SHAMANISM AS RESISTANCE OF COLONIAL COMMUNITIES IN LEJAK (1935) AND BONTOTAN (1937)

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ABSTRACT

Shamans and shamanism becomes one of central issues in Lejak (1935) and Bontotan (1937). In these works, the role of the shaman is divided into black magic shaman and the healer shaman. The presence of these two literary works is exceptional considering shamanism issue has been denied since the colonialism because its considered irrational and contrary to Western rationality upheld by the Colonial government. Thus, the presence of Lejak and Bontotan can be considered as a form of resistance from the irrationalists who practice shamanism in both texts (Pribumi and Chinese Peranakan groups) against Western rationality. This paper will analyse shamanistic practices as a form of resistance to the discourse of Western rationality shown by both texts by using qualitative data collection methods, the concept of orientalism and othering by Edward Said, and the concept of resistance by James Scott. The final results of this paper will show that the practice of shamanism in both texts is a hidden resistance that is manifested in small-scale movements, while at the same time reflecting the power of Eastern spirituality that contrasts with Western rationality. This paper will also show the contestation between popular literature (as seen in Lejak and Bontotan) and other literature that was controlled by the Colonial authorities (such as Balai Pustaka’s literature) from the same period.

KEYWORDS: Colonialism, Shamanism, Irrationality, Resistance
INTRODUCTION

Shamanism and the shamanism practices that surround it are an inseparable part of the culture of the Indonesian people. For example, in everyday life, people in the archipelago tend to be familiar with various types of shamans, or “dukuns”, ranging from dukun beranak (midwife), dukun pijat (massage), dukun parewangan (fortune teller), to dukun santet (black magic). The various types of shamans indicate that shamans and shamanism practices exist to help people solve various problems, ranging from health problems to matters related to the supernatural world. In the modern era, the figure of a shaman and shamanic practices can still be easily found, especially in rural or suburban areas. The term shaman continues to change from time to time, from psychics, "orang pintar", to supernatural practitioners. Apart from these terms, dukun also has other names which are adapted to the area of origin. An example is the mention of mabolong in Central Sulawesi and bomoh on the island of Sumatra (Gaines, 2002).

The terms shaman and shamanism have always been identified with the supernatural world. The various skills possessed by shamans, ranging from immunity to healing abilities, to warding off various occult disorders, are often acquired after performing several rituals. For example, the dukun's knowledge of immunity in Jambi is obtained through training, reciting mantras, visiting ancestral graves while carrying incense, and performing asceticism (tenting) alone at the tomb for one night. Through these rituals, it is believed that the ancestral spirits whose graves are used as places of meditation will help the shaman acquire the knowledge he hopes for (Neidel, 2014: 76). As for the various practices of shamanism, the shaman often deals with supernatural entities, such as evil spirits that cause illness in a person's body. For example, to ward off evil spirits that cause disease in the bodies of his patients, a shaman in Lombok will massage his patient's body using oil extracted from a tree which is believed to have healing powers, cast spells during massage, and prepare several ingredients, such as red chilies and spices. These substances are believed to be disliked by evil spirits and make the evil spirits residing in the patient's body come out immediately (Gaines, 2002: 69–72). These conditions show that supernatural powers do not only come into contact with the dukun when the shaman gains knowledge, but also when the shaman practices his
knowledge at a later date. This condition also shows that dukun and shamanism practices cannot be separated from elements of mystic and belief.

The existence of shamanism practices and the belief of people in the archipelago in shamans to overcome various problems in their life have its roots since the pre-religious times, or since the people of the archipelago still adhered to animism and dynamism. During its development, shaman and shamanic practices persisted, including during the colonial era. In the colonial era, there were 11,000 shamans living on the islands of Java and Madura in 1884 (Hesselink, 2011: 13). These shamans are generally healer shamans, such as dukun beranak (a shaman who delivers births) and dukun pijat (a shaman who gives massage therapy). However, there are also shamans who focus on dealing with various occult disorders, or assisting humans in unseen ways, such as dukun pelet (a shaman who helps with love problems) and dukun santet (a shaman who helps people to hurt their opponents). However, often the presence of a dukun apart from the healer frightens the residents, so they practice secretly (Herriman, 2006: 380).

