



C. Grijns

A. Teeuw

In memoriam Jacobus Noorduyn 9 juli 1926 - 20 april 1994

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 152 (1996), no: 1, Leiden, 1-22

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

C.D. GRIJNS AND A. TEEUW

In Memoriam Jacobus Noorduyn

9 July 1926 – 20 April 1994

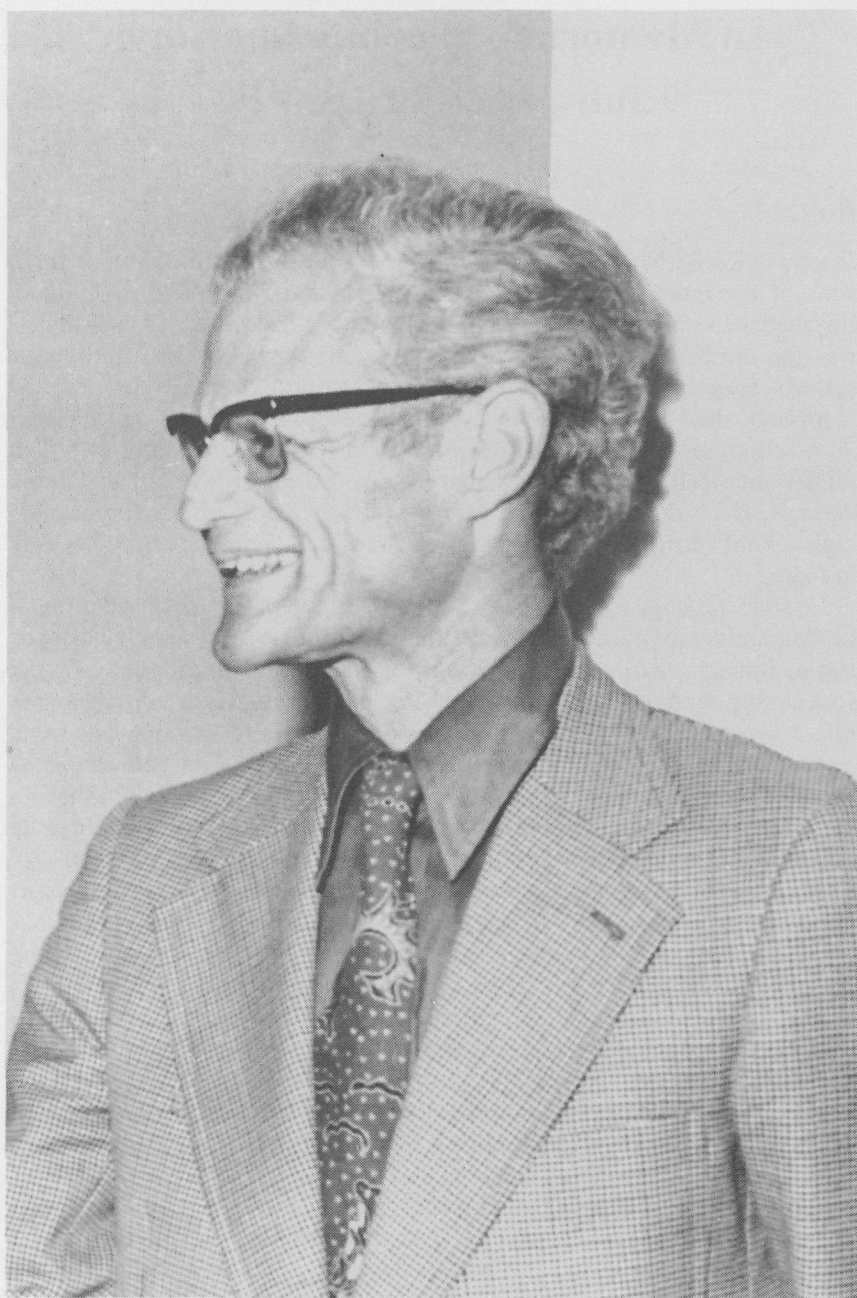
His Life

Jacobus (Koos) Noorduyn was born at Gorinchem as the eldest of three sons of the marriage of Leonard Arnold Willem Noorduyn to Johanna Elisabeth de Graaf. His father, who, as a widower, had remarried later in life, was the director of a publishing house founded as a printer's and book-seller's firm by his grandfather Jacobus Noorduyn in 1819. Leonard Noorduyn died in 1941, when his son Koos was only halfway through high school at the municipal *gymnasium* in Gorinchem (1938-44). The family then fell on hard times, but survived the war without too much damage. Even during the final year of the war Koos, after obtaining his high school certificate, succeeded in staying in his home town by keeping in hiding.

In 1945 he began his study of Indonesian languages and literatures at Leiden University, after his admission as an *alumnus* by the Netherlands Bible Society. 'Alumnus' was a term used by the Bible Society for its scholarship students preparing for work overseas as *afgevaardigde ter bijbelvertaling* (*taalaafgevaardigde* for short) or missionary linguists in its employ. With an eye to his future function he took the first-year examination in theology, which included Hebrew as a subject, and also followed a two-year course at the missionary training college at Oegstgeest, where he acquainted himself with the history and ethno-sociology of Indonesia.

At university Noorduyn took the *candidaatsexamen* (B.A. examination) in Indonesian languages in March 1949. At that time the three-year *candidaats* syllabus comprised the compulsory subjects of Sanskrit, the cultural history of 'India', Arabic, and Islamology. In May 1952 he did his *doctoraalexamen* (M.A. examination), for which he had chosen the subjects of 'Indonesian' (i.e., Austronesian) linguistics, Malay/Indonesian, and Buginese – this latter subject with a view to his future task with the Bible Society. This line was continued with his dissertation on Buginese historiography. From references he later gave in a letter of application it can be inferred that he considered C.C. Berg, A.A. Cense, and the anthropologist G.W. Locher as his principal teachers.

In 1952 Koos married his former class-mate Adriana Wilhelmina Mulder (Atie), the daughter of the mathematics teacher at the Gorinchem *gymnasium* and from their early school years on his favourite. Their two eldest



Jacobus Noorduyn †

daughters were born while they were still living in the Netherlands. A third daughter followed in Bogor, and their fourth daughter was born after their return to Leiden.

