

REFRAMING A 'THEORY OF ORIGIN' OF MALAY ARCHITECTURE: A BASIS FROM THE PUBLIC REALM

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ABSTRACT

The origins of Malay architecture is typically linked to its vernacular past and vocabulary, primarily expressed in its residential timber traditions and arising from its detailed timber artisanship and constructions. Its constructional ingenuities had evolved a rich diverse language and grammar with its own localised aesthetics. Localized skills of the indigenous translate into structural and constructional marvels. This paper however, attempts to reframe a theory of origin of Malay architecture, extending from this basis and into the public realm of the Malay world. The roots of form of its traditional palaces and mosques represents the architectural and urban core of the regional past and thus can constitute a resource of expanding an 'urban' language. This paper reports on the mapping these palaces, using visual resources and reconstructions of surviving 17th century to the 1800s, to align these "early classicalised" and compact structures of different regions of Malay world, with shared expressions in their elevations and ornaments. Using these as departure points, the paper conceptualises an evolutionary 'tree' or genealogy which can account for the multiple and varied ethnocentric origins of the Malay world, argued as three main streams that had synthesised and mixed across time. The diverse public forms at different sites are linked to common archetypes in an attempt to re-enact a theory of origin. A qualitative approach taken in this research, focusing on aligning past ethnographic and anthropological findings of other researchers; including ethnolinguistic classifications and evolutions from different regions argues to find genealogical roots and variants that explain the diversity. Using existing drawings, sketches on site visit, photography and literature review, the paper select a key regions as case studies, and the configurations of the public buildings are mapped in order to reframe into a theoretical taxonomy of origins. The taxonomy suggests a probable genealogical 'tree' of Malay architecture, from which its narrative can be reconstructed. Data in terms of elevational design, suggest five formal archetypes, which are the linear axial, layout configuration, deep plan projection, binuclear form, central and peristyle forms; and three 'strands' of ornamental character and stylisation. It proposes that a Classicalised language of Malay architecture, is possible which can mirror its ethnolinguistic and socio-political 'urban' origins, rather than stagnate into the hegemony of the 'indigenous'; into a universal theory of beginning.

Keywords: Public realm, origins, archetypes, vernacular, timber palaces, nusantara mosque.

INTRODUCTION

What is 'Malayness' in architecture? A sense of Malayness; in cultural and ethnographic structures, has been linked to the state of being Malay or of embodying Malay characteristics. Historians and travellers have found key similarities within the diverse nations, communities and sites across the archipelagic region of the Malay world, and some have observed that despite its diversity, distinctive common characteristics which binds and distinguishes the Malay people and forms the basis of their unity and identity are evident. Yet the present national

boundaries of the Malay region, have made the challenged to universal the key principles of 'Malay' form challenging. Yet historically, the Malay culture is widely used and readily understood in the region, with varying forms and interpretations arising on what is Malay architecture. Due to its fluid characteristics; the 'Malay' identity, or nationality, is seen as locally based, indigenous and parochial. Thus a definition of the Malays, and their identities in Malay architecture is still considered as one of the most challenging and perplexing concepts in the multi-ethnic world of Southeast Asia. A general consensus is that Malay identity is somehow linked to its origins from the ascendancy after the Melaka Sultanate in the 15th century, and thus its roots and forms are linked closely with skills and construction legacies of Malay kingship, which had dispersed, settled, resettled and mutated in multiple diaspora around the centers and peripheries of the Malay world. What unites them is their retained cultures such as the Malay language, customs, religion and its practices. Historically the Malay region is as once described by the famed Eredia : *'...Starting point by the Island of Pulo Catay in the region of Pattane (Pattani), situated in the east coast in 8 degrees of latitude, the pass round to the other or western coast of Ujontana (Malay peninsula), to Taranda and Ujon Calan situated in the same latitude in district of Queda (Kedah): this stretch of territory lies within the region of "Malayos" and the same language prevail throughout ...'*— Manuel Godinho de Erédia, 1613.'

Architecturally, and aesthetically, Malay architecture is conventionally understood, dissected and perceived as a phenomenon and heritage arising from the extremely refined skills, artisanship and character in timber carving and construction skills. Yet the Malay world has a public realm which does beyond the essential language of the Malay house; or its variations expressed in timber. Architectural variants have evolved and at times into hybrid variants which reflect the absorption of external influences and technologies. Jahn Kassim et.al. (2016) attempted to extend the definition of Malay architecture into the 'contemporary' and present, folding into the design discourse the essential 'modern vernacular' interpretations and manifestation of Malay traditions into modern architecture, which is a style different from the 'tropicalised International Style' stream of tropical design aesthetics, prevalent in the 1970s onwards. The necessity of going beyond the 'timber' preoccupation is reflected also in how Kahn (2012) points to the notion of the Malay village and the Malay kampung— key elements of the private realm – as being perceived and conceptualised as the seed, the beginnings, and origins or the 'locus classicus' of the key character of the Malay communities in post-colonial studies. These are in fact, colonial constructs. Questions remain whether this sense of Malayness and identity can be instilled and evoked without recouring to timber or simulating the materiality of timber (Jahn Kassim, et.al, 2017) or/and without typically surmounting a modern structure with a distinctive Malay vernacular roof. Tengku Anis et.al. (2018) highlights the difficulty in rescaling Malay identity in an overall masonry language in the city, due to the origins and perception of origins of Malay being locked in the scale of the vernacular typology. In large public complexes in an urban setting, an alternative vocabulary, one that can transcend the limited vocabulary of the vernacular and link to easily transposed frameworks such as the classicalised façade, its elements and grammar which can be then be transposed and transmuted in multistorey typologies.

Another challenge in a discussion of origins, is to essentially universalize in beginnings. While the Greeks have villages, they never claim that the roots of their Classical language began in the villages, but they consistently trace it to the public realm of their civilisation, including the Acropolis of Athens. While there are distinctive vernacular forms of Malay architecture reflecting the diversity of Malay- Nusantara region, the roots of form – and thus the survival and practical implementation of Malay regional elements- must go beyond the parochial village or the 'indigenous'.

Hence founding a discourse on character must proceed from the realm of the ‘private’ into the ‘public’. In the words of Scruton (1987) it is the public realm, that a classical vernacular is more needed and most useful in order to create a language. However the large range of diversity of the Malay world may hinder the path to unite and find common ground in expressing distinct identity in larger structures and buildings. The region of Riau, Sumatera and West Kalimantan have advanced presently in this respect, as many of their public administrative buildings have expressed in Malay identity, given their urban policy, yet such expressions have been so far limited to 1) standalone buildings; 2) surmounting modern structures whose facades are neutral, with Malay roofs; and 3) clothing or simulating timber in entire facades. This necessitates a relook, and one must begin the effort to reclassify strategies of origins and evolution into a framework of identity appropriation. To attempt to identify streams of evolution, this paper posits that common expressions must be identified from public typologies. In the Malay region, public architecture that defines the Malay traditional public realm are palaces and mosques or religious structures.

