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Dutch Wars, Global Trade, and the Heroic Poem:
Dryden's *Annus mirabilis* (1666) and Amin's
Sya'ir perang Mengkasar (1670)

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When the United Provinces fought England in the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–67), they were also warring in Southeast Asia with the kingdom of Makassar, in South Sulawesi in eastern Indonesia (1666–69). Although fought half a globe apart, they were interconnected wars over access to (and monopoly of) the lucrative spice trade: one was fought at the point of supply, the other at the point of sale or delivery. The English participated in the Southeast Asian war as allies of Makassar. The wars incited the production of texts on either side of the globe. John Dryden's English *Annus mirabilis* (1666) and Amin's Malay *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar* (1670), or the *Rhymed Chronicle of the Makassar War*, were written in the heroic mode by poets supporting a "court" view of the wars. Amin was the Makassar king's scribe, while *Annus mirabilis* probably helped get Dryden appointed poet laureate in 1668.¹ Dryden described the naval battles in lofty, mythic terms and defended the court's war decisions, leaving out the baser reality that members of the king's Privy Council had investments in the East India Company, whose fortune depended on the out-

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1. Edward Niles Hooker and H. T. Swedenberg Jr., eds., commentary on *Annus mirabilis*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), 259. All quotations from Dryden's poem are from this edition and are given parenthetically by line number.

come of the war;² Amin's courtly perspective celebrated the heroism of Makassarese warriors.

Both poems are concerned with the questions of nation, empire, and cross-cultural contact through trade. As small but expanding maritime states on the edges of the Eurasian continent, founded not on territorial holdings but seaborne trade networks, Holland, England, and Makassar were similar polities. The poems show how these states mutually defined each other—not in terms of an East-West binary but out of a complex welter of shifting engagements in which Europeans often functioned as allies of Asian rulers and of each other's rivals. When read in tandem, the two poems reveal how the Second Anglo-Dutch War was not just a European war but part of a global contest.

In the early modern period there was no reason to expect Dryden's poem to become better known than Amin's. Southeast Asia was the center of a Eurasian trading network on which the world's merchants converged, whereas England, having few desirable exports, was launching voyages of discovery in an anxious attempt to enter Asian trade. English was an insular language, not yet widely spoken, while Malay served as *lingua franca* for commercial relations in the region. The early sixteenth-century Portuguese traveler António Galvão observed that in the East Indies "the number of languages is so great that even neighbours do not, so to speak, understand each other. Today they use the Malay tongue, which most people speak, and it is employed throughout the islands, like Latin in Europe."³ Two centuries later, Malay's importance had not waned. In the early eighteenth century, François Valentijn, vicar of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ambon who collected the manuscript of Amin's poem, also asserted the importance of Malay: "Certainly Portuguese and the Malay language are two languages with which one can reach all peoples directly, not only in Batavia, but indeed through the whole Indies up to Persia."⁴ English factors posted in Southeast Asia learned Malay to conduct business. The Dutch explorer Frederick de Houtman's dictionary

2. Michael McKeon, *Politics and Poetry in Restoration England: The Case of Dryden's "Annus mirabilis"* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), chap. 3.

3. "São tantas he tão desvairadas que quasi ne não entendem os vizinhos huns a outros. Prezam-se aguora do malayo e os mais ho ffallão e servem-se dela por toda a terra como latim na Eyropa" (António Galvão, quoted in Luis Filipe F. R. Thomas, "Maluco e Malaca," in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a questão das Molucas*, ed. A. Teixeira da Mota [Lisbon: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1975], 33; cited by Ferdinand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 3 vols. [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982–84], 3:528).

4. "Dog de Portugeesche en de Maleitze taal zyn de twee taalen, waar mede men niet alleen op Batavia, maar zelf door gansch Indiën, tot in Persiën toe, met allerlei volkeren te recht kan raken" (François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien*, 5 vols. [Dordrecht, 1724–26], 4.1:367 [my translation]).

and grammar of Malay (and the Madagascar language), *Spraeck ende woord-boeck inde Maleysche ende Madagaskarsche talen* (1603), was translated into Latin by Gotthard Arthus (published in 1613) and translated into English a year later by Augustine Spaulding, an English East India Company factor.⁵ That Amin's poem is now not widely known has little to do with seventeenth-century realities: its obscurity is part of a myth, one created by a narrow focus on European source material. Unless Southeast Asian works are brought into the discussion, accounts of early modern cross-cultural contact will remain problematically one-sided.

In reading Dryden against Amin, I want to make visible Southeast Asia's place in history and so "provincialize" England, in Dipesh Chakrabarty's terms, to subvert the notion that Europe instantiated modernity.⁶ I juxtapose England in the furthest northwest against the far southeast of Eurasia, to which so many English merchants ventured seeking spices, to insist on their coevalness.⁷ Southeast Asia's significance, particularly after the tenth century when Chinese, Arabs, Indians, and others met there to trade, has been overlooked. As Tomé Pires remarked in his *Suma Oriental* (1512–15), "Malacca is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world; . . . the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malacca. . . . Whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice."⁸

Even more so than Melaka, the Maluku (Moluccas) or Spice Islands captured the European imagination; Spenser glorified Elizabeth by writing that her praise extends to the "margent of the *Moluccas*."⁹ In his *Tratado dos descobrimentos* (1563), António Galvão views European discoveries as simultaneous expansions to both the East and the West to meet in the Pacific antimeridian of the Treaty of Tordesillas, thus offering, as Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam suggest, "a worldview in which the imagined centre lies in fact in the Moluccas."¹⁰ To reach this center, Eu-

5. Gotthard Arthus, *Dialogues in the English and Malaiane Languages*, trans. Augustine Spaulding (London, 1614).

6. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton University Press, 2000).

7. Johannes Fabian calls the way that anthropology locates other cultures outside of modernity the "denial of coevalness" (*Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Objects* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1983], 31).

8. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, trans. and ed. Armando Cortesão, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 2:286–87.

9. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, rev. 2nd ed. (Harlow: Longman, 2007), 5.10.3.

10. Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 340. See António Galvão, *Tratado dos descobrimentos*, ed. Visconde de Lagoa and Elaine Sanceau, 3rd ed. (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1944). Galvão spent time in the Maluku and wrote a treatise on the region. See Hubert

Europeans were driven to find an alternate route to Asia, breaking their dependency on middlemen, including Arabs, Ottomans, and Venetians. As the main producer of spices, Southeast Asia was arguably the ultimate end of European exploration. Too often simply subsumed under the larger rubric of the “East Indies” both in early modern texts and in modern English literary scholarship, Southeast Asia needs to be seen on its own terms and through its own texts. Even though these two poems do not speak directly to each other, the heroic form they took and the themes they invoked came out of closely connected events that were part of early modern globalization, encompassing economic transactions and cultural exchanges. The term *globalization* usually refers to the increasingly connected and intertwined economies of our contemporary world, with relatively free movement of capital, goods, and people, and social integration through new communication technologies.¹¹ The early modern world obviously did not witness this form of economic integration, but it was nonetheless a world where economies were becoming more closely linked through long-distance trade. The trade network centered in Asia was longstanding; its history exposes the poverty of “universalist narratives of capital” that leave non-Europe always struggling behind.¹²

The early modern Asian economy, comprising the three linked economic spheres of the Arab world, India, and China, was undoubtedly a world economy in which trade was conducted over considerable distances long before the arrival of Europeans. Some evidence, though slender, dates commercial voyages from Persia to China back to the Sassanid pre-Islamic period; substantial evidence shows such trade existed during the Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphates.¹³ The rise of Islam around the southern Mediterranean and into Spain was followed by expansion into the Indian Ocean; foreign merchants in Tang-era China included “Manichaean Uighur Turks from Central Asia, Mazdeans and Nestorian Christians from Persia, Hindus and Buddhists from both South and Southeast Asia, and the Japanese and Koreans.”¹⁴ In the later medieval period, Arab and Chi-

Jacobs, ed., *A Treatise on the Moluccas (c.1544): Probably the Preliminary Version of António Galvão's Lost "História das Molucas"* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971).

11. In *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: Norton, 2003), the Nobel prize-winning economist Joseph E. Stiglitz criticizes such proponents of globalization as the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and the World Bank for believing that the free market will solve the world's ills; instead, he finds widening economic disparities.

12. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 14.

13. See George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, rev. and expanded by John Carswell (1951; Princeton University Press, 1995), 46–50, 61–79.

14. Patricia Risso, *Merchants and Faith: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995), 24–25. She notes, “There is considerable literary evidence

nese traders would meet halfway in the Malay Peninsula.¹⁵ The fifteenth century saw the rise of Melaka on the Peninsula to become a great entrepôt. In his history of Melaka, written shortly after the Portuguese conquest of 1511, Tomé Pires lists more than sixty peoples who had traded there, coming not just from the region but also from India and China and from the Middle East, including “Moors from Cairo, Mecca, Aden, Abyssinians, men of Kilwa, Malindi, Ormuz, Parsees, *Rumes*, Turks, Turkomans, Christian Armenians.”¹⁶ Southeast Asians themselves were no mean sailors: Anthony Reid notes, “The first Portuguese chroniclers described the Javanese around 1500 as dominating the trade in Indonesian waters, including Melaka in the west and Maluku in the east. . . . Their Melaka-based vessels regularly made the voyage to China, where Pires (1515: 122–23) reported they were obliged to anchor offshore because the Chinese were rightly afraid that ‘one of these people’s junks would rout twenty Chinese junks.’”¹⁷ Indeed, Pires suggests that, earlier, the Javanese sailed as far as Aden.¹⁸

My brief summary of the scope of Asian trade spanning from the Middle East to China is meant to reorient our perspectives—that is, dislodge Europe from its presumptive centrality. Asian seaborne trade is mostly overlooked by scholars of European history and literature, who emphasize instead the more recent European voyages. Moreover, it is often assumed that Europeans led in capitalist developments while others lagged far behind. Yet a number of financial innovations important to capitalism were developed by non-Europeans: the decimal system and the numeral zero (India); the *qirad* contract that allowed small merchants to pool capital and spread risk (sixth-century Arabia); paper money (ninth-century China); bills of exchange, with the “demand note,” or *suftaja*, and “order to pay,” or *hawala*; credit institutions; and insurance and banking (Islamic

of merchants from Siraf and Omani ports trading on the coasts of China during the early Abbasid period” (25), citing Jean Sauvaget, ed. and trans., *Akhbar as-Sin wa l’Hin* [Akhbar al-Sin wa al-Hind]: *Relation de la Chine et de l’Inde* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1948).

