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BOEKHANDEL TAN KHOEN SWIE KEDIRI: THE AGENT OF JAVANESE CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

This paper reveals the way *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie Kediri, as an agent of Javanese culture, run his publishing house during amidst both the colonial government and Indonesian government, spreading Javanese culture to the society in Java and throughout Indonesia. The history of this publishing house is interesting in which it is interrelated with three different policies from three different types of government ideology. This research which means searching, criticizing, interpreting, and arranging the sources in the form of historical writing. This research also applied Gidden's theory of structuration to clarify the position of Tan Khoen as a publishing agent. The discussion on the structure of the literary society, which consisted of the representatives from the government, authors, publishers, and readers becomes an integral part of the study. This study concludes both the government and private publishers had an intention to educate people although Tan Khoen Swie did not tied its theme on the existing system. However structurally, the existence *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie were bounded by the authors, other publishers, and readers. The seasons for publishing Javanese culture books because the books contained noble culture, which needs to be disseminated, the legitimation of Javanese writers, and promising market prospect. The success of Tan Khoen Swie business lies in its ability to build networking among authors, publishers, and readers or bookstores. The books published in his business spread across Indonesia. He served both as a cultural broker and as an agent of Javanese culture.

Keywords: Tan Khoen Swie, Javanese culture, *Boekhandel*, colonial period.

ABSTRAK

Makalah ini mengungkap cara *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie Kediri, sebagai agen budaya Jawa, yang mengelola rumah penerbitannya di tengah-tengah pemerintah kolonial dan pemerintah Indonesia, menyebarkan budaya Jawa kepada masyarakat di Jawa dan di seluruh Indonesia. Sejarah penerbit ini menarik karena terkait dengan tiga kebijakan berbeda dari tiga jenis ideologi pemerintah. Penelitian ini yang berarti mencari, mengkritik, menafsirkan, dan mengatur sumber-sumber dalam bentuk penulisan sejarah. Penelitian ini juga menerapkan teori strukturasi Gidden untuk memperjelas posisi Tan Khoen sebagai agen penerbitan. Diskusi tentang struktur masyarakat sastra, yang terdiri dari perwakilan dari pemerintah, penulis, penerbit, dan pembaca menjadi bagian integral dari penelitian ini. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa pemerintah dan penerbit swasta memiliki niat untuk mendidik orang-orang meskipun Tan Khoen Swie tidak mengikat temanya pada sistem yang ada. Namun secara struktural, keberadaan *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie dibatasi oleh penulis, penerbit lain, dan pembaca. Musim untuk menerbitkan buku-buku budaya Jawa karena buku-buku itu berisi budaya mulia, yang perlu disebarluaskan, legitimasi penulis Jawa, dan prospek pasar yang menjanjikan. Keberhasilan bisnis Tan Khoen Swie terletak pada kemampuannya membangun jejaring di antara penulis, penerbit, dan pembaca atau toko buku. Buku-buku yang diterbitkan dalam bisnisnya tersebar di seluruh Indonesia. Ia melayani baik sebagai perantara budaya dan sebagai agen budaya Jawa.

Kata kunci: Tan Khoen Swie, budaya Jawa, *Boekhandel*, masa kolonial.

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INTRODUCTION

The Publishing business history in Kediri was marked with the publication of the Javanese books by *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie in the 1915's, located in the shopping complex on Jalan Dhoho Kediri. Some Javanese manuscripts were successfully printed back, either the original manuscript or a copy which was directly obtained from the poets and some spoken manuscripts of sayings from teachers. The efforts of *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie to explore the texts that had been stored in the memory of the community and presented back in the form of books that were freely readable by all levels of society, are an interesting thing to study. There were no more secrets of mysticism in the world of teachers and formal life in the Kraton or Palace. This was revealed by *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie by writing freer to be generally known.

The study is to uncover how the *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie Kediri had been running the publication business in 1915-1963 in the middle of book and publication policy issued by the colonial government and by the Indonesians or the post-colonial government as well as in the middle of author agents, private publication agents and Javanese literature readers? Then, the study is also to uncover the reason behind the distribution of Javanese culture books and how Tan Khoen Swie established the network of author, publication and book trading agents.

The findings of the study are expected to open and to expand the people's knowledge regarding the publication development of Javanese culture books in Kediri that had occurred since the beginning of the 20th century. The findings of the study are also expected to develop the historical awareness among the people that the recent process of book publishing has not been apart from the previous publishing process. The review will enrich the understanding toward the development of publication history in Indonesia that has been in existence since the colonial period and the substance of Social Science and Cultural Anthropology

as well as the literary historical review. In addition, the findings of the study might also be benefitted as the materials for completing the writing of the local histories and might even be benefitted as a matter of reference for the regional governments that want to rewrite the publication history in their respective region.

The literature that discusses Tan Khoen Swie and his business activities such as M.C. Ricklefs (2007) explained that the *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie Kediri (1882- 1953) played an important role in supporting the Javanese literature. An article by Sri Widati et al. (2001) regarding the development of modern Javanese literature during the pre-independence period is very helpful in understanding the historical aspect of the business. Then, a dissertation by Zubaidah Isa (1972) explained that the establishment of *Volkslectuur* in 1910 had been a significantly progressive step in the domain of governmental publication, education and library in the Dutch Indies. In addition, a dissertation by Subardi (2012) emphasizes more on the review of linguistic aspect within the three books published by the *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie. A study by S. Margana (2004) regarding the reasoning tradition of traditional Javanese intellectuals regarding the literature and the history is very important to understand the psychological, social, cultural and political problems during the 18th and the 19th century in Surakarta. Furthermore, an article by Mikihiro Moriyama explained that the tradition of reading scripts will not be instantly eliminated after the appearance of the mechanical printed books. Hilmar Farid (1991) in his article stated that the works that were published in the period of capitalism development might be massively published and might encompass the huge amount of readers. Last but not the least, conceptually a book by Frederick Engels (2007) explained that in the community's wealth, the capitalist production applies, and the capitalist production includes the trading items.

