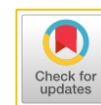




Cross-border and ideology: a decolonial perspective of literature in the East Dutch Indies era



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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the representation of cross-border and cross-ideological narratives in literary and dramatic works from the Dutch East Indies era. It focuses on five categories: Dutch, Indies, *Peranakan-Tionghoa*, *Balai Pustaka*, and non-*Balai Pustaka* Bumiputera literature. The study aims to: (1) classify these works based on racial and ideological markers; (2) analyze how identity and ideology are represented within each category; and (3) examine how counter-knowledge and resistance to colonial discourse are articulated in the texts. Using a descriptive qualitative method, the research involves close reading of texts to identify identity representations, gathering contextual data on authorship, and analyzing ideological patterns across categories. Findings reveal that Dutch and Indies authors often construct Native characters through a Western, objectifying lens, reinforcing colonial hierarchies. In contrast, non-*Balai Pustaka* Bumiputera writers frequently resist these narratives, offering critical perspectives on racism and colonial subjectivity through localized, spiritual, and humanistic views. The study further identifies how Western literary discourse relegates Native works to the “Batjaan Liar” (wild reading) category, while Eastern narratives challenge imperialist classifications. While authorial ideology often aligns with racial or institutional affiliation, some texts reveal ideological divergence. Ultimately, this research contributes a decolonial perspective that critiques Western modernity’s portrayal of the Native, going beyond conventional postcolonial approaches that focus primarily on colonial impact. It emphasizes the importance of Indigenous resistance and epistemology in shaping literary discourse during the colonial period.



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Article History

Received 2024-12-11

Revised 2025-04-26

Accepted 2025-06-02

Keywords

Cross-border,
Ideology,
Imperialist,
Counter knowledge,
Decolonial

1. Introduction

This article discusses the representation of racial identity and ideology in literary works from the Dutch East Indies. The literature in the Dutch East Indies was the forerunner of modern literature. Literary works at this time were not primarily created for entertainment or aesthetic purposes but rather emphasized political messages and propaganda [1]. These works played a significant role in shaping readers’ political consciousness. Therefore, this research aims to analyze how identity and racial identity are represented in the literary works during the Dutch East Indies and the significance it has brought to the larger discourse of political identity and ideology. Considering the significant influence of literature on readers’ political awareness and identity, the colonial government responded to these conditions by inventing a body that works to monitor its potential impact. This led to the emergence of literary politics under the control of *Balai Pustaka* (*Commissie of the Inlandsche School en Volkslectuur*), which became the official publishing institution of the Dutch East Indies government in 1908. To do so, they issued *Nota Rinkes* as a policy used by *Balai Pustaka* to regulate the literary landscape during this era [2]. The primary concern of *Nota Rinkes* was the establishment of regulations by *Balai Pustaka* in

the Dutch East Indies, to make the institution the sole authority responsible for selecting and publishing works written in Riau Malay (*Melayu tinggi*) [3]. Under this system, selected literary works would be received by the reading commission, which would then decide whether they should be published or sent back for revisions. It presents both the advantages and drawbacks of this approach, including the creation of a dichotomy between literature considered as “appropriate” and “valuable” for the public [4]. This division was not solely based on textual qualities but rather driven by the colonial government’s hegemony, which marginalized literary works outside of *Balai Pustaka* institutions and thus labeled them as “*bacaan rendah*” or low-quality reading materials.

The literary production during the Dutch East Indies period was influenced by the advancement of the printing press and the use of Latin script [5]. Latin script was brought by the Church in the Dutch East Indies to translate the Bible into local languages when the local people still used local scripts such as Javanese, Malay, Sundanese, Bugis, and others. This is in line with Mignolo’s argument [6] that after the arrival of the Renaissance in the West in the 15th century, everything related to customs and locality was an ancient identity that needed to be civilized, and this triggered the presence of imperialism and colonialism in the world. Hence, the literary works during the Dutch East Indies highlight struggles over identity and ideology. Authors in this era were categorized based on their identity: (1) Dutch and their descent grouped as Dutch Indies literature, (2) Chinese descent authors as *Peranakan Tionghoa* (Chinese Descent), (3) *Bumiputera* (Indigenous) authors whose works published by *Balai Pustaka* literature and affiliated with the Dutch East Indies government, and (4) Bumiputera non-*Balai Pustaka* authors referring to Indigenous authors who are not affiliated with the colonial government. The works by bumiputera non-*Balai Pustaka* are often referred to as *Batjaan Liar* (low-level literature). Razif [7] and Sulton [8] discuss the existence of illegal literature in the Dutch East Indies era as a representation of intellectual movements in the colonial era.

