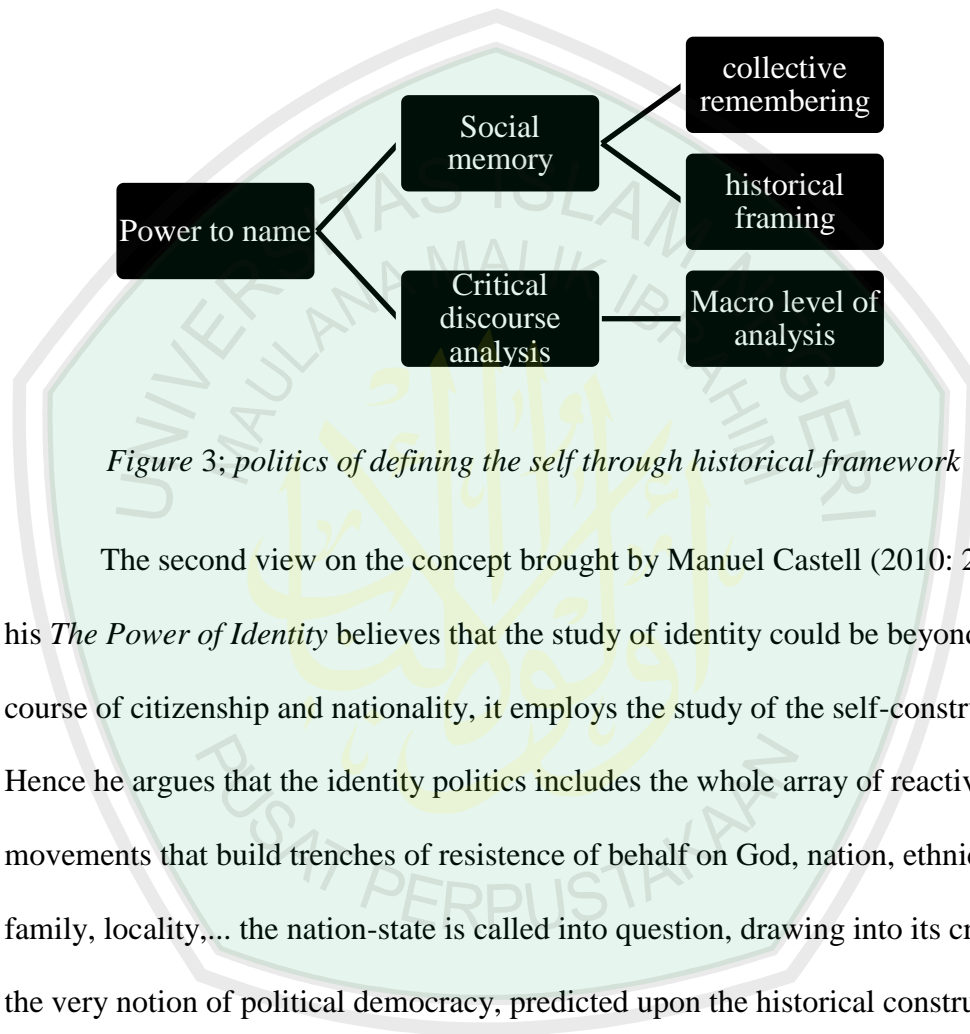


Figure 3; politics of defining the self through historical framework

The second view on the concept brought by Manuel Castell (2010: 2) in his *The Power of Identity* believes that the study of identity could be beyond the course of citizenship and nationality, it employs the study of the self-construction. Hence he argues that the identity politics includes the whole array of reactive movements that build trenches of resistance of behalf on God, nation, ethnicity, family, locality,... the nation-state is called into question, drawing into its crisis the very notion of political democracy, predicted upon the historical construction of a sovereign, representative nation-state. Thus, this aim is to project the self in responding the global challenge, nation-state needs identity making by constructing history. This, as Castells argues manifests to the sense maintained individually because there is no sense of history other than the history we sense.

Castells (2010: 6) defines identity as people's source of meaning and experience. This means that the identity is attached to social experiences and values. Therefore, he believes that identity are defined by norms of structured institutions and organizations of society. Thus, the historical construction lies as the project of defining who we are on how we sense the world collectively. It is practically important to project identity under political reason because identities are sources of meaning, making people experiencing the same sense hatred and love creates national belonging and take side. The identity maker tends to gain support in this place, on how they create sense over people. therefore Castells (2010: 7) continues that identity is the stronger source of meaning, this acquires actors to project people into actions. It is a symbolic process of self-identification to put the self in the frame of collective society.

In historical perspective Castell (2010: 7) adds that in the study of sociology, all identities are constructed. The matter is how, from what, by whom and for what. Thus, identity politics needs materials to build them in the course of history, biology, productive institutions, reproductive institutions, collective memories, personal fantasies, power apparatuses, and religion revelations. This notion has been argued in the above statement in the part of hegemonic condition when institutions projects identity of people to legitimate their power, hence the researcher focuses on the collective memories and history as the courses of this study revealing *The Malay Annals* as a historical fiction maintaining identity politics.

In this place, Castells (2010) emphasizes the identity as a course rooted within social structure which allows power to project the people for arranged identity-making. Thus, in the intense outlook, the study of identity politics is basically not as simple as how we define who we are or the power to name just like gangster, as it defined as the power to name. Hence, Politics of identity responds to the global challenge of advanced position. It is to expose that past civilization of ours is better than another, older than another and etc. Identity politics seeks for a space where it could perform self-recognition of the best among others. Thus, it is obtained itself with past events to validate their authority and majestic civilization (Dalgeliesh, 2013). One to be said as the oldest civilization carries a symbolic value as early activity of the oldest being, which means the cultural, ritual, tradition and education are rooted in a very early of human existence (Ford, 2005). This is to say that what is proposed by Castells, Ford, and Dalgelish state the symbolic power of constructing identity.

Dalgiesh (2013.p, 70) *Problematising the Political Theory of Identity Politics: Towards an Agonistic Freedom* added that the identity politics is the course of social construction where it apts the categorizing of people or paricular society. The member of this particular group shares norms, practices, history, rituals, mannerism, and narrative, so that the idenity politics utilizes these elements to maintain the identity of nation, this has been shown in Ford (2005: 54) in his *Political Identity as Identity Politics*. Thus, It expresses the politica identification of citizens with their state, and the policies of government to

reinforce that. Therefore, identity is maintained by nation apparatuses to obtain self identification as global society.

Since, the social construction of identity is marked by the power relation, Castells (2010: 8) proposes identity which is studied in three forms of identity building. The first is legitimizing identity defined as dominant institutions of society who tend to extend and rationalize their dominations through social actors. Legitimizing identity as Castells (2010) proposes is generating civil society that is a set of organizations and institutions, as well as series of structured and organized social actors which reproduce, albeit sometimes in a conflictive manner, the identity that rationalizes the sources of structural domination. It is a power of projecting people without direct violence and assault. This signification of examples directs the researcher to argue that the course of *The Malay Annals* is also included in the project of legitimizing identity, as it is the conduct of dominant institutions which tend to rationalize their dominations.

The second is resistance identity which is generated by actors who are in positions or conditions devalued and stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus they build trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, opposed to, those permeating the institutions of the society. Castells (2010: 9) argues that this is the important type of identity building within the society, because it constructs forms of collective resistance against unbearable oppression. The boundaries of this resistance are defined from geography, history and biology. This is the building of identity which defense itself from dominant institutions and ideologies.

The third is project identity which is a building of new identity that redefines their position in society and by doing so seek the transformation of overall social structure. This is constructing identity, the process where subjects are produced. Castells (2010: 10) defines this as the project of oppressed identity who seeks for transformations of society. This is the project of new life and different life as they please when their identity is oppressed. Castells (2010) mentioned this project identity issues in line with post-patriarchal society, liberation of woman, man, and children through their own project of realization. Hence, they seek for a new place that redefines them within the society. It is in the realm of social change, where it enunciates the transformation of new identity.

Castells's Origin of Identity

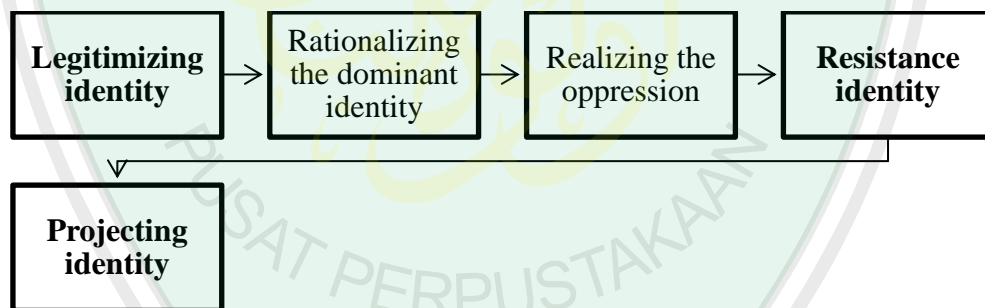


Figure 4; how legitimate identity is resisted through the project of identity.

In these three buildings of identity origin studied by Castells (2010), he notices also to whom and for whom the identity is projected. In this occasion he reflects to what Gidden argues about 'end of history' but does not reflects significantly on the way that this is the end of our history. Under this statement Castells (2010: 10) believes that the legitimizing identity uses history to construct

collective society, which makes history is both coming to an end and essentially necessary. The end of history is signified as history that is constructed by the demand of present society. This is to highlight that as a course that connects present interest and past event, social memory theory is included in the study of identity politics. Social memory on historical framing stands to illuminate, thus it is taking a role as a project to frame history as it to rationalize the dominant institutions and ideology, This notion is also enunciated by Michel Foucault in his (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language* who portrays discourse of history that is reused and transformed to match the interest of the subject. Thus, it is the discourse that plays significant role in selecting the past event to validate the present. In this course of notion, the researcher tenets the discourse, history and identity as inseparable unit of study.

2.3 Critical Discourse in Literary Analysis

Fairclough (1989: 148) believes that language has a role, the role of language lies in the instrumental way of use as a part of wider institutional and bureaucratic objective. He added that it is being used to elicit information from which is needed for filling in an official form which will be part of the documentation of the case. Based on this notion, language is defined as something beyond alphabetical bound, language is purposive and the purpose could reach the power relation. When it is said that language is the instrumental way and a part of wider beurocratic, Fairclough (1989: 142) pinpoint the interpreting procedure on

social context which is placed within situational context. Thus, everything that is placed within the discourse is the situational context by picking or selecting up the social context. This interpretative procedure, relates the interactional history on intertextual context, which then simultaneously juncture the social context and situational text.

It is essential to put pressure on the way 'picking up situational context within social practice'. Discourse acquires situational context maintained in the social practice, by means that it is including the process of selecting some social practice that is relevant to the discourse exposed (Fairclough, 1995: 143). As a part of social order, discourse places social determination on particular setting to set ideas. In this point, when discourse is place in the behest of the researcher, it is required to ask the activity, purpose, people involved, relation of practices, and the role of language as preserved in the discourse. Therefore, the researcher could notice the situational context in answering why such situation is being chosen to developing the idea maintained in discourse.

In defining about this, the use of language in the wider social context is seen as a powerful instrument to project the identity of the society. Therefore, the researcher points out the 'project' as a setting of social construction. Hence, 'projecting' means setting up discourse in such ways to maintain the purpose of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). The researcher uses this as a corpus study which lies in the language use including metaphor, word, phrases, or paragraph that signify the project of historical construction. These metaphor, word, phrases, sentence, and paragraph play role as language of powers, the power relation

comes in form of those language use to project people. Fairclough (1995: 116) in his *Language and Power* moreover put language by the aim of particular example of asking why does the text means by saying “What experiential values do words have?”, “What relational values do words have?”, “What metaphors are used?” and many more. These questions are the gate of discursive context that evaluate some ideological contested or struggle.

Level of words, phrase, metaphors, and sentence analysis is included in the micro level where it is believed that such terms are carrying the discourse into its purpose. It is of course not simply pointing any words maintained in the discourse. In the practice, Fairclough continues that in the level of words, the analyst must aware of some repetition of words that carries ideological essence (1995: 110). In the level micro, the analyst acquires to answer questions as the above paragraph preserved because the chosen words is influential in the discourse building. In this level also, the researcher has to define the linguistics element of the word which carries ideological values in the discourse which is to say beyond the part of speech analysis.

Micro also takes care of some pronouns in the discourse. It is essential to note that certain pronoun is used by so purposive. In the point of pronoun, surely to say ‘you’, ‘they’, ‘we’, ‘us’, and ‘them’ are so referential. It is not simple pointing at particular actors in the discourse, it is to ask whether ‘they’ are not ‘us’ and ‘we’ are not ‘them’ therefore this practice is putting institution of people into some variant boxes in order to define identity or some ideological purpose (Fairclough, 1995: 113). The pronoun could also mean placing the group in ‘the

other' position so that it questions on superiority. Therefore, considered pronoun is problematic. These referents are also in the matter of acknowledging to whom the discourse is addressed. In the point of addressing of course it is to mention the taking side of the discourse, which directs to the belief that taking side of particular social institution and practice.