Meanwhile, the Bible Society had decided to send Noorduyn to West Java instead of Southern Celebes, where he was to have continued B.F. Matthes' work. He was assigned the task of revising S. Coolsma's Bible translation into the Sundanese language. In fact, F.S. Eringa had been trained for this work, but was never sent to the region by the Bible Society due to reasons of health. So Noorduyn came with his family to live in Bogor, where they arrived in January 1957 and stayed until July 1961.

His work in Bogor had an unlucky start because the Indonesian colleague with whom he worked on the same project soon afterwards went abroad. This experience strengthened his conviction that he should move to Bandung, in order to be in direct contact with the Sundanese church. But he had to resign himself to the fact that neither the Dutch nor the Indonesian Bible Society supported his repeated requests for a transfer sufficiently or in time. Notwithstanding the physical distance, he soon enjoyed the confidence of the local church, however. Another encouraging circumstance was that the Indonesian Council of Churches in Jakarta immediately appealed to his expert knowledge of the history of Indonesian Islam.

The Sundanese project nevertheless remained somewhat isolated. On Noorduyn's arrival in Bogor, he had found there a well-equipped team that had been working on the translation of the Bible into Indonesian for some years. The Bible Societies used to communicate frequently with this team, and it was repeatedly the case that Noorduyn's own principals omitted to inform him directly about important matters in which he was just as much involved as his colleagues of the Indonesian team. With one rare, and justified, exception, his letters to Amsterdam express his objections to this in a patient and objective tone.

The most critical problem besetting Noorduyn's work was the extreme uncertainty from 1960 on about the possibility of obtaining an extension of his expired residence permit. From that time on, any timetable had to take into account the possibility, even the probability, of his being obliged to leave the country immediately. In spite of these difficult circumstances, Noorduyn continued his work imperturbably and succeeded in rewriting six books of the Sundanese Old Testament and completing a slighter revision of the entire New Testament, all of it in cooperation with the retired school inspector N. Titus.

The way in which Noorduyn's application for an extension of his residence permit was handled is typical for the period when diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands were broken off because of the Irian Barat / West New Guinea issue. Due to an error, the application was submitted to the Ministry of Education instead of that of Religious Affairs, as was usual. After the application was rejected by the director of

the immigration service, the Minister of Education, Professor Prijono, was approached personally on behalf of the Indonesian Bible Society.

Prijono knew Noorduyn as a colleague and himself had taken his doctor's degree at Leiden. Thus this personal approach put him in an awkward position. Eventually, the immigration authorities suspended the decision, so that both parties were spared the ignominy of a formal expulsion. But the permit was not extended, and ultimately Noorduyn himself had to take the decision to leave Indonesia. In delicate situations like this, Noorduyn commanded respect by his detached and dignified attitude, which enabled him to meet Prijono again with an open mind as a colleague three years later, in October 1964, when visiting Indonesia as *algemeen secretaris* of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) at Leiden.

When faced with the certainty in 1961 that it would be impossible to obtain the extension of his residence permit, Noorduyn had a choice out of three alternatives: an appointment as senior lecturer at Sydney, a possible appointment as a translator's consultant by the Bible Society elsewhere, and an appointment to a not yet clearly defined function at the KITLV. Eventually he opted for the latter, and worked with the institute for almost thirty years, from 1 March 1962 until his retirement on 1 August 1991, first as a researcher and the deputy of Dr. P. Voorhoeve as *algemeen secretaris*, and then, from 1 January 1965, himself as *algemeen secretaris* and, from 1990, *directeur-secretaris* (secretary-general) of the institute.

Noorduyn's work in the service of the Bible Society has been described by J.L. Swellengrebel in the second volume of his *In Leijdeckers voet-spoor*, while a brief survey of the growth of the institute during Noorduyn's term of office is given by H.A. Poeze in the introduction to *Excursies in Celebes*, the festschrift offered to Noorduyn on the occasion of his retirement. The latter volume also includes Noorduyn's bibliography up to 1991.

May it suffice here to briefly mention the salient points in the institute's development as they are recorded in Noorduyn's carefully prepared annual reports. These are: the revival of Indonesian studies in the Netherlands from the 1960s on; the sharp rise in the institute's membership that reflected this revival; the enormous expansion of the library; the multiple increase in the institute's publications; the establishment of a permanent agency in Indonesia; the creation of the Documentation of Indonesian History and the Documentation of Modern Indonesia Departments, as well as of the Editorial Department; and finally, the establishment of the KITLV Press as the institute's own press.

Other organizational changes that absorbed much of Noorduyn's time and attention were: the institute's removal from The Hague to Leiden (1966-67); the creation of new international scholarly and institutional networks; and the institute's affiliation to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam, which became a fact in 1990. Noorduyn always prepared

such new developments meticulously, although he sometimes adopted a hesitant attitude towards them for fear that they might overtax the working capacity of his staff as well as his own. For this same reason he was never much in favour of expanding the institute into a research centre, in spite of the fact that he was a researcher to the backbone himself.

Among the institute's activities in which Noorduyn always took a particular interest was the production of its publications, including *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (BKI)*, the contents and regular appearance of which were a matter of great concern to him. He also expended much care on the development of the library, and until his retirement remained the curator of the institute's Oriental manuscript collection.

Such was Noorduyn's professional career. Let us now devote a few remarks to his personality. Noorduyn was a man who was accustomed to fixing his course very independently. Once he had done so, after ample deliberation, he would pursue it with great tenacity and assiduity. He was extremely modest, at times even diffident, about the quality of his own work, and totally honest. This led him to impose the requirement of a high degree of perfection upon himself in all his research work and in everything he did. In his social contacts, even in the narrow circle of his own family, he was often very reserved and reticent. At meetings he often talked with difficulty about issues on which he had not yet formed a firm opinion. In situations like this, his hesitancy seemed to border on pessimism, although it was certainly not a negative attitude towards renewal as such that inhibited him. Members of the institute's board can testify to his loyalty to his staff, whom he wished to protect from overburdening with additional new tasks. This is not something that is generally known. It seems to be implicit in his character that he could never be persuaded to delegate part of his increasing managerial responsibilities.