Whatever the definitions and discourse, it is agreed that at the root the diverse and multifarious definitions or branches of Malays and ‘Malayness’ in its ‘public realm’, is that its basis must historically be grounded in a previous socio-political history and revolve around the public ‘core’ and the ‘spiritual’ realm of the centre of the urban life, i.e. the Sultanate or ‘*kerajaan*’. Physically the Malay-Muslim core is always occupied by a palace and a mosque. Departing from how Kahn(2012) has observed that the perspective of the ‘beginnings’ of Malayness as emerging from vernacular setting, is flawed and is part of ‘colonial’ preconditioning, one must then trace by history into its ‘urban’ roots: *“it was necessary to consider the possibility that the formation of the Malay settlement or kampung, the presumed locus classicus of traditional Malay culture, along with many of the Malay ways of life associated with a kampung existence, might themselves have been precipitates of an earlier process of Malayan modernisation, one that had its roots in the colonial period.”*

HISTORICAL DESTRUCTION OF THE PUBLIC REALM

Historically, the Malay world had suffered acutely from a significant destruction of its public structures. Its public realm, which essentially began with timber-based key public structures had either been burnt, razed or merely destroyed through human choice, neglect and the hazards endemic of the humid tropical context. Jahn Kassim et.al. (2019) and Mohd Nawawi et.al. (2018) highlighted the difficulties in retracing historical origins of both mosques and palaces; and many of the key structures, are no longer there, or renovated. Any reconstructing of any theoretical premise based on history is fraught with challenges due to the fact that many of the Malay ancient structures are timber and had been decayed through time, neglect and disasters. To derive a theory of ‘Malayness’ in architecture, one must somehow derived from roots or formal archetypes extracted from surviving structures; however diverse or varied they are.

Milner (2011) has discussed the Melayu as being rooted in the Sultanates of the region (Figure 1) and thus, the Classical era of Malay architecture must be linked to a certain purity of link to this era during which the Sultanates i.e. the center of Malay culture, were predominant. Reid (2012) links the Malays to the essentially maritime centers which he terms as ‘*negeri*’ as opposed to the ‘*nagara*’ type polities before 14th century which were based closer to mountain ranges and which essentially focus on an agricultural economic system. Farlati (2010) and Miksic (2016) had researched on others origins of the Malay, as a culture or language, from which historical streams of settlement can be found, yet these studies can be summarised and essentialised down to three ancient regions of the Jambi-Palembang area, (which culminated in Melaka), the Kedah Tua region and the Western Borneo region that constitute the ‘origins’

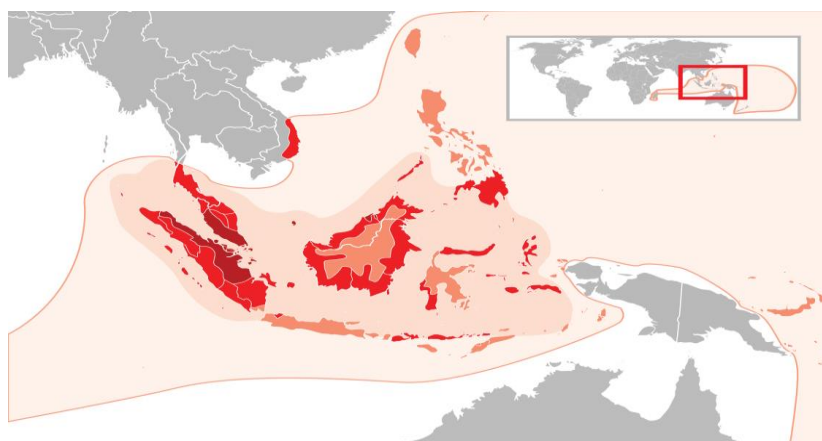
of language and population movement. For example, Andaya (2010) traces the origins of 'Malayu' to an ancient site near Palembang, while citing Wolsters: "believes that in the early 7th century Malayu was based in Jambi and may have controlled the Palembang area... ". Andaya (2010) went on to assert: "The archaeological evidence supports the view that (ancient) Malayu consisted of a center on the coast and another in the interior. The main center of the kingdom, defined by the presence of the ruler, moved upstream from Muara Jambi to Dharmasraya sometime prior to 1286. It was followed by another move to a place whose name ended with 'vita' or 'cita' and finally to Suruaso in the Minangkabau highlands Only after the emergence of Malayu as Srivijaya's successor can one suggest. Malayu had become a conscious and concrete identity of the archipelago'.

Figure 1a: Malay Sultanate centers or polities before the colonisation era



Source: Milner (2011)

Figure 1b. The origins and extents of the Malay archipelagic world



Source: <https://www.revolvy.com/page/Malay-world>

Other than Sumatra, archaeologist-linguist researchers had traced the origins of *Malayic* languages to western Borneo. Although the mainstream narrative has asserted the origins of the Malayu centers upon its archaeological and geographic origins in East Sumateran riverine centers, yet over recent years and in last decades such narratives are contested by findings that

links to other narrative of origins in the Kedah Tua (Farlati, 2012) thus highlighting the region's Austroasiatic genealogies and in Western Borneo, which are argued as Malayic origins arising from successive migration waves far back in time.

ARCHITECTURAL ORIGINS OF THE PUBLIC REALM.

In constructing a narrative of the Malay architectural (public) origins, the idea of the Melaka dominion and its famed Melakan palace are fraught with difficulties in tracing their authentic forms and history. Melakan documents were destroyed by the invading Portuguese forces, while Andaya(2008) highlights that historical discourses on Pagaruyong, which are attested by some as the birthplace of Melayu, appears as to have grown as a separate ethnic in other sources. Yet Melaka is an important beginning as attested by Tarling (1999,p176) :*The founding of Melaka and the emergence of Islam mark the beginning of Malay history as it has been traditionally remembered in recent centuries. .. While Malay history, as a collective memory. Can thus be said to begin with Melaka, evidence allows us to say that Melaka was a new version of a very old tradition of behavior among the Malay rulers, a tradition concentrating on the benefits of trade.* Hence what can be discerned are key points in history, where diaspora of the Malays bred hybrid architectural identity of Malayu throughout the Malay Archipelago or Nusantara, Melaka was part of, but not the totality of a story of origins. Although recognised as a separate community, or evolved royal centres or “kerajaan”, these centres were eventually recognised as centres of Malayu in the Malay world.

