



Melaka

A Cosmopolitan City in Southeast Asia

JOHANNES WIDODO*

THE RISE OF COSMOPOLITAN COASTAL CITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA (1ST TO 16TH CENTURIES)

The emergence of coastal cities in Southeast Asia was the result of development and change in the overseas trade of two great civilisations: India and China. The ships from the north (China, Japan, and Ryukyu) sailing to the south followed the northern monsoon from January-February and returned home by the southern monsoon from June to August. Indian ships went eastward, pushed by the southwest monsoon from April to August, and returned by the northeast monsoon beginning in December. During the cyclone periods or the changing monsoon seasons, the traders stayed in Southeast Asian ports while waiting for their trading partners from the other parts of the world to arrive. During their stay, the crews and passengers of the ships populated the city¹ and mingled with the local population.

The maritime contact between India and China started in the 2nd century. China exported gold and silk to India by the South Sea and through central Asia, while India exported precious stones and glassware to China. Gold and silver were the main trade items of that time. This trade stopped around 450, when the

gold reserve in China was completely drained. Then, until the early 19th century, China imported precious metals from abroad.²

Pre-urban settlements in Southeast Asia were autonomous villages with closed ecosystems, nestled amid virgin forests, mountains, and seas. Each settlement consisted of scattered houses built with non-durable materials (bamboo, coconut leaves, and wood) with insignificant morphological and typological variations. These indigenous pre-urban villages lacked sufficient institutional foundations for the development of cities, which were later borrowed from India. The Indianisation process was accomplished by countless individuals who acted independently through peaceful trades³ in a slow, gradual process.

In the 1st century, the maritime trading route between the Roman Empire in Europe and China in the Far East was established. From the Mediterranean, the route split into two; one passed through Alexandria, the Red Sea, and the Bab-el-Mandeb strait, and the other went through Babylonia and the Persian Gulf. Both routes converged at the Malabar Coast (west India) and then followed the Bay of Bengal's coastline or, crossing the Indian Ocean, came into the Southeast Asian region.

Before 450, there were two trading routes between China and India. The first route from China to India along the coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula crossed the Malay Peninsula and then proceeded to southern India. The second route was from southern India to China, which went through the Melaka strait and proceeded along the coast line of the Indo-Chinese peninsula to Vietnam—which was occupied by China at that time.⁴ The Malay Peninsula was the

* Ph.D. in Architecture from the University of Tokyo. Associate Professor at the Department of Architecture, National University of Singapore, currently the co-Director of the Tun Tan Cheng Lock Centre for Asian Architectural and Urban Heritage in Melaka (Malaysia), and Executive Editor of the *Journal of Southeast Asian Architecture*.

Doutorado em Arquitectura pela Universidade de Tóquio. Professor Associado no Departamento de Arquitectura da Universidade Nacional de Singapura, co-director do Centro Tun Tan Cheng Lock para o Património Arquitectónico e Urbano em Malaca (Malásia), e editor executivo do Journal of Southeast Asian Architecture.

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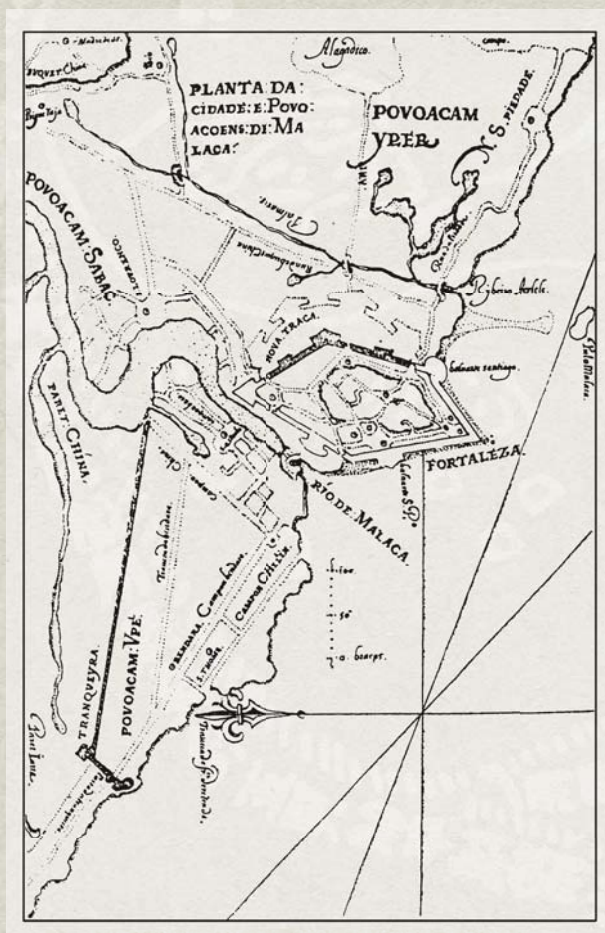


Fig. 1. The settlement of Melaka in early 17th century according to a sketch from the *Declaração de Malaca* by Manuel Godinho de Erédia.

first place where new cities appeared as a result of this international trading network. The Chinese ships stopped in this area for the food that was provided by the local inhabitants. The Tamils from southern India formed a number of settlements (city states) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula to obtain gold. Because the indigenous population was too small, these city-states often launched expeditions to find additional manpower or slaves elsewhere. The immigration of Indian intellectuals helped the consolidation of kingship and states in Southeast Asia.⁵

The maritime cities in Southeast Asia were founded as settlements of immigrants, who came for different purposes. The native inhabitants lived inland, while the immigrants settled near the seashore. The arrival of these immigrants increased the size of the local population.⁶ In these cities, people of different traditions intermingled while engaging in bartering

and forged new mental and social integration, forming a truly cosmopolitan community. However, in other cases, social and physical barriers existed between the local and foreign inhabitants.

The primary element of the coastal cities of this period was the market for commercial exchange. In contrast to the inland capital, the indigenous port cities featured buildings constructed almost exclusively of non-durable materials (wood, bamboo, and coconut leaves). Even the fortifications of most coastal cities were made of non-permanent wooden palisades. Because of the threat of fire, some indigenous elites constructed small fireproof brick buildings close to their residences to protect their belongings.

Several camps and their surroundings were later developed into larger entrepôts. An entrepôt is a centre of distribution or exchange of foreign merchandise with little or no local product to export. Most entrepôts in Southeast Asia were controlled by the Chinese. Some entrepôts faded for various reasons, such as the decline in international trade activities, the sedimentation process, which made the harbour useless, or the destruction caused by military and political conflicts. However, some entrepôts managed to expand and consolidate into the next stage of urban development—the international trading port—thanks to the policy of the tributary system and the voyage of Admiral Zheng He 郑和 implemented by the Ming Dynasty during the 15th century.

ZHENG HE'S VOYAGES (1405-1433) AND MAZU TEMPLES

Zheng He (or Ma He 马和, his original name, or Cheng Ho in the Fujianese dialect) was born the second son of a Muslim family in Kunyang, located in central Yunnan in southern China. His father and his grandfather were both Haji, and their family name was Ma.⁷ Ma He's father was killed in 1381 by a Ming Dynasty military expedition; he was captured and turned into a eunuch⁸ for the Nanjing palace. He became a close friend of prince Zhu Di 朱棣—who later became Emperor Yongle 永乐帝 or Ming Cheng Zu 明成祖—and Ma He was promoted to the Grand Eunuch rank and received a new family name, Zheng.

