INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

History and Society in the
Early Modern World

EDITED BY
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CHAPTER SEVEN

TRADING TUNES: THOMAS FORREST, MALAY SONGS, AND MUSICAL EXCHANGE IN THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO, 1774–84

D. R. M. Irving

Music played a significant role in framing early modern encounters between English mariners and the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago. The first known introduction of English music to this region was made by Sir Francis Drake (1540–96), whose consort of professional musicians provided entertainment at his meetings with local rulers, notably at Ternate and Java in 1579–80.¹ In Drake's wake, most English ships carried instrumentalists, and sailors regularly sang psalms and hymns. The first voyage of the East India Company to Sumatra in 1602, led by Sir James Lancaster (c.1554/5–1618), demonstrated that musical performance was a powerful tool when it came to establishing relationships and negotiating agreements with local societies: in the court of Aceh, Sultan Ala'ud-din Ri'ayat Shah al-Mukammil (r.1589–1604) and his nobles sang a 'Psalm' to Lancaster and his men, who were then requested to return the compliment in kind.²

On the eastern side of the archipelago, William Dampier (1651–1715) described how English sailors visiting Mindanao in 1686 engaged in reciprocal performances of dances and dance music with their local hosts.³ Throughout the early modern Malay Archipelago, the contact zone created by intercultural encounters and engagement provided temporal and spatial frames for musical exchanges.⁴

While most ships carried musicians who followed strict procedures and special orders in the provision of music for signalling, worship, recreation, and the reception of guests, there were amongst English mariners and traders some key individuals who recognised the powerful agency of music as a means of engaging with members of local societies in emotional and gestural exchanges that went beyond speech and trade. Thomas Forrest (c.1729–c.1802; figure 7.1), a navigator who served in the Royal Navy and in the English East India Company, as well as being an independent ‘country trader’, was one such person, who seems also to have been endowed with a considerable degree of musical skill.⁵ Whenever possible on his multiple voyages throughout the Malay Archipelago, he would take out his flute and perform for diverse audiences. William Marsden (1754–1836) – the Orientalist and linguist who published a prominent dictionary and grammar of Malay (1812) and who formed a famous collection of linguistic works – noted that ‘for this and other such whimsical practices, Forrest acquired amongst the Malays the title of *Capitan Geela* [Gila] or the “Mad Captain”’.⁶ Forrest also played the violin: one such instrument accompanied him on his travels and he sometimes presented violins as gifts. He certainly possessed some degree of musical literacy, as he appears to have notated local melodies and even set indigenous verses to European music. He spoke good Malay, and by virtue of this fact was able to engage in direct dialogue with local rulers, usually unmediated by interpreters; in this language he also composed poetry and songs. Crucially, Forrest left two valuable travelogues, which detail his many travels from the Indian subcontinent and throughout the Malay Archipelago: *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas, from Balambangan: Including an Account of Magindano, Sooloo, and Other Islands* (first published 1779) and *A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, Lying on the East Side of the Bay of Bengal* (1792).⁷

Figure 7.1 Portrait of Thomas Forrest, showing his chapp of the Order of the Golden Sword. In Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, Lying on the East Side of the Bay of Bengal* (London, 1792), first plate before title page. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

In examining sources such as these, and earlier voyage accounts dating back to the sixteenth century, a number of musicologists have focused on the seminal role that music played in accompanying and influencing early modern intercultural exchanges. Ian Woodfield,

for example, has persuasively demonstrated that music on European ships and in overseas outposts was an important part of the process of colonial expansion, from initial encounters with other cultures to the systematic reproduction and spread of colonial institutions. Significantly, he has pointed out how reactions by European mariners to initial encounters with different musical cultures – along with the sustained engagement and observation that took place wherever a colony was planted – shaped and influenced European attitudes toward entire societies and polities.⁸ All such acts of musical exchange contributed to negotiations of power and recognitions (or contestations) of sovereignty; they also influenced commercial and diplomatic dynamics on a global scale in the nineteenth century.

Yet was it always the case that musical exchanges were tied to deeper, darker motives of colonial expansion? Or did they ever represent moments of genuine intercultural empathy and fruitful interaction between musicians from different cultures? As Vanessa Agnew points out in the context of eighteenth-century musical exchanges in the Pacific Ocean, ‘it was . . . when things were given for “free,” or over and above the direct exchange of goods, that goodwill was generated’.⁹ The giving of musical performances – abstract, immaterial objects – created a sense of obligation to reciprocate, in consonance with Marcel Mauss’s ideas of exchange.¹⁰ Sustained contact with musics from other cultures had, of course, mixed results throughout the world: the adoption or rejection of certain practices, the emergence of hybrid styles and genres, and often the abandonment or suppression of traditions or rituals. It is undeniable, of course, that the initial conditions and parameters for many early modern musical exchanges – along with all their repercussions – were unequal, particularly when visiting musicians had commerce as their ulterior motive. This imbalance also affected perceptions of and attitudes to the musics that were being encountered.¹¹ Thus the double meaning constituted by the word ‘trading’ in this chapter’s title is quite deliberate. Although I mean this word to act primarily as a transitive verb in the sense of tunes being traded (‘trading *tunes*’), the lingering sense of these tunes being intrinsically related to the act of trading (‘*trading* tunes’) is a crucial adjectival association that points to the fact that an unequal

exchange was taking place, perhaps imbuing Europeans' melodies with certain overtones of hegemonic aspirations.

Dwelling on the voyages of Thomas Forrest to Aceh, Mindanao, Sulu, and New Guinea in the second half of the eighteenth century, this chapter will explore some of the conceptual issues and theoretical problems associated with the exchange of an abstract commodity, namely musical performance. It will also discuss the ways in which music's objectification through notation and textual description facilitated a process of bartering songs and exchanging musical information across cultural boundaries, one result of which was the shifting of certain modes of musical production from an oral economy to a literate economy. The exchange of musical instruments is another dimension considered here.¹² Violins and flutes were given by English mariners to local rulers and communities in Southeast Asia, and we will examine some instances of those exchanges. The case of Thomas Forrest provides an intriguing and unusual picture of a captain and musician whose creative and aesthetic impulses both complemented and conflicted with his role as an agent of the East India Company, although he also acted as an independent trader.