The level of micro, mezzo, and macro play in simultaneous circle of discourse, thus the starting point could be micro, mezzo or macro which depends on the discourse is evoking. The level of mezzo is dealing with inter textual context on how discourse and practice are in the same rhythm. It also examines how the word becomes so influential when it is spoken. Mezzo is involving connective values in the relation between words defined with particular belief. In this view, it is to ask whether the word has relational values with other words, sentences or paragraph in the discourse.

Inter textual context in the level of mezzo directs to the spoken referential ideas of particular words. The ideas is build within the discourse in which to say such words actors in the discourse are directed to certain ideas on whether to support, disgust, agree or abolish. Discourse has its play, it is sometimes used as political instrument of campaigning or planning agenda. Thus, Fairclough (1995: 145) posits the mezzo analysis in the level of word's character in which its characters are developed within the discourse. In this occasion, the analyst is not seeing whether the word constitutes denotative or connotative meaning literary as preserved by dictionary. Denotative and connotative are build within the discourse. Thus, it is possible of certain connotative word could be denotative.

Hence, it is all depends on how the discourse develops images or ideas about particular words within the context.

Macro is in the ideological atmosphere. It is not to say that micro or mezzo is not ideological one. Macro is constituting social practice in the context of discourse. It means particular conditions are selected in the discourse in order to make the discourse is relevant. Social practice is wide, thus Fairclough (1995: 146) adds that discourse chooses particular events to support the idea. Events are seen as the situational context where the practice occurs. It also requires condition of certain practices are responded by the people. Then, it is essential to maintain the situational context which needs to be criticized in critical discourse analysis because not all events are relevant with political agenda, therefore it obtains itself with selected events for making the context.

In the practice of critical discourse analysis, Fairclough (1995: 140) continues with the presentation of a procedure for critical discourse analysis. This point of view directs the researcher to the belief that social values are associated with texts and their elements and more generally with the social significance of the text. Thus, language in the form of text is element that used as project in social context. This element indeed is powerful as core meaning that the discourse carried. Therefore, he added that discourse has the incorporate ideologies which accord with particular power relation (Fairclough, 1995: 141).

From three level of analysis micro, mezzo, and macro, critical discourse analysis argues that it is the way of finding the comprehensive meaning of the

discourse. Micro, mezzo and macro as a method analysis play in the smallest to the wider part of the text which acquires relational values on how the discourse is build. Hence, as critical discourse analysis plays as textual activity in building ideological form, literary text is included as the form of social response, construction or representation. Critical discourse analysis as a method peels the literary work in this occasion historical fiction as ideological discourse that binds social and political practice. Therefore, these three levels of analysis guide the researcher to find ideological formation through words, metaphors, sentences, phrases and paragraphs maintained in *The Malay Annals* which the researcher posits as a discourse that carries identity politic through the text.

2.4 About *The Malay Annals*

The Malay Annals the English version from *Sejarah Melayu* which are both derived from the ancient manuscript Sulalatus Salatin, covers the period of genealogy and political life of Malay Sultanate during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The span between the sixteenth and seventeenth century narrates the heritance genealogy, successor, and archipelago of Malay. This book is consisting thirty chapters and two hundred four pages. *The Malay Annals* is a historical book which enunciated available sources of historical studies conducted in *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasei* (1960), *History of Perak* (1974), and *Sedjaret Melayou* (1901). On the object of the translator, Dr. Leyden visited Eastern Island in 1805 and engaged with the study about Malayan. As it had been introduced by Thomas Stanford Raffles in 1821, He argues that Dr. Dryden begins to distinguish the enthusiasm of Malayan race's character by stating;

In the feudal notions and habits of this people, he found so much in accordance with his own feeling of honor and independence, that he was once alive to their true character and interest and, while his powerful and intelligent mind was engaged in deeper researches into their languages and literature, he neglected no opportunity of becoming acquainted with their more popular tales and traditions (2012: 5)

Raffles in his introduction (1821: 6) presents the account of Malayan writing by so few which is included their commerce and trading. According to him, their commerce and trading expanded to the glamorous period between many emporia including Bautain, Achau, Malacca, and Macasser to which principals were born. He added that when Portugal broke the power of native state, they left the native state exposed to the more selfish policy of their successors. Responding to this statement, Raffles continued to acquire the arrival of British traders to whom they better the development of native state to the wider world by stating that “British traders revived their suppressed and nearly extinguished energies, and awoke to new life the commerce and enterprise of this interesting portion of the globe” (1821: 7).

Stamford Raffles in his introduction, speaks toward the wild tradition of Malayan in which he found that there was a faint glimmering of light. Deciphering what he says, it seems like there is an absence tradition of Malayan. Therefore, he stated that “In the absence of all other lights, they were worth pursuing”. Hence, picturing about this, Raffles tries to convey the faint glimmering light within Malayan wild tradition. It is to expect that what is narrated within *The Malay Annals*, since it is the story of kings and the descendants are the faint glimmering of light within the wild tradition.

In the preface, John Leyden mentions his regard as what he believed as the truth according to his information. Leyden acclaims that the story of Malayan Rajas which were brought by a noblemen from Goa needs to be corrected according to the Malays. He was then sophisticated in composing *The Malay Annals* in respect of his divine illumination of understanding based on *Sillaletah-al-salatin* in Arabic or in Malay *Sala-silah Peratoran Segala Raja-Raja*.

It is told in the opening that Thomas Stanford Raffles and John Leyden were sophisticated with the study of Malayan character who were claimed to be peculiar with their own. Therefore, they traced back the history of Malay Archipelago along with its linguistic and literary development. Hence, deciphering what Raffles tries to convey is that the perspective on how the story was written. It is quite definable to discern the pattern of what he said that the British traders were awakening new life that was once left in the selfish policy of native state. Thus, the point of view goes to the colonist. It was the colonist interest on Malayan race (since Raffles uses 'race') during their visit (diction usage is 'visit' not 'invading').

In the occasion of thirty chapters, each chapter is not separated tales. They are linked each other and narrated from the former to the last successor. Thus, the first chapter evokes the life of Raja Secander the son of Raja Darab of Rum, Makedonia. From the time when Raja Secander reigned, the story continues to the later successor of his throne. *The Malay Annals* is narrating the later successors who expand to the land of Kling, Perak, Perlak, Malacca, Makasser, Pasei, Bentan, and Paralembang from the second chapter to the end of the chapter.

Through the whole story, *The Malay Annals* tends to expose the genealogy and the politics of native state. Thus, when the genealogy is drawn, the last story returns to the first exposure of the great Secander, Raja who descends Malayan ruling classes.

Makadunia, the land of Rum becomes the point of link where it goes across the nation. Thus at the very first place, *The Malay Annals* narrates the marriage between Scander Zulkarnaini from the land of Rum with Shaher-ul Beriah from the land of Hindustan. This marriage opens the following generation, till it reached the land of Kling, Perak, Pasei, Bentan and Paralembang. These descendants called themselves as “Scander Race” with which they bestowed the symbol of diadem covered with gems for their crown. It is to say that by the following exploration including the land of Siam, Maccaser and Malacca, Scander’s descendants remained strong and influential (as it narrated in the story).

Hence, *The Malay Annals* is not simply narrating the genealogy of Malayan kings, it also portrays the life of the kings. It posits the glamorous life of past elitists. In this occasion, *The Malay Annals* is also depicting the tales within the kingdom told and believed by the people. The famous story in which by then it becomes the sophisticated Singaporean lay’s tale entitled *Singapura Dilanggar Todak* or named *Fishy Tales* is also drawn in *The Malay Annals*. Another separated later tales such as *The Great Badang*, and *Singapura The Lion City* were covered in *The Malay Annals* also. These tales are narrated in sequential events which relate to the life of the kingdom as general.

Wrapping what is explained above the perspective of this version is the colonist, for both Raffles and Leyden as they visited the land. It is their curiosity with Malayan characters to whom they admired through the study of Malayan literature. This perspective begins to narrate Scander Zulkarnaeni from the land of Rum to the later Malayan Archipelago. Folklores are preserved as the elitist delight on devoting the high king and the exquisite beauty of the princess along with the inherited wisdom of princes.

2.5 *The Malay Annals* as Historical Fiction

In this point, the researcher conveys the information on how *The Malay Annals* is considered as historical fiction. It is to note that the researcher would explain the concept of the genre and the object simultaneously not as a separate matter. Richard Slotkin in his *Fiction for the Purposes of History* (2005) believes that the discipline of history on the way historian is telling is more likely the way novel is. He draws similarities between history and novel in which he adds that mathematics, physics, chemists, and statistics are the elegance finding of numbers but history is the elegance finding of a story (2005: 222). Elements of the novel are studied here, where he found that the history could be fictionized through novel, when story is matter than years.

Matthew J. Phillpott (2012) in his *A Novel Approaches Prelude: A Brief History of Historical Fiction* conveys historical fiction as available source of retelling the past events. It is not argued here, that the basis of fiction or novel is maintained in the history as it tells the life of characters or particular event. In

2001, UNESCO announced that they store *The Malay Annals* as a cultural heritage that preserve the only account of Malay Rajas in sixteenth to seventeenth century. As follow, UNESCO declares that the genre of *The Malay Annals* is historical fiction and it is available source of literature, linguistics, sociology, history, and anthropology studies.

The researcher deciphers the declaration as a matter of fact that genre of *The Malay Annals* is historical literature but it is also essential to stimulate the reason of categorizing it. It is true that *The Malay Annals* did not attain to particular numbers indicating the day of the past event, John Leyden begins the day by reciting the date on how the story begin in the preface, 12th Rabiul Awal year Dal Hejirah 1021. However, it is then questioned that it is making *The Malay Annals* is more history or more fiction. Exercising this fact, the researcher figures out what is stated by David, D., McGarry and Sarah, Harriman, White. (1963) in *Historical Fiction Guide: annotated Chronological, Geographical, and topical List of Five Thousand selected Historical Novels* that a historical novel is aimed to expose the sequential events on particular characters. Thus, David etc. (1963) enunciates this genre into which a character is posted to be so influential.

Responding to David etc. (1963) to say that a character is posted to be so influential is making *The Malay Annals* to be the best figure of historical fiction. The reason is because *The Malay Annals* has lifted the life of Scander Zulkarnaeni and his descendants. They are exposed because they are the main actors in the novel, it is also to say that they are the Malay Sultanates. These actors play

significant role in the development of the story. From this point of view, the researcher believes that *The Malay Annals* is the kind of historical literature.

Georg Lukacs in his *The Historical Novel* (1962) adds the element of historical fiction that reader needs to articulate, it is the representation of historical process and in doing so gestures towards actual historical process. The work of Lukacs (1962) continues to enunciate the novelists were working for making narrative pattern to approach national identity. These notions drive the researcher to capture *The Malay Annals* as the part of both narrating historical progress and the approach of national identity.

As a discourse of historical progress, *The Malay Annals* evokes the story of the former and the later descendants of Malay Sultanate from the past to present day. It is also evoking the process of exploration and tales of the lay. This process is delivered sequentially within the reign of descendants. The extending of the exploration is widened through the settlement of many lands since the marriage between Scander Zulkarnaeni and Shaher-ul Beriah. These lands are Kling, Perlak, Perak, Bentan, Paralembang, Singapura, Malacca, Siam and Macasser, lands were Malayan Archipelago set.

As an approach of national identity, *The Malay Annals* is the way of telling the greatness of Malay Sultanate with their successors. The way of exceeding particular characters, belief, superstition, and behavior are presented within the story. Besides its genealogy that is exposed, social behavior is presented as people's devotion towards the Raja. Chapters are also derived from

particular lay stories that enunciate customs and people's way of life. From this fact, *The Malay Annals* is written in evoking national identity. Raffles and Leyden posit national identity at the very first place in the introduction and preface, they both are fascinated by Malayan particular behavior.

Historical fiction could be seen in gender matter on how the story of woman tells about woman or man tells about man. The gendering of historical fiction has been studied by Phillpott (2012: 10) that he differs male and female historical fiction's audience. When femininity is becoming the lens of woman's audience, Phillpott (2012: 11) believes that man's audience differs, the historical fiction of man is evoking adventures, power, and murder. To put *The Malay Annals* in gender is such a challenge to the researcher because practically *The Malay Annals* is categorized as the only account of Malay Sultanate history available source in sixteenth to seventeenth century. Thus, it is noted as the history of the people which tells about people, which means to put it in gender is quite faint to discern.

Further, it is not to put away the consideration of gender even it is faint to categorize *The Malay Annals*. Most of the chapters in *The Malay Annals* are more exposing the male successors louder than the female. There, when genealogy plays significant role in narrating the story, male as Malay customs are saturated is becoming the major concern on how the blood is descended. For instance Raja Suran married the princess of Kling and Perak so that the blood of Scander Zulkarnaeni is expanded. Another male actors like Araston Shah, Aftas, Asoayinat, Casidas, Amatubusu, Zamazeyus, Cainat, Sacayinat, Nicabus, Ardasir

Migan, Tun Narawangsa, Sri Maharaja, Sri Nara, Tun Ali, Mani Farandan, Muzafer Shah, Ala-ed-din, Ajel Abdul Jalel, Sri Tri Buana, Mahmud Shah, Mansur Shah and many more are exposed even louder than of the female descendants because these men were the successors. They ruled the kingdom and took part as people's weapon against the outsiders.

