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From Centre to Centrifugal Dispersion of the Maritime 'Melayu' culture: Modelling the Regional Reverberations of The Medieval Melaka empire.

This paper attempts to reconstruct the famed city of Melaka at its height in the 15th and 16th centuries, to its subsequent dispersion in the 17th to 19th centuries. Melaka's cultural-political influences and impact as a center of the common Melayu based culture and civilisation can be gauged fromits original center in Melaka city as its initial axis of power; which dispersed into surrounding regions. Through visual, cartographic and lithographic sources, the city – before 1511 - is reconstructed and its architecture and core areas are modelled. Subsequently, after its fall, its influences was traced as centrifugal forces, which manifest in terms of cultural and stylistic forms that expanded beyond the realm of its initial center and limits of its port city. As its center of power reconsolidated into surrounding regions; its influence goes beyond the compact Melayu city and re-consolidated into a transnational regional and cultural powerbase. The paper combines both historical and modelling methods to demonstrate the essentially 'Melayu' or Malay urban-architectural form of the center, and its survival in terms of a socio-cultural dominion rather than physical city-form. It remained a Malay-based yet multilcultural polity which survived despite changes in its center of power. Its centrifugal dispersion is represented by reverberations of its architectural stylistic forms in surrounding regions and its centripetal influence was its cultural force that can still be seen throughout centuries in the sketches, paintings and depictions of urban life, landscape and architecture of the 17th to the 19 th centuries in the South East Asian archipelago region. The paper reflects how forms of architecture, landscape and urban design are traces of a common culture and civilisation that stretches beyond present national borders and which reflect and resonates with the nature of a maritime-based culture which is reflective of a transnational, multinational and multicultural nature of a regionally-based nation-state in medieval times.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The pre-colonial East Asian maritime world during the 15th and 16th century in archipelagic Asia has been described as a 'cultural, religious, and commercial meeting place'. Such times portray a different form of community that is characterised by fluidity ethnicities national borders which reflect both local and neighboring cultural influences which absorbed surrounding influences like osmosis. Reid (2001) for example, observes the common culture within South East Asia that goes beyond the present geographies and boundaries of the nation state: "If Malaysia, Indonesia ... today each have a core culture, as I think they do, its historical basis in all three cases seems to be 'Malayness', a cultural complex centred in the language called 'Melayu'. As one of the hallmark of medieval South East Asia, medieval times were characterised by these port cities, and 'unclear borders attempting to acquire appropriate borders and political status'.

The last prince of Srivijayan origin, Parameswara, fled to Temasik to seek refuge before moving farther north, where he founded what would become the Malacca (Melaka) Sultanate. Melaka became a prime medieval city of the Melayu and South East Asian maritime world, and was essentially multicultural in nature. Its focus on trade and the essentially close links between livelihood and the sea and river had made Melaka (as with other medieval port cities) essentially compact and densed, and were geographical located in coastal and riverine region.

These cultural geographies bred a form of tropical urbanism – which its own physical and cultural lifestyles and forms. In medieval Melaka, the axis became the Sultanate based on the Melayu culture and religion, but which melded cultures, communities, ethnicities and races. It was a port that became a city that reflect a locally-rooted population but which played host to both East and Western groups and had selectively absorbed global influences throughout time. The city then eventually manifested its own stylistic and cultural expressions in architecture and landscape, and

upon its first rupture, these had centrifugally diffused across the region as physical legacies of its influence.

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

From around 9th to the 15th century, river-based cities in the South East Asian archipelago had experience a period of cultural and economic growth and prosperity. Generally by the end of 18th centuries, these densed urbanised centers of settlements had consolidated and became locally-bred and individually-governed centers. Before the advent, arrival and control of groups of foreign Colonialists, these urban centers had particular physical, political and cultural traits and characteristics. The Melayu region was known as settlements which have common traits of language, physical features and cultural traditions. The region contained port cities with regional commercial centres often located at wide river mouths coastal rather than distant upstream region network with multiple coastal centres rather than one strong overpowering centre horizontally linked equitable urban centres. Hall's description (1979) of such states and cities as a form of 'hetararchy' is apt in describing their uniqueness and defining character within this maritime region: "these early maritime hetararchy was a religious ideological and commercial world multicentre - linked community based on the pluralism of its members and their flexible capacity to readily add to new circumstances."

The Malay – Nusantara archipelago was essentially lands within a large sea and thus had large navigable river mouths and coastal areas. Melaka, due to unique consolidation of forces and factors had evolved into a dynamic city with a densely populated network of trade and agrarian resources. During peaceful times, and during its expansion, it was characterised as a city which had grown from a coast and whose densed 'jungle' hinterland was close to the city boundary and the coast. Its urban density was high yet there were areas of lower densities such as around the palatial surroundings and immediately before hinterland.

As Hashim (1992) describes: "Three areas of Me-

laka which were densely populated: Upeh (present Tanquerah) to the north, Iler(Bandar Hilir) stretching right until Tanjopacer (present Ujong Pasir) and Sabac, the area around Melaka river stretching to its estuary."

The city itself is characterised by similarities with other maritime cities in the East Asia littoral region, which combined life in land and seas into string of ports and polities that pulsed with trade, learning and culture. Thus by the 15th century, Melaka was one of the key ports straddling the Straits of Melaka (Malacca). By the early 16th century, it was particularly known for its blend of multiculturalism and in the city alone, 84 languages was spoken. It became synonymous with a trading center which multiple cultures co-existed and communicated as was hosted by the governing Sultanate and his administration. It housed locally permanent and transient populations that had transited the portcity as they criss-cross seas, straits and other ports in search of goods, prosperity, and knowledge.

1.2 MELAKA-ITS CULTURAL ECONOMY AND POPULACE

Melaka (or Malacca) had held a particular fascination for historians, geographers and anthropologists for decades. To the local Malays, it represent a heritage of their identity, while to foreigners and external groups, it was a city which blended the richness of Asia, yet which are rooted in its local populations of the Malay ethnic groups. These local groups through trade, had fused with other cultures to form multivariate yet indigenous roots of place. The close and symbiotic link between the prosperity and a trade-based economy had grown from shared transportation route, the sea had evolved Melaka's urbanism as a reflection of its optimised location and efficiency as a meeting place and as a trading center.

Its was basically a medieval Malay city with a multicultural populace. Hashim (1992; p. 236) describes and summarises the transient populace of Melaka: "Generally speaking'orang perantau' or people from other regions, fell into two categories: first were the mercenaries employed by Melaka

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themselves, ie from Java and Pasai, including those who served as religious teachers. The second group is those who were involved in economic activities. Ranging from peddlars to wealthy traders. ...then there were those who settled at the port and those who made periodic visits." These bred multicultural expressions, and the peculiarities of cosmopolitanism of 15th century South East Asia. Its positioning along the South China Sea had enhanced its ability to connect the eastern and western trade blocks of the world; including the continuous trade and exchanges between China and India. As acutely described by Hong (2016): "From a historical perspective, they (the port cities including Melaka) functioned as veranda or window paving a way to a broader world. It was through port cities that commercial and cultural interactions took place in the East Asian maritime world".

2. MELAKA - A SOCIO-POLITICAL DESCRIPTION

Melaka thrived on its location in the middle of the change of monsoonal winds. It was built from the trade activities of maritime South East Asia and had strategically grew midpoint between 'the turn of two monsoonal winds' and at the mouth of a large navigational river and deltaic plain, allowing ships to easily navigate and birth. Thus it strategically grew midpoint between 'the turn of two monsoonal winds' and at the mouth of a large navigational river and deltaic plain, allowing ships to easily navigate and birth (across centuries sedimentation had continued at the river mouth and the shoreline has changed).