This discussion highlights surviving cases of mainly 17th century palaces and mosques and their common characterisations in order to reframe them into the roots of the ‘Malayu’ identity. These structures are located from the above ‘origins’ regions of the Malay traditional world, and it is argued that the roots of Malayu as a culture and community is derived from the era of the ‘negeri’ (Reid, 2012), and from an all timber (or almost all) or hybrid cases. Although there are larger structures, it is argued that the representation of surviving structures recall the ‘Classical’ beginnings or roots, as they are ‘compact’ in form or arise from the simplest design configurations as in the classification of Clark and Pause (2012); the ‘linear’ and the ‘central’. The linear configuration are essentially building shaped as a spine, while central are configurations which places the most important space at the centre. While historical sites are strongly related to the origins traced to a region of Malayu in the Jambi region, ancient architectural forms from Kedah Tua and the Islamisation of Achenese mosques in Aceh, North Sumatra, in the 15th century as well as the ancient structures of the western Borneo region are argued as the surviving key samples of such origins in terms of the Malay public forms, yet to be studied. These findings are in line with other findings and debates such as Adelaar (1985) and Blust (1988) that had found the presence of Malays along the Borneo coasts was the result of back-migrations. The Bornean homeland hypothesis combined with back-migrations is compatible with both linguistic and extra-linguistic findings including the traditionally held belief among Malays that the cradle of the Malay nation was in the region of Palembang in southern Sumatra (Andaya and Andaya 1994:31-4). This state of affairs would fit with a position of the ancient Malay kingdom of Srivijaya at the mouth of the Musi River in southeast Sumatra of which now, due to siltation, the ancient site is nowadays further inland.

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The research aims to unify findings of the surviving cases of the Malay palaces and royal mosques found within the region of Malay cultural origins into a framework of origins based on palatial language. The qualitative approach taken in this research, discussing and developing

methods of classification and scoping these into classes of forms, facades and tectonics. Using existing drawings, sketches on site visit, photography and literature review, the study then linked the forms and tectonics to configurations that were reframed into a taxonomy of origins. This method traced the elements of Malay identity in public buildings by linking the 'classical' tracing of old palaces from the surviving buildings and palaces of the 1700s to present. Efforts and expressions to highlight this identity to its Malay origins from either eastern Sumatra or west Borneo region were conducted. Though historically there may not be any link between the buildings, the framework enables the research to build a theory of shared cultural traits and forms, which collectively can be termed as the 'Malayness' of public buildings. These findings focuses on the crucial urban element of building frontage or elevation of the five oldest surviving 1700s palaces and two surviving religious building in the region as case studies. Primarily full surviving timber palaces throughout the Malay Archipelago, and two archetype ancient temple form and mosque were among the seven surviving case studies. From analysis, five archetypes are identified and linked to the phases of physical evolution until the present types of public buildings. The study limit itself to the tectonic and the physical i.e. and not dwell into the meaning as well as the anthropological dimension of the architecture. The palaces and royal mosques as public architecture and as the core of the Malay traditional built environment, is envisaged as the basis in the sustaining the identities and architectural language of the Malays and which can contribute to the reconstruction of the Malay urban language for the future.

THE CASE STUDIES

The following discussion focuses on the palaces and two traditional religious types mosque and a candi - they are studied and reconstructed using architectural computer-aided design tools , including the reconstruction of a 'candi' in Lembah Bujang, and Masjid Kampung Laut, Kelantan, both which is used as a basic form of the region's ancient architecture. These are analysed architecturally, and both 2d and 3d models are reconstructed using CAD tools including the elevation of the surviving palaces and religious buildings and the ornamental patterns found in their constructions. The meaning of what is 'Classical' in Malay have been elaborated in Puteri Shireen Jahn Kassim, et.al. 2019 and Tengku Anis et.al. 2018 which link the definition of Classical to the derived rules of proportion or 'differentiated' rules of column proportion, from the void to fill ratio, dimensions of building height, columns, window openings and roof forms, and more importantly to the link with artisanal craftsmanship and the close link between ' monarch-designer' and ' artisan- builder', which essentially separate and contrast the Malay Classical from others, and reflect the social structure of the Malay world. The case studies are:

A. The palaces

1. Rokan Palace, East Sumatra
2. Kadriah Palace, West Borneo
3. Gunong Sahilan palace, Kampar Sumatera
4. Cirebon Palace, Central Java
5. Balai Besar Kedah Palace (1735 version), Kedah

B. The surviving and reconstructed religious buildings:

1. Candi Lembah Bujang, Kedah¹
2. Kampung Laut Mosque, Kelantan.

Several brief descriptions of the selected Palaces (Istana) Candi and mosque are as follows:

1. ISTANA ROKAN, RIAU, SUMATERA

Although Rokan is part of the Riau- Minangkabau region, now known as middle part of the island, yet tracing back origins of the Malay world, will see that its region included upstream and downstream regions along the river. Traditionally it is part of an old Malay empire located at East Sumatra, which at one time, became part of Melaka (Figure 1c). In history it is mentioned that the son and successor of the Sultan Maharaja Muhammadiyah Melaka, named Sultan Ibrahim, was influenced by the grandmother of the mother to Sultan Rokan and that his grandfather, Sultan Rokan, was known to be disgruntled with Melaka. The sultan's brother named Raja Kasim, with the blessing of the Bendahara or Treasurer, seized the throne and killed Sri Parameswara Dewa Syah and his grandmother. The Bendahara proclaimed himself as Sultan of Melaka and nicknamed Sultan Muzzafar Shah (1450-1458 AD). When he became the Sultan, his title was Sultan Sri Parameswara Dewa Syah (1445-1450 AD). Though known as a splintering of the diaspora of the Minangkabau, Rokan came under, within the 15th century under the dominion of Melaka.

Figure 1c. The extent of Melaka dominion before 1500

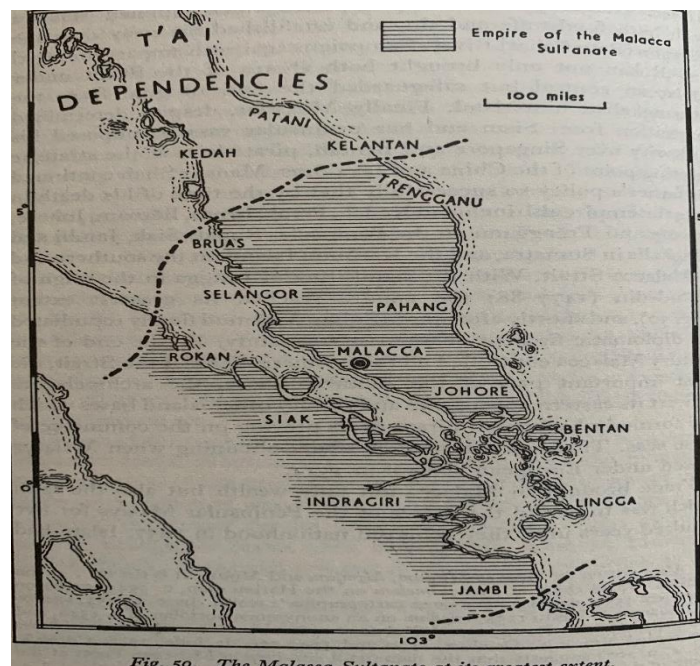


Fig. 50. The Malacca Sultanate at its greatest extent.