To sum up the notions on history that is fictionized, is to put the element of novel on how it is fictionized. The first element which evokes *The Malay Annals* as historical fiction is the story that becomes the major element of narrating. In this point of view, year as academic history has preserved is not becoming the concern of telling. The second is the novel tells the past events which links to *The Malay Annals* as the only available source of Malay Rajas in sixteenth to seventeenth century. The third is the style of novel which focuses on one major character plays significant role in the story, in this occasion the researcher posits Scander Zulkarnaeni the father of Malay Rajas to whom actors in *The Malay Annals* states is 'the race of Zulkarneni'. The fourth is the maintenance of history progress and national identity which makes the fiction is history is when the researcher evokes the process on past to present descendants and that *The Malay Annals* involves many customs and social behavior as it has been required in the body of national identity. The last is the gender of historical fiction which presents the exposure of male descendants who are told even louder than the female. From these elements, *The Malay Annals* is considered as historical fiction.

2.6 Review on Related Literature

This point discusses the previous studies the researcher used to highlight the method and significant guidance for the research. Therefore there are six previous studies maintained in this research that both have similarities and difference. The first is the study done by Azhar Ibrahim Alwee *Social Memory: The Case of Suratman Markasan* (2012). The second is Rita Riberio *Narratives of Redemption: Memory and Identity in Europe* (2013). The third is James H. Liu *Narratives and Social Memory from the Perspective of Social Representation of History* (2013). The fourth is Oliver Klien *The Lay Historian: How Ordinary People Think about History* (2013). The fifth is Mark R. Gillen *The Malay Rulers' Lost of Immunity* (1994), and the last is Abdur Rahman Mohammed Amin and Ahmad Murad Merican *The Images of Keling in Sulalat al-Salatin* (2014).

Alwee (2013) in his research *Social Memory: The Case of Suratman Markasan* examines the predicament of marginal Malayan who currently stay in Singapore. The object of this study is the collection of Suratman Markasan's works. The works of Suratman Markasan by then is scrutinized with the social memory theory which then it reveals the number of feeling of lost experienced by Malayan. These feelings are all enunciated in the work of Suratman Markasan. In the end, this study proofs that there are the numbers of ruling nobleman who simultaneously create structured social order in which it affects to the number of problem in adjusting in a new nation.

Second, Riberio (2013) *Narratives of Redemption: Memory and Identity in Europe*, enunciates the theory of social memory in identifying the past images of Europe. These images create significant effect in justifying who the European are. As a nation who was once colonized the East, Europe, as Riberio has examined maintained “Narrative of Redemption”. Riberio (2013) deliberates the forgetting and remembering method in preserving better images of Europe, thus the effect of colonization could not last longer.

The third study is the study done by James H. Liu (2013) *Narratives and Social Memory from the Perspective of Social Representation History*, this study examines how social representation of history (SRH) has used quantitative method to provide empirical building blocks that is assisted in the cumulative hermeneutic interpretations in new and sophisticated ways as the symbolic interface between individuals and groups. Liu treated the SRH in narrative where sequence of events provides the plot and figures provide heroes and villains central to a story about the making of ingroup. Liu also posted how different countries provide different narrative inference potential and awareness of changes in context.

The fourth study is *The Lay Historian: How Ordinary People Think of History* (2013, 25-45) done by Oliver Klien uses one two branches of social memory the social psychology and cognitive psychology on how the new metaphor of ordinary folks think about history. Klien considers how historian approaches to the past may find parallels in ordinary peoples’ construction of historical representation. Klien also posted Paul Ricoeur (2000) in his historical

research: documentary, explanatory, and representational. This research collaborate the historical research and historical memory.

The fifth is the study done by R. Gillen *The Malay Rulers' Lost of Immunity* (1994). In this study, Gillen (1994) traces the constitutional amendments of 1993 in the context of Malay rulers in both politic and culture. One of the objects that is used in this study is *The Malay Annals* since it constitutes the old culture and politic along with its doctrines and dictates. Thus, this study approaches *The Malay Annals* in historical perspective till it surpasses the present day's constitution. Further, this study challenges how the present constitution tenets the old consitution even the constition had passed many amendments.

The sixth study is the study done by Abdur Rahman Mohammed Amin and Ahmad Murad Merican *The Images of Keling in Sulalat al-Salatin* (2014). This study examines the word 'Keling' linguistically in *Sulalat al-Salatin* or *The Malay Annals* which the researcher pinpoints the meaning which is transformed from connotation to denotation. Responding to this word's transformational meaning, the researcher traces the historical use of the word *keling* in *The Malay Annals* as the word *keling* itself is practiced within ephocal context. This research uses the linguistics history approach to find the transformational change of the word *keling*.

The first gap lies in the research done by Alwee (2012) *Social Memory: The Case of Suratman Markasan* (2012) and Riberio (2013) *Narratives of*

Redemption: Memory and Identity in Europe. Apart from these studies, this research uses *The Malay Annals* as an object of this study. While, the study done by Alwee (2012) uses the theory of social memory in revealing the work of Suratman Markasan and Riberio (2013) uses the theory of social memory to examine the eventual past of Europe. These two previous studies are similar because these researchers use theory of social memory. Therefore, the analysis maintained in those previous studies help this research significantly. In the sight of method, basically there is also gap between this study and those previous one, this study uses the critical discourse analysis by using language as corpus study.

The two previous studies are also using the theory of social memory but these previous studies are more like mingling the theory of social memory with the new historicism theory. Thus, Klien (2013) uses the new historicism to reveal how ordinary people think about their story when it has already been constructed. This research moreover uses psychological analysis of the society as a main point in which therefore it is not being talked in this study. Moreover, this study tends to opens up the historical memory in which it is closely related with this study, Klien somehow uses the method proposed by Paul Ricoeur (2000) in his historical research: documentary, representational, and explanatory. This study is indeed using the social memory but this study is more to reveal the identity politics constructed in the story and uses critical discourse analysis for the method.

James H. Liu (2013) *Narratives and Social Memory from the Perspective of Social Representation History* examines some historical events by using social memory quantitatively. Different from this study, this research uses the theory of

social memory qualitatively and critical discourse analysis methodologically, that the researcher interprets the object study. Liu (2013) using SRH to measure the symbolic interface between individuals and group on how there are appears the symbol of heroes and villain. In this point, it could be justified that Liu (2013) research is different from the study done in this research.

Further gap between this study with the study done by R. Gillen *The Malay Rulers' Lost of Immunity* (1994) lies in the theory used. It is essential to mention in this occasion, that this study uses the same object is that *The Malay Annals*. However, the approach of this study is general law combined with history approach since it traces back the development of Malayan constitution. Different from the study done by Gillen (1994), this study utilizes two approaches CDA and social memory to approach *The Malay Annals* and that these approaches direct the researcher in finding the identity politics done by Malay Sultanate in *The Malay Annals*.

The last gap lies in the study done by Abdur Rahman Mohammed Amin and Ahmad Murad Merican *The Images of Keling in Sulalat al-Salatin* (2014). This study also uses *The Malay Annals* or *Sulalat al-Salatin* as the object study. Somehow, this study is more likely to find the transformational change of the word *keling*. It is to say that the theory used in Amin and Merican (2014) is different from this study. The theory used by Amin and Merican (2014) is linguistics history to approach the word *keling* in the past context of *Sulalat al-Salatin*. This study in the other hand, uses the theory of critical discourse analysis

and social memory to approach *The Malay Annals* in order to find the identity politics constructed within the historical fiction of *The Malay Annals*.



CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the research findings in *The Malay Annals* which is based on research question of the research. There are three elements that is needed to be answered according to identity politics construction. The first element is who is being constructed which is discussed in the discourse of wild Malays. The second element is who constructs the identity politics which is discussed in the discourse of British traders as the savior. The third element is the way the identity is politicized which is discussed in the discourse of Malay ancestors.

3.1 The Discourse of Wild Malays

As a starting point, to answer how the identity of Malay Rajas is constructed in *The Malay Annals*, the researcher comes up with the idea of what and where the Malay Archipelago as mentioned by Raffles in his introduction 1821. It is essential to discuss at the very first place who constructs the identity of Malay Rajas and how the construction was begun. This focus is to open the core value under which *The Malay Annals* is written and what was the purpose behind the politicizing identity of Malay Rajas. Therefore, this point of discussion analyze; who constructs the identity of Malay Rajas, under what circumstances the identity is constructed, and what purpose behind the politicizing identity of Malay Rajas are.

But in the wild tradition of the Malays, he thought, he sometimes discovered a glimmering of light, which might perhaps serve to illustrate an earlier period. These glimmerings, he was accustomed

to say were very faint but, in the absence of other lights, they were worth pursuing; they would, at all events, account for and explain many of the peculiar institutions and customs of the people, and serve to make his countrymen better acquainted with a race who appeared to him to possess the greatest claims on their considerations and attention (5)

This data is found in the introduction of Raffles in the year 1821, he welcome and direct the readers before reading *The Malay Annals*. He also introduces John Leyden, translator of *Sejarah Melayu* to whom he mentions as 'he' in the finding. Thus, in micro analysis, it is important to note that every circumstances of writing is written in the form of past tense, throwing back the readers to particular era in Malay Archipelago and where the Portuguese, Dutch and British approached the Archipelago (Leyden, 2012: 3). In this point of analysis, the entire paragraph is reasoning the word 'wild' which in this case refers to traditions, institutions, and customs of the people. Referring to what are said to be wild, in literal meaning, wild is often associated with animals, apart from any sense of being human.

Thus in the level of mezzo, the researcher attempts to answer what institutions, customs, and traditions of the people that are considered wild. The backdrop of inter-textual analysis as explained by Varthema, the Italian traders who came to visit Malacca (Ternate and Tidore) and Banda in sixteenth century, argued that these states are uncivilized and wild. There were no law, no rules, no kings, and governmental system. The huts were rustic, the people were short, wearing no hats and no slippers, the long hairs were abandoned and their skin are black (Alwi, 2005: 299). Varthema worked for Portuguese as an informant of native state, he was accustomed to record that Banda and Malacca were lands

difficult to plants. Valentijn (Alwi, 2005: 297) record affirms Varthema that Malacca and Banda were state of wild, lands of Malay Archipleago as exposed in the introduction of Raffles. This is what Raffles refers to, the state of wild based on the study done by his trading ally Dr. Leyden and the previous report from Valentijn and Varthema.

Das Alwi (2005) in his book *Sejarah Maluku, Banda Naira, Ternate, Tidore* takes side in the history of native state. He argues that either Valentijn or Varthema did not have any place to explain what really happened in sixteenth century. He counters and justifies his doubt amongst the study done by Varthema and Valentijn, also Dr. Leyden and Raffles who affirmed the Portuguese informants. Dr. RZ. Leirissa in her *Das Alwi and History*, reports that the work of Das Alwi in *Sejarah Maluku, Banda Naira, Ternate, Tidore* is the picture of how Alwi opposes the idea of colonizers research in Malay Archipleago. This point, Alwi deliberates that the study done by Varthema and Valentijn are not based on any written documents or archeology. For worse, Dr. Leyden and Raffles affirmed the study done by Varthema and Valentijn as the basis of the information in Malay Archipelago (Alwi, 2005).

Alwi believes that before the coming of the traders (Portuguese 1512, Dutch 17th century and the later British), the native states had been joined trading with the Arabs and Chinese. This statement has been affirmed by Munoz (2009: 155) *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Awal Kepulauan Indonesia dan Semenanjung Malaysia: Perkembangan Sejarah dan Budaya Asia Tenggara [Jaman Pra-Sejarah-Abad XVII]* that the classic Malay in the 7th and 13th century when the Portuguese had

not been yet approaching the Archipelago, the North India called this archipelago as *Suvarnadvipa* or the golden land. This is called as golden land because it produced numbers of gold that are sold and distributed to Rome and Egypt by the Arabs and to Europe by the Chinese. The famous aromatic spice or cloves were sold in Greek, Rome and Europe by Arabs and Chinese who came for transaction in Malay Archipelago distributing the cloves (Alwi, 2005: 295). Based on this study, the 7th century signified the glorification of native kingdoms pursuing the wealth of the nation. This century is surely before the coming of Portuguese in the early 16th century.

Varthema and Valentijn in explaining Malay Archipelago traditionally and geographically are rascally and beastly *kynde* of men and geographically very *saluage*, *barren*, and *lowe*. These explanations refer to the Malays in 15th century that Malays were rascal and beastly, geographically Malay Archipelago was worse where people could not explore their own natural resources. In the other hand, Das Alwi (2005) even before 15th century, Malays were in the point of glorification in the world economy trading (Maris, 2011). Alwi stands against them, he was born in Banda Naira and sailed Ternate and Tidore, he argues that what Valentijn and Varthema explore is questioned. People that are called to be rascal and beast were very friendly, open, and courteous. The state that is explained to be very *saluage*, *barren*, and *lowe* were state called as the crescent, 600 miles above the shore (2005: 312). This is signifying that the people of Malay in 15th century were not rascal, beast, and wild.