Dutch literary works about the Dutch East Indies, according to Honings *et. al.* [9], are works written by native Dutch and Indo using Dutch. In this case, Dutch literary works also include those written by Dutch people in the Dutch East Indies and about the Dutch East Indies. These works were written by authors in both the *Treker* (stopover) and *Blijver* (settled) categories when they were in the Dutch East Indies. *Trekkers* were basically people who stopped briefly in the Dutch East Indies, usually because they were traveling or were companions of figures who had a short stint in the Dutch East Indies. *Blijvers* were Dutch people who lived for a long time in the Dutch East Indies. This could be due to the duties of the Dutch government or the Church for a Christianization mission, or businessmen who had invested capital and lived in the Dutch East Indies with their families. *Blijvers*’ children with both parents being native Dutch were still *Blijvers* even though they were born in the Dutch East Indies. But if one of their parents is a native, then their category changes to Indo/Indies. Max Havelaar’s novel by Edward Douwes Decker (*Blijver*) with the pen name Multatuli is an anomaly because it does not necessarily explore the natural beauty and native life of the era in which the novel was written. However, the novel is also a political pamphlet that is not only based on the author’s disappointment regarding the government system in the Dutch East Indies but also raises the issue of violence, especially forced cultivation, which was implemented by the colonial government and had an impact on the misery of the Indigenous people. Sudibyo [10] explains the impact of colonialism as represented through literature, presenting the fragmentation of identity in the Dutch East Indies.

Indie literature was written by descendants of Europeans in the Dutch East Indies. They were predominantly Dutch-speaking. Their works do not solely focus on beauty and exoticism but also address the objectification of the indigenous population. Even in the context of Indo/Indies authors, Sastrowardoyo [11] explains that in the context of identity, the majority of these authors feel more European, even though they are not fully recognized by Europe and are suspected by the East because of their European blood. In the context of identity, their works tend to talk about the shortcomings of the natives. This is the same as the ideology of Dutch literary works, which is widely reflected in the writings of native Dutch people about the Dutch Indies. *Peranakan-Tionghoa* (Chinese Descent), which gave birth to many literary works by authors of Chinese descent, gave its color to the development of literature in the Dutch East

Indies era. Susanto explains that apart from being supported by their writing skills, both in translating adaptations of stories from mainland China and works written about the Dutch East Indies, their existence was also supported by Chinese entrepreneurs who were active in the world of printing [12]. This not only has an impact on literary production for the publication of literary works, but also has an impact on the existence of newspaper and magazine publications, both those owned by *Peranakan* and those managed by natives.

Apart from being related to the racial aspect in the literary works of the Dutch East Indies and *Peranakan-Tionghoa*, an interesting chapter in the literature of the Dutch East Indies is the existence of *Balai Pustaka* works controlled by the colonial government and the resistance of *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* literary works to modernity as the ideology of Colonialism. The condition of literature is not related to the representation of the author's race, but rather identity and ideology. This is based on the existence of two opposing author axes in terms of identity and ideology because one side synergizes with the interests of the colonial government, and the other side is aesthetically and ideologically opposed in writing its literary works. Thus, in addition to the importance of analyzing various categories of literary works from the Dutch East Indies era, such as Dutch and Indo, *Peranakan-Tionghoa*, and *Balai Pustaka* literature, the discussion of *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* literature as a representation of counter knowledge to Western modernity as the hegemony of humanity in the Dutch East Indies by referring to the representation of local identity is a novelty in this study compared to previous studies. In contrast to the research of Faruk [13], Murwani [14], Susanto [12], Sudibyo [10], and Dewojati [15], which focused more on the influence of colonialism on the identity of society in the Dutch East Indies, this research focuses on counter knowledge efforts in literature, especially in the aspect of humanity based on non-modernity references as characteristics of Western identity that are relevant to imperialism and colonialism.

