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En couverture : Johannes Rach's painting of the Batutulis, 1770 (https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-400-I)

In Memoriam Jacques Dumarçay (1926-2020)

Jacques Dumarçay à Tokyo en 1997 (d'après H. Chambert-Loir et B. Dagens (éds.), *Anamorphoses*, 2006).

Archipel 101, Paris, 2021, p. 3-10

Jacques Dumarçay s'est éteint le 22 novembre 2020 à l'âge de 94 ans à Saint-Rémy-lès-Chevreuse où il vivait avec son épouse Jacqueline sa collaboratrice dans de nombreux projets. La revue *Archipel* a voulu rendre hommage à un collègue, ami pour les uns, maître bienveillant et jovial pour la génération suivante. Il n'est pas rare d'entendre, qui, sur le terrain, non sans fierté, a tenu son mètre. Ces amitiés et les nombreuses collaborations qu'il entretint durant un peu plus de quarante années de carrière en Asie lui valurent de recevoir un volume d'hommage sous le titre *Anamorphoses* (2006)[1]. Mieux connu du public français pour ses travaux sur le Cambodge, notamment pour la restauration d'Angkor, Jacques Dumarçay a laissé un héritage tout aussi important dans les domaines de la conservation et de la connaissance du patrimoine architectural de l'Insulinde et de Java en particulier. Il fut en effet l'un des premiers, avec Denys Lombard, à introduire l'histoire de l'architecture et des jardins dans les études insulindiennes françaises, notamment à travers douze précieuses contributions publiées dans *Archipel* de 1974 à 2003 (voir liste *infra*).

C'est au milieu des années 1960 que Jacques Dumarçay s'engagea dans les études sud-est asiatiques, après avoir œuvré dix ans en Asie Centrale et au Pakistan auprès de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA). Le Cambodge fut le premier pays où il fut délégué, par Philippe Stern (1895-1979), alors directeur du musée Guimet et secrétaire général de la Mission archéologique des Indes, pour assister l'archéologue Bernard-Philippe Groslier (1926-1986) à Siem Reap, à la Conservation des monuments d'Angkor. Nommé chercheur à l'École française d'Extrême-Orient dès 1964, Jacques Dumarçay passa son diplôme d'architecte avant de soutenir un mémoire sur le Bayon (EHESS) ainsi qu'une thèse sur la charpenterie et les tuiles khmères (1971). Ces projets furent interrompus pendant deux ans par un séjour en Inde, où l'attendaient de nouvelles collaborations avec Bruno Dagens et Françoise L'Hernault (1937-1999). Il fut chargé de l'étude du temple du rivage de Mahabalipuram, et apportait ses conseils à la restauration indienne du temple de Darasuram. Enfin, il fut mandaté à Java en 1973 pour participer à la restauration du Borobudur où l'avait précédé quarante ans plus tôt, son compatriote et confrère Henri Marchal (1876-1970) pour observer les techniques de l'anastylose, pratiquée par l'archéologue néerlandais Th. Van Erp (1874-1958) et son équipe.

Ce séjour javanais d'une quinzaine d'années fut un moment prolifique de sa carrière, puisqu'il y produisit 11 des 35 ouvrages qu'il publia tout au long de sa carrière (la majorité publiée dans la série des *Mémoires archéologiques* de l'EFEO), ainsi que 26 articles ou contributions diverses. Il y a d'abord été

1. Bruno Dagens et Henri Chambert-Loir (éds.), *Anamorphoses : hommage à Jacques Dumarçay*. Paris : Les Indes savantes, 2006. Pour une note nécrologique exhaustive et une bibliographie complète se référer à l'article de Bruno Dagens, dans le prochain *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, n°107/2021.

détaché auprès de l'UNESCO pour œuvrer avec C. Voûte et le Professeur Soekmono (1922-1997), du Centre national de recherches archéologiques, au projet de restauration du Borobudur. Ce sont ses collaborations étroites avec les archéologues indonésiens qui lui permettront de mettre au point, en 1976, sous l'égide de Mme Satyawati Suleiman (1920-1988), directrice du Centre national de recherches archéologiques et de Jean Filliozat (1906-1982), directeur de l'EFEO, le contrat de coopération, toujours en vigueur, entre l'EFEO et ce partenaire indonésien.

D'abord installé avec son épouse Jacqueline, leur fille Anne et leur fils François dans une « belle maison avec vue sur le mont Sumbing » à Magelang, près du Borobudur, ils déménagèrent quelques années plus tard au cœur de Yogyakarta, dans une maison de *kampung* (village). Les premières années de sa carrière à Java furent consacrées à la publication de travaux antérieurs : sa thèse sur les charpentes et tuiles khmères (1973), ainsi que deux études sur ses recherches en Inde (1975), puis à son *Histoire architecturale du Borobudur* (1977), somme de ses relevés et analyses sur le temple. Simultanément aux travaux sur le Borobudur, il s'engagea dans un nouveau projet d'histoire architecturale du Candi Sewu, à la restauration duquel il collabora par la suite avec le Service du Patrimoine (Direktorat Perlindungan dan Pembinaan Peninggalan Sejarah Purbakala), jusqu'en 1987. L'étude des temples et la question de l'évolution des techniques tiennent une place de premier plan dans l'œuvre de Jacques Dumarçay. Il est connu pour avoir expérimenté notamment une méthode de datation des techniques de construction par association à des monuments datés grâce à l'épigraphie ou la statuaire.

Parallèlement à ses publications et à ses grandes collaborations à Java-Centre, il se lança également dans des recherches sur le début de la période moderne alors encore peu documenté. Installé à Yogyakarta, la dernière capitale royale javanaise fondée au XVIII^e^ siècle, il en profita pour mener une nouvelle série d'études plus courtes, mais non moins utiles sur les mosquées, les palais et jardins palatins. Comme il l'avait déjà expérimenté au Cambodge en particulier, sa démarche diachronique et comparatiste consistait à mettre en regard les bâtiments tardifs pour comprendre l'architecture figurée dans les reliefs de la période indianisée, ceux du Borobudur et de Prambanan plus particulièrement. Cette méthode encore rarement appliquée à Java, était aussi le fruit d'une tradition française, celle de ses maîtres à l'EFEO, comme Henri Parmentier (1871-1949), qui l'avait précédé avec un article sur « L'architecture interprétée des bas-reliefs de Java » (*BEFEO* VII, 1907). L'*Histoire architecturale de Java* (1993) de Jacques Dumarçay, qui traite pourtant essentiellement des VIII^e^-XIV^e^ siècles, inclut également une étude sur le XV^e^ siècle transitoire et deux autres études, menées avec des collègues indonésiens, sur les mosquées et la période coloniale, un travail qu'il supervisa avec cette même volonté de mettre en regard architectures anciennes et modernes.

Or, en Insulinde, cette démarche comparatiste était tout autant un prétexte pour étudier le transfert des anciennes formes architecturales aux périodes moderne et contemporaine. Contrairement au Cambodge et à l'Inde, les pagodes, monastères et temples en bois y avaient disparu en réponse à l'islamisation, mais certains types architecturaux furent transformés et adaptés pour le nouveau culte musulman. Fort de son expertise régionale sur la charpenterie, il voyait dans les mosquées, les pavillons royaux et domestiques (*pendapa*) avec leurs toits superposés, leurs soubassements et leurs charpentes rayonnantes des héritiers directs des anciens temples et palais figurés. Sa fascination pour les mosquées dépassait d'ailleurs le monde javanais, puisqu'il publia deux autres articles dans *Archipel* sur les mosquées de type malais : le Langgar tinggi du quartier des musulmans indiens (Pekojan) à Jakarta (*Archipel*, 1985, vol. 30) et la mosquée de Kampung Laut en Malaisie (*Archipel*, 1992, vol. 44).

Tout aussi curieux des palais et jardins royaux que des mosquées, il publia sa première « Étude architecturale », titre d'une série d'articles, sur le jardin royal de Yogyakarta, le Taman Sari (1978). Ce premier moment de l'histoire coloniale javanaise, qui n'avait pratiquement pas retenu l'attention des archéologues et historiens néerlandais de l'architecture, avait suscité chez Jacques Dumarçay un grand intérêt. Outre le palais de Yogyakarta, c'est aussi celui de Plered, l'une des premières capitales royales de la dynastie Mataram au XVII^{e} siècle, qui retint son attention au point qu'il y effectua quelques relevés (*Archipel* 1989, vol. 37), comme il le fit pour d'autres résidences princières plus tardives tombées en ruine dans la banlieue de Yogyakarta (Rejawinangun, Gua Seluman, etc.). Ces travaux devaient rejoindre d'autres études sur les palais d'Asie du Sud-Est dont il tira une monographie publiée en anglais (1991). C'est également dans les années 1990 qu'il collabora à l'étude d'un autre sultanat javanais, Banten, situé à l'ouest de l'île (1990).

Dans son étude sur le Taman Sari au XVIII^{e} siècle, davantage que le symbolisme du jardin, ce fut l'usage intégral de la technique de la maçonnerie à mortier qui l'intéressait. Il y vit un moment singulier de créativité à Java, où les maîtres d'œuvre javanais relevèrent un défi de taille, celui de raviver d'anciennes formes architecturales et éléments de décor en bois dans des matériaux nouveaux. L'adoption des nouvelles techniques de construction, sur laquelle il publia une monographie sur le même sujet chez Brill (2005), le fascinait particulièrement. À Java et à Bali, l'adoption de la charpente rayonnante venue d'Inde du Sud permit d'agrandir les espaces intérieurs. La question des contraintes induites par de nouvelles circonstances économiques ou techniques, comme les changements de matériaux, est omniprésente dans l'œuvre de Jacques Dumarçay. On se souvient, notamment, du problème récurrent dans son œuvre de la « disparition des grands fûts », c'est-à-dire des arbres de haute futaie, qui a entraîné l'abandon des maisons à faîtière tendue, mais aussi de la charpente rayonnante au profit de la charpente triangulée. Dans certaines maisons toraja traditionnelles, cette contrainte matérielle n'aurait pas

été anticipée et les anciens modèles continuèrent à être construits, mais avec quelques désavantages : les pignons élancés, qui reposaient désormais sur des poutres plus courtes, devaient être soutenues à l'extérieur par un long poteau.

Jacques Dumarçay se plaisait à déceler les irrégularités et curiosités architecturales. C'est un des aspects particulièrement attachants et souvent amusants de son travail. Il aimait identifier les failles, les défis techniques non relevés, les problèmes de raccord (dans les temples Pallava), les problèmes d'étanchéité aussi dans les bassins monumentaux à Angkor (Bayon), mais aussi neuf siècles plus tard à Java, dans les couloirs subaquatiques suintants, menant à l'île artificielle (Pulo Kenanga) du Taman Sari. C'est avec beaucoup d'affection pour les maîtres d'œuvre qu'il décrivait la façon dont, au Candi Gedong Songo par exemple, ils avaient voulu incruster le seuil dans le soubassement rendant le programme architectural intérieur tout à fait incohérent avec celui exposé sur la façade du temple. Au Cambodge, dans les tours sanctuaires de Prasat Kravanh (IX^{e}-X^{e} siècles), ce sont les bases des pilastres sur les petites tours qui disparaissaient maladroitement de la vue du fait de la taille trop importante des corniches.

Ces effets, plus ou moins heureux, tiennent une place importante dans son travail. Les effets perspectifs, auxquels il consacra un ouvrage entier (1983) sont un procédé visuel dont Jacques Dumarçay était devenu expert. Exigeant des calculs complexes, l'effet permettait de grandir de façon artificielle un monument en réduisant proportionnellement les éléments en hauteur. Il montra comment il fut appliqué en Inde, à Java et au Cambodge, où le procédé fut abandonné bien que les formes architecturales en fussent gardées. Au-delà des effets visuels et des maîtres d'œuvre, c'est le regard d'une société et de ses hommes qui préoccupait J. Dumarçay. Lorsqu'il recommande de « lire » dans l'œuvre achevée, c'est pour mieux comprendre les créateurs : les maîtres d'œuvre, mais aussi les maîtres d'ouvrage (commanditaires). Il met en avant l'importance du sens de lecture d'un monument, guidé par les reliefs narratifs, mais aussi l'interruption de ce genre de « lecture suivie » au XIV^{e} siècle à Java. Il insiste aussi sur l'intérêt du « spectacle » dans les jardins (2000) et du « parcours » à l'intérieur des maisons, partout où un sens de lecture précis était suggéré par l'architecte.

C'est ce qu'il s'efforça d'illustrer dans ses deux derniers ouvrages : *L'architecture et ses modèles en Asie méridionale* (1998) et *Babel ruinée* (1996). Ce « Petit traité du regard porté sur l'architecture en Asie méridionale », en dit autant sur l'œuvre achevée que sur l'esprit des bâtisseurs et l'« intelligence collective » des sociétés anciennes. Jacques Dumarçay leur consacra un ouvrage *Le savoir des maîtres d'œuvres à Java* (1986) et deux articles, dont un dans les *Annales* (1998) sur la permanence des modèles et la mémoire collective, où les bâtisseurs venaient puiser, telles des guêpes maçonnes, lorsqu'ils devaient construire des modèles éprouvés. Avant tout, Jacques Dumarçay a su rendre vie, grâce à une écriture rigoureuse et simple, aux maîtres d'œuvre du passé, sur lesquels on est par ailleurs si mal renseignés.