15. When Ibn Battuta traveled to China and Southeast Asia in the fourteenth century, sailings were made in Chinese ships (Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 83; for Ibn Battuta’s journeys, see Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century*, rev. ed. [1986; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005]). During the Song dynasty, Middle Eastern merchants owned “Fleets of China-built vessels [that] sailed from China to India and to the Persian Gulf” (Risso, *Merchants and Faith*, 28). Large oceangoing Chinese vessels would reach their apogee in the fifteenth-century Ming treasure fleets with the involvement of southern Chinese Muslims.

16. Pires, *Suma Oriental*, 2:268.

17. Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680*, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 2:39.

18. Pires, *Suma Oriental*, 1:174; on Southeast Asian shipping and transport, see Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 2:36–61.

and pre-Islamic Middle East), for which the “Italians . . . [were] wrongly accredited with the discovery.”¹⁹

Describing a Eurasian world system from 1250 to 1350 with “increased economic integration and cultural efflorescence” centered in the Middle East and Asia, Janet Abu-Lughod calls into question the claim that the first world system emerged in fifteenth-century Europe, a claim associated with Immanuel Wallerstein and Fernand Braudel.²⁰ Recently, Jack Goody takes Braudel to task for defining “true capitalism” narrowly as finance capitalism and so confining the fullest flowering of capitalism to Europe.²¹ Nonetheless, Braudel’s monumental *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century* is more nuanced than most, contradictorily discovering capitalist features in Asian trade. Reminding us not to evaluate capitalist development in the East by looking for specifically European economic institutions, he notes that in place of the stock exchanges of London or Amsterdam, there were in Asia regular meetings among large merchants and also numerous fairs.²² He contends, “Everywhere, from Egypt to Japan, we shall find genuine capitalists, wholesalers, the rentiers of trade, and their thousands of auxiliaries—the commission agents, brokers, money-changers” with techniques comparable to the West.²³ Braudel argues that in the sixteenth century, the “populated regions of the world . . . seem to us to be quite close to each other, on terms of equality or nearly so.”²⁴ The subsequent, equally monumental work of K. N. Chaudhuri on the economic history of India discovers great merchant princes equal to the Medicis and Fuggers of Europe.²⁵

Extending Abu-Lughod’s insights, economic historians such as Chaudhuri, R. Bin Wong, Andre Gunder Frank, and Kenneth Pomeranz find Europe gaining an edge only in the late eighteenth century or later.²⁶

19. John Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 119–20.

20. Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York: Academic, 1974); Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*. See also Risso, *Merchants and Faith*, 50–54.

21. Jack Goody, *The Theft of History* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 180–211.

22. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, 2:125–33.

23. *Ibid.*, 3:486.

24. *Ibid.*, 2:134.

25. On merchant princes Virji Vohra and Cassa Verona, see K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660–1760* (Cambridge University Press, 1978), 138, 258. On the similarities between Eastern and Western merchants, see Michel Morineau, “Eastern and Western Merchants from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Sushil Chaudhuri and Michel Morineau (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 116–44.

26. K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), and *Asia before Europe: Economy and*

Although Europeans attempted to monopolize trade in Asia, they were unable to displace other traders completely, and Asian maritime trade continued to flourish.²⁷ A well-known example of the fragility of European monopolies is the case of Portuguese control over the Malabar pepper trade, which long had to contend with armed resistance and native "piracy."²⁸ The Portuguese had little effect; there was no increase in the quantity of spices reaching Europe before the seventeenth century, and the Portuguese share of the clove market was only an eighth of Maluku's total production.²⁹ Michael Pearson sees them as irrelevant since the bulk of spices was consumed in Asia.³⁰ Existing Asian networks persisted and sometimes merely rerouted to bypass loci of European control, as was the case after the Portuguese capture of Melaka.³¹ Moreover, Europeans had to pay bullion for spices, silk, and porcelain even as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, since "Asians wanted few goods from Europe" so that "all Europeans in Asia were in the position of having to purchase with cash."³² This applied also to the Dutch, even though the

Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750 (Cambridge University Press, 1990); R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton University Press, 2000).

27. J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1955).

28. Anne Pérotin-Dumon, "The Pirate and the Emperor: Power and the Law on the Seas, 1450–1850," in *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade, 1350–1750*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 223–24; see also Michael N. Pearson, "Corruption and Corsairs in Sixteenth-Century Western India: A Functional Analysis," in *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia Before Domination*, ed. Blair B. King and Michael Pearson (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979), and *The Portuguese in India* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 44–51; and Denys Lombard, "Y a-t-il une continuité des réseaux marchands asiatiques?" in *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine 13e–20e siècles*, ed. Denys Lombard and J. Aubin (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1988), 11–18.

29. Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), 95–103, 157–69; L. F. Thomaz, "Portuguese Sources in Sixteen Century Indian Economic History," in *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, ed. John Correia-Affonso (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1981), 101.

30. M. N. Pearson, "India and the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century," in *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800*, ed. Ashin Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987), 90.

31. Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 2:208–14.

32. Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 941. Om Prakash shows that even between 1660 and 1720, with a successful intra-Asian trade, goods comprised only 12.4 percent of Dutch imports into Bengal and

seventeenth century was the period of their “world trade primacy.”³³ Jonathan Israel notes that even for the most successful European case in the seventeenth century, the Dutch East Indies Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC), “there were limits to what the Dutch could achieve in Asia by force and diplomacy” since they had not only other European powers resisting them but “also a plethora of powerful Asian states which were by no means willing simply to acquiesce in Dutch trade supremacy.”³⁴ Rather than seeing European domination, Holden Furber calls it an “age of partnership.”³⁵

To complement comparative economic history, we need to engage in comparative literary analysis. To read cross-cultural contact solely from the evidence of European texts inevitably produces views of European domination. The agency of non-Europeans needs to be recognized. Southeast Asia offers a body of texts that can be fruitfully read in counterpoint to the English canon, but early modern scholars working on English travel narratives and representations of the Indies, however, have not attended to Asian language material.³⁶ As Jack Goody argues, “Literature has become ‘comparative literature’ but the range of comparison is usually limited to a few European sources; the east is ignored, oral cultures unconsidered.”³⁷ With few exceptions, such as Nabil Matar’s work on Arabic or the work of Richard McCabe and Patricia Palmer on Irish Celtic, minor and non-Western languages have been given short shrift.³⁸ Palmer argues that to attend only to English-language texts, even when

20.6 percent of English imports to all of Asia, with bullion making up the rest (*Precious Metals and Commerce: The Dutch East India Company in the Indian Ocean Trade* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994]).

33. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 941. See also Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

34. Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 185–86.

35. Holden Furber, “Asia and the West as Partners before ‘Empire’ and after,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 28 (1969): 711–21, and *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600–1800* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976).

36. Literary critics writing on Southeast Asia have done so solely from an English perspective: see Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Michael Neill, “Putting History to the Question: An Episode of Torture at Bantam in Java, 1604,” *English Literary Renaissance* 25 (1995): 45–75; and Shankar Raman, *Framing “India”: The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

37. Goody, *Theft of History*, 305.

38. Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003), and *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578–1727* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Richard McCabe, *Spenser’s Monstrous Regiment: Elizabethan Ireland and the Poetics of Difference* (Oxford University Press, 2002); and Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

using Saidean “contrapuntal analysis,” cannot give voice to the marginalized native. Questioning ventriloquism, Palmer is rightly skeptical that “a genuine dialogue can be opened up within the master texts of the colonizing nation.”³⁹ To escape the linguistic colonial trap, we cannot merely listen to Shakespeare’s Irish MacMorris but must cross language borders to develop an alternate “space of translation,” in Homi Bhabha’s phrase.⁴⁰

By expanding our field of inquiry, we can begin to understand world literatures as interactions in “contact zones,” in Mary Louise Pratt’s resonant term for “social spaces where cultures, meet, clash and grapple with each other.”⁴¹ In this essay, I offer one form of reading comparatively in contact zones by bringing together literary works from a Western and a non-Western tradition, both of which respond to interrelated world events. In contradistinction to Franco Moretti’s advocacy of “distant reading,” I argue for a comparative reading that allows for a broader context of global engagements for literary analysis—going beyond direct borrowings, translations, or imitations—without jettisoning valuable close reading.⁴²

The Anglo-Dutch and Makassar wars were not regional but world events in the 1660s; they were connected contests over maritime dominance fought in many parts of the world. One VOC action during the Second Anglo-Dutch War was to capture the English fort on Pulo Run (Pulau Run), one of the Banda islands in South Sulawesi, in 1665. Jonathan Israel suggests the commercial aspects of the wars, where the VOC’s “main European opponents were the English,” and contends that “the foremost loophole in the Dutch trading system in the Archipelago, and chief thorn in the side of the VOC, was the sultanate of Macassar, which had long been the ally of whoever opposed the VOC.”⁴³ Israel sees the conquest of Makassar and the Second Anglo-Dutch War as different prongs of the same initiative; the two Dutch wars were a response to English success “in siphoning off pepper and spices through Macassar, Bantam, and other loopholes in the Dutch system.”⁴⁴ In contradistinction to the proponents of a commercial basis for the Anglo-Dutch wars—Michael Brenner, who views the Anglo-Dutch wars as primarily commercial conflicts,

39. Patricia Palmer, “Missing Bodies, Absent Bards: Spenser, Shakespeare and a Crisis in Criticism,” *English Literary Renaissance* 36 (2006): 382.

40. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 25.

41. Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* 91 (1991): 33–40.

42. Franco Moretti, “Conjectures on World Literature,” *New Left Review*, n.s., 1 (2000): 54–68. Moretti elaborates on “distant reading” in *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005).

43. Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 253.

44. Ibid., 246. On the Anglo-Dutch wars, see Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 713–26, 766–76, 796–97, 812–13; on the Dutch colonial empire, see 934–56.

and Israel, who sees the English desire for political union in the 1650s as a way to halt “Dutch economic expansion” by means other than war—Steven Pincus argues that the English feared that the Dutch were aiming at universal dominion and “seeking to use a trade monopoly as the foundation of a universal monarchy.”⁴⁵ However, political and religious factors were inextricably intertwined with the economic rivalry of the two maritime states as they found ways to justify alliances with Muslims against fellow Protestants. Even Pincus concedes, “By 1654 it was clear to most English observers that for a universal monarchy to succeed in compelling the rest of the world to submit to his will, he would have to control the world’s trade. The fantastic wealth of the Indies—both East and West—allowed the aspiring universal monarchy to maintain large armies, to bribe and corrupt foreign politicians, and, if necessary, to bring entire states to their knees by means of economic warfare.”⁴⁶ The key role of the Indies means that the Anglo-Dutch wars cannot be examined in isolation, particularly the Second Anglo-Dutch War’s close relation to the VOC’s war with Makassar.

“Connected histories” have far-reaching effects, even beyond the contact zone, to what we might think of as the national core, for global engagements would come also to constitute national identities.⁴⁷ Such an approach moves away from an assumption of alterity to note where there are patterns of similitude between Europeans and their others. In the seventeenth century, Dutch and English state centralization and aggrandizement at home and abroad had a counterpart in the state centralization and expansion in South Sulawesi in the rise of the kingdom of Makassar. The Anglo-Dutch wars and the Makassar war were linked historical events in a complex system with multiple participants. English, Dutch, Amboinese, Makassarese, Malays, and others were bound together in an intricate network of alliance and competition whose contours were unstable and changing. So let me turn to the poems.

“THE FATAL REGIONS WHERE THE WAR BEGUN”:
ANNUS MIRABILIS AND THE INDIES

Written as propaganda for the Second Anglo-Dutch War, Dryden’s *Annus mirabilis* has been read as both a poem of empire and a poem of nation. Dry-

45. Michael Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London’s Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton University Press, 1993); Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 207; Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1688* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 260.

46. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 448.

47. The term comes from Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997): 735–62.

den's imperial mode, his "awareness of a restored England's imperial aspirations," is expressed by his Vergilianism, making England into Rome against Holland's Carthage.⁴⁸ But his imperialism is in the service of nationalism, healing political divisions "through the construction of empire."⁴⁹ The poem uses twin strategies of vilifying the Dutch—Steven Zwicker argues that Dryden aims "to distinguish the entire nation from the Dutch"⁵⁰—and celebrating the heroism of war generals Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle to forge a sense of national identity and to imagine an imperial future. The patriotic energies generated by the text focus on King Charles II's Augustan status as a paternal guiding figure, or, in Zwicker's reading of the poem, as providential history, as "salvific."⁵¹ Zwicker says, "Dryden's stanzas associate empire, abundance, and solicitude with the king; they heighten valor as a princely motive and argue commercial gain as the national will."⁵² In these readings intertwining empire and nation, the poem offers a vision of an ascendant England ruling the oceans.

More recently, scholars who read *Annus mirabilis* as Dryden's clearest expression of an imperialist imagination observe that the poem is not unequivocally confident. Laura Brown notes that Dryden evinces "anxiety about the fate of empire . . . in the evocation of danger and risk that accompanies his representation of the new expansionist mode," while Suvir Kaul discusses how "the poem does qualify the bullish, expansionist view of trade and commerce that accompanies the celebration of English might and victories in the poem."⁵³ Sophie Gee's examination of the trope of

48. David Bruce Kramer, *The Imperial Dryden: The Poetics of Appropriation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 72. For Dryden's Vergilianism, see Paul Hammond, *Dryden and the Traces of Classical Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). The comparison to the Punic War was already current in the propaganda of the First Anglo-Dutch War: see Marchamond Nedham and Andrew Marvell's "The Character of Holland," lines 141–42 (Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 92).

49. David Haven Blake, "The Politics of Commercial Language in Dryden's *Annus mirabilis*," *Criticism* 34 (1992): 344. For Dryden's use of Vergilian patriarchalism to achieve "nationalist coherence," see McKeon, *Politics and Poetry*, 101; for the poem's political context, see 79–98. For another reading of Dryden's "capitalist poetics," see Timothy Morton, *The Poetics of Spice: Romantic Consumerism and the Exotic* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 75–80.

50. Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649–1689* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 102. See also J. A. van der Welle, *Dryden and Holland* (Groningen: Wolters, 1962).

51. Steven N. Zwicker, *Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1972), 78, but see generally 78–83 and McKeon, *Politics and Poetry*, 47–78.

52. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority*, 102.

53. Laura Brown, "Dryden and the Imperial Imagination," in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, ed. Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 68; Suvir Kaul, *Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire: English Verse in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 76. On the conflict between absolutism and mercantilism,

wasteland associated with the Great Fire finds “the celebratory register of Dryden’s poem . . . arrested at certain key moments.”⁵⁴ Robert Markley notes tension as “Dryden had to contend in his poem not only with the effects of war, plague, and fire, but also with the knowledge the hostilities had strengthened the hold of the VOC on trade to the Far East.”⁵⁵ Doubts trouble the apparently smooth surface of the poem, even as Dryden’s art “transmutes the disasters of 1666 to harbingers of a heroic, and profitable, future for the nation.”⁵⁶

Still, even the scholars who moderate claims for the poem’s imperial mode see its ambivalences largely in terms of anxiety over whether England can fulfill its imperial destiny, and even when they examine the poem’s relation to empire, critics largely focus on domestic or European contexts. Given the tangled web of trade alliances, a simple dichotomy of imperial arrogance versus anxiety cannot sufficiently account for the complexities of *Annus mirabilis*. Shifting the context to see the Indies as fundamental to the poem makes visible its unmooring and destabilization of English identity.

Territorial empire is not what the poem envisions for England. Networks of trade offer another model of empire, one I shall call empire on the periphery. Such empires on the periphery are bids for domination of trade networks rather than territory and show full awareness of a marginalized position. The issue of how such circulatory networks link distant places emerges as a key underlying anxiety of the poem since such linkages blur boundaries between (incipient) early modern states. Despite the polarizing nature of war poems, neither Dryden’s *Annus mirabilis* nor Amin’s *Sya’ir perang Mengkasar* imagine relations narrowly along an East-West axis.

Annus mirabilis begins with an acute awareness that England’s enemy, Holland, occupies the position England desires, even if at the poem’s close London is imagined as a “fam’d Emporium” (1205) to which resort merchants of the world. Dryden’s opening complaint frames Holland as the dominant economic force:

In thriving Arts long time had *Holland* grown,
Crouching at home, and cruel when abroad:
.....

see Laura Brown, “The Ideology of Restoration Poetic Form: John Dryden,” *PMLA* 97 (1982): 395–407.

54. Sophie Gee, “The Invention of the Wasteland: Civic Narrative and Dryden’s *Annus mirabilis*,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29 (2005): 90.

55. Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1730* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 155.

56. *Ibid.*, 156.

Thither the wealth of all the world did go,
And seem'd but shipwrack'd on so base a Coast.

(1-2, 7-8)

The poem's beginning, defining Holland as the center to which all wealth flows, is exactly what its end tries to project for England's future, a vision that must be seen ultimately as compensatory. For the Low Countries had become the center of the universe:

The Sun but seem'd the Lab'rer of their Year;
Each waxing Moon suppli'd her watry store,
To swell those Tides, which from the Line did bear
Their brim-full Vessels to the *Belg'an* shore.

(13-16)

This view of Dutch centrality suggests as a corollary English marginality. In lamenting Dutch monopoly, Dryden pits two models of the world against each other. The model of circulation is the proper one, which the English, Dryden claims, will reinstate with their defeat of the Dutch. The other, the Dutch model, is a monopolistic engrossing of trade.

However, the commercial nature of a trading empire unmoors any firm notions of centers and peripheries. The oppositions erected by *Annus mirabilis* collapse as the poem overturns the structure of center and margin in Anglo-Dutch relations. Present is a strong English desire to become like the wealthy Dutch, but the English navy faced a morale problem as the soldiers were not paid promptly but issued IOUs in the form of tickets. In the devastating Battle of Chatham (the Raid on Medway) in June 1667, Pepys reports that some English prisoners of war even joined the Dutch enemy, shouting, "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for Dollers."⁵⁷ While this was still in the future, the blurring of Dutch and English is already present in the poem. For as much as Dryden makes the Dutch to be the English's opposites, their similarities come quickly to the fore as in the description of the contending armies:

These fight like Husbands, but like Lovers those:
These fain would keep, and those more fain enjoy:
And to such height their frantick passion grows,
That what both love, both hazard to destroy.