Emperor Yongle appointed Zheng He as Admiral to lead a Ming Dynasty armada to extend friendship and trade relations into the Indian Ocean. Zheng

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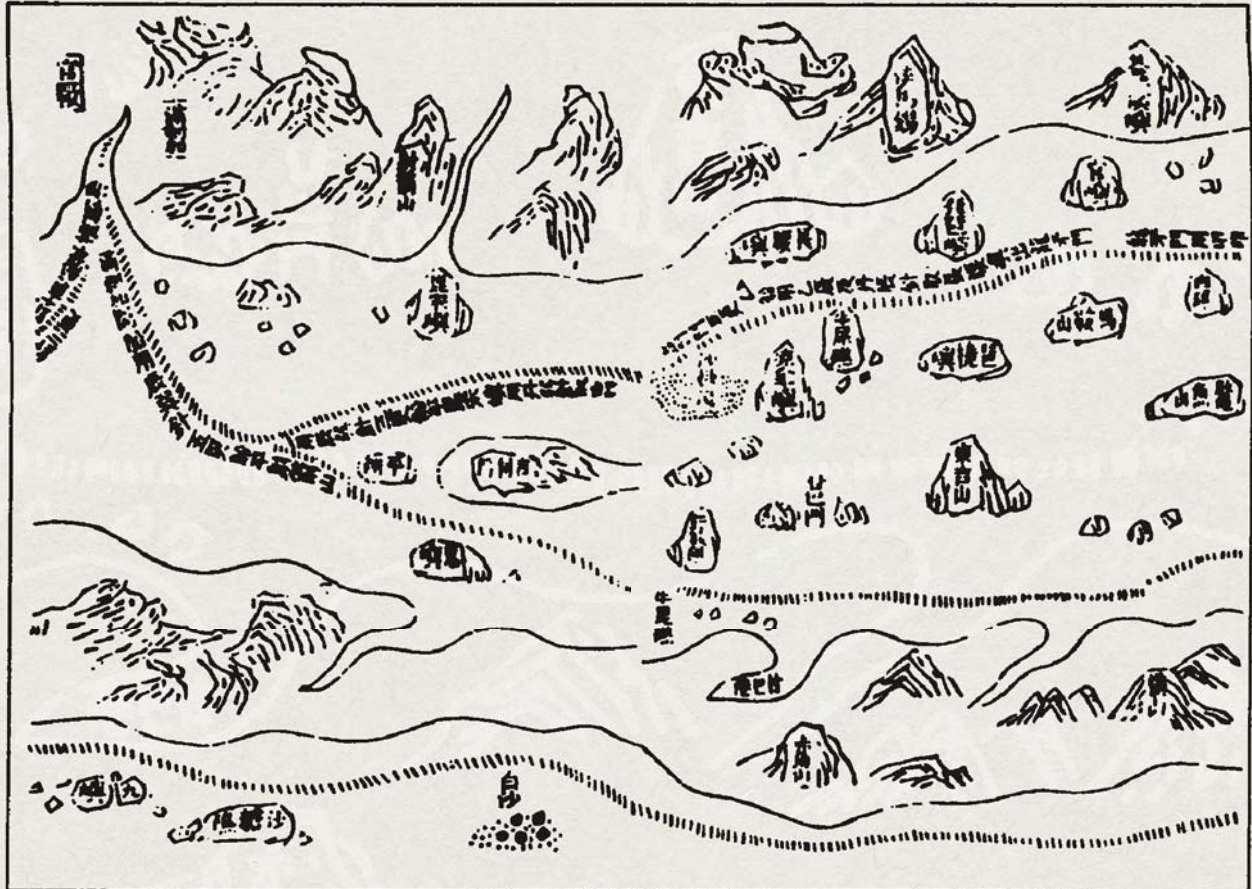
He had a personal intention to make the pilgrimage to Arabia, too. Zheng He's expeditions (1405-1433) planted seeds of new settlements and consolidated all overseas Chinese settlements under Ming's authority. In different places of Southeast Asia, he was commonly called San Bao Gong 三保公 (Sam Po Kong, in Fujianese), or San Bao Da Ren 三保大人 (Sam Po Tay Jin, in Fujianese),⁹ and many temples were erected all over coastal settlements in Southeast Asia to worship him as the founding father of their cities.

Zheng He made a stopover in Quanzhou during his second voyage, and he installed Emperor Yongle's edict to protect the Muslim community here. A tablet signed by Emperor Yongle, dated 16 June 1407, was put on the wall of a garden outside the Ashab mosque. This mosque was built on top of earlier structures. The stone terrace dated from the 8th century, and the worship hall and the minaret were built in the 11th century.¹⁰ Before

Zheng He left China for his fifth voyage, his fleet made a stop in Quanzhou to take locally made porcelain and fine blue-and-white ceramics from Jingdezhen (imperial kilns inland). During his stay of several months here, Zheng He boarded at Lai Yuan Li's guest house near the south gate of the city. He worshipped at Quanzhou's main mosque on Tumen Street near the harbour, as well as at the tomb of two early Muslim prophets outside the city on 31 May 1417. Zheng He also visited a small Muslim hamlet, Baiqi, on a peninsula just north of Quanzhou, to recruit pilots and navigators for his voyage. The village had more characteristics of an Arab village than of a Chinese village (stone buildings with decorative displays of coloured tiles).

The first expedition (1405-1407) was from Nanjing to Calicut, also visiting Champa, Java, Palembang, other places in Sumatra, and Ceylon. The second expedition (1407-1409) was a voyage

Fig. 2. Chart of the Straits of Malacca from the 'Mao Kun map' in the *Wubei Zhi* 武备志 (Treatise on Armament Technology), edited by Mao Yuanyi 茅元仪, 1628. Malacca is in the top left corner.



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to India and to install the new king of Calicut. The third (1409-1411) travelled to Champa, Tanmahsi (Temasek), Melaka, Sumatra (Samudera and Tamiang), and Ceylon. The fourth (1413-1415) was a voyage to Champa, Java, Sumatra, Malaya, Maldives, Ceylon, India and Hormuz. The fifth expedition (1417-1419) voyaged to Champa, Java, Palembang, Aden, Mogadishu, Brawa and Malindi on the west coast of Africa. The sixth expedition (1421-1422) went to Africa—and all over the world. Finally, the seventh expedition (1431-1433) ventured to southern Vietnam, Surabaya, Palembang, Melaka, Samudera, Ceylon, Calicut, Africa, and Jeddah.

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Zheng He dutifully followed the local customs and performed an extensive ritual to Mazu 媽祖¹¹ before a sea journey. In 1409, before his third voyage, he paid a tribute at the main Mazu temple on Meizhou Island. Because of her protection over Zheng He's successful voyages, the Ming Emperor bestowed the title 'Tian Hou' 天后, or the 'Empress of Heaven', on Mazu. Mazu worship spread from China together with Zheng He's visits and flows of immigrants (especially Fujianese, Chaozhou, Cantonese, and Hainanese) to Southeast Asia in the 15th century. Her temple became the first and oldest primary element in many port cities in this region at the harbour front.

In every southern Chinese immigrant ship, there was usually a special shrine for Mazu, guarding the compass or the steering wheel, the sails, and all passengers aboard. Once the ship reached a good place and they wanted to settle down, the ship was dismantled, but the memory embedded in the spatial-cosmological concept remained and was transplanted into the new adopted land to form a new urban nucleus.

The nucleus of the new settlement was constructed based on a spatial pattern similar to that of the ship, with the Mazu temple located at the end of the axis facing the harbour and two masts placed in front of the temple. The temple housed the statue of Mazu, which once protected the Chinese immigrants' ships during their dangerous voyage to the southern seas. The settlement's spatial structure was like that of an imaginary ship. A small community of Chinese fishermen and traders was then formed around the harbour—living together side by side with the indigenous population and other foreigners' communities with a truly cosmopolitan urban culture.

The Chinese settlement developed on the seaside or river mouth's side, while the native population hamlets were situated deeper into the hinterland or on the opposite side of the river. This logical positioning is related to the logic of economics, such that the Chinese settlers controlled the main economic accessibility—and in doing this, they managed to control the economy of the city. Some good examples of this type of urban nucleus can still be found in Pattani, Melaka, Palembang, Tangerang, and Tuban. The existence of Mazu temples across Southeast Asia, therefore, forms a 'sisterhood' of port cities with a typical pattern from southern China to Japan, Taiwan, Indochina, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia.

In many old Mazu temples across Southeast Asia, pork offerings are prohibited because of the spirit of tolerance planted by Zheng He in his ships. As many of the sailors in his ships were Muslims, non-Halal¹² foods were not served. Although idol worship is prohibited in Islam, Zheng He respected the traditions belonging to some of his sailors. In many cases, within the Chinese temple compound, we can find a Muslim tomb where a figure related to Zheng He (his navigator or translator) was believed to be buried. These temples became centres for pilgrimage and the source of local legends by Chinese and non-Chinese, Muslim and non-Muslim together.