In the level of macro analysis, exposing political circumstance, existing kingdoms like Sriwijaya, Majapahit, Kutai, and Goa were developing the economy and arts since 5th century (Munoz, 2009: 105). The record of *Liangsu* in 3rd century portrays the extensive trading and governmental system in every harbors of great kingdoms like Pasei, Majapahit, Sriwijaya, Goa and Kutai. Thus, these inter textual references against the study done by Varthema and Valentijn during their visit in 15th century. It is easy to discern that either Alwi or Munoz reported the opposite. The negation where the state of Ternate, Tidore, and Banda or Pasei are considered the state of wild in 15th century, which had no kings, governmental system, bounded with no laws, no rules, and rustic are reckless. The kingdoms remained till the approach of British in the late 17th century, depicted in the moment when British negotiated Dutch with Demak kingdom after the fall of Majapahit (Amal, 2010: 263). How could the 15th century Ternate and Tidore have no kings, governmental system, and rules when Goa kingdom existed?

Claims from Valentijn and Varthema fell at the very first place, and so Dr. Layden and Raffles, exposing native state as a state of wild while the glorification of trading begun in 3rd century and that Valentijn and Varthema reported the state of wild in 15th century. Ternate and Tidore were ruled by many kings who they called themselves as Raja Kaichil in 1432 and extended till 1465 (Alwi, 2005: 297) the Kaichil were ruling in every small states to control the economy especially tradings. Therefore, the validity of Malay Archipelago as states of wild and degenerate are invalid. Saying no kings but there were Raja Kaichil, no rules when there are trading and governmental systems, and lands difficult to plants

where the extensive natural resource like the cloves and gold were distributed in almost every parts of the world (Maris, 2011).

Continuing to the next analysis, who is 'he' as Raffles mentioned as someone who think of the wild of native state and 'he' considering the glimmering lights within the wild? He in this micro analysis is Dr. Leyden as he account for the introduction of English version *The Malay Annals*. 'He' refers to Leyden, and the study done by Varthema and Valentijn. These people are colonizers, Leyden was from British, Varthema and Valentijn were from Italia. Apparently in the level of mezzo analysis Leyden was approaching Malay Archipelago because he worked for Raffles in politic (Wardhany, 2010: 19-26). Leyden did not pursue independent study on the history of native state. He was with Raffles invading the country and contesting the native states in the hand of Dutch and Portuguese. He was not coming for just being historical researcher but for political informant for British to occupy the bigger portion of native state to colonize.

The fact that Raffles brought over the description on Leyden, seems not convincing. He argues that Dr. Leyden was enthusiastic with the ardor of Malay race and Archipelago. However, Leyden was attached to his political competition with colonizers to win the native state and to scoop the interest of natural resources. This is the 'he' to whom Raffles mentioned as someone whose death should be lamented because the state was immature and imperfect (Leyden, 2012,p 6). He means to say that it is only Leyden who could mature the native state, thus we should lament his death. So far, the researcher analyzes thoroughly

from references provided about Leyden, he was just Raffles right hand on colonizing the native states. It is different from how Leyden is introduced in *The Malay Annals*, which as if he was nothing to do with imperialism and colonialism. This is the imaginary Leyden, as exposed in *The Malay Annals*. He was Raffles right hand after Raffles shifted William Daendels on colonizing the Malay Archipelago (1811) (Wardhany, 2010: 19).

In the last discussion of this point, what did Leyden discover as glimmering of light? Why is this light worth pursuing in the absence of other lights? In the level of micro, 'light' is an allegory referring to a chosen customs, traditions, and institutions that are told in the *Malay Annals*. Glimmering light here is how the story exposing Secander Zulkarnaeni, imaginary creature from Macedonia descending the Malay Rajas. The case of Secander Zulkarnaeni on how imaginary he is would be analyzed in discussion point three. This point is emphasizing why this kind imaginary actor is worth pursuing. First of all, in the level of mezzo, Macedonia, before the occupation of Rome was a fast country and considered as the central of philosophy and great civilization around the globe (Gaarder, 2011: 209).

The Malay Annals aims to expand this great civilization with the jargon of the race most civilized genealogically through the *Malay Rajas*. City of Rome was the center of Philosophy where great thinkers and philosophers like Socrates, Plato, and Aristoteles were born (Gaarder, 2011: 209). According to Richard Stoneman (1991) *Kisah Perjalanan Legendaris Alexander The Great*, Alexander the great was the greatest ruler and conqueror of the world, his epics expands

from his own land to the very East of India, the son of Philip II Macedonia. As a center of civilization and government, the epics of Alexander the Great expands in so much accordance affecting the history of Malay. This is the researcher presumes that Raffles tried to annex Alexander's journey to the East in India till in Malay Archipelago.

The project of identity attached in *The Malay Annals* is being constructed politically through claiming that Alexander the Great descended the Malay Rajas. Bringing the virtue of the greatness genealogically in the blood of Malay Rajas, so that the western civilized thought is attached to Malay Rajas, this is what it means by saying the glimmering light which is worth pursuing in the absence of other light. This is why almost every nation in the world tries to trace their genealogy to the land of Rome. In his introduction, Raffles aimed to construct the image of who the legitimizing identity are, and they are the Malay Rajas as they are descended from Rome, Secander Zulkarnaeni to whom all clues are referring to Alexander the Great of Macedonia.

Then, what is the purpose of saying the state is wild and the glimmering light is worth pursuing? The researcher becomes too sensitive with the word absence in the fourth line, this word is the key concept on how silenced history seems worth forgetting. At the very first place, Raffles and John Leyden argue that the state of Malay is the state of wild as they refer to Portuguese informant, Varthema. The rascal, the beast, the fool, the wild, Malays to them are not worth pursuing, they claimed that they found the glimmering light of the Malay Rajas who are descended from Macedonia. Thus they silence the history of native state.

This is the project of identity, tracing history by silencing other light as they mention in line four.

However, with this finding, the researcher has in mind, how could Raffles posit the state as the wild state just because the native state did not wear slippers and hats? How could a well-established nation is signified by whether they wear slippers and hats? In this very circumstance, the researcher takes side on what Das Alwi (2005) research on the ancient and modern civilization of Malays who claimed that Varthema was based on nothing than just making bad the image of Malays. This research aims to elaborate and proof that the state is being called as wild state is because Raffles wanted to show the reader that the wild state needed to be civilized. Thus, he makes the reader hail the British traders as they came to civilized and traced the genealogy as if the Malay Rajas were descended from Rome.

This project of showing who the legitimizing identity are, narrated in *The Malay Annals*. The legitimizing identity needs to be legitimized, Malays lay are projected to praise on what is legitimized by Raffles. He is trying to expose that Malay Rajas are not the ordinary one, they are extraordinary, they are descended from Rome. This is the project of identity done by Raffles. Injecting the ideology of who the legitimizing identity is, makes readers are romanticized by the legitimizing identity. Calling the native state 'wild' is in political purpose, it means to propose that native state needs to be humanized. Then, the discourse leads to this humanizing action which is believed to be the part that the native state needs to develop. However, according to the findings of this research, the

word 'wild' refers to no period of time, the discourse is making as if the native state needs to be humanized.

This research finally proof that the introduction written by Raffles in 1821, was nothing than just the explanation on how he framed history of Malay Rajas. Exposing that the state of Malay is wild so that it needs to be civilized, it is essential to re-mentioned that state of wild is reckless research on Malays, this study is done by Das Alwi (2005). His arguable state of wild comes to notion that he found a glimmering light, the project on which the Malay Rajas were descended from Rome is worth pursuing. This research proof that what is said to be worth pursuing is based on no historical facts. The existing kingdom of Perak, Kling, Malayu, Majapahit, Sriwijaya were silenced, Raffles annexes the genealogy from Rome, the center of what he said as most civilized, just because the native kingdoms in 15th century did not wear hats and slippers. These are the most ridiculous facts claiming them as wild and uncivilized.

3.2 The Discourse of British Colonizer as The Savior

Competition between colonizers gives numerous effects behind the making of Malays history. This is the fuel on how written history ignited. Malays was colonized in the early 15th century, 1512. Magellan expedition brought Portuguese to the land for taxes and spices. The following centuries 16th to 18th century, the Dutch and British came to approach, these three traders, Portuguese, Dutch, and British came with purpose. Thus it is nothing to question that they came to colonize and compete to imperialize the land. This point of discussion is

revealing the perspective of history under which it was written. This perspective is based on particular interest that brings more harm to some historical facts. Social memory plays in this realm on scrutinizing the perspective of history. This perspective is politicizing identity of Malay Rajas. Therefore, the sequence of this discussion is answering; what the perspective of *The Malay Annals* is and whose colonizer wrote *The Malay Annals* down.

The extensive trade of these islands had long collected at certain natural and advantageous emporia; of these, Bautain, Achau, Malacca, and Macasser were the principal. The valour of Portugal broke the power of the native states and left them exposed to the more selfish policy of their successors (6).

The above finding talks about Portugal on how it broke the advantageous emporia; Bautain, Achau, Malacca and Macasser, these states are in the Malay Archipelago. Bautain is a state in West Sulawesi, Malays parlance said the state of Bacan. Achau might refer to Banda Neira or Aceh in Sumatra, Malacca is Ternate and Tidore where Goa kingdom was the center of economy and Macasser was the center of Sulawesi, the states of which the economy were growing fast. It is important to highlight in the realm of micro analysis focusing on the subject and the object of the sentence. The subject is placed after the object, two sentences which separate subject and the object all together. The first sentence is the object, thus Bautain, Achau, Malacca, and Macasser are the object of the paragraph. While, the subject is in the second sentence, the Portugal, the verb is 'broke' signifying the action that Portugal did towards Bautain, Achau, Malacca and Macasser.

The 'valour' British term occurring on bravery and courage in the positive sense is attached to the verb 'broken' which is literally a negative sense. 'Valour' as a noun is ironic. It deplores misery from the action of breaking. The action which was done by Portuguese and the object of breaking was the Malay Archipelago; Bautain, Achau, Malacca, and Macasser. The noun valour is maintained as the action of courageous breaking of native states, and this bravery was of course not heroic at the very first place. Under the circumstance of Raffles introduction, viewing Portuguese as a thread fellow of colonialism is very obvious in this case. He utilizes the memory of native states facing the turbulent period of Portuguese occupation.

The coming of Portuguese was dated in 1521, Malay Archipelago was subjected to the expedition to the East so-called Magellan expedition ranging from 1519 to 1522. This was the first conflict between the East and West (Alwi, 2005: 209), the East was struggling the lands while the West was in so much effort seized the lands. The expedition broadly extended to Malacca, Ternate and Tidore, Southern part of Malay Archipelago after seizing Banda Naira. The seized lands were Naira, Lontor (Banda Besar), Run, Ai and Rosengain. This was how Portuguese occupying the lands. In the level of mezzo, this is how the Portugal broke the advantageous emporia; Bautain, Achau, Malacca and Macasser.

Colonizers came to colonize and what they convey was saying they were in the project of civilizing or joined hands in trading. Das Alwi (2005: 299-312) explored what they convey as the fake. The exploration of Portuguese was first ignited by Henry the Navigator (1394-1460). Henry did bilateral relationship with

a wealthy Christian king, Pastor John, both parties wished for subduing Jerusalem to baptize the land and made the whole world Christian. Henry aimed to finance the war. This made him also aware of Portugal funding, thus he explored the East to conquer the center of world spices, Malay Archipelago. He was going with his companion Ferdinand Magelland seizing the native states. The war continued till 15 July 1511 when Alfonso de Albuquerque subdued Malacca. This fact is supported by many resources as in Amal (2010: 12-13) and Loeb (2013: 8-9).

The seized lands subdued to the new law, the colonizer law demanded innumerable share of trading and goods. The native states were slaved and the kingdoms were in the bound of trading contract with Portuguese. Kings, for Portuguese were the center of all thus Portuguese kept this companion to the very end of occupation. If Portuguese could control the king, the rest of the people would follow. Tidore, could not stand with monopoly of trading done by Portuguese. Thus, Tidore turned against Portuguese. Amid being thread and pursuit of wealth, Portuguese fazed Ternate to turn their weapon to Tidore. The long civil wars which in many ways benefited Portuguese lasted till 1520 which then Portuguese left the two states suffer the civil war. This condition is the portrayal on how Portuguese broke the power of native states and left them exposed to the more selfish policy of the successors.

The natural and advantageous emporia refer to the successful trading of cloves or aromatic spices and the innumerable kinds of spice in the native states. Das Alwi (2005: 319) argues that the broken natural resources was due to the unbalance share of interest between native states and Portuguese. This is true

because Portuguese was not really conducting the business, Portuguese wanted to own the land and subdued the kingdom. With this unbalance share, Portuguese was once amongst the richest in Europe marketing raising the interest equal to 2 till 3 Dollars of America, with 1.000 ton spices equal to one billion Pound sterling. The famous cloves originated from Malacca in Ternate-Lisabon strip brought wealth Portuguese owned for their own nation, made the nature and the advantageous emporia fell in economic troubles.