Musical Bartering and Patronage in Papua

In his voyage of 1774–6, Forrest travelled as one of only four Europeans (one of whom was a passenger for only part of the journey) in a 'prow' (*perahu*, boat) named the *Tartar Galley*, which was built to a design that was popular in the Sulu Archipelago.¹³ His crew of 18 'were mostly Malays, or natives of those islands that lie east of Atchen Head [Aceh]', and also included men from the Visayas, Mindanao, Maluku, Bengkulu, Nias, and India.¹⁴ One of Forrest's Malay companions, the pilot Ishmael Tuan Hadjee, was a man of high rank who had made a pilgrimage to Mecca and who was a relative of the Sultan of Batchian (Bacan, Maluku). Although there was sometimes friction between Forrest and Tuan Hadjee, the latter was able to mediate between Forrest and the ship's crew, to Forrest's evident relief.¹⁵ Forrest frequently describes the singing of 'Mangaio' songs while rowing, to the accompaniment of 'two brass timbrels'; this

practice both inspired the rowers and increased the speed of travel, and was thus encouraged by both Tuan Hadjee and Forrest.¹⁶

The objective of Forrest's voyage was to determine conditions for future commercial enterprises, in areas beyond the control of the Dutch, and some trade took place during this voyage itself – including the bartering of music.¹⁷ In his travelogue *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), Forrest described how he bartered baftas (Indian cotton cloth) for Papuan songs. On 9 February 1775, at Dory Harbour (now Teluk Dore, or Dore Bay, south of Manokwari) in northwest West Papua, where he stayed from 27 January to 18 February, he observed how a group of local people had returned in 'two small boats' with sago, plantains, and other foodstuffs. As they had gathered an amount that was sufficient just for the subsistence of their families, he was unable to purchase any of these goods on that day. However, he bought several birds of paradise (whether living or dead he does not specify). In the local longhouse, Papuan women were carrying out domestic duties of weaving and pottery, and Forrest described some musical interactions that took place:

Two of them were humming a tune, on which I took out a german flute,¹⁸ and played; they were exceedingly attentive, all work stopping instantly when I began. I then asked one of the women to sing, which she did. The air she sung was very melodious, and of a species much superior to Malay airs in general, which dwell long on a few notes, with little variety of rise or fall. Giving her a fathom of blue baftas, I asked another to sing: she was bashful, and refused; therefore I gave her nothing: her looks spoke her vexed, as if disappointed. Presently, she brought a large bunch of plantains, and gave it me with a smile. I then presented her with the remaining fathom of baftas, having had but two pieces with me. There being many boys and girls about us as we sat at that part of the common hall... I separated some of the plantains from the bunch, and distributed [them] to the children. When I had thus given away about one half, they would not permit me to part with any more; so the remainder I carried on board.¹⁹

This short anecdote highlights some crucial differences in the understanding of the parameters of exchange. Early modern intercultural exchanges of music often involved conflict between different notions of musical ownership, musical value, and especially the definition of music itself. It seems that Forrest was acting the part of a patron according to traditional European conventions (i.e. the nobility nurturing specialist musicians in a hierarchical and stratified society), whereas the Papuan women seem to have seen the exchange of commodities as a more equitable system of bartering. It is clear from the description of food-gathering that this society was living in a subsistence economy, and that they traded only the little they had to spare. The work in the longhouse ('common hall') stopped when Forrest began playing his flute; he does not describe what he played, and we may wonder whether he started by imitating the melody that he heard hummed, or whether he played the first European piece that came to mind.

The first woman seems to have sung in response to Forrest's flute-playing: this probably represented a fair and reciprocal exchange of musical performances. It is noteworthy that the second woman, who behaved shyly, refused to sing once she saw that the first woman had been 'paid' for her song with pieces of cloth; rather, she preferred to exchange plantains – material goods – for the baftas. Perhaps the giving of material goods by an exotic visitor following the performance of the first singer was considered an inappropriate type of exchange according to local conventions; or perhaps the giving of the baftas was not considered connected to the free act of singing, it being thought that once the exchange of music was over, trade had to begin. The 'vexed' look of the second woman could indicate her puzzlement at being requested to sing once trade had clearly started. The 'large bunch of plantains' might even have been given in partial exchange for the presentation of the baftas to the first woman, with the receipt of the second fathom of baftas being considered an addition to the first 'downpayment'. Of course, the second woman's reticence could have been due to some other reason, and maybe it was a simple case of shyness. It is notable that Forrest was given plantains – which the

two small boats' food gatherers had been 'unwilling to dispose of' prior to the exchange of music, since these had been collected for their families – but it is equally indicative of his personable character and his manner of integrating himself within local societies that he then proceeded to distribute the fruit amongst the children. Further light can be shed on this incident by the additional point that several days earlier (5 and 6 February 1775), Forrest had 'advanced' the people of Dory 30 pieces of Surat blue baftas and a piece of iron in exchange for provisions (to be purchased from an inland community); the woman who gave him the plantains instead of singing may have thought that this was what Forrest expected, having previously issued cloth for the future delivery of provisions. On 16 February, a week after the musical incident, when 'the Papuan people had not yet returned with the provisions stipulated', he 'gave up... the debt' because he wanted to take advantage of the fair winds, leaving two days later.²⁰

This analysis includes a great deal of speculation, of course, and, while being wary of reading too much into this brief and one-sided anecdote, we should ask what inferences or conclusions remain to be drawn from this particular encounter? Was Forrest acting as a patron, or entering into a bartering relationship? If the latter, then was the music he heard endowed with a kind of exchange value? Was he attempting to use musical exchanges to 'sweeten' trade, or did he engage in it simply because he enjoyed it? These are critical questions to bear in mind when examining the history of intercultural encounters and analysing the ways in which musics from one culture were received and documented by observers from another. Captain Forrest – a man, an alien visitor, and not a member of the Papuan society that he encountered – seems to have attempted to patronise a musician within a traditional society whose musical practices were formed in entirely different spheres of meaning and signification (unbeknownst to him).²¹ He thereby imposed a form of exchange-value – and even a price: 'a fathom of blue baftas' – on a type of performance that is likely to have had ritual or recreational use-value within its culture of origin. However, we unfortunately have no other documentary evidence about the song that was sung by the first woman, or the ritual or cultural significance that it may have held within that particular society; early modern travelogues certainly have their limitations.²²

Musical Exchange in Courtly Contexts

Forrest continued his voyage, and from the end of April 1775 until January 1776 he sojourned in the Sultanate of Maguindanao or Mindanao (the name Mindanao also refers to the entire island, and Maguindanao now denotes a province in the island's west). W. G. Miller states that this long stay in Mindanao – eight months – was probably due to the simple fact that Forrest 'enjoyed the company of the people'.²³ He was highly esteemed by his hosts: in August 1775, he was invited to attend the festivities surrounding the coming-of-age ceremonies of the sultan's granddaughter, lasting ten days, which he wrote about in vivid detail.²⁴ In *A Voyage to New Guinea* he describes several types of Magindanao vocal music, such as an extraordinary salutation given by the 50 ladies in the retinue of the sultana when the wife of 'Rajah Moodo' (*raja muda*, an elected heir to the sultan) paid a visit; he also describes the night-time performance of a dance-song genre by 15 women.²⁵ Of the men he writes that 'in rowing ... they have always a song as a kind of tactic, and beat on two brass timbrels to keep time ... so cheered, they will row a whole night'; he goes on to transcribe and translate the text of a refrain and two verses of a 'Magindano Mangaio Song'.²⁶