When the Chinese community became stronger and larger, other temples dedicated to different deities and functions appeared. To guard the settlement soil, a temple for the god of land was erected. To protect the prosperity and expansion of markets and business, temples dedicated to the god of war were constructed. Then the family or clan temples appeared, followed by the erection of the community temple. Temples and

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mosques were located side-by-side as a tangible sign of peaceful coexistence and tolerance.

The voyages left traces along the coastal regions of Southeast Asia in the form of early southern Chinese trading posts and colonies. Many of these colonies were situated near river estuaries close to the existing native villages. Some of these early settlements then grew into flourishing entrepôts. The main features from this period were the Chinese temples dedicated to Mazu, the fish markets in front of the temples near the harbours, and the early typology of shophouses.

The Chinese architectural elements, blended with the local-vernacular design patterns and features, created numerous variations of fusion building styles. One good example of this acculturation process is the typical trader's house in Palembang, located in south Sumatra. The house plan and some of its construction methods are of the southern Chinese courthouse origin, but the saddle roof, open veranda, timber material, and raised floor were definitely local. In different cases in the same place, strong elements of Arab, Indian, and even European origins were blended with the Chinese and local-vernacular fusion typology and can easily be recognised.

Zheng He himself never made a visit to Mecca. He died on board ship, aged 62, and was buried in the Indian Ocean according to Muslim custom. In July 1433, the fleet arrived in China. A tomb at the Niu Shou Shan hill, close to Nanjing, was built to honour him and is believed to contain some of his relics. His death was also the end of the great maritime age of China. After the death of Emperor Zhu Zhendi 朱章帝 (the grandson of Emperor Zhu Di) in 1435, the imperial palace was fully controlled by the Confucians mandarins—the enemy of the eunuchs. China turned to complete isolation. All voyages were banned, all ships were destroyed, and all overseas trade and travels were prohibited. After the end of Zheng He's voyages and the gradual decline of tributary trade with China, some sailors and officers of Zheng He's fleet left China secretly with their families and settled down throughout Southeast Asia to find a better life. By the end of the 16th century, tens of thousands of Chinese had settled in such places as Luzon in the Philippines. Most of the Chinese colonies in Southeast Asia in the 16th century were populated by illegal traders or pirates, who tried to make profits from the failing tributary system during the end of the Ming Dynasty period.

There are many artefacts and place names across Southeast Asia that carry the memory of Zheng He's visits to this day. Places related to and temples dedicated to Zheng He are scattered all over Southeast Asia. Besides great port cities such as Melaka, Semarang, and Palembang, temples in Sei Raya (Western Kalimantan), Kuala Trengganu (Kampung Jeram, Sungai Nerus), Penang (Bandar Batu Maung), Kuching (Stapok, Sarawak), Zulu (Southern Philippines), Brunei (stone inscription outside the Brunei palace), the Sampo harbour (estuary of Menam River, Gulf of Thailand), and many other places can be found.

THE RISE OF MELAKA AS AN ENTREPÔT

An entrepôt is a centre of exchange or distribution of foreign merchandise with little or no local commodities to export. The name is derived from the Latin words 'inter' (between) and 'positum' (positioned, placed). Entrepôts in Southeast Asia developed because of the position between two great civilisations: India and China. The main function of these cities was mainly to serve as hubs of maritime trade, not as exporters of local products. The foreign inhabitants were mostly international traders who waited for other traders from different parts of the world, following the change of monsoon seasons. The development of entrepôts was very much enhanced by the Ming Dynasty's effort to bring Southeast Asia under its tributary system. This policy was pursued by sending great expeditions under Admiral Zheng He in the early 15th century. The greatest legacy of Admiral Zheng He in Southeast Asia is peaceful coexistence among different religions and racial groups. He promoted a spirit of tolerance, openness, and inclusiveness through trade and cultural exchange, resulting in a harmonious fusion, communal bond, and strong sense of identity among people and cosmopolitan cities across Southeast Asia.

The history of Melaka might have started long before the arrival of Parameswara from Tanma-hsi (early Singapore); Melaka was mentioned in a Javanese poem in 1324, and it was mentioned again in a list of Siamese dependencies in 1360. The Arabs had long known this place as Melakat, or 'the market'. By the early 15th century, Melaka had risen to become a new Muslim maritime power centre in the strait of Melaka. The Southeast Asian power centre had shifted from

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Sumatra to Java and Melaka, where some entrepôts would evolve into great trading ports in the centuries to come.

Parameswara was born in 1334 as a crown prince in Palembang and crowned as the Maharaja of Palembang from 1390 to 1397. Palembang was attacked and destroyed by Majapahit forces in 1397. Parameswara ran away with 30 followers and landed at Teluk Belanga (on the island of Singapore) in 1397. In the 14th century, the Malay Peninsula was located between two conflicting regional powers: Siam and Majapahit. Just after his arrival, he killed the Siamese ruler in Tanma-hsi, appointed himself as the king of the island, and established himself at the top of the forbidden hill to watch over the market town in the flat land known as the Padang area below the hill. According to Tomé Pires in *The Suma Oriental*, Parameswara's reign in Tanma-hsi was very short because the Siamese forces from Pattani attacked Tanma-hsi to punish him in 1398.¹³ He escaped to Muar, where he settled down for almost five years near the Bertam River. In 1402, he moved to a small fishing village that had a good harbour free of mangroves and a hill that could be easily defended up the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. The place was then called Melaka.¹⁴

Melaka had a population of around 2,000 in 1403. A settlement chief's compound was built on the hill near the harbour at the mouth of the Melaka river, while 'rumah panggung' (vernacular stilt houses) were clustered at the base of the hill. On the other side of the Melaka River, another settlement was developed. A covered bridge, located near the harbour in the estuary, connected these two residential areas opposite the river and served as a marketplace for both internal markets and international trade. According to a traveller's account, during that period there was neither a king nor a kingdom in Melaka.

Melaka's economy depended heavily on overseas trade because of its strategic location in the middle of a trade route between India, China, and Indonesia and because it had very few natural resources. Early Melaka entered a tributary relation with China to free itself from Siam and enhanced its power against other rivals in the region. The Ming Dynasty's Admiral Zheng He visited Melaka several times and placed Parameswara's sultanate under the Ming tributary protection. In Zheng He's time, Ma Huan 马欢 wrote that Melaka was politically unimportant, but it was

rapidly expanding as an entrepôt of international trade between Venice and Maluku.

The ships that had gone to various countries returned to Melaka and assembled; they marshalled the foreign goods, loaded them onto the ships and then waited until the south wind was perfectly favourable. In the middle decade of the fifth moon, they put to sea and returned home. The king of Melaka made a selection of local products, left his wife and sons, brought his chiefs, boarded a ship, and followed Zheng He's treasure-ships, and he attended at court and presented tribute to the Ming emperor. In 1405 Melaka's envoys visited the Ming court, and then Parameswara was appointed a king by the Ming emperor, but unfortunately, the area was seized by the Siamese, who controlled the Malay Peninsula at that time. In 1407, Parameswara sent a second mission with tribute and presents to the Ming emperor. In 1409, Zheng He visited Melaka on his third expedition. An armada of 48 ships reached Melaka after a 20-day voyage and presented Parameswara with an official tablet to raise the status of Melaka and its environs as a kingdom.¹⁵

According to *Ying yai sheng lan* 瀛涯胜览—a report written by Ma Huan—Zheng He later built a wooden palisade, like a castle with four gates and watchtowers, in Melaka, near the harbour.¹⁶ During the night, guards kept watch around bearing bells. Inside the palisade, another palisade was built, resembling a small castle, in which warehouses were located to hold money, food and victuals. This entrepôt was intended to store goods from throughout the Indian Ocean and South Seas before they were brought to China. It is possible that this fort was maintained as a permanent Chinese colony, and the Chinese inhabitants took Malay wives and raised their families in Melaka.¹⁷

Zheng He brought roof tiles from China to Melaka in 1409 to be used on the roof of Melaka's royal palace. These tiles were used after 1424. Before the arrival of the Chinese, all buildings in Melaka utilised wood, bamboo, and Nipah (palm) leaves. The Chinese introduced the first permanent buildings in Melaka.¹⁸ In 1436, Fei Xin 费信, a scholar in Zheng He's ship, wrote in *Xing cha sheng lan* 星槎胜览: 'The people of Melaka are rather dark in skin but those who are fairer in complexion are the descendants of the Chinese.' Hwang Chung (a Chinese traveller) wrote in 'Hai yu' about Melaka before the arrival of the Portuguese

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Fig. 3. Melaka in the 1st half of the 16th century according to a plate from *Lendas da Índia* by Gaspar Correia.

in 1537: 'Pork was eaten by the Chinese who live in Melaka. They live in a hotel, the chief of which always sends female slaves to serve them and sends their food and drink morning and evening.'¹⁹

Parameswara embraced Islam when he married a princess from Pasai (Aceh, northern Sumatra) in 1406, and then called himself Iskandar Shah²⁰ when he was 72 years old. Eight years later, he died. The death of Iskandar Shah was reported to the Ming emperor by his son in 1414, and then he was appointed as the second Sultan of Melaka, Megat Iskandar Shah (1414-1424). Although the Ming chronicle does not mention his burial place, it is believed that Iskandar Shah was buried in Tanjung Tuan near Port Dickson, Malaysia.