The researcher implements the theo-

ry of *structurization* by Anthony Giddens (1984) in order to provide clear explanation. The theory of *structurization* focuses on the social practice that involves the relationship between the agent and the structure. The social practice is defined as a practice in the real life and the actual daily activities of the human beings. Within a social practice, Giddens views that there has been an interaction between the agent and the structure, which subsequently becomes a habit within the routines that will be reproduced within the social life. The core of the theory by Giddens is the repetitive social practice. Such repetitive social practice is regarded as the basis of the existence for the agent and the community (Beilharz, 2003:193).

An agent as the actor of social practice might be viewed in terms of individual and group. In the study, Tan Khoen Swie and the authors who supported the scripts that he composed will be regarded as the agents. An agent has objectives that are not supported by the logical reasons but also by the discursive elaboration. The structure of social life is identified into two aspects namely as regulations and sources. As regulations, a structure refers to the procedures that serve as the agent's guidance in performing their social life. Sometimes, the interpretation toward regulations is written into the form of law and bureaucratic regulations. Similarly, the structural regulations might be reproduced by the agent of a community. On the other hand, as sources, a structure refers to the allocative structures and the authoritative structures. Within the relationship of the dualism structure, an agent which is already possessed coverage of knowledge might benefit the structure as a matter of reference in acting, in changing and in reproducing the structure through the social practice. The agent and the structure have mutually influencing interaction from one to another (Giddens, 1984).

The sources of the study come from the written sources, both the primary and the secondary ones. The most important sources were attained from two locations. The first source was attained from the ar-

chives of *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* in Kediri in the form of *Buku Kiriman dan Penerimaan 1958*, *Buku Pesanan dan Pembayaran 1958*, *Buku Pesanan dan Pengiriman 1958*, *Buku Register Tahun 1959*, *Daftar Toko Tan Khoen Swie Kediri Tahun 1957*, *Daftar Buku/Barang per 31 Desember 1958*, *Daftar Kitab-Kitab Kawedalaken Saha Kasade Dening: Toko Buku Tan Khoen Swie 1941 dan 1953*, *Daftar Persekot Penerbit Tan Khoen Swie Kediri* and the documents of family pictures. Then, the second source was attained from the archives of Yuriah Tanzil in Jakarta in the form of readers' letters and script offers from the community, the submission letters of the authors' rights and several documents of family pictures. The information about Tan Khoen Swie might also be retrieved from several newspapers namely: *De Indische courant*, *Soerabaijasch handelsblad*, *Niews en advertentieblad*, *Staat en letterkundig nieuwsblad*, *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad* and *De Sumatra Post*.

THE AUTHORS OF JAVANESE LITERARY WORKS IN THE 19th CENTURY AND THE 20th CENTURY

During the 19th and the 20th century, the activities of composing literary works had not been under the monopoly of the royal palace and the culture had experienced an outward transformation; at that time, the authors came from multiple employment background. The hobbies of composing literary works that appeared inside and outside the royal palace had been the impact of Javanese literary renaissance movement in the 18th and the 19th century in the Royal Palace of Surakarta, as having been proposed in the theory of Pigeaud (1967:7). After Ranggawarsita passed away in 1873, Ki Padmosusastra appeared in the upcoming period and he gave birth to the literary works that signified the activities of *gagrag anyar* Javanese literary. The period from the old literature to the new literature had been called as the transitional period (Sedyawati et al., 2001:171).

The transitional period from the 19th century to the 20th century had been the

learning period and the period that gave birth to the new authors. Padmosusastro explicitly declared himself as the *wong mardika* (the free man) who had been liberated from the system of royal patronage. At the end of 19th century, there came the authors who arranged their composition outside then tradition of classical literature in the form of biography and autobiography such as Ranggawarsita (the biography of Ranggawarsita), Soeradipoera, and Raden Sasrakoeseoma (*Serat Raga Pasafa*), containing the notes of autobiography (Widati et al., 2001:25). At the beginning of the 20th, other authors who composed the literary works in the form of proses appeared. The appearance of these authors with their literary works came altogether with developing Western education in Java. The proses (which had the Western genre) were mostly composed by the teachers and the readers were mostly the students of the schools that had been established according to the Western style.

The Javanese authors whose literary works had been published by *Balai Pustaka* should comply to the notes of Rinke (1911) that was not contrary to the political policy of the colonial government. The intended literary works were only for the students of public schools and would be disseminated to the libraries in the public schools. These Javanese authors were mostly from the environment or the profession of teachers or civil servants who worked for the Dutch government. The assumption has been strengthened by the fact that it is only through them the compositions (including the literary works) might be born because in general these people attain their writing capacity through the habitual process in their association with the Western culture and tradition.

The colonial government issued special regulation as an effort of controlling the grassroots' reading materials in order to situate the authors ideologically. The policy was made because in addition to *Balai Pustaka* there came other private

publishing enterprises that belonged to the Tionghoan and the Dutch people. The policy had been implemented since the colonial government took the power of printing machines (1856). In 1906, the colonial government issued the *Koninklijk Besluit* Number 270 which asserted that each author should be responsible directly toward his composition; if the author's name had been anonymous, then the responsibility would have been directly transferred to the publisher, the trader or the distributor.