The founding by Parameswara, also known as Iskandar Shah, was according to legend, a prince who had found his way to Malacca around 1402 where he found a port accessible in all seasons and on the strategically located narrowest point of the Malacca Straits (Figure 1). As Lobato (2012) described: "the lifeblood of Melaka was commerce. During the fourteenth century the Strait was the crucial sector of the world's major trade route which had one terminus in Venice – or even further westwards – and the other in the Molucca islands (Maluku). Spices were carried through the archipelago over many routes".

Basically, through historical sources, by the 15th and 16th centuries, Melaka as a city and state grew to its apotheosis. It was the example of a city state that represents a breakaway from the previous 'nagara' centralising civilisations with productive agrarian hinterlands.

3. METHODOLOGY

Using cartographic, lithographic, visual and artistic sources, the paper reconstructs both Melaka as a city and surroundings before 1511 (fall to the Portuguese) and traces its dispersion of power after 1511. As part of a two year research study, the project aimed not only to reconstruct this past historical city, but to link such sources with the dispersion of 'Melaka' as a transnational dominion that spinned off a network of post-1511 states and centers of power. These can be seen today by similarities in architectural language found in this region throughout its past network of Sultanate based centers. While there is a lack of documentation of Melaka and many missing documents, artistic, cartographic and lithographic sources suggest useful aspects of the Melakan civilization of that era, which cannot be seen in historical description and present studies of heritage structures and urban patterns found on site. Lithographic and travellers sketches (by Dutch, English and Portuguese before and after 1511) are particularly useful in defining the architecture of Melaka. By 1700s the artistic renderings and painting suggests an overall view of Melaka from the point of foreigners. These works of structures and landscape highlight key identities and its position and role before and after colonisation. Amidst the imagination and assumptions contained within these sources, the overall impact of these drawings, sketches and visuals, indicates key factors of the nature, significance and structure and morphology of the city include traits such as architecture and landscape. In doing so, it renews a collective perception and outlook that assists the narrative of a culturally rooted region and powerbase. A picture emerges not only from the historical archival

research and documentation, but from the mapping and three dimensional reconstruction which assist in visualising its character. Both its urban forms and architectural character highlight the significance of this city; which reflect the essential multicultural nature of its conditions and identity, which had eventually disintegrated after an initial but eventual dispersion due to colonial impact and rupture.

4. RATIONALE OF STUDY

This paper highlights that Melaka never lost its transnational character even after its fall to the Portuguese and then the Dutch, and its power was still recognised beyond that of a mere city. The paper highlights the continued axis of power of Melaka through a centrifugal dispersion. The South East Asian region and its nations are such that the local heritage urban landscape and structure should not lose its original landscape setting and significance. These stand most at risk of degeneration and disappearance altogether. In terms of the tropics, both architecture and landscape are collectively legacies that must be viewed jointly in terms of a historical remnant which have been largely decimated by time, in order to appreciate the unique and intense character of a tropical maritime region. Such original architecture in timber and large landscaped trees and orchards have largely disappeared across time or been destroyed either by successive development,or earlier by colonisation or merely by tropical humidity and hazards such as war and fire.

5. RESULTS

Based on the historical research as summarised above and the archival material collected, a reconstruction of the city, its architecture, its urban core and subsequently the character of its surrounding diffusion is mapped and modelled. The essentially feudalistic nature of Malay society is brought on to Melaka of the 15th century and the polity is characterized byhow their lives were centered around their 'Rajas' or Sultanates. Malay culture,

sees the ruler himself as he or she was the visible manifestation of the indigenous culture. As the center of the Malay political system, the longevity of the royal institution was seen to guarantee the longevity of the society. Malay subjects considered themselves not in states or governments but in a 'kerajaan' (meaning monarch-based polity) which can be defined as a system or the condition of having a 'raja'. The ruler's greatness was constantly judged or assessed by relating his action on how the institutional system preserved the customs, ceremonies and traditions of the people and the ruler is at the apex of a system.

Melaka was such a polity which grew locally and with local forms. Milner (1982) describes: "The Malay rulers reflected the organizing principle in the Malay world". Thus it can be described as part of an evolution in three parts:

1. The character of 16th century Melaka before 1511 which suggest its original local character, form and identity which gives an idea of the locally rooted forms and character before external influences and impingement;
2. Its character after 1511;
3. Elements of its centrifugal dispersion after 1700s, as per Hall (2016), their centripetal and centrifugal 'roles in relation to outlying regions way from the metropolis centre there is shared vernacular amongst the cultural linked networked centres'.

Fig. 1 - The Malay Sultanates were cities and hinterland as in the 1500s to the 1800s (Milner, 1999) (source: Milner, 2011).

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5.1 MELAKA BEFORE 1511

5.1.1 ARCHIVAL HISTORICAL SOURCES - KEY NOTES

As a 15th maritime city that grew from the local traditions and indigenous populations its growth was rapid such that its form n urban pattern were some what fee from external influences and pressures.it was known as a city which facilitated trade and grew from the benefits of maritime trading. Yet its zenith was not long lasting as it fell to Portuguese forces however while the city fell the monarchical institution continue in power and prestige earning the loyalty of its constituents of vassal states. Summary of key descriptions and quotes are as follows:

1. At the height of its commercial activity, Melaka in the words of Barbosa, was "the richest port with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and with most shipping and trading activities." (source: M. L. Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1918, p. 175).
2. In this connection, Tome Pires and Eredia speak of Bazaar Jawa, Kampung Kling, Kampung Pasai, and Bukit China in the northern (see, Hassan and Yahaya Abu Bakar, *Melaka as a historic City*, p. 107).
3. In the Sejarah Melayu, Melaka was described as follows: "The city of Melaka at that time flourished exceedingly, and many foreigners resorted thither...such was the greatness of Melaka at that time, in the city alone there were a hundred and ninety thousand people, to say nothing of the inhabitants of the outlying territories and coastal districts." (C. C. Brown (tr.), Sejarah Melayu, *The Malay Annals*, Oup, Hong Kong 1976, p. 151).
4. Varthema who claimed to visit Melaka in 1506 A.D. had this to say about the port: "truly I believed, that more ships arrived here than any other place in the world, and especially there came here all sorts of spices and an immense quantity of other merchandise". (see, Sir Carnac Temple. *The Itenary of Ludovico Varthema*

of Bologna from 1502 to 1506. The Argonaout Press, London, 1928, p.84).
5. Aroujo's long letter which was smuggled out from Melaka explained in detail the account on Melaka's trade. At any time he wrote, between 90 and 100 junks (juncos), big and small, and some 150 praos (prahus) entered the port. It was also known according to him that between 30 junks and some more prahus belonged to the king of Melaka and native merchants. (see Yahaya Abu Bakar. *In Search of the Flor de la Mar*, pp. 22-24).
6. As to the question of habitation and settlement around Melaka port, Aroujo made known to us that here, one can possibly see at least 10.000 houses which were situated along the coast and the river of Melaka. This description of Melaka is further enhanced by Giovanni who among other things mentioned; "the town is situated near the sea-shore and thickly strewn with houses and rooms, and it stretches for three leagues which is most beautiful to see" (see, A. Bausani, *Lettera di Giovanni da Empoli*, Roma, 1970, p. 132).
7. We need to refer to the earlier Chinese documents of the 15th century which provide a glimpse into the settlements of the local inhabitants. According to these Chinese sources the Malay "houses are raised on one-storey platforms and lack a layer of planks (against the ground), but a floor of split coconut-palms is erected and lashed with rattan - exactly as if it were a sheep-pen at the height of about four-feet" (See, Harry Benda and John Larkin (eds.), *The World of S. East Asia*, *Selected Historical Readings*. Harper and Row Limited, N. York, 1967, p. 16).