Source: Wheatley (1961)

¹ Candi Lembah Bujang, is used here as a compact form which recall a simple form of base and column in the Malay world, the paper argues that the form is representative of the Malayalised Buddhism, which is not of Indian origin as claimed by parties. This discussion and narrative is ongoing.

The form of the Istana Rokan can be argued as ‘hybrid’, a representation of the Malay realm, though it is derived from the Minangkabau, it is Malay in that it recalls what is known as the ‘hybrid’ form. This form recalls a more restrained and dampened shape to the ‘gonjong’ roof, yet having the same longitudinal layout and punctured windows. It remains one of the oldest ‘Classical’ (see Jahn Kassim, et.al. 2019 for definition of Classical) forms of the Malay palace and the few surviving all timber palace which essentially recall a form totally arising from the aesthetic skills and carving expertise of timber artisans. A splinter from the realm of Pagaruyong palaces, it is the outcome of migration and settlement of population from Minangkabau origins. The Pagaruyong kingdom is contemporaneous to ancient Melaka, yet it is unique due to its compact size. The palace has essentially a linear form, with punched doorway like windows and tops by the identifiable Minang attic. This classical form has evolved into a variety of Minang houses known for their 'gonjong' roof (Figure. 1). At a later stage the protruding part of the roof can be described as chamfered into vertical bargeboard, hence creating another style-the ubiquitous Riau roof form. From a close study of its form, one can see gradual evolution into the recognisable Riau roof form.

Figure 2a: Istana Rokan – plan

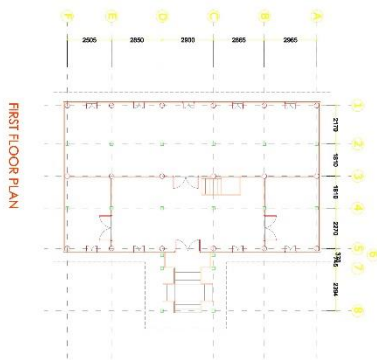


Figure 2b: Front view Istana Rokan



Figure 3: Elevation view Istana Rokan

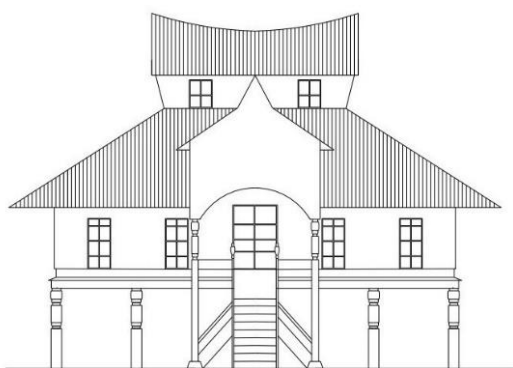


Figure 4: Istana Rokan, Detail



2. ISTANA GUNONG SAHILAN , KAMPAR , SUMATERA

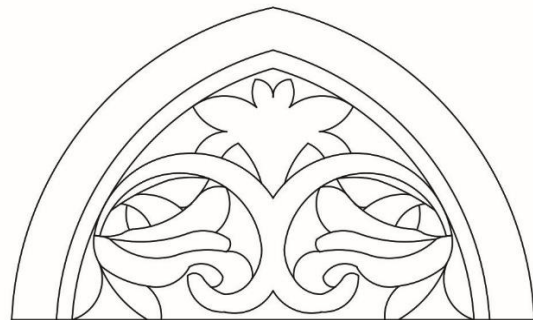
Istana Gunong Sahilan is an ancient palace of the 1700s and is an almost total timber Palace had evolved from an earlier community known as Gunong Ibul community believed to be in a vernacular vicissitude of an earlier civilisation linked to the civilization of Sri Vijaya. As per Reid (2015) description of the Earlier "nagara", this particular community was a splinter of the ancient Hindu Buddhist Srivijaya nagara, being part of the medieval yet urban communities

which grew between the Musi river and the highland bone of Sumatera. It evolved into a community which is located generally further inland, hence the palace would have been a remnant of the splintering of the Srivijaya civilisation and genealogies. Although the palace is in decay, one must highlight its extremely classical form in terms of a compact binuclear form (see Tengku Anis et al (2017)).

Figure 5a: Istana Gunong Sahilan, Kampar, Perak



Figure 5b: Detail Facade



Kampar was after 14th century, then conquered by Melaka under the leadership of Tun Mutahir and had to receive direct instruction from Melaka. Kampar was extremely strategic, because it is the transportation route of gold and pepper delivery from Minangkabau. In the Malay Version of historical document, it was reported that the older brother of Sultan Mahmudsyah Melaka, Sultan Munawarsyah, was appointed King of Kampar in 1505 M. He then died and was succeeded by his son, Sultan Abdullah. Sultan Abdullah Kampar later became the son-in-law of Sultan Mahmudsyah Melaka. When the Portuguese attacked and captured Malacca in 1511 AD and his father-in-law became Portuguese fugitive, however, Sultan Abdullah merged with the Portuguese who later appointed him as Foreign Treasurer in Melaka. Sultan Mahmud Syah, who was residing in Bintan, sent his son-in-law, King Lingga, but Kampar was rescued by the Portuguese fleet under Jorge Botelho, and immediately escorted Abdullah to Malacca. The events is further contained in Pieter Both's letter to Sultan Tidore in 1612. Sultan Mahmudsyah chased the Portuguese from Bintan, so he had to stay in Kampar (Pelalawan) until his death in 1528 AD (Marhum).

The form of the Sahilan palace is a beginning, in that its significance as an origin of Malay public façade is the essentially compact bi-nuclear form of its elevation, an archetype found elsewhere in evolving forms across the Malay world. The basic nature of the elevation is that it is symmetrical and centred, and has both mirror façade projecting out, while the middle portion- which constitutes its main entrance – is projecting in or pull back., This same archetype is seen in Baitul Rahmah and Baitul Aman, Kuala Kangsar (Figure 11) built by the regent, Sultan Harun Ar Rashid, and even is reflected in an 1824 palace in Singapore, built by the Temenggung at the slope of the Teluk Belanga hill (Figure 12) . Although by then, the language is all colonial, this primary ' Malay' recesses form still recalls an origin of its basic type in the Malay world. Tengku Anis et.al (2018) further discusses of the character of the bi-nuclear façade. In terms of overall form, it may be higher at the center but this façade is essentially differentiated from the symmetrical axial form due to its dual projection and middle recessed entrance.