In 1931, the colonial government issued a new regulation, namely *Persbreidel Ordormantie*, that gave the rights to the General Governor in terms of prohibiting the publication that had been considered disturbing the order. Based on the new regulation, the colonial government would ban the printing activities for 8 days or more if the related publishing enterprises had still been considered defying the regulation. With the issuance of the new regulation, there came the so-called "uniform" literary works from 1917 until 1942; these literary works did not discuss the political matters and the colonial government and did not go against the law.

During the period of Japanese military government (1942-1945), there was a stagnancy that had been caused the stilled elements within the overall literary system, both the micro system and the macro system, due to the very strict Japanese governmental system. All of the literary activities were only directed toward a single direction namely the propaganda and the anti-Dutch provocation. Such situation caused a stagnancy in the literary life, including the Javanese literature, and there were two factors that caused the stagnancy. First, the stagnancy of author's creativity had mainly been caused by the fact that not all authors had been ready with the required new writing mechanics (propaganda literature). Second, the stagnancy of author's creativity had been caused as well by the strict sensory department of Japanese government (Widati et al., 2001:10).

Within the pre-independence period,

there came new authors such as Soebagio I.N. and Poerwadhie Atmodihardjo who had the background of journalism. The new coming authors offered new ideas for literature in the future. There was a development of new variables in the literature, both in terms of form and in terms of theme; as a result, it was possible that each of the new type would have its own readers (Ras, 1985:20). In terms of the titles that had been composed and been published, actually most of the Javanese authors were very professional and their professionalism, directly or indirectly, would should influence the establishment of the social and economic status. However, why did the facts at that time showed the contrary situation? The reason was that the only *Maecenas* or the “market” protective institution had not been able to provide sufficient guarantee for the authors. The inability of the “market” in providing the appropriate guarantee was not a coincidence because all of the Indonesian socio-cultural, political and economic elements in the era of Old Order, especially during the period of parliamentary democracy (1950-1959) and the period of controlled democracy (1959-1965), had been at the edge of destruction (Ricklefs, 1994).

As a result, the Javanese authors also experienced the impact both directly and indirectly; their works were less appreciated and did not have any economic values. The price of a short story that had been published in *Jawa Magazine* was only Rp 25,- and Rp 40,-; the price of a serial story for 12 numbers was only Rp 300,-; and the royalty of a novel that had been printed for 3,000 copies were only Rp 200,- whereas the price of 1 liter rice was Rp 7.50. In fact, there were scripts that had not been valued at all (Mardianto et al., 2001:54). Such condition finally forced most of the Javanese authors to perform double job; in addition to earning income as authors, they worked as teachers, journalists, private employees, civil servants, businessmen and alike. Even many of them switched jobs as well.

On the contrary, the activities of the

private publication were quite developing. The situation was closely related to the increasing number of reading interest due to the opening of the schools for the *inlanders*, so that the number of literate people increased (Ras, 1985:1). The situation was also related to the educational policy of the Dutch Indies government as a part of the ethical politics implementation in 1901. The policy in the domain of education urged the provision of reading books for the school children’s lessons. The private publications, such as the *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie Kediri*, massively published the Javanese language-lesson books, *Kitab A.B.C. dan batja’an oentoeek anak-anak, jang hendak beladjar membatja dan menoelis bahasa Melajoe hoeroef Olanda* and Groningen Jakarta, *Sinau Basa*, in order to meet the students’ needs.

The people’s reading interest was also supported by the publication of Javanese language-newspaper such as *Bramartani*, *Jurumartani*, *Jawi Kandha*, *Retno Dumilah* and *Darma Kandha*. The story books that had been issued by the private publication enterprises also took part in supporting and in becoming the favorite reading materials. These books were read by all layers of society (Widati et al., 2001:162).

Entering the era of Japanese government, all of the Javanese language-publishing activities were banned including the ones performed by *Penyebar Semangat* and *Kedjawen*. Even the Japanese government did not give permission for the establishment of other newspapers and media. All of the newspapers had been supervised by a sensory department, *Jawa Shinbunkai*; the task of *Jawa Shinbunkai* was to supervise the newspapers that had been issued and been circulated in Java. As a part of Japanese propaganda efforts, the Japanese government established several newspapers in April 1942, such as *Asia Raya*, *Jawa Shinbun* and *Kung Yung Pao* (Widati et al., 2001:212-213).

Meanwhile, the newspapers that belonged to the Indonesian, the Dutch and the Tionghoan people had been closed. All of the literary works had been directed

to the political propaganda. The situation was apparent after the Japanese government established *Keimin Bunka Shidosho* in April 1st, 1943; the function of the *Keimin Bunka Shidosho* was to supervise any writings that did not support the Japanese politics. An interesting matter from the situation was that there had been one Indonesian publication enterprise that the Japanese government did not close, namely *Penerbit Indonesia* in Yogyakarta. The publication enterprise was the only existing private publication enterprise. In 1942, *Penerbit Indonesia* published a novel entitled *Trimurti utawa Lelakone Sedulur Tetelu* by Ki Loemboeng (Widati et al., 2001:224).

The awful social, economic and political situation and condition in Indonesia at that time since the period of Japanese military government, along with the inflation and the economic crisis until 1952 due to the independence war, caused the publication enterprises' inability to produce books. Balai Pustaka as the state publication enterprise at that also suffered from the same situation although it was still in operation.