Those who knew Koos only as the rather formal director of the KITLV may have been quite surprised by the picture painted of him by his children at his funeral. They recalled him as the playmate of their childhood days, who used to tell them stories and go for walks with them, as the father who always watched their development with keen interest and allowed their individual personalities the necessary latitude, and never lost sight of them as they grew up.

He showed signs of perseverance already in his early student years, when he was frequently handicapped by illness. The Bogor period put his steadfastness of purpose under a severe strain due to problems with his work and protracted immigration formalities, and months of critical illness in his family. In difficult times like this, Atie with her cheerful personality was always at his side, and in Bogor they both enjoyed their family life with their young children in spite of all their troubles.

The Leiden years were not free from strain and tensions, either, smooth though Noorduyn's career in Holland may seem from the outside. There

were conflicts with members of staff, and there have been periods when Noorduyn was plagued by doubts about his own ability and by inner conflicts. Only very few of his colleagues knew about this and could discuss it with him; at the institute he went on working seemingly unmoved.

Owing to his introverted nature, it was difficult for others to understand the deepest feelings that moved him when he had to make decisions that were crucial for his future. We know that, as a student with a particular interest in languages and history, he chose Indonesian languages as his field of study because he wished to become involved in missionary work. One might suspect that there were particular circumstances in his life that influenced this choice. So the Noorduyn publishing house had put out several important works on the Indies; on his mother's side, Koos was related to the Indonesianist and Bible translator J.L. Swellengrebel, whom he knew personally; and both the authors of the present obituary lived in the same street in Gorinchem as him, though during the last years of the war their contacts with him were scarce. Nevertheless, he himself has stated that these circumstances did not play any part in his decision to take up Indonesian studies. He sought and found his own way independently. About the motives that inspired him to go abroad to serve the Indonesian churches he did not talk easily, although his studies at the missionary training college, his contacts with H. Kraemer, and his and Atie's links with the Oxford Movement give some clues about these.

In the employ of the Bible Society he was able to combine his interest in missionary with that in scholarly activities. When his stay in Indonesia had to be terminated much earlier than he had foreseen, he faced the choice, in looking for a new job, of serving the Bible Societies or devoting himself to scholarly pursuits. In letters written to the Netherlands Bible Society in the years 1960-61 he expressed some disappointment because this Society, he felt, had expected as a matter of course that he would let scholarly work prevail. In any case, he postponed his return to the Netherlands, in spite of serious health problems in his family, in order to round off his work on the Sundanese Bible translation.

Not long before he left Indonesia for good he visited Ujung Pandang (then Makassar) for six weeks in order to advise the old *pendeta* Boonde, who was translating parts of the Bible into the To Laki language of South-east Celebes on his own. From Noorduyn's report of his trip it is apparent how much he enjoyed staying in Celebes for some time and having the opportunity to familiarize himself with the language, which so far had remained unknown to him. At the same time, his account reflects his direct concern with the seriously persecuted congregations of the Southeast Celebes church.

By a curious coincidence it was L. Onvlee who, as chairman of the KITLV, with Swellengrebel as vice-chairman, offered Noorduyn a position with this institute while the latter was still undecided about the type of work he should go in for. Onvlee had been working for the Bible Society

in Sumba for almost thirty years, and after much reflection had accepted a professorship in cultural anthropology in Amsterdam. Now he in his turn had to remind Noorduyt that academic work could be a kind of service just as well.

We see Noorduyt choose his course – if, in view of his personality, it is at all realistic to think in terms of any alternative at that stage – for the last time towards the end of his life. After his retirement in 1991 he had begun reaping with great speed the harvest of much hitherto uncompleted research. The illness that manifested itself in that same year, which became increasingly life-threatening, thwarted many of his plans. With unyielding determination he dedicated his last strength to the tasks he had set himself. In the shadow of the rapidly approaching end, his wife and children paid many a sacrifice so he could concentrate on his manuscripts and printing-proofs.

The subject of one little book of which he saw the proofs the day before he passed away had nothing to do with Indonesia, but was connected with his family. It was a travel account by his great-grandfather, Jacobus Noorduyt, the above-mentioned bookseller and publisher, who in 1836 had set out on a trip to Brussels. It was Koos who had discovered this rare, anonymous booklet in 1992 and was now preparing a reprint. Thanks to the help of friends and of one of his daughters and her husband, it appeared a few months after his death.

His Work

Noorduyt is a typical representative of the old school of Dutch *taalambtenaren* (linguists in colonial government service), for whom there existed neither disciplinary nor regional boundaries. He specialized in various branches of linguistics: descriptive, comparative, and historical. Philology and literature were a second main area of interest. The third was history in a broad sense, including, if necessary or possible, related fields such as archaeology, epigraphy, topography and toponymy, and covering a large variety of sources and data. Regionally, there were two main areas of special interest: South Sulawesi and Western Java, the first in view of the task for which he initially trained, the second because of the work he actually ended up doing as *taalaforgevaardigde* (linguistic officer) of the Netherlands Bible Society. But in both cases his scholarly interest and curiosity soon acquired a wider scope, with the whole of Sulawesi and surrounding islands becoming his field of linguistic and historical study, while his concern with West Java, which immediately acquired a historical dimension as a result of his discovery and study of Old Sundanese textual materials, soon broadened to encompass Old and Modern Javanese language, literature, history and culture. It is furthermore remarkable that his interest in these two areas was not confined to any special periods in his life. Sulawesi continued to attract his active interest till the very end,

while his first publication on West Java appeared as early as 1959, barely two years after he had started work in this field.

In view of these facts, no attempt will be made to present a chronological survey of Noorduyn's scholarly work. The outline given below will deal first with Sulawesi, and then with those of his studies relating to Java.