Cette fascination pour le processus créateur ne se limitait pas à l'architecture. Il s'intéressa à d'autres formes artistiques, auxquelles il fit appel dans ses démonstrations où l'image tient d'ailleurs une place très importante. C'est cette approche multidisciplinaire qui fait aussi le charme de son travail. On le sait moins, Jacques Dumarçay est l'auteur de nombreuses (21) recensions bibliographiques, dont les sujets variés montrent l'étendue de sa curiosité. Les représentations sur divers supports, comme les lithographies ou encore les fixés sous verre, qu'il collectionnait et qu'il aimait redessiner au trait dans un style qui lui était propre, n'en sont que deux exemples. L'amour de la littérature l'accompagna également tout au long de sa carrière. Initié très tôt à cet art par son père agrégé de lettres et spécialiste notamment de Jean de La Fontaine, il avait développé un goût pour les narrations dans les reliefs sud-est asiatiques et les récits locaux. Il livra, par ailleurs, un compte-rendu savant sur des miniatures d'Imam Bakhsh Lahori (1991) inspirées des fables de La Fontaine. Trois ans plus tard, il rédigea *Les sources orientales de Jean de La Fontaine à Java* (1993), un livret illustré où il démontre comment les sculpteurs javanais puisèrent, en partie, aux mêmes sources que Jean de La Fontaine (*Pancatantra*, *Jataka*, etc.).

Si nous avons tenu à rendre hommage à de nombreux aspects moins connus de son travail en Insulinde, il reste que Jacques Dumarçay demeure avant tout pour le public français « le grand architecte au chevet d'Angkor », comme le titrait la demi-page du *Monde* qui lui a été consacrée le 10 décembre 2020. C'est en effet à Angkor, où sa carrière sud-est asiatique avait commencé, qu'il effectua ses dernières missions pour l'EFEO. Retraité depuis un an, on lui confia le projet de restauration de la Terrasse du Roi Lépreux (1993) puis du Baphuon (1995) qu'il avait dû abandonner vingt ans auparavant, au début de la guerre civile cambodgienne. Il contribua également à assurer la relève des travaux d'archéologie et de restauration au Cambodge en prenant sous sa direction en 1992 de jeunes chercheurs, devenus par la suite Directeurs des Études à l'EFEO, Christophe Pottier et Pascal Royère (1965-2014), qui poursuivirent ses travaux. Enfin, il faut rappeler que Jacques Dumarçay n'est pas uniquement connu du public français. Dès les années 1980, il publie avec Michael Smithies principalement de nombreux travaux de vulgarisation chez Brill, Oxford University Press ou encore chez Gramedia (13 ouvrages au total), lesquels sont devenus des références bibliographiques incontournables pour l'enseignement de l'histoire architecturale en Asie du Sud-Est. Il prodiguait conseils et explications avec un enthousiasme constant, et ceux qui le voulaient, jeunes chercheurs, étaient les bienvenus à St-Rémy-lès-Chevreuse, où ils étaient reçus avec chaleur. Ce que les jeunes archéologues et les historiens de l'architecture de cette « Asie méridionale » doivent à Jacques Dumarçay est inestimable, tant pour ses travaux que pour les pistes de réflexion qui abondent dans toute son œuvre.

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Ouvrages et articles de Jacques Dumarçay auxquels il est fait référence dans le texte (les publications dans *Archipel* sont signalées par un astérisque)

1973, *Charpentes et tuiles khmères,* Paris : EFEO (*Mémoires archéologiques,* 8).

1973, « Les charpentes rayonnantes sur plan barlong ou carré de l'Asie méridionale », *BEFEO* 60, p. 85-104.

1974*, « Les charpentes figurées de Prambanan », Archipel 7, p. 139-150. [trad. anglaise 1994 ci-dessous].

1975, *Temples pallava construits*. (avec Françoise L'Hernault), Paris : EFEO (*Mémoires archéologiques*, 9).

1977, *Histoire architecturale du Borobodur* (avec le Badan Pemugaran Candi Borobudur et François Grenade), Paris : EFEO (*Mémoires archéologiques*, 12).

1978, « Le Taman Sari (Étude architecturale) », *BEFEO* 65(2), p. 589-624.

1981, C*andi Sewu et l'architecture bouddhique du Centre de Java*. (avec Pascal Lordereau), Paris : EFEO (Mémoires archéologiques, 14) [voir ci-dessous traductions indonésienne et anglaise 1986 & 2007].

1981, « La faîtière tendue (histoire d'une technique) », *BEFEO* 70, p. 231-252.

1982, « Notes d'architecture javanaise et khmère », *BEFEO* 82, p. 87-147.

1983, *Les effets perspectifs de l'architecture de l'Asie méridionale*, Paris : EFEO (Mémoires archéologiques, 15).

1985*, « Le Langgar Tinggi de Pekojan, Jakarta » (avec Henri Chambert-Loir), *Archipel* 30, p. 47-56.

1985*, « La charpenterie des mosquées javanaises », *Archipel* 30, p. 21-30.

1986, *Le savoir des maîtres d'œuvre javanais aux XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siècles*, Paris, EFEO (*Mémoires archéologiques*, 17).

1986*, « L'espace architectural indo-javanais », *Archipel* 31, p. 73-85.

1986, *Les sources orientales de Jean de la Fontaine à Java,* Yogyakarta : LIP (Alliance française).

1986, *Candi Sewu dan Arsitektur Bangunan Agama Buda di Jawa Tengah* (diterjemahkan oleh Winarsih Arifin dan Henri Chambert-Loir), Jakarta : EFEO, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional.

1989*, « Plered, capitale d'Amangkurat I^er^ », *Archipel* 37, p. 189-198.

1990, *The Sultanate of Banten* (avec Claude Guillot & Hasan M. Ambary), Jakarta : Gramedia.

1990, *Borobudur : sanctuaire bouddhiste de Java,* (avec Soekmono & Johannes G. de Casparis) [traduit de l'anglais par Marialys Bertault], Paris : Arthaud.

1991, *The palaces of South-East Asia : architecture and customs* (translated and edited by Michael Smithies), Singapore : Oxford University Press.

1991, Jean de La Fontaine : *Le songe d'un habitant du Mogol et autres fables illustrées par Imam Bakhsh Lahori, BEFEO* 78, p. 346-347.

1992*, « La mosquée de Kampung Laut (Kelantan) : étude architecturale », *Archipel* 44, p. 115-122.

1994, "The Beamwork Illustrated at Prambanana", *Indonesia*, 1994 / *Archipel* No 57 (April), pp. 5-14.

1996, *Babel ruinée : petit traité du regard porté sur l'architecture en Asie méridionale*, Paris : Librairie Oriens.

1998, *L'architecture et ses modèles en Asie du Sud-Est*, Paris : Librairie Oriens.

1998, « Intelligence collective et architecture en Asie du Sud-Est », *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* 53(3), p. 505-535.

1998*, « Note sur le second état du Candi Lumbung et du Candi Bima », *Archipel* 56, p. 455-464.

2000, « Le spectacle du jardin dans l'Asie de l'Est et l'Asie du Sud-Est : contrastes et similitudes », *Extrême Orient – Extrême Occident* 22, p. 167-173.

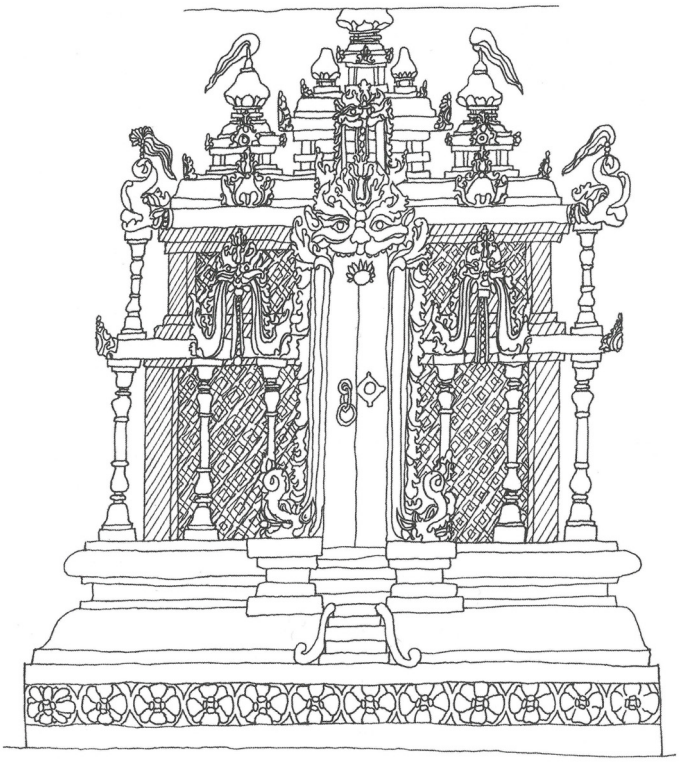
2002*, « Le Candi Badut », *Archipel* 63, p. 7-14.

2003*, « Les techniques de construction à Java, du VIII^e^ au XIV^e^ siècle », *Archipel* 66, p. 13-28.

2001, Compte-rendus de : Marijke J. Klokke (ed.), *Narrative sculpture and literary traditions in South and Southeast Asia*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, *Archipel* 61, p. 186-188. Nora A. Taylor (ed.), *Studies in Southeast Asian Art, Essays in Honor of Stanley J. O'Connor,* Ithaca, New York, 2000, *Archipel* 61, p. 188-192.

2003*, « Un lac autour du Borobudur ? », *Archipel* 65, p. 17-24.

2007, *Candi Sewu dan Arsitektur Bangunan Agama Buddha di Jawa Tengah* (traduit par Winarsih Arifin et Henri Chambert-Loir) / *Candi Sewu and Buddhist Architecture of Central Java* (traduit par John N. Miksic), Jakarta : EFEO, Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.



Dumarçay 2003, p. 16, fig. 2, Relief E/3/13 du Borobudur

In Memoriam Sergey Kullanda (1954-2020)

Archipel 101, Paris, 2021, p. 11-15

A noted scholar of our time, a historian and expert on Javanese history, and more broadly, on ancient Indonesia, Iranian studies and Scythology, our colleague and friend Sergey Vsevolodovich Kullanda passed away on November 30, 2020 in Moscow after a severe and prolonged illness.

Sergey Kullanda was born on August 23, 1954 in Moscow in the family of noted Soviet orientalists: his mother Maria Nikolaevna Pogrebova (1931–2015) was an archaeologist, scythologist, doctor of history, researcher at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the ancient history and archeology of the Caucasus, the Middle East and the Eurasian steppes II–I millennium BC and his father Vsevolod Romanovich Kullanda – a historian specialized in Indian history, a lecturer at the Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University and later – a leading journalist of *Soviet Union* magazine.

In 1976, Sergey Vsevolodovich graduated from the Institute of Asian and African Countries at Lomonosov Moscow State University. His teachers were noted Soviet historians, specialists on Ancient and Medieval history of South-East Asia Dega Deopik and Gennady Bandilenko (1946-2002).

In the same year he became a researcher of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (now the Russian Academy of Sciences). In 1988 he defended his thesis for the degree of PhD in History ("On the problem of the emergence of the ancient Javanese state"). In 1998-1999 he taught at the University of Malaya (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia). Before his death he was a senior researcher at the Department of History and Culture of the Ancient East of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Since 2004, he has been simultaneously an associate professor of the Department of Oriental Languages of the Faculty of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics of the Institute of Linguistics, Russian State University for the Humanities.

He is the author of four monographs and over 90 articles. He also translated into Russian the book by Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (1993).

Already in his first monograph *The History of Ancient Java* (1992), his talent, breadth of outlook, depth and conscientiousness of scientific analysis were manifested. On the basis of a comprehensive analysis of linguistic, historical, ethnographic and archaeological data, the book examines the features of the historical and cultural development of the Austronesians from ancient times to the emergence of powerful medieval states, primarily Javanese. The main attention is paid to the formation of the pre-Austronesian community, which greatly influenced the process of the formation of Javanese culture, language and economy, as well as many features of the Javanese statehood of the pre-colonial period.

Subsequently, Sergey Vsevolodovich constantly developed and expanded the scope of his scientific activity. He perfectly mastered a number of Eastern and Western languages, was successfull involved into Iranian studies, problems of the history and language of the Scythians, was a leading specialist in Indo-European studies. His monographs *Horses, Chariots and Charioteers of the Eurasian Steppes* (2010), *Visual Folklore. Poetics of the Scythian Animal Style*

(2013, in collaboration with M.N. Pogrebova and D.S. Raevsky), *Scythians: Language and Ethnogenesis* (2016) clearly demonstrate the brilliant successes of Sergey Vsevolodovich in various areas of the humanities. From the historical and ethnocultural point of view, the last book examines the remnants of the Scythian language that have come down to us in foreign language transmissions, extracts the layer of primordial vocabulary and determines its belonging, identifies borrowings in Scythian and Scythian borrowings in other languages. He has also compiled a glossary of Scythian words, which proposes a number of new etymologies of Scythian and common Iranian lexemes.