According to local Malay legend, Sultan Mansur Shah of Melaka married 'Princess' Hang Liu around 1446-1459 (Cheah 1998: 166-170),²¹ but this event has never been mentioned in any Chinese chronicles. However, a Portuguese traveller, Braz de Albuquerque (1500-1580), reported that, in the Melaka Sultanate (circa 1415-1511), four Xabandars (Shahbandar or Port Master) were appointed to help the administration of justice in the case of foreigners,²² and one of them was a Chinese man. He said that the second Sultan of Melaka, Sri Maharaja (1424-1511), married a daughter of the Captain of the King of China.

Before the Portuguese conquest in 1511, Melaka was largely populated with Javanese slaves or dependants of Javanese merchants. These Javanese were the leading craftsmen of this emporium.²³ There were also the Kling traders from Southern India, numbering about 1,000 people when the Portuguese arrived. They lived in the Kling quarters, which stretched along the suburb of Upe (now called Tengkeru), situated on the right bank of the Melaka River, and along the seashore. They monopolised trade with Maluku and Banda for the most important commodities, such as cloves, mace, and nutmeg, and they were also active as bankers, brokers, and money lenders.²⁴

In 1500, Melaka imported more than 10,000 tons of rice from Siam and several thousand tons from Pegu. In the same year, Melaka imported a large amount of copper and iron equipment and utensils from China. According to the Portuguese, 'Gudang' ('godown') or semi-submerged storage units made from stone to protect goods from fire, could be found in Melaka and Burma ports since the early 15th century.²⁵ Melaka was the last significant pre-colonial entrepôt in Southeast Asia before the emergence of other great trading ports in the region. Later, the Europeans conquered Melaka and turned it into a stepping stone towards the conquest of the rest of Southeast Asia.

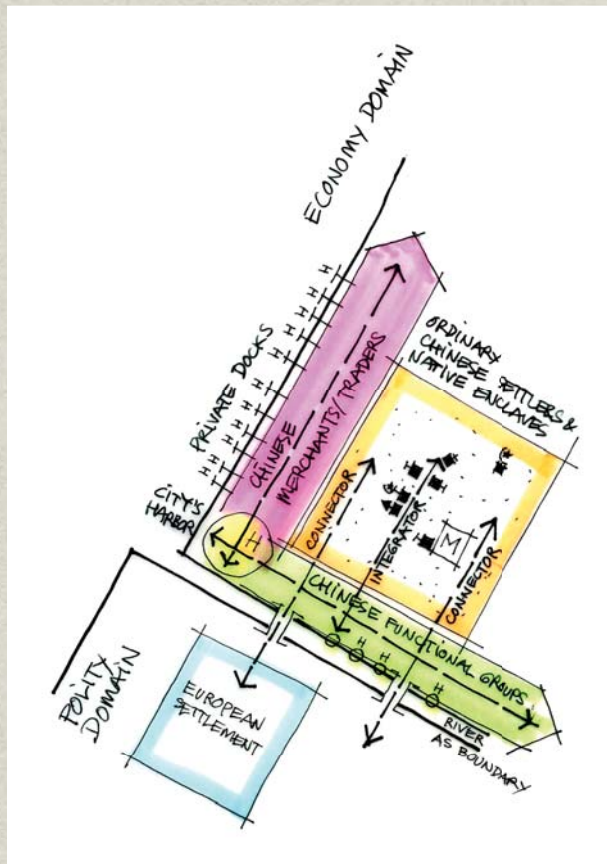
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MELAKA AND THE PORTUGUESE
(1511-1640)

The European penetration to Southeast Asia was initiated by the Portuguese, who captured the city of Melaka in 1511. The Portuguese were followed by traders from Spain, Britain, and the Netherlands in the 16th century, starting a long period of colonialism and the addition of European layers on the urban morphology in Southeast Asia. Under foreign dominance, urban growth rapidly accelerated after 1800, when the European powers implemented the policy of territorial expansion and political imperialism.

For 130 years (1511-1640), Melaka was under Portuguese's reign, and the Malay control was annihilated. The 'A Famosa' (meaning 'famous') fortress was established in 1512 under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque. The Portuguese destroyed the natives' palace and built the bastion on the hill overlooking the harbour and the existing city.

Fig. 4: Morphological diagram of the historic core of Melaka (source: author).



The first fortress of Melaka, as shown on the 1536 map (Fig. 3), was built at the foot of the hill, close to the river mouth. It was a small fortress with a watchtower on its corner. A small chapel built in 1521 by Duarte Coelho was situated on top of the hill, overlooking the fort and the city. St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the East, preached here before he spread Christianity for seven years in his mission trips to Maluku, the Philippines, Japan, and China. However, he was killed in China on 3 December 1552, and his body was temporarily buried inside the chapel on top of the hill under the main altar before he was removed to his final resting place in Goa, India.

A roofed wooden bridge connected the Portuguese fort with the existing cosmopolitan city across the river. The bridge and the space around it functioned as the city centre and the main market because it was centrally located and directly linked to the main harbour. Sometime before 1606, a more extensive fortification was erected surrounding the fort of Melaka and the entire hill. The chapel on top of the hill was rebuilt into a bigger church and named 'Our Lady of the Annunciation'.

This period was marred by continuous wars and attacks on Melaka by Aceh forces, and then by the Dutch. The main intention of the Portuguese was to control the strait of Melaka, and they had another focus on the spice-producing islands of Maluku.²⁶ Even though they had made their fortune in Maluku, the Portuguese wanted to build their houses, to set up business headquarters, and to have families in Melaka.²⁷

The Portuguese forced all ships to come to Melaka, raising its income and profit. By 1550, the profit from trade in Melaka amounted to four times Portugal's internal revenue.²⁸ They used religious oppression to expand trade. The rapid expansion of Islam in insular Southeast Asia in the 16th century was the reaction toward and the result of Portuguese brutality. Because Spain won control over Portugal (1580-1640) and because of the Portuguese shortage of manpower there, their power in Southeast Asia rapidly dropped.