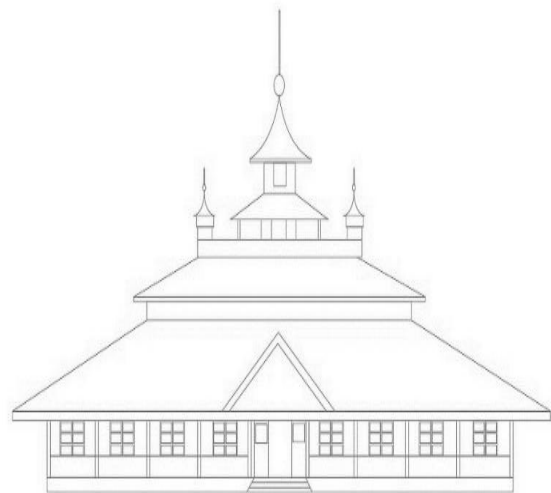
3. ISTANA KADARIAH, KALIMANTAN

Istana Kadariah is also a 1700s palace which an essentially elongated layout. This is characteristic of many palaces, yet what defines the form more than others are the nature of the front portusion which is an open air Balai Besar. This has evolved into a range of variations from the ornate Istana Jahar deep balcony, to the syncretic Kedah palace, to the all multidirectional Istana Lima liras, and total masonry Sepahcendera Palace.

Figure 6a: Istana Kadariah



Figure 6b : Istana Kadriah – Elevation



Incongruent to other traditional Malay urban settlement or realms, Istana Kadriah of Pontianak, West Kalimantan is located adjacent to the old Jamek mosque by the river Kapuas. Pontianak is located on a delta with wider rivers as streets still in use today. The riverside is marked with raised timber houses accessible by boats and now by a raised walkway of timber and concrete as riverfront promenade. The old city with the historic tiered jamek timber mosque and timber palace are left on the eastern side of the new Pontianak town. Stories told on an Arab from Yemen that came as a missionary and eventually started the Al Kadri dynasty upon marriage to the existing Sultan's daughter in mid-1700s. The Dutch were given a leased land on the western side of the river for their garrison which inadvertently grew as the new city centre now. The old quarter is still intact and organically spaced. Immediately surrounded the palace are homes of relatives to the royal families - Al Kadri Sultan. The wall and gateways marked the boundaries. Pedestrian streets with names of immigrants such as from Saigon- Vietnam, Kemboja and Dayaks that settled there radiate from the jamek mosque and the former location of the palace now moved away more than 200m to allow for the mosque expansion. The old quarter is generally Malay-Muslims and the culture resembling the Malay Peninsula. Other than the 1700s palaces above are ancient religious buildings of compact classical form.

4. RELIGIOUS CENTERS OF THE LEMBAH BUJANG

With reference to the Jambi area known as the origin of Melayu, around 60 or more brick ruins were found on the left region of the Batanghari River. Attest Miksis (2015),
".. is probably the site of an important religious and political kingdom during the 11th to the 13th centuries." Other than stupas and temples? There are other functional structures "with foundations that served as a basis for wooden upper structures".

While these ancient religious structures belong to the earlier 'nagara' based civilisations, preceding the civilizational evolvments of Malay Negeri's hybrid architecture, a more compact and simplified form of ancient temples are also found in Lembah Bujang, Kedah and earlier, near Mataram in Java. In Kedah, they are planned to resemble the same mandala as formations, yet these attest to a more trade like society, rather than the strong central religious hierarchy of the Earlier Nagara type civilisations.

Figure 7: Reconstructed Candi from of Lembah Bujang



Yet such plinth and column type origins and evolvments recall the observations of Milner (2011) describes as processes of fusion in the region, during which Islamisation came to Nusantara and incurred a subtle cultural synthesis, rather than large scale disruptive changes. Milner (2011) ...'in speaking of Islamisation -as with the earlier "isms" - there is always the danger of assuming a complete transformation...in the early stages of "religious change" ,leaders in the region may have believed themselves to be adding to rather than replacing spiritual resources. This would be consistent with the gradualism n fusion that I have described". Hence from the days of Hindu Buddhist origins, the four or nine **pillar** form represented an origin which evolved and Islamised as the region evolved into Muslim 'kerajaan' which as Milner (2011) stated as being." dominated the archipelago after the 14th century, and up to the imposition of European and Thai rule. Amongst the evolvments of this origins in form is. As the region embraced Islam, the rise Sultan Mahmud Syah 1 who arrived at Kampar Pekan Tua in 1526 was later crowned King of Kampar (1526-1528). Upon his death, he was succeeded by his son's wedding with Tun Fatimah, named Raja Ali, titled Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II (1528-1530). It was then that Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II left Kampar Pekan Tua to the Land of the Peninsular to established the state of Kuala Johor. Prior to leaving Pekan Batu (the capital of Pekan Tua Kampar), he had appointed a leader, i.e. Mangkubumi Pekan Tua Kampar, named Tun Perkasa (1530-1551)who had then hold the title of Raja Muda Tun Perkasa. He was succeeded by Tun Hitam (1551-1575) and then Tun Megat (1575-1590).

DISCUSSION

The Rokan palace, Sumatera represents an early classic form. It represent an early form of linear axial form, a branch of the overall axial archetype, which can be divided into lieanr types (Minangkabau palaces and its hybrids, and to some extent, the Kelantan-Terengganu types) and deep types (Kedah, Perak, Sulawesi, Selangor, Johor). The essentially lienar type reminisces and symbolises not only the moving diaspora of the Minangkabau community which settled across central and Sumatera and some which eventually settled in parts of Malaysia and others, but the formal origins of the recognisable Riau identity. The Rokan compact form can be taken as a seed, although it is an offshoot, as this not only symbolises these beginnings, but formally recall the simplest configuration of the 'linear, 'axial form in Malay palatial style. This basic form had somehow evolve into a variety and complexity of form with a similar archetype,

such as the famed yet lost Melaka place as its linear, multiple –anjung configuration, the Istana Seri Menanti which five tier form, and the more colonial-eclectic palaces in masonry the Kunotamo palace in Palembang. The Rokan contains within it the seed of the Riau roof style, which seem to have migrated across the Malayu region, and been used as a distinctive iconography and recognisable semiotic of the Malay identity. As we travel from west to east Sumatera, the hybridity of the gonjong roof become more pronounced and some form into vernacular cases in Sumatera. More significantly, one can recognise that the double pitch of the Melaka Riau roof is a derivative of the side elevational expression of the Minangkabau form of the Rokan palace. For example is traing the evolution of the roof below from the Rokan roof, one can see that the Riau form appears to be a chamfered version of the Minang roof.