(109-12)

In *Annus mirabilis*, differences between English and Dutch are ultimately differences that render them the same. While husbands may have

57. Entry for June 14, 1667, in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 8, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 267.

better legal rights, lovers perhaps have more of an emotional claim. The analogies suggest a passionate intimacy in the relations between Europeans and the Indies, but they also reveal the intricate bonds ensnaring all three parties. Both England and Holland are competing for possession of the wealth of the Indies. If that relation is figured in terms of desire and passion, that desire is always already triangulated.

These triangulated relations are described in terms of circulation, a mode that again blurs the poem's oppositions. Using natural cycles to describe the Dutch monopoly, Dryden changes empire's definition, shoring up a relational view of it rather than one defined by territorial conquest or colonial expansion. Neither Holland's new empire nor the hoped-for English one is defined by territory. Dryden's poem marks a historical shift from Spanish dominance, with a land-based empire, to the rise of northern European states, of which Holland was foremost in the seventeenth century. In the new empire of exchange and circulation, the sea takes on a prominent role. Dryden traces shipping's beginnings from a floating log to English mastery of the seas:

Instructed ships shall sail to quick Commerce;
By which remotest Regions are alli'd:
Which makes one City of the Universe,
Where some may gain, and all may be suppli'd.

(649–52)

The globalized world closes distances to bring separate nations together in trade networks. Consequently, such a model of circulation or networks imagines cross-cultural ties built laterally.

Braudel says, "Europeans would bring to the Indies their European wars and rivalries."⁵⁸ But the reverse is also true. In a globalized political economy, European wars have Asian causes. Tellingly, the first battle of *Annus mirabilis* is not fought against the Dutch navy but against Dutch Indiamen:

And now approach'd their Fleet from *India*, fraught
With all the riches of the rising Sun:
And precious Sand from Southern Climates brought,
(The fatal Regions where the War begun.)

(93–96)

58. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, 3:529. For English traders in Asia, see John Keay, *The Honorable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (London: HarperCollins, 1991); on English activities in the Spice Islands, see particularly 33–34, 40–51. See also K. N. Chaudhuri, *The East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600–1640* (London: Cass, 1965), and *Trading World of Asia*.

The poem's focus on battles fought in European waters belies the war's close connection to and origin in the Indies, acknowledged parenthetically. An important subtext of the poem, the centrality of the Indies, is revealed by its conflation with the Dutch at the poem's key moments of conflict. The English blockade of Bergen is described as a challenging of the Dutch in the Indies as well as in the northern seas: "Seven Ships alone, by which the Port is barr'd, / Besiege the *Indies*, and all *Denmark* dare" (107–8). Compared to "hunted *Castors*" (97), the Dutch are beavers producing the perfume that lead the English to their prey. Dutch merchants are conflated with "Indian" producers; Dutch Indiamen become a synecdoche for the Indies.

Ironically, the Dutch are also conflated with the East in the last half of the poem on the Great Fire. The eastern wind spreading the fire is identified as originating in the Low Countries:

In vain: for, from the East, a *Belgian* wind,
His hostile breath through the dry rafter sent:
The flames impell'd, soon left their foes behind,
And forward, with a wanton fury went.

(917–20)

The dangerous English bid for the Dutch empire of trade becomes embodied in the swift and all-consuming fire of the poem. The transition between the two halves of the poem is effected with the image of fire: the fire directed at Dutch enemy ships turns into a conflagration that burns London itself (813–44). The English looting of Dutch India ships (813–32) is echoed and transformed in the "Transitum to the Fire of London," where the citizens' unscrupulous looting is compared to piracy (997–1008). As the Dutch turn into Easterners, the fire takes on characteristics of the enemy army, and the foe becomes internalized. If the aiding winds are "*Belgian*," the fires themselves are "like *Turks*, forc'd on to win or die" (982).

The conflation of the Dutch with the Indies raises interesting questions about the hazy boundaries between East and West, but in *Annus mirabilis*, the issue of national identity in a globalized world is first raised in the European context. Even as the nation itself was in its infancy, global wars meant the fragmentation of national spheres. Writing after the English civil wars, Dryden was fully aware of potential sedition, which he suggests with the ambivalent portrayal of Londoners in the second half of the poem. Paul Hammond notes that Dryden's title appropriates and redefines a term used by the Nonconformist opposition.⁵⁹ The ambivalence about the people is echoed in the depiction of the king. James Winn notes the poem redeplays the strategy of acknowledging the king's

59. Hammond, *Dryden*, 92.

weaknesses used in *Astraea redux* (1660): “In *Annus Mirabilis*, the alternation between ‘Epick’ grandeur and ‘Historical’ reality is a large-scale version of that useful rhetorical device.”⁶⁰ This oscillation, I suggest, is part of a larger pattern in the poem of dissolving boundaries between apparent opposites.

The poem does not rigidly police national boundaries, describing Charles as an enlightened monarch welcoming other nationals to his realm: “*Lewis* had chas’d the *English* from his shore; / But *Charles* the *French* as Subjects does invite” (169–70). Offering French subjects equitable treatment, Charles is favorably compared to King Louis XIV of France, who, in aiding the Dutch in the war, threatened first to confiscate English property in France and then gave English subjects only three months to leave with their estates. The account of Charles’s declaration of war in the *Gazette* of February 8–12, 1666, promises “that if any of the French or Low-Country Subjects, either out of Affection to His Majesty, or His Government; or because of the Oppression they meet with at home, shall come into His Majesties Kingdoms, His Majesty will protect them in their persons and estates, and especially those of the Reformed Religion, whose interest His Majesty is pleased most particularly to own.”⁶¹ Instead of an essentialized Englishness, the poem imagines the possibility of an amorphous and changeable citizenship:

Were Subjects so but onely by their choice,
And not from Birth did forc’d Dominion take,
Our Prince alone would have the publique voice;
And all his Neighbours Realms would desarts make.

(173–76)

Even if Dryden only states it in the contrafactual conditional, he offers a way of imagining citizenship as voluntary rather than defined by birth. In so doing, he comes close to the interregnum republicanism that views citizenship as a voluntary association. Paulina Kewes suggests that Dryden “blends popular voice and royal will.”⁶² Voluntary citizenship represents one side of a coin, the other side of which is an elective monarchy. Yet Dryden is no republican. Even while in *Annus mirabilis* trade seemingly effects the political transformation that ideology could not, Dryden glosses over the threats and opportunities the globalization of trade offers for re-inventing citizenship.

60. James Anderson Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 176.

61. Hooker and Swedenberg, commentary on *Annus mirabilis*, 286.

62. Paulina Kewes, “Dryden and the Staging of Popular Politics,” in *John Dryden: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Paul Hammond and David Hopkins (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 61.

The question of what laws and whose authority foreign subjects are to acknowledge becomes crucial when the global flows of trade move merchants, diplomats, and soldiers around the globe. Both the VOC and the English East India Company were enmeshed in the Asian economy as they became involved in intra-Asian or “country” trade. Jonathan Israel observes, “The Dutch mercantile system in non-European waters was literally an empire of trade.” Constrained by needing to purchase Asian goods with cash, when the flow of Spanish silver was reduced in the mid-seventeenth century, “the Company moved in a direction which no other European nation did on a comparable scale in early modern times, forging a vigorous inter-Asian trade, in order to amass the additional buying power required.”⁶³ English involvement in the “country” trade too would expand, especially in the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ Europeans became more involved than ever in the economic, social, and political life of the East Indies, in some cases finding themselves subject to Indian princes. Even the belligerent Dutch were content to be subject to Indian law for the sake of profit. In relation to Surat in India, the High Government in Batavia wrote that “the best [way] is to submit to the laws of these Asian countries . . . we deem it to be much better for us to be subjected to the laws and customs of those lands than to resort to arms, as long as it is tolerable and one can still trade profitably there.”⁶⁵

Given the shifting allegiances of mobile subjects, the last section of *Annus mirabilis* is fascinating for its projection of future global flows as it imagines London rising from ashes:

Me-thinks already, from this Chymick flame,
I see a City of more precious mold:
Rich as the Town which gives the *Indies* name,
With Silver pav'd, and all divine with Gold.

(1169–72)

63. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 941.

64. For more information on Dutch country traders, see Om Prakash, *Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal* (Princeton University Press, 1985), 15–23; for English, see Ian Bruce Watson, *Foundation for Empire: English Private Trade in India* (Delhi: Vikas, 1980); D. K. Bassett, “British ‘Country’ Trade and Local Trade Networks in the Thai and Malay States, c.1680–1770,” *Modern Asian Studies* 23 (1989): 625–43; and Søren Mentz, “English Private Trade on the Coromandel Coast, 1660–1690: Diamonds and Country-Trade,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 33 (1996): 155–73. See also Holden Furber, *John Company at Work: A Study of European Expansion in India in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948).

65. MS H45, KITLV, Patriase Missive of September 19, 1633, quoted in Leonard Blussé, “Amongst Feigned Friends and Declared Enemies,” in *Making Sense of Global History: The 19th International Congress of the Historical Sciences, Oslo 2000 Commemorative Volume*, ed. Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2001), 156.