2. Method

The type of this research method is qualitative. Faruk [16] explains that research methods are related to how to interpret data based on hypotheses, based on variables, and theoretical viewpoints used to find relationships between data that are not directly revealed by the data. Sources and techniques of data collection in this research are the literature of the Dutch and Indies, *Peranakan Tionghoa Balai Pustaka*, and *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* literature in purposive sampling, which is supported by the existence of literary works, literary policy, and historiographic studies of authors and literature. The analysis approach in this study is text and context analysis, which involves relevant research related to literary works from the Dutch East Indies era. The theoretical framing of this research uses the decolonial concept of Walter D. Mignolo [6], which explains that decolonial is a critique of Western modernity that is correlated with counter-knowledge. The implementation of this theory in this study is to find non-Western identity concepts in Bumiputera literary works as a form of counter knowledge reference to Western humanitarian values implemented in the Dutch East Indies. The validity in this study uses elaboration, by combining the textual conditions in material objects with non-textual data related to history, general political policies, and literary politics carried out by the colonial government.

3. Results and Discussion

In this section, we will explain the classifications of Dutch East Indies era works based on racial, identity, and ideological aspects. In the first part, we will explain the existence of Indies literature written by full-blooded Indos and Europeans, the majority of which is written in Dutch. The second category relates to works by *Peranakan Tionghoa* who adapted many works from mainland China and were owners of printing and publishing capital, thus having an impact on publishing options in the Dutch East Indies era, apart from the government. *Balai Pustaka* literature is literature that was standardized by the colonial government through the *Balai Pustaka Rinkes Memorandum* regulations to control inlander resistance through literary works. Meanwhile, *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* works represent Indigenous resistance in the national movement against colonialism through literary works.

3.1. Translation and Dutch Literature

Jedamski [17] explains that for postcolonial literary criticism, attention to the rewriting of canonical texts from centers of power tends to divert attention from the role played by popular literature in rebuilding ideas about Western modernity in colonial and postcolonial contexts. This is related to the existence of translated popular works in the Dutch East Indies era, among others, Robinson Crusoe, Count of Monte Cristo, and Sherlock Holmes in the colonial era. This era, it can be understood, was the beginning of the introduction of the era of modern literature with the influence of berets in the Dutch East Indies, which then had an impact on the trend and development of literary works in the Dutch Indies to this day. These works played a role in shaping the idea of modernity in the Dutch East Indies because it was the initial phase of the introduction of Western heroic stories and seemed to be a "Western dream" about the concept of Western life for the people of the Dutch East Indies in general. This condition was supported by the increasing number of publications in the Dutch East Indies so that the presence of popular works from the West also became a reading trend in the Dutch East Indies which was intended for European society in the Dutch East Indies, as well as the Dutch East Indies society in general who had the ability to read Latin script. In this case, the *Peranakan-Tionghoa* group also played a role because some of them also had business-oriented publications. In the context of popular culture, Sutherland [18] explains that Indonesian music in Batavia was also influenced by the changing tastes and constant desires of the city's European society. Trends in Europe, dance and music trends and fashions, were reflected in the colony, which wanted dance music, dinner music, light classical music suitable for after-dinner or Sunday afternoon concerts, and popular songs that were constantly played on the radio. The Western music that was widely accepted in Batavia was Jazz and also Kerontjong, which, of course, were Western influences.