In Malacca during the early 15th century, Ming China actively sought to develop a commercial hub and a base of operation for their treasure voyages into the Indian Ocean. In 1405, the Ming court dispatched Admiral Zheng Ma Huan reported that Siam did would no longer invade Malacca but aknowledge of Siam's role as an important regional power and of its previous aggressive and

expansionist intentions towards the Melaka sultanate, which had in the past repeatedly appealed to the Ming Emperor for protection. For example, in 1431, a Malaccan representative complained that Siam was obstructing tribute missions to the Ming court, the Xuande Emperor dispatched Zheng He carrying a threatening message for the Siamese king saying "You, king should respect my orders, develop good relations with your neighbours, examine and instruct your subordinates and not act recklessly or aggressively."
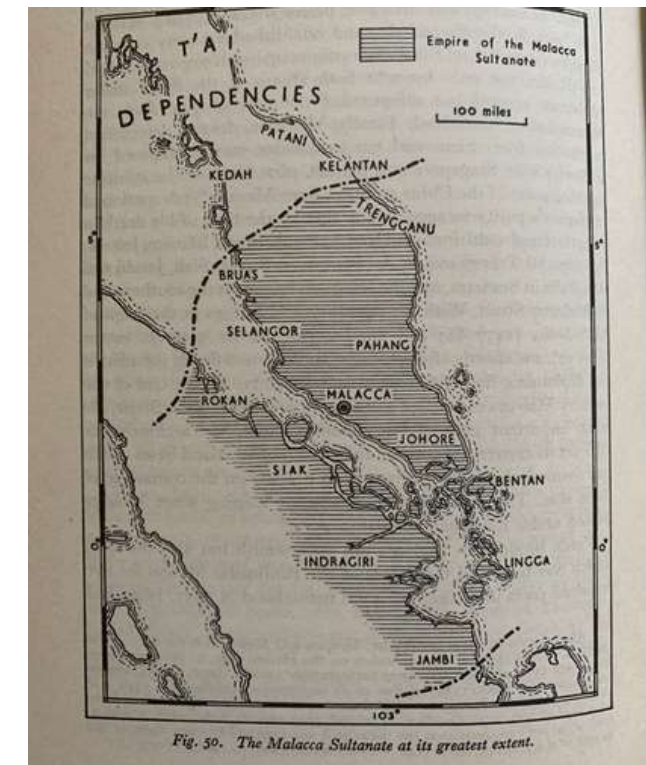

Fig. 2 - The multicultural urban identity of medieval Melaka portrayed in this Chinese-source art work (source: Wheatley, 1961).

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5.1.2 INITIAL 3D MODELLING AND RECONSTRUCTION

Using the above textual and historical sources and mapping software, CAD tools and rendering tools such as 3D max, a reconstruction estimate was undertaken to visualise the ancient Malay city of the past. Figure 3 and figure 4 presents examples of the three dimensional modelling which found:

1. The original palace - although on a hill - was aligned with the bridge in a straight line facing west;
2. The original mosque was located where the present fort of A Famosa is located;
3. The palace, houses and mosque was built and sited following the terrain contours;
4. These key buildings was surrounded by orchards and greenery and the combination of landscape, shade and river proximity created a cool climate for the inhabitants despite the heat of the tropics.

5.2 MELAKA CITY AFTER 1511

Hashim (1992) highlights how the distribution of population was similar before and immediate decades after 1511. Eredia in Mills (2012), describe Melaka in the early 1600s as follows:
"The district of Malacca abuts on the sea coast: commencing (1) from the mouth of the River Panagim, it runs from north-west to (2) south-east, a distance of 12 leagues, to the mouth of the River (3) Muar (4). The north and north-eastern boundary, running inland, forms a semi-circle with a diameter of 8 leagues, till it reaches the mountains of Batan Malaca and the sources of the rivers Panagim (5) and Muar; that is to say, the source of a branch of the River Panagim near Sunecopon and Nany, and the source of another (6) (7) branch of the River Muar, near Jol (8). In fact, Malacca territory is contained within a semi-circle 20 leagues in circumference running round from the mouth of the River Panagim to the mouth of the River Muar. Midway between the extreme limits along the coast lies the mouth of the fresh river and the happily-situated fortress of Malaca, built on the south.
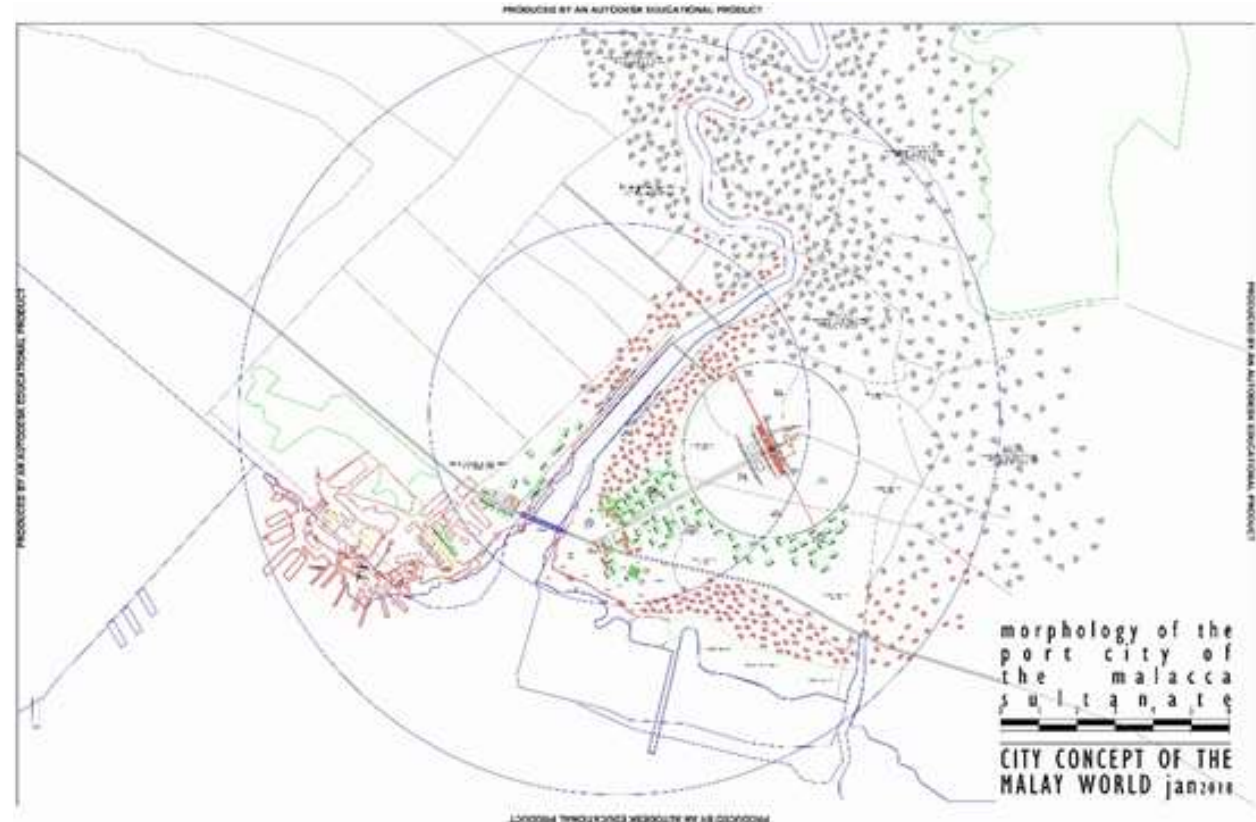

Fig. 3b - Early 16th century Melaka port Asian city - a morphological estimation for visual and lithographic sources – drawing to scale (source: with permission, Kamariah Kamaruddin. Orientation of palace is not updated. please refer to Figure 20 for correct updated orientation) (Copyright :Kamariah Kamaruddin)

Although there is no mapping of the city itself before 1511, yet the document, 'Sejarah Melayu' describes the city and its density: "The population of Melaka is exceedingly large, all the traders were gathered there, there was no break in the houses, and from Kampung Keling to Kuala Penajoh there was also no break, if a person went from Malacca to Jugra,he need bear no light, for wherever he halted there would be a house."
Figures 4 and 5 show a glimpse of how cartography evolved over the centuries, but they also contain so many stories about Malaya's (and later Malaysia's) progress over the last 600 years. European exploration during the Age of Discovery allowed voyagers to map the "rest of the world".