The last work, *The Origin of Varnas* (2018), is a valuable contribution to a number of branches of science: the history of Indo-European society, Iranian studies, Indology, social anthropology, comparative studies.

One could only wonder at the erudition and breadth of knowledge of S. V. Kullanda. Along with this, he was a good supervisor for PhD students, wonderful companion, friendly and always ready to help. Many colleagues remember how Sergey Vsevolodovich helped them to solve various problems, in particular by mastering foreign languages. He combined the critical orientation of thought and frankness in scientific discussions with extreme modesty and intelligence. In this, as in science, he could serve as an example for everyone.

We will always remember him and his contribution to the development of Oriental studies in Russia.

Victor Pogadaev
Associate Professor of Moscow Institute of International Relations,
Vice-President of Nusantara Society

1975. “The interaction of geographical and economic factors in the development of traditional Malay society”, *Map, Chart and Number in Ethnic Geography*. Moscow: Moscow Branch of the Geographical Society of the USSR, pp. 17-22.

1979. “Belonging to a community as a social sign (on the material of ancient Java)”, *Customs and culturally differentiating traditions among the peoples of the world.* Moscow: Moscow Branch of the Geographical Society of the USSR, pp. 28-33.

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Rising China and *Xinyimin* in Southeast Asia: A Webinar Series (ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, 7-8 December 2020)

Since the period of rapid development in the People's Republic of China after the reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s, the world is experiencing a new wave of Chinese migration. Loosely defined as Chinese people who are outside of China to conduct business, work, or study, or join their family overseas, these new Chinese migrants – also known as *xinyimin* 新移民 – have had a profound impact on their host countries that are encountering a rising China. Their influence on local societies, economies, and politics is further complicated by Beijing's dynamic policy towards the Chinese overseas in general and towards the *xinyimin* in particular.

Dr. Leo Suryadinata organized a four-part series of Webinars on "Rising China and New Chinese Migrants in Southeast Asia" at the ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore on 7 and 8 December 2020. This project was supported by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), Germany. Eleven scholars, including Professor Leo Suryadinata, were involved in these webinar series. The papers presented in the webinar series would be revised and eventually published. Below are some descriptions of the webinar presentations.

First Webinar

The webinar entitled "Understanding China's New Migrants and the Politics of Chinese Language in Southeast Asia" was the opening session of a four-part series on "Rising China and New Chinese Migrants in Southeast Asia." Professor Suryadinata was the first speaker who presented his views on new Chinese migrants in the region, and analysed the differences between them

and older generations of migrants. These *xinyimin* form new communities and have close links with China. China as a rising major power has also attempted its influence in SEA through economic activities (such as One Belt One Road Initiative, BRI) and soft power (Such as Confucius Institutes) and blurring the distinction between Huaqiao and Huaren, he also examined the impact of *xinyimin* on local societies, including nation-building process.

The second speaker, Dr. Neo Peng Fu, is a senior lecturer at the National Institute of Education (NIE, Singapore) and Director of the Confucius Institute at Nanyang Technological University (NTU). He spoke on the topic of "Confucius Institutes in Southeast Asia," arguing that the presence of Confucius Institutes (CIs) in SEA, altogether 40, are a recent phenomenon and represents the new type of teaching Mandarin in the region. He noted that the CIs have been providing language training, teachers' training and vocational training for Southeast Asians regardless of ethnicity which are different from previously established Chinese schools that only catered for ethnic Chinese students. CIs have been partnerships undertaken between local and Chinese universities, overseen by the CI headquarters in China, with the aim to teach the Chinese language outside of China. He offers detailed examples regarding CIs in some countries which met the demands for Chinese language classes. He argued that there has been general support for the CI initiative despite some negative attention from several countries.

Dr Neo reported that attendees of CIs have benefited from gaining Mandarin competency, especially since China is fast becoming one of the largest trading partners of ASEAN. At the same time, he noted the view that CIs enhance China's pre-dominance in Southeast Asia by nurturing a pool of Mandarin speakers who facilitate China's entry into the region. He also highlighted the positive contributions of these CIs in offering scholarships as an opportunity to pursue further studies overseas, a privilege still beyond the reach of many in the region.

Second Webinar

The second webinar is on "New Chinese Migrants and China: Challenges, Opportunities and Local Perceptions" which featured the insights of Ms Teresita Ang-See (founder of Kaisa Para Sa Kunlaran and independent scholar), Dr Johanes Herlijanto (University of Pelita Harapan) and Dr Vannarith Chheang (ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute).

Ms. Teresita Ang spoke on "*Xinyimin* in the Philippines: Challenges and Opportunities". She argued that the issue of influx of new Chinese migrants to the Philippines has been contentious for the last two decades. The problem has escalated during the incumbency of the new president Rodrego Duterte who was seen to favor influx of Philippine offshore gaming operations (POGO) workers. Improvement of relations brought much welcome increase in investments and infrastructure development. But the negative impact of the

huge increase in the increase in the number of POGO and blue-collar workers in construction and small-time retail trade businessmen, has been problematic.

She further maintained that amidst these challenges, Chinese businessmen and investors established different organizations as a new norm of social networking and connecting with government agencies. Many hometown associations likewise organized new chambers of commerce in response to China's directive to organize such under the One Belt One Road Initiative (BRI). These organizations seem to exist parallel to the well-established local Chinese associations, creating dualism in Philippine Chinese society.

Dr Herlijanto spoke on the elites' perceptions of new Chinese migrants in Indonesia. He argued that bilateral relations were enhanced in post-2000. During President Yudhoyono's term, strategic partnerships were signed and there was an increase in not only Chinese economic investments into Indonesia, but also in cultural exchange through the setting up of Confucius institutes. He noted that negative attitudes towards the new Chinese migrants began after the launch of BRI in 2013 which saw an increase in number of migrants who worked for Chinese companies.

These new migrants were perceived as competitors for Indonesian workers. Dr Herlijanto shared that Indonesian elites harboured suspicions that the new migrants were military personnel seeking to infiltrate Indonesia. Additionally, there were concerns about potential demographic changes with the rise in the number of new migrants. He further argued that the stance of the government has been taken on reassurance overtones — that the Chinese new migrants were not a threat to the Indonesian economy or sovereignty. He pointed out that the perception of Chinese new migrants among Indonesian elites (and the public to an extent) were far more negative during President Jokowi's term compared to President Yudhoyono's term.

Finally, Dr Chheang explored the Cambodian view of China and the Chinese language. He argued that language has been a key source of China's soft power in the country. Based on his survey conducted on Cambodians who have learned the Chinese language, Dr Chheang found that the driving forces of learning Chinese were familial relations, personal interest, and the usefulness of the language for employment and business opportunities. The survey respondents' perception of new Chinese migration was both positive and negative. On the positive front, they stated contribution to local economy and prospects for economic investment. However, the negative results include local perceptions that the new migrants did not know much about Cambodian culture and there was also concern about Chinese investment contributing to adverse impacts through the gambling industry or social and environmental degradation. He also shared other results from the survey regarding the respondents' perception towards the Chinese government and the state of bilateral relations between China and Cambodia.

Third Webinar

This webinar entitled "Nationalism, National Sovereignty and the Presence of *Xinyimin* in Southeast Asia," featured the insights of Professor Danny Wong Tze Ken (University of Malaya) Dr Tan Teng Phee (former curator, Sun Yat-Sen Nanyang Memorial Hall in Singapore) and Dr Andrew Ong (ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute).

Professor Wong presented on the topic "*The Xinyimin Presence in Malaysia: A New Transnational Experience*." He began by explaining the difference between old migrants and new migrants, and the reasons why a different analytical lens is necessary for the latter group as existing scholarship that have been aimed at integration may not be relevant in the current landscape of the rise of China in the global world order. He identified the BRI, as the starting point of the influx of new Chinese migrants – in particular students and professionals – to Malaysia. He also drew attention to the "Malaysia My Second Home" programme, introduced in 1987, which has contributed to the "anti-China" narrative and perceived rise in property prices in major cities across the country. He observed that the relationship between Malaysians and *xinyimin* is vastly different compared the relationship between Malaysians and the local Chinese. He commented that this phenomenon will continue to have bearing on Malaysia-China relations and Malaysia's nation-building process.

Dr Tan shared about the impacts of *xinyimin* in Singapore. He suggested that *xinyimin* were attracted to Singapore's open immigration policy, economic and education opportunities, stable political system and society, and prospects of enhancing quality of life. Dr Tan said that there have been local grievances against the *xinyimin*, such as competition for jobs, local politicians showing favouritism towards the *xinyimin* and the dilution of Singapore's national identity. He is of the view that the primary challenge for the *xinyimin* in Singapore has been cultural integration. As a cultural bridge between Singaporeans and the *xinyimin,* there have been several new immigrant organizations such as the Hua Yuan Association and the Tianjin Association. He also noted that there have also been state efforts to help new migrants integrate with local society via organizations such as the People's Association and the National Integration Council.

In the final presentation, Dr Ong explored entrepreneurial excursion of Chinese migrants at the peripheral regions of Myanmar. With a focus on the Wa region which is a self-administered division of the Shan state, he reported that Myanmar exports rubber, tin, sugarcane to China. Together with United Wa State Army elites, the Chinese also run hotels, restaurants, casino, tin mining, and rubber plantations. Dr Ong pinpointed ease of movement in autonomous regions such as the Wa state as an attraction for new migrants to reach Myanmar without documents, and for them to stay without commitment until they see potential for further movement. He suggested that Burmese state sovereignty

may become fractured as Chinese presence provides revenue for insurgent or autonomous groups. Additionally, insurgent or autonomous groups may become integrated into the Burmese economy with the help of Chinese capital.

Fourth Webinar

The fourth webinar, which is the last one in the series is entitled "Chinese Culture and China's Soft Power in Maritime Southeast Asia." It featured the insights of Professor Lourdes M. Tanhueco-Nepomuceno (Confucius Institute, University of the Philippines), Dr Peter Chang (Institute of China Studies, University of Malaya), and Dr Ho Yi Kai (Confucius Institute, Nanyang Technological University). The speakers discussed the developments and consequences of China's rising soft power across maritime Southeast Asia.

Professor Lourdes Tanhueco-Nepomuceno began her presentation by arguing that China's global networks of Confucius Institutes in the Philippines may be regarded as a form of educational diplomacy. She emphasised that understanding China's soft power in the Philippines is an important task given the escalating contested geopolitical claims around the South China Sea, in which the Philippines also has a stake, as well as the unfulfilled diplomatic promises between China, the United States and the Philippines. She argued that the effectiveness of this educational diplomacy will need more academic and policy attention. She reported that her current study investigates the perceptions of the Confucius Institute by University of the Philippines students. Her findings show that while these university students do not fully support the overall geopolitical actions by China, the education received at the Confucius Institution has helped to open alternative perspectives and views about their country's relations with China and disputes such as the South China Sea dispute among the Filipino university students.

Dr Peter Chang's presentation focused on the Xiamen University Malaysia campus and its potential for soft power. He argued that the establishment of the first Xiamen University overseas campus has been one of the many exemplars of China's expanding soft power in Malaysia. He also noted that the establishment of Confucius Institutes in Malaysia is much more symbolic of the relationship between Malaysia and China rather than promoting the Chinese language, especially as the country already has a pre-existing vernacular Chinese school system. In contrast, the establishment of Xiamen University in Malaysia represents not just about China's endeavour in opening up to the world (e.g., by accepting international students in their universities) but more importantly, stepping out to the world by shaping young minds beyond their national borders.

However, Dr Chang argued that understanding Xiamen University solely as a symbol of soft power represents a missed opportunity to critically examine Malaysia's role in mediating China's influence in its country. He

suggested that Xiamen University should not be understood as a conduit for China's soft power, but a two-way bridge that strengthens China-Malaysia relations. This could be evinced from the development of Malaysia-oriented courses in Xiamen University, such as the Malaysia Studies Programme that allows Chinese students at Xiamen University Malaysia to learn more about Malaysia. Apart from promoting bilateral ties between China and Malaysia, he suggested that Xiamen University also has potential to strengthen multi-lateral ties between China, Malaysia and the West, given the rising exposure to higher education in the West among Chinese Malaysian students.

Dr Ho Yi Kai's presentation entitled "China Dream and Singapore Heart" focused on the setting up and the work of the China's Cultural Centre (CCC) and the locally-established Singapore Chinese Cultural Centre (SCCC) in Singapore. In particular, he discussed how the introduction of the two centres into the island state has raised broader questions surrounding Singaporean Chinese identity in relation to Chinese identity. Nevertheless, he noted that the former was meant to reflect "China Dream" which meant to promote China's soft power, while the latter reflected "Singapore Heart" which aimed at building local Chinese culture and to cultivate bonds between Chinese and non-Chinese in Singapore.