While the works are more related to typical Western heroes who are presented as the foundation for cultivating Western influence in shaping *Pibumi's* view of the West as good and heroic, a Dutch author whose name is very popular, namely Edward Douwes Decker or Multatuli, gave birth to his phenomenal work with *Max Havelaar*. When colonialism tried to instill that the Netherlands and the West, in general, were good nations by suppressing crime and providing protection to all of society through the presence of hero figures in these works, instead of *Max Havelaar*, which was originally written in Dutch, it provides a view of colonialism with a negative stigma due to the cruelty of forced cultivation and the bad behavior of Dutch officials in the colonial countries. In connection with Dutch literary works about the Dutch East Indies, Hartoko [19] explains the names of Dutch authors and their works. These authors include R. van Goens, Rumpius, Onno Zwier van Haren, Dirk van Hougendorp, C.S.W. van Hougendorp, Ph.P. Rooda van Eysinga, G.A.G. Ph. Baron van Der Kapelen, J.F.G. Brumund, van Hoevell, F.W. Junghuhn, E. Douwes Dekker, S.E.W. Roorda van Eysinga, Herman Neubronner der Tuuk, A.M. Courier Dit Dubekart, Isac Groneman, Nicolina Maria Christina Sloom, P.C.C. Hansen, P.A. Daum, Louis Couperus, Pieter Brooshooft, M.C. van Zeggelen, A. de Wit, M.H. Szekeley-Lulofs, Eddy Du Perron, H.C. Zentgraaff, Maria Dermout, Beb Vuyk, Johan Febricius, H.J. Fiedericy, Getrudes Johannes, Resink, Tjalie Robinson, and Rob Nieuwenhuys. The interesting thing about the list of names is R. Van Goens, who was also the 13th Governor General of the Dutch East Indies and was a pioneer of early travel writers, namely his writings during a trip to Yogyakarta, which were dissertations with pictures. He is an example of the tradition of VOC employees to do travel writing on every visit to various regions, so that the results of their writing can be used as observation data.

3.2. Indies Literature and Representation of Indo-Identity Ambivalence in the Dutch East Indies

Sudibyo [10] explained that several other Indies literary works in the Dutch East Indies during the colonial era included novels by Melati van Java's *Soerapati* (1887), P.A. Daum's *Goena-Goena* (1889), Louis Couperus's *De Stille Kracht* (1900), *Orpheus in de Dessa* (1902) by Augusta de Wit, and *Rubber* (1930) by Madelon Szekeley-Lulofs. These works were written by the Indies, who were a mixture of European and Dutch East Indies in their identity. However, the tendency that emerged among the Indos was more Western, so that their works tended to objectify the Natives, even though their blood was also mixed with the Native identity, which mostly came from the mother's side. Louis Couperus' work entitled *De Stille Kracht* (1900)

discusses the mystical tendencies favored by the Native people, and this is certainly not relevant to the context of Western modernity from his point of view. Another name is Rob Nieuwenhuys, who was an Indo writer born in Semarang, Dutch East Indies, who was called the Nestor of Dutch East Indies Literature and received awards for his work entitled *Oost-Indische Spiegel* in 1973 and 1975 as recognition of his authorship. *Max Havelaar* was first published in 1860, which differentiated it from the Dutch literary generation of the 80s, which was dominated by didactic works by law enforcers and priests in the Netherlands. Apart from being a breaker with the trend issues it raises and its storytelling style, *Max Havelaar's* novel is also considered a political pamphlet. This was based on the issue raised regarding the condition of the colonial land, namely the Dutch East Indies, which suffered due to forced cultivation. Apart from that, *Max Havelaar* as a literary work can have a significant influence, even on changes to the agrarian system that occurred in the Dutch East Indies. Max Havelaar sparked massive protests in Amsterdam because, after the publication of the novel, people in the Netherlands learned about the evils of the colonial system in the Dutch East Indies, especially regarding the forced cultivation system or *Cultuur tsel* (1830-1870).