The alchemical transformation of London will turn it from base metal into gold, and indeed turn it into a city of legendary wealth, but this city is a city of the “*Indies*” rather than a European one.⁶⁶ Thus metamorphosed into a city of the Indies, London transformed becomes a sought-after place with merchants from around the world flocking to it. The rhetoric becomes increasingly strident, as the last section insists on a London of fabulous imagination against the evidence of present realities. When London becomes a “fam’d Emporium” (1205), other envious nations “Shall rob like Pyrats on our wealthy Coast” (1208). This imagined scene is a reversal of the current state of affairs; from one perspective, the naval battle described in the section on “The Attempt at Berghen” is English piracy on the Dutch, fought not with a navy but with merchant ships. Particularly fantastic is the vision of a perfect commercial concord, a world without trade wars:

Our pow’rful navy shall no longer meet,
The wealth of *France* or *Holland* to invade:
The beauty of this Town, without a Fleet,
From all the world shall vindicate her Trade.

(1201–4)

The improbability of this is underscored by the reference in line 1202 to the present, where a navy is necessary to wrest trade away from Holland and France.

The last section envisions the global flows of trade converging on London. This is in direct contrast with the present circulation of trade, in which even the wealthy Dutch send ships to the Indies. In the imagined future, London is so compelling that traveling merchants turn into permanent denizens: “The vent’rous Merchant . . . / . . . / Charm’d with the splendour of this Northern Star, / Shall here unlade him, and depart no more” (1197–1200). This vision of cosmopolitan London does away with the very circulations touted at the beginning of the poem as all the world comes to stay. The “alienating” of London as strangers become subjects potentially threatens to un-English the city. The poem’s triumphant end,

66. Dryden’s modern editors identify the city as a city of Mexico: “The legendary riches of Mexico were still powerful in their effect on the English imagination. Dryden’s *Indian Emperour* (produced in 1665) had made liberal use of Montezuma’s fabulous wealth” (Hooker and Swedenberg, commentary on *Annus mirabilis*, 319). However, the final stanza of the poem, only eleven stanzas later than the one quoted, refers to a journey past the Cape of Good Hope, which suggests the East Indies. The Malay Peninsula was known for gold in Roman times, which Europeans knew through the name noted by Ptolemy, *Chersonesus aurea*, which is translated as “Golden Peninsula” in a modern edition: J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy’s Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton University Press, 2000), 110.

Helen Burke suggests, is “undermined by the strange conflation of shores” whereby London “becomes indistinguishable from foreign countries . . . which war and commerce seek to conquer.” She explains this equation as “the tendency of rationalism . . . to return only to what it knows.”⁶⁷ But another possibility is that the poem is acknowledging the transculturation resulting from the Indies trade. The case of the Portuguese in India is perhaps the most striking, but the Dutch too became transcultured through interracial relations, whether marriage or concubinage.⁶⁸ The global subject is an amorphous one whose national identity is potentially malleable.

Whatever the charms of London’s transformation may have been to Dryden’s audience, the poem fails to offer any reason why the English will find future trade routes tracing out a centripetal rather than a centrifugal movement. As Markley notes, the poem’s providential ending “conflate[s] morality, trade, profits, and prophecy so consistently because Dryden has no other means to describe the miraculous transformation of London’s smoldering ruins into a transcendent metropolis.”⁶⁹ In the last section, a contrary pressure works against this vision. Economic history shows a balance of trade unfavorable to Europeans.⁷⁰ The poem too refocuses attention eastward. Here are its final stanzas:

Already we have conquer’d half the War,
And the less dang’rous part is left behind:

67. Helen M. Burke, “*Annus mirabilis* and the Ideology of the New Science,” *ELH* 57 (1990): 330.

68. For Portuguese acculturation, see Pearson, *Portuguese in India*, 98–119; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (London: Longman, 1993), 254; and Maria A. L. Cruz, “Exiles and Renegade in Early Sixteenth Century Portuguese India,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 23 (1986): 9. For Dutch transculturation, see Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Riverton, UT: Floris, 1986), 156–71. For English, see William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: HarperCollins, 2002), and “Assimilation and Transculturation in Eighteenth Century India,” *Common Knowledge* 11 (2005): 445–85.

69. Markley, *Far East*, 158.

70. Global economic historians have shown that before the late eighteenth century, the world economy centered in Asia, and Europe only belatedly joined this system with the availability of American silver: see Wong, *China Transformed*; Frank, *ReOrient*; and Pomeranz, *Great Divergence*. Pointing to the fact that bullion constituted the bulk of European exports—from 1660 to 1720, bullion was on average 87 percent of the value of VOC cargo exported to Asia—Frank contends that “Western Europe had a balance of trade deficit with—and therefore re-exported much silver and some gold to—the Baltics and eastern Europe, to West Asia, to India directly and via West Asia, to Southeast Asia directly and via India, and to China via all of the above as well as from Japan” (*ReOrient*, 74). By comparison, the situation was quite otherwise in Southeast Asia: Frank notes, “Southeast Asia had a balance of trade surplus with India (and of course with West Asia and Europe) but a balance of trade deficit with China” (103).

Our trouble now is but to make them dare,
And not so great to vanquish as to find.

Thus to the Eastern wealth through storms we go;
But now, the Cape once doubled, fear no more:
A constant Trade-wind will securely blow,
And gently lay us on the Spicy shore.

(1209–16)

With an allusion to the regular, predictable monsoon winds, the last stanza envisions a safe journey through the Indian Ocean, once past the Cape of Good Hope.⁷¹ Given the fame of the Spice Islands, it is an extraordinary claim that the work left for the English is the work of discovery. Although the poem first associates wealth with the Dutch, the last stanza locates wealth in the East, revealing the real struggle, in which Dutch rivalry was only a first step.

The “Spicy shore,” perhaps a reference to the Spice Islands of the Maluku, becomes the ultimate goal. In many senses, it is not England’s European competitors—the “wealthy *Tagus*, and the wealthier *Rhine*” (1193) or the “*Sein*, That would with *Belgian* Rivers joyn” (1195)—that are the true focus of the poem, but the spice-producing Indies, the islands of Southeast Asia. The poem makes its approach to the Indies explicit in its triumphant ending. While an adversarial relation exists among European states, no such difficulties trouble the relations of England and the Indies in *Annus mirabilis*. If the poem begins by depicting the Dutch and English as rivals for the Indies, it ends again with a romantic quest. Realities on the ground were far different.

MAKASSARESE IMPERIAL COLLAPSE AND THE MALAY DIASPORA

My focus on Makassar in the 1660s looks at the kingdom at the historical moment of its fall. However, through the sixteenth and into the mid-seventeenth century, Makassar was a centralizing state with a flourishing economy based on the spice trade. Melaka, formerly the trading center of the region, saw its trade diverted elsewhere since coming under Portuguese control. Both old and new entrepôts like Aceh, Johor, Banten, Makassar, and others vied for the position held by Melaka in the fifteenth

71. I read “Spicy shore” not as a return to England, in which Dryden “traces a voyage out that ends only on his native shore, an epistemological and scientific quest that doubles back to find only its point of origin, the old world of God and King” (Burke, “*Annus mirabilis* and the Ideology of the New Science,” 330–31), but as an outward movement with the monsoon winds once again to the East, undermining previous stanzas’ efforts to turn London into a global center.

century. In the century and a half between 1511 and the mid-seventeenth century, multiple centers arose without any one able to replace Melaka. Thus, it was a leveled network rather than a stratified hierarchy until Batavia, under the rule of the VOC, started to dominate from about the mid-seventeenth century on.⁷² Although the VOC eventually became victors, it would be a teleological fallacy to read that victory back in time. Makassar possibly reached the height of its powers in the first half of the seventeenth century and was a serious contender in the competition for the spice trade, a competition fought bitterly in prolonged warfare.

Composed in the aftermath of the defeat of Makassar by the Dutch and their local allies in 1669, the historical poem *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar* offers a Southeast Asian perspective on relations with Europeans. Unusually for a work of the period, the poem was signed by the poet, Amin, secretary to Sultan Hasanuddin of Makassar. C. Skinner, the modern editor and translator of the poem, argues that the poem can be dated precisely to 1670 because although Sultan Hasanuddin, the primary protagonist of the poem, died on June 12, 1670, the poem makes no mention of his death and uses no posthumous titles, as would be customary.⁷³ It can certainly be reliably dated, using corroborating external evidence, to between the end of the war in 1669 and before 1736, when G. H. Werndly mentions it in his *Maleische spraakkunst*.⁷⁴ Skinner also suggests that the poem's details agree with the accounts given by historians such as F. W. Stapel, relying on VOC sources, including the correspondence of Cornelius Speelman, the VOC admiral.⁷⁵ Thus, it is likely that the poet, as he claimed, was an eyewitness.

It is difficult to get a clear sense of the audience of the poem or its popularity given the nature of regional manuscript cultures. Because preservation in a humid tropical climate is a losing battle against the elements,

72. Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 2:65.

73. Entji' Amin, *Sja'ir perang Mengkasar (The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War)*, ed. and trans. C. Skinner (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963). All quotations of the poem are from this edition and cited parenthetically. Skinner notes two extant manuscripts: the London SOAS MS 40324, part of the Marsden collection, lacks the first 13 stanzas; and Cod. Or. Bibl. Lugd. 1626 in Leiden, which includes the first 73 stanzas (47–50). Vladimir Braginsky finds a second London manuscript, SOAS 12902, but it gives only the first 15 stanzas; both London manuscripts date from the eighteenth century (*The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views* [Leiden: KITLV, 2004], 595 n. 66). The earliest manuscript of the poem, the Leiden MS, was owned by François Valentijn, a minister in the service of the VOC who compiled five large volumes on *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*; H. T. Damsté has identified the hand of the Leiden copy of the manuscript as that of Valentijn's wife, Cornelia, who died in 1717 (Skinner, *Sja'ir perang Mengkasar*, 42–43, 48–49).