The private publication, both the book publication and the press publication, in 1953-1960 seemed to be more promising. In the middle of Balai Pustaka's inability to publish the modern Javanese literary works, several private publication enterprises turned out to compete in printing and in publishing the modern Javanese literary works. Examples of the literary works were namely *Jaker*, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *PT. Lawu*, *Keluarga Subarno*, *F.a. Nasional Dua-A*, *Triyasa*, *Kondang*, *Kancil Mas*, *Sasongko*, *Kuda Mas*, *Sinta Riskan*, *Puspa Rahayu*, *Djaja Dharma*, *Keng* and *Dawud*. Due to the competition among the private publication enterprises, around 1960s there was an explosion of a novel entitled *Penglipoeer Lara* (Widati et al., 2001:100-101).

The existence of private publication enterprises, both the book publication and the newspaper publication, had been able to give meaning toward the development of Javanese literature especially the mod-

ern Javanese literature. The mass media that had important role in introducing and in disseminating the modern Javanese literature were *Panyebar Semangat*, *Swara Tama* and *Pusaka Surakarta*. These magazines contributed to the dissemination of Javanese short stories, serial stories and *geguritan*. Therefore, the history of modern Javanese literature might not be separated from the role and the existence of private publication enterprises especially in the mass media publication.

How was the condition of the Javanese literary work readers? The readers of modern Javanese literary works within 1917-1942 were a group of Javanese people who had the intelligence in reading and in speaking the Javanese. The Javanese that had been used as the medium of Javanese literary expression was the regional language namely Javanese.

In two decades, there had been a shift. In the decade of 1920s, the influence of old tradition was still very strong namely the tradition of using the Javanese alphabet and language; as a result, most of the compositions created by the authors still implemented the Javanese alphabet and language. However, the situation changed in the decade of 1930s.

The above shifts were closely related to the shift on the group of Javanese literary work readers. Since the beginning the authors realized that the candidates of literary work reader in the decade of 1930s had been different than those in the decade of 1920s. The awareness came to surface because the number of the people that had been educated under the Western style in the decade of 1930s was higher than the one in the previous decade. Therefore, intendedly in the decade of 1930s, the authors followed the readers' movement, so that they did not compose the literary works with the Javanese alphabet and language like in the decade of 1920s; instead, they used the Javanese language with the Latin alphabet. These readers were the readers that had been imagined by the authors, the readers that had been interpreted based on the review of an author with the empirical and the textual

approach (Luxemburg, 1989:19).

BETWEEN BOOKSTORE AND PUBLISHING

Many people in the media, as well as experts in writing books, often talked about *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie*. The name of *Tan Khoen Swie* as the owner of publishing company (*boekhandel*) was never mentioned in the historiography of Indonesia. His struggling rarely got the attention, but he had a very important contribution to the intellectual development of Java. He was born in Mount Legong, Duren Siwo, Wonogiri in 1884 (Hoën Boen Tan, 1935: 89), and died in 1953 Kediri (*Jawa Pos*, May 5, 1953).

Tan Khoen Swie started his own business by opening a bookstore in Kediri in 1905 (*Basis*, September 1983: 349-357). The bookstore was initially small, but gradually it grew into a big bookstore. At first, the books which were sold were from publishers like *Uitgevers Mij NV. "Papyrus"*, *Eertijds HM van Dorp & Co.*, Batavia. Tan Khoen Swie opened a bookstore in a great risk, because this business field was filled with a variety of intricate work.

In 1915, the bookstore named "*Tan Khoen Swie Sedia Boekoe Java Melajoe dan Ollanda*", changed into "*Boekhandel en Schryf Behoeften*." The change of this name had relation to the opening of the publishing business by Tan Khoen Swie. Since 1915, Tan Khoen Swie not only had managed the bookstore, but he also had operated a publishing company. It can be seen that the intellectual of Tan Khoen Swie grew from a trader to a publisher.

Boekhandel can be interpreted as a bookstore, it was also called bookseller (refer to the person). It means that he had a bookstore and a publishing company (Setiono, 2002:432). However, Tan Khoen Swie's publishing company was not mentioned in his business identity. The activities between publishing company and bookstore trading were blended into one. Tan Khoen Swie's bookstore was one the means of selling his works. The explanation of Tan Khoen Swie as a bookseller as well as a publisher at the

same time was based on the *Adressenlijst van uitgevers and list van Boekhandelaren in Indonesie* in *Maanblad voor de Boekhandel in Indonesie* in 1950. It was mentioned in the list that besides as a bookseller, Tan Khoen Swie also referred to as a publisher.

How Tan Khoen Swie started a publishing business, was an interesting thing to analyze. Tan Khoen Swie's choice to have this business was not so easy. The decision to be a publisher was not as easy as to become a bookseller in general. Tan Khoen Swie had to provide capital, authors, and manuscripts. After having provided everything needed, the next step was how to set up a business, managed to generate profit or gain. Almost all those activities were handled by Tan himself. Especially, those related to which manuscripts would be chosen to be released and marketed. In his efforts, Tan Khoen Swie did not provide printing machine, there were partners in printing, such as *Stoomdrukkerij Liem Liang Djan Blitar*, *Electrische Drukkerij "De Matador" Kertosono*, *N.V. Kediriische Snelpersdrukkerij-Kediri*, and *Stabelan Solo*.

There was no data that explained about the cost of the initial capital needed for establishing Tan Khoen Swie's publishing company. Based on the explanation from Jojo Soetjahjo Gani, in Damar Jati, he said:

At that time, the intention and determination of Tan Koen Swie were indeed admirable. Only by private capital, and he was not a Javanese, too, he dared to set aside money to publish books in Javanese. Though at that time, the community had been accustomed to living in an atmosphere of oral literature to preserve the cultural heritage of the ancestors. (Damar Jati, Th. I, No.4, 8 September 2005: 6).