3.3. *Peranakan -Tionghoa: Identity and Capital-Based Resistance*

Salmon [19][20] discusses the existence and whereabouts of Chinese authors in the Dutch East Indies era. The existence of Chinese descendants involved in writing Malay, as in Dong Xi Yang Kao's notes, which report Chinese people acting as scribes and interpreters for the Sultan of Banten, gives the impression that at least some of them had mastered Malay quite quickly. This shows that the Chinese people in the Dutch East Indies were able to adapt well and also contributed to writing, which in turn also continued their influence in literature. This shows the adaptation of Chinese descendants who had an important role in writing in the Dutch East Indies, which was also supported by their capital capabilities because many of the Chinese *Peranakan* became publishing and printing entrepreneurs, which were also utilized by the Natives, including in the publication of literary works that were different from Balai Pustaka as a representation of literary works with the ideology of the Colonial government. At the beginning of the 19th century (1871-1886), several newspapers in Malay with Latin writing, published in Java, such as *Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melajoe* (1856), *Soerat Chabar Betawie* (1858), *Selompret Melajoe* (1860), dan *Bintang Soerabaja* (1860). At that time, these newspapers were in Malay, and the majority were owned and funded by Chinese groups. The Chinese authors in the Dutch East Indies era include Gouw Peng Liang, Kho Tjoen Wan, Kwee Kheng Liong, Liem Khoen Giok, Njoo Cheong Seng, Njoo Thwan In, dan Phoa Tjoen Hoat. Salmon [20]. Furthermore, Salmon [20] explains that the number of *Peranakan Tionghoa* works is several, is 3005 titles. About the genre of literary works, there are 73 drama scripts created by *Peranakan-Tionghoa*. A total of 183 are in the poetry genre. A total of 233 are Western translations. A total of 759 are translations from Chinese. While 1,398 are original *Peranakan-Tionghoa* works written in the Dutch East Indies. These works were created within a span of one century, namely from 1870 to 1960.

Susanto [12] explains several authors along with works written in the category of Chinese literature in the Dutch East Indies era. The works and names of the authors are Gouw Peng Liang (Lo Fen Koei, 1903), Tio Ie Soei (Nona Tjoe Joe, 1922), Kwee Tek Hoay (Drama Di Boven Digoel, 1929-1932), Liem Khing Hoo (Berdjoeang, 1932), and Njoo Cheong Seng (R.A. Moerhia, 1934). Meanwhile, in the drama category, Dewojati (2017) explains that thirteen *Peranakan-Tionghoa* dramas have significance, namely *Cerita Ang Tiauw Soen* (Anonim, 1912), *Karina Adinda* (Lauw Giok Lan, 1913), *Cerita Satu Ibu Tiri yang Pinter Ajar Anak* (Anonim, 1917), *Allah yang Palsu* (Kwee Tek Hoay, 1919), *Korbannya Kong Ek* (Kwee Tek Hoay, 1926), *Plesier Hari Minggoe* (Kwee Tek Hoay, 1927), *Pembalasan Siti Akbari* (Lie Kim Hok, 1922), *Guna Saudaranya* (Oen Tjhing Tiaw, 1930), *Akal Boesoek, Mati Idup* (Kwee Tek Hoay, 1930), *Barang Perhiasan jang Paling Berharga* (Kwee Tek Hoay, 1937), and *Pentjoeri* (Kwee, Tek Hoay, 1936). Based on data regarding these works, it can be seen that the works they produce are in Malay, and this applies to various categories of works, whether based on translations from Mainland Chinese, translations of local works, as well as original works in the form of romances and verse. Apart from being related to the market and economic interests of the actors, the existence of *Peranakan Tionghoa* literary works in the Dutch East Indies had a social function in maintaining

Chinese traditions for the Chinese community. The existence of translated works from mainland China is one way for them to remain true to the traditions of their ancestors and is a gesture of maintaining identity and ideology. Translated works do not necessarily consist of stories adapted from original stories, but are also related to educational and ideological books, including those related to beliefs. Meanwhile, works based on Malay stories and original compositions are, of course, related to their efforts to interact with the life around them so that what they write correlates with their life in the conditions of the Dutch East Indies. The capital strength of the *Peranakan-Tionghoa* group also plays a role in their existence in their work. Several Chinese authors established printing presses that were not only used to publish literary works and newspapers for their circles. However, many native authors published literary works and printed their newspapers on Chinese presses. This not only has an impact on economic benefits for the Chinese group but also opportunities for natives to publish their works and not having to publish their works in government publications like *Balai Pustaka*.