Raffles was colonizer and so was Portuguese. This is how Raffles views Portuguese, he collected facts on how Portuguese was taking for granted the interest of trading and shared nothing to the wealth of native states. Thus, Raffles said “the valor of Portugal broke the power of the native state, and left them exposed to the more selfish policy of their successors”. Raffles portrays the sufferings of native states as he mentioned as advantageous emporia Bautain, Achau, Malacca, and Maccaser to expose the devilish policy of Portugal. In a matter of facts, Portuguese and British were seeing each other like enemies. Most importantly, Raffles used the collective remembering of society to reveal the sufferings of their broken advantageous emporia.

British was the latest and Portugal was the first. Raffles uses this span of period in which British seemed to be with the broken state since the birth of advantageous emporia. This is the project of constructing images on who the British was through the evil image of Portuguese. The tone of the sentence is very clear, it is as if British was sharing the suffering of the native state, feeling in so much condolence of the broken advantageous emporia. This makes the discourse

is politically constructed to build images between colonizers and how the British stands as the savior.

The project of discourse towards Portuguese under in the introduction of Raffles is the project of imaging, classifying, and categorizing the kind of colonizer. For Raffles, it is a great deal to use the collective memory of Malays to reveal who the Portuguese were since the Malays realized what they had done through many historic documents. One project appears to elaborate the identity of 'valour' Portugal or the bravery and courage of Portugal was nothing than just breaking the advantageous emporia. Raffles also builds this picture of identity explaining who the Portuguese was as an institution which brought too much disadvantages. The way Raffles says 'left them exposed to the more selfish policy of their successors' signifies the identity of Portuguese who was irresponsible. This was explained in the paragraph above, that Portuguese left Ternate and Tidore exposed in unrest civil war till the very end 1521.

The turbulent years of colonizers kept raging on, seizing the land of native states. In the year 1606 (Alwi, 2005: 423) when the occupation of Spain went weaker and Portuguese sailed back to their country, Dutch with his trading cruise VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) or trading federation of East Indies company reached Malacca. Under the reign of de Heeren XVII, the fleet commander Pieterzoon Verhoeven approached Malay Archipelago in 1608, two years after studying the people. Hereby the data from the introduction of Raffles in the year 1821;

But when we advert to the greedy policy which swallowed up the resources of this extensive archipelago in a narrow and rigid monopoly, and that, instead of leaving trade to accumulate, as it had previously done at the natural emporia, it was forced by means of arbitrary and restrictive regulations into one which, independent of other disadvantages, soon proved the grave of the majority for those obliged to resort to it, we shall find the cause which made it as ruinous to the Dutch as to the people... The destruction of the native trade of the archipelago by this withering policy, may be considered as the origin of many of the evils and of all of which piracies of which we now complain. A maritime and commercial people, suddenly deprived of all honest employment or the means of respectable subsistence, either sunk into apathy and indolence, or expended their natural energies in piratical attempts to recover, by force and plunder, what they had been deprived of by policy and fraud (7).

This is the kind of causal paragraph exposing the coming of Dutch along with the impacts towards the native states. Thus, it is important to highlight some causes; greedy policy, rigid monopoly, arbitrary and restrictive regulation, withering policy and piracies. These phrases were the policy Dutch applied during the occupation. The origin of these phrases must be from the order of de Heeren XVII saying “We paid attention at you, especially to lands of growing cloves and nutmeg fruit, and we order you to seize the lands for our company is that VOC, either with negotiation or violation” (Stepel, 1940: 47). By this order Pieterzoon Verhoeven arrived in 8 April 1609 with seven vessels to seize the land either with negotiation or violation.

During his arrival, Verhoeven faced unpleasant situation where his job was not only negotiating the native states but also the remained colonizer such as Spain and British, this was occurring in Banda, *The Malay Annals* spells as Achau or Aceh. Finding himself trapped within the competition between colonizers, Verhoeven begun negotiating native states elitists and kings. He believed that

when the negotiation was successful he could repulse British and Spain. For the native states as explained by Das Alwi (2005: 42) were still remembering how Portuguese broke their native states and trading. They were still in too much sufferings, thus they could not rely on Dutch for their future trading. According to the order, 'either with negotiation or violation' Dutch went outrageous. Thus, Pieterzoon Verhoeven came back for failure negotiation with 300 troops, murdering and prosecuting the Banda commoners. This time, in April 25th, 1608 the people flee abandoning their houses and belongings to the closest mountains and neighboring Islands. The empty houses were stayed by the troops and that Banda was owned by Dutch.

The way Dutch seizing Banda was the source of greedy policy, rigid monopoly, arbitrary and restrictive regulation, withering policy and piracies, as explained in the introduction of Raffles in 1821. These policies were driven from the order of de Heeren XVII. Dutch continued seizing Ternate, Tidore, Banda Besar, and Sumatra with many of negotiations and violations. In 1621, feeling so oppressed, the native states begun to rebel the Dutch and trapped Verhoeven. This worked, Verhoeven found dead and the news was orally transmitted from Malacca, Benggala Bay, Palembang, Tuban, Gresik, Kalkuta, and Kolombo (Alwi, 2005: 45).

Relationship between British and Native states grew tighter, British gave them a very promising security for the approach of outsiders, like Dutch. In the other side, the native states realized that they needed protection from the stronger army, thus they needed British to help them. British took this chance to condemn

the trading and wealth of native state. British turned out the face of Dutch in the sight of native states that the Dutch was too devilish to be in relation with the native states. British remained the native states about the attack in Banda, the murdering and prosecutions of the people, this time British was in the project of collective remembering. British wanted the native states to remember the atrocity of Dutch. This is the proof that social memory was used to project people's mind and perception over the outsiders.

Aware from the native state's hatred, de Heeren XVII ordered Jan Pieterzoon Coen to take over the authority of Pieterzoon Verhoeven. The action of greedy policy, rigid monopoly, arbitrary and restrictive regulation, withering policy and piracies reflected to the condition of one political economy applied for native states in 1500, politic of mercantilist. According to Jogjakarta corporate authors (2012: 8-9) in *Sejarah Social Kasultanan Ternate*, Dutch was projecting the interest that only went to them in the form of money and gold. Thus, under the period of Jan Pieterzoon Coen, Dutch allowed monopoly production over spices and left the small numbers of interest to the native states. The broken economy of native state was then explored in the famous book *Max Havelaar* written by Dauwes Dekker.

The impact of greedy policy, rigid monopoly, arbitrary and restrictive regulation, withering policy and piracies are sinking into apathy and indolence, or expended their natural energies in piratical attempts to recover, by force and plunder, what they had been deprived of by policy and fraud. These senses of being in the middle of apathy, indolence, plunder, and fraud were experienced by

the native states. This also becomes the lens of Raffles seeing the Dutch. There must be problems between British and Dutch, even in some ways British accepted the trust of native states.

The problems between Dutch and British were occurring in Banda and Batavia (Jakarta) where British wanted to broke the central power of Dutch in Batavia. Jan Pieterzoon Coen broke British fortress in Banda, thus British broke the fortress of Dutch in Batavia. Unfortunately, the relationship between Dutch and Java were close enough thus the army was stronger. British was lost in the Battle. Dutch was then having so much power in Java and expanding the authority to Malacca, British was threatened, Jan Pieterzoon Coen was hard to be defeated. According to Amal (2010: 263) *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah: Perjalanan Sejarah Maluku* Jan Pieterzoon Coen brought Dutch in the highest peak of progress, this time Banda, Malacca, and Java wer under the authority of Dutch. Coen only had one enemy, the power of British in Hindia in the occupied lands were under the authority of John Jourdian, too hard for Coen to defeat.

The competition between Dutch and British was obvious, each colonizer meant to own the native states. British was aware of Jan Pieterzoon Coen, and conversely Dutch was aware of John Jourdian. Both colonizers were feeling threatened. Due to this moment, each sides bore the suffering of memory causing hatred between Dutch and British. The threaten of British went stronger, after the death of John Jourdian, this signified the weakest point of British authority in the occupied lands. In the other side, Dutch was relived with this death, then, Dutch planned to broke the central power of British in Banda Besar (Wardhany, 2010:

17). This is the reason why British abhorred Dutch. Feeling threatened by the Dutch, British was offering a contract done in London on March 27th 1620 containing agreements to forget the war and build ally against remaining Portuguese (Alwi, 2005: 67).

British believed that under the authority of Jan Pieterzoon Coen, British could expand the interest by sharing it with Dutch. Then, together they could own the entire native states lands and goods. However, competition remained, desire of the only one owning the lands remained in the side of Dutch. Dutch believed this so because the only threat had died, John Jourdian. Dutch believed that without having an ally with British, Dutch could own entire states and became the one and only victor. The contract, as Dutch reflected was just British deceptiveness, because they were just losing John Jourdian. Thus, Dutch went against the contract (Alwi, 2005: 68-69).

The way Dutch went against the contract and rebelled the central power of British in Banda Besar, made British felt so much betrayed and deceived. Thus, the nuance of Raffles introduction traced the memory of this betrayal. The image of Dutch as Raffles builds in his introduction signifies his hatred according to his memory in competition between British and Dutch. Memory commemorated by British affected the discourse of Dutch. This is because in comparison between Dutch and Portuguese, British was in so much threatened by Dutch. The proof was the central power in Banda was broken by Dutch along with Malacca, two states under the authority of British. Thus, British owned only West Sumatra and build the central power there (Maris, 2011: 10). According to Amal (2010: 263)

Kepulauan Rempah-rempah; Perjalanan Sejarah Maluku Utara records that the power of Dutch expanded till Ambon, Banda, Ternate, SriLangka, Malacca, Maccasar, Padang, Timor, Indragiri, and Cochin.

Filled with hatred, jealousy, and betrayed, British was exposed near to the end of its authority. This was because Dutch did not stop breaking the authority of British, Portuguese and Spain. The war between colonizers was supplied from the interest of occupied lands. This was making British cornered. This sequence of historic sufferings between colonizers flourished in the way Raffles exposed the economic policy applied by Dutch in the native states that were used for war. The funding went to war, thus as it explained in the introduction, the native states were ‘deprived of by policy and fraud’. Raffles used this phrase because Dutch betrayed British and became the major thread over the past centuries. British was in too much awareness of loosing the wealth and interest because their lands were occupied by Dutch.

This discourse apparently is not only showing the past sufferings of the native states but these are more likely, sequential memory of British. The proof is that memory is the fuel of the discourse of Raffles introduction. The short explanation of Portuguese and the long portrayal of Dutch measured the tense of competition between British-Portuguese and British-Dutch. The heavier tense occurs in competition between British and Dutch. Thus, it becomes the backdrop of Dutch portrayal in the introduction. The policy of Dutch as explained by Raffles reflected the monopoly policy suffered by the native states, but it is somehow beyond. This is because the monopoly of Dutch did not benefit British.

Monopoly policy brought innumerable interest for Dutch, which the interest supplied the war between Dutch and British. The discourse seems concerning about the impact of monopoly in the side of native states, but apparently British was doing so to the native states.

The whole introduction, the nuance brought into it is flowering the relation between British and native states. British brings up the memory of native states facing colonizers in the past and projecting the images of colonizers. In the realm of being the same colonizers, Raffles is actually well aware of the image of British itself. he wants the native state commemorating British as the savior from two colonizers (Dutch and Portuguese). This picture is as if British was coming to bring protection and safety. More than this, British as explained by Raffles was returning the wealth of the native states. This is the circumstances under which the Raffles wrote the introduction in 1821, reminisce the past and projecting what is worth commemorating. Hereby the finding;

In this state of decay, they continued to degenerate, till the appearance of British traders revived their suppressed and nearly extinguished energies, and awoke to new life commerce and enterprise of this interesting portion of the globe. The decline and corruption, of the Dutch power in the East, offered little obstruction; as our intercourse increased, their establishments were withdrawn and, long before the conquest of Java and, indeed, before the last war, the English had already possessed themselves of the largest portion of this trade (7).

The state of decay as it meant by the introduction refers to Malay Archipelago as explained above, particularly the states where Portuguese and Dutch were owned; Ambon, Banda, Ternate, Tidore, Java, SriLangka, Malacca, Maccasar, Padang, Timor, Indragiri, and Cochin. The sentence connector 'till'

refers to the meaning of the end of suffering, because of two verbs 'revived and awoke'. The subject in this paragraph is British, British ended the sufferings of decayed and degenerated states, then brought the states in revival and awakening. The flowering of British case, claiming that British was not the same kind of colonizers like Portuguese or Dutch.

The project of the discourse goes to a purpose, the purpose is to remain the readers that the British traders brought fortune to native states. This research would proof that there were no fortune came to the native states due to some facts. First of all, Raffles did politic of amnesia, trying to neglect the memory done by William Deandels (1811) building the railway from Anyer to Panarukan. The most devilish act of slavery, causing hundreds of deaths, now was this what Raffles said as British traders revived and awoke the native states? This project of railway turned the states into most deprived economy too because the railway was projected for taking the goods from the lay's land to the capitol. The forgotten era of William Deandels British (1811) is silenced for the sake of what is worth commemorating.