Comparing the activities of these two centres, there were some similarities and more differences because two had different objectives. The CCC has strived to include several Singaporean members in its decision-making processes and board committees, he suggested more could be done to engage with the local non-Chinese to reach out to this demographic group. One of such ways is to develop outreach efforts that go beyond the current focus on Chinese arts to include other aspects of Chinese culture and history. In his analysis of the SCCC, he lauded the success of the permanent exhibition at the centre, but he noted that the question of "What is a Singaporean Chinese identity?" continues to linger. Moving forward, he suggested that the SCCC could consider introducing greater depth in their outreach efforts, as well as cross-sectoral partnerships with academic institutions and events. He concluded that rather than seeing the CCC and the SCCC in competition, these centres exist in complementation, for they are significant in catalysing critical questions about *xinyimin* and Chinese identity in Singapore.

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*DANIEL PERRET**

Fifty Years of the Journal *Archipel* (1971/1-2020/100): Figures and Trends

To appear for half a century with metronomic regularity is neither banal nor trivial for a biannual journal in the humanities and social sciences. In the previous issue, Pierre Labrousse called the institutional context of *Archipel*'s beginnings to mind. A journal is also part of a publishing landscape that I think interesting to recall briefly on this occasion by limiting myself however to the journals that enjoyed, at the time *Archipel* was launched, and still enjoy an international reputation.

In France, by the late 1960s, the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (*BEFEO*, 1901-) published the last studies of two French researchers who were pioneers in the Archipelago in the fields that interest us here: Jeanne Cuisinier, who died in 1964 and Louis-Charles Damais, who died in 1966. The former undertook an ethnographic and linguistic research mission in Kelantan and Pattani in 1932-33, before staying in Indonesia between 1952 and 1955, carrying out fieldwork in Java, Sumatra, and from Bali to Timor, thus opening the way to French ethnological and sociological studies in Indonesia. Louis-Charles Damais stayed in Java for ten years from 1937, years during which he conducted his first researches on Javanese culture and epigraphy. Close to the newly established Indonesian Archaeological Service, he returned to Indonesia in 1952 to establish the permanent representation of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Jakarta and carried out studies on Indonesian epigraphy, history and culture until the end of his life.

* École française d'Extrême-Orient / French School of Asian Studies, Kuala Lumpur

In the Netherlands, at the end of the 1960s, the articles in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van de Koninklijk Instituut* (*BKI*, 1853-), a journal that specialised from its outset in what was to become Indonesia, were mainly devoted to ethnology, linguistics, philology, and the ancient history of Java. At the time, the *BKI* published texts by a number of scholars who would later become contributors to *Archipel*, such as P. Voorhoeve, P.J. Worsley, R. Jones, H. Jacobs, C. Hooykaas, M.C. Ricklefs, L.F. Brakel, G.J. Resink, J. Noorduyn, C. Vreede-De Stuers, B. Dahm, A. Teeuw or R.R. Roolvink. Among them, Russell Jones was the first foreign scholar to be associated with the editorial staff of *Archipel*, and this as soon as 1976.

In the United Kingdom, *Indonesia Circle* was launched at the School of Oriental & African Studies two years after *Archipel*, becoming *Indonesia and the Malay World* from 1997.

In the United States, *Indonesia* was launched in 1966. Although its title announced a focus on Indonesia in the twentieth century, its first issues included contributions on earlier times. The history of *Indonesia* itself is in some ways linked to that of *Archipel*, since James Siegel, one of its founders and former editor-in-chief, has been a member of *Archipel*'s scientific committee since 1996, and became of course one of its contributors.

In Southeast Asia, the *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Kuala Lumpur, *JMBRAS*, 1878-), devoted its late 1960s issues mainly to the modern history of Malaysia and Singapore, but also made room for the earlier history of the region, Malay philology, as well as the archaeology of Malaysia. Here again, many of the researchers who later contributed to *Archipel* are to be found, such as J. Kathirithamby-Wells, Lee Kam Hing, A.C. Milner, L.F. Brakel, A. Reid and B. Colless.

As for the *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (Singapore, *JSAH*, 1960-), which became the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* in 1970, it focused, in the late 1960s, on the modern history of the region, but also published studies on the history of the Archipelago in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like the *BKI* and the *JMBRAS*, the *JSAH* welcomed a number of future contributors to *Archipel*, such as A. Reid, J. Kathirithamby-Wells, B. Colless or C.R. Boxer.

Archipel has already marked twice an anniversary in its issues. An editorial entitled "Satu windu[1] 'Archipel'" appeared in issue no. 16 (1978). Statistics are presented, such as the number of pages printed up to that point (4,000) or the number of contributions by Insulindian authors (59 out of a total of 138 published authors). The twentieth anniversary was marked in 1991 (no. 41). On this occasion, emphasis was placed on the internationalisation of the journal, an effort in which colleagues from Italy and Portugal were quickly contributing, followed by Dutch and Anglo-Saxon scholars, and more recently by Russian researchers, while C.D. Grijns and Luigi Santa Maria joined Russell Jones in 1978 as editorial advisers.[2]

1. An eight-year cycle in the Javanese culture.

2. James Siegel, Luis Filipe Thomaz and Mary Somers Heidhues have been editorial

Archipel reiterated its foothold in the international research landscape, leaving to others the task of "the kind vulgarisation," on the one hand, and, on the other, promoted a longue durée approach, while striving to go beyond the Indonesian area in order to produce a "sound knowledge of Insulindia."

A Statistical Review

My purpose here is no more than to present a series of basic statistics, a particular insight which I hope will be useful for future reflections on the place and role of *Archipel* in research on the Insulindian world during its first fifty years. A corpus of 100 issues, including twenty-three special issues, as well as the digital tools available, offer multiple possibilities for analysis. However, I have chosen to stick to criteria that are a priori simple to define. However, the concern for objectivity quickly encounters obstacles when it comes to going into any kind of detail.

As the journal has only slightly changed its format once in 50 years, from 16x21 cm to 16x24cm in 1991 (no. 41), I have retained the page as one of the basic criteria. The page counts do not include the following elements: contents, abstracts,[3] miscellaneous announcements, advertisements and blank pages. Once these deductions are made, the total number of pages in the corpus is 24,763, compared to an overall total of some 26,000 pages. Table 1 below shows the evolution of this number of pages published per calendar year, thus grouping two issues. The variation is between 387 and 647 pages, with an annual average of 495 pages. The first 25 years totalled 11,668 pages, i.e. 47 percent of the total, a figure that seems to indicate a balanced distribution. However, looking in detail, the last 25 years show a greater disparity with, in particular, a total of more than 500 pages for the majority of years, whereas only three years exceed this figure during the first period.

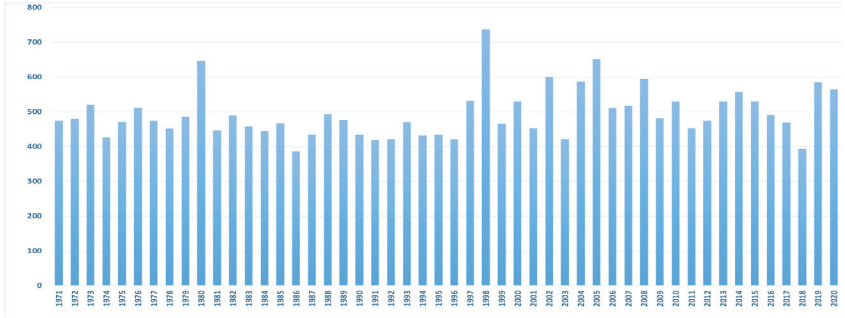

Table 1 – Evolution of the number of pages published per calendar year

advisors since 1996 (no. 51), a group that became part of the editorial board set up in 2003 (no. 66). Arlo Griffiths, Robert W. Hefner and Arndt Graf joined this board later, in 2012 (no. 84), in 2013 (no. 85), and in 2016 (no. 91) respectively.

3. Abstracts appear late in the history of the journal: monolingual from 1997 (no. 53), and bilingual from 2010 (no. 79).

I have distinguished ten categories in this corpus: research notes and articles, *in memoriam*s, current state of research/projects, presentations of institutions, pages of exotica, literature/accounts, critical notes, book reviews, research in progress/journals/publishing houses/performances, etc., *Archipel* anniversaries. The total number of texts is 2,186 (Table 2), dominated by research notes and articles (46%) and book reviews (40%).

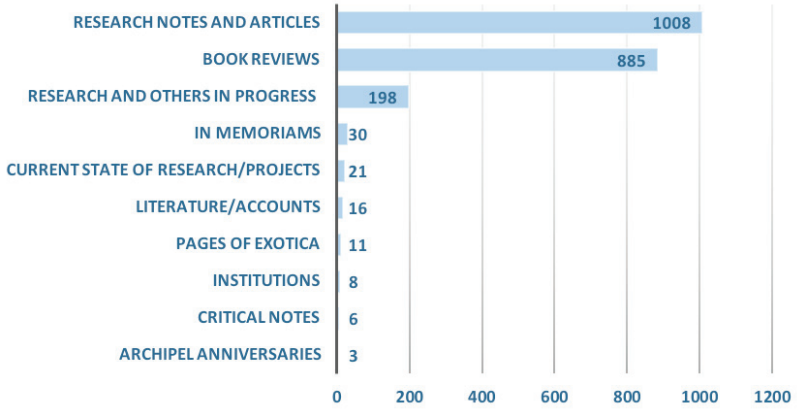

Table 2 – Categories defined in the *Archipel* corpus

The 1,008 research notes and articles represent 20,821 pages, or 84 percent of the total corpus of pages considered here. The first 25 years (1971-95) include 556 texts, i.e. 55 percent, giving a general impression of stability. However, an examination of the annual variation in the number of these research notes and articles shows a trend towards a reduction in the number of texts from the turn of the century onwards (Table 3).

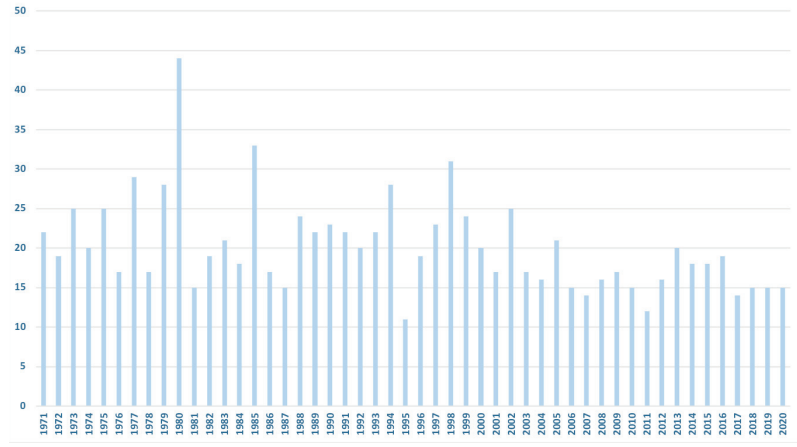

Table 3 – Variation in the number of research notes and articles

For the corpus as a whole, the average is 20 pages per text. This average masks a trend towards longer texts since the late 1990s (Table 4). While only two years show an average of more than 20 pages per text until 1996, this average is systematically superior from 1997 onwards, with two exceptions. Five years even exceed an average of 30 pages in the period 2004-2011. Compared to the trend observed in the previous table, a new format can be observed from the turn of the century, that is fewer but longer texts.

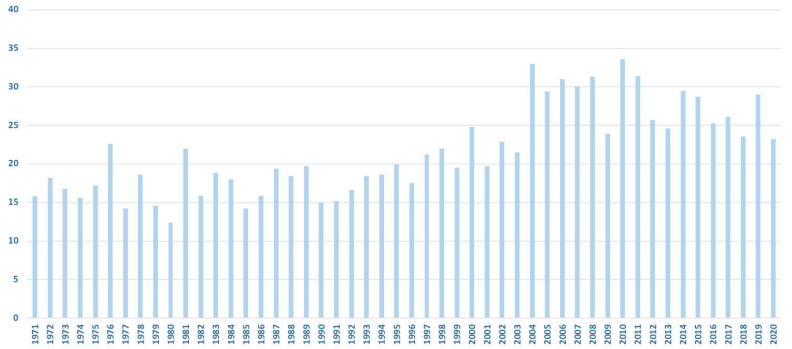

Table 4 – Variation in the average number of pages for research notes and articles

When aggregated by two successive years (i.e. 4 issues) to smooth out variances, the variation in the total number of pages devoted to research notes and articles ranges from 552 to 1169 pages (Table 5). The average is 744 pages for the period 1971-1996 and reaches 929 pages for the period 1997-2020.