In the era of colonialism, the indigenous people's or Pribumi’s belief in shamans and shamanic practices was considered a form of irrationality, and represented the image of the colonial society as barbaric and uncivilized. Shamanism was also deemed to be shameful (Wiener, 1995: 9) primitive, and backward (Peerson, 2004). As a comparison, colonialism carries Western rationality which emphasizes the belief in the results of human thought patterns and evidence that can be explained by science. Things that come from beliefs and superstitions, such as mysticism and shamanism, are considered irrational (Lilja, 2013: 203). In order to civilize the Pribumi, the colonial government made several modernization (or more precisely, Europeanization) efforts, including changing the government system at various regional levels in the archipelago (Benda, 1966: 580) and bringing in medical personnel in the form of midwives and doctors to replace the roles of healer shaman, such as dukun beranak (Hesselink, 2011: 31). This modernization had several impacts in the archipelago, one of which was "an end would have to be made to the continued existence of adat (customary, ethnic) communities" (Benda, 1966: 601).

Western rationalization originating from the Europeanization that was practiced in the early 20th century still left its mark for decades afterward. In the midst of colonialism's efforts to include
Western rationality into aspects of the life of the Indonesian people, there was resistance from colonized parties to maintain traditional values and beliefs, one of which was the practice of shamanism. This resistance to Western rationalization has also permeated various literary texts, as expressed by Soe Lie Piet and Liem Khing Hoo, two writers of Chinese descent, in their works entitled *Lejak* (1935) and *Bontotan* (1937). The two works of Chinese Malay literature will be the focus of this research.

Previously, research that raised the issue of dukun and shamanism practices in general was in the form of anthropological research that examined the role of dukun in colony societies. Examples include the research of Sanders (2003) and McIntosh (2006) which discussed the practice of shamanism by indigenous peoples in Tanzania and Kenya. Meanwhile, the issue of shamanism in literary works is generally found in studies related to gothic literary works that take the background of the life of people in colonies, such as indigenous peoples in Africa, America, and South Asia. An example is Mabura's (2008) research which focuses on gothic elements in *Purple Hibiscus* (2003) and *Half of Yellow Sun* (2006). In his research, Mabura also looked at the role of the shaman of Igwo (a tribe in Nigeria) who used his knowledge to liberate figures from his tribes from the influence of opposing figures who followed Western thinking. Hatt's (2009) research focuses on Native American shamanic culture and rituals in several works, such as *House Made of Dawn* (1968) and *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven* (1993). Her research shows how the shamanistic rituals of Native American figures are more effective than Western solutions to the problems they face. Gamal's (2012) research focuses on dissecting gothic postcolonial works from South Asia, such as *Saraya, The Ghoul's Murder* (1991) and *Jasmine* (1989). The research explores the forms of hybridity and mimicry of figures of Palestinian and Indian people, and presents monsters as metaphors for the invaders who oppress them. Research related to the issue of shamanism in Indonesian literature is generally carried out on modern Indonesian literary works published in the post-independence era. Examples include the research of Prastica (2016) and Nurul Huda (2013) which analysed the role of shamans, mystics, and collective violence using a sociological literary approach in the novel *Kiamat Para Dukun* (2008) by Langit Kresna Hariadi. Another study is the research of Darma Putra (2011) which discussed
Western interest in leyak magic in Bali in the work of Putra Mada's *Liak Ngakak* (1978). Not many studies have focused on dissecting the issue of shamanism in pre-independence Indonesian literature and its role as a form of resistance to Western rationality brought about by colonialism. Therefore, this paper is here to complement the research gap.