Fig. 3a - Melaka – urban core layout reconstruction showing palace on the hill (from the authors 3d model study, not to scale, source: authors own visualisation).

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Fig. 4 - A 1683 map of the Italians surveyors showing the observation of the division of Malay states (queda=kedah, Pera=Perak, Ihor=Johor, Pahan (or Pan)=Pahang, Patane=Patani Kelantan Terengganu) based on as seen from Italian discoverers and their viewpoint, showing the partitioning of cultural identities of the Malay world and the socio-political divisions of the Malay states in front of (source: of South East Asia, 1687 (ink on paper) by French School, 17th century).

Fig. 5b - Dutch plan of the city of Melaka in 1780 showing the fort on the hill and full reaches of the harbour zone (source: Reimer Hoofdplan van de stad en Kasteel Malacca, volgens gedane meeting, ter order van de H.H. Vaillant, Ver-Huell en Graevesteyn, CommissarissenMilitair enz. [Master Plan of the city and Castle of Melaka, made according to meeting, in the order of H. H. Vaillant, Ver-Huell and Graevesteyn,Commissioners Military etc.], Nationaal Archief 2016).

Fig. 5a - The 1680 map of Melaka by the Dutch showing the city has been converted into a fortress and port zone (source: hand-coloured 1596 map is part of the National Singapore Library's David Parry Southeast Asian Map Collection).

Fig. 6 - The Melaka city map by the 1920s (source: Cornell University, courtesy, Columbia University, New York) showing the relatively compact nature of the city before the advent of the motor vehicle in the Malay peninsular.

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5.3 MELAKA AS A POWER BASE AND ITS RECONSOLIDATION AFTER THE 1600s.

The reverberations and reaches of Melaka into neighboring regions due its centrifugal and centripetal strength as a socio-political force include:

5.3.1 JOHOR

The centrifugal dispersion of Melaka - after 1511 reflected how Melaka's dominion and center of power did not fall as the city fell in 1511. This dominion had continued to exists as the power base of the Malay Sultanate merely shifted to another center. Yet physically the urban form of the city had changes i.e the forces of colonialisation had turned the city of Melaka hill into a fortress due to the successive attacks of both local and foreign powers. After 1511, the reign of Melaka as a socio-political and socio-cultural still presided over the Malay region and particularly the states of Riau, Johore and Pahang until 1812. By 1822, the Sultanate was base within the Johor region as the regalia of the monarchy was found in kingdom of Riau - Johore – Pahang; had resided there. After the fall of Malacca at the hands of the Portuguese, the axis of regional power was inherited by the Johor Sultanate. The axis of power of the Melaka monarchy had merely shifted into other centers. Cartographic drawings such as below (Figure 11) suggest the recognition of colonialists of this shift and they had continued to follow, map and trace the centrifugal dispersion of Melaka seen as the center of power of the Malay world to the Riau - lingga islands by the late 1700s.

Johor in the 1700s was then the kingdom stretched across half of the Malay Peninsular, eastern Sumatra, Singapore, Bangka, Jambi and the Riau Islands, which some described as the 'golden age'.The Riau Archipelago was originally part of the original Malaccan dominion due to efforts of its key minister Tun Perak in the 15th century. As the axis of Melaka power evolved into the Johor Sultanate, this dominion included about half of the Malay Peninsular, eastern Sumatra, Singapore, Bangka, Jambi and the Riau Islands. The 1849 Johor Annals, describes how on 27 September 1673 the

(admiral) of Johor, Tun Abdul Jamil, was ordered by Abdul Jalil Shah III to found a settlement in Sungai Carang, Ulu Riau, on Bintan Island. Known as Riau Lama, this settlement then prospered and became an key entrepôt for regional trade in the Strait of Malacca. The capital was sacked by Jambi forces on 4 October 1722. Riau Lama then became the capital of the empire for 65 years, from 1722 to 1787. The Sultan Mahmud Shah III relocated the capital from Riau Lama, Ulu Riau, Bintan to Daik, Lingga in 1788. In 1812, the Johor-Riau Sultanate experienced a succession crisis.

5.3.2 PEKANTUA KINGDOM OF KAMPAR SUMATERA, 1511 TO 1515 (LATER NAMED THE PELALAWAN REGION AND TOWN IN SUMATERA)

Basically immediately after the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511, the Sultanate moved further south for protection near the north of Johor, before finally moving to Kampar Sumatera. Although it was believed that Sultan Mahmud exiled to Pahang for two years, it was known that he eventually died in Kampar, Sumatera. Presently there are still amongst the heritage a few surviving structures, but many original structures have perished. There are two palaces of the Pelalawan region which have been restored by the Indonesia locally authorities.

It can be seen that the architectural language of the Pelalawan palace had elements of the double layer roof and the curved staircase (Figure 12) and which however had developed into the Pelalawan palace and royal complex. Yet the original palace is no longer present. Below is an account of the palace of the Sultan, which perished in a fire.

Andaya (1975) describes an account of a fire which represented a typical fire incident which has devoured a work of Malay architecture of the time: "To complicate matters...at about 11 o clock in 1709, fire broke out in anatap hut where someone was cooking banana fritters. The fire spread quickly through the city of Pancor, reducing it to a heap of ashes. In this conflagaration, which laste some five to six hours, 300 wooden and atap houses, including the sultan's istana, were completely destroyed. The loss of the istana was particularly

painful. According to Malay sources-the istana was about 180 to 192 feet in length with wooden roof and walls, carved both in the Chinese and Malay styles. The doors were inlaid and outlined in ivory, and on each of the columns of the audience hall were mirrors and carvings crowned by scroll motif capital. Even the railing in the Istana was of fine latticework of various colors".

5.3.3 THE RIAU-LINGGA ISLANDS (FROM 16TH CENTURY ONWARDS TILL 1824)

By the 18th century the centrifugal dispersion of Melaka as a socio-political power still found its perserverance in the active legacy in the Johor Riau Lingga Pahang dynastic polity. However by 1800s, this polity or family network was weakened. As the British colonialists gradually gained power through the Straits Settlements after their first trading post establishment in Penang in 1786, their influence grew while the Dutch control also grew and expanded into Sumatera from Java. Both their interests began to collide leading to the treaty of 1824. Before and after this year, there were constant negotiations and agreements with the reigning Sultanates; including negotiations between the socio-political influence of both institution. Due to the competition and rivalry between the Dutch and the British, who were actively involved in the Johor-Riau administration between 1812–1818. Both their interests were asserted through intervention to strengthened their dominance in the Strait of Malacca. The Dutch entered into an agreement with the Johor-Riau Sultanate in November 1818 to stipulate that the Dutch were to be the paramount leaders of the Johor-Riau Sultanate and that only Dutch people could engage in trade with the kingdom. This led to the partition of Johor-Riau under the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824, island of Singapore and Johor were to be under British influence, while the south of the strait along with Riau and by which the region north of the Singapore Strait including the Lingga were to be controlled by the Dutch.