Throughout his stay in Mindanao, the captain engaged in extensive interactions with *raja muda* Kybad Zachariel.²⁷ In one of his visits to the *raja muda*, in January 1776, some significant musical exchanges took place:

As he [the *raja muda*] is a performer on the violin, I presented him with two violins, and a german flute: he had a Bisayan, one of his guards, who played tolerably by ear on the violin. I wrote down some minuets, and Rajah Moodo submitted to be taught a little by book. Having got a slight idea of it, he applied no more; but had recourse, as before, to the ear. They wondered at my writing down, and afterwards playing with my flute, some tunes they had played on their musical gongs, called Kalintang [*kulintang*].²⁸

There are many points of interest in this brief description of intercultural musical exchange. Forrest capitalised on the *raja muda*'s familiarity

with the European instrumentarium by presenting him with violins and a flute; it is clear that communities in Mindanao knew these instruments through interactions with Spanish colonialists elsewhere in the Philippine Archipelago (the nearest sizeable Spanish outpost being the port city of Zamboanga, on the western peninsula of Mindanao), or through contact with the Dutch or Portuguese in the eastern parts of the Malay Archipelago. A vocabulary of the Magindanao tongue produced by Forrest in the appendix of his travelogue indicates that the local term for a (European) flute was *plauta*, evidently a loanword from the Spanish term *flauta*; the violin was known as *dabel*, probably derived from the Spanish word *rabel*, a generic term for fiddle or bowed instrument.²⁹ These loanwords' existence implies that such instruments were locally known and immediately recognised, while the *raja muda*'s apparent facility in playing them demonstrates that the host culture had absorbed them into their own cultural traditions and possessed a certain degree of empathy for newly arrived violins. The presence of a guard from the Visayas (a region in which cultures had been hispanised to a considerable degree), who may have had a relative degree of familiarity with European cultural practices (and who may have been captured as a slave), allowed for a member of the host community to play for his master and patron (i.e., the *raja muda*) on the musical artefacts newly given by Forrest. Of course, as Forrest pointed out, *raja muda* Kybad Zachariel was himself a violinist, and it appears that he was playing on this occasion as well, possibly on one of the two violins that had just been presented. Given that Forrest was also a violinist, it seems possible from the account above that he was engaging in violin duets with the *raja muda*, teaching the minuets that had been notated on the spot.

One of the most intriguing aspects of this incident of exchange was a short lesson in European music theory, including the practice of staff notation.³⁰ Yet the description of this musical episode comes directly after a sentence detailing how the *raja muda* 'writes in Spanish, and prefers, in calculation, the Roman figures to the Arabic'.³¹ From Forrest's perspective, it seems that turning to the topic of music theory was a natural conversational progression from the discussion of literary and arithmetical subjects. Nevertheless, the disjuncture between literate and oral traditions of music struck Forrest as being sufficiently significant

for him to make a comment. It seems that he almost expected a court culture to possess the tradition and skills of notating its music. However, most early modern courts in the region preserved their musical repertoire through oral tradition – with the notable exception of Patani, where some of the music of its royal ensemble was recorded in notated form, probably in the late seventeenth century, using various phonetic renderings and mnemonics to represent the different sounds of the drum.³²

Forrest appears to have found little enthusiasm in the *raja muda*'s response to his demonstration of European staff notation when he wrote down and played European minuets. Perhaps this is why he chose to exhibit his ability to take musical dictation of the melodies played by *kulintang* – although transcription of polyrhythmic *kulintang* music is notoriously challenging, as any modern-day ethnomusicologist knows, and it must have been a relatively uncomplicated single line that Forrest transcribed from the texture.³³ We should remember, however, that it was a common 'party trick' of musically literate Europeans throughout early modern Asia to notate local music at one hearing and play it back; it was a practice that a century previously had had significant repercussions in the imperial court of China, in terms of arousing interest in European forms of music notation.³⁴ It is unfortunate that Forrest's notations of *kulintang* music do not seem to have survived, as they might have been able to shed further light on late eighteenth-century European reactions to Southeast Asian gong music.

Nevertheless, it appears that Forrest was certainly interested in the origins of gongs and that he noted their different designs; in an earlier part of his 1779 travelogue he observed generally of the inhabitants of Mindanao that 'they are fond of musical gongs, which come from Cheribon [Cirebon] on Java, and have round knobs on them; others without knobs, come from China'.³⁵ In a footnote he defined the instrument in the following way: 'A gong is an instrument of brass, somewhat like a tabor or drum, with only one head.'³⁶ Yet Forrest was no particular fan of *kulintang* music (as played in his musical exchange with the *raja muda*), as he went on to say:

These instruments had little or no variety: it was always one, two, three, four, common time; all notes being of the same

length, and the gongs were horribly out of tune. Now and then a large gong was struck by way of bass. Their ears become corrupted by so shocking instruments. All proves mere jargon and discord; while the poor Papua people of New Guinea, who pretend to no instruments, follow nature unvitiated [unimpaired], and sing most melodiously.³⁷

Clearly, Forrest found it difficult to appreciate the tuning system employed in *kulintang*, presumably being used to the chromatic scale (in unequal temperament) that he used on his flute and violin. His comment that '[n]ow and then a large gong was struck by way of bass' reflects the frequent tendency of some early modern European observers to assume the necessity of opposition between treble and bass in musical performances, presupposing harmony and counterpoint as essential characteristics of music – which is in turn indicative of their own training in European music theory. As regards Forrest's final comparative assessment, it might be recalled that he earlier expressed his preference for Papuan airs over 'Malay airs in general', owing to his opinion of the restricted range of pitches in the latter.³⁸ Yet the distinction he draws between the cultivated instrumental music of a Muslim court and the musical mimesis of the Papuans, who seemed to 'follow nature unvitiated' without any instruments (although he was not correct on that particular point – and, in fact, he writes that on 4 February 1775 he observed the Papuans singing and playing on 'a sort of drum'), seems almost to tap into Enlightenment debates on the origins of music, namely whether music (especially vocal music) and language arose from the imitation of nature.³⁹ Forrest's comment about 'follow[ing] nature' probably refers to the predominance of vocal genres in the music he heard during his short visits to Papuan communities, and the relatively few instruments he saw compared to the range he found in Mindanao; however, we should note that he stayed much longer in Mindanao, and he may not have had the opportunity to see the full instrumentarium of his Papuan hosts. The Papuans to whom Forrest referred lived on the western side of New Guinea, in a liminal space between the Malay-speaking cultural world and their own geocultural region

(Melanesia); in cultural terms, they seem to have inhabited a wholly different sound world from that of the Malays, so it is not especially remarkable that Forrest considered their music to present such a great contrast to Malay traditions.⁴⁰

Forrest's Malay Songs

The people of Mindanao used their own languages – Forrest lists 14 dialects spoken on the island – but many also conversed with him in Malay, the *lingua franca* of trade, and exchanged Malay poetic verses with him.⁴¹ As his stay in Mindanao continued, Forrest did not cease in his exchange of songs. In this same visit, he traded songs with the (only) wife of the *raja muda*, Potely Pyak, who was 'daughter to the Sultan of Tukoran'; he wrote that this lady 'spoke good Malay, and was fond of singing a Malay stanza, which I had the honour of teaching her', going on to reproduce the text in question:

Ambo jugo burra bansi, bansi,
Dudu debowa batang,
Ambo jugo, ma nanti, nanti,
Manapo tidado datang.