**METHODOLOGY**

This paper will analyze the practice of shamanism as a form of resistance to the discourse of Western rationality shown by *Lejak* and *Bontotan* using qualitative data collection methods. The analysis will find patterns of shamanism practices that are displayed in the two works, then examine forms of resistance through the issue of shamanism by applying the concepts of orientalism and othering by Edward Said and the concept of resistance by James Scott. The concept of Said's orientalism is used to dissect the othering of the West to the East in both works. Meanwhile, Scott's concept of resistance is used to determine the type of resistance shown through shamanism practices in both texts. In addition, the concept of sociology of literature is also used to observe the position of Chinese Malay literary works such as *Lejak* and *Bontotan* in the Indonesian literary map in the era of its creation (the colonial era of the 1930s).

The paper will be divided into five parts. The first part is an introduction that contains the background to the problem, research methods, and previous research. The second part is an analysis related to the practice of shamanism which is presented in the two works. The third part is an analysis related to the contradiction between the discourse of Eastern irrationality and Western rationality in the two works. The fourth part is an analysis related to the forms of resistance presented through the practice of shamanism in the two works. The last part is the conclusion.
SHAMANIC PRACTICES IN LEJAK AND BONTOTAN

*Lejak* (1935) by Soe Lie Piet and *Bontotan* (1937) by Liem Khing Hoo are two Chinese Malay literary works that highlight the mystical elements of the archipelago, namely ghosts and shamanism practices, in their story lines. *Lejak* tells the story of the terrible terror experienced by a married couple Goesti Ketoet Rai and Retna Wangsi. When traced, it turns out that the leyak who terrorized them was the incarnation of Srirani, Retna Wangsi's colleague who was angry because Goesti Ketoet Rai preferred Retna Wangsi as his wife over herself. Her terror was stopped when Goesti Ketoet Rai asked for help from a Chinese saykong (Taoist priest) named Tjin Beng Todjin. Meanwhile, *Bontotan* tells the story of Soekidja's revenge against the residents of Kampung Tembok for blocking his love for Trisni and ganging up on him almost to death. Then, Soekidja deepened his knowledge and pretended to be a bontotan, a ghost wearing a white shroud like a pocong, and then he terrorized the residents of Kampung Tembok. The terror was then stopped by a shaman named Kijai Manthragoena who was assisted by Trisni. Through the synopsis of the two novels, it appears that both works carry a narrative of the victory of good (white magic and love) against evil (black magic).

In the storyline, *Lejak* and *Bontotan* present two types of shamans, namely healer shaman and black magic shaman. The purpose of the healer shaman is to dispel occult disorders and treat diseases caused by occult disorders. In *Lejak*, the figure of healer shaman is represented by a pedande figure (Hindu priest) who first helped Goesti Ketoet Rai and Tjin Beng Todjin. Meanwhile, the figure of the healer shaman in *Bontotan* is represented by the character Kijai Manthragoena. The figure of the black magic shaman in *Lejak* is represented by the figure of Bapa Droeggama, Srirani's father-in-law who taught her how to become leyak. Meanwhile, Srirani and Njoman Toegoeg in *Lejak*, and Soekidja in *Bontotan* are categorized as adherents of black magic, not black magic shaman. The reason is that the three figures only learn black magic to take revenge on their opponents, not to have it become a livelihood or something they can do for a lifetime.

The presence of two types of shaman figures in *Lejak* and *Bontotan* is in accordance with Craffert's (2011) thinking regarding the function of a shaman in society. In his writing, Craffert
divides the shaman's functions into three, namely healing, controlling spirits, and providing guidance (in the form of prophecy or knowledge) (2011: 61–62). These three functions can be found in every shaman in *Lejak* and *Bontotan*. For example, the character of Bapa Droeggama in *Lejak* was not only able to control the spirits and provide instructions for becoming leyak, but also to heal Srirani and Njoman Toegoeg from Goesti Ketoet Rai's attack (Soe Lie Piet, 1935: 63). This shows that although he acts as a black magician, Bapa Droeggama also has qualities as a healer.