The installation of a new sultan was only valid if it took place with the royal Malay regalia. This regalia was fundamental to the installation of the sultan;

it was a symbol of power, legitimacy and the sove-reignty of the Malay state. They were so important to the recognition of power in the Malay region that it was taken by force by the Dutch government of Melaka by 1822s, in order to ensure the power transfer to the Colonialists from the Malay polity. The Johor-Riau polity effectively came to an end by this time as 'the colonialists satisfied their colonial ambitions'. Inevitably, by 1911, The Dutch officially annexed the sultanate to avoid future claims from the Malay-Melaka monarchy.

A threshold is the year 1824, in which these events came to a head. An agreement was meted out between the British and the Dutch powers – one which had changed the geographical and national dynamics in the region forever. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 had massive repercussions in the Malay region, and which had culturally, and ge-ographically divided what homogenous into dif-ferent political blocks of cultural domains. The Dutch had secured British settlements such as Bengkulu and Sumatera, in exchange for ceding control of their lands in the Malay Peninsula and Dutch India. The common region and universality of the Malay – Sumatera culture and civilization was once connected universally and considered as one region and the historical circumstances had made them two nations.

As summarized aptly by Andaya and Andaya (1982) who had highlighted how the unique and culturally homogenous geographic region had then separa-ted by an event in history:

"The 1824 agreement represents a turning point in the shaping of modern Malaysia, for the division of the Malay would down the Melaka Straits laid the basis for the contemporary boundary with In-donesia. Setting aside centuries of history without a qualm, the Riau-Johor kingdom was irrevocably divided and the cultural unity of east coast Su-matra and the Peninsula arbitrarily severed. Ties between individuals andcommunities remained close but the division into 'Dutch' and 'British ' that the easy movement of Malay leadership back and forth between the Peninsula and east coast Suma-tra was now a thing of the past. In moving letter, the Bendahara of Pahang expressed Malay bewil-derment at arrangements by which foreigners in distant capitals had parted father from son, bro-ther and friend from friend".

5.4 MELAKA - A CULTURAL FORCE AND CENTRI-FUGAL DISPERSION.

5.4.1 REVERBERATIONS IN ASPECTS OF ARCHI-TECTURAL STYLE

Before the Portuguese colonisation in 1511, Ma-lacca was a densed urban city whose structures were built based on an informal layout and whose basic construction was a combination of ground floor and foundation of masonry and timber. The urban forms exhibited a combination of timber, typically in roof forms and masonry language and construction, as seen in the lithographs of 1509 of de Sequeira (Figure 7) and visualisation of the guards' house (Figure 2). It can be inferred that Malacca, as a Classical Malay civilisation and cul-ture of the 15th century, was a timber-hybrid civi-lisation.
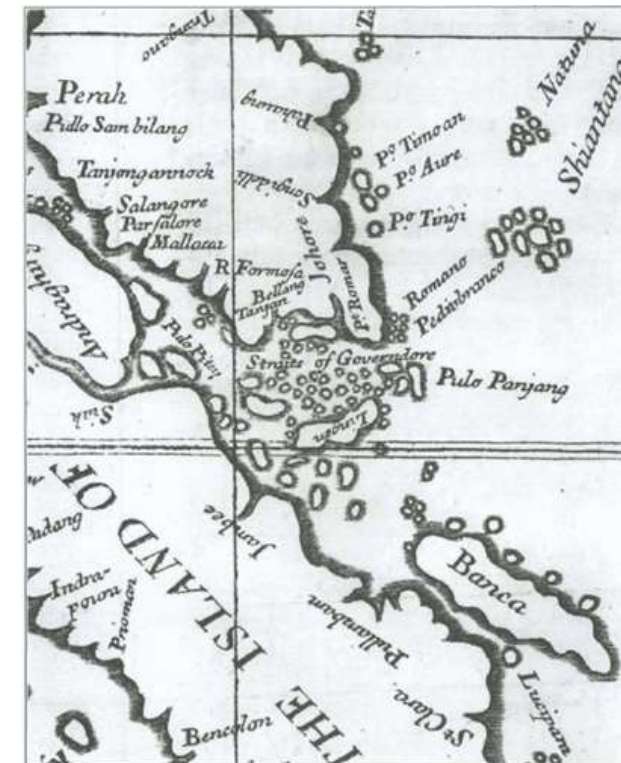

Fig. 7a - Alexander Hamilton's "A Map of the Dominions of Johore and of the Island of Sumatra with the Adjacent Islands" (1727). Illustrating mainland Johore, eastern Sumatra, Singapore, Bangka and Riau Archipelago as a single political entity, the map was made a century prior to the partitioning of the Malay world in 1824.

Fig. 7b - Melaka 1509: from Portuguese sources, lithograph of the arrival of Diego Lopes de Sequeira to the Melaka coast (from M. L. Dames (ed.), 1918. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*. London: Hakluyt Society).

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Figure 8 above represents a three dimensional re-construction after the study of the lithograph featured in Figure 7. A modelling exercise using 3D CAD was used in the reconstruction, and the entire guard house was drawn. Its overall style reflect the Artistic renderings of drawings from Chinese sources (as shown in Figure 1b). Although artistic sources from Chine had portrayed Melaka's public architecture as a series of syncretic Malay - Chinese architecture instead of merely timber- based original structures of the Malay world, it does reinforces the ambience of Melaka city as a syncretic city and its expressions and built forms evolved as part of a networked Asian commercial center.

Melaka became a conduit thru which regional influences ie primarily, Malay (local), Chinese and Islamic architectural influences were diffused and absorbed across time. The protectorate status of Melaka is also discussed by Cheah (2012) how Melaka was considered a vassal yet independent state. Elements of both Malay and Chinese architectural language still found in the syncretism of the Peranakan style (see Figure 9a and 9b) which is a variant of Malay architecture which has became identified till present day, as the Melakan style. The present remnant of this style can be found at present day in Melaka's Panglima ghani house (Figure 9a and 9b below). The Malay mosques of Melaka including Masjid Kampung Hulu and Tengkera mosque also reflect this style which consists of a double layered pyramidial roof, a masonry based and columns and essentially upturned finials and a generally multi-color interior scheme. The Panglima Ghanin house, for example, is located at Pekan Merlimau, about 22 kilometers from the present city of Melaka. It was built in the year 1914 by Datuk Penghulu Abdul Ghani, a tycoon whose descendants came from Palembang in 1894.