Figure 8: Istana Lindungan Bulan Pagaruyong

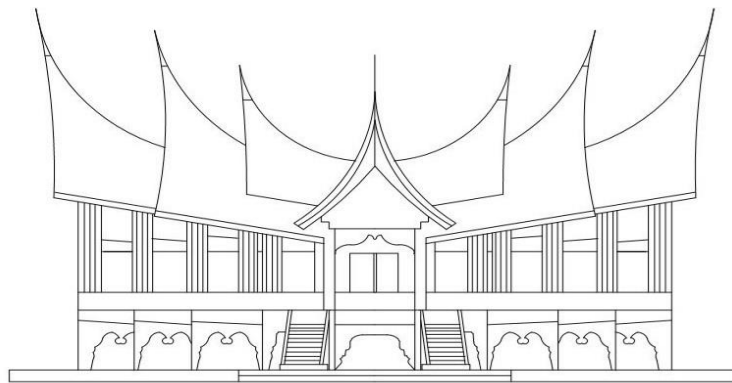


Figure 9: Rumah Tradisional Melayu Riau Atap Lipat Kajang



Figure 10: Rumah Melayu Atap Lontik or Rumah Lancang



THE EVOLVEMENT OF THE MALAY PUBLIC ARCHETYPES

1. The Binuclear Form

A range of Malay palatial frontage forms are symmetrically divided into two equal protrusions, with the middle section pulled internally. Not only that but the Sahilan palaces reflect both full pyramidal and chamfered pyramidal roof forms as seen in other palaces. Its compact form can be later linked to the Deli palace in Serdang, the Rahmah palace in Kangsar, the Leban Tunggal palace of Pahang and the Teluk Belanga palace of Johor in Singapore, built in 1815, but which has not been decimated. This had evolved elsewhere.

Figure 11: Baitul Rahmah, 1911

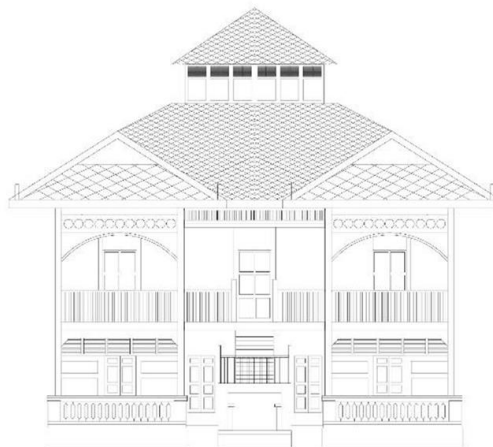


Figure 12: The Last Palaces of The Malay World in Singapore



2. The Central Axial Forms

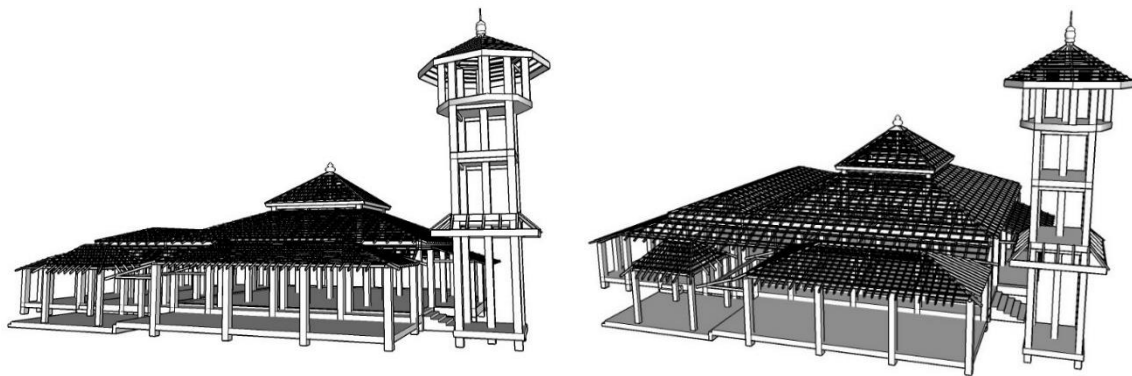
This remains one of the most dominant archetype from which other branches have evolved. In façade terms, the axial forms can be seen everywhere in the Malay world. The beginning of the 16th century, Tome Pires, a Portuguese explorer, noted in his book, *Summa Oriental* that the cities on the east coast of Sumatra between an area he called the Arcata (around Aru and Rokan) to Jambi were merchant ports dominated by kings from what is now West Sumatra. It was mentioned that, Minangkabau traders established trading villages along the Siak, Kampar, Rokan and Indragiri Rivers, and local residents established semiautonomous empires that were given freedom to manage their internal affairs but were required to pay tribute to the Minangkabau kings. Yet the more three-dimensionally centrally designed axial form can be found in the multi-tier forms of religious structures. The origins of the central, multi-tier form, as reflected in the candis of Bujang valley, can be traced to the centrally planned multi-tiered mosque forms scattered throughout the Nusantara. The culmination in the majestic and iconic Islamic forms of the kingdom of Demak is known better as the centre of the pyramidal forms of Mosque architecture, yet early beginning can also be traced to Aceh. Indrapuri is one such example, and its masonry hybrid forms reflect other ancient Classical mosques in the region. It was known that the mosque was an Islamic centre in ancient Aceh, Indrapuri Mosque was known to be constructed between 1607-1636. The mosque is particularly known as it was built on top of the base of a former 12th-century Hindu temple from the Hindu Kingdom of Lamuri which had reigned in the North Sumatra before the 12th century. It is believed that the kingdom had fought against navy from China, and Lamuri kings emerged as victors with the help of Meurah Johan of the Islamic Linga dynasty, and later became a Lamuri king as an adherent of Islam.

Masjid Kampung Laut, can be argued as a basic tiered form, represent a splintering ancient form from this typology or root form which can be traced back to the beginnings of the 'negeri' based civilisations of the Malay world. It was built in the 15th century by a group of fishers consisting Pattani, Jawa and Brunei sea routers. Its style is largely typical of local traditional architecture, and climate-appropriate, similar to local houses in the area. The original mosque had a basic architectural style, structure with four pillars and had palm fronds for the roof. By virtue of architectural resemblance, it is said that the mosque was the original Masjid Agung Demak that was built in 1401.

The mosque was relocated from its original site to Kampung Laut (hence the name). However, there was no strong evidence to support this. During the reign of the Sultan of Kelantan between 1859 and 1900, the mosque became an important meeting point for

the Sultans and religious leaders. The mosque was also used as a trading post. During this period, the mosque was expanded and upgraded with 20 pillars, a three-tiered roof, a tower (for muezzin to call for prayers), an attic, and a water tank while the flooring was made of well quality Timber.