Noorduyn's dissertation (1955a) on an eighteenth-century chronicle of Wajo' is the first example of his multidisciplinary approach. To the present generation of researchers it will perhaps seem strange that a dissertation like this was written prior to departure to the field. Today field research is often considered a *conditio sine qua non* for the writing of a Ph.D. dissertation, if not of a thesis at a lower level. However, Noorduyn was still a student in the old tradition of aspiring colonial government linguists and Bible translators, which made an appointment conditional on the possession of a Ph.D. degree. Consequently most of the dissertations written by these scholars were necessarily based on library research. Naturally this situation was partly also a consequence of the prewar conditions, which made a trip to the tropics quite a different proposition from what it gradually became after World War II. There was perhaps also some wisdom in this precondition, however, which in fact corresponds to the conditions of what today in the Netherlands is called a '*tempo-beurs*' – a scholarship for a strictly prescribed period – except that it was much more strictly limited than would now be acceptable. One had to complete one's dissertation within seven years of beginning one's studies.

His dissertation appeared 'only' ten years after Noorduyn had commenced his university studies. This was due partly to the fact that, in preparing himself for his future task, he had oriented himself even more broadly than was required by his academic curriculum. Moreover, his Ph.D. subject necessitated a much more specialized training than his study programme proper could provide. In fact, his resultant book does not represent just an academic exercise, but is a fully fledged scholarly contribution of a high standard. It begins with a succinct but informative survey of the phonemics, morphophonemics and morphemics of the Bugis language, including a discussion of the problems which the 'phonologically defective' orthography of the manuscripts poses for the student. From his approach and the terminology he uses it is clear that he was quite knowledgeable about modern structural linguistics. He had also familiarized himself with the voluminous, and sometimes unmanageable, manuscript material relating to the old Bugis kingdom of Wajo'. In a chapter of more than a hundred pages he presents a critical survey of the history of Wadjo' based on a variety of sources. Even at this early stage the author testifies to a meticulousness of method and a scholarly acumen that were to mark all his later work. The final part of the book is a critical edition and translation of one of the oldest Bugis manuscripts, which the author dates shortly after 1650.

Noorduyn never lost interest in the manuscript tradition of South Celebes historiography, as is obvious from a lengthy study published 36 years after his dissertation, in which he describes and evaluates the complicated tradition of the chronicle of the Makasarese kingdoms of Goa and Talloq on the basis of a study of the twelve available manuscripts. One of his conclusions is important for the ongoing discussion about the appropriate philological method in editing traditional Indonesian texts. This conclusion is that, in spite of the difficulties which the textual material may provide, 'such difficulties need not stand in the way of the use of time-honoured methods wherever this seems possible, however. In the case of the Makasarese chronicle it would appear that this will indeed be possible to a very great degree.' (1991:483.)

Even more technical, but no less important, is a recent contribution by Noorduyn for a Seminar held in Leiden on 'Manuscripts of Indonesia', in particular their material aspects, in 1993. This paper, entitled 'Variation in the Bugis/Makasarese script', starts with a description of the printing tradition of the languages concerned as initiated by Raffles, and then goes on to deal with the palaeographic aspects of the manuscript tradition. Here Noorduyn shows himself to be a keen observer of even the minutest details of South Celebes writing, while his conclusions, as usual in his papers, have much wider implications and are important for the study of the history of writing in ancient Indonesia in general.

Noorduyn's dissertation not only set the tone for his later philological work on South Celebes manuscripts, but also represented the run-up to a life-long interest in the history of the area. As early as 1953 he published a preliminary study, originally a paper read before the Dutch Oriental Society, on a Bugis text concerning the famous warrior Arung Singkang (1953), and later on a small part of this text with an English translation and an introduction (1972b).

Of fundamental importance are two papers which established Noorduyn's name as *the* expert on Makasarese/Bugis historiography, also internationally. One was included in a volume edited by D.G.E. Hall (1961), the other in *An introduction to Indonesian historiography* edited by Soedjatmoko, Mohammad Ali, G.J. Resink, and G. McT. Kahin (1965a). The first paper gives a brief characterization of South Sulawesi historiography and contains among others the conclusion that the 'historiography of South Celebes must [...] mainly be regarded as an independent phenomenon', that is, as a tradition that was not influenced by historiography in other Indonesian regions. The second paper discusses the nature of South Celebes historiography in more detail, saying that it is 'characterized by a certain terseness and matter-of-factness'. Although generally no dates are given in the chronicles, they are quite accurate and reliable in their factual and genealogical accounts. Noorduyn points out that the chronicles should be distinguished from diaries, a genre that is hardly known in this form anywhere else in Indonesia but which was quite popular in this area,

with royal diaries kept at the courts probably serving as a basis for the writers of chronicles. As regards the origin of this historiography, it seems probable that various factors were involved, one being early Indian influence (direct or indirect), as is testified by the script used by these languages and by the traces of a pre-Islamic calendar here. Another factor, whose influence is detectable in the calendar that was subsequently adopted, for example, is the arrival of the Portuguese in South Celebes shortly after their conquest of Malacca in 1511, which, probably not coincidentally, also 'marks the beginning of South Celebes chronology'.

As Noorduynd had already pointed out in an earlier, carefully documented, paper on the Islamization of Macassar (1956a), it was to be almost a century after the arrival of the Portuguese before the Karaeng (ruler) of Tallo' formally embraced Islam, namely on Thursday, September 22, 1605 (= 9 Jumâd al-awwal 1014). The issue of Islamization also constituted the subject of a much later important study on 'Makasar and the Islamization of Bima' (1987b). Here Noorduynd, again critically and intelligently combining data from various sources, succeeded in proving that the Islamization of Bima, more precisely 'the establishment of Islamic states or sultanates in the eastern part of the island', must have taken place in the years following the second expedition to the area from Macassar in 1619, whereas the same process took place with respect to Sumbawa in or shortly after 1626.