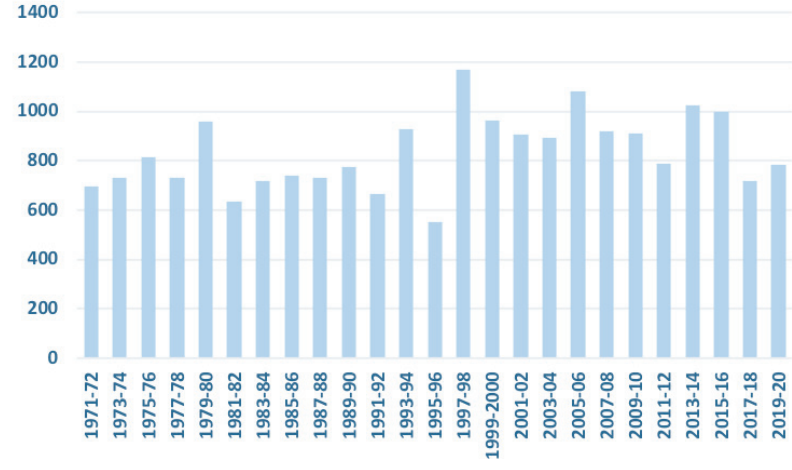

Table 5 – Variation in the total number of pages devoted to research notes and articles

The authors of the research notes and articles, *in memoriam*s, current state of research/projects, presentations of institutions, pages of exotica, literature/accounts, and critical notes, originate from 33 different nationalities with a total of 1,246 signatures (Table 6). Thirteen nationalities register at least ten signatures. With 665 occurrences, French authors account for 53 percent of these signatures, followed by Indonesian authors with 149 signatures (12%), and Dutch authors with 85 signatures (7%).

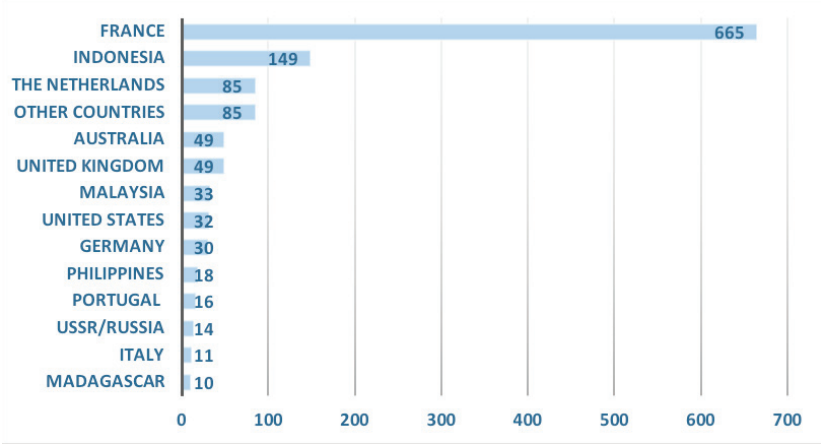

Table 6 – Number of signatures according to nationalities

Table 7 details the nationalities with fewer than ten signatures, represented by the heading "Other countries" (85 signatures) in the previous table.

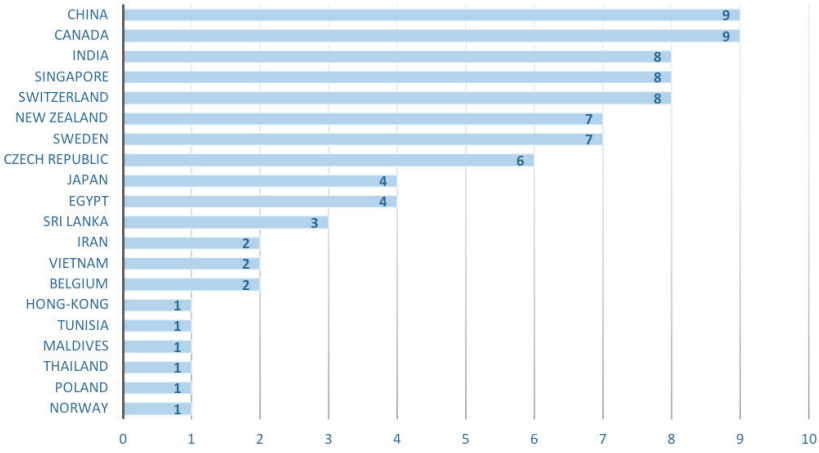

Table 7 – Nationalities with a number of signatures below ten

The same corpus of 1,100 research notes and articles, *in memoriam*s, current state of research/projects, presentations of institutions, pages of exotica, literature/accounts, and critical notes, can also be examined from the point of view of the languages used. French dominates with 724 texts,[4] that is 66 percent, followed by English with 347 texts (31%) and Indonesian/Malaysian with 26 texts (2%), the other languages (Spanish, Portuguese and German) being represented by one text each. By considering separately the 724 texts in French on the one hand and the 347 texts in English on the other, it is possible to follow the evolution of the contribution of each of both languages, especially if we consider the number of pages published in these two languages (21,142) (Table 8).

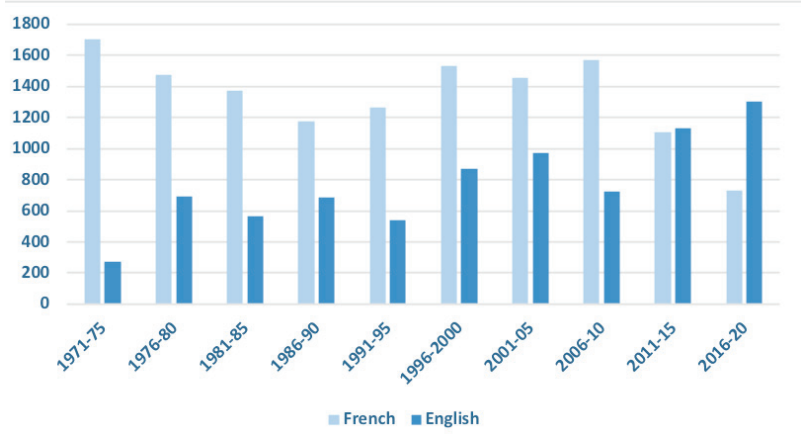

Table 8 – Evolution of the texts published in French and English (nb. of pages)

It appears that texts in English became the majority in the early 2010s, a development that is all the more evident by reasoning in percentages (Table 9).

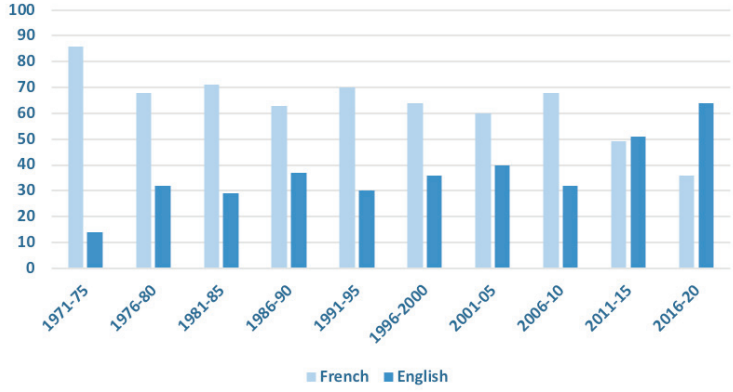

Table 9 – Evolution of the proportion of texts published in French and English (nb. of pages)

4. Including 80 translations into French from other languages, mainly Indonesian (62 texts).

The current borders are considered to examine this corpus of 1,100 texts from a geographical point of view, with emphasis on the countries of the Austronesian area which form the main framework of the texts or occupy a significant place in them. Thus Thailand, Vietnam, Taiwan, South Africa and Sri Lanka are taken into account only when their Austronesian-speaking minorities constitute the main topic of the article or occupy a significant place in it. Indonesia dominates with 914 of the 1,398 occurrences, i.e. almost two thirds, followed by Malaysia with 190 occurrences, i.e. 14 percent (Table 10).

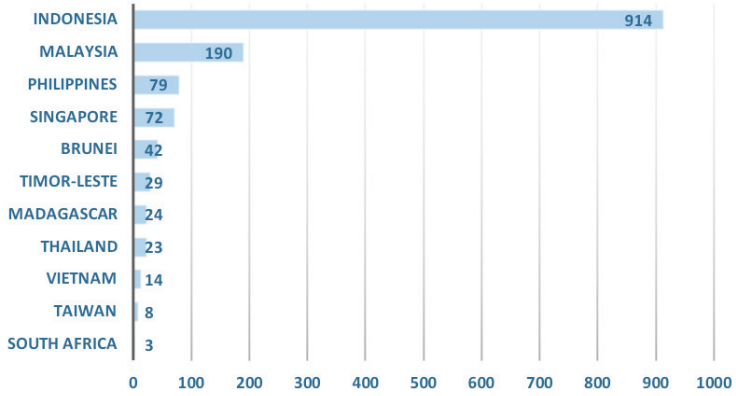

Table 10 – Distribution of the occurrences in the texts according to their geographical frameworks (current countries)

In the texts where neither Indonesia nor Malaysia are considered as a whole (718 occurrences), Java largely dominates with almost half of the total (Table 11).

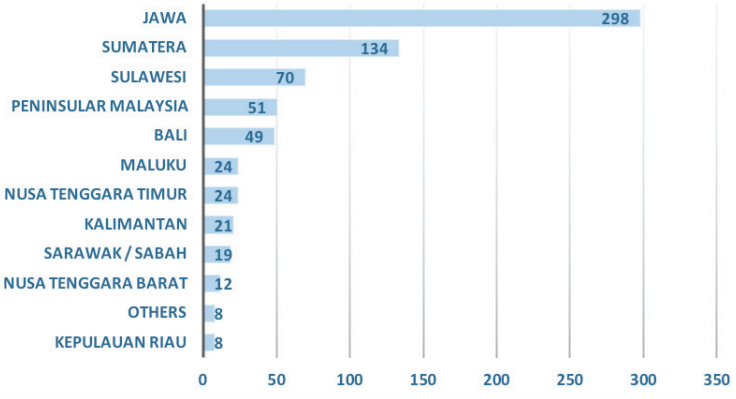

Table 11– Distribution of the occurrences in the texts according to their main regional frameworks in Indonesia and Malaysia

When the provinces and special territories of Indonesia, as well as the states of Malaysia, are clearly identified (622 occurrences), seventeen area exceed ten occurrences and represent 85 percent of the total (Table 12). The Special Territory of Aceh comes first (60) followed by Jakarta/Batavia (57).

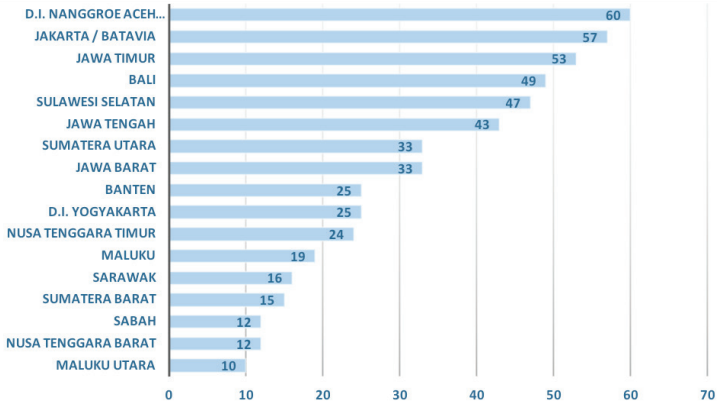

Table 12 – Distribution of the occurrences in the texts according to their large administrative geographical frameworks in Indonesia and Malaysia

This interest in Aceh is evident from the late 1990s onwards, therefore predating the 2004 tsunami, with the period 1997-1998/2017-2018 accounting for 80 percent of the 60 occurrences (Table 13), a period marked in particular by the special issue on Aceh (2014, no. 87).

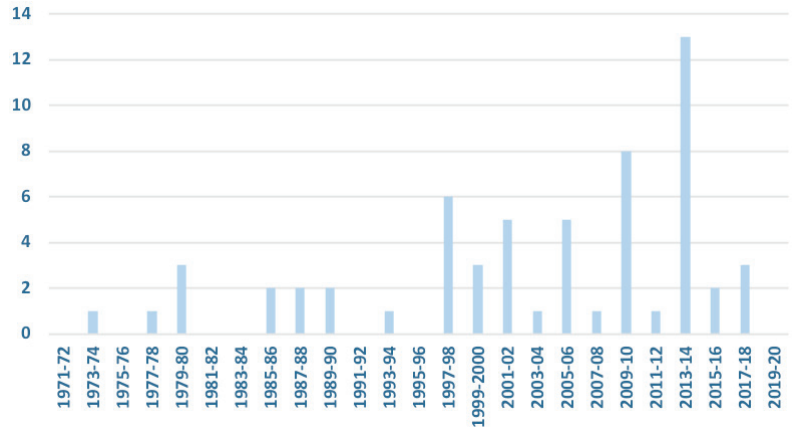

Table 13 – Distribution of the occurrences relating to the Special Territory of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam

In chronological terms, eleven brackets, including the bracket entitled "Contemporary" starting in 1970 (the year preceding the first issue of *Archipel*), have been distinguished in order to distribute the 2,719 occurrences. The latter are not based solely on the timelines indicated in the titles, but take into account the content of the texts. The "Contemporary" bracket dominates with one fifth of the occurrences (Table 14). Almost two thirds of the occurrences cover the period from the 19th century to the "Contemporary" bracket.