*I play on a pipe, a pipe,
Repos'd beneath a tree;
I play; but the time's not ripe:
Why don't you come to me?*⁴²

Forrest described this Malay verse as being 'the complaint of an impatient lover'; he stated that he learned it at Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen (Bengkulu, Sumatra), and that its authorship was attributed to 'a late governor' of that outpost, who was apparently an admirer of Virgil's *Eclogues*.⁴³ A popular pastime of colonial administrators in the Malay Archipelago – and India – was to indulge in the manipulation of local languages and to see whether they could make them conform to models from European classical antiquity.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, a favourite recreational pastime of communities throughout the Malay

Archipelago was the spontaneous performance of poetry, as Marsden observed in the early 1780s.⁴⁵ In Mindanao, Forrest was able to use this newly created song as a cultural commodity whose exchange-value was immediately recognisable by the Malay-speaker who heard it. It is noteworthy, however, that the Malay song that Forrest taught was constructed according to European parameters of aesthetic acceptability; the author probably projected his own aesthetic sensibilities onto it. Forrest received a Malay song back from this lady in direct exchange, writing that she sang it *with* him.⁴⁶ As he relates:

[T]he Malays have some very pretty songs: the following couplet the same lady used to sing with me.

Inchy piggy mandi, dekkat mulo sungy,
Scio mow be-jago, scio mow be-nanty.

*When in the flood my fair shall glide,
Her distant guardian I'll abide.*⁴⁷

Given the popularity of the local practice of extemporising and exchanging verses, the entry of Forrest (and possibly the unnamed late governor of Fort Marlborough) into this tradition exhibits its capacity to embrace newcomers who were willing to engage in the creative processes and linguistic structures necessary for musicopoetic production. It seems that Forrest had accumulated enough social and cultural capital within his host community to engage in duets with the wife of a local aristocrat. His appropriation of Malay performance practices and song styles meant that he had to some extent developed a workable framework of intercultural compatibility that enabled the exchange and circulation of cultural products. Forrest transcribed the texts of several verses at different stages of his voyages (as well as notating the music for a song of 'The Malabars, in the Masoola Boats at Madras'), and through his publications made later in London he became the conduit for the entry of these short fragments of South and Southeast Asian musical and musicopoetic output into European historiography and imagination. Conversely, his participation in these processes of

exchange also resulted in the introduction of some aspects of European music into Southeast Asian courtly contexts, as we shall see.

Forrest visited Aceh in 1764, 1775, and 1784. His second travelogue, *A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago*, includes an engraving of his reverential gesture and posture during his audience

Figure 7.2 Thomas Forrest's audience before the Sultan of Aceh (1764). In Forrest, *A Voyage from Calcutta*, second plate after p.60. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

with Sultan Muhammad Selim Shah in 1764 (see figure 7.2); this illustration also shows his two servants proffering gifts to the monarch.⁴⁸ In 1784, on his third visit to the sultanate, he received the Order of the Golden Sword from Sultan Ala'ud-din Muhammad Shah (as shown in figure 7.1); the inscription of the gold 'chapp' (seal) given to him was translated by William Marsden as follows: 'This Chapp [seal] was conferred as a mark of honor in the city of Atcheen [Aceh] belonging to the Faithfull [*sic*] by the hands of the Shabander (Officer of State) of Atcheen on Capt.ⁿ Tho.^s Forrest.'⁴⁹ Forrest was invited to converse with the sultan, and 'went several times; but always sent first to know if his majesty was at leisure'.⁵⁰ Music was sometimes involved in the visits to this monarch, as Forrest describes:

In 1784 I once again visited *Atcheen* [Aceh], and had an audience of the king, *Sultan Oola Odine* [Al'aud-din], son to the former king, with much the same ceremony and presents as passed twenty years before: but this king having travelled, spoke both Malay, French and Portugueze [*sic*]. . . . I never saw any body sit down in the king's presence; and I never did but when asked, and then with shoes off, left below, turning my feet as much as I could inwards: this I found a tiresome posture. I sometimes played on the German flute, at the king's desire, which he was pleased to hear. . . . And [he] liked much a Malay song I had made, and set to the Correnti [*sic*] Vivace of the 3^d Sonata of Corelli.⁵¹

In the travelogue, Forrest included an engraved plate of the words and music of his 'Malay song' (figure 7.3).⁵² He implies that he is the composer of the Malay text, which appears beneath the score, together with an English translation:

Anghin be[-]dinghin[,] Oogin be[-]jattoo,
 Scio be[-]nantee, manapo tida datang.
 Apo salla summo Scio,
 Scio, Scio, Scio, Scio,
 Ate rindo, chinto Scio,
 Jangan pitcha, Ate rindo,
 Scio be[-]nantee, lamo be[-]nantee,

A MALAY SONG
by Capt.ⁿ Tho.^s Forrest.
To the tune of the Corrente Vivace in the 3^d Sonata of Corelli.

The Vowel A
to be pronounced
open as in Ball.

Anghin be dingin Oogin be jattoo, Scio be
The wind is cold the rain falls, I still
nantee, ma na po tida da tang. A po salla
wait, why dont you come. What harm
summo Scio, Scio, Scio, Scio, Scio, Scio,
have I done, I, I, I, I, I,
A te rindo, chinto Scio, Jangan pit cha,
my heart is broke, you are my love, dont tear
A te rindo, Scio be nantee, lamo be nantee,
a heart that's broke, I wait, long I wait,
Anghin be dingin, Oogin be jattoo, Scio be nantee,
The wind is cold, the rain falls, I wait,
nantee lamo, tappee, camo, tida da tang.
long I wait, but, you, do not come.

Figure 7.3 Thomas Forrest, 'A Malay Song'. In Forrest, *A Voyage from Calcutta*, first plate after p.60. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Anghin be[-]dinghin, Oogin be[-]jattoo,
Scio be[-]nantee, nantee lamo,
tappee, camo, tida datang.⁵³

The wind is cold[,] the rain falls,
I still wait, why don[']t you come.

What harm have I done,
 I, I, I, I,
 my heart is broke, you are my love
 don[']t tear a heart that's broke,
 I wait, long I wait,
 The wind is cold, the rain falls,
 I wait, long I wait,
 but, you, do not come.