3.4. *Balai Pustaka*: Controlled and Standardized Literature by the Colonial Government

Balai Pustaka (1918) was originally called the *Kommisie Batjaan Rakjat* (*Commisie of the Inlandsche School en Volkslectuur*). The role of *Balai Pustaka* from the perspective of the colonial government was to be an institution for publishing and distributing literary works that were considered worthy of reading for schools and the general public in the Dutch East Indies. On the one hand, the *Balai Pustaka* publisher provided a breath of fresh air with the existence of an institution that specifically dealt with reading, but on the other hand, it had political and ideological interests in exercising control over literature in the Dutch East Indies. Studies on the Library, among others, were carried out by Faruk [13] and Nugraha *et al* [22]. The relevant context of *Balai Pustaka* to control the condition in East Dutch Indies literature, Sykorsky's [23], to many previously overlooked facts and phenomena of the literary process, including the large body of urban Indonesian literature written around the turn of the century, especially in "Low" Malay. In an article entitled 'Some Preliminary Notes on the Antecedents of Modern Indonesian Literature', C. W. Watson presents a general analysis of this very interesting phenomenon. He refers to about 30 books published between 1875 and 1924. Thirteen of these are introduced by the authors from the originals. The rest are taken from indirect sources, namely advertisements, catalogues, and the like. Watson is preoccupied with the "linguistic principle" and does not always realize that this period is divided into two very different ideological phases, namely the phase before and the phase after the beginning of the second decade of the century. *Balai Pustaka's* dominant works during the Dutch East Indies era include *Azab dan Sengsara* (1920) by Merari Siregar and *Sitti Nurbaja* (1922) by Marah Roesli, and *Apa Dajaku Karena Aku Perempoean* (1922) by Nur Sultan Iskandar. Tickell [24] by *Balai Pustaka* is more dominated by issues of custom and romance than political pamphlets, with *Balai Pustaka's* ideological orientation, one of which is to control movements in the Dutch East Indies through literature. The involvement of Indigenous writers in publishing at *Balai Pustaka* is based on their existence as authors and has an impact on the economy, as well as political issues, because many Indigenous people tend to support the colonial government. In the *Balai Pustaka Sewadjarnya* 1908-1942, Iskandar [25] explained the mechanism for publishing literary works through this publisher.

Balai Pustaka, as a colonial government institution, had special mechanisms and standards relating to works that were suitable for publication, either through revisions or failing the work submitted for printing. The *Balai Pustaka* publishing house not only publishes works in Malay but also in regional languages. This also includes various types of reading, consisting of reading for children, reading for adults, and reading for more advanced (educated) people. This shows that *Balai Pustaka* was a colonial publishing institution that focused on providing reading for the people, covering various languages and reading circles. Salam *et al* [26] explain that in addition to being related to the issue of political ideology, the production of literary works, including in the Dutch East Indies era, was also influenced by economic interests. Both in the context of efforts to sell the literary works themselves, and in relation to efforts to facilitate various interests of the colonial government, which of course had relevance to various interests of colonialism in the Dutch East Indies. Prijanto Saksono [27] explained that this was in line with the role of *Peranakan Tionghoa* in efforts to establish publishing houses in the Dutch East Indies

because at that time, literary works and newspapers were the main media in the Dutch East Indies, thus providing good economic prospects, including in relation to the interests of carrying out political propaganda as a movement media. Apart from a specific explanation regarding the segmentation of works which are classified based on the language used and the readership, *Balai Pustaka* also made detailed records regarding the number of works received and the work required by institutions in publishing from the period 1911-1916. This certainly shows the seriousness of *Balai Pustaka* in carrying out its duties in publishing literary works in the Dutch East Indies. The screenshots related to this data are as Fig. 1.