Figure 13: Views of Masjid Kampung Laut

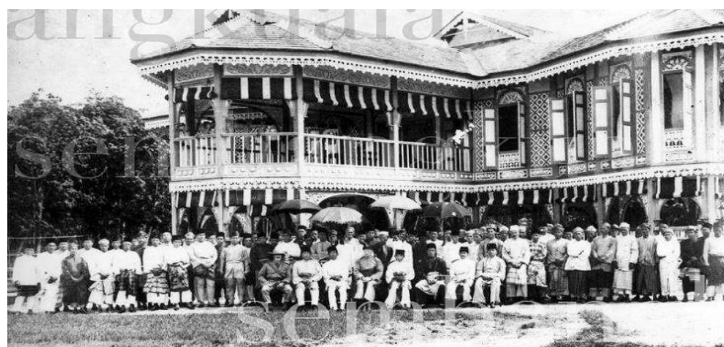


The same form has evolved in Melaka to become an iconic reference to Melaka identity, as it was a polity that has brought to the rebirth of the hybrid language in terms its mosques and public buildings. Aceh which had earlier received Islam through footholds in Pastises the conversion of temples into mosque by 15th century, have also a slew of centrally planned mosques reflecting such mosques forms.

PERAK ARCHITECTURE, THE PERABUNG FORM AND THE LEGACY OF MELAKA

When Melaka disintegrated, it was the end of an era. Sultan Muzaffar Shah, one of the surviving princes had relocated in Perak which can be argued as the legacy of Melaka. Until today, the refined character of Perak palaces recall the deep and binding relationships between Sultan and his ‘tukang’ or wood-carving craftsmen. The architecture of Perak is thus the reflections of a lineage descendant of a royal genealogy which began again after the fall of Melaka. While the palace of Melaka no longer survives, one can argue that a surviving palace known as Istana Lembah bears the extremely refined legacy of Melaka. Istana Lembah is a precursor to Istana Kenangan and is a revised version of the Istana Sri Sayong, the first palace constructed by the Sultan’s of Melaka on re-establishing their Sultanate in Kuala Kangsar.

Figure 14: Istana Lembah, Kuala Kangsar



Its refined woodwork and artosanship recall the same degree of timber craftsmanship in pone of the public palaces to which to link and relate a theory of origins in the Malay world, Istana Rokan Hulu. Both are timber Classical form which can be typologically linked to the Malay civilisations, yet Istana Rokan survived as it is , while Istana Kenangna is a revised version of the original Istana Sri Sayong. One was built by the migrating Minangkabau diaspora originating from majestic 15th century Pagaruyong centre, while the other emanated from center of Melaka dynasty destroyed in 1511. Both demonstrate key characteristic of Classicality in its symmetry, proportion of roof to body to ground and proportions of Columns and windows to walls. Both roofs, one which has a dominant Minangkabau form in its gentle curvature of roof, and Istana Lembah has what is known as an achehnese lower pitched roof, have extremely carved walls, windows and side elevation. Istana Rokan's roof recalls the scissor like decorative finials of the Riau form, which indicates perhaps a link to the eventual evolution of the Distinctive and recognisable Riau roof and selembayung Malayu cross finial.

Another palace, in Cirebon, central Java, is the palace of Cirebon, and this recalls the centrally planned *pendopo* form . Built in 1447 and its architecture and interior are a blend of Sundanese, Javanese, Islamic, Chinese and Dutch styles, it recalls the classical 9 column type istana a pavilion with white-washed walls dotted with blue-and-white Delft tiles, a marble floor and ceiling hung with French chandeliers. The legacy of Majapahit is preserved in its small *pendopo* on soft carved brick bases. The carvings on the *pendopo* columns are 1940s copy of the ancient originals. An innovation is the use of brackets branching out from the columns. The main building features unusually tall pyramidal column bases. The ornament on the double braces of this building's *pendopo tumpang sari* ceiling are picked out by gilt. Another unusual feature in the eclectic complex is plaster and masonry columns feature a decoration that resembles reeding. Like other old sites around Cirebon, ceramics in walls are common here, although their use in the Kraton is more restrained.

Hence in summary, amongst the recurring features of structures from the key 'origins in terms of Classical form can be discerned

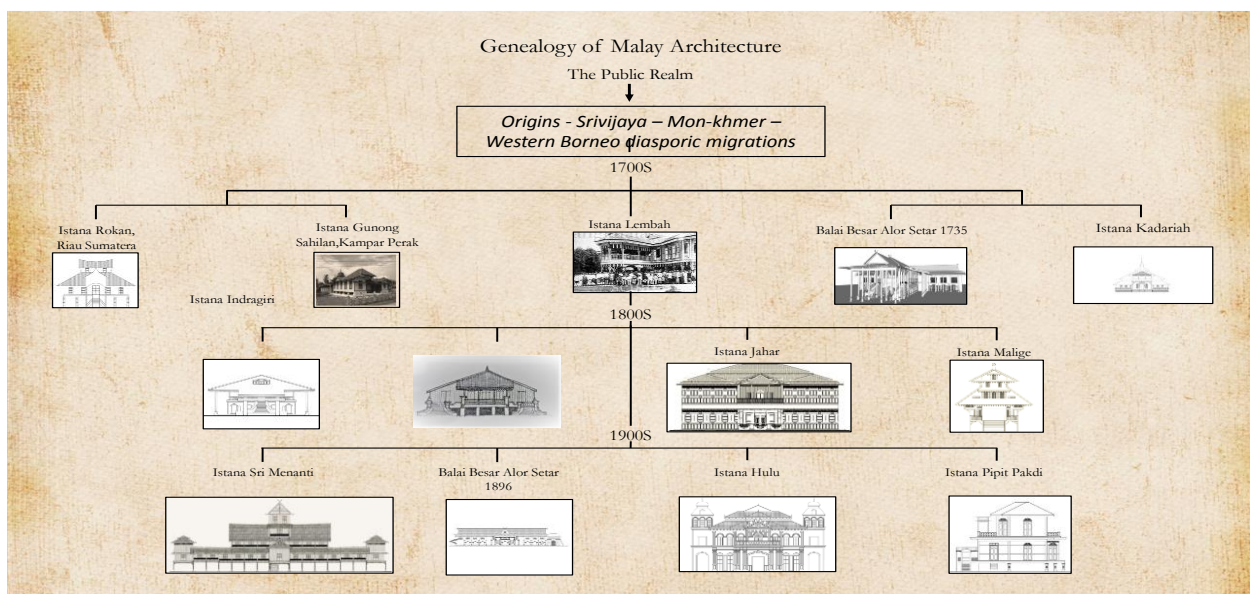
1. The linear form – either longitudinal or latitudinal layout configuration , as per Rokan Palace, and Istana Melaka , Istana Lembah, Istana sri Menanti and others
2. A 'deep' configuration is found in several basic forms with the projecting linear verandah which is characteristic of the Malayu cultural region. The linear form with projecting verandah represented by the Kadariah palace is also found in a more basic style in Sulawesi's Malige palace which are of similar basic form
3. The binuclear form appear intermittently i.e. which originally arose in Kampar yet recurred in Kangsar in the Baitul Rahmah and Pahang at later stage , can be found in other variations and large more complex permutations in the Baitul Rahmah, the Istana Leban Tunggal and the now destroyed Istana Teluk Belanga, which was anm all masonry palace built by the deposed Sultan of Joor iin 1815 in Singapore.
4. The central planned , peristyle form which can be seen in Indragiri, Pelalawan and archetypically in Nusanatara mosque as in Masjid Kampung Laut, and further in Eastern and middle Java such as Istana Cerebon and others.