The music is adapted from the first violin part of the *Corrente Vivace* movement in the trio sonata in G minor Opus 4 No. 2 by Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713); this work was first published in Rome in 1694, and was reprinted in numerous editions.⁵⁴ Forrest was presumably using a later edition of Corelli's music, with a different numbering of the trio sonatas (he refers to 'the 3.^d Sonata'). While Corelli's music was known in many different parts of the world in the century following his death, this is the first concrete evidence of his melodies being played in Southeast Asia – and, even more significantly, being adapted as vocal music using a text in a local language.⁵⁵

Corelli's original trio sonata is in G minor, but here the melody of the first violin part has been transposed down a fourth to D minor. The first section is abridged: rather than containing the full 25 bars of the first violin part as written by Corelli, Forrest ends the first section after bar 9, instructing the performer to repeat back to bar 5, presumably in order to make the music fit to the text without adding repetitions or extra lines. This truncation aside, the melody of Forrest's 'Malay song' follows the first violin part of the Corelli trio sonata quite faithfully, albeit in transposition. However, Forrest omits all ties across bar lines (some 13 of them), no doubt to allow new syllables to be vocalised at the beginnings of bars. With an angular melody that frequently leaps large intervals, this piece seems more idiomatically suited to an instrument such as the violin or flute, rather than the voice; it would be relatively difficult for an untrained singer to perform it with ease. With its jagged intervallic contours, it differs markedly from Forrest's 1779 description of 'Malay airs in general, which dwell long on a few notes, with little variety of rise or fall'.⁵⁶

Although we have no description of the exact ways in which Forrest's Malay song was performed in the court of Aceh, we can presume that it involved a Malay or English singer – perhaps Forrest himself – and the accompaniment of one or more of the instruments that Forrest had with him (transverse flute and possibly violin); the violin was certainly well known in late eighteenth-century Sumatra, as William Marsden noted.⁵⁷ Forrest writes in *A Voyage from Calcutta* that he played the violin in Aceh: he mentions in a footnote that a Jewish linguist (interpreter) in the court of Aceh, a man named Abraham, 'was fond of music, and often shed tears when I played on the violin: he said it put him so much in mind of *Europe*, where he was born, somewhere in *Hungary*'.⁵⁸ Besides the vocal part and the possible addition of a treble instrument playing the melody (or another part), a bass part and chordal accompaniment might feasibly have been added by a guitar, if there was one to hand.⁵⁹ This example of a transcultural composition was undoubtedly made to flatter the reigning monarch, but it also suggests that Forrest himself was deeply interested in exploring different ways to bridge European and Malay cultural practices.

There were certainly precedents in place for this type of activity: many hybrid musical practices had sprung up around this region, from the sixteenth century onwards, as a result of intercultural exchange between European settlers and host communities. The song genre *sikambang kapri*, for instance, was a synthesis that emerged in this part of Sumatra through engagement between Portuguese and Malay cultures in the early modern period, as Margaret Kartomi has shown.⁶⁰ Slave musicians also played European instruments in the houses of elite colonialists in Batavia, no doubt to recreate the ambience of Europe as well as to project locally an image of social prestige through the patronage of music and musicians; in 1689, a Dutch lady who had recently married a colonialist in Batavia wrote that she had 'a slave orchestra which played on the harp, viol and bassoon at mealtimes'.⁶¹ Within the domestic environment of their patrons' houses, slave musicians probably played standard genres of Western art music, especially elite dance genres; this was also a common practice in other colonial cities of the region.

It is certainly possible that the Forrest–Corellian melody performed at Aceh entered into the local consciousness; such a hypothesis was proposed in 1866 by Carl Engel in his pioneering study of ‘national music’. Recounting the tale of Forrest’s ‘Malay song’, Engel went on to observe:

This air was greatly admired by the king, and of course also by the king’s courtiers, through whom we may suppose it to have soon become popular among the common people. Thus it may possibly happen that a European hunter after national airs in Sumatra, unacquainted with Captain Forrest’s procedure, will be not a little puzzled by discovering among the natives of that distant island a tune which bears a strong resemblance with a melody occurring in one of Corelli’s Sonatas.⁶²

Although this was pure speculation on Engel’s part, his suggestion should not be dismissed too quickly, as similar processes of cross-cultural absorption and the entry of an exotic melody into traditional patterns of preservation and reproduction have been reliably observed in more recent times. For example, the ethnomusicologist Edward M. Frame reported in 1982 that when he asked a musician in a village of Sabah, Borneo, to play a traditional melody, ‘a performer played a beautiful rendition of “Oh my darling Clementine”’, an American folk ballad.⁶³ The forms and frequency of cross-cultural musical transmissions changed drastically in the twentieth century, of course, with the proliferation of commodified sound recordings and the growth of radio broadcasts. But we can postulate that similar examples of transfer took place – albeit on a smaller scale – in the early modern period, through observation, appropriation, and reproduction.

Conclusion

We have seen in this chapter some examples of the different ways in which music acted as a mediator between representatives of English and Southeast Asian cultures. Forrest’s descriptions of how his personal passion for music became an essential part of his encounters

within a range of cultural milieux reveal many different aspects of the development of an empathetic understanding in the early modern period – something that was eventually to be quashed in succeeding centuries through colonialist hegemony, abuses of trust, and imbalances of power. Forrest is one of the most intriguing characters in early modern English–Malay musical exchanges, and his descriptions of intercultural musical encounters are certainly amongst the most detailed. He used Malay songs as a type of currency in the oral economy of intercultural diplomacy. By learning such songs, and by composing them himself, he gradually accumulated a stock of musical and cultural capital; moreover, by engaging in musical performances for and with members of royal families and aristocrats, he was able to increase his social and political capital. Even within West Papua, he gained entry into a world of sonic bartering through the exchange of musical performances. The apparent success of these encounters can in many ways be attributed to Forrest's ability to adapt to local customs and not to engage imprudently in local politics; while visiting and living with Muslims in Southeast Asia, he modified his behaviour so as not to cause offence. As the historian D. K. Bassett has remarked, 'Forrest may well engage our sympathies more than the less approachable British colonial officials who succeeded him.'⁶⁴

The act of a stranger freely giving music in elite social milieux created empathy and established a base for further intercultural negotiation. These rare and noteworthy examples of intercultural exchange characterise what seems to be a relatively neutral transfer of intangible cultural capital – that is, the goodwill generated by musical performances – whether or not they were accompanied by the exchange of tangible cultural commodities, such as instruments. Musical performances allowed Forrest to ingratiate himself with local rulers in ritual settings; in Mindanao he even performed on the flute at the wedding of the *raja muda*'s daughter, having first asked the permission of the bride's father.⁶⁵ This episode, as recounted in *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), appears to have been considered appropriate to the interests of genteel women readers in England, since Forrest's first-hand description was reproduced – almost immediately after

the travelogue's publication – in the May 1779 issue of *The Lady's Magazine*.⁶⁶ Such a rapid selection and reproduction of this text for the elite female readership of late eighteenth-century England appears to point to feelings of empathy emerging between these readers and their distant counterparts in Southeast Asia.