In the Portuguese map of 1613 (Fig. 1), the morphology of the city was divided into two parts by the Melaka River: the European fortified town and the open indigenous city. This map reflected the Portuguese perspective, which perceived the existing indigenous city merely as the fringe suburbs of their own 'city'. The

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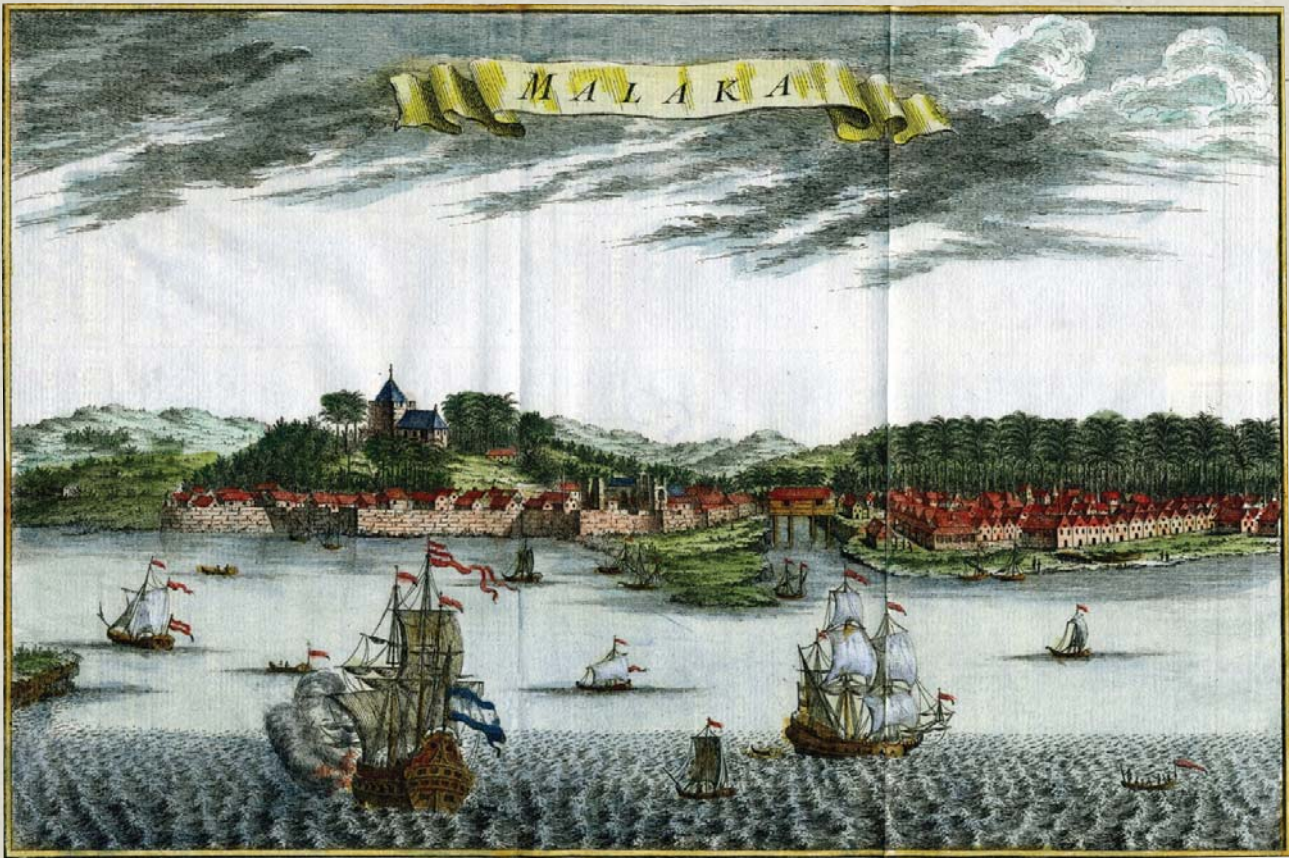


Fig. 5: Malaka, *Histoire générale des voyages*. Paris, Didot: 1750.

existing city was described as the Chinese 'kampung'²⁹ and stretched along the river. The European town was connected to the indigenous city by a single bridge. A Javanese market (Java bazaar) was located at the other end of the bridge, where different racial groups settled down (Javanese, Indians). The local Malays settled rather far from the waterfront, behind the Chinese and other foreigners' settlements. This area was enclosed by a wall with two gates: the Chinese gate near the river and the Tranqueriya gate at the other end. Tranqueriya (or Tengkeri) was the name of this area. The Chinese lived outside the Tranqueriya inner town as well, and their settlement was located along a small ditch called Parit China. At the other side of the river European suburbs were also formed outside the city walls around some outposts' churches. Because of continuous threats of wars, the outer European settlement suburbs were protected by fortifications and artilleries. The Portuguese fortified town of Melaka at the end this era became an isolated settlement protected by heavy artilleries and stockades, waiting for the attack from

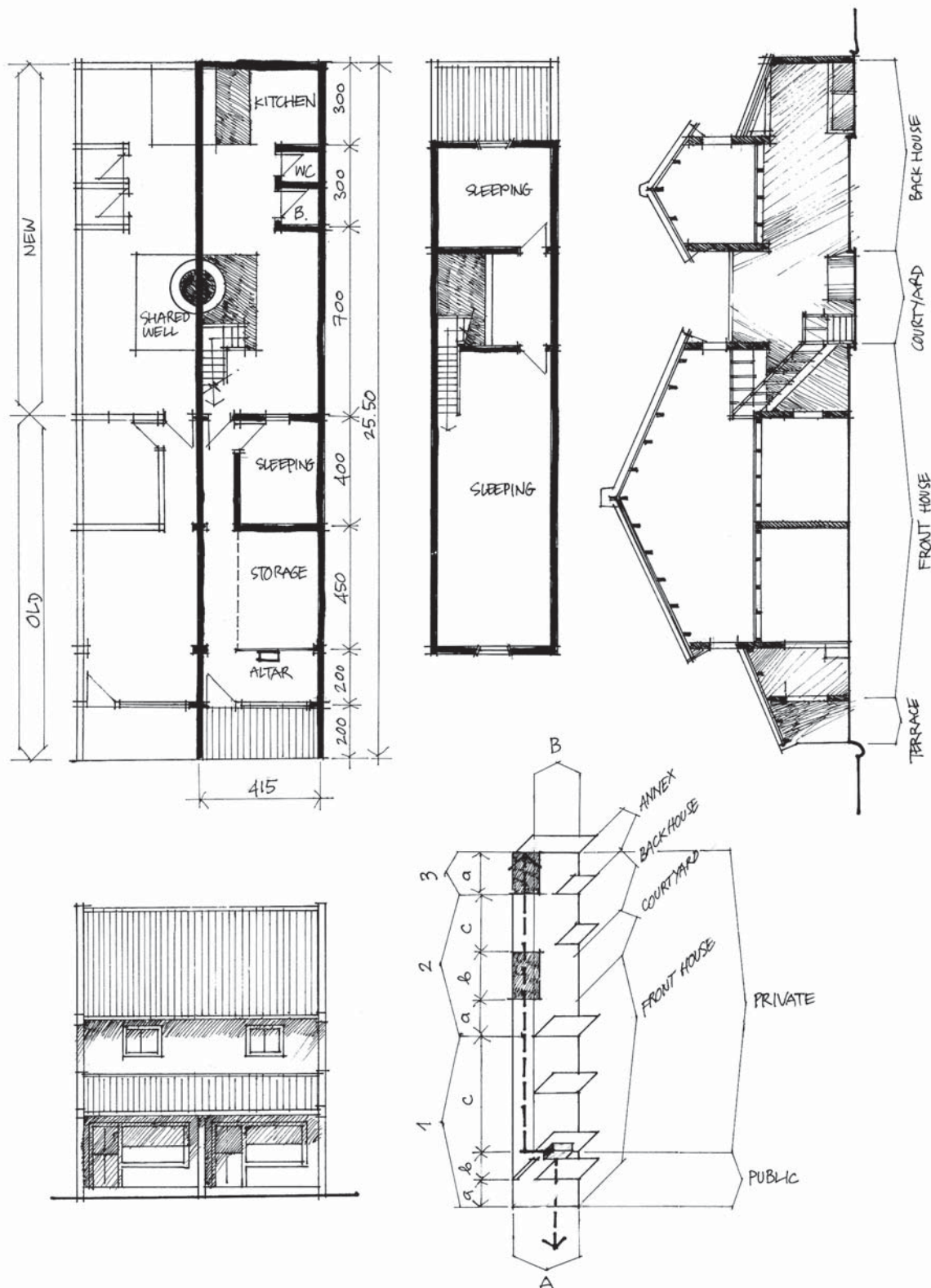
their enemies. The European town was alienated itself from the rest of the city.

MELAKA AND THE DUTCH (1641-1797)

After a long blockade and fierce battles, on 14 January 1641, the fort city of Melaka (A Famosa) fell to the Dutch.³⁰ The main gate of the fortress ('Porta de Santiago') was renovated by the Dutch in 1670 and the insignia of VOC was placed above the gate. For the next 157 years (1641-1797), Melaka was under Dutch VOC rule.

On the left bank of the Melaka River, the cosmopolitan town where most of the Chinese settled was still intact, but the European town inside the fort of Melaka was completely destroyed. Malay carpenters were recruited from Sumatra to reconstruct the European town since the Chinese did not want to supply their artisans to rebuild Melaka and to repair the bridge.³¹ The Dutch changed the name of 'Our Lady of the Annunciation' church to 'St. Paul'.