The house is known for its distinctive 'melaka' curved staircase. Spatially it has two zones or components connected to a single house. The house is known for its Melaka multicultural style and the influence of Chinese architecture traditional Malay houses typically retain color without painted wood, carvings of flora and fauna motifs.
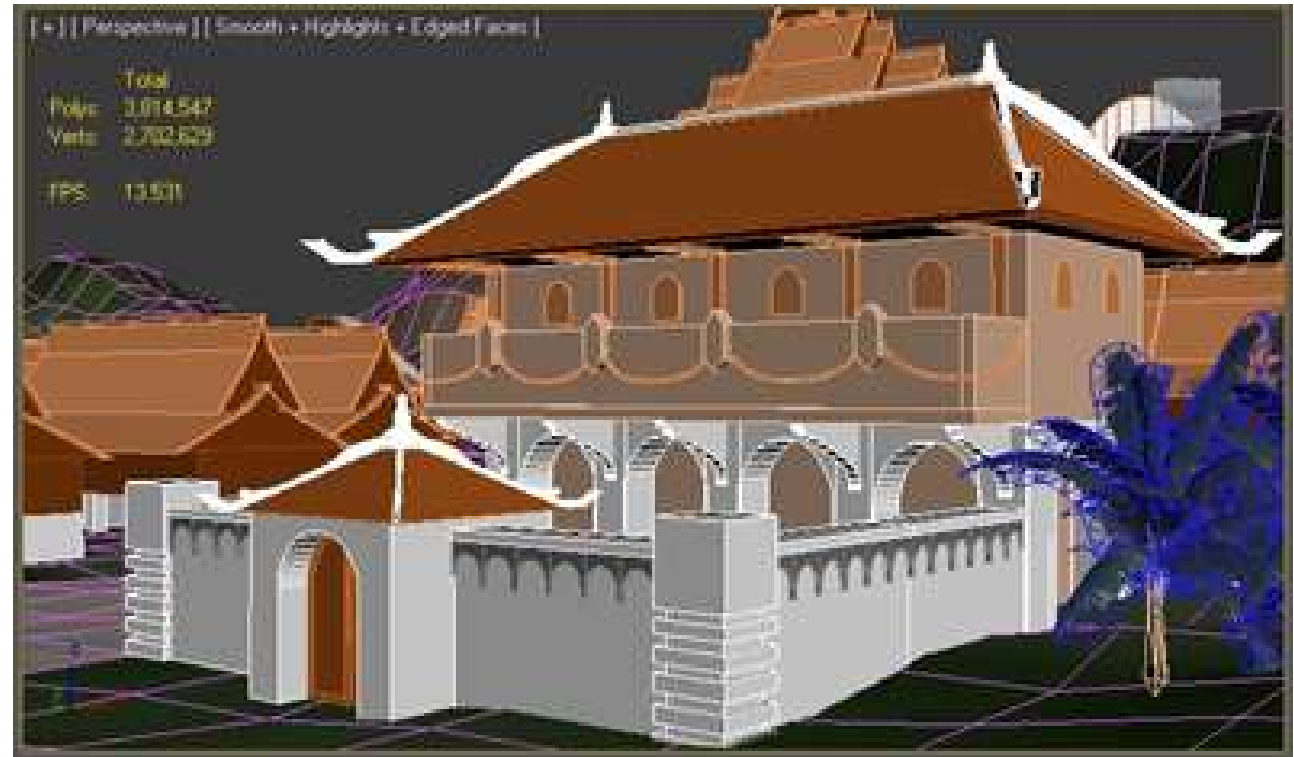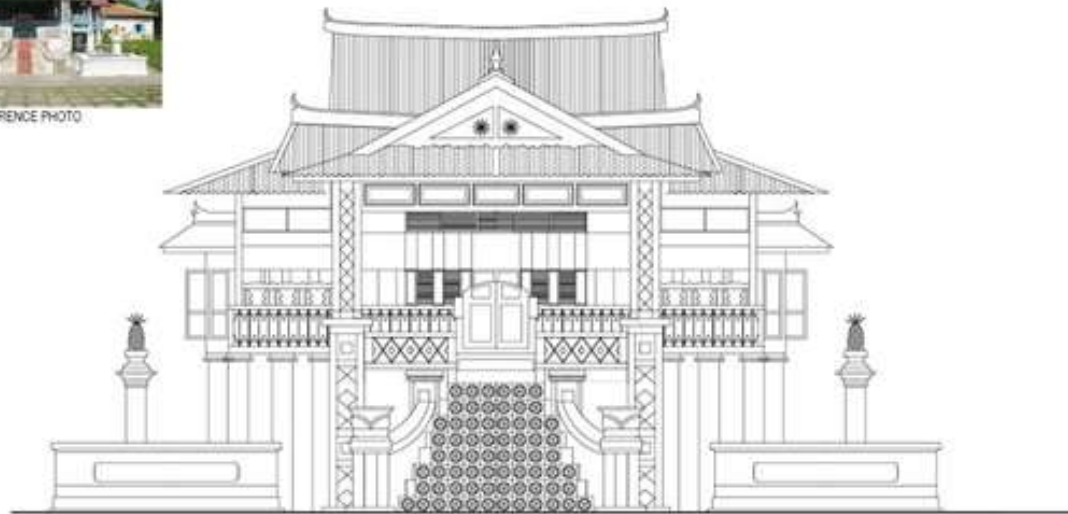

Fig. 8 - 3D reconstruction and Visualisation of the palatial building seen on the far "left" of the Sequeiria lithograph (ref. Fig. 4). The model depicts could look like. The architecture is a hybrid constructed combination of masonry and timber with the Malay-Chinese roof (source: authors' visualisation).

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REFERENCE PHOTO

REFERENCE PHOTO

5.4.2 RESONANCES WITH THE ORIGINAL MELAKA PALACE

The original Melaka palace (Figure 10) was burned and its foundations largely destroyed by invading portugese until no trace was left even of its foundations, Lobato (2012) described how even cemetery stones were crushed to reconstruct the new fortress around the city. This original 'Istana Melaka' (Figure 10) had been designed in the time of Sultan Mansur Shah who reigned from 1456 to 1477, at the height of the Malacca Sultanate, and was described in the Malay Annals as having seven layers and multiple projections and columns. As Eredia's description that the local populations had:"key positions filled by the local Malays were the woodcarvers and there were many fine wood carvers in Melaka". The palace itself can be argued as mix of several aesthetic tastes and trends, as builders from around the region were brought in for its construction. A reconstruction of the original melaka Palace, shows the layered roof and the curved stair cases. The roof was described as a double-slope roof is its gable ends.

Melaka dominion before 15th century. The stylistic form recalls that of the Istana Rokan seem to represent a seed of the eventual Melaka roof style, rather than the other way around (see Jahn Kassim, et.al, 2019). This well known compact and classical 200-year-old palace although recalling Malay Minangkabau architecture, can be seen as the seen of Melaka architecture (from which the double pitch roof can be seen from its side elevatios). The use of woodcarvings and dragon-carved engraving is also distinctive of the original Malay architecture, as well as various carvings of plant- based motifs. It is argued that the compact classicality and symmetry of the palace recall the Melaka palace, and similarly its exquisite carving (Figure 11) recall the carving skills of ancient woodcarvers.

Figure 9a and 9b – Elevation drawings and views of Aristocratic Penghulu Ghani house, Merlimau Melaka, built in the 1800s yet regularly renovated until the early 1900s showing the essential Melaka style or syncretic Malay Chinese 'Peranakan' elementsof Melaka (source: Applied Arts and Design students, IIUM 2017)
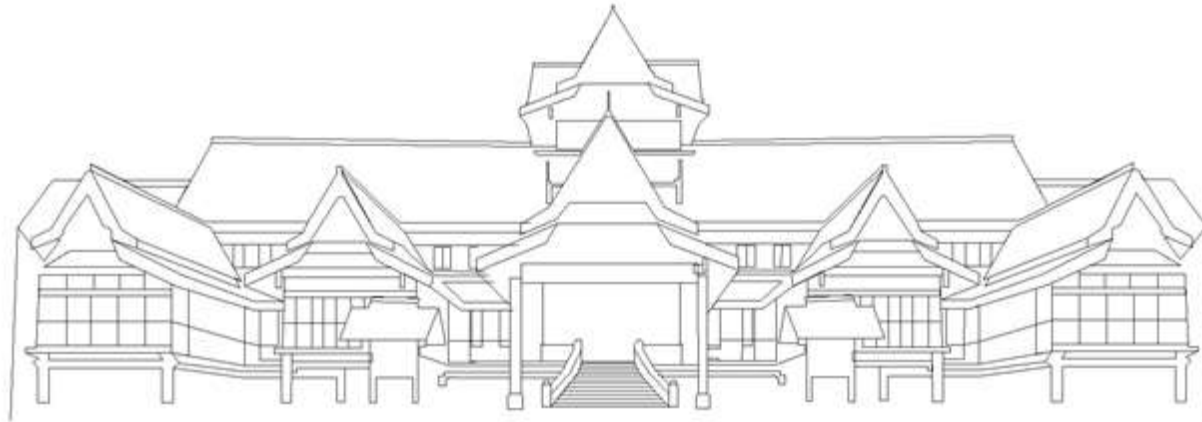
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Fig. 10 - Original Melaka palace reconstruction (source: Applied Arts and Design Students IIUM 2017).