Furthermore, Craffert sees the existence of a shamanic complex, or the complexity of a shaman from the existence of a shaman in society. The complexity of the shaman is seen as a form of recurring pattern in the culture of society which is composed of alternative awareness and social functions that benefit the community (Craffert, 2011: 60). This means that the presence of shaman in the society is a form of alternative awareness of that society, namely people's trust in non-physical things and their need for someone who can assist them. Benefits imply that it can help people get out of the various problems that befall them, both physical and non-physical problems. In other words, the existence of shaman is very dependent on the community's need for himself and his function as a "saviour".

Based on Craffert's thoughts, the explanation regarding the shaman in this paper will focus on the pattern of relationships between the shaman and the community that surrounds him. These patterns are repeated in both works. There are five patterns, namely the characteristic pattern of the shaman; patterns of reciprocal relations between the shaman and the community; people's behaviour patterns in dealing with superstitions; the use of religious elements in the practice of shamanism, especially in the practice of traditional healers; and the victory of the healer shaman. The first pattern is the characteristic pattern of the shaman in *Lejak* and *Bontotan* which consists of symbols and behaviour. Shamanic symbols displayed in both texts include the use of shamanic attributes, such as incense, potions, and witchcraft dolls, as well as the chanting of mantras and prayers. As for the behaviours displayed by the shamans in *Lejak* and *Bontotan*, they have a motive to appear, have high knowledge, and perform certain rituals and practices to perfect their knowledge.
Regarding the characteristic patterns of the shaman, the differences in cultural backgrounds between the shaman in both works also result in differences characteristics of one another. For example, in practicing shamanism, the figures Kijai Manthragoena and Bapa Droeggama use incense, or “kemenyan”, as censer. Meanwhile, the character Tjin Beng Todjin uses hioshwa (Tonghoa incense in the shape of a small stick; hio) instead of “kemenyan”. Another difference is that Tjin Beng Todjin uses several objects with incantations written in Chinese characters and languages, such as the copper nails and arrows he used to attack Bapa Droeggama, Srirani, and Njoman Toegoeg. Likewise, the chanting of prayers and chanting of mantras that he recited are also in Chinese. This indicates that different cultural backgrounds have a strong influence on their shamanism model.

The second pattern is the reciprocal relationship between the shaman and the community in both works. The reciprocal relationship includes two aspects, namely the community to the shaman and the shaman to the community. In the social aspect of the shaman, there is a great deal of trust from the community in the strength and knowledge of the shaman who is believed to be able to overcome all the difficulties they face. Both as a healer and black magic practitioner, the three shamans in both works have similar reputations and are widely asked for help by the community. For example, Kijai Manthragoena is called “soeda mateng tapanja, sakti dan poenja banjak ilmoe-ilmoe gaib” (Liem Khing Hoo, 1937: 55), while Tjin Beng Todjin's healing ability is called “mandjoer sekali obatnja itoe Saykong... dalem 100 orang sakit jang ia toeloeng 90 moesti semboeh...” (Soe Lie Piet, 1935: 87). Meanwhile, Bapa Droeggama is a place for many villagers to “minta obat, minta goena-goena, minta ini atawa itoe apa jang mendjadi masing-masing poenja niatan” (Soe Lie Piet, 1935: 40). Based on these quotations, it can be concluded that these three shaman figures play a central role in the community around them because they become places to ask for help, regardless of their differences in cultural backgrounds and the goals of their shamanistic practice.

Meanwhile, from the perspective of the shaman to the community, the shaman requires the participation of the community, both individually and collectively, to help perfect the rituals of achieving goals. For example, in Bontotan, the shaman character asks the community for help to
perform salvation and make sacrifices to get rid of the ghosts that are terrorizing them (Liem Khing Hoo, 1937: 55). Apart from assisting in the perfection of rituals, shamans also need community assistance to continue to exist in the people's lives and cultures.