The second, reason on reviving and awakening the native states might refer to monopoly policy and *cultuurstelsel* abolishment done by British. The origin of monopoly and *cultuurstelsel* or forced crops were from Dutch, in the year 1864, British abolished both policy and *cultuurstelsel* (Alwi, 2005: 512). It is reported that British also abolished slavery in 1864 (Alwi, 2005: 512). However, this abolishment brought other suffering. One of literary intelligentsia, Pramoedya Ananta Toer in his *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja* (2015: 24) reported the raise of other

monopoly. Slavery that ended in 1864, dropped the rate of deaths from 3000 to 1122 but *cultuurstelsel* arose. Folks died because of hunger, they kept paying the tax from lands they owned. They had to hand over what they had planted to the capitol. They did not have any spares for they own necessity. This deprived lasted till the native states rebelled the British. It was Raffles, abolished the slavery and monopoly, but it was Raffles too raising the sufferings of the people from devilish taxation. Now, were all of these what is meant by reviving and awakening?

Pramoedya Ananta Toer (2015) according to his study on *Max Havelaar* (1820-1887) argues that the abolishment of British did not change anything. This was because Raffles policy exploited the native lands. The folks were working on the lands owned by the states, they had to pay for the lands they worked on. This is what Toer (2015: 30) says as *kerja paksa* or forced labor. Toer (2015) compared this with what Dutch done in *cultuurstelsel*, which was even more evil. It is lacking sense that the folk had to pay on the land they worked on. Those who worked on the lands did not get any salary, but rather they had to paid land tax and handed over the plants. The plants were *nila* or dark blue dye. People in Simpur district for instance had to work for seven months without salary, in 1833, they were forced to work on industry, to supply the industry. It took five thousands men and three thousands buffalos (Toer, 2015: 30).

The atrocity of forced labor existed till the moment when the pregnant women who worked as forced labor gave births in the working lands. This suffering was under the authority of Raffles in 1831. He wrote the introduction of *The Malay Annals* in the year 1821, there he says British traders revived and

awoke the native states. Now, which parts of awakening? Which parts of revival? This is just politic of amnesia, forgetting what was done. In this discourse, Raffles projects the reader to forget his policy, his taxation policy. Dr. John Leyden, as he said as historical researcher apparently was working with him imperializing Malays (Wardhany, 2010: 19-26). They revolutionized all existing policies conducted by Dutch. Then, they conducted new policy.

It is said in the introduction that English had survived the native states in the 'interesting portion of the globe' and to a 'new life commerce'. These interesting portion of the globe and a new life commerce refer to the construction of new industries in the native states. Somehow, as it was portrayed by Das Alwi (2005) and Toer (2015) these new industries caused slavery. This time, native states had to work by the order of the states, and the interest went to British. With this expedition, British took away the spices and auctioned the spices in London (first England auction) (Alwi, 2005: 161). From this new industry, British enslaved the native states, and forced them to pay the tax for the land they worked on. The liberal market applied by British which was expected to serve better policy apparently brought the native states into a deprived economy. British owned the spices and sold them for own interest (Alwi, 2005: 162).

From these three colonizers, *The Malay Annals* is written under the ideology of British. Thus, British position in the discourse is dominating, British explored the images of Portuguese and Dutch and exposed the past sufferings of native states facing Portuguese and Dutch. Raffles utilizes collective memory of the native states to open buried experiences between native states-Portuguese-

Dutch. As the dominating ideology, British constructs the identity of who Portuguese and Dutch were through the sufferings of native states. This time, British uses this chance to portray the British in the sight of native states, conveying the native states that British was not the same with Portuguese and Dutch. This is how the discourse goes and finally it comes to a purpose. The purpose is occupying the best memory in the mind of native states.

3.3 The Discourse of Malay Ancestors

In this last point of discussion, the researcher elaborates, two actors in historical fiction *The Malay Annals*, Secander Zulkarnaeni and Raja Suran. The elaboration discusses whether the actors are fiction. This discussion leads to conclude how *The Malay Annals* constructs the identity politics of Malay Rajas. The politicized identity of Malay Rajas is through the invented actors Secander Zulkarnaeni and Raja Suran. Therefore, the researcher begins with this following finding;

For a long period the country of Malaca continued to flourish and its domain to increase constantly, so that on the west its boundaries extended to Bruwas Ujungarang and, on the East as far as Tringano. It also became noted in every country that the country of Malaca was very great, populous and abundant in all the necessities of life, and that its rajas were descended from the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni, and sprung from Nashrwan Adil, the raja of the East and West (69).

In this finding, the researcher highlights ‘the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni’ and ‘Nashrwan Adil, the raja of the East and West’. These two phrases are highlighted because the phrase ‘the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni’ leads to how the entire story of *The Malay Annals* narrates the genealogy of

selected Malay Rajas. Then, the phrase ‘Nashrwan Adil, the raja of the East and West’ is highlighted because Nashrwan Adil descended Raja Suran who descended the Rajas of Malay from Amdan Nagara.

First of all, the paragraph is exposing the great extent of Malacca as a result of successful raja. This source of successful country was because the ‘rajas were descended from the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni’. Political discourse happens in this case, the great extent of Malacca which was explained as populous and abundant in all the necessities of life explains the successful economy and that the country was wealthy. This economic pursuit which sometimes associated with economic strategy, policy, and expansion on trading, *The Malay Annals* associated economic pursuit with genealogy. The conclusion is the origin of economical success is from genealogy of the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni.

Thus, who is this Secander Zulkarnaeni? How could he genetically descent the virtue of trading? According to Zakariya (2015) Secander Zulkarnaeni in *The Malay Annals* is story tale of Persian king. Secander Zulkarnaeni, according to *The Malay Annals* was a son of Raja Darab of Rum, Macedonia. Referring to Macedonia, this Secander Zulkarnaeni must be the Alexander Agung in Malay parlance, or the Alexander the great. Hamka (1982) believes the notion so, according to his research, Secander Zulkarnani in *The Malay Annals* reminds him with Diogenes saga in the graveyard of Raja Philipus of Macedonia. Zakariya (2015) and Hamka (1982) view Secander Zulkarnaeni as the Alexander the Great of Macedonia, conqueror of East and West.

Somehow, according to the research done by Hamka (1982) and Zakariya (2015), *The Malay Annals* does a great job of uplifting the identity of Malay Rajas by relating it with the blood of Alexander the Great. This is because this Secander Zulkarnaeni is Alexander the Great son of King Philip II of Macedonia, student of a philosopher Aristoteles (Gaarder, 2011: 209). This Secander subdued Rome to the very East of Asia, the strongest military defense ever had in the past, this was 50 before century. Macedonia is located in the north of Greece. Philip II, the father of Alexander ruled from 359-336 B.C. Alexander succeeded the throne when he was twenty and launched invasion around the globe, this time he subdued; modern nation of Iran, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan (Dowrey, 2006).

Secander Zulkarnaeni, from the lands he subdued, formed Hellenistic world marching from Southwest Asia, and into North Africa and South Asia (Dowrey, 2006). Hellenistic world is a freight of ideology and doctrine of syncretism bounding religion, philosophy and thought, the center of this world was in Alexandria, state of which the name was derived from Alexander the Great (Gaarder, 2011: 208-211). Surely, this is different from *The Malay Annals*, according to it, Secander Zulkarnaeni was spreading the belief of Prophet Ibrahim, while, Hellenistic was rooted from ancient philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristoteles. Gaarder (2011: 211) in his *Dunia Sophie* argues that in the world of Hellenism, there was nothing genuine from it, it was derived from ancient philosophers Socrates, Plate and Aristoteles, manifestation of their

thoughts. From this view, Secander Zulkarnaeni in *The Malay Annals* is invented Alexander Zulkarnaeni.

Hellenism and faith according to prophet Ibrahim is different form of thought and doctrines. This is something the researcher tries to convey, according to its origin Hellenism is different from the faith according to prophet Ibrahim. The researcher finds that the kind of Secander Zukarnaeni as *The Malay Annals* preserved is really invented actor because he was Islamicized. According to Vivaldi (2008: 2) Alexander the Great was in the part of Al-Quran named Dzulkarnaeni. The name of Alexander which means two animal horns, in Islam is Dzulkarnaneni carrying the same term as two animal horns. The horns carry ideological meaning which refer to the conquest of East and West. Because of the conquest, he was called as king of East and West. Dzulkarnaeni in the Al-Quran is associated with Secander Zulkarnaeni of *Malay Annals* who upholds the faith of prophet Ibrahim.

Vivaldi (2008) believes that Alexander the Great is the Dzulkarnaeni as presented in Al-Quran. In this case, *The Malay Annals* chooses Zulkarnaeni Malay parlance for Dzulkarnaeni which both refer to Alexander the Great of Macedon. When Hamka (1982) and Zakariya (2015) believe that the project of *The Malay Annals*, bringing fortunate information over facts that the Malay Rajas were descended from Macedon, this study says the opposite. It is not a fortunate investigation that bringing up some facts of Malay Rajas, *The Malay Annals* is ideological discourse that projects the identity of Malay Rajas who were not even able to stand by their peculiar wisdom. In the case of *The Malay Annals*, the

Malay Rajas were weak, and the virtue of them was nothing than just the trace of Secander Zulkarnaeni's descendants.

Now, how could the invented Secander descend the Malay Rajas?

According to Bently et.al. (2006: 118-119) Secander subdued the land of Hindostan, according to *The Malay Annals*, this part of Hindostan was Bactrian in Northwestern India. It is said that for almost two centuries after the collapse of Mauryan Empire (the reign of King Ashoka), northwestern India fell under the rule of Greek-speaking conquerors from Bactria, Alexander of Macedon's imperial heirs who had mingled with local populations since establishing an independent Bactrian kingdom in the third century B.C.E. *The Malay Annals* begins its narration from this part of Hindostan, northwestern India, Bactrian. This is because from this Bactrian Empire, the descendants of Secander Zulkarnaeni reached the land of Amdan Nagara and Palembang.

Therefore, 'the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni' is referring to the subdued lands from East and West, as Dzulkarnaeni is a symbol of two horns attaching to ruling the East and West. This is the reason why *The Malay Annals* mentions as 'the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni'. The heirs sprung from Nashrwan Adil, the Raja of East and West. This 'race of Secander Zulkarnaeni' is also referring to divine kings of East and West whose virtue was descended genealogically.

According to Zakariya (2015) it is important to deify the past Malay kings, the lay should not rebel the Rajas because they were the descendants of Secander Zulkarnaeni and attached with them divine virtue. To the researcher, this is just the way of explaining how powerful legitimizing identity was, so that people

should not rebel against them. The politics of identity in the discourse of legitimizing identity, *The Malay Annals* just exposes the divine kings of Malays to inject ideology not to rebel the kings. This is just the way the legitimizing identity or the Malay Rajas, legitimates their identity.

Descending the land of northwestern India, *The Malay Annals* started the story from how Secander subdued Hindostan and later he married the daughter of Raja Kida Hindi, Shaher-ul Beriah. From this marriage, Secander Zulkarnaeni descended one son named Araston Shah, then Araston Shah descended Raja Suran, to whom he reached the land of Palembang. First of all, this research would scrutinizes this line of genealogy. Something is so mystical attached to Raja Suran, according to *The Malay Annals* Raja Suran was the king of Amdan Nagara, or Andaman state located in India. He subdued the lands of Kling and Perak, then married the daughters of the Rajas. By this approach, *The Malay Annals* narrates how the descendants of Secander Zulkarnaeni had reached the land of Malay Archipelago and China.

Nashrwan Adil, the name in the finding was a king whose daughter was married to Raja Suran in the land of Kling, West India. For this marriage, Raja Suran was inherited the land from East to West. But, who is Raja Suran? Where is Amdan Nagara? According to *The Malay Annals* Raja Suran was the son of Raja Sulan reigning the land of Amdan Negara, this Amdan Negara was probably placed in Uzbekistan named Hamdan. In the other hand, according to Bashah (2011) the name of Raja Suran was derived from *Suryavarman*, *Saravanan*, *Surya*, *Survan*, and *Sooria* Tamil name referring to the king of Sun. This Raja

Suran, was derived from old Hind legend of *The Sun Dynasty* which claimed that King Manu is the first King of the world. The name of the kingdom was Kosala, *The Malay Annals* writes Chola (West India). Bashah (2011) argues that according to some facts brought in *The Malay Annals*, Raja Suran is this king of Sun, but Bashah (2011) analyzes that Raja Suran of *The Malay Annals* is not the king from *The Sun Dynasty* because the dynasty ended in 4 B.C. while Raja Suran's *The Malay Annals* was in 1000 B.C.