Fig. 11 - The Rokan all-timber palace, Sumatera. Although its essentially a Minangkabau-hybrid architecture; certain elements recall the same expressions, proportion and multi-layered combination of the Melaka form, whose form and expression can be described as a cosmopolitan version of Malay architecture.

5.4.3 SURVIVING LEGACIES IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

1. Pelalawan – a city and legacy of Kampar. Sumatera.

The Pelalawan Palace was built by the 29th Sultan Pelalawan, Tengku Sontol Said Ali (1886-1892 AD), yet the region is known originally as Pekantua Kampar, the location where the exiled Melaka Sultan Mahmud passed away after being exiled for several years after the fall of Melaka in 1511. The center of the malay power was then settled temporarily on the edge of the Kampar river but later renamed in 1900s as the District of Pelalawan. At this time, an agreement was reached to transfer the royal center to the place where Emperor Lela Utama had been reserved as the royal center, one of Kampar River which far down the Nilo River. Around the year 1725, there was a ceremony of transferring the royal center from Tanjung Negeri to Rasau River.

Years later there was an ongoing prolonged dispute in Johor led the Pelalawan Government to escape from Johor power. The ruler of the Kingdom of Johor was no longer the descendant of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II, the fourth king of Pekan Tua Kampar (son of Sultan Mahmud) but a new lineage. The influence and legacy of Melaka however can still be seen in the palace whose form and curved stairs reflected the stylistic culture of the Melayu Riau which recall the double pitch roofs of Melaka yet show the style of the Melayu Riau.

Fig. 12a - The Pelalawan palace, Sumatera , which indicate a resonation of similar stylistic forms of the Melaka double roof and curve staircase forms.

Fig. 12b - The resonation of the Melaka stylistic forms of architecture throughout the Malay archipelago region and the centrifugal reverberations of its influences in the states of Perak, Kedah, Pahang,Rokan, Johor and Sulawesi-Maluku – with resonances of an architectural style with common traits of axiality, symmetry, curved and protruding staircases and proportionate form.
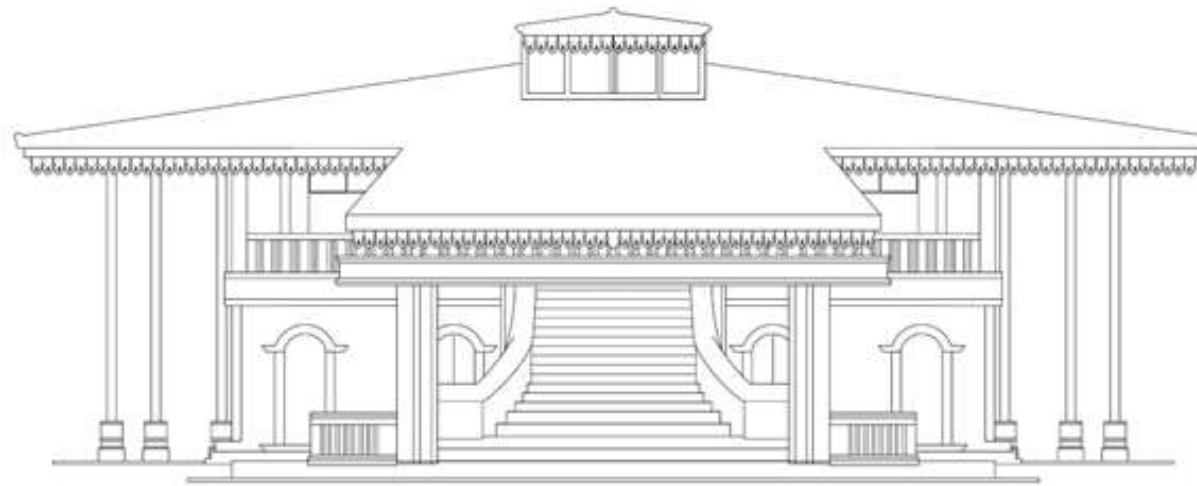
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Figure 12c . Elevation: indragiri palace,Riau
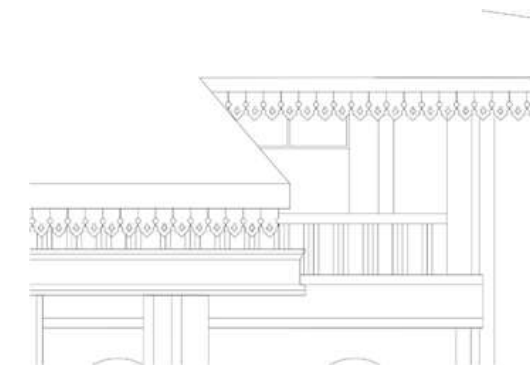
Fig. 13a - The Indragiri Palace, Riau, Sumatera in the 1800s.

2. Indragiri, Sumatera is city within Sumatera which could be argued as another centrifugal splintering of the by – products and regional aspects of the historical Melaka influence. Based on historical sources, the Indragiri Sultanate initially was ruled directly by the Malacca Sultanate at which ruled by a king named Raja Iskandar or Narasinga I. Then in the fourth generation of the Malacca Sultanate, the Indragini Empire had a new Sultan who was none other than the Narasinga II who later received the title Zirullah Fil Alam. It was during the reign of Zirullah Fil Alam that the Palace of Indragiri Sultanate was built (Figure 13a and 13b) which recalled a hybrid version of the Melaka palace (with columns and curved staircases, see Figure 10).

3. Ternate is a Malay kingdom on an island located in the far east border of the Malay region, in the islands of Maluku. Yet even before 15th century, its king lineage was having links with the medieval Melaka. As described, in Leyden's (2012) translation of the Sejarah Melayu (the Malay annals) it was stated that there was a close relationship between Ternate and Melaka before 1511. During several years before 1511 and in facing internal threat , the ternate sultan request help from Alaud-

din Riayat shah of Melaka. The main palace or Istana Kedaton Ternate, which similarly reflects to a certain extent, elements of the the Melaka style, though unconsciously, such as the curved staircase. The palace is located in the Village of Sao-sio, North Ternate, Ternate, North Maluku, Indonesia. It resonates the Malaka form, although there is no direct influence. It was built in 24 November 1813 during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Ali. Although according to verbal source, this palace was built by an architecture from China, the style and dimension of the palace and its layout reflects the syncretic style of Melaka, is Spatially it is divided into a balakon (balcony), foris lamo (hall), kamar puji (prayer room), ruang tidur permaisuri dan anak (Queen's and children's room) and ruang makan dan dapur (kitchen together and dining area).
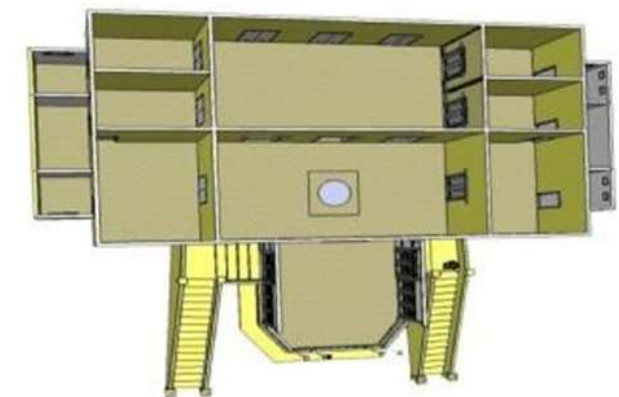

Fig.13b - The Indragiri style seen here as an elevation of the Indragiri palace and its hybrid character which recalls the stylisation, ornamentation and construction of the Melaka - Riau style (source: Applied Arts and Design Students IIUM 2017).

Fig. 14 - Maluku's Ternate palace façade and elevation showing resonances with the Melaka style in terms of its curved staircases and axial façade form (source: Applied Arts Design students,International Islamic University Malaysia, 2017).