The third pattern is the pattern of people's behaviour in dealing with things that are superstitious. In Lejak and Bontotan, people are described as those who believe in the existence of supernatural beings, such as ghosts and magic creatures, such as leyak. In the face of magical disturbances, people choose a magical solution. This magical solution is accommodated by the shamans using the knowledge and powers they have.

The fourth pattern is the use of religious elements in the practice of shamanism, especially in the practice of healer shaman. Based on religion, Bontotan shows that Kijai Manthragoena embraced Islam through the Arabic prayers which he recited when dealing with bontotan (Liem Khing Hoo, 1937: 57). Meanwhile, the character Tjin Beng Todjin in Lejak is depicted as a Taoist, which is shown through his behaviour when praying in the bio (temple) before meeting Goesti Ketoet Rai (Soe Lie Piet, 1935: 88). He also uses prayers, hoes (talisman), and hioshwa (incense) which are identically used in Taoism to ward off distractions by ghosts and witchcraft. Of the three shaman figures in both works, only the character of Bapa Droeggama is depicted as not affiliated with any religion. The use of religious elements also shows that the practice of shamanism recognizes not only supernatural things at the level of existence, but also the concept of divinity in the form of religion.

The fifth pattern is the victory of the healer shaman with a good moral compass. For example, in Lejak, the healer shaman managed to overcome the terror of leyak and defeated the black magic shaman who started the terror. Meanwhile, in Bontotan, the healer shaman is successful in driving away the terror of the bontotan ghost, although with the help of another party (Trisni). The impact of the actions of the two shamans is to bring back peace to the community. This shows that both works win in terms of the moral aspect, namely goodness for many people.
EASTERN IRRATIONALISTS AND WESTERN RATIONALISTS IN LEJAK AND BONTOTAN

In the introduction, it is mentioned that Western rationality emphasizes reason, science, and the results of the human mindset, and considers things outside of them (such as superstition and belief) as a form of irrationality. During its development, Western rationality became the reason for the European nations to colonize other parts of the world that had not been touched (Lilja, 2013: 203). Western rationality is synonymous with modernization, and modernization is identical with the tendency of colonialist behaviour to make people in their colonies "civilized". Thus, being civilized in the eyes of colonialism means following Western values, living standards, and ways of thinking (Aschcroft, 2000: 120).

The view of a colonialists who see their colonies as irrational and uncivilized nations is in line with Said's conception of othering efforts by the colonialists to their colonized nations. In Said's view, Western nations represented by European colonialism see the East or the colonies as something different, the other. The dichotomy between West and East is influenced by something that is hierarchical, oppositional, and oppressive; the colonizing nations oppress and enforce new institutions for their colonized nations (Said, 1978: 53‒86), especially for colonies that are considered irrational because of their beliefs and their living arrangements before the arrival of the colonizers.

The contradiction between the West and the East discourse also appears in the quotations in both texts. In both texts, it is stated that people's belief in superstition in the form of supernatural beings and shamanic practices is contrary to Western thinking. For example, in Bontotan, we can find the following quotations.
“Kaoe ini seperti Blanda sadja, selaloe tida maoe pertjaja pada setan-setan.”
“Memang, anggepan dan pemandengannja orang koelit poeti ada betoel, soeal setan atawa memedi itoe diangggep satoe nonsens besar.” (Liem Khing Hoo, 1937: 8)

Meanwhile, in Lejak, we can find the following quotations.