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Two hundred-and-fifty of the most eminent Portuguese of Melaka were allowed to board a ship and left for Ceylon. After the Portuguese had been expelled, the Dutch began to destroy almost all the Portuguese monuments. The church on top of the hill inside the fortress was turned into part of the fortress. In 1753, the hill became a burial ground for the Dutch nobles. The Catholic cathedral and two dozen Baroque churches, including the Franciscan monastery, were completely destroyed.³² Then the Dutch created new urban primary elements, some of which remain today. The governor's house or city hall ('Stadhuis') was completed around the 1650s.

Ordinary Chinese lived in small rows of houses made of brick. The house had one courtyard used jointly by the neighbouring house. The front part of the house was a two-storey building used mainly as shop, living space, and storage; the back building was used as the service area. Some units formed a block of row-houses in which each independent unit was separated by party-walls from its neighbouring units. The front terrace was an indispensable part of each dwelling unit and was not opened to the adjacent units. The cooking, bathing, and toilet functions were located in the courtyard area.³³ This early typology of dwelling could be found everywhere within the old core of coastal settlements all over Southeast Asia.

Melaka's population was divided into two general categories: the superior Dutch and the inferior local community. The local community was divided racially into four self-administration units under their respective Captains: Chinese, Javanese, Indians, and Portuguese. According to a census in 1678, Melaka had about 5,000 inhabitants³⁴ sub-divided into several racial categories as follows³⁵: Dutch (civil servants, soldiers, seamen): 145 (3%), Malays: 588 (12%), Indians: 547 (11%), Chinese: 426 (9%), Bugis: 102 (2%). Portuguese: 1,469 (30%), and slaves (unspecified): 1,607 (33%).

The Dutch had no intention to settle and to develop Melaka as their Portuguese predecessors had since they had already chosen Batavia, on the northern coast of Java, as their capital. Melaka was conquered to secure the Melaka strait as their main access to the Indian Ocean and Europe. The development of the European segment was very slow, if not stagnant, compared to the development of the multi-racial

settlement across the river. Large Chinese merchants' houses were built along the coastline with their own private docks with direct access from the sea. During the high tide, boats could upload and download their exported and imported goods directly into these individual houses. During the low tide, the sub-structures of these houses were clearly exposed from the waterfront. The large numbers of the merchants' long shophouses in Melaka was a clear indicator of the Chinese domination of the urban economy of this international port city.

The heart of the old Chinese city was located linearly along an integrator axial road, connected by a river harbour and the temple's complex. The first permanent shophouses were built in the latter half of the 17th century.³⁶ The waterfronts towards the river and the coast were occupied by the Chinese merchant class and functional groups such as goldsmiths, ironsmiths, carpenters, potters, etc. The road along the beach (Heeren-straat, now Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lok) was occupied by the rich Chinese merchants, while the area along the west side of the Melaka River was occupied by various craftsmen with different professions such as Jalan Tukang Besi, the blacksmiths' street; Jalan Tukang Mas, the goldsmiths' street; and Jalan Tukang Kuli, the coolies' street.

The Chinese lived in 81 brick houses, which comprised about three-fifths of all brick structures of that period. There were also 51 Chinese houses with palm-leaf (Atap or Nipah) structures, comprising only one-tenth of the total Atap structures in Melaka. The Chinese worshipped Mazu in the main city temple, 'Cheng Hoon Teng'. This temple was repaired in 1625 and again in 1644, and it was continuously renovated from time to time.³⁷ The temple was situated at the end of the main axis across the median of the cosmopolitan town and has always been the spiritual centre for the Chinese community in Melaka. This temple was oriented toward swampy ground at the curvature of the river. The lake was later turned into dry land and occupied by vernacular 'kampung'-type houses occupied by a culturally mixed community of Chinese, Malays, Javanese, Arabs, and Sumatrans. Non-Chinese enclaves and temples were haphazardly situated in the middle and around the fringes of the concentration of the Chinese settlement. The racial interwoven characteristic was clearly visible in the urban fabric of the old Melaka town.

Fig. 6. Shophouse typology (source: author).

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Between 1641 and 1795, Kapitan Li bought the hill from the Dutch for use as a burial ground for the Chinese community of Melaka. A temple, Poh San Teng, was built at the slope of the hill in 1795 by Kapitan Chua for Dabogong (or Toapekong) to guard the burial ground.³⁸

The Chinese merchants' extended family houses were located along the old coastline of Melaka (before reclamation) with direct access to the sea. These were very long and narrow houses. The length could reach more than 60 meters with several courtyards. The extended family occupied the front parts, while the back parts were used as service, production, storage, or dwelling areas for workers, connected directly to the open sea (Melaka strait) with private docks or jetties.

Melaka had developed into two completely different entities: the cosmopolitan open city and the closed European town on the opposite side of the river. The cosmopolitan city became a rapidly growing commercial centre and high-density settlement area, while the European town remained a low-density administrative centre. The Europeans settled in and around the hills across the river, opposing the old cosmopolitan urban segment. The direct physical relationship between the European polity domain and the Chinese economy domain was represented only by a bridge across the river boundary in front of the 'Stadhuis' and Jonker Street. The markets within the city were the meeting grounds of everybody, a common place for all racial and cultural groups.

After resisting religious oppression for decades, finally, in 1702, religious freedom was proclaimed in Melaka by the Dutch after the Protestant Netherlands formed an alliance with the Catholic French following the Spanish War. In 1710, the Portuguese residents in Melaka built a new Catholic church north of the Dutch centre. In 1741, on the one hundredth anniversary of Dutch occupation, a new Protestant church—the Christ Church—was built near the city hall (Stadhuis) and inaugurated in 1753.³⁹ When the British took over Melaka from the Dutch briefly in 1795, this church was converted into an Anglican church and remains one today.

The turbulent period of Portuguese rule was followed by a period of economic growth and prosperity under Dutch rule. This phenomenon was seen in the rapid development of the old cosmopolitan urban

segment of Melaka. In 1795, by the end of Dutch colonial rule, the Chinese population in Melaka grew to about 1,500, or one-fifth of the total inhabitants of the city.⁴⁰

MELAKA AND THE BRITISH (1797-1940)

In 1797, the British officially took over Melaka, but the Dutch officials continued to administer the city under the supervision of the British. For about 150 years, until the Second World War, Melaka was under British control. The British came to Melaka only to prevent other colonial powers from disrupting the sea route between India and China.⁴¹

In 1807, Farquhar, a British resident of Melaka, finally destroyed the fort of Melaka to save costs and to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands (Pintado 1980: 20-21); this was followed by a plan to abandon Melaka and to transfer its population to Penang, but this plan was unsuccessful because the people refused to leave. In 1810, Stamford Raffles arrived in Melaka as a representative of the Governor General of India to the Malay States. Although the British Governor General, Lord Minto, thought that Melaka should be preserved, Raffles thought that there was no possibility that Melaka could regain its position as an emporium, and he foresaw Singapore as the ideal emporium of the future.

The British introduced modern city regulations and infrastructure to Melaka, and it transformed the basic typology of the shophouse and dwelling block in the old urban core of Melaka. To create a healthier and safer city, new urban planning regulations were enforced to create back alleys, chimneys, back yards, fire escapes, fire alleys, pedestrian arcades, etc. The front stairway going straight to the second floor was also required to enable the upper storey to be rented or used safely as a commercial space. By the 1830s, brick had become one of the main export commodities of Melaka. The widespread use of brick for home-building in the Straits Settlements was influenced by Anglo-Indian and Chinese building practices.⁴³ This mixture created a new, eclectic Straits Settlements style, especially visible in the diverse shophouse façade designs in Melaka.