Noorduynd's interest in the history of these islands covered a much broader range than the problem of Islamization. This interest was stimulated by a project on the 'Notitie van Speelman' which he undertook in 1962. This voluminous work – a predecessor of the later *Memorie van Overgave* (report on his district written by a departing colonial official) – which was written by Cornelis Speelman, the conqueror of Southern Celebes, when he left the area in 1669, not only reports on Speelman's military and administrative activities, but also contains a wealth of information on the political and social structure of the area. The importance of publication of this document had already been underlined in the late forties by the then Head of the Public Record Office in Jakarta, W.Ph. Coolhaas, and supported by several other scholars. So Noorduynd undertook to prepare an edition of the text, which not only necessitated a great deal of historical research but also turned out to be a time-consuming philological job, in view of the various manuscripts in which the 'Notitie' has been handed down. Noorduynd's initial hope that he might be able to carry out this project as part of his activities as *algemeen secretaris* of the KITLV turned out to be illusory, in view of the ever-increasing administrative burden which the rapidly expanding institute imposed upon him. However, at the time of his death a major part of the work was finished. The definitive text had been established and transcribed on the basis of a critical comparison of the manuscripts, and the annotations and indexes had for the greater part been completed. Noorduynd occupied himself with

this project until the very last days of his life, and with his permission the manuscript is now being prepared for publication at the Instituut voor Geschiedenis. Its appearance in the series Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatiën may be expected in the foreseeable future. Noorduynd published a separate article on Macassar's trade relations as these can be reconstructed from the 'Notitie' (1983a), in which he gave a brief characterization of Speelman's work and its relevance for the historical study of the area. Various other of his publications can also be seen as a spin-off from this major project, for example the book published in the KITLV's Verhandelungen series in which he edited two earlier important, but so far largely neglected, studies on Bima and Sumbawa by A. Ligtvoet and G.P. Rouffaer respectively, which he provided with detailed notes (1987a).

Noorduynd's interest in South Celebes linguistics in particular, and in Celebes linguistics in general, is also a consistent thread running all through his scholarly career. Stimulated by his *guru*, A.A. Cense, to whom he later devoted a detailed obituary (1978b), he developed into a worthy successor to the Dutch tradition in the field of Celebes linguistics. This tradition had been established by life-long researchers in the field like Adriani, Esser and Van der Veen, although the post-colonial situation never gave Noorduynd an opportunity for an extended period of fieldwork in the area. But his involvement in various projects continually broadened his outlook and deepened his expertise. Already as a Ph.D. student he became responsible for the publication of Steller and Aebersold's Sangirese Dictionary as main editor (1959b). Later he published Esser's unfinished grammatical description of the Uma language in Western Central Celebes (1964), and also summarized the most important linguistic data from Esser's reports as a linguistic officer (1963b). He spent much time on the final editing of Cense's voluminous Makasarese-Dutch dictionary (1979), to which he added an extensive Dutch-Makasarese index ('Register'). His command of the method of Indonesian comparative linguistics is evident from a paper on sound changes in the North Sulawesi Gorontalo language (1982a).

Noorduynd's work in the field of Sulawesi linguistics culminated in his critical bibliography of the languages of the island (1991a). This work had been planned already quite early as a volume in the KITLV's Bibliographical Series, instituted on the initiative of its board of directors in the early fifties. The bibliographies in this series were intended 'to draw attention to the data on Indonesian linguistics and cultural sciences collected in the past and to provide guidance in this field', as was stated in the introduction to the first volume to appear in it, the *Critical Survey on the Languages of Sumatra* by P. Voorhoeve, published in 1955. It took Noorduynd several decades to complete his contribution to the series. This is due partly to the fact that his work as director of the institute left him little time for the sustained concentrated effort which such a work involves. At the same time it bears witness to Noorduynd's patience, conscientiousness and

perseverance in carrying out such an undertaking. He was not to be satisfied with a summary description of the directly available data, and did not rest until he had all the material, including unpublished items, at his disposal and was able to present a comprehensive, thorough analysis and evaluation of all the extant data on that basis. His book is not only an exhaustive *and* critical bibliography; it also provides an excellent 'state-of-the-art' survey, and is bound to play a role in directing linguistic research with respect to Sulawesi and surrounding islands for a long time to come.

Two excursions by Noorduyn into the 'outer regions' of Celebes should be briefly mentioned here as marking a transition to his other main area of specialization. One is focused on 'The Bugis genealogy of the Raja Muda family of Riau-Johor' as found in the well-known Malay historical text *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, written by Raja Haji Ahmad and his son Raja Ali Haji (1988c), which contains a long genealogy of this family. Noorduyn presents a careful new transliteration of the Bugis names occurring in this text, taking into account on the one hand the way they are written in the Jawi script of the manuscripts, and on the other their proper Bugis pronunciation, comparing them also with the corresponding names in genealogies in Bugis texts. The paper again testifies to Noorduyn's intimate knowledge of the Bugis historical tradition and to the meticulousness of his philological method, but no less to his insight into the problems of Malay manuscript writing. Of general importance is the concluding part of the paper, in which Noorduyn points out the dual symbolic function of the genealogy. Firstly, he argues that it originally must have consisted of 40 names, the number which in Indonesian (and other) cultures traditionally stands for completeness. Second, he demonstrates how the genealogy 'was intended to fulfill [...] the symbolic function of proving beyond any doubt the peerless greatness of the Bugis leaders in the Malay world'. Noorduyn's second excursion from Celebes took him to Java. In a paper dealing with the 'Bugis auxiliaries from Tanete in the Chinese war in Java, 1742-1744' (1986a) he presented an edition and translation of and an introduction to a small fragment of the Bugis chronicle of the petty kingdom of Tanete in which, after a description of the kingdom of Tanete and its rulers, the data of this text on the Bugis expedition to Java are confronted with information from Dutch and Javanese sources.

Talking of Java as Noorduyn's second major area of interest, we are again confronted with a variety of linguistic, literary, historical and cultural studies covering a broad range of subjects. His first, rather short, paper on this area was devoted to the *Batu tulis* inscription, a 5th-century stone inscription from the Bogor area (1959a). Later on he published a paper, with H.Th. Verstaappen as co-author, entitled 'Purnavarman's river-works near Tugu' (1972c), in which the authors developed an interesting hypothesis about the topography of the river (branch) dug in the Jakarta area according to another 5th-century inscription.

Noorduyn quite early became interested in Old Sundanese texts as preserved in the scant manuscripts in that language. His first publication in this field, in two parts, deals with the *Carita parahyangan* (1962a and b). Through a careful study of the text Noorduyn succeeded in restoring the proper order of the palm leaves, thus improving on Poerbatjaraka's earlier efforts in his edition of the text. He also provided a new, much improved, translation of the first part of the text, with extensive notes in which he compared the data from this text with those in Old Javanese and other sources. Later on he published a number of corrections of both the text and the translation on the basis of a personal study of the manuscript (1966).