Tentang setan-setan, iblis, lelemboet, rewiwa atawa dengen laen perkata’an machloek-machloek aloes, bagi orang jang mengarti tentang soeal-soeal occult memang boekannja tida ada sama sekali. Seperti djoega soeal Spiritisme, soeal setan-setan poen ada bergantoeng atas masing-masing orang dan golongan poenja kapertjaja’an: bahoea siapa jang pertjaja bisa djadi ADA, sebaliknja jang TIDA pertjaja djadi bisa TIDA. (Soe Lie Piet, 1935: 75)

Based on these two quotes, it appears that both Bontotan and Lejak cite the contradiction between those who believe in superstition such as ghosts ("setan-setan") and those who do not. In Bontotan, it is clearly stated that those who do not believe in the existence of ghosts are "Blanda" or "orang koelit poeti": a synonym for Western nations. For "Blanda" or "koelit poeti", the existence of ghosts is considered as "satoe nonsens besar", or things that do not make sense, are irrational, and cannot be verified. The same thing is seen in Lejak's quote which emphasizes that the Balinese are primitive people because they believe in superstitions such as ghosts and worship gods. The difference is Bontotan explicitly states that it was Western nations who saw this belief
as irrational. Meanwhile, Lejak's quote tends to be implicit, that is it does not explicitly mention Western nations, but includes the core of the Western view which sees superstition as primitive (Peerson, 2004). Furthermore, in the Lejak quote, a description of the existence of spirits that depend on belief is also presented. For those who believe (the Balinese as representatives of the East), the existence of spirits is real. However, for those who do not believe (Western nations), its existence certainly does not make sense.

Said's conception regarding the othering is also evident in the two quotes. In both quotes, it appears that those who believe in the existence of ghosts and superstitions are the other who are inferior to the West. The choice of words such as "nonsens", "primitief", "koekoeh dengan kakoenoean", and "poenja kapertja'an pada segala hal jang bersifat tachajoel" to describe the Eastern nation (in this case the Javanese people in Bontotan and Balinese in Lejak) is the form of positioning of the Eastern nation in a negative light. On the other hand, Western nations implicitly position themselves as the opposite of all this negativity, namely as a rational and non-superstitious nation.

SHAMANIC PRACTICE AS RESISTANCE IN LEJAK AND BONTOTAN

Western rationality brought by the colonialists subsequently led to the presence of resistance from the colonized nations. According to James Scott, resistance has four characteristics, namely (1) organic, systematic, and cooperative, (2) having the principle of selflessness, (3) consequence, revolutionary, and (4) eliminating the back base around family life (Scott, 2000: 385). In addition, he also states that the resistance carried out by the colonized was not always in the form of open resistance in the form of large-scale resistance movements, but it was also hidden, or disguised resistance in the form of maintaining traditional values in everyday life. Hidden resistance is symbolic and ideological in nature, which is presented in the form of rejection of ideology that is imposed on society. Furthermore, he sees that this form of resistance tends to be safer than resistance in the form of large-scale movements targeting the government system (Scott, 1989).
When analysed using the concept of resistance by James Scott, people's belief in the occult which leads to their belief in shamans in both works is a form of hidden resistance. It is called hidden resistance because the public's belief in shaman is a manifestation of a defended ideology, namely the ideology of belief in superstition. Furthermore, the defence of this ideology is not presented as a form of open resistance to Western ideology, but it is presented as a form of community customs and traditions.

There are two forms of hidden resistance that are manifested through the practice of shamanism in *Lejak* and *Bontotan*. The first aspect is the selection of a shaman to solve problems experienced by the characters. In both works, the figure of a healer shaman is present to overcome the ghost terror that plagues society. In *Bontotan*, Kijai Manthragoena is summoned after Wirja, a hero who does not believe in ghosts, dies as a result of the terror of the bontotan (Liem Khing Hoo, 1937: 55). This is unique because Wirja is a character who follows Western views by not believing in ghosts and superstitions, but instead dies at the hands of ghosts. Wirja's death and the arrival of Kijai Manthragoena seem to symbolize that Western rationality could not solve the problems that were taking place in the Eastern society. The same thing is seen in the selection of Hindu pedandes and Tjing Beng Todjin who were said to be the exorcists of the Leyak terror in *Lejak* (Soe Lie Piet, 1935: 87). The choice of a saviour from religious and highly knowledgeable circles in *Lejak* seems to reiterate that society thinks that the problems of the East can only be solved by Eastern people, methods, and understandings.