74. George Henrik Werndly calls it *Panton 'Ispelman* or *Sipelman*, listing it as item 8 in "Naberecht [*sic*] aan de lezer" (Dessert for the reader), the last section of his work *Maleische spraakkunst* (Amsterdam, 1736), Bbb2v.

75. Skinner, *Sja'ir perang Mengkasar*, 12.

literary works are preserved not through manuscripts but through copies and oral retellings.⁷⁶ Amin's poem's popularity can perhaps be best gauged by the number of his later imitators. As the oldest historical *sya'ir*, or at least the oldest extant one, Amin's poem was followed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by other such war poems, including one of the earliest, *Syair Hemop*, about the uprising of the Chinese in Dutch Batavia in 1740.⁷⁷ In the seventeenth century, the audience of the poem would probably have been the Makassarese court, given the author's position as Malay secretary, which was rather like being simultaneously Latin secretary and poet laureate. Speelman refused to negotiate in Makassarese, preferring Malay or Portuguese, which means that Amin's participation in the negotiations would have been important.⁷⁸ Skinner postulates that as the sultan's Malay secretary, Amin "would spend at least part of his time in such activities as reading, discussing, copying out and perhaps sometimes even lecturing on the more important Malay works of the time, not the least important of which would be those concerned with religious topics."⁷⁹ Given the author's position at court, the authorship and dating of this poem raise interesting considerations for the view of Makassar as imperial. If the poem were indeed written in 1670 or thereabouts, the demise of the Makassar empire was not yet assured, and certainly the notion of European superiority had not yet taken hold.

Although read primarily as a historical document, the poem has elements of the heroic. It is structured as a series of encounters both diplomatic and military between the Makassarese and the Dutch and their allies.⁸⁰ From internal evidence, Skinner finds the author to be conversant with a wide range of literary traditions: religious works, including the poetry of the Southeast Asian Sufi poet Hamzah Fansuri, and secular ones, such as the Malay adaptations of Hindu epics.⁸¹ Stanzas celebrating the heroism of the aristocratic warriors of Makassar are not unlike epic catalogs. The poem is also consciously Islamic, with the sultan in particular praised in Islamic terms as a proper ruler. Unsurprisingly, the Dutch

76. On orality in traditional Malay literature, see Amin Sweeney, *Authors and Audiences in Traditional Malay Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), and *A Full Hearing: Orality and Literacy in the Malay World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

77. On the historical *sya'ir*, see Braginsky, *Heritage*, 565–68.

78. Amin's presence is attested by Dutch records: the Dutch copy of the treaty at the end of the war notes, "Op heden verschenen wederomme daijen Macoude, sabandaar, crain mamoe . . . en den schrijver Amien" (On this day appeared once again Daéng Makullé, the sjahbandar [harbor master], Karaéng Mamu . . . and the scribe Amin) (Skinner, *Sja'ir perang Mengkasar*, 19).

79. *Ibid.*, 27.

80. For a summary of the poem and its relation to the genre of the historical *sya'ir*, see Braginsky, *Heritage*, 568–78.

81. Skinner, *Sja'ir perang Mengkasar*, 24–26.

enemies are depicted as godless infidels and called all sorts of names like dogs, sinners, thieves, the cursed, and so forth. However, despite what initially seems like a binary dynamic of East and West, Islamic and Christian, the poem is more complex and nuanced, at times suggesting that Cornelius Speelman was a worthy adversary. Moreover, the alliances in the war cut across religious and geographical lines: the Dutch had Muslim allies while the Protestant English were allied with the Makassarese.

As a poem of defeat, the depiction of the Makassar trading empire is retrospective, recalled through the depiction of the bravery of her warriors and the greatness of her ruler; within the poem, the centralization of the state of Makassar is taken for granted, discerned only in the problem of rebelling vassal states. In their conflict with the Dutch, the Makassarese found themselves fending off not only external invaders but also threats within: vassal states like Boné and the Maluku were assisting the Dutch in order to throw off Makassar's yoke. While one narrative strand of *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar* lines up its various and varied participants on opposite sides, a stark difference between the two cannot be wholly maintained. The Dutch provided an opportunity for peoples conquered by Makassar.

Most prominent of these were the Buginese, an ethnic group of seafaring people known as fierce warriors. Under the leadership of Arung Palakka, called Si Tunderu in the poem, the Buginese were the winners from the fall of Makassar. Makassar's decline did not lead only to VOC dominance and eventual Dutch colonialism, as is the usual narrative of European conquest, but also to the rise of the Bugis and their center, the city of Boné.⁸² After Makassar's fall at the war's conclusion, Dutch involvement in South Sulawesi did increase, but Makassarese dominance was replaced with Bugis supremacy, not straightforward Dutch colonialism. In *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar*, we see the breakup of a composite monarchy into its component parts, but this politico-economic sphere was reconsolidated by the Bugis.⁸³

Heroic poetry depicts empire on a personal level with portrayals of individual heroism. *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar* gives considerable attention to individual exploits, celebrating personal bravery, as does Dryden's poem. But the personal aspects of the heroic poem highlight the problem of ethnicity. The war is not one between Christians and Muslims—Makassar's acceptance of Islam was fairly recent, since it was not until 1605 that the king of Gowa formally accepted Islam—but among several

82. For the story of Arung Palakka and Bugis alliance with the VOC, see Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1981).

83. I argue that we see in early modern Southeast Asia the formation of composite monarchies similar to that of Europe. On early modern European composite states, see J. H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present*, no. 137 (1992): 48–71.

ethnic groups. The poem raises the problem of how an empire should manage ethnicities and vassal states, their multiplicity revealing the fragility of empire.

The heterogeneous character of the Dutch alliance is clear in the poem. The formation of the alliance is described thus: “Berkampunglah Welanda sekalian djenis” (The Dutch and their allies were gathered together) (stanza 31). This phrasing subsumes the Dutch allies under the name of Hollander. In the council of war, one of the warriors names the other allies of the Dutch: “djikalau sekadar Sopéng dan Boné / tambah lagi Sula’ dengan Burné” (If it’s only the Soppéng and Boné folk we have to deal with, / plus some Sula and Borneo people) (stanza 54). Interestingly, as Skinner notes, Burné is the original name of Brunei, but “the Dutch appear to have had comparatively little to do with Brunei during the 17th century. . . . It seems unlikely that the Dutch obtained any assistance from Borneo in their campaigns against Macassar.”⁸⁴ But rather than seeing this as the poet’s mistake, I suggest that the inclusion of Brunei/Borneo points to Makassar’s imperializing perspective. Soppéng and Boné were places under Makassar’s suzerainty. The poem suggests that Makassar saw Borneo as part of its sphere of influence as well. The heterogeneity of the Dutch alliance must be viewed in part as evidence of the contours of Makassar’s imperial dominion, which was threatened by rebellion.

Many of the verses referring to Dutch perfidy lump the Dutch and Buginese together. Throughout the poem, we get lines that include variations of the phrase “Bugis dan Welanda” (stanza 40) or “Welanda dan Bugis” (stanza 47), depending on the end rhyme required. Very often as well, the conjunction “and” is omitted to form a compound name, as in the following stanza:

Pekerti Welanda Bugis jang serau
banjaklah Mengakasar dibuangnja kepulau
dimurkaī Allah djuga engkau
diachirat kelak tergagau-gagau.

(Stanza 126)

[Such was the character of the accursed Dutch and Bugis / That many
Macassaese were cast away on an island. / One day God will vent his anger
upon you / and leave you groping about in Hell.]

Referring to the incident of the Dutch stranding the defeated Makassar-ese on a desert island to starve to death, the stanza curses the Dutch and the Buginese equally, and with the omission of the conjunction they are represented as virtually one entity. When the Makassar-ese warriors in the

84. Skinner, *Sja'ir perang Mengkasar*, 238.

council of war declare their determination to fight, they name the Dutch and Bugis as joint enemies.

Nowhere is the complexity of ethnic or geographical affiliation in the poem more revealing than in the figure of the poet, who refers to himself as “nisab Mengkasar anak Melayu” (a Malay of Makassarese lineage) (stanza 69). It is probable that he was born in Makassar of Malay origins from Peninsula Malaya or the Minangkabau region in Sumatra. After the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511, Malay traders spread out more widely in the archipelago to establish bases elsewhere. One group received permission to establish a colony in Makassar in the mid-sixteenth century and became an important factor in the economic rise of Makassar in the next century.⁸⁵ Amin is likely to have descended from Malays who had lived in Makassar for generations. That he nonetheless identifies as Malay and not simply Makassarese is significant, revealing the fissures and multiethnic makeup of a composite state with imperial ambitions such as Makassar.

Given the multiethnic nature of both the Makassarese empire and the Dutch alliance, the Europeans too need to be viewed not as absolute others but as one among the many ethnic groups in a multiplicity created by trade. Thus, we find a complex and nuanced representation of Europeans in *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar*.⁸⁶ The depiction of the English as different from the Dutch, though brief, is suggestive:

Dengarkan kisah Fétor Inggeris
 ‘akalnja tadjam seperti keris
 sungguhpun ia kafir jang bengis
 hatinja betul tidak waswis.