The explanation indicated that something Tan Khoen Swie had to open his publishing company was a courage, started with saving money which was prepared to open his business. Further information given by Jojo Soetjahjo Gani was the effort to open Tan Khoen Swie's publishing company which was initiated through the efforts,

bookstore, auto parts trading business, Surabaya shop, and gasoline sales. It was possibly that the initial efforts of Tan Khoen Swie's publishing company came from those four efforts mentioned above. The business of the publishing company of Tan Khoen Swie was a part of his business development. The opening of the publishing unit was the ambition of Tan Khoen Swie to develop the strength of his intellect through the books. Therefore, the publishing company was Tan Khoen Swie's top priority in the choice of business.

THE EFFORTS TO BRING AUTHORS

One more crucial element for Tan Khoen Swie's publishing company that there were some authors willing to give their writing manuscripts to be printed and published. Several steps were taken by Tan Khoen Swie in looking for an author who was ready to help and to cooperate. The relationships were to be built on the basis of mutual benefit. Trusting relationships fostered to appease the authors when they must send manuscripts to Tan Khoen Swie.

At the beginning of Tan Khoen Swie's publishing business, some of the authors who helped him regarded as figures or literary writers who already had big names. Among those name were M.Ng Mangoenwidjaja, Padmosusastro, and R. Tanojo (Supardi, 1961: 73-77). The selection of the three figures as the authors who were believed by Tan Khoen Swie based on the reason that those authors had the undeniable quality of the manuscripts. Those three names were already famous, and they were interested in being offered as early promotional efforts to the business publication. The books written by these authors had become the most public reading, especially books containing about Javanese culture that came from the *Kraton*.

Tan Khoen Swie did not give lines and rules in the process of publishing the manuscripts of the author's works. The situation flowed away, without any binding rules, it was expected to seek appeal

how the authors could accept the presence of Tan Khoen Swie as a new publisher in Kediri.

However, Tan Khoen Swie kept doing the selection and found something interesting that could be sold. Often, the basis for determining the manuscript published was a script that had the prospect and it had been on demand in the market. In this context, it can be seen that Tan Khoen Swie had more economic goal (Mankiw, 2006).

SCRIPT PAYMENT SYSTEM

At first, there was no clear agreement, some sources explained the process of payment was never written down permanently by Tan Khoen Swie. It was hard to say whether Tan Khoen Swie just wanted to publish a book whose cost would be paid by the author himself. It was not known whether the money would be refunded after the sale of the book. If the system was practiced, it can be said that the rules that was applied used a percentage of system sales results book. Like the script system payment, it was not found the information about the payment system for the translators of ancient Javanese script. Meanwhile, Jojo Soetjahjo Gani's description, written in Java Magazine *Damar Jati*, was quite a concern. According to the case.

Those authors prepared their books on Jl. Doho Road No. 165, where the house is still there. Those noblemen especially from Solo would stay for a couple of months. The original manuscript was not typed using the type writer, but it was written by hand in the manuscript book in blue cover. The rewards (income) received by the authors were not always in the form of money, but in the book form which had finished printing, there were equal to 200 books (*Damar Jati*, Th. 1, 4, 8 September 2005: 6).

From the statement above, it can be concluded that the system of payment to the author at the time of Tan Khoen Swie was not be done with money, but in the book form with the number of 200 copies. Jojo Soetjahjo Gani could not give more

explanation when the system was started. The next analysis was based only on an estimation. The usage of this system administration was predicted from the beginning of the *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie published the books around 1915's- 1930's. It could be up to a period prior to Tan Khoen Swie died in 1953. The very complete information about the new payment system manuscript was discovered in 1954, one year after the death of Tan Khoen Swie.

The bargaining process of the manuscript that would be published ended with the approval statement that was confirmed in an agreement between the publisher and the author. This approval was always made on the basis of mutual trust. There are some points which were often emphasized in the agreement including: the name of the author and the publisher must be clear, the title of the article, the amount of text to be printed, deadline printing timed, it is also emphasized on freedom of rejecting the manuscript by the publisher if the manuscript does not meet the requirements, especially related to the content and shape, the length of time of examining the result of the manuscripts before they are sold, the cost of correction and revision, and the honorarium.

Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie gave honorarium to the author's manuscript, including the translation ones, especially in the ancient texts, classical prose and poetry, in the form of a sum of money. The payment was made after the manuscript submitted to a publisher that was characterized by a statement of transfer of rights from the author. The sign conveyance of these authors was written clearly: the name and address of the authors, the months of submission, the title of the manuscript, the submission statement of the manuscript to the publisher *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie Kediri as well as the amount of payment received and the delivery was marked by patent signed by the author and a witness.

BOOKS ON JAVA THOUGHT, CHARACTER AND SHAPE COVER

Books published by *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie Kediri generally contained the concepts of Javanese thoughts. The books were classified into 12 categories, (1) the books that contain about science;(2) books about *petong* (forecast);(3) books on the rules of law (*Wet*);(4) books which contain poems;(5) The chronicle books ;(6) books on the subject; (7) books about religion;(8) the books of holy scripture; (9) books contain knowledge; (10) the story books; (11) the books containing the teachings of theosophy; (12) books of advice.