Noorduyn gradually extended his Old Sundanese studies. He explored three hitherto unknown texts in some detail, one of which proved to contain 'traces of an Old Sundanese Ramayana tradition' in the form of a story about the children of Rama which seems to be unique in the South and Southeast Asian Ramayana tradition (1971a). A second manuscript, which he discovered and identified in the Bodleian Library (1985a), contains the life story of Bujangga Manik, a 'Hindu-Sundanese hermit', which should probably be dated around 1500 A.D. In a fascinating paper (1982b) Noorduyn, like a genuine scholarly detective, traced in great detail the two journeys of this hermit through Java as they are described in the text in an 'exercise in historical topography'. As he explains, such travelogues by wandering hermits form an essential part of the category of religious literature that is so well-known in Java. The third text explored by Noorduyn is a religious text containing a kind of ascension story. He intended editing and translating these three texts, but could not carry out this plan due to his untimely death. Fortunately he left his edition and English translation of the texts in a sufficiently advanced stage of preparation for these fascinating testimonies of a flourishing pre-Islamic Old Sundanese literary culture to be published by someone else. It is hoped this will happen in the not-too-distant future.

One toponym used by Bujangga Manik sparked off a new exercise in historical topography, namely Ci Wuluyu. The near identity of this name for a river in the Bujangga Manik text with the name of a ferry, Wulayu, in an Old Javanese inscription generally known as the Ferry Charter of 1358 led Noorduyn to make a study of this charter. Here his creative and innovative scholarly method, in combination with his wide knowledge of the relevant literature, resulted in an article in which he proved convincingly that 'topographical studies of Old Javanese data can be worth one's while' (1968a:473). Further contributions in this field were to follow, such as his study on the place names Apa-apa (1971b) and Bojonegoro (1984a; while the 1968 paper had already discussed this place in connection with Jipang). In this context his study on the etymology of the name Yogyakarta should also be mentioned (1986b).

Meanwhile, Noorduyn's interest in the Majapahit period of Javanese

history had been aroused. He had started doing research on the fifteenth century, which was commonly considered as Majapahit's period of decline, as early as 1969. The preliminary results of this research were presented at the Sixth International Conference on Asian History in Yogyakarta in 1974, in a paper entitled 'Majapahit in the fifteenth century', which was later published in a much extended form in *BKI* (1978a). This article may justifiably be considered as Noorduynd's greatest scholarly achievement. Basing himself on a large variety of data, collected from a vast array of sources, Javanese as well as European, which he evaluated critically and combined creatively, he succeeded in fundamentally revising the prevailing picture of the decline of Majapahit in the 15th century. Noorduynd proves beyond a reasonable doubt that Majapahit 'continued to exist as the supreme Javanese kingdom in much the same way as before' all through that century, even though it had lost its ascendancy in the Indonesian Archipelago outside Java. 'It had a continuous line of kings residing in the traditional court', and Hindu-Javanese literature and religion flourished as much as ever before. Noorduynd also makes some observations worthy of consideration regarding his method, saying that he proceeded from 'the firm conviction that philological spade-work is the only sound basis for historical research of the type that is dependent on written documents, and that the optimum value these documents can have lies in their texts as they have been transmitted'. Rather than founding speculative hypotheses on text emendations when we are unable to explain the texts as we find them, we 'should be content to leave questions undecided in preference to venturing into the realm of outright speculation' (1978a:255-6). How much may still be discovered through such patient, careful and critical 'philological spade-work' is brilliantly demonstrated in this 68-page paper.

The last major scholarly paper which Noorduynd saw through the press, on the development of Javanese chronogram words (1993), again testifies to his creativity in addressing problems, starting from a basis of solid factual data and subjecting these data to a thorough critical analysis. By means of the seemingly simple but actually ingenious device of comparing the data contained in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* with those of the *Pararaton*, Noorduynd was able to demonstrate a progressive development from the earlier Sanskrit/Indian system of chronogram words to subsequent Javanese ones, thus laying a solid foundation for a more effective approach to this hitherto unsatisfactorily treated problem.

Summarizing, we can say that Noorduynd was a great scholar who made an important contribution to philological, linguistic, literary, historical and archaeological studies in a variety of Indonesian regions. The question of whether he was primarily a linguist, a philologist or a historian is actually irrelevant. The principles which he followed and the methods which he applied were the same in each field of his scholarly activities: a total command of the available literature; solid philological spadework; and the

Careful collection, critical evaluation and inventive combination of all the available data, without speculation that is not warranted by the texts. Above, the term 'scholarly detective' was used, not without justification: Noorduyn's investigative research method indeed often reminds one of the procedure of a detective, while he also possessed that important attribute of a detective, patience. He could often wait indefinitely until he could lay hands on the final piece of the jigsaw puzzle, even if his colleagues sometimes urged him not to postpone the publication of his results any longer.

Noorduyn was also a modest scholar, who never set out to dazzle or overawe others with his learning. He twice refused a professorship. This does not mean that he had no pupils, however. He was always prepared to let others profit from his vast knowledge, and took part in the supervision of many Indonesian and Dutch Ph.D. students, usually without any formal acknowledgement of his role. Many articles in *BKI* as well as other publications of the KITLV improved from Noorduyn's detailed, critical comments.

It is tragic that he fell victim, so soon after he was finally disburdened of the cumbersome administrative duties imposed by the directorship of the institute, to the fatal disease which prevented him from completing the research projects in which he had been engaged so long, and for which he should have had time at last. His work will live on, however, and he will be remembered in grateful admiration by all those who are interested in the study of Indonesian languages, literature, history and related subjects.

Bibliography of J. Noorduyn

1953

'Een Boeginees geschriftje over Arung Singkang', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 109:144-52.

1955

Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo'; *Buginese historiografie*, 's-Gravenhage: Smits, vii + 332 pp. [Ph.D. thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.]

'Een lange pëpët in een Buginees dialect', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 111:415-6.

1956

'De islamisering van Makasar', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 112:247-66.

'Review of: W. Kern, Commentaar op de Salasilah van Koetai, 's-Gravenhage 1956', *Indonesië* 9:421-4.