After Penang, Melaka, and Singapore were declared the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements in 1825, the city of Melaka tried to revive itself again,

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but it never regained a dominant regional position. Melaka became a sleepy backwater city. Melaka lost to Singapore when Singapore was designated the capital of the Straits Settlements in 1832. By the end of the 19th century, the Portuguese population in Melaka had split into two distinct social classes. The first group joined the British and became rich entrepreneurs, while the other half maintained their old way of life as commoners. They lived in separate settlements. The richer class lived in the western suburb (Kampung Serani) and later moved out further to the west. Their former settlement area was taken over by the Chinese. The poorer Portuguese settled along the coast, on both the north-eastern and south-eastern fringes of the city.⁴⁴ The present Portuguese settlement was established by the government of Melaka in 1933 through a resettlement program for these poorer Portuguese. The Chinese immigrants from southern China who arrived

in Melaka in the early 20th century were not rich traders like their predecessors but came from the coolie class. They were brought in to serve the British because the local Malay population refused to work as servants to the foreigners. Soon the Chinese rose to be the majority, outnumbering the other racial groups.⁴⁵ Inter-marriage between different ethnic groups produced a distinct hybrid culture.⁴⁶

Until the mid-20th century, the development of Melaka was very slow compared to that of the other coastal cities in Southeast Asia. Similar to the other coastal cities in this region, the coastline of Melaka was also progressively expanding due to rapid sedimentation and reclamation processes. The stretched rows of Chinese merchants' houses by the coast were now situated deeper inland, locked from the sea. Large ships could not enter the river anymore, and the leading role of Melaka as an international trading port had

Fig. 7. View from the steps of St. Paul Hill toward the historic Padang Melaka, which has been turned into a big shopping mall; at the center is Porta de Santiago. (Source: author, May 2011).



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gone to other places (Penang and Singapore). Melaka remained a sleepy backwater town until it suddenly had to face the harsh reality of the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945, being re-occupied by the British after the war, and rising again in 1956 as the site of the pre-announcement of the declaration of independence of Malaysia.

POST-COLONIAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Pacific War in Asia liberated countries in Asia, at least in the political sense—but not necessarily in an ideological sense. New countries declared their independence from their ‘Western colonialists’, which was followed by a conscious effort to create a new identity, often by using ‘nationalism’ as the main ingredient. In post-colonial Asia, architecture is closely related to state ideology. Often, the spirit of nationalism reached a certain point leading to the destruction of buildings or urban segments with high symbolic meaning built by colonialists or alleged collaborators in the past through urban planning policies. Political bias against a certain religion or ethnicity can also justify the act of neglect or destruction of buildings and urban structures attributed to these groups of people or nations.

Rapid economic growth in Asia within the last few decades has dramatically changed the course of its architecture and urbanism. The rationalistic and economy-based models developed in America and Europe have been broadly and carelessly applied to Asian countries, creating conflict, tension, confusion, and loss of identity. New types of contemporary architectural styles, adapted into corporate office towers, commercial super-blocks, and newly-rich housing clusters, stand side-by-side or right inside the historic core of the city. Many fine buildings from the colonial period were destroyed because of anti-colonialism or to make way for trendy and commercially motivated developments. The richness of local traditions and craftsmanship has been replaced by the universal, generic, and repetitive forms of industrial mass production. The acceleration of the cultural and physical transformation process has led to the fragmentation and destruction of old urban fabrics and resulted in a loss of identity and cultural amnesia. The layers of urban history and shared heritages that kept the shared memory of the whole community for

many generations and centuries has been forgotten and, in many cases, gradually or completely erased, to be replaced with new, alien, pathological forms and functions. A large stock of heritage buildings and urban fabrics have been demolished, gentrified, and redeveloped, erasing their own memory and dragging Asian cities into a state of amnesia and identity crisis. The identity and integrity of contemporary Asian cities and their architectural heritages are threatened by rapid economic development, excessive consumerism, rapid changes, and extreme transformation. Asian cities and architecture plunged into identity crisis and had no clear direction, though Asian prospers in the economic sense. Cities in Asia—including Melaka—are fragmented and have lost their coherence.

On 8 July 2008, two historic cities of the straits of Melaka (Malaysia), George Town and Melaka, were designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites because of their outstanding universal value: (1) representing exceptional examples of multicultural trading towns in East and Southeast Asia through the blending of various cultures imprinted on the architecture and urban form, (2) living testimonies to the multi-cultural tangible and intangible heritage and tradition of Asia and of the European colonial influences, as expressed in its religious buildings of different faiths, ethnic enclaves, spoken dialects, festivities, dances, attire, art forms, cuisine, and lifestyle, and (3) reflecting the blend of influences that have resulted in a unique form of architecture, culture, and cityscape that are incomparable elsewhere in East and South Asia, especially through an exceptional range of shophouses and townhouses from differing eras.

Many countries and cities are trying hard to draw mass tourism to boost the economy, including Melaka and Penang. International recognition is being hijacked as a marketing tool or ‘branding’ to attract more tourists and investment. UNESCO World Heritage status is often misunderstood by local governments as ‘recognition for success in attracting tourists for the sake of getting more tourists’, as they have forgotten the more fundamental responsibility to guard the cultural and physical integrity of the place, which now belongs to the world community. The rapid growth of budget airlines across the Southeast Asian region has also contributed tremendously to the expansion of the tourism industry. Tourism and consumerism have turned heritage into a commodity for instant

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gratification, leading to urban gentrification. Heritage sites have been turned into 'theme parks'.⁴⁷

These negative impacts of mass tourism have caused irreversible damage to heritage sites and buildings across the region. An adaptive re-use approach is used excessively and insensitively, imposing permanent damage or loss to the historical layers of the buildings and sites. Façadism, the application of inappropriate building materials and structures, improper usage, loss of traditional craftsmanship, and the commercialisation and commoditisation of cultures and traditions are some examples of negative impacts on heritage conservation.

The official 'historic core' and the 'buffer zone' as defined for the UNESCO World Heritage sites in Melaka and Penang are incorrect and have failed to maintain the integrity and to protect the entire corpus of the 'real' heritages belonging to and defined by the community. Weak heritage protection laws and regulations (such as the transfer of development rights, land-rent control, zoning regulations, etc.), combined with weak implementation and monitoring (such as corruption, the lack of an effective monitoring

system, etc.), aggravated by greed and speculation, have allowed inappropriate transformations and uncontrolled development within the historic core and the buffer zones. The community is often powerless in defending their heritage and themselves. Even the historic 'Padang Melaka' or 'Padang Pahlawan', a historic place in Melaka (Malaysia) where Tunku Abdul Rahman, the founding father of Malaysia, on 20 February 1956 made a formal announcement that British had agreed to grant independence to Malaysia on 31 August 1957, has been turned into a big shopping mall.

UNESCO World Heritage status has been used (or abused) as 'branding' to sell tangible and intangible heritage for mass consumption sold by the tourism industry. Melaka is suffering from similar problems and rapidly dwindling to become a seriously endangered World Heritage site. **RC**

Author's note: This article is based on parts of my book, *The Boat and the City: Chinese Settlements and the Architecture of Southeast Asian Coastal Cities*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2004.

NOTES

- 1 Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power and Belief*, pp. 65-66.
- 2 Shigeru Ikuta, 'Emergence of Cities in Maritime Southeast Asia from the Second Century BC to the Seventeenth Century'.
- 3 Robert R. Reed, 'Indigenous Urbanism in South-East Asia'.
- 4 Shigeru Ikuta, 'Emergence of Cities in Maritime Southeast Asia from the Second Century BC to the Seventeenth Century'.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Chinese Hanafite Muslim communities have lived in southern China for many generations, especially in the Yunnan province. Many of them have the family name 'Ma' (the Chinese character for 'horse'), and it is associated with the name of the Prophet Muhammad.
- 8 Eunuchs served as the personal servants of the Emperors and the guardians of the imperial throne at the innermost circle. There is speculation that not all eunuchs were actually castrated because of the secrecy of the palace connections and intrigues. Being a very close personal friend of the Emperor himself and a Muslim who should have been circumcised during his childhood, this great statesman with the thundering voice and strong masculinity who reigned and travelled outside the palace walls is probably one of those exceptional cases.
- 9 'San Bao' means 'the third guardian' (imperial official rank given to him by the Emperor) but could also mean 'three jewels' (popular nickname referring to a small casket containing the remains of a eunuch's manhood treasures).
- 10 Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1405-33*, pp. 147-148.
- 11 A maiden named Lin Moniang (A.D. 960-987) is said to have lived in a small fishing village on Meizhou Island, near Putian and Quanzhou in the Fujian province in southern China. Many myths surround her birth, life, and after life. Her most famous miracle is saving her father and brothers from their wrecked ships during a storm. Later, she was worshipped as a sea deity, protector of sailors and fishermen, guardian against bandits and natural disasters, and popularly known as 'Mazu' ('grandmother'). Mazu worship first became popular during the Song dynasty (A.D. 960-1279). After that, temples dedicated to her were erected in the port cities of Southern China (Dandong, Yantai, Qinhangdao, Tianjin, Shanghai, Ningpo, Hangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Guangzhou, Macao, etc.). When the Portuguese first landed in Aomen ('gate of the bay') in the Pearl River Delta, they saw a temple of Mazu ('Ma-kok-miu') and the place was called Ama-gao ('the bay of Amah or Mother'), or Macao.
- 12 In accordance with or permitted under Islamic Shari'a law.
- 13 *Sejarah Melayu* or the *Malay Annals* gave a different version of Parameswara's story. This Melaka history book mentioned Sang Nila Utama as the one who came from Palembang to Tanma-hsi, established a kingdom here, and was called Tribuana. He ruled for 32 years, and during the rule of his great-grandson, Iskandar Shah, the island was attacked and destroyed by Majapahit. According to this account, Iskandar Shah escaped to Muar and then established the kingdom of Melaka. This version should be regarded as a legend.