Based on the catalog published in 1941, those 159 titles of books were in Javanese and Javanese script, 62 titles were about the teachings of theosophy (39%). While 57 titles contained knowledge (practical and theoretical) (35.8%), 10 titles were about fortune teller or horoscope (6,3 %), 11 books were about moral teaching and education (7 %), 18 books talked about chronicle or traditional history (11,3 %), and 1 book was a literary book (0,6 %) (Catalogus, 1941).

The characteristic of books released by Tan Khoen Swie, according to Sri Widati's point of view, was categorized as a Javanese literary (non Balai Pustaka). It tended to be more in favor of the culture of the indigenous, practical, easy to understand by the general readers, although those books were translated from classic works (Widati dkk, 2001:162). The language used in his works is modern Javanese (Zoetmulder, 1983:34), which was efficient and effective. The language had no many repetitions, solid, and no wasted words.

There were 176 books published by *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie in 1953. It consisted of 81 books which were categorized into thin book with 8 - 42 pages. There were 71 Medium books with 43 - 99 pages, and there were only 24 books which were categorized into thin book with 100 pages or more.

Some books were so thin with only 8 pages, namely *Djoko Lodang*, *Kolotido*, and *Pepali Nabi Khong Hu Tju*. Some

other books with some more pages (more than 8 pages) were *Iladoeni* (15), *Kawruh Sasadji* (19), *Kidungan* (32), *Krida Sastra* (15), *Mardi Sastra Latyn* (12), *Ngelmi Tjak Sedjati* (15), *Ngelmi Pirasating Soedjanma* (31), *Primbun Djajabaja* (32). While the thickest book was *Tiong Jong book* with 396 pages. The Chinese community were so fond of this book.

The paper was made of rice paper, or paper with raw materials processed from rice straw or dry stalk which was discharged after being harvested or older. The color of the paper used at first was white, through the passage of time, the paper of the book becomes yellowish or even light brown. This kind of paper condition was found in almost all the books printed by Tan Khoen Swie (*Buku Register Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie Kediri*, 1959).

The printed book size of *Boekhandel* publications Tan Khoen Swie, generally between 11x16 cm and 16x23 cm. There were several books printed in small size (11x16 cm) such as *Tjiptaan Tiap-Tiap Pagi*, *Katuranggan*, *Babad Theosofie*, *Koentji Poesakaningbatin* (12x15 cm), and *Wisa Djiwa* (10x17 cm). *Serat Bahasa Jawi*, written in Latin language, were printed in size 16x23 cm. A few books *Wisa Djiwa* and *Walisanga* had smaller size in which each of them had the size of 10x17 cm and 15x23 cm. There were also some other books with special size, among those books were *Dajaning Tjipta* 14x21 cm, *Kidoengan Kawedar* 14x21,5 cm, *Kamoelan Pitoe Bade Doemadosing Manoengsa* 13x21 cm, *Mahabarata* (Anie Besant) 14x21 cm, *Ramayana* (Anie Besant) 14x21 cm, *Sasangge-man* 14x21 cm, *Saddarcana* 14x21 cm, *Tjandrarini* 16x22 cm, *Weda Satmaka* 15x21 cm (Catalogus, 1941).

Determining the size of a book usually depended on the content and level of order requirements. If the book was really on demand and needed by a lot of people, especially about practical knowledge to everyday life and the book was on demand by the community, the book was printed in a small size. The purpose of the determination of this book size was associated with the convenience of the reader

when reading and the book, so it would be easy to carry anywhere.

There were books in Javanese published by *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie, the books were distinguished in the form of *tembang* (Endraswara, 2006: 87), *gancaran* (Widati, et al., 2001: 8), and a mixture of *tembang or gancaran*. Based on the list of the Books of Knowledge Born Inner issued in 1941, the books were published in the form of *tembang* as many as 81 books, 130 books were *prose, prose and song* (mix) 12 books (Catalogus, 1941). On the record list, the books issued by Tan Khoen Swie's store in 1953 consisting of 31 books which were *tembang*, 76 books were *gancaran* and 8 books were *gancaran* and *tembang* (mixed) (Catalogus, 1953).

Two of the catalog records showed that the Javanese books published by *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie were more printed in the form of *gancaran*. There were several reasons, the first possible reason that could be raised was the shift in Javanese tended to be less used. This tendency influenced to the decrease in consuming the books published by *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie. Second, Javanese followed the adaptation of the era. During the Japanese occupation and the post-independence, the political situation which required the use of Indonesian had shifted the use of the Javanese language. Having seen this reality, it was obviously influenced the books published by Tan Khoen Swie.

The list price in the catalog of books by Tan Khoen Swie was in the range between f f 0:10 until 3:50. Most of the books by Tan Khoen Swie sold at a price below f 1.0. Books with the lowest price were *Djaka Lodang*, (f 0:10), *Kalatida* (f 0.20), and the most expensive book was *Pati Tjentini*, it was sold at f 3.50 in 1922.

Then, there were some other characters of the books published by *Boekhandel* Tan Khoen Swie, such as the shape of the cover, which was in the catalog, both issued in 1941 and 1953, as well as on the list of books supplements were often mentioned: thick cover and regular cover (the thin ones). Almost all Tan Khoen Swie's books printed using regular or thin cover.

Only a few books were covered with thick covers, such as *Babad Muchamad, Primbon Djampi Djawi, Ilmu Sepiritisme, Maduroso, Pati Tjentini, Primbon Ngadoe Djago, Prabangkara, Sangoe Gesang, Weda Hagama, Wedosatmoko, dan Widiokirono*, or two forms, regular cover or thick cover, like *Sanggar Djita*.