1957

'C.H. Thomsen, the editor of "A Code of Bugis Maritime Laws"', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 113:238-51.

1959

'Batu Tulis di Bogor', *Indonesia, Madjalah Kebudayaan* 10:504-7.

'Verantwoording', in: K.G.F. Steller and W.E. Aebersold, *Sangirees-Nederlands woordenboek met Nederlands-Sangirees register*, pp. viii-xi, 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.

1961

'Some aspects of Macassar-Buginese historiography', in: D.G.E. Hall (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia*, pp. 29-36, London: Oxford University Press.

1962

'Over het eerste gedeelte van de Oud-Soendase Carita Parahyangan', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 118:374-83.

'Het begingedeelte van de Carita Parahyangan; Tekst, vertaling en commentaar', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 118:405-32.

'Review of: Hans Kähler, Grammatik der Bahasa Indonésia, mit Chrestomathie und Wörterverzeichnis, Wiesbaden 1956', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 118:282-5.

1963

'Categories of courtesy in Sundanese', *The Bible Translator* 14:186-91.

(Editor) 'Mededelingen uit de verslagen van Dr S.J. Esser, taalambtenaar voor Celebes 1928-1944', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 119:329-70.

'Review of: Eugene A. Nida, Learning a foreign language, New York 1957', *The Bible Translator* 14:40-1.

'Review of: William A. Smalley, Manual of articulatory phonetics, New York 1961-62', *The Bible Translator* 14:41-2.

1964

S.J. Esser, *De Uma-taal (West Midden-Celebes)*, uitgegeven en van een woordenlijst voorzien door Dr. J. Noorduyn, 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, xv + 144 pp. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 43.]

'Sedjarah agama Islam di Sulawesi Selatan', in: W.B. Sidjabat (ed.), *Panggilan kita di Indonesia dewasa ini*, pp. 86-97, Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen.

'Review of: Edith Bront Checchi, Grammatica della lingua Indonesiana, Roma 1962', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 120:380.

1965

'Origins of South Celebes historical writing', in: Soedjatmoko et al., *An introduction to Indonesian historiography*, pp. 137-55, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

'The making of bark paper in West Java', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 121:472-3.

1966

'Enige nadere gegevens over tekst en inhoud van de Carita Parahyangan', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 122:366-74.

1968

'Further topographical notes on the Ferry Charter of 1358, with appendices on Djipang and Bodjanegara', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124:460-81.

'The names of Hayam Wuruk's sisters', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124:542-4.

1969

'The Solo River ferries again', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 125:268.

1971

'Traces of an Old Sundanese Ramayana tradition', *Indonesia* (Ithaca) 12:151-7.

'Apa-apa als Javaanse plaatsnaam', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 127:278-9.

1972

Islamisasi Makassar, Translated by S. Gunawan, with an introduction by Andi Zainal Abidin Farid, Jakarta: Bhratara, 35 pp. [Translation of 'De islamisering van Makasar', 1956.]

'Arung Singkang (1700-1765); How the victory of Wadjo' began', *Indonesia* (Ithaca) 13:61-8.

(with H.Th. Verstappen) 'Purnavarman's river-works near Tugu', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 128:298-307.

1975

'The eastern kings in Majapahit', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 131:479-87. [With an appendix by Brian E. Colless, pp. 487-9.]

1976

'Concerning the reliability of Tomé Pires' data on Java', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 132:467-71.

1977

(With C. Molony) 'Sama/Bajau studies: Recent and current research'. [Unpublished Circular.]

1978

'Majapahit in the fifteenth century', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 134:207-74.

'In memoriam A.A. Cense, 20 september 1901-8 december 1977', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 134:403-14.

1979

(Editor) A.A. Cense in samenwerking met Abdoerrahim, *Makassaars-Nederlands woordenboek*; Met Nederlands-Makassaars register door J. Noorduyn, 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, xxi+989 pp.

1980

'Review of: Viviane Sukanda-Tessier, *Le triomphe de Sri en pays soundanais*, Paris 1977', *Archipel* 19:311-4.

1982

'Sound changes in the Gorontalo language', in: Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm (eds), *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Vol. 2, Tracking the travellers*, pp. 241-61, Canberra: Australian National University. [Pacific Linguistics, C-75.]

'Bujangga Manik's journeys through Java; Topographical data from an Old Sundanese source', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 138:413-42.

'Review of: Olivier Carré (ed.), *L'islam et l'état dans le monde d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1982', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 138:506-7.

1983

- 'De handelsrelaties van het Makassaarse rijk volgens de Notitie van Cornelis Speelman uit 1670', in: *Nederlandse historische bronnen*, uitgegeven door het Nederlands Historisch Genootschap 3, pp. 97-123, 309-12, Amsterdam: Verloren.
- (Editor) R.A. Kern, *Catalogus van de verzameling Soendase handschriften van Snouck Hurgronje in de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek (naar Cod.Or. 8923)*, Leiden: s.n., ix+129 pp.

1984

- 'Hoe het regentschap Bodjonegoro in 1828 deze naam kreeg', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 140:270-5.
- 'Lalampahan Bujangga Manik ngurilingan pulo Jawa; Data topografis tina sumber Sunda bihun', *Mangle* 957:16-7, 49; 958:18-9; 965:8-9; 966:38-9; 967:38-9; 968:42-3; 969:18-9; 970:40. [Translation of 'Bujangga Manik's journeys through Java', 1982.]
- Perjalanan Bujangga Manik menyusuri tanah Jawa; Data topografis dari sumber Sunda kuno*, diterjemahkan oleh Iskandarwassid, [Jakarta:] KITLV / LIPI, ii+51 pp. [Translation of 'Bujangga Manik's journeys through Java', 1982.]
- 'Review of: Leonard Y. Andaya, *The heritage of Arung Palakka*, The Hague 1981', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 97:108-9.

1985

- 'The three palm-leaf MSS from Java in the Bodleian Library and their donors', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1985):58-64.
- 'The full date of the Old Javanese Charter of Rĕnĕk of 1379', in: Sulastin Sutrisno, Darusuprta and Sudaryanto (eds), *Bahasa - sastra - budaya; Ratna manikam untaian persembahan kepada prof.dr. P.J. Zoetmulder*, pp. 591-7, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- 'Makassarese', in: Richard V. Weekes (ed.), *Muslim peoples; A world ethnographic survey*, Second edition, Vol. II, pp. 470-2, London: Aldwych Press.