Intercultural music exchanges in courtly contexts also seem to have sufficiently aroused the interest of European readers as to enter the popular imagination in works of English literature. For example, an early nineteenth-century novel entitled *Naufragus* (1827) makes reference to the presence of an organ and flutes in the court of the Raja of Lingin, this place-name presumably referring to or implying the island of Lingga. The protagonist and narrator, a young adventurer, goes with his captain to be received by the raja; remarking upon an organ in the room, he hears it played, and it issues a 'villainous compound of harsh sounds' which 'please the Malay monarch mightily'. He is brought a European flute that belongs to the raja, and proceeds to play 'a few notes'. He and his captain then take their leave, but they are soon asked to return to the raja's presence, where the narrator is given the flute as a present.⁶⁷ This incident is perhaps inspired by the stories of Forrest the flautist, and it reveals that musical exchange in Asian courtly contexts was understood by English readers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as being a key factor in establishing mutual trust and goodwill.

The use of music as a direct tool of intercultural diplomacy in the many royal courts of Southeast Asia, especially in the Malay Archipelago, is a topic that invites further exploration. The evidence discussed here relates solely to English endeavours; yet this needs to be put into a wider perspective by making comparative analyses of forays by other European nations, together with those by travellers and traders from Persia and the Ottoman Empire. Southeast Asian chronicles and annals yield a great deal of enticing detail about court ceremonial and the use of music in court ritual, but the transition to European colonialism from the late eighteenth century onwards complicates the question of whether there was continuity or disjuncture in these traditions. The focus here on English actors in the theatre of intercultural exchange has demonstrated that musical

performance in the 'contact zone' had a certain capacity to bridge cultural divides and to be itself an object of self-identification, desire, and exchange. By trading tunes, English mariners such as Thomas Forrest knowingly or unknowingly attempted to 'tune' trade.

References

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1. Woodfield has noted Drake's use of musicians as 'shoreline ambassadors' and has analysed the reciprocal exchange of performances that took place – mostly on board Drake's ship, the *Golden Hind* – in greeting and honouring visitors. See Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1995), p.99 and especially pp.103–4.
2. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes. In Five Bookes*, 4 vols (London, 1625), vol.1, pt.1, bk.3, p.160. This encounter is also discussed in Woodfield, *English Musicians*, p.44. For a brief summary of Lancaster's voyage, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.263–4, and Anthony Reid, 'The Pre-modern Sultanate's View of its Place in the World', in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Verandah of Violence: The Background to the Aceh Problem* (Singapore, 2006), pp.58–9.
3. On the performances in Mindanao, see William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World. Describing Particularly, the Isthmus of America, Several Coasts and Islands in the West Indies, the Isles of Cape*

- Verd, the Passage by Terra del Fuego, the South Sea Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico; the Isle of Guam, One of the Ladrões, Mindanao, and other Philippine and East-India Islands near Cambodia, China, Formosa, Luconia, Celebes &c., New Holland, Sumatra, Nicobar Isles; the Cape of Good Hope, and Santa Hellena*, 2nd ed. (London, 1697), p.361.
4. On the idea of the 'contact zone', see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992), pp.6–7.
 5. For a biographical study of Forrest, see D. K. Bassett, 'Thomas Forrest, an Eighteenth-century Mariner', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* xxxiv/2 (1961), pp.106–22; D. K. Bassett, 'Introduction', in Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas, 1774–1776*, facsimile ed. (Kuala Lumpur, 1969), pp.1–22; and J. K. Laughton, 'Forrest, Thomas (c.1729–c.1802)', rev. Elizabeth Baigent, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, Internet: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9891> (accessed 16 March 2011). Forrest is also discussed in a recent article by W. G. Miller, 'English Country Traders and Their Relations with Malay Rulers in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* lxxxiv/1 (2011), pp.23–45.
 6. Bassett, 'Thomas Forrest', p.119, n.95; Bassett, 'Introduction', p.13. Marsden's collection is now split up between the British Library, King's College London, and the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
 7. Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas, from Balambangan: Including an Account of Magindano, Sooloo, and Other Islands; and Illustrated with Thirty Copperplates. Performed in the Tartar Galley, Belonging to the Honourable East India Company, During the Years 1774, 1775, and 1776, by Captain Thomas Forrest. To which is Added, a Vocabulary of the Magindano Tongue* (London, 1779; another edition was published in Dublin in the same year); Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, Lying on the East Side of the Bay of Bengal* (London, 1792). The first of these appeared in a second edition in 1780: Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas, from Balambangan:*

Including an Account of Magindano, Sooloo, and Other Islands; and Illustrated with Thirty Copperplates. Performed in the Tartar Galley, Belonging to the Honourable East India Company, During the Years 1774, 1775, and 1776, by Captain Thomas Forrest. To which is Added, a Vocabulary of the Magindano Tongue, 2nd ed. (London, 1780); in the same year, a French translation was also published in Paris: Thomas Forrest, *Voyage aux Moluques et a la Nouvelle Guinée: fait sur la galere la Tartare en 1774, 1775 & 1776, par ordre de la Compagnie Angloise, par le capitaine Forrest* (Paris, 1780). For a contemporaneous review of the first edition of *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), see *The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal* lx (1779), pp.264–9.

8. See Woodfield, *English Musicians*.
9. Vanessa Agnew, *Enlightenment Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds* (New York, 2008), p.93.
10. See Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls, foreword by Mary Douglas (London, 1990).
11. On this point, see Frank L. Harrison, 'Observation, Elucidation, Utilization: Western Attitudes to Eastern Musics, ca. 1600–ca. 1830', in Malcolm Hamrick Brown and Roland John Wiley (eds), *Slavonic and Western Music: Essays for Gerald Abraham* (Oxford, 1985), pp.5–31; also Woodfield, *English Musicians*, pp.267–80.
12. In China, Japan, and India, keyboard instruments regularly featured as costly gifts that were presented by Europeans to rulers and officials. For studies of keyboard instruments as diplomatic gifts in South Asia and East Asia (especially China and Japan), see Ian Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy, 1520–1620', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* cxv/1 (1990), pp.33–62, and Joyce Lindorff, 'Missionaries, Keyboards and Musical Exchange in the Ming and Qing Courts', *Early Music* xxxii/3 (2004), pp.403–14. There is a relative dearth of evidence concerning the presentation of keyboard instruments as a tool of intercultural diplomacy in Southeast Asia, except by the French in Siam. The Spaniards in the Philippines

imported and constructed multiple organs (pipe and reed), harpsichords, spinets, clavichords, and – later – pianofortes, but this phenomenon usually took place in the context of the colonial reproduction of Spanish institutions rather than as a deliberate act of gift-giving to a sovereign ruler of a foreign territory. See D. R. M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (New York, 2010); also David Irving, 'Keyboard Instruments and Instrumentalists in Manila, 1581–1798', *Anuario Musical* lx (2005), pp.27–40. On the French transportation of keyboard instruments to Siam, see Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *L'Europe et le Siam du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: apports culturels* (Paris, 1993), pp.102–3.