The second aspect is the maintenance of collective community rituals, such as salvation and the giving of offerings. In *Lejak*, it is known that Balinese people put offerings in the form of food for spirits in the hope that these spirits do not interfere with their lives (Soe Lie Piet, 1935: 75). As for *Bontotan*, Kijai Manthragoena asked the community to hold salvation and give animal sacrifices as a ritual to drive out the ghosts of bontotan (Liem Khing Hoo, 1937: 55). Similar to the first aspect, these ritual forms persist even though they are considered irrational because they are considered to accommodate solutions to problems in the Eastern society.

These two aspects are in accordance with Scott's view of resistance. As a form of resistance, these two aspects have accommodated the interests of many people who maintain their "irrational"
beliefs. The defence of these two aspects is also revolutionary because it makes the existence of the shaman persist in people's lives, without having to openly reject Western views. Finally, as a hidden resistance, these two aspects tend to be more safely practiced in people's daily lives in the text. As a result, the practice of shamanism based on this belief is still present, even though its existence is rejected by Western rationality.

In addition to reflecting hidden resistance, these two aspects also reflect spiritualism, particularly Eastern spiritualism. Elements of spiritualism include belief in things that are transcendent, such as supernatural beings and the concept of divinity in religion, focus on humanist aspects, such as the relationship between humans and between humans and the natural environment (including the world of spirits), and are guided by morals. Spiritualism lives in the practice of people's lives and is considered to bring harmony to that life so that its presence continues. This condition is certainly different from Western rationality which originates from the results of a scientific-based thinking framework, is theoretical, and emphasizes reasonability. Thus, the presence of *Lejak* and *Bontotan* implicitly also shows the contradiction between Eastern spirituality and Western rationality.

**LEJAK AND BONTOTAN IN THE INDONESIAN LITERARY MAP**

As both works were published in the colonial period, to be precise in the 1930s, the context of the creation of *Lejak* and *Bontotan* certainly cannot be separated from the context of colonialism that ruled the archipelago at that time. *Lejak* and *Bontotan* are examples of Chinese Malay literary works, cultural products that the colonial government underestimated. The cause of this bad view is the use of Low Malay in Chinese Malay literary works. Low Malay or “Melayu Pasar” is a spoken language used by the Indigenous people (apart from their respective regional languages) and Chinese Peranakan groups. In other words, Low Malay is a representation of the lower classes in the social stratification of colonial society in the archipelago.

Meanwhile, at the same time the colonial government was campaigning for “noble literature” using High Malay (the forerunner of today's Indonesian language) produced by Balai
Pustaka, their fostered publisher (Fitzpatrick, 2000: 118). The use of High Malay was opposed by Chinese Peranakan writers because they had long used Low Malay in the writing of their works (Maier 1991: 76‒77). According to Susanto, the Chinese community showed their disapproval of Western rationality through writings and literary works that indicated "a rejection of the western world, realized by emphasizing ancestral and local traditions" (Susanto, 2015: 261). This condition is evidenced by Lejak and Bontotan that not only consistently use Low Malay in their writing, but also present local issues, namely the mystical archipelago and the practice of shamanism. The contradiction that occurred between literary works under the guidance of the colonial government and literary works of Chinese Malay, in the form, theme, and language used, eventually led to the existence of Chinese Malay literature, especially those that aggressively voiced the realities of community life at that time, tended to be marginalized, or even eradicated by the colonial government.

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that Lejak and Bontotan show the contradiction between Eastern irrationality and Western rationality discourse through the presence of people’s belief in superstitions, including the practice of shamanism. Regarding this contradiction, it appears that there have been attempts of othering from the West to the East on the basis of Eastern beliefs in superstitious matters. Furthermore, the clash resulted in hidden resistance through the existence of shamanism in both works. The practice of shamanism as a form of hidden resistance in Lejak and Bontotan keeps its existence based on this belief, even though its existence is rejected by Western rationality.

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