1986

- 'The Bugis auxiliaries from Tanete in the Chinese war in Java, 1742-1744', in: C.M.S. Hellwig and S.O. Robson (eds), *A man of Indonesian letters; Essays in honour of Professor A. Teeuw*, pp. 271-92, Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 121.]
- 'The etymology of the name of Yogyakarta', *Archipel* 31:87-96.
- 'De Soendase roman van Soewarsih', *Indische Letteren* 1:161.

1987

- Bima en Sumbawa; Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de sultanaten Bima en Sumbawa door A. Ligtoet en G.P. Rouffaer*, Dordrecht/Providence: Foris, xii+187 pp. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 129.]

'Makasar and the Islamization of Bima', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 143:312-42.

'Indonesian studies in the Netherlands; A brief survey', *Asien, Deutsche Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur* 25:79-82.

1988

'Soewarsih sebagai pengarang Sunda', in: *Ajip Rosidi satengah abad*, pp. 137-44, Bandung: Pustaka Karsa Sunda.

'Marjanah, de Soendase roman van Soewarsih Djojopoespito', in: Reggie Baay and Peter van Zonneveld (eds), *Indisch-Nederlandse literatuur; Dertien bijdragen voor Rob Nieuwenhuys*, pp. 232-42, Utrecht: Hes.

'The Bugis genealogy of the Raja Muda family of Riau-Johor', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 61-2:63-92.

(with M. Salim), 'Special Buginese characters in Luwu' manuscripts', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 144:351-2.

'Holle, Van der Tuuk and Old Sundanese Epigraphy; The Cikajang and Kawali inscriptions', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 77:303-14. [Published 1991.]

'Vishnu – Yogyakarta; Note additionelle', *Archipel* 35:21.

'KITLV Publications', *Indonesia Circle* 46:33.

1989

'Kata puun dalam bahasa Sunda mempunyai berbagai fungsi', *Pikiran Rakyat* 12-2-1989.

'Oral epic poetry in Tolaki and Moronene, Southeast Sulawesi', *Baruga, Sulawesi Research Bulletin* 5:2.

1990

'Consonant gemination in Buginese', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146:470-2.

1991

A critical survey of studies on the languages of Sulawesi, Leiden: KITLV Press, xiv+245 pp. [KITLV, Bibliographical Series 17.]

'The manuscripts of the Makasarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq; An evaluation', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 147:454-84.

'The languages of Sulawesi', in: H. Steinhauer (ed.), *Papers in Austro-nesian Linguistics No. 1*, pp. 137-50, Canberra: Australian National University. [Pacific Linguistics, A-81.]

1992

De Goede; Een sprookje uit Soendaland, vertaald door Koos Noorduyt, Leiden: Noorduyt, 12 pp.

'Review of: Taro Goh, Sumba bibliography, Canberra 1991', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 148:350-1.

1993

'Some remarks on Javanese chronogram words; A case of localization', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149:298-317.

'Variation in the Bugis/Makasarese script', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149:533-70.

'A Bugis inscription in the Udok-Udok cemetery, Brunei', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 66-2:103-12.

'Het magazijn', in: *Geboekte groei; Bij het afscheid van drs. Pram Sutikno als bibliothecaris van het KITLV*, pp. 69-71, Leiden: KITLV Press.

'Varia Sulawesiana', *Baruga* 9:2-4.

'Review of: C.G.F. de Jong, *Geesten, goden en getuigen; Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse zending onder de Buginezen en Makassaren in Zuid-Sulawesi (Indonesië) (1932-1966)*, Kampen 1991', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 108-2:318-9.

1994

(Editor) Jacobus Noorduyn, *Herinneringen van een uitstapje naar Brussel in augustus 1836*, introduced by Peter van Zonneveld, Leiden: Noorduyn.

1995

'Asal mula historiografi di Sulawesi Selatan', in: Soedjatmoko et al., *Historiografi Indonesia: Sebuah pengantar*, pp. 117-36, Jakarta: Gramedia. [Translation of 'Origins of South Celebes historical writing', 1965.]

Papers Presented at Congresses and so on

'Traces of an Old Sundanese Ramayana tradition', Paper presented at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, 17 August 1967.

'Impact on libraries of current trends in Asian studies (in the Netherlands)', Paper presented at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists, Canberra, 6-12 January 1971, 7 pp.

'Majapahit in the fifteenth century', Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Asian History, Yogyakarta, 26-30 August 1974.

'Majapahit in the fifteenth century', Paper presented at the Huishoudelijk Congres Oosters Genootschap in Nederland, 17 september 1976.

'Sound changes in the Gorontalo language', Paper presented at the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Denpasar, 19-24 January 1981, 33 pp.

'The manuscripts of the Makassarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq; An evaluation', Paper presented at the Fifth European Colloquium on Malay and Indonesian Studies, Sintra, 24-29 March 1985, 40 pp.

'Makasar and the Islamization of Bima', Paper presented at the 10th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Singapore, October 1986.

- 'The languages of Sulawesi', Paper presented at the Sixth Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies, Passau, 22-27 June 1987, 18 pp.
- 'Silsilah Bugis dari keluarga Raja Muda di kerajaan Johor', Paper presented at the Seminar on Malay Language, Literature and Culture, Brunei, 3-8 August 1987, 29 pp.
- 'The Wajo' merchants' community in Makasar', Paper presented at the International Workshop on Indonesian Studies no. 2 of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology on South Sulawesi: Trade, Society and Belief, Leiden, 2-6 November 1987, 16 pp.
- 'Kerajaan Sunda dan Pakuan Pajajaran dilihat dari sumber-sumber prasasti dan naskah-naskah lama', Paper presented at the Seminar Nasional Sastra dan Sejarah Pakuan Pajajaran, Bogor, 11-13 November 1991.
- 'Variation in the Bugis/Makasarese script', Paper presented at the 7th International KITLV Workshop on Indonesian Studies, 'Manuscripts of Indonesia', Leiden, 14-18 December 1992.