The evolvement of the 'binuclear form' in various Malay palatial frontage forms follow an essential symmetrically divided form into two equal portrusion,with the middle section pulled internally. For example, the form in the Sahilan palace is not only binuclear but reflect a chamfered limas roof form as seen in other later palaces. Its compact form can be later linked to the Deli palace in Serdang, the Baitul Rahmah mansion in Kangsar, the Leban Tunggal palace of Pahang and the Teluk Belanga palace of Johor in Singapore, built in 1815, but which has been decimated. In contrast, the evolvement of the central multi-tier form reflects the origins

of the central, multi-tier form, reminiscing the tiered central forms of the candis of Bujang valley, which can be related to evolution the centrally planned multi-tiered mosques forms scattered throughout the Nusantara. The culmination in this formal “origin” were the majestic and iconic forms of the kingdom of Demak is known better as the centre of the pyramidal beginnings of a regionally baswd mosque architecture, yet early beginning can also be traced to Aceh. Indrapuri is one such example, and its masonry hybrid forms reflect other ancient Classical mosques in the region. Key streams in the origins of ornamental language and character

The ornamental characterisation of Malay architecture is so diverse that this demands a unifying framework. Figure 15 attempts to summarise the mapping into essentially three streams or styles or character that are observed throughout the variant palaces in the region . These three streams are seen more in the essential character and extent of their ornamentation which basically identifies the varied forms with the three main origins in streams of diasporic beginnings, yet which then intermingled and bred and rebred across times. This reflects similar evolvemets in terms of linguistic origin and evolvemets . The three streams are 1) the Western Borneo – Javanese stream – whose essential influence emerged and originated from East of the Nusantara including the beginnings of Ancient Majapahit and diffused into South Sumatera, Riau Lingga and even circumvented the Malay peninsular and affected legacies in Kelantan and Terrengganu; 2) the Srivijaya diaspora and origins and the Minangkabau stream which essentially travelled from the West of the region into the epitomes of Melaka and affected its dominions and its splintering sultanates after its fall; 2) the Mon Khmer stream ; which are linked to the ancient Langkasuka, Champa civilisations and were difussed into the Malay world from centuries of diasporic migrations. Figure 15 attempts to visualised not only the combination of these streams to account for the differences of the localities but the evolutionary changes in which every palace and mosque is essentially a combination of an ‘archetype’ or its variant ; and the ornamental streams and in-breeding or hybrid offshoots of these essential typologies or archetypes in both form and dressing , can acount for many of the palaces and stylisations found before and by the early 1900s.

Figure 15. The Proposed Origins and Streams in A Genealogy Of Malay Architectural Origins Based on Evolutionary Form and Language of The Public Realm



CONCLUSION

The Malay Classical form is not argued as an aesthetic or a set of rules that depict a uniform language but can be identified as several streams of formal and ornamental styles which result in hybrid variants. What is common is that it is a classicality that is more tectonic or constructive based aesthetic with the stylistic language and its classification influenced by the relationship between monarch and craftsmen. While in form, there are five archetypes, the classifications of structure and tectonics are 1) half column height plinth or base 2) combined half and full column stereotomic base; 3). The peristyle tectonic with core stereotomic base and 4) the fused tectonic -stereotomic systems. Further research will look into the elements and character that defines the essence of Malay Classical identity in these cases, reflecting the natural evolution of the Malay world. Diffusion of cultural forms and styles were channeled through trade and commerce links and dynamics. Metal and ceramic can be included in the discourse and variations, and from the natural evolution of timber houses, which essentially has included metal as key elements, and to full masonry mutations with infusions of cast iron. For example, the gradual evolution of the Balai Besar Kedah must be seen as a natural final evolution of the mature Classical style. Although Western presence had impacted on the stylistic trends began to show (Figure 15) i.e. the insertion of Regency arches, these are introduced as supportive design elements, the Malay Classical style is still the dominant form as the parameters remains Malay as embellishments have started to absorb a degree European stylisation. Compliance to the five aesthetic parameters (as presented by Tengku Anis et.al. 2018) remain, which are compliance with 1) the origin from the Sultanate-tukang social structure 2) the tectonic systems outlined above, 3) the stylistic character of archetypes 4) the ornamental style as evolved in Figure 15. The Classical style endures if during each time of renovations, key alternations were as principled alterations. Changes were made, but forms persisted and proportions remain, and hence genealogically rooted with disruptions of the Colonialist exerted and grafted, only externally.

While Osborne (2016) may refer to the Classical era of South East Asia by recalling the peak of monumental civilisational forms and symbolic centres of the 13th century, it can be argued that the Malay civilisational identity is rooted in what Reid (2016) mentions as "Negeri" which arise from trade links and smaller centers astriding coastal sites. Hence Classicality or the peak of these smaller polities can be averaged as around 18th to the end of 19th century. and in some sites, early 20th century. Taking the surviving oldest palaces and mosques one can deduce a range of archetypes formal "origins" which can be reframed in a theory of beginning. Definitions of the vernacular is crucial to the development of heritage management, preservation, development of urban policy and place-making regionalism in a region, whose heritage is increasingly disappearing at a rapid rate. The Malay world is characterised by a constant destruction of its heritage, yet they are still united by a common heritage, linguistically and architecturally, and while it is a challenge to unite such a diversity that arose based on its geographic and archipelagic context, it is a necessary to find common grounds, characterisation and definitions, as to be able to link to the roots and beginnings of the Malay world. The common expressions of architectural language becomes a testament of the ability to unite and to absorb the new without compromising its origins.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors would like to thank and acknowledge the Transdisciplinary Research Fund (TRGS16-03-001-001- Characterization of Rules of Malay Architectural Language and Its

Environmental Performance) from Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia (MoHE) for the support of this research.

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