The books published by *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* from 1918 to 1953 always showed a figure or Tan Khoen Swie photograph and his signature. These phenomena are interesting to examine why Tan Khoen Swie puts his picture and signature on the book cover. Some arguments that can be brought up here are, firstly, Tan Khoen Swie has the intent to patent any of his products to be different reading publications from other products publications. Secondly, Tan Khoen Swie feels that by posing himself on the book cover, he intends to be familiar with the readers. Furthermore, also the readers will notice that it was tan Khoen Swei's book. Thirdly, this step was considered as an effort to label himself showing a higher quality than other publishers.

Meanwhile, Tan Khoen Swie's books which were republished by Michael Tanzil had no longer used the style above. Especially, books that used the publisher's name *Interstar*. It was not known whether this step was an attempt to eliminate the shadow of the glory of his father. It could be interpreted that this step would make Michael Tanzil popular without the popularity of his father.

READERS OF TAN KHOEN SWIE'S BOOKS

It is hard to determine who the readers of books produced by *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie Kediri*, because we cannot possibly meet one by one of his readers. However, it can be seen from the data taken from Expedition Book Delivery to the buyers of books released by *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie Kediri* in the years from 1958 to 1959. From the book of the expedition, it can be found data of the buyers who ordered Tan Khoen Swie's books. Based on the same data, it can be known who they

were, what status they are, and their background livelihood.

Books expedition in 1959, also informed about the number of readers by profession. Based on the data seen on expedition book, readers of books by *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* consists of: 204 employees, 6 students, 20 traders, 6 farmers, one mechanic, one tailor, and one patient, and 157 common people (*Buku Register Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie Kediri*, 1959).

There are 204 readers who are government employees consisting of the postal clerks, employees of the factory building, employees of the cooperative, tax officials, the military officers, teachers, employees of research institutions, employees of Railway Bureau, Prison officer, the Public Works Department, government officials, sanatorium employees, department of irrigation officers, police officers, Mobile Brigade Corps officials, employees of pawnshops, court employees, village administrators, prosecutor's office employee, hospital employees, information office employee, clerks and inspection finance officers, office clerk land, district headman, employees of religious affairs office, employees of sugar factories, the village headman, telecommunication office employees, Police Headquarters Community Environment, records office employee, trade office employee, office employees of public education, health aide employee, forestry officers, traffic officers, and bank employees.

Based on the profession, there are some important position of job occupation as the headman such as; the head of military infantry, the head of prison, the headmaster, the head of pawn shop, the head of administrative office, the head of telecommunication office, the Chief Police Brigadier. Based on the employee profession, the status of the readers was mostly teachers, it was about 27 teachers. A teacher cannot be separated from textbook. It is obvious whether the textbook is for teaching and learning or as a source of other reading material. Teachers who have intellectual culture really has a

chance to do a reading activity compared to other professions.

DEVELOPMENT OF BOOKS OF BOEKHANDEL TAN KHOEN SWIE

The development of publishing Javanese manuscripts begun in 1916. Some of the manuscripts published were *Kawruh Kasukman* and *Serat Babad Surakarta* in the form *sekar macapat*. In 1917, there were no new books published unless reprints for *Serat Babad Surakarta*. *Serat Madoe Wasito* which was completed by Padmosusastro in 1916 recently published by *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* in 1918. The following development showed that the books having been released since 1919 by *Boekhandel Tan Khoen* growing. Ten books were published in 1919, such as *Serat Hasmorolojo*, *Kridosastro*, *Kridohatmoko* and others. In 1920, the books which had been already in circulation, can be read through a list of books on supplements *Book of Tay Hak*, there were 7 titles of Javanese books in circulation.

The development of the book in 1921, increasing to 47 the title of the book, both Java and Latin alphabet letters. Continued in 1926 to 131 titles. The rapid development of the publication of these books, because *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* was already known and trusted as a community of readers. Subsequently in 1931, 146 titles, and the peak in 1936, 167 titles. In 1941, based on a list of books in the catalog published in 1941, there are 309 titles of books, and until 1953, the number declined to 157 titles. In the next period information on the development of titles not found, except for data on the number of books for 1956 and beyond. In 1956, there are 96 284 known books, in 1957, 21 899 books, and in 1958 there were 93 891 books (*Daftar Buku Toko Tan Khoen Swie Kediri Tahun 1957; Daftar Buku/Barang dari Penerbit Tan Khoen Swie Kediri, per 31 Desember 1958*).

BOOK DISTRIBUTION OF BOEKHANDEL TAN KHOEN SWIE UNTIL 1963

Tan Khoen Swie offered his books *door to door*, it would mean that at the beginning, books of *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* circulated around the town of Kediri. This Opinion could be acceptable, but it should be examined whether books of Khoen Tan Swie were only circulated in Kediri. It seemed not like that one it was thought, because Tan Khoen Swie had a publishing business in Solo (Wedodjatmoko, 1922). In addition, the role of authors who had been cooperating with Tan Khoen Swie also could not be ignored. In other words, it can be said that at the same time Tan Khoen Swie's books were circulating in various regions in East Java and Central Java.

The Spreading of *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie's* books in East Java can be shown from the data of letters from the readers, especially the readers of Chinese books. Correspondence was often carried out between the reader and the author. They kept each other informed about their interest in the content, the price, and how to get the books in some other places. There was also a question asking about when the titles of books that were on demand would be released, or some of them (readers) proposed interesting manuscripts for publication. It can be seen from ten incoming letters to the editorial *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* in the year, from 1920 to 1926 which is attached to *the Book Sioe Lian Ke II* (Ien Sie Thoe, 1926).