Seorang bernama Mister Ba'il
 sungguhlah pandai bermainkan bedil
 menémbak kapal Admiral jang bachil
 njarislah tenggelam sebuah batil.

Jang seorang bernama Mister Pil
 itulah seorang Fétor jang ketjil
 iapun bidjak bermainkan bedil
 menémbak selup dengan batil.

85. Abdurrahim, “Kedatangan Orang Melaju di Makassar” [The arrival of Malays in Makassar], in *Kenallah Sulawesi Selatan*, ed. H. D. Mangemba (Jakarta: Timun Mas, 1956), 143–46; William Cummings, “The Melaka Malay Diaspora in Makassar, c. 1500–1669,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 71 (1998): 107–21. See also Heather Sutherland, “The Makassar Malays: Adaptation and Identity, c. 1660–1790,” *Journal of South-east Asian Studies* 32 (2001): 397–421.

86. For other representations of Europeans in Malay literature, see A. L. V. L. van der Linden, *De Europeaan in de Maleische literatuur* (Meppel: Ten Brink, 1937).

Fétor itu lama di Mengkasar duduk
 Menémbakkan meriam dua puluh putjuk
 Banjak kapal terus dan pesuk
 Terlalu marah si Admiral kutuk.

(Stanzas 262–65)

[Listen to the story of the English Factors, / —men with razor-sharp minds. / Although of course overbearing infidels, / they were honest men, unwavering in their determination. // One of them was called Mr. Bale / and proved himself to be a really expert artilleryman. / He fired at the greedy Admiral's ship / and almost succeeded in sinking one of the smaller craft. // Another of the Agents was called Mr. Pearle, / he was the deputy chief of the factory. / He too showed his skill as an artilleryman / and fired at the sailing ships and the smaller vessels. // The Agents had been in Macassar a long time. / In all they commanded some twenty cannon. / Many of the enemy's ships were hit and holed, / to the great annoyance of the Admiral.]

As Christians in a poem that advertises its Islamic credentials so clearly, the English are infidels like the Dutch, but they are on the Makassar side. There is thus some tension between the otherness of the English and their alliance with Islamic Makassar. The stanzas quoted include a number of borrowed words from both Arabic and Dutch. Words of Arabic origin include “kissah” (story), “waswis” (or *waswas*, suspicious, distrust), and “bachil” (or *bakhil*, miserly or avaricious). Words of European origin include most obviously “Mister,” “Fétor” (factor), “Amiral” (admiral, though the word “admiral” originally derives from the Arabic *amir al-bahr*, commander of the sea, or other similar titles), and “selup” from either the Dutch “sloep” or English “sloop,” probably the former. The borrowing of European words marks the English as foreign.

Yet despite this, the stanzas' characterization of the English is largely positive, apart from acknowledging that they are infidels. They are praised for their intelligence in an analogy to a typically Malay and Southeast Asian weapon, the kris, a short sword with a wavy blade (stanza 262). Moreover, as a symbol of warrior masculinity in the region, the imagery of the kris links the English with Makassar and Malay warriors. The representation of the English is fairly idealized—they are honest and pure hearted, unlike the dastardly Dutch—and the poem emphasizes their military skill, used in Makassar's cause. Both Bale and Pearle are described as clever: Bale is “pandai” and Pil “bidjak.” Their portraits show them firing at Dutch ships. The stanzas emphasize the contrast between English and Dutch by a direct comparison to Speelman in two of the lines condemning him as the “Admiral jang bachil” (avaricious Admiral) and the “Admiral kutuk” (accursed Admiral). That the poet knows the English factors' names is significant. Their naming echoes the naming and praise of the

Makassarese warriors. The last stanza on the English further emphasizes the closeness between English and Makassarese. The agents are described as having lived in Makassar for a long time, perhaps implying assimilation into Makassarese society.

The issue of assimilation, however, is more acute in the case of the Malays. Given Amin's sense of himself as "anak Melayu," it is not surprising to find him devoting significant space in the poem to the bravery of the Malay contingent. Interestingly, the Malays are described in stanzas directly following the four on the English. The Malays are like the English in being close allies of Makassar, but the poet gives them ten stanzas. The titles they hold, "Entji'" and "Datu'," mark them as Malay, in contrast to both the Makassarese aristocratic title of *Kraeng* and the English title of Mister. The Malay community is a loyal group among the Makassarese allies with a distinct character. But even within this group, we see hints of disparate origins. One of the Malay fighters is "Seri Amar Diradja hulubalang Tjampa" (Sri Amar Diraja, a warrior of Cham origin) (stanza 271). His title of *Sri* and the name *Diraja* indicate royal origin, unlike the commoners' title of *Encik*, comparable to Mister. Moreover, he is Cham, from mainland Southeast Asia in present-day Vietnam and Cambodia, rather than from the archipelago. Nonetheless, the Malays form a united group:

Segala Melaju anak peranakan
iapun musta'ib satu pasukan
sendjatanjapun sudah dihadirkan
menantikan naik Welandia sjaitan.

(Stanza 275)

[The entire Malay community / had formed themselves into a separate company. / Well-equipped with weapons, / they awaited the coming of the damned Hollanders.]

In bravery, they are at least the equals of Europeans, and as adept in using cannon and gunpowder. The first stanza immediately following the ones on the English shows a Malay hero blasting the Christian Dutch with repeated cannon fire:

Entji' Maris peranakan jang terbilang
memasang meriam berulang-ulang
kenalalah kapal kura-kura dan pélang
banjaklah mati Nasrani jang malang.

(Stanza 266)

[Enche' Maris, a leading member of the Malay community / fired off his cannon without a break. / Sailing ships, korra-korras and galleys were hit / and many of the wretched Christians were killed.]

Encik Maris is so skillful that he continues to shoot the enemy without stopping: “Ia menémbak tiada berhenti” (He went on firing without cease) (stanza 267). Three stanzas are devoted to his relentless attack on the Dutch.

While the English factors have lived in Makassar a long time, the Malays have been even longer residents, as in the description of Datuk Pasar:

Datu’ Pasar orang ternama
dengan segala peranakan bersama-sama
daripada asal mula pertama
ialah duduk di Mengkasar lama.

(Stanza 269)

[Dato’ Pasar was a well-known figure, / he was there with the rest of the Malay community. / From the earlier times / he had lived in Macassar.]

As perhaps one of the leading members of the Malay community—his title *Datuk* is of higher status than a mere *Encik*—Datuk Pasar’s long and permanent residence in Makassar is highlighted. He has not only lived in Makassar long (“duduk di Mengkasar lama”), but indeed from the very beginning (“daripada asal mula pertama”). The third line in the stanza tells of the ordinary status of Datuk Pasar. The last three words mean, respectively, “origin,” “start,” and “first.” By putting all three together in the one line, the poet emphasizes his lineage as comprising one of the oldest Malay families in the region. With this long history as a leading member of the Malay community in Makassar, Datuk Pasar lends the community legitimacy and an interest in the well-being of the Makassar state.

While the poet highlights the greater assimilation of the Malays, who are after all fellow Muslims, and portrays the Malays as even better fighters and more expert gunmen than the English, these are differences in degree rather than in kind. Where the Malays especially distinguish themselves is in the sphere of civility. The son-in-law of the Cham Sri Amar Diraja, a certain Encik Jabbar, is described as being the perfect retainer:

Entji’ Djabar menantu Seri Amar Diradja
bukanlah ia hamba jang disahadja
djikalau dititahkan kepada barang kerdja
haramlah ia memalingkan durdja.

Sempurnalah ia orang jang baik
berkata-kata sangatlah tjerdik
pada sekalian sahabat benar dan sadik
iapun seorang ada bermilik.

(Stanzas 273–74)

[Enche' Jabbar, Sri Amar Diraja's son-in-law, / was not the sort of man to be ignored. / Whatever orders were given to him / he would never be guilty of disloyalty. // A splendid fellow / and a very politic speaker. / Honest and trustworthy to his friends, / and a man of some substance.]

While Jabbar's father-in-law, Sri Amar Diraja, is a brave warrior who fights the enemy fiercely even if he is outnumbered, the son-in-law is praised in different terms. If his father-in-law is a leader, he is seen as a loyal follower and a true friend to all. Moreover, the praise of Jabbar's eloquence distinguishes him from other warriors and, I would argue, also distinguishes the Malays from the Makassarese and their other allies. Although only briefly mentioned in the stanza on Entji' Jabbar, eloquence, which seems to be associated with a literary civility, is associated in this context with Malayness. This association is perhaps linked to the Malay role in bringing Islam to the region, since Islam was a religion associated with a new (Arabic) literacy.

Literacy brings us to the self-portrait of the Malay poet himself. In his self-portrait, Amin emphasizes his difference from the Makassarese warriors:

Entji' Amin itu orang jang bidjak
tubuhnja sedang sederhana pandak
memakai minjak degan kelembak
baunja harum amat semerbak.

Entji' Amin itu djangan disaju
nisab Mengakasar anak Melayu
lemah lembut badannja aju
laksana taruk angsoke laju.

(Stanzas 68–69)

[This Enche' Amin was a clever fellow, / of rather small stature but well built. / The eagle-wood scent that (h)e always used / Made his body give out a fragrant odour. // Enche' Amin was a man to be envied, / by birth, a Malay of Macassarese descent; / graceful and attractive in his movements, / like the curling shoots of the angsoke tree.]