Fig. 15a - The final mapping of the Melaka city urban core and final orientation of the palace and mosque (in an axis formation,facing the bridge) as found in the early 16th century (Copyright : Kamariah Kamaruddin).

6 DISCUSSION

As Andaya (2001) observed: "It is this heritage of south Astern Sumatera and western Borneo that inspired the Melayu of Melaka. The new settlement adiopted its lifestyyl;e and methods of governance, and a rise of court literarty production helped reinforce and export Melaka values to other parts of South East Asia".

The above historical, and architectural study demonstrate how Melaka rose due to the strategic and dynastic allies from the surrounding populations including the sea people (orang laut), i.e. the wandering proto-Malay privateers of the Straits, and by 15th century, but became a city with an undisputed position as the region's international port that compelled passing ships to call there. The above historical, architectural and urban discussion is further highlighted by artistic renderings and paintings by the colonialists as below which further adds to the further reconstruction and final mapping of precolonial Melaka.

Figure 15 to 19 below summarise the key mapping of Melaka arising from this study. Figure 15a shows the final mapping of the Malay Melaka urban core, yet the drawings of the Melaka landscape is more useful in giving a depiction of the urban lifestyle and urban landscape. Through historical-documents, these sources depict buildings and urban spaces including depictions of the specific maritime territories and landscapes including townscapes. These can be further used to reconstruct the overall perception of the city and its people during this era, and of the reaches of the empire which constituted a locally derived community but perhaps standing in complex contrast with the rest of the region during the era.

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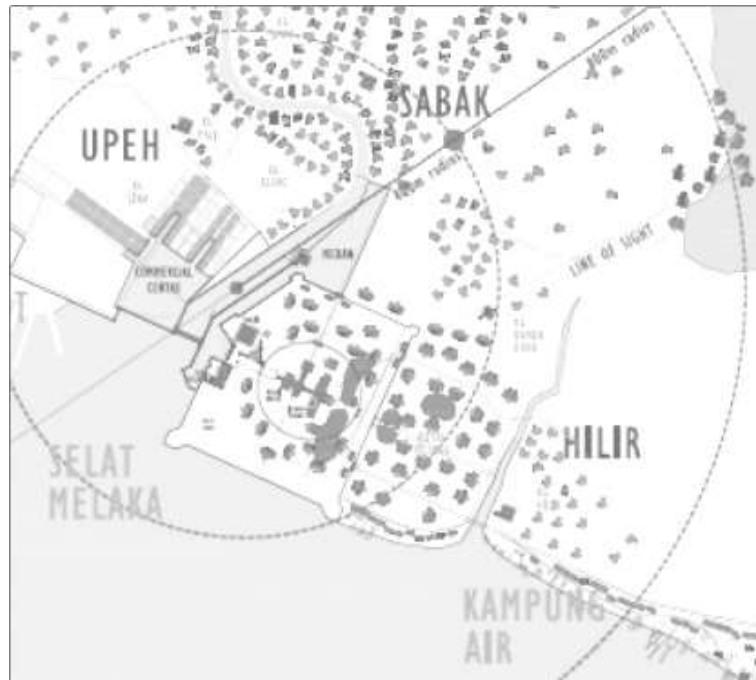
Fig. 19 - Final reconstruction of the core city of Melaka pre 1511, the nature of urban core showing the final verified layout, and lush landscape of, and around, the Melaka palace and its surrounding multicultural zones. (source: authors, Kamariah Kamarudddin copyright)

Fig. 15b - Drawing by Francis Valentjin 1728 showing Dutch sailing and shipping vessels.

Fig. 18 - A scene of Melaka drawn by Augustine Early in 1828.

Fig. 16 - Drawing of Bartholemew Lavergne , French Artist who visited Melaka in 1830.

Fig. 17 - Colored lithograph of Melaka as found in early 1800s showing the still undestroyed structures.

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7. CONCLUSIONS

This paper attempts to use key historical findings in assisting the modelling and outcomes in the visual and three dimensional reconstruction of the famed Melaka in its medieval form and era. The paper combines both a historical and modelling study, which show the kingship re-consolidated as a transnational regional powerbase. It spurred a locally-rooted dominion which spanned surrounding states as a multinational polity survived despite changes in centers of polity and power. It ir agued that Melaka is not merely a city but a cultural identity that that had formed part of the psyche and identity of the local populace of the time. After 1511, it reconsolidated the social-political roots of the Malay states into a regional power network that included states such as Pahang, Perak, Johor, Riau-Lingga and Kampar-Indragiri (Sumatera). This constitutes its seed or center which grew as a force in the region and produced its own centrifugal forces and its centripetal reaches of its successive centers that survives colonial attacks. By linking the resources of lithography, cartography, artistic visualisations and scenic drawing from the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries as essential ways to query, comprehend, reconstruct and recreate the historical and cultural context of this time. Melaka essentially represented an epitome of a South East Asia medieval maritime city. The era just before and after 1511 is crucial as, surrounding centers have either profited under its direct rule, and continued to be loyal to the kingship. Even its extreme proximity such as Maluku and Sulawesi were part of the boundaries of the Malay world which, during the 15th and the 16th centuries, do not constitute the 'national' boundaries as known today. As Anderson (1999) highlights, present 'nations' are 'imagined communities' are in fact, only a recent construct, and these concepts do not reflect similar boundaries, perceptions, identities and definitions which past populations held in their psyche and perception. It is from the resources of urban and natural landscape drawings that one can identify the truly significant features and elements of the city and it is such visual resources, gained from historical maps, cartographic sources, lithographic etchings and drawings from visitors, that one gains the identity and place meaning of Melaka ranging from objective to subjective, which combines a series of perspectives of the Eastern and Western streams of influences, including those from China, India and others, onto this city and state. As its fame grew through trade, a city within which previously 84 languages were spoken was built without destroying the natural ecological environment. The research, and modelling process as outlined in this paper, continue to reconstruct a city based on visual resources which includes artistic sources and the drawn landscape for the eventual purpose of place - branding, meaning, and cultural heritage preservation and urban design policy. We posit that the reconstruction of its past and preservation for the future must depart from these sources which depict Melaka in terms of its multicultural and multinational co-existence is crucial and an essential component of its heritage and in the pursuit of regional cooperations and cultural identity consciousness. As its cultural and political reaches a wide dispersion, so did its cultural and aesthetic influences which reflect in the various architectural predispositions of its houses and palaces, seen in the eventual architectural similarities that was found in public buildings such as palatial frontages across the same region. This dispersion can be measured by physical traces including physical legacies and architectural influences. These reflect how forces attempted to attack or resist it and the legacy of the dispersed state is a form of local resistance and identity, whose traces can still be seen in the highlights of certain aspects of architecture, landscape and urban design. These can be measured by both generic forms and variants of such similar forms including a recurring and consistent traits and style which amongst others, depicts variations of a generally masonry base, forms of curved and ornamented staircase and upper timber carved structure and regional ornamental style. The centrifugal dispersion had spread the seeds of culture in terms of both linguistic and architectural identities and specifics. Melaka historically-based beginnings, its seed, and its growth and eventually seedlings into key communities and urban landscape forms are crucial to the history and identity of the region, and it founded the eventual grafting onto other settlements and cities. Melaka is thus more than a city, but a cultural and geographical ideation and phenomena that reaches across time. The regional and national boundaries of the Malay world as seen in Melaka and its reaches reiterates its historical role in mediating the cultural cross-currents of the wider region. Its multicultural dimension and its transnational regionalism, represented centrifugal, yet also centripetal forces that countered the homogenisation and globalisation that asserts itself again and again in the region. Its history and evolvement demonstrates the existence of a culture and city without repressing or compromising the differences and traits of every other culture and society found in the region.

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