Letters of readers came from various regions in East Java, such as the letter from *Ik Tie Tjoe* from Banyuwangi, *Ik Tjong Tjoe* from Jember, *Ik Kan Tjoe* from Probolinggo, *Boen Sim Tjoe* from Pasuruan, *Soe Pin Kie Soe* from Surabaya, *Tjing Tjaij Tjoe Djien* from Kertosono, *Siauw Jauw Loo Djien* from Kediri, *Boen Iet Ong* from Tulungagung, *Kwan Liam Tjoe* from Blitar, *Boe Bing Tjoe* from Malang. The letters contain a variety of questions, ranging from feeling pleased with the publication of the book to how to behave in doing *samadhi* (Ien Sie Thoe, 1926: 7-45).

In the 1920's -1930's, the books of Tan Khoen Swie had spread in various regions in East Java and Central Java. The distribution of the data can be seen from the list supplement the books of other publishers, such *Boekhandel Siti Sjamsojah Solo*. Based on the article from Suripan Sadi Hutomo, *Boekhandel Siti Sjamsojah Solo* also contributed to the market, the Javanese books published by *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie Kediri* (Jayabaya, 1982). *Tjahaja Timoer*, a newspaper, No. 121, 17 November 1941 also deployed books of Tan Khoen Swie in Solo and its surroundings. This promotion was done by *Tjahaja Timoer* based on the interest in the manuscript on *Kidungan Kawedar*. Often the readers after reading the manuscripts that they think it was interesting, it arises a sense of desire to spread the books.

In the same year (1941), the books of Tan Khoen Swie had spread to Dolok Merangir-District Serbelawan, Medan, North Sumatra. The evidence was shown of the letter from a reader posted on Catalogus 1941 (Catalogus, 1941: 76). No other data can be found, unfortunately Tan Khoen Swie did not save some of the more complete data. But it may be possible that the books circulating in other various regions more than the data found.

Jojo Soetjahjo Gani, always said that his great-grandfather did not store data for distributing the book. The data was only made at the time of Michael Tanzil. Meanwhile, we need to remember that the data made by Michael Tanzil was not suddenly there and just appeared like that. Surely, there was some process that had already existed. The buyers of books and those readers who got their books from Tan Khoen Swie by order and this situation had continued since Tan Khoen Swie's period until Michael Tanzil's era controlling the publishing business. Therefore, the development of the distribution of the books in the past by Tan Khoen Swie in Michael Tanzil's era was recorded from 1958 to 1959, can be regarded as the continuation of past *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie's* time when Tan Khoen Swie

was still alive.

The data of distribution of the *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* at Michael Tanzil's era in the year 1958-1959, obtained from *Books Orders and Payments 1958*, *Books Shipping and Receiving Post Wesel in 1958*, and *Expedition Book Delivery in 1959*. Based on the three books above, it can be seen the area of spreading of *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie's Kediri* books. Distribution of Tan Khoen Swie's books not only in Java, but reaching out to the islands outside Java. Such as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Bali, and West Nusa Tenggara and East. The extent of the spread of books *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie Kediri* indicates that the publication was not a small business that serves only local people but rather seen as a business that has achieved very broad access. In marketing the product, issue *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* network utilizing the authors, publishers and bookstores. Symbioses relationship with the author, is very interesting, because it turns out that relationship gave rise to the new writers. Tan Khoen Swie also provide an incentive for publishers and bookstores. Welcome quite excited to collaborate are bookstores not only in Java, but spread almost all over the islands outside Java. The development process culminated when *Boekhandel Tan Khoen Swie* was held by Michael Tanzil 1957-1960. The interests of authors, publishers and bookstores were used to establish business relations, especially after knowing the development of the publishing Tan Khoen Swie. In addition, the appeal of its early age was very popular and attracted many readers.

CONCLUSION

There are undeniable facts regarding the history of Javanese modern literature and one of these undeniable facts is the fact that the Dutch colonial government with their Balai Pustaka had limited each reading product; at least, the reading materials at that time did not strive to develop the sense of nationalism. The colonial and the post-colonial government serve as the regulator. The policy implementation was

more of pressure and constraint. In performing the publishing business, Tan Khoen Swie did not do such situation as a pressure. The governmental regulations that have been considered as constraints had been performed as enabling governmental regulations by Tan Khoen Swie. Such physical condition triggered the freedom in action.

The unity among the authors, the publishers and the readers has formed a community of symbiotic relationship. The existence of these social communities has been very decisive; without their existence, the business of Tan Khoen Swie might not be performed. These groups were the interrelated economic powers. As an actor, Tan Khoen Swie has influenced and has invited actions in accordance with his will.

Several factors related to the reason why Tan Khoen Swie disseminated the Javanese books were as follows. The first factor was the economic factor. Tan Khoen Swie saw that the market opportunity for the Javanese book readers had been very dominant. The reason was that in the previous periods (before the 20th century), there has been less satisfying condition especially in the development of reading culture and of disseminating reading books. At the beginning of the 20th century, a new age had just been started and there had been massive development in all aspects. The second factor was the cultural factor. The Javanese scripts had been selected by Tan Khoen Swie for his publishing business. Although previously for most of the time he published the Tionghoan scripts, Tan Khoen Swie's association with the figures of Javanese literature became the main trigger why he decided to publish the Javanese scripts.

The cooperation with the publication network was established under the mutually understanding basis. Then, the network with the book traders was established under the flexibility basis. Based on what he had done, the researcher would like to conclude that Tan Khoen Swie did not have any selfishness within the network system because the existence of the

network had been regarded as an economic guarantee in his life.

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