Raja Suran, in the occasion of *The Malay Annals* is estimated as Rajendra I. This is due to the invation to Gangga Negara, lead by Rajendra I, who was then slayed the head of Raja Gangga Shah Johan or the land of Bruwas. Rajendra I married the daughter of Raja Gangga Shah Johan Putri Dara Segangga or Putri Gangga This is inline with what is told in *The Malay Annals*. Raja Suran subdued Gangga Negara and married Putri Gangga, the name of the king was Gangga Shah Johan. However, referring to the study done by Bashah (2011) it was Gangga Shah Johan, who attacked Chola, the kingdom of Raja Suran this was in 1086. Due to this flipping fact, the researher believes that the way *The Malay Annals* narrates Raja Suran, the one who attacked Gangga Negara is very political. At the very first place, *The Malay Annals* is a discourse of legitimizing identity building. Due to this discourse on how Raja Suran was the one who subdued Gangga Negara is just the sequence of how legitimizing identity needs to be legitimized.

Thus, legitimizing identity in *The Malay Annals* is the project of making the resistance identity do projecting on being resistance. First, it is because *The Malay Annals* tries to link the Malay Rajas with Alexander the Great of Macedon,

which makes the Malay Rajas were great. Second, *The Malay Annals* also relates the genealogy of Malay Rajas from the king of Sun named Manu, first king of the world according to the legend of India. Third, *The Malay Annals* turned upside down the story of Raja Gangga Shah Johan who was subdued by Raja Suran. These three projects are proved wrong. Alexander the Great has nothing to do with the faith according to Prophet Ibrahim. The second, King Manu and his dynasty ended in 4 B.C while Raja Suran was in 1000 B.C. The third, in 1086 Gangga Negara was the one attacking Chola kingdom in West India, the throne of Rajendra I, Raja Suran.

Legitimizing identity also plays in the memory of folk, trying to expose the greatness and put the failure on silence. Raja Suran, for instance, he was failed in a war with Gangga Shah Johan, but *The Malay Annals* silenced this fact and brought up another story that Raja Suran survived this war and slay the head of Raja Gangga Shah Johan. *The Malay Annals* seems open up fantasy over Malay Rajas that they were undefeatable. The expansion of Macedonia, Alexander the Great was once failed in the war between Maurya dynasty, this dynasty was reigned by King Ashoka. However, *The Malay Annals* only exposes how Secander subdued Bactrian empire in India. Silencing the failure during the war becomes the project of *The Malay Annals*. The reason is war is wisdom, war signifies noble achievement of a kingdom and the soul of warrior. Thus, *The Malay Annals* silenced the failure, this is a trick of discourse, because exposing the failure in the war signifies the failure of noble achievement. Then, when the noble achievement is expected failure, the praise of folk would be decreased.

The project of legitimizing identity pursuing the purpose of being legitimized does not stop in those three points. In the discourse of *The Malay Annals*, the legitimizing identity is attached to the divine virtue. The Godly and Almighty virtue, which none of human being seemed able to bear. The Malay Rajas, as *The Malay Annals* claimed the descendants of Secander Zulkarnaeni or the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni bore this divine virtue. This is an astounding fact conveying the race of God. Hereby the way *The Malay Annals* narrates;

When Sangsapurba had left Bentan, he sailed on for a day and a night, till he arrived at Ruco, whence he proceeded to the point of Balang, where he observed a river's mouth of very great extent...it was represented to him that all the fresh water was exhausted and that there was no place to obtain more. Then Raja Sangsapurba directed them to bring *rotans* and tie them in circles, and throw them into the water; the having himself descended into a small boat, he inserted his feet into the water, within the circles of bamboo, and by the power of God Almighty and the virtue of a descendant of Raja Secander Zulkarnaeni, the water within this circle became fresh and all the crews supplied themselves with it and, unto this day, the fresh water is mixed with the salt at this place (32).

Sangsapurba is the descendant of Raja Suran and Raja Suran is the descendant of Secander Zulkarnaeni. The researcher highlights the two phrases 'by the power of God Almighty' and 'the virtue of a descendant of Raja Secander Zulkarnaeni'. The origin of two highlighted phrases are from the problem faced by Sangsapurba as explained in the whole paragraph. In obtaining the fresh water, Sangsapurba just inserted his feet into the water, as a result the water became fresh. The majestic act of Sangsapurba, who obtained the fresh water just by inserting his feet is reflected as he is the descendant of Raja Secander Zulkarnaeni. However, the discourse speaks even louder, this virtue is equalized by the divine virtue as in the phrase 'by the power of God Almighty'.

Sentence connector 'and' signifies as equal to. Thus 'by the power of God Almighty' is equal to 'the virtue of a descendant of Raja Secander Zulkarnaeni'. The project of legitimizing identity in *The Malay Annals* works here. Claims by claims since the case of Alexander the Great of Macedon, then first king of the world, Manu, the legitimizing identity wants to be legitimized more. Thus, it is on the way of making the Malay Rajas are divine. There are reasons of making why people are narrated in divine character. First of all, the legitimizing identity demanded the true obedience from the people. Thus, to fulfill this demand, the project of the discourse is leading the image of legitimizing identity with the divine virtue. From this view, who would resist God? Making the race of Secander divine means repressing the act of resistance which means the lay must obey.

The second project is to raise the lay's praise. Praise is the symbol of willing obedience. Praise is also a symbol of admittance, admitting that they praise what is worth praising for. This is because the project of *The Malay Annals's* discourse is building the image of legitimizing identity and pursuing one purpose, the purpose is to make the legitimizing identity is legitimized. In this point of discussion, the legitimizing identity seeks space to make people obey. The image of legitimizing identity is not formed in absolute harmful way, the form is in divine, this is Godly Almighty.

The discourse also preserves fantasy, occurring when Raja Sangsapurba tied *rotan* (kind of Malay wood) in circle then inserted the feet into the water. Story on how *The Malay Annals* against nature and geology, it is magical story on

how fresh water could come out when the feet is inserted. Mirroring on the discourse, based on the finding above, *The Malay Annals* relates this magical situation to how the power of God works only for the descendant of Secander Zulkarnaeni. The implicit meaning of the discourse presses that the magical situation could only happen for the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni. Since, in the very beginning of the paragraph, on how they out of fresh water till the magical situation, *The Malay Annals* always relates it to how fortunate to be the descendants of Secander Zulkarnaeni.

Now, how could Raja Suran of Chola situated in West India descended the son in Sagantang Maha Miru of Palembang? In this discussion, the researcher finds that the way Raja Suran descended the sons in the Mountain Sagantang Maha Miru of Palembang is very political, it deplores fantasy, faking, and imaginary line of genealogy. The story occurs in the Mountain of Sagantang Maha Miru Palembang, two citizens of Sriwijaya, Wan Ampu and Wan Malin discovered three lights falling from the sky and stepped in their farm. The farm turned into gold and silver, there the two women Wan Ampu and Wan Malin found three men who were just falling from the sky. Acknowledging about this miracle, Wan Ampu and Wan Malin claimed that they were probably the *jins* or *peris* (Malay terms for ghosts). Hereby what the three people are saying;

We are neither of the race of *jins* or *peris*, but that of men. As to our origin, we are the descendants of Raja Secander Zulkarnaeni and the offspring of Raja Suran, the king of East and West; our genealogy ascends to Raja Suleiman...then Nila Pahlawan related the whole story of Raja Secander's espousing the daughter of Raja Kida Hidi and of Raja Suran's descent into the sea (24)

The three creatures falling from the sky claimed that they were the descendants of Secander Zulkarnaeni, the offspring of Raja Suran. These people are Nila Pahlawan, Carna Pandita, and Bichitram Syah. How could these people, who had just been falling from the sky claimed themselves as the offspring of West India Raja Suran? According to *The Malay Annals*, Raja Suran was approaching the sea and married with the princess of sea named Putri Mahtab al-Bahri. From this marriage, Raja Suran owned three sons Nila Pahlawan, Carna Pandita, and Bichitram Syah. The sea king, Raja Mahtab al-Arz wanted the descendants to stay in the sea, but Raja Suran said “it would be of great disadvantage to cut off the line of Secander Zulkarnaeni and your servant is the Raja of the whole race of mankind, and my name is Raja Suran” (21).

Thus, Raja Mahtab al-Arz let the three grandsons approached the land. First of all, Raja Mahtab al-Arz, is an invented actor, this story reflected the experience of Alexander the Great son of Philip II who put his chest in the glass and dived the sea (Stoneman, 1991). In the case of *The Malay Annals*, Raja Mahtab al-Arz is a sea king ruling the entire world of sea, the one who approached the kingdom, according to *The Malay Annals* was Raja Suran. This time, based on what Raja Suran said “your servant is the Raja of the whole race of mankind and my name is Raja Suran” is the reflection of Raja Manu as explained above. Raja Manu, according to India Legend was the world’s first king, his other name is *Suryavarman*, which *The Malay Annals* names Raja Suran. However, according to Bashah (2011) *Suryavarman* lived before 4 B.C. while Raja Suran as explained above is invented, because Rajendra I attacked Gangga Johan in 1086.

The Malay Annals seems utilizes the style of Malays folktale to expose how the Raja Suran invented king descended the sons in Palembang, Sriwijaya, under the reign Damang Lebar Dawn. The style of Malays folktale is very robust, this style employs the way three men were falling from the sky and that the lands they stepped in turned into gold and silver. Basically, this is the proof that there is no rational line of genealogy that connects Raja Suran with the Malay Rajas. Therefore, the only way *The Malay Annals* could do to connect is through the style of folktale. Just like the way old age Malay believes in supernatural things and spirit. The style of folktale on how human could transform into anything (Malay context for *siluman*) is displayed in how Raja Suran descended his son in Palembang.

The researcher also finds power relation between Raja Suran and Raja Mahtab al-Arz in exposing one's identity, the sea king obeyed just that to Raja Suran after saying that Raja Suran was the king of all human race. This is signifying that Raja Suran is more superior better than Raja Mahtab al-Arz. By this situation, the dominating identity appears significantly exposing the wisdom of legitimizing identity. *The Malay Annals* apparently does not serve history as it is, it is in the project of building the image of legitimizing identity so that this identity is legitimized. This means, *The Malay Annals* builds discourse of obedience. This *The Malay Annals* persuades people to obey their past kings, the Malay Rajas.

By these sequence of analysis, the resaercher concludes that *The Malay Annals* circumcises Secander Zulkarnaeni with Alexander the Great of Macedon,

son of Philip II. *The Malay Annals* also circumcises Raja Suran with Raja Suryavarman, India legend on Sun king, the first king of mankind. In fact, Secander Zulkarnaeni which is attached to Alexander the Great is upholding the faith according to Prophet Ibrahim, while Alexander is Hellenism. This views that *The Malay Annals* islamicize Secander Zulkarnaeni so that it sounds Malays. This is because many of Malay discourse enunciate that the Malays are always referred to Muslim. The race of Secander Zulkarnaeni as it mentioned in the findings, is the kind of discourse that seeks folk's obedience. Claiming that the Malay Rajas are the descendants of Secander means, legitimizing identity needs to be legitimized.

In the course of Raja Suran, the discourse of *The Malay Annals* seeks proof on how the descendants of Secander are not usual kind of human race. They brought with them divine virtue. This style of discourse is proposed to build the folk's further obedience towards the legitimizing identity, the Malay Rajas. This project of discourse goes further to equalizing the power of Almighty with the descendants of Secander Zulkarnaeni, placing heart to glass chest and subduing the sea, power relation on dominating identity with Raja Mahtab al-Arz and three sons falling from the sky descending the Rajas of Sriwijaya. These series of discourses are built to expose the legitimizing identity, so therefore they are legitimized.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter summarizes the discussion on research findings which provides three layers; the discourse of wild Malays, the discourse of British traders as the savior and the discourse of Malay ancestors. This chapter also provides suggestion on further research in the same realm of study which benefits further research conduct.

4.1 Conclusion

Inline with the research questions and objectives, there are three points that will be conclusively explained in constructing the identity of Malay Rajas, they are; the discourse of wild Malays, the discourse of British perspective on Malay history and the discourse of Malay ancestors. These three findings deliberate the subject, object and the course of *The Malay Annals*. The subject is the institution under which *The Malay Annals* is written. The object is institution whose identity is politicized. Then, the course of *The Malay Annals* is the construction or framework of history as general or the way the British colonizer constructed *The Malay Annals*. This course serves ideology of legitimizing identity along with their interests.

The discourse of wild Malays is a sequence of claim that Malays were subjected as dependent, wild, and uncivilized. The researcher finds this in the

introduction of Raffles in 1821 in *The Malay Annals*. This is exploring the object of whom the identity is politicized. This discourse is challenged under the study local researchers; Das Alwi and Munoz. They believe that Malay kingdom begun to exist in third century and expanded the economy internationally even before the colonizers came to occupy. The affluent or wealthy Malays were claimed to be wild is under the study of Italian researchers Valentijn and Varthema who came to Banda and Malacca in seventeenth century. They were the informants of Portuguese and Dutch. Under the Italian informant *The Malay Annals* sets claim over the rascal and beast Malays who at the moment was in the point of glorification. *The Malay Annals* exposes the Malays as wild is because the British traders projects posterity to collectively remember that British was coming to civilized because they were wild.