While the poem's editor, Skinner, may be reading a little too literally when he surmises that Amin was a dandy with a Napoleon complex, he is right that Amin's Malay identity is of crucial significance.⁸⁷ Clever, short, and perfumed, his natural environment is not the battlefield. The line about his medium height must be read as an astute use of the modesty topos. In contrast to the tough bodies of the warriors who fight to the death, the poet's body is soft. While the phrase "lemah lembut" means graceful, the

87. Skinner, *Sja'ir perang Mengkasar*, 25.

constituent words have primary meanings of weak and frail for the one, and soft for the other. Moreover, the last word of that line—"lemah lembut badannja aju" (spelled "ayu" in modern Malay)—is translated by Skinner as "curling" but primarily means "drooping," a word of Javanese origin meaning pretty or lovely and most often used to describe a female subject.⁸⁸ The rhymes of stanza 69 (saju / Melayu / aju / laju) connect Malayness with words that indicate gentleness. Along with perfume as a sign of civility, the self-description of the poet's body almost feminizes him.

The passage is part of a self-representation of cultured Malay civility, distinguishing the poet from the subjects of his poetry, who are his patrons, and yet allowing him to give them proper honor. Prior to the eighteenth century, Malayness was associated with Melaka, which set the standard.⁸⁹ As Melaka came to be defined by Islam, Melakan Malayness itself came to be closely related to Islamic civility. At the same time, Malayness has a linguistic component as well; it provided the lingua franca, Malay, through which Islamic texts and stories were spread in the region. The Makassar elite spoke fluent Malay (as well as Portuguese), as reported by Speelman.⁹⁰ Skinner suggests that Malay was to the Makassarese what French was to the nineteenth-century Russian aristocracy (it was not used in all contexts; the court registers of Makassar were recorded in Makassarese). As a poem in the Malay language and in the Malay genre of the *sya'ir*, Amin's poem itself thus has a double identity. It is a poem about Makassar heroism but not written in the local language. Its Islamic character may be discerned not just in its declarations of Islamic justice but possibly through its language as well. Using a lingua franca, the poem announces its ties to other Islamic states of the region, displaying a more cosmopolitan perspective.

While concerned with unifying a diverse group under the banner of Makassar rule, *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar* is also outward looking. Malay functions as a *cosmopolitan vernacular*, in Sheldon Pollock's cogent term, whereby vernacularization happens in dynamic relation with cosmopolitan culture, taking from it vocabulary and forms.⁹¹ Given the poet's probable Sufi commitments, it is clear that Arabic is the cosmopolitan language to which he

88. See Alan M. Stevens and A. Ed. Schmidgall-Tellings, *A Comprehensive Indonesian-English Dictionary* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), s.v. "ayu."

89. Virginia Matheson, "Concepts of Malay Ethos in Indigenous Malay Writings," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 10 (1979): 351–71.

90. Cornelius Speelman writes, "de heele Regeringe Malyets ende meeste deel ook Portugees verstande" (the entire government understood Malay and most of them Portuguese too) (quoted in Frederick Willem Stapel, *Het Bonguais Verdrag* [The Buginese Treaty] [Groningen: Wolters, 1922], 179; cited in Skinner, *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar*, 27).

91. Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). See pt. 2 on "The Vernacular Millennium," in particular the discussion of Southeast Asia in chap. 10, "Vernacular Poetries and Politics in Southern Asia."

pays homage.⁹² Not written in the vernacular used in historical records, the poem is not simply a historical document. Through Malay, written in Arabic script, Amin invokes a larger community: the entire region of Southeast Asia, or the “lands below the winds,” as Southeast Asians referred to their part of the world.⁹³ Alongside the poem’s unifying drive that acts as a centripetal force is also a centrifugal one that places considerable importance on looking outward. Seventeenth-century Makassar’s composite nature is revealed not only in its political makeup as a centralizing state but also in its cultural composition of different ethnicities and languages, including those of recent European arrivals.

CONCLUSION

Both Dryden’s *Annus mirabilis* and Amin’s *Sya’ir perang Mengkasar* can be understood only incompletely within national literary and political histories. To comprehend English identity—or Malay-Makassarese, for that matter—means reading their literatures in the context of a history of con-

92. For evidence of the poet’s Sufism, Skinner points to the many borrowed phrases and echoes from the Sumatran Sufi poet Hamzah Fansuri as well as to the use of technical vocabulary of Sufi mysticism (Skinner, *Sya’ir perang Mengkasar*, 22–25). For a study of how seventeenth-century Makassar perceived Islam not as theology but as language and texts, see William Cummings, “Scripting Islamization: Arabic Texts in Early Modern Makassar,” *Ethnohistory* 48 (2001): 559–86.

93. Michael Laffan argues that the “widespread usage of the phrase [‘bawah angin’] in Malay texts suggests that the concept is of long standing and eastern Malay origin” (“Finding Java: Muslim Nomenclature of Insular Southeast Asia from Śrīvijaya to Snouck Hurgronje,” in *Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, Movement, and the Longue Durée*, ed. Eric Taglia-cozzo [National University of Singapore Press, 2009], 43). He notes usage in two of the oldest Malay texts, *Hikayat raja-raja Pasai* and the *Sulalat al-salatin* (*Sejarah Melayu* or *Malay Annals*), which concerns fourteenth- and fifteenth-century history though no manuscript can be dated to earlier than the late fifteenth, as well as early local usage in letters to Europeans: one a letter from Sultan Said of Ternate, in the Maluku, to the Dutch in 1599 and another a trading permit from ‘Ala’ al-Din of Aceh to the English (43–44). For modern editions of the Malay chronicles, see *Hikayat raja-raja Pasai: A Revised Romanised Version of Raffles MS 67*, ed. and trans. A. H. Hill, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 33, no. 2 (1960): 1–215; and *Sejarah Melayu: The Malay Annals*, ed. Cheah Boon Kheng, romanization by Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1998). The letter to the Dutch (Dutch Royal Archives KHA 13 XII-B-2) is reproduced in Rita Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia: Historical Bonds with the House of Orange-Nassau (1600–1938)* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1995), 26, while one to the English (Bodleian MS Laud Or. e.5) is reproduced in W. G. Shellabear, “An Account of Some of the Oldest Malay MSS Now Extant,” *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31 (1898): 107–51. See also the entry for “angin” in Hugh Clifford and Frank A. Swettenham, *A Dictionary of the Malay Language* (Taiping: Government Printing Office, 1844): “Di-âtas ângin, داتس اغين Windward; the western countries, with respect to the Malays—India, Persia, Arabia, Europe, etc. Di-bâwah ângin, ديابو اغين Leeward; the eastern countries—i.e., the Malay Archipelago, Malay Peninsula, etc.” (63).

tacts and international engagements. For both Dryden and Amin, literary identities and, with them, the identities of citizens of particular states were not constructed in isolation but in response to external influence and were self-conscious hybrids. Sometimes such hybridity, as in Dryden's anxiety over English cultural closeness to the Dutch, is undesirable, but in each case it is part of the warp and woof of the poem. Seeing this should keep us from misunderstanding European-Asian relations. Far from encountering silent subalterns, Europeans met other peoples with written literary cultures. European-Asian relations cannot be read simply in terms of self versus other. Rivalries with other states, European or Asian, did not operate within stable binaries but were multifaceted and shifting. In some instances, as when the English and Makassarese faced the same enemy in the figure of the Dutch, European-Asian encounters involved a radical familiarity.

Both poems were products of peripheral empires defined by trade, with commercial rather than geographical borders. They are products of maritime states and reveal how open Britain and Makassar were to the influences brought to their shores by the sea. Fernand Braudel's influential study of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean redrew historical geopolitical boundaries by turning away from national history to history of a region defined by a sea that served as conduit for transporting people, goods, and ideas.⁹⁴ This approach proved equally fruitful in K. N. Chaudhuri's economic history of the Indian Ocean.⁹⁵ The same is the case with Southeast Asia. As historian Georges Coedès describes it, Southeast Asia is centered on a "veritable Mediterranean, formed by the China Sea, the Gulf of Siam and the Java Sea. This enclosed sea, in spite of its typhoons and reefs, has always been a unifying factor rather than an obstacle for the peoples along the rivers."⁹⁶ Rather than forming a barrier, the sea drew its different shores into a connected world. In the early modern period, the spheres of the North Atlantic and the Indian Ocean were tied more closely than ever by the trading voyages of the Portuguese and then by the Dutch and English East India Companies.

In this change of perspective—viewing the shores from the sea rather than seeing landmasses as isolated—we shift from national histories to the histories of regions. This shift should also lead us to rethink national literary histories. The work of Sanjay Subrahmanyam on Mughal-Portuguese relations, which integrates South Asia into the larger patterns of

94. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

95. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation and Asia before Europe*.

96. Georges Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, ed. Walter Vella, trans. Susan Brown Cowing (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1968), 3–4.

Eurasian history, demonstrates the necessity of thinking across national or imperial boundaries to read for connected history.⁹⁷ As I have argued, English discourses about their European rivals were shaped by events, rivalries, and alliances in Asia, just as discourses in Asia were also shaped by what happened in Europe. Our understanding of English literary culture is incomplete when we leave out its engagement with Asia. The influence of the sea means that the geographical boundaries of people's imaginative spaces are larger than their national boundaries; studying literature only within the nation obscures the processes of cultural exchange that accompanied trade and war. Even if the relations between Dryden's *Annus mirabilis* and Amin's *Sya'ir perang Mengkasar* do not fit our usual comparative literary paradigms, recognizing the shared histories of Europe, Asia, and other parts of the world in this period leads us to appreciate the relation that existed between these seemingly different and yet profoundly connected texts.

97. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: Mughals and Franks* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), and *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).