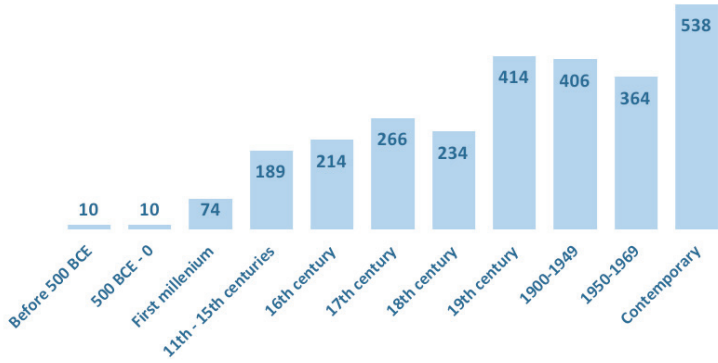

Table 14 – Distribution of the occurrences in the texts in chronological terms

There are 855 book reviews (for a total of 2,221 pages, i.e. an average of 2.6 pages per text and 22.2 pages per issue) divided into 730 texts in French (85%), 149 texts in English and 6 texts in Indonesian. These book reviews are more numerous overall in the first fifty issues (63%). Reviews in English follow the opposite trend, since they have more than doubled over the last 25 years (105 compared to 44). A distribution by five-year brackets shows a wide variation in the number of pages in this category, with an average of 222 pages (Table 15).

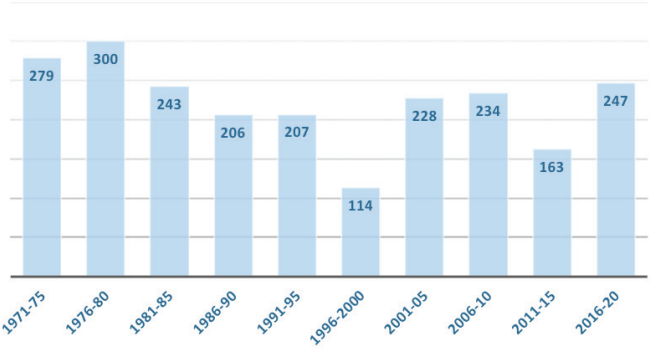

Table 15 – Distribution of book reviews (number of pages)

It was decided in 2009 to make *Archipel* available online for free on *Persée* (https://www.persee.fr/collection/arch). This platform hosts issues 1(1971) to 87(2014). *Archipel* issues from 88(2014) onwards are available for free on the *OpenEdition Journals* platform (https://journals.openedition.org/archipel) since 2017. Table 16 shows the increase in consultations since 2014. More than 220,000 downloads have been carried out over the eleven full years of presence on *Persée* (2010-2020), i.e. an average exceeding 20,000 downloads per year. It is worth noting the relative stability of this figure (19,889 downloads in 2020).

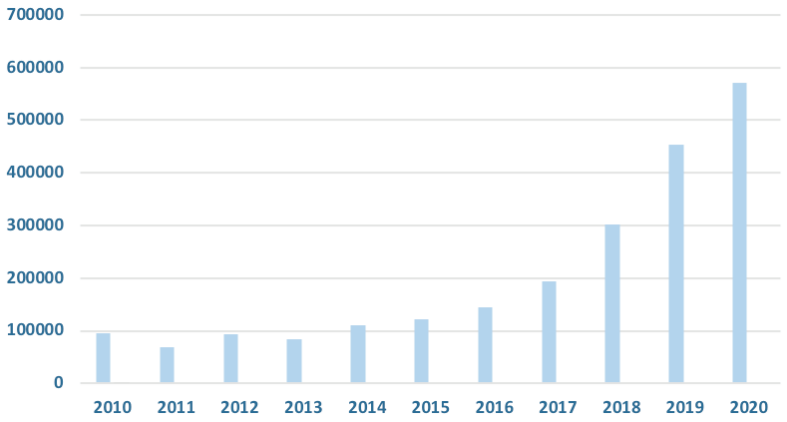

Table 16 – Online consultations: cumulative figures of Persée and OpenEdition Journals platforms

The editorial published in 1978, at the end of the first *windu*, focused in particular on the number of contributions by Insulindian authors. In this respect, one of the lessons of the present statistical review is the significant number of Southeast Asian signatures, since they represent 15% of the total. In the editorial published in 1991, the effort to internationalise the journal was highlighted, a trend then considered in terms of the increase in the number of contributions by foreign colleagues. Looking at the first hundred issues, this internationalisation is real, since almost half of the signatures are foreign (32 nationalities). The corollary of this phenomenon is the increasing place taken by English. While more than two thirds of the contributions were in French until 2010, this proportion has been reversed over the last five years. The examination of the corpus has also highlighted the appearance of a new format from the turn of the century, a format reflected through fewer but longer texts. The 1991 editorial also invited to go beyond the Indonesian area. In this respect, the multiplication of journals focusing on limited geographical areas has probably constituted a brake. Lastly, the explosion in the use of computers, digitisation, the Internet and platforms now allows anyone, practically anywhere on the planet, to have free and instant access to the content of *Archipel*, a potential readership unimaginable for the journal's founders 50 years ago.

*Jérôme Samuel**

Archipel illustré – et autres sujets mineurs

Il faut remonter aux origines d'*Archipel* pour comprendre la place remarquable que l'illustration y a toujours tenu, remarquable parce que rare dans les revues de sciences humaines et sociales, mais aussi parce qu'inscrite dans l'histoire d'*Archipel*. Je voudrais revenir brièvement sur quelques-unes des premières orientations de la revue qui me paraissent éclairer cette caractéristique, avant d'en présenter différents aspects.

Une revue pour tous ?

Au-delà du tropisme de ses fondateurs – goût de P. Labrousse pour les beaux-arts et la littérature de voyage, intérêt de D. Lombard pour la cartographie et l'illustration en général, appétence de Chr. Pelras pour le croquis ethnographique – la place accordée à l'image paraît répondre à un choix éditorial implicite, lié aux orientations premières d'*Archipel* qui, à sa création en 1971, n'est pas pensée comme une revue scientifique classique, en termes de contenu comme de lectorat :

> *Archipel* se propose de publier des chroniques, des études et surtout des *documents* et des dossiers concernant essentiellement le Monde insulindien. (…) [*Archipel* veut être] une publication périodique, informant de façon systématique sur l'histoire et *l'actualité* [du monde insulindien] (…) [elle veut constituer] avant tout un trait d'union (…) entre les

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> diverses méthodes qui (…) abordent [le monde insulindien] en ordre dispersé et surtout entre "spécialistes" et "*non-spécialistes*" qui s'affrontent en une querelle inféconde. (An., 1971, n°1, p. 3 ; souligné par nous)[1].

En effet, l'idée d'*Archipel* n'est pas seulement née de jeunes indonésianistes dans les débuts de leur carrière, mais aussi d'échanges à Jakarta au tournant des années 1970, entre cette poignée de chercheurs et un cercle local d'expatriés – cadres des industries pétrolière, aéronautique, de la diplomatie, etc. – intéressés par le monde insulindien, désireux de retirer de leur séjour en Indonésie autre chose que des « satisfactions esthétiques » personnelles et d'y trouver une « rencontre véritable », pour reprendre les mots de Chr. Pelras (*cf.* note 1 ci-dessous). Cette proximité explique une part, certes jamais dominante mais notable, de la production éditoriale de la revue pendant les quinze premières années de son existence : articles étrangers aux sciences humaines mais relevant du domaine de compétence de ces expatriés (économie, commerce, industrie[2]), ainsi que ces rubriques grand public qui firent un des charmes de la revue. On pense ici aux « Guides Archipel », aux « Pages d'exotisme » et aux chroniques annuelles d'Indonésie – ces dernières continuèrent jusqu'en 2011[3] –, et dont les fondateurs de la revue furent aussi les plus assidus rédacteurs (voir en bibliographie). La présence de « petits » sujets – entendre : encore peu traités par les sciences sociales – trouve peut-être son origine dans ce même milieu, comme ils témoignent d'une approche « naïve » – comprendre : sans préjugés – de champs nouveaux qui ne demandaient qu'à être explorés, et dont l'ancrage dans l'aire culturelle insulindienne ajoutait encore à l'intérêt : cinéma (numéro spécial « Le Cinéma indonésien » 1973, n°5), bande dessinée[4], par exemple, mais aussi littérature sino-malaise (voir l'article de Cl. Salmon dans le présent numéro).

Il faut ajouter à ce curieux entre-deux éditorial, le fait qu'à quelques exceptions près la recherche et l'université française n'avaient guère produit de spécialistes du monde insulindien jusque-là, du moins comparativement

1. La même idée revient quelques années plus tard sous la plume de Chr. Pelras, qui conclut : « Une des missions d'*Archipel* est d'aider à une telle rencontre. » (1975, n°10 : 50). P. Labrousse nuancera cette candide opposition binaire, dans une de ses « Pages d'exotisme », consacrée aux « bateleurs au verbe haut, à la faconde intarissable, mystificateurs exploitant sans vergogne l'ignorance du public sur l'Indonésie. » (1976, n°11, p. 107).

2. Voir fig. 3 *infra* et l'auteur de l'article dont elle est extraite.

3. Fr. Raillon en fut longtemps l'auteur (1990, n°39-2011, n°81), sous l'intitulé « Chronique du temps présent ».

4. La bande dessinée indonésienne a fait l'objet de la thèse de M. Bonneff (« Les bandes dessinées indonésiennes : une mythologie en images », Paris : EPHE, 1972, publiée en 1976), d'où les deux articles qu'il a livrés en 1972 (n°4) et 1973 (n°5), ainsi qu'un compte rendu de lecture de l'album d'Hergé *Vol 714 pour Sydney* dans le premier numéro de la revue. Le même compte rendu est suivi d'un autre consacré à un livre pour enfants : D. Darbois, *Rikka la petite Balinaise* (Paris : Nathan, 1956 1e éd.).

à leurs homologues néerlandais ou anglo-saxons, alors que la dimension nationale (française) ou bilatérale (franco-indonésienne) de la revue n'était pas moins clairement affirmée, comme le rappelait Chr. Pelras en 1998 :

> Il s'agissait d'offrir enfin un moyen d'expression aux *chercheurs français* en sciences humaines et sociales qui, en nombre croissant, commençaient à s'intéresser à l'Indonésie et aux régions voisines, et qui manquaient jusque-là d'une publication spécialisée où faire paraître, en français, les résultats de leurs recherches. On souhaitait aussi en élargir les perspectives à l'ensemble du "monde malais" et offrir la possibilité à des *chercheurs de la région* de faire connaître, par cet intermédiaire, leurs travaux (*dans leur langue nationale* ou en traduction) au public international. (Chr. Pelras, 1998 : 8 ; souligné par nous)[5]

Tout cela a dû laisser sceptiques les concurrents de la revue, à commencer par les mieux établis (*BEFEO, BKI, JMBRAS*) et même les plus récents (*Indonesia, Indonesia Circle*), de l'époque.

Les premières orientations « généralistes » d'*Archipel*, donc le souci de produire un discours scientifique accessible à d'autres que les spécialistes des domaines abordés, la volonté de privilégier l'expression en langue française s'effacent, très rapidement pour certaines, plus progressivement pour d'autres. Dès son numéro deux (1972), la revue s'ouvre à des auteurs étrangers, mais il est à souligner que ces contributeurs seront d'abord indonésiens (Ajip Rosidi, Wing Kardjo) puis malaisiens (Syed M. Naguib al-Attas, 1972, n°4) en traduction française et, après seulement, néerlandais et britanniques (Chr. Hooykaas, P. Voorhoeve, R. Jones, 1973, n°6)[6].

Cette évolution reflète moins une qualité scientifique accrue des contenus – cette exigence a toujours été celle de la rédaction –, que l'insertion de la revue dans un environnement scientifique international et, plus tard, l'incitation d'acteurs institutionnels qui attendent des revues qu'elles répondent à un ensemble de normes scientifiques, éditoriales (présence de titres courants à partir du n°49, 1995), linguistiques (place grandissante de l'anglais), auxquelles *Archipel* se pliera pour l'essentiel. C'est donc à la fois la rançon du succès et la nécessité de la survie : accès aux parrainages institutionnels et aux moyens financiers, mais aussi techniques et humains, indispensables à la production d'objets de qualité.

La place de l'image

À une époque pas si lointaine où l'image était plus rare qu'aujourd'hui, surtout pour cet angle mort de l'Asie en France que constituait encore le monde insulindien, il était nécessaire de lui faire une place et cette nécessité

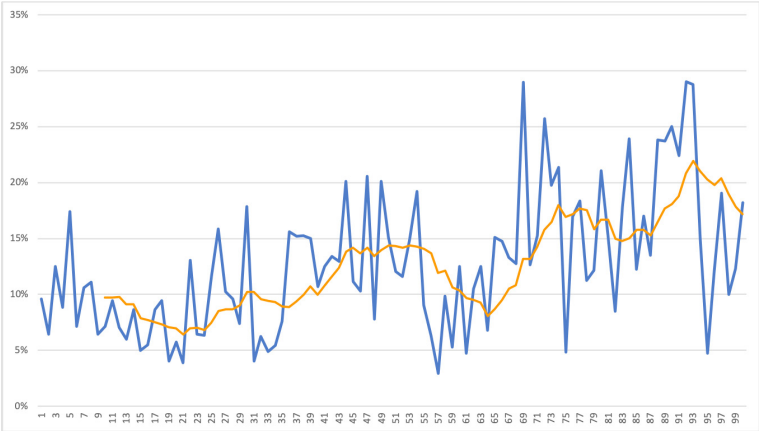
5. Les articles en indonésien ou en malaisien n'ont jamais été exclus mais, de fait, jamais très nombreux non plus. Les premiers numéros d'*Archipel* incluaient un résumé des articles (*ikhtisar*) en indonésien.