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- to praise the king of Melaka and his predecessors. Other reports by Portuguese explorers such as Tomé Pires and Barros, as well as Chinese sources, gave a more realistic and acceptable version of the course of the history of Parameswara.
- 14 According to local legend, Melaka is from the name of a tree under which Parameswara stood, but it could also have originated from the Arabic word 'Melakat,' meaning 'the mart' (see Wilkinson, R.J., 'The Melaka Sultanate', in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIII, Part II, 1935, p. 22).
 - 15 Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1405-33*, pp. 107-109.
 - 16 The exact location of Zheng He's warehouse and stockade is not known yet, but a local entrepreneur claimed that it was located on the southern side of the Melaka River close to the estuary, covering several blocks of the historic core of Melaka at the present site of the Cheng Ho Cultural Museum. However, there is no archaeological evidence or other reliable source to sustain this claim. In fact, the site used by the museum used to be shophouses which were built during the colonial period. The existed shophouses in this protected historic area were (illegally) demolished and rebuilt using eclectic architectural elements and an incorrect representation of Zheng He's warehouse and stockade with a pair of watchtowers. A bell and a drum ('beduk') were put on the towers, supposedly to represent 'Chinese' and 'Muslim.' The towers were subsequently removed because of illegal construction, ordered by the municipal authority. The museum, besides exhibits about Zheng He's voyages and the tales, also displays some personal ceramics collections and has a tea house and souvenir shop. The story of Zheng He in Melaka has been fantasised, distorted, and commoditised under the pretext of cultural promotion and for the sake of generating tourism revenue. Unfortunately, this reckless representation of history, culture, and architectural style is being promoted as a tourist attraction in Melaka and used in various local and international publications.
 - 17 Shigeru Ikuta, 'Emergence of Cities in Maritime Southeast Asia from the Second Century BC to the Seventeenth Century', p. 8; Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1405-33*, pp. 109-110.
 - 18 David G. Kohl, *Chinese Architecture in the Straits Settlements and Western Malaya: Temples, Kongsis and Houses*, pp. 70-71.
 - 19 Kernial Singh Sandhu, 'Chinese Colonization of Malacca: A Study in Population Change, 1500 to 1957 AD', p. 3.
 - 20 Iskandar is the Persian version of the famous Macedonian conqueror Alexander the Great, a name commonly used by Muslim rulers in Southeast Asia.
 - 21 Cheah Boon Keng, compl., *Sejarah Melayu: The Malay Annals. MS. Raffles No. 12*, pp. 166-170. The story of Princess Hang Li Poh is a popular legend that has undergone various distortions and confusion. Unfortunately, these urban legends are quoted widely as 'official history' and are used in various official and promotional publications (government publications, school books, tourist promotions, local and foreign publications, websites, documentaries, etc.). According to the 'official' version, during the peak of the Melaka Sultanate, the Chinese Emperor gave his daughter, Princess Hang Li Poh, to the Sultan of Melaka. Later, her entourage settled in Bukit China (Chinese Hill) and built a well in 1459 that is said to have never dried up. According to this legend, the princess and her entourage, including Ming soldiers, were buried in Bukit China. So far, no hard evidence has been found to support this story. The earliest date on the graves at Bukit China is 1622. Around 1641-1795, Kapitan Li bought the hill from the Dutch for use as a burial ground for the Chinese community in Melaka.
 - 22 Kernial Singh Sandhu, 'Chinese Colonization of Malacca: A Study in Population Change, 1500 to 1957 AD', p. 5.
 - 23 Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*. Vol. 1: *The Lands below the Winds*, p. 102.
 - 24 Luis Filipe Thomaz, 'Malacca, the Town and its Society During the First Century of Portuguese Rule', pp. 14-15.
 - 25 Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*. Vol. 1: *The Lands below the Winds*.
 - 26 In 1493, the Pope issued a bull that divided the world between the Portuguese and Spanish along a line west of the Azores. Portugal got the eastern part, and Spain the western part. When the Portuguese arrived at Maluku, they were confronted by the Spanish, who had arrived in Maluku and the Philippines from different directions. Under the Treaty of Saragosa of 1529, the Spanish gave up Maluku to the Portuguese, and they were permitted to conquer the Philippines.
 - 27 Ronald Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia*, p. 6.
 - 28 SarDesai, *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*, p. 61.
 - 29 The term *kampung* refers to an urban village, an enclave, or a rural-like settlement located in the middle or on the fringe of a city, characterised by low-rise, high-density, and organic growth.
 - 30 Manuel Joaquim Pintado, *A Stroll Through Ancient Malacca*, pp. 19-20.
 - 31 Victor Purcel, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, p. 124.
 - 32 Ronald Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia*, pp. 6-7.
 - 33 The five-foot-way or covered walkway that breaks through the terrace's party walls was introduced by the British some decades later, as were the special utility zones in the back yards and the back alleys as fire prevention measures and an improvement in sanitary conditions in the inner city.
 - 34 Ronald Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia*, p. 9.
 - 35 The result of this census was not so reliable since there might have been some confusion in determining racial categories based only on physical appearance. The definition of 'Portuguese' was not so clear since they were defined as descendants of the Portuguese and had black skin.
 - 36 David G. Kohl, *Chinese Architecture in the Straits Settlements and Western Malaya: Temples, Kongsis and Houses*, p. 73.
 - 37 Ibid.
 - 38 However, the 'official' story is that the temple, which was mistakenly named the Sam Po Kong Temple, was constructed in dedication to Admiral Zheng He and named after a fish that miraculously saved the admiral's ship from sinking after it had been hit by a storm en route to Melaka from China by mysteriously placing itself against the damaged hull.
 - 39 Ronald Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia*, pp. 10-11.
 - 40 David G. Kohl, *Chinese Architecture in the Straits Settlements and Western Malaya: Temples, Kongsis and Houses*, p. 73.
 - 41 Ronald Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia*, p. 12.
 - 42 Manuel Joaquim Pintado, *A Stroll Through Ancient Malacca*, pp. 20-21.
 - 43 David G. Kohl, *Chinese Architecture in the Straits Settlements and Western Malaya: Temples, Kongsis and Houses*, p. 76.
 - 44 Ronald Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia*, pp. 16-17.
 - 45 According to a census in 1957, among Melaka's total population of 80,000 people, 76.1% were Chinese and only 13.4% were Malays, 7% were Indians, and 2% were Portuguese [Ronald Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia*, p. 18].
 - 46 Many Chinese married Malays and even Portuguese, creating the new 'Baba' culture. The Dutch also brought many Bataks and Balinese women (who were not Muslims) as slaves to Melaka, and some of them were taken by Chinese as their wives or mistresses.

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- 47 Similarly, the problems arising from mass tourism are also threatening the social and cultural integrity of other UNESCO World Heritage Sites, such as Lijiang and Kaiping in China, where

the commoditisation of heritage, 'Disney-sation,' and 'cultural-theme park-isation' are seriously damaging the cultural and social authenticity of the place and the local community.

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