Naskah-naskah (manuscript) yang diterima dari berbagai-bagai pihak, yang harus dipertimbangkan oleh Komisi adalah sebagai berikut banjaknja :

Bahasa	Banjak manuscript yang diterima dalam tahun :						Djumlah
	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	
Djawa	144	104	120	69	68	93	598
Sunda	20	41	65	48	19	20	204
Melaju	18	19	22	9	14	14	96
Madura	3	14	8	7	6	9	47
Batak	—	—	—	—	—	8	8
Djumlah	185	176	206	133	107	144	953

Fig 1. The Data from *Balai Pustaka Sewadjarnja* 908-1942, pp. 10

Based on the data, it can be understood that *Balai Pustaka*, which served as a publishing and reading institution for the people in the Dutch East Indies era, had a significant influence. The work of this institution is not necessarily in publishing literary works, but also through a process of assessing whether or not the work is suitable for publication, both in terms of language and ideology. This includes the selection process and revisions that are charged to the sender of the manuscript before the work is printed. Based on the data, it can be understood that it is related to the manuscripts received from various parties that must be considered for publication by the Reading Commission. This condition shows that the publication of literary works by *Balai Pustaka* is not only for Malay language works, but also various other language aspects such as Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, and Batak. This shows that the efforts to standardize reading in the Dutch East Indies era covered various languages and tribes in the Dutch East Indies. Although *Balai Pustaka* seems identical to the Malay language, based on the sample data above, of the 953 manuscripts received from 1911 to 1916, most were in Javanese, namely 598. The second rank is Sundanese with a total of 204. Meanwhile, for Malay, there are 96. These data show that *Balai Pustaka's* publications in the early phase were dominated by works in Latin script and Javanese, which, of course, have relevance to the population and the large number of Javanese people who have mastered reading.

3.5. Bumiputera non-Balai Pustaka: Intellectual Movement and Indigenous Resistance

Regarding *Balai Pustaka's* efforts to control literary production in the Dutch East Indies era, it is, of course, based on the literary conditions of that era. In this case, the library center's policy in controlling the literary conditions of the Dutch East Indies era was a form of literary politics in implementing rules and standards in literature in that era. This was, of course, related to the spirit of the national movement in the Dutch East Indies and impacted various indigenous resistance to the colonial government, one of which was through literature. Studies on Bumiputera literature were carried out, among others, by Pujiharto [1], Taum [8], and Sulton [28]. The *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera Literature* category exists because of the existence of these works, which are not in line with *Balai Pustaka* standards in aesthetic and ideological rules in publishing literary works, Rinkes Memorandum rules that cover: (1) Not allowed to talk about racism; (2) Incitement and political implications are not permitted; and (3) It is not permissible to discuss pornographic elements in literary works. On the one hand, many works

are not published by the publisher because many works raise these issues. However, on the other hand, Bumiputera writers who were aware of *Balai Pustaka's* interests in its regulations chose not to publish their works in *Balai Pustaka* following the regulations that were applied, because they also positioned their literature as political, to influence readers with their ideology of resistance to the colonial government. Shiraishi [29] explains the emergence of the Indonesian people's movement during the early to mid-20th century. Ismawati [30] explains that the national movement in Indonesia was pioneered by a group of educated people marked by the establishment of the Budi Utomo Organization on May 20, 1908. In the context of literature, Chambert-Loir [31] explains that Mas Marco Kartodikromo was a Javanese journalist who wrote around ten literary works in the second decade of the 20th century and was also active in politics in the resistance movement against the colonial government. Several authors fall into the category of *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* authors. Sumardjo [5] explains several *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* literary works in lower Malay, among others, Semaoen (*Hikajat Kadiroen*) Mas Marco Kartodikromo (*Student Hidjo and Mata Gelap*), FDJ Pangemanan (*Tjerita Rossina and Tjerita si Tjonat*), W. R. Soepratman (*Perawan Desa*), and Tirta Adi Soerjo (*Tjerita Njai Ratna, Membeli Bini Orang, and Busono*). In the context of *Balai Pustaka's* perspective, the works of these authors are referred to by *Balai Pustaka* as Liar literature, which was initially published regularly in newspapers and magazines in that era. The details of *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* works are as Table 1.