6. Russel Jones livre à cette occasion le premier article en anglais de la revue.

a paru d'autant plus évidente, que la revue voulait s'adresser à ce lectorat élargi, en partie étranger au monde de la recherche en sciences humaines et au discours savant, qui se nourrit plus volontiers d'illustrations. C'est aussi en cela qu'*Archipel* se distingue, car si toutes les revues de sciences humaines font une place à l'illustration, souvent limitée à divers graphiques et schémas, parfois incluant photos et dessins, en dehors des revues d'archéologie, d'histoire de l'art ou d'arts plastiques, il n'est pas fréquent qu'elles y accordent autant d'importance que l'a fait *Archipel*, et la pluridisciplinarité revendiquée et réelle de la revue n'y est pas pour rien. En revanche, nulle réflexion théorique ou méthodologique sur la place et la fonction de l'image dans ce type de discours et dans ces disciplines ; il est vrai qu'au début des années 1970, cette approche était encore embryonnaire.

Abondance d'images

Dès le premier numéro de la revue *Archipel*, il apparut donc clairement que l'image pourrait y tenir une place importante, du moins au regard des usages : 20 illustrations dont 12 pages hors texte pour un volume de 247 pages. Après quoi et pour les 50 années d'existence de la revue, les statistiques confirment l'impression dégagée par la simple consultation des volumes : généralement importantes en proportion, les images sont aussi présentes en nombre croissant malgré les fluctuations[7]. Le graphique 1 en donne la variation par numéro (histogramme bleu) et avec une moyenne lissée sur cinq ans (courbe orangée), où l'on voit que cette moyenne a presque doublé sur l'ensemble de la période :



Graphique 1 – Pourcentage de pages illustrées dans chaque numéro.

Bleu : valeurs par numéro – Orangé : moyenne mobile sur cinq ans.

7. Ce dont ne rend pas compte la consultation en ligne sur le site <persee.fr>, où manquent de très nombreuses illustrations.

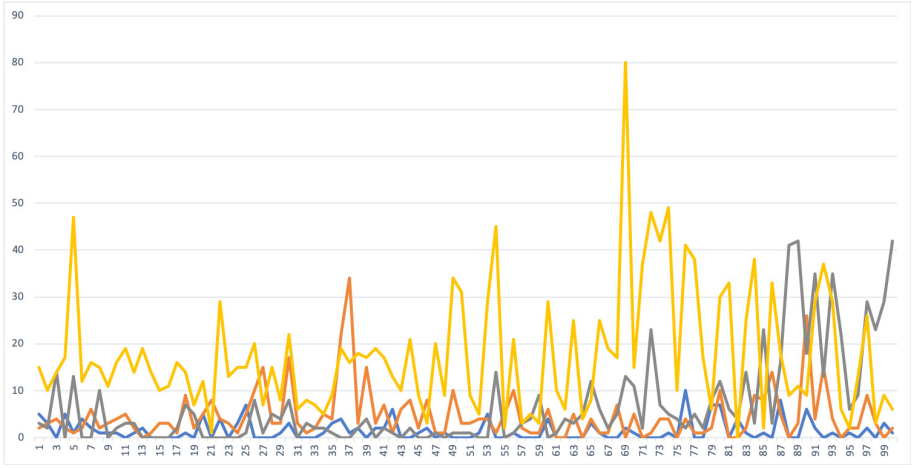
Par ailleurs, pour la totalité de la période la proportion moyenne de pages illustrées par numéro s'établit à 12,68%. Aucun volume n'est vide d'illustrations, un gros tiers des numéros a moins de 10% de pages illustrées, la moitié (49 exactement) en a entre 10% et 20%, et près de 15 volumes (14 exactement) en ont 20% ou plus, proportion considérable. Cette présence est donc régulière. Elle progresse aussi dans le temps : si l'inflexion est donnée dès le numéro 5 (avec 17,4% de pages illustrées portées, il est vrai, par une thématique qui s'y prête : le cinéma), l'effort est nettement accentué à partir du n°44 (20%) et le maximum atteint avec le n°69, premier de deux volumes consacrés à la peinture à Java (29%). Néanmoins, on observe une forte irrégularité entre les numéros, ce qu'explique l'absence de politique éditoriale en la matière.

Quant aux modes d'insertion des illustrations, on relève une double évolution. Tout d'abord la présence de plus en plus irrégulière des illustrations pleine page (graphique 2, courbe jaune) : longtemps en nombre plus ou moins constant et insérées sous forme de cahiers de quatre à huit pages hors texte pour des raisons techniques, elles finissent par se concentrer sur certains articles, dont la rubrique « Images » constituée en cahier. Corollairement, les progrès de la mise en page et l'adoption d'un format de revue légèrement plus grand (1991, n°41) facilitent la disposition d'illustrations dans le texte, dont le nombre finit par s'envoler au cours des années 2010, en particulier dans les articles d'épigraphie et d'archéologie (graphique 2, courbe grise).

La couleur, enfin, a longtemps été un luxe peu accessible réservé aux couvertures, sobrement bicolores sur fond blanc. La quadrichromie s'affiche timidement en couverture du n°51 (1996) et se glisse dans le même volume avec un premier cahier central en quadrichromie (fig. 7), entraînant un surcoût de fabrication âprement discuté ; elle revient l'année suivante dans le n°54 qui avait fait l'objet d'un effort tout particulier (« Destins croisés entre l'Insulinde et la France », 1997), se banalise un peu plus tard (2001) avant de devenir la règle en à partir de 2004. Elle est aujourd'hui omniprésente et les nouveaux modes de diffusion (consultation sur écran, accessibilité de l'impression couleur domestique ou à la demande) font que la question n'est plus de savoir pourquoi la revue *Archipel* offre autant de pages illustrées et de pages en couleurs, mais plutôt pourquoi les autres revues couvrant les mêmes champs disciplinaires ou aréaux en incluent si peu…

Nature des illustrations

Les illustrations sont de toutes natures, mais le dessin et, surtout, la photographie dominent : de lieux, de bâtiments, d'objets – d'images : peintures, gravures, dessins –, mais aussi de personnes, et bien entendu de documents textuels sur différents types de supports. On opposera ici ces derniers (inscriptions, manuscrits) aux autres. Leur reproduction s'impose d'autant plus que les usages de la discipline exigent de mettre à la disposition



Graphique 2 – Nombre de pages illustrées dans chaque numéro.
Répartition par types d'illustrations et modes d'insertion.

Bleu : graphiques, schémas, généalogie – Orangé : cartes – Gris : dessins, photos, etc., dans le texte – Jaune : *idem* hors texte.

des lecteurs – l'infime minorité de lecteurs capable de le lire – le texte sous sa forme originale avant d'en proposer une lecture, et que la longueur du document en rend possible la reproduction. Cela concerne essentiellement l'épigraphie, à commencer par l'épigraphie funéraire musulmane, la mieux représentée, et dans une moindre mesure la philologie ; mais les articles à vocation d'analyse littéraire ou fondés sur des documents imprimés sont aussi consommateurs d'illustrations de nature textuelle.

Les autres types de documents tiennent une place marginale : graphiques et schémas (ceux-là ont mal résisté au temps), généalogies ; cartes et plans (élégamment tracés à la main dans les premières années de la revue). Pour les cartes, il faut d'ailleurs distinguer deux cas différents, selon qu'elles viennent à l'appui d'un discours de nature géographique ou historique sur l'espace considéré ou que le discours porte sur le document présenté (cartes anciennes) et il s'agit alors d'images ; dans une revue historique, il est normal que les deux se présentent.

La rubrique « Images » ou l'échec d'un discours sans texte

Apparue dans le n°42 (1991), juste après que la revue eut agrandi son format, la rubrique « Images » avait d'autres ambitions que la simple illustration d'articles ou de dossiers, mais son introduction n'est pas à prendre pour une tentative de cantonnement de l'image ; elle répond à la volonté de proposer un autre type d'articles ou de discours, sans renoncer nécessairement à sa scientificité. En effet, initialement cette rubrique avait été destinée à

« explorer les fonds d'archives photographiques relatifs à l'Indonésie, pour mieux attirer l'attention sur des documents souvent mal connus et rarement exploités par les historiens. » (Labrousse 1991, n°42, p. 121). Malgré cette déclaration liminaire, la rubrique et ses auteurs ne puisèrent pas aux archives photographiques d'époque coloniale[8] et s'intéressèrent plus souvent aux gravures et dessins d'une période plus large (XVII^{e}-XIX^{e} siècles) ou, par la photo, à la période contemporaine (voir bibliographie).

La seconde ambition de cette rubrique – « le commentaire est volontairement bref, afin de laisser la place aux images » (Labrousse, *ibid.*) – a tourné à l'échec. Certes, la première livraison respecta parfaitement ce cahier des charges, mais ces quelques photographies issues de la documentation de la Fondation Idayu (Jakarta) et couvrant la période de transition entre le 30 septembre 1965 et les premiers mois de l'année suivante (voir *infra* fig. 4), traitaient d'événements relativement récents et dont on pouvait juger qu'ils ne nécessitaient pas de remise en contexte. Ce choix, pourtant, tournait le dos à l'intention originelle d'*Archipel* de s'adresser aussi bien à un lectorat néophyte et reposait sur l'illusion d'images porteuses de leur propre discours.

D'ailleurs, dès le numéro suivant, des légendes plus ou moins détaillées vinrent s'ajouter à des introductions parfois très longues (Lombard, 1992, n°43). Dès lors, à quelques exceptions près cette rubrique proposa de véritables articles prenant appui sur de petits corpus d'images, sans se distinguer d'articles de recherche très illustrés ou dont les images présentées constituaient l'objet même de l'étude, en particulier les articles d'histoire de l'art.

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* *

En guise de conclusion, voici treize photos extraites de différents numéros d'*Archipel*. Elles accompagnent cette note plus qu'elles ne l'illustrent : leur choix, purement subjectif, repose sur des critères émotionnels ou esthétiques. Cette démarche et la sélection qu'elle commande nous a paru préférable à un catalogue reproduisant un à un les différents types d'images offerts par la revue[9]. Ces photos, prises par des contributeurs de la revue à trois exceptions près (fig. 3, 9 et 10), rappellent aussi qu'historiens, anthropologues ou autres, tous sont aussi leur propre photographe et chasseur d'images.

8. À l'exception de Laffan, 2003, n°65.

9. Les références complètes des articles dont ces illustrations sont extraites se trouvent en bibliographie.

Fig. 1 –. Chr. Pelras, 1975. Photos auteur, s.d.

Légende – « Fête de la moisson en pays bugis : au rythme des pilons à riz, les jeunes gens viennent tour à tour démontrer leur maîtrise des arts martiaux (*silat*). » (pl. h.t., face p. 48)

Le n°10 de la revue fut le premier et l'un des rares entièrement consacrés à une région d'Indonésie, ici la province de Célèbes sud. Les illustrations n'étaient pas encore nécessairement placées à proximité des textes auxquels elles se rapportaient. Les photos que voici accompagnaient un guide touristique de la province, conçu par un anthropologue pour un public attendu d'amateurs éclairés ou de simples touristes – les deux groupes se confondaient plus ou moins en 1975 (voir *supra*).

Ces deux photos (fig. 1 et 2) ne se répondent pas comme elle semblent le faire de prime abord.

La première illustration évoque un univers festif, animé, lieu d'une violence ritualisée, de celles qui suscitent la connivence et le sourire : à l'arrogance virile et joyeuse d'un jeune homme, raide, poing serré et tendu, campé sur ses jambes, bassin projeté en avant, répondent les sourires qu'on devine à l'arrière-plan.

Fig. 2 –. Chr. Pelras, 1975. Photos auteur, s.d.
Légende – « Séngkang : danseuse de *séré lolosu*. » (pl. h.t., face p. 96)

L'auteur en dit peu sur la seconde illustration : il omet de préciser que la danse [*sere*] des *lolosu* [nom des accessoires représentant des coqs s'affrontant l'un l'autre (Hamonic, 2006, p. 9 n. 2] est exécutée par des *bissu*, prêtres et guérisseurs traditionnels travestis. Le raffinement féminin de ce·tte danseur·se, couvert·e de bijoux et d'étoffes délicates, tout en courbes et en souplesse, est celui d'un de ces jeunes prêtres.