13. For a description of the vessel, see Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), pp.8–10.
14. The crew is described and listed by name in *ibid.*, pp.7–8 and p.11.
15. *Ibid.*, p.8.
16. The word 'mangaio' referred to cruising against an enemy, and was applied as the generic name of a fighting vessel. On the practice of 'mangaio' and the boats that were used in these expeditions, see *ibid.*, pp.301–2. Writing of his experiences on 28 November 1774, Forrest relates: 'I found Tuan Hadjee in high spirits, cheering up the rowers with a certain Tactic song, to which a man beat time with two brass timbrels. This song was in the Mindano tongue, and is much used by Mangaio boats, not only to amuse and cheer up the mind, but to give vigour to their motions in rowing. This I encouraged, that we might soon get past the Dutch settlements of Ternate and Tidore' (*ibid.*, p.27). Forrest also refers to the singing of Mangaio songs on 22 February 1775 (*ibid.*, p.117); his transcription and translation of the text of a 'Magindano Mangaio Song' is discussed later in this chapter.
17. On the purpose of Forrest's voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas, see Miller, 'English Country Traders', p.33. Miller also writes of this voyage that it 'may be viewed at least in part as political involvement by a country trader. While officially it

was the voyage of an EIC [East India Company] vessel under the command of a person who was at that time a member of the Company's Marine, in reality it was a 20-month-long reconnaissance by a free-wheeling individual who was essentially an independent country trader in spirit, behaviour and experience' (ibid.).

18. 'German flute' implies a transverse flute as opposed to a recorder (which was often simply called 'flute' in early modern English texts).
19. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), pp.104–5.
20. Ibid., pp.103, 108.
21. For a study of the ways in which members of a different community in New Guinea have positioned themselves in relation to their environment, their ecology, and each other through a system of sounds, see Steven Feld, *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1990).
22. Further research needs to be undertaken to explore the history of musical contact between Papuans and Europeans in the early modern period. Interestingly, in a letter of 29 May 1787 the teenage midshipman John Adolphus Pope writes that a band of slave musicians at Malacca – whom the Dutch governor of Malacca had purchased 'from a Captain of a Dutch ship who brought them from Amboyna' – was led by 'a native of New Guinea', and that these musicians played 'remarkably well any tune with very little practice'. Anne Bulley, *Free Mariner: John Adolphus Pope in the East Indies 1786–1821* (London, 1992), p.90.
23. Miller, 'English Country Traders', p.37. Miller also observes that the empathetic relationship enjoyed between Forrest and indigenous peoples is borne out in 'extensive and colourful detail' in this part of *A Voyage to New Guinea*.
24. See Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), pp.237–42.
25. Ibid., pp.244–5.
26. Ibid., pp.303–4.
27. On the family history of Kybad Zachariel, see ibid., pp.204–6.
28. Ibid., p.296.
29. Ibid., 'A Vocabulary of the Magindano Tongue', pp.4, 10.

30. If Forrest was being truthful, his extemporary composition (or at least notation from memory) of minuets is an impressive indicator of his musical skill. It is unclear whether Forrest intended that these minuets be danced, or whether this was purely a theoretical exercise. However, it should be pointed out that several European dance genres were apparently known in Zamboanga, Mindanao, in the late eighteenth century, and some were absorbed into Islamic communities. See Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, p.69.
31. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), p.296.
32. These notations are included in the sixth part of the *Hikayat Patani*. Although the writing of this section is likely to have taken place before 1700, according to Teeuw and Wyatt, the earliest extant manuscript source of this *bikayat* was copied in 1839. For a transcription, translation, and critical commentary of this manuscript, see A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani*, 2 vols (The Hague, 1970), vol.1, pp.59–60 and p.66 (speculation on the possible authorship of the section on music and its original date of composition); vol.1, pp.141–5 (a transcription of the relevant Malay text of the *bikayat*); vol.2, pp.211–6 (the English translation of the relevant Malay text); and vol.2, pp.283–8 (a critical discussion of the writings on music).
33. In terms of the ways in which local melodies were transcribed, Forrest's practice was very different from the more systematic collection of Hindustani songs in the late eighteenth century (as studied by Ian Woodfield, Nicholas Cook, and other scholars) and from the collection of Javanese and Malay airs in the early nineteenth century. See some examples from Java critiqued in Benjamin Brinner, 'A Musical Time Capsule from Java', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xlvii/2 (1993), pp.221–60. When John Crawfurd published his *History of the Indian Archipelago* in 1820, he included transcriptions of Javanese and Malay airs, with a bass and chordal accompaniment by the renowned English music scholar Dr William Crotch (1775–1847). See John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago: Containing an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions,*

- Institutions, and Commerce of its Inhabitants*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1820), vol.1, plates 10–13 between pp.340–1.
34. See Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, 4 vols (Paris, 1735), vol.3, p.266. According to Du Halde, the demonstration of European notation by the Jesuit Tomás Pereira in 1679 to transcribe and repeat difficult melodies on the spot impressed the Kangxi Emperor to such a degree that he founded an Academy of Music and commissioned the writing of treatises on music, including one on European staff notation (which are extant).
 35. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), p.176.
 36. Ibid., p.176, first footnote.
 37. Ibid., pp.296–7.
 38. Ibid., p.105.
 39. Forrest mentions the drum in *ibid.*, p.103. On Enlightenment speculation on the origins of music and language, see Matthew Head, 'Birdsong and the Origins of Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* cxxii/1 (1997), pp.1–23, and Downing A. Thomas, *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995).
 40. For an overview of music in West Papua (Irian Jaya), see Artur Simon's entry in Barbara B. Smith et al., 'Melanesia', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (eds), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol.16 (London, 2001), pp.307–8.
 41. For the list of languages in Mindanao, see *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), p.175.
 42. Ibid., p.297. George Miller gives the following modernised rendering of the text: 'Hamba juga bura bangsi, bangsi[,] / Duduk dibawah batang, / Hamba juga, menanti, nanti, / Mengapa tidak (da?) datang[.]' He also gives this English translation: 'I play on a flute, a flute, / Seated beneath a branch / I wait and wait for you, / Why don't you come?' See George Miller, 'Malay Used by English Country Traders of the 18th Century', Internet: <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/papers/rtm/country.html> (accessed 7 May 2012).

43. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), p.298.
44. For a discussion of a similar process undertaken by Spanish missionaries in the Philippines, see Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint*, pp.85–8.
45. Marsden writes of the Malay language and its poetry: ‘The *Malay* language, which is original in the peninsula of *Malayo*, and has from thence extended itself throughout the eastern islands, so as to become the *lingua franca* of that part of the globe...has been much celebrated, and justly, for the smoothness and sweetness of its sound, which have gained it the appellation of the *Italian of the east*. This is owing to the prevalence of vowels and liquids in the words, and the infrequency of any harsh combination of mute consonants. These qualities render it well adapted to poetry, which the Malays are passionately addicted to. They amuse all their leisure hours, including the greater portion of their lives, with the repetition of songs, which are, for the most part, proverbs illustrated, or figures of speech applied to the occurrences of life. Some that they rehearse, in a kind of recitative, at their *bimbangs* or feasts, are historical love tales, like our old English ballads, but often extempore.’ William Marsden, *The History of Sumatra: Containing an Account of the Government, Laws, Customs and Manners of the Native Inhabitants, with a Description of the Natural Productions, and a Relation of the Ancient Political State of that Island*, 2nd ed. (London, 1784), p.159. Following this passage, which is essentially a description of the *pantun* poetic genre (as he subsequently acknowledges, spelling the term ‘*pantoön*’), Marsden gives an example of a *pantun* in Malay and in English translation, and states that ‘these little pieces are called [*pantun* and] the longer [are] called *dendang*’; he also describes how he attempted to compose his own example of a *pantun* (p.160).
46. However, Forrest does not specify whether he sang (most probable) or played the flute or violin in this collaborative performance.
47. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), p.298. This particular *pantun* was reproduced in James Howison, *A Dictionary of the Malay Tongue, as Spoken in the Peninsula of Malacca, the Islands*

of *Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Pulo Pinang, &c. &c.* (London, 1801), p.35. It is printed there with a slightly altered Malay orthography in Roman script: '*Inchy piggy mandi, dikat mulo sungy, / Seia mow be-jago, seia mow be-nanty.*' Above this text, Howison gives a different English translation from Forrest's poetic rendering: 'Go bathe my fair, near the bank of the river, / I will guard, I will attend you.' He also includes a Malay version in Jawi script beneath the romanised Malay text. According to Miller, the modern orthography of this text would be: 'Enche pergi mandi, dekat mula sungai, / Saya mau berjaga, saya mau bernanti[.]' Miller also gives the following translation: 'You go to bathe near the mouth of the river / I want to watch-over you, I want to wait for you.' See Miller, 'Malay Used by English Country Traders'.

48. Forrest, *A Voyage from Calcutta*, second plate after p.60; a description of this audience is given on pp.49–50.
49. On his investiture as a 'Knight of the Golden Sword', see *ibid.*, pp.54–5; see the first plate preceding this travelogue's title page (reproduced as figure 7.1) for the portrait of Forrest showing the 'chapp', with Marsden's translation of the text in the engraving's caption. The Jawi (Malay in Arabic script) inscription was accurately reproduced by the engraver of Forrest's portrait; in modern romanised form it reads as follows: 'Inilah cap dikurnia di bandar Aceh Dar al-salam dan Sahbandar [Syahbandar] Aceh akan Kapitan Thuma Faras'. Many thanks to Raja Iskandar bin Raja Halid for examining and romanising this text.
50. *Ibid.*, p.54.
51. *Ibid.*, pp.51, 54.
52. *Ibid.*, first plate after p.60.
53. The modern orthography of Forrest's eighteenth-century Malay (with his original wording) would be as follows: 'Angin berdingin, hujan berjatuh, / Saya bernanti, mengapa tidak datang. / Apa salah sama saya, / saya, saya, saya, saya, / Hati rindu, cinta saya, / Jangan pecah hati rindu, / Saya bernanti, lama bernanti, / Angin berdingin, hujan berjatuh, / Saya bernanti, nanti lama, / tetapi kamu tidak datang.' Although this presents an archaic form of expression, and would have to be recomposed to make

strict grammatical sense in modern Malay, it retains the flavour of Forrest's text. A modern English translation could be as follows: 'The wind is cold, the rain falls, / I wait; why do you not come? / What wrong have I done, / I, I, I, / My heart is longing, my love; / Don't break a longing heart. / I wait, long I wait. / The wind is cold, the rain falls; / I wait a long time, / but you do not come.' Thanks to Raja Iskandar bin Raja Halid, Jenny McCallum, and W. George Miller for their help and advice on the orthography of the Malay text and its rendering into modern English.

54. For a standard transcription of the movement, see Arcangelo Corelli, *Complete Violin Sonatas and Trio Sonatas*, ed. Joseph Joachim and Friedrich Chrysander (New York, 1992), pp.195–6.
55. The works of Corelli remained highly popular throughout the eighteenth century in England, as in other parts of Europe; there was also a vogue for Corelli's works amongst English expatriates in late eighteenth-century Calcutta, and amongst the musicians (mostly indigenous) of the Jesuit missions in South America. See Raymond Head, 'Corelli in Calcutta: Colonial Music-making in India During the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Early Music* xiii/4 (1985), pp.548–53; Ian Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian Society* (New York, 2000); Leonardo J. Waisman, 'Arcadia Meets Utopia: Corelli in the South American Wilderness', in Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio, and Stefano La Via (eds), *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica: nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350° anniversario della nascita: atti del congresso internazionale di studi, Fusignano, 11–14 settembre 2003* (Florence, 2007), vol.2, pp.651–85.
56. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), p.105.
57. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, pp.157–8.
58. Forrest, *A Voyage from Calcutta*, p.55, footnote.
59. In his account of a later voyage, Forrest includes an entry for 'Guitar' in 'A Vocabulary of the Magindano Tongue' (in which language he lists it as 'Guitara', this being probably a loanword from Spanish), which makes us wonder if he may have had such an instrument with him, and if he might have taken one on

- his earlier voyages. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), 'A Vocabulary of the Magindano Tongue', p.5.
60. Margaret Kartomi, 'A Malay–Portuguese Synthesis on the West Coast of North Sumatra', in Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (ed.), *Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music* (Lisbon, 1997), pp.289–321.
 61. C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (London, 1965), p.240.
 62. Carl Engel, *An Introduction to the Study of National Music: Comprising Researches into Popular Songs, Traditions, and Customs* (London, 1866), pp.346–7.
 63. Edward M. Frame, 'The Musical Instruments of Sabah, Malaysia', *Ethnomusicology* xxvi/2 (1982), p.258.
 64. D. K. Bassett, 'Introduction', p.13.
 65. Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea* (1779), p.287.
 66. 'Marriage Ceremony of the Son of Moodo, Heir Apparent to the Sultan of Magindano', *The Lady's Magazine; or Entertaining Companion, for the Fair Sex, Appropriated Solely to their Use and Amusement* x (London, 1779), pp.228–30.
 67. M. J. Horne, *The Adventures of Naufragus. Written by Himself* (London, 1827), pp.20–1.