Tabel 1. Details of *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* works

Bumiputra-non Balai Pustaka Novels		
Student Hidjo	Mas Marco Kartodikromo	1918
Mata Gelap	Mas Marco Kartodikromo	1914
Matahariyah	Mas Marco Kartodikromo	1919
Hikajat Kadiroen	Semaoen	1919
Boesono	R. M. Tirta Adhi Soerjo	1912
Beli Bini Orang	R. M. Tirta Adhi Soerjo	1909
Tjerita Njai Ratna	R. M. Tirta Adhi Soerjo	1909
Doenia Pertjintaan	R. M. Tirta Adhi Soerjo	1909
Moeslimah	Moechtar Boechary	1923
Perawan Desa	W. R. Soepratman	1929
Si Tjonat	F. D. J. Pangemanan	1900
Tjerita Rossina	F. D. J. Pangemanan	1903

The combination of *Balai Pustaka's* legitimacy as a colonial government institution with the basis of *Nota Rinkes* and *Press Delik* for works and authors that conflict with *Balai Pustaka* regulations is based on colonial-era state concepts that are in line with this policy. This is in line with Gramsci's concept of the state, which is explained as: "Unity of the State in the differentiation of powers: Parliament more closely linked to civil society; the judicial power, between government and Parliament, represents the continuity of the written law (even against the government). Naturally, all three powers are also organs of political hegemony, but in different degrees: (1) Legislature, (2) Judiciary, (3) Executive. It is to be noted how lapses in the administration of justice make an especially disastrous impression on the public: the hegemonic apparatus is more sensitive in this sector, to which arbitrary actions on the part of the police and political administration may also be referred [32, p. 507]. The existence of *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* authors and their works was suppressed by the colonial government. In fact, until now, historical rectification as a form of comparative narrative in teaching the history of Indonesian literature is still needed, especially in informing historical truth with the existence of *Balai Pustaka*. In teaching literature in schools, which is supported by experts in the history of literature in the past, it is explained that only *Balai Pustaka* literary works are works worth reading in the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia today. It's like in the books of Mujiyanto *et al*, [33]–[35]. *Balai Pustaka's* literary works were works regulated and standardized by the colonial government, one of which aimed to suppress the spirit of the Indigenous movement in the context of nationalism through literary works.

4. Conclusion

Based on this research, it can be understood that the literary context of the colonial era consists of the classifications of Indies, *Peranakan Tionghoa*, *Balai Pustaka*, and *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* literature. Dutch and Indies literary works are characterized by the Dutch perspective, which represents the Western modern perspective in viewing indigenous peoples. However, one of the Dutch categories is *Max Havelaar*, written by Eduward Douwes Dekker, showing something different because of its bias towards the Natives compared to its loyalty towards modernity as Western ideology, by presenting the concept of local spirituality as an insight into life. *Peranakan-Tionghoa* works are related to efforts to maintain their traditions as part of Mainland China, which not only adapt literary works from their ancestors but are also related to the translation of local literary works into Malay and works that they created, and the tendency towards inserting socialist ideology. *Balai Pustaka's* work is related to aesthetic and ideological hegemony in controlling the spirit of the Indigenous movement through the *Nota Rinkes* regulations. Meanwhile, *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* works are related to the Indigenous spirit and the national movement, one of which is through literary media. Related to cross-border and cross-identity issues, literary works from the Dutch East Indies era have a clear correlation based on racial and identity aspects. However, research on literary works from the Dutch East Indies era generally tends to discuss the impact of colonialism on the fragmentation of subject identity in the Dutch East Indies. This research with data from *non-Balai Pustaka Bumiputera* works shows the significance of counter knowledge on the identity of humanity in the Dutch East Indies, which they based on local aspects.

Acknowledgment

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, Indonesia, for the academic support and research facilities provided throughout the development of this study. We also thank our colleagues and peer reviewers for their valuable insights and constructive feedback that have significantly enriched the final version of this article. This research would not have been possible without the collaborative spirit and dedication of all contributors involved in the study of decolonial literary perspectives in the East Dutch Indies era.

Declarations

- Author contribution** : HS designed and conducted the research, developed the theoretical framework, and methodology. FF and SS contributed to the refinement of the methodology, literature review, and the academic writing and editing of the manuscript.
- Funding statement** : This research is supported by the LPDP Scholarship of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, which has funded my doctoral studies.
- Conflict of interest** : The authors declare no conflict of interest.
- Additional information** : No additional information is available for this paper.

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