The discourse of British traders as the savior is the finding discussing about the subject of under whose interest *The Malay Annals* is written. This part of discourse talks about three colonizers these are Portuguese, Dutch, and British. The Dutch and Portuguese are explained as the source of native state's decline. This way of presenting the substance of discourse is different from the place of British which brings awakening and revival of native states. This project is directed to the making of what is worth remembering and the project of shared sufferings. British as explained to be the institution which brings revival and awakening means to make the folk remember that it was only Portuguese and Dutch bringing the source of all atrocity. This is projecting images, a project to make people remember the past according the interest of British. This is also the

projecting images of Dutch and Portuguese who were according to British brought nothing than just destructions. *The Malay Annals* was written under British institutions along with its interest.

The discourse of Malay ancestors is the discourse on how *The Malay Annals* is written as a whole. Under the interest of British, *The Malay Annals* is framed to make people obey on their legitimizing identity. This is to avoid resistance and project against the legitimizing identity. Utilizing the style of Malay folktale; people falling from the sky, ghost, and transformed being, *The Malay Annals* narrates the Malay Rajas as almightiest as God. *The Malay Annals* reasons that this is because the Malay Rajas were descended from Rome and Hindostan. They were the descendants of Seacander Zulkarnaeni or Alexander the Great of Macedon and Raja Suran. Somehow, these actors are invented. These invented actors are simultaneously repeated in every part of the chapters. They are invented because Alexander the Great was not holding the faith of Prophet Ibrahim and that his father was not Raja Darab, as how *The Malay Annals* narrates. Raja Suran is referring to Rajendra I of Chola Western India, but he was not the first king of the race of man according to *The Malay Annals*. This is because Rajendra I was reigning in 1000. *The Malay Annals* invents these two actors because British colonizers had relation with the Malay Rajas. To fill the interest of both institutions, the Rajas needed to be respected so that the folk would be willing to be enslaved.

Therefore, the project of *The Malay Annals* is the project of politicizing identity by utilizing social memory. This is proved in the level of micro on how

phrases work to name the legitimizing identity, the race of Secander Zulkarnaeni king of East and West. The mezzo level collection directs to inter textual analysis on proofing that the British traders were actually awoke or revived on nothing and invented the Malay ancestors, Secander Zulkarnaeni and Raja Suran. The level of macro is political circumstance on where the story occurs and social practice as the engine of the discourse helps the researcher proofing that legitimizing identity is projecting people to obey so that they do not resist and the project of what to remember.

4.2 Suggestion

This research concerns on identity that is politicized through the discourse of annals. The researcher analyzes *The Malay Annals* which is written under the perspective of colonizer, British. Utilizing social memory and identity politics, the researcher interprets that *The Malay Annals* is constructed for praising the legitimizing identity. This construction is expected to maintain ultimate power for Malays plutocrat. This is including building the folk's obedience, thus the folk could accept any royal's verdicts, laws, and respects. This research has proved the atrocious claim over 'wild Malays' who were in the moment of glorification. This research also figures the competition of colonizers winning the heart, the land of native states, and their historical discourse. Finally, this research proves that the historical actor Secander Zulkarnaeni, Raja Suran, Raja Mahtab al-Arz, Putri Mahtab al-Bahri, Nila Pahlawan, Bichitram Shah, and Carna Pandita are invented.

Somehow, this research needs further research due to the absence of valid historical data that was burned during the withdrawal of Portuguese, *Sulalatus Salatin* and limited historical documents under the circumstances of the lays. The following and further research for researchers who are probably interested in this study could be in the restless findings on historical discourse that is written under the circumstances of the folk. This is because cultural and historical capital is sometimes problematic. Then, exploring the native state's history could also be done for further research which the researcher means *Babad Tanah Jawi* is not enough revealing the occasion of Malay Rajas and history. Hence, finding the root of 'who we are' amid politicized discourse and identity is a perennial study which is worth pursuing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alwee, Azhar, Ibrahim. 2012. *Literature and Social Memory: The Case of Suratman Mangkasan*. Kent Ridge Guild House: The National University of Singapore.
- _____. 2014. *Malay Literature in Singapore, Lines of Thought and Conflicting Ideas*. Malay Literature (27) 1.
- Alwi, Das. 2005. *Sejarah Maluku, Banda Naira, Ternate, Tidore, dan Ambon*. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat.
- Alexander Agung, Si Kafir Nabi Islam, Qs. 18: 83-101. Posted in 15 August 2008, retrieved from: <http://www.google.com>, 6 June 2016.
- Amal, A., M. 2010. *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah: Perjalanan Sejarah Maluku Utara 1250-1950*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Amin, Abdur-Rahman, M., & Merican, A., M. 2014. *The Images of 'Keling' in Sulalat al-Salatin*. International Journal of Social Science and Humanity, (3) 4.
- Barker, Chris. 2009. *Cultural Studies, Theory and Practice*. London: SAGE Publication.
- Barker, Chris. 2014. *Kamus Kajian Budaya*. Depok, Sleman: PT Kanisius.
- Barker, Chris. 2004. *The SAGE Dictionary of Cultural Studies*. New Delhi: SAGE Publication Ltd.
- Bashah, M, N. *Kertas Kerja: Zulkarnain Moyang Raja Melayu, Metos atau Realiti*. Retrieved from <http://www.google.com> December 2th 2011, accessed on June 6th 2016.
- Bently, J., H., Ziegler, H., F., & Streets, H., E. 2006. *Tradition and Encounters A Brief Global History*. America: McGraw-Hill.
- Benjamin, Walter. E.d. 2007. *Illuminations*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Edition.
- Cabecinhas, R. & Abadia, L. 2013. *Narratives and Social Memory: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches*. Portugal: CECS-Communication and Society Research Centre.
- Castells, M. 2010. *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Cabaton, A. 2015. *Jawa, Sumatra, dan Kepulauan Lain Hindia Belanda*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.

- Dalgliesh, B. 2013. *Problematizing the Political Theory of Identity Politics: Towards an Agonistic Freedom*. Journal Kritik 7(1) 69-95.
- David, D., McGarry and Sarah, Harriman, White. 1963. *Historical Fiction Guide: annotated Chronological, Geographical, and topical List of Five Thousand selected Historical Novels*. New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Damrosch, D. ed. 2004. *The Medieval Era*. New York: Pearson Education.
- _____. ed. 2004. *The Ancient World*. New York: Pearson Education.
- Dowry, M., T. 2006. *Contemporary World's History*. United States of America: Wright Group.
- During, Simon. ed. 1993. *The Cultural Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Fang, Yock, Liaw. 2013. *A History of Classical Malay Literature*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and Power*. England: Longman.
- Foucault, Michel. 1984. *Sex, Power, and the Politics of Identity*. The Advocate Interview in Toronto.
- Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*. New York. Pantheon Books.
- Ford, Richard, T. 2005. *Political Identity as Identity Politics*. Stanford University, Vol. 1 (53).
- Gergen, Kenneth, J. 1999. *Social Construction and the Transformation of Identity Politics*. New York. Routledge.
- Gillen, M., R. 1994. *The Malay Rulers' Lost of Immunity*. Occasional Paper of University of Victoria, Canada.
- Good Reads. 2012 *Reviews on Sejarah Melayu; The Malay Annals John Leyden* [Mobile application software]. Retrieved from <http://Apl.Google.com>.
- Hamka. 1982. *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Social Frameworks of Memory*, ed. and trans. L. A. Coseriu, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 38; quoted in Rafael Rodriguez, *Structuring Early Christian Memory: Jesus in Tradition, Performance and Text* (London & New York: T & T Clark, 2010).

- Harwood, J. 1999. Age identification, social identity gratification, and television view. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 41, 203-213.
- Hogg, M., A. & Abrams, D. 1988. *Social Identifications. A Social Psychology of Inter-group Relations and Group Processes*. London: Routledge.
- Huyseune, M. *National and Identity Politics in International Relations*. Journal of International Relations Vol. 1.
- Jerrone, de Groot. 2012. *The Historical Novel*. Oxen: Routledge.
- Klien, O. 2013 *The Lay Historian: How Ordinary People Think about History*. University of Minho 25-45.
- Leyden, John. 2012. *The Malay Annals*. Kuala Lumpur: Silverfish Books.
- Liu, J. H. 2013 *Narratives and Social Memory from the Perspective of Social Representation of History*. University of Minho 11-24.
- Lukacs, Georg. trans. 1962. *The Historical Novel*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Loeb, E., M. 2013. *Sumatra Sejarah dan Masyarakatnya*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- Maris, Masri. 2011. *Menuju Sejarah Sumatra: Antara Indonesia dan Dunia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Munoz, P., M. 2009. *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Awal Kepulauan Indonesia dan Semenanjung Malaysia: Perkembangan Sejarah dan Budaya Asia Tenggara [Jaman Pra-Sejarah-Abad XVII]*. Yogyakarta: Jogja Press.
- Olick, J., K., Vinitzki-Seroussi, V., Levy, D. 2012. *The Collective Memory Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Olick, J. K. & Robbins, J. 1998. *Social Memory Studies: From Collective Memory to Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices*, *Annu. Rev. Social.* 24:105-40.
- Phillpott, J., Matthew. 2012. *A Novel Approaches Prelude: A Brief History of Historical Fiction*. Retrieved from: <http://www.google.com>.
- Ribeiro, Rita. 2013. *Narratives of Redemption: Memory and Identity in Europe*. Portugal: CECS-Communication and Society Research Centre.
- Richard, Stoneman. 1991. *Kisah Perjalanan Legendaris Alexander The Great*. Surabaya: Penerbit Liris.
- Said, Muhammad, H., 2007. *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*. Yogyakarta: Jogja Press.
- Schwartz, Barry. (ed.). 2014. *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Atlanta: SBL Press.

- Stapel, F. W. 1940. *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie*. Volume III. Amsterdam: 1938.
- Slotkin, Richard. 2005. *Fiction for The Purposes of History*. Routledge Journal: Rethinking History 2/3(9) pp. 221-236.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 2004. *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure of the Early History of The Sandwich Islands Kingdom*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Toer, Pramodya, A. 2015. *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja*. Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara.
- Thatcher, Tom *Why John Wrote a Gospel: Jesus—Memory—History* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 56. For a brief overview of social memory theory, see also Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher, “Jesus Tradition as Social Memory” in Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher, eds., *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).
- Tim Penulis. 2012. *Sejarah Sosial Kesultanan Ternate*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- UNESCO. 2001. Retrieved from: <http://Apl.Googlereads.com>.
- Wardhany, S. (trans.) 2010. *Kolonialisme dan Etnisitas: Batak dan Melayu di Sumatra Timur Laut*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Zakaria, bt., Norazimah. 2015 *Unsur Tipainduk dalam Teks Pilihan*. Fakultas Bahasa dan Komunikasi Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris.
- Zillmann, D. 1998, Mood managemnet: Using entertainment to full advantage. Dalam L. Donohew, H. E. Sypher, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.) *Communication, social cognition and affect* (hal. 147-171). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name : Putriyana Asmarani

Date of Birth : July, 7th 1994

Place of Birth : Mojokerto

Address : Jln. Juwetmerah, Dsn. Juwetrejo, Ds. Pohjejer

Gender : Female

Education Background:

1. Bachelor of English Language and Letters Department, Faculty of Humanities. Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang State Islamic University (2016).
2. Madrasah Aliyah Negeri Mojosari (2012)
3. SMPN 1 Gondang (2007)
4. SMPN 3 Peterongan Jombang (2009)
5. SDN Pohjejer Gondang (2006)



KEMENTERIAN AGAMA
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI
MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG
FAKULTAS HUMANIORA

Jalan Gajahyana 50 Telepon Malang 05144 (0341) 57072, Faksimile (0341) 570872 email: humaniora@uin-malang.ac.id Website: <http://humaniora.uin.ac.id>

BUKTI KONSULTASI

Nama Mahasiswa : Putriyana Asmarani
Nim / Jurusan : 12320072 / Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris
Pembimbing : Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum.
Judul : *Identity Politics of Malay Rajas in 'The Malay Annals' by John Leyden.*

No	Tanggal	Materi Konsultasi	Tanda Tangan
1.	24 Februari 2016	Pengajuan Judul	
2.	25 Februari 2016	Pengajuan BAB I	
3.	29 Februari 2016	Revisi BAB I	
4.	21 Maret 2016	Pengajuan Proposal	
5.	25 Maret 2016	Revisi Proposal	
6.	29 Maret 2016	Ujian Proposal	
7.	5 April 2016	Pengajuan BAB II	
8.	9 April 2016	Revisi BAB II	
9.	30 April 2016	Pengajuan BAB III	
10.	7 Mei 2016	Revisi BAB III	
11.	14 Juni 2016	Pengajuan BAB IV	
12.	17 Juni 2016	Revisi BAB IV	
13.	21 Juni 2016	ACC BAB I, II, III, IV	

Malang, 12 Juni 2016

Mengetahui,

Dr. Syamsudin, M.Hum.
NIP 196911222006041001