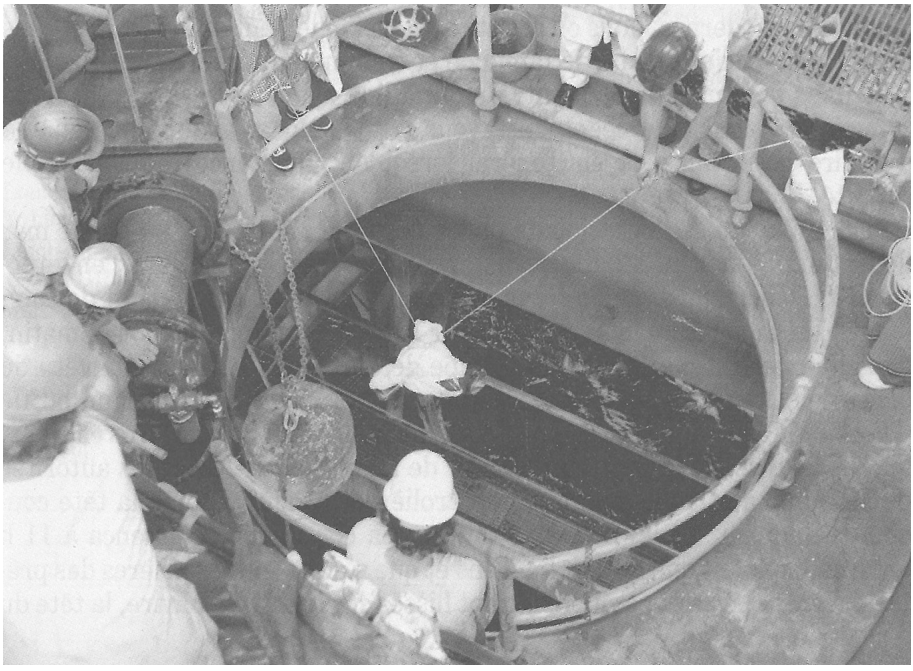

Fig. 3 – A. Francino, 1990. Photos auteur, 1975.

Légende – « Moment culminant de la cérémonie du *salamatan* [sic] : la tête du buffle va être immergée près de la colonne de forage. » (p. 61)

Le maître-mot de ces deux photos (fig. 3 et 4), sans autre rapport entre elles, pourrait être celui de sacrifice.

Sacrifice d'un buffle et immersion de sa tête enveloppée dans un tissu blanc, sur un forage *off shore* en mer de Natuna (on devine l'écume des vagues en contrebas de la plateforme). Le contraste entre ce rituel propitiatoire et le contexte industriel dans lequel il prend place intéresse-t-il ses acteurs ou ne germe-t-il que dans l'esprit du lecteur ? L'auteur de l'article, géologue de son état et très factuel, se borne à rappeler que « [cette] offrande faite à la mer revêt la même valeur que les offrandes faites autrefois aux vents, pour que les forces naturelles ne s'acharnent pas trop contre la fragilité humaine. Souvent, d'octobre à mars, les tempêtes et les typhons qui se déchaînent dans la mer de Natuna rendent les opérations de forage marin très critiques en raison des tempêtes qui contraignent de suspendre les activités. » (p. 63)

Fig. 4 – P. Labrousse, rubrique « Images », 1991. Photo Fondation Idayu, 1er novembre 1965.
Légende – « Jakarta, 1er novembre 1965. Les premières arrestations des communistes soupçonnés d'être impliqués dans le coup du 30 septembre. » (p. 48)

Sacrifice également, mais sur l'autel de l'anticommunisme, avec la seconde photo. Au-delà de la confrontation des regards, celui terrifié du suspect (peut-être un simple passant) flottant dans des vêtements mal ajustés, face à celui de l'officier, moue menaçante, masque des lunettes noires (cacher son regard : autre privilège de l'autorité), tout est dans cet avant-bras nu prolongé d'un stick, l'extrémité plantée dans le ventre du suspect et qui l'immobilise. Il y a, dans cette tige de bambou, plus de violence que dans toutes les armes réunies sur cette photo. Peut-être l'homme allait-il s'éloigner, puisqu'il tourne le dos au camion où sont chargés d'autres suspects. Des paroles s'échangent. Un drame se noue entre ces deux hommes, fugitivement ou à jamais : l'un a pouvoir de vie et de mort sur l'autre, et chacun en a pleinement conscience.

Fig. 5 – W.A.L. Bougas, 1992. Photo auteur, s.d.
Légende – « Surau Aur, Prayer Hall (from the East) » (p. 93)

Deux lieux d'expression de l'islam et de la religiosité dans le monde malais, la mosquée (Patani, fig. 5) et le lieu de pèlerinage (Java, fig. 6). Dans les deux cas et surtout le second, on retiendra que le chercheur n'évolue jamais seul, mais toujours ou presque sous le regard de guides d'un jour, d'autorités locales ou de simples badauds. Ils peuvent donner vie à un site et rappeler qu'il reste fréquenté et honoré, malgré son délabrement, mais ils sont ailleurs l'objet même de l'enquête.

Sur la photo de la mosquée d'Aur, ces gens occupent le lieu dans des attitudes de la vie quotidienne, négligées, à peine posées, par lesquelles ils manifestent qu'ils sont ici dans un espace familier, à la différence du chercheur.

Fig. 6 – Cl. Guillot et H. Chambert-Loir, rubrique « Images », 1993. Photo auteurs, s.d.

Légende – « [Auprès du mausolée], la foule est si dense que, dans l'immense et nouveau *pendopo* qui recouvre toutes les tombes du complexe, il a fallu mettre en place barrières de bambou et gardes pour la canaliser. » (p. 103)

Au mont Muria la présence de chacun, pèlerins et chercheurs, repose aussi sur des légitimités différentes, mais au fond personne n'est chez soi. Deux mondes s'observent avec une acuité saisissante et la barrière de bambou n'est pas sans susciter un certain malaise. Les chercheurs, ni musulmans ni indonésiens, donc à la légitimité mal reconnue (qu'éprouvent-ils de la *barokah* du saint ?), ont pu se ménager un passage vers l'intérieur du bâtiment, à la différence des pèlerins qui se pressent encore au dehors ; les positions sont donc inversées, au contraire de ce que suggère l'image, pèlerins encore exclus du sanctuaire et chercheurs enfermés à proximité de la tombe du saint.

Enfin, à bien examiner les pèlerins, il paraît difficile de déterminer de quels côtés de la barrière sont le spectacle et les spectateurs, quoi que suggère la légende de la photo. Les enfants, main levée et sourire aux lèvres, semblent se placer côté scène, mais on n'en dira pas autant des adultes.

Fig. 7 – P. Piollet, Cl. Salmon et D. Lombard, rubrique « Images », 1996.
Photo P. Piollet, 14 février 1974.

Légende – « *Penjual alat perahu* ; boutique d'accessoires pour la navigation à voile : cordages, ancres, fanaux, et voiles (à l'intérieur…) » (p. 102)

Ces deux photos (fig. 7 et 8) quasi vides d'hommes donnent à voir un univers disparu ou en voie de l'être, dans une même région, la côte nord de Java.

Le magasin d'articles de mer appartient au monde de la navigation à voile, sur le déclin depuis plusieurs décennies et il a pu faire figure de curiosité déjà lors de la publication de cette photo. La surexposition de la photo s'ajoute à l'absence d'ombre, au négligé du commerçant et rend visuellement sensible la chaleur implacable de la côte javanaise.

Fig. 8 – Cl. Salmon, 1997. Photo D. Lombard, s.d.
Légende – « Le cœur de l'ancien quartier chinois de Surabaya, actuellement jalan Karet. » (p. 183)

Cette vue de jalan Karet, plongée dans la fraîcheur renaissante d'une fin de journée appartient aussi au passé : ces bâtisses d'architecture coloniale, quand elles subsistent, n'alignent plus que leurs façades tavelées de champignons ou recouvertes de panneaux criards devant un flot ininterrompu de véhicules.

Fig. 9 – M. Picard, rubrique « Images », 1998.
Photo K. Helmi, s.d.

Légende – « Tumenggung et Demang (deux grands du royaume accompagnant le souverain), bourg de Batuan ». (p. 189)

Les articles de la rubrique *Images* aussi bien que les articles de recherche ont souvent inséré des œuvres d'art prises en tant que telles (peintures, gravures), mais très occasionnellement des photos à vocation esthétique. Le flou qui baigne l'un de ces clichés et traverse l'autre semble également les rapprocher, mais si l'un (fig. 9) évoque le mouvement, celui du *gambuh* balinais, l'autre (fig. 10) rend un monde vacillant, celui des premières années de la *Reformasi* et de ces vagabonds, fous vrais ou faux comme le suggère l'auteur de l'article, et qu'il n'est pas rare de croiser en ville, évoluant à demi-nus par tous les temps – ici pluie et froid.

Fig. 10 – J. Siegel, rubrique « Images », 2002. Photo Y.T. Yovovski, s.d.

Légende – « A mad man in Banyuwangi. Members of the Nahdatlul Ulama leadership told us that during the killings, the population of such people drastically increased. The newcomers however had accents from other parts of Java. Members of masked gangs were arrested who were really criminals or soldiers, we were told. But madmen were released in their place. Alternatively, they said that madmen would be chased, caught and turn out to be soldiers. » (p. 180)

Fig. 11 – Cl. Salmon, 2016. Photo Cl. Salmon, s.d.

Légende – « Special section for *shengji* or 'foundation of destiny', Nirvana Memorial Garden [Semenyih, Selangor, Malaysia]. » (p. 210)

Tortues d'immortalité dans un parc funéraire de Malaisie et palanquins des morts *erong* en pays Toraja. Aux alignements impeccables de ces tortues de marbre, toutes identiques et scellées en terre à jamais, répondent ces sépultures d'un moment (fig. 12), longuement, finement ouvragées dans d'infinies variations qui font de chacune un objet unique, comme celle ou celui qui l'habitera le temps d'un ultime transport, les morts rejoignant ensuite leur place assignée à flanc de montagne – et les palanquins jetés au rebut.

Fig. 12 – D. Rappoport, 2015. Photo Dana Rappoport, novembre 2014.
Légende – « Cercueils en bois (*erong*), sur le site de sépulture à Lombok Parinding (Canton de Sesean, Toraja Utara). » (p. 200)

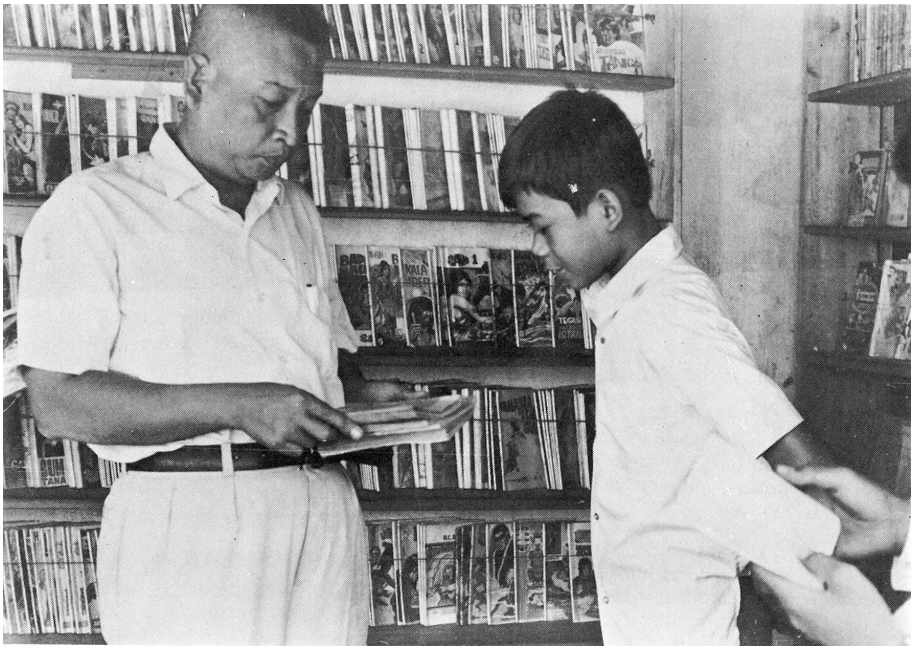

Fig. 13 – Marcel Bonneff, 1972. Photo auteur, s.d.
Légende – « Le choix des ouvrages dans un *taman batjaan* de Jogjakarta. » (pl. h.t., face p. 192)

Pour finir par où tout aurait pu commencer : jeunesse, lectures, lectures de jeunesse et sujet mineur sur un mode majeur, la bande dessinée en Indonésie.

Qui sont-ils ? Un père et son fils, plutôt que client et vendeur, dans une librairie de bandes dessinées à Yogyakarta, on en devine les couvertures aguicheuses étalées sur les rayonnages. L'autorité paternelle, sérieuse et pincée, est amenée à juger si les ouvrages sollicités par l'enfant lui conviendront ou méritent les quelques dizaines ou centaines de roupies que le vendeur en demandera. Guère de complicité, mais de la componction et une attente pleine d'espoir – tout est dans le dessin des lèvres et l'arc des sourcils.

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The Contribution of *Archipel* to the Knowledge of Insulindian Chinese (1971-2020) − Some Key Topics

Introduction

European travelers took an early interest in the Chinese they encountered in the South Seas, as is apparent from their travelogues.[1] Insulindia-based civilian administrators and missionaries were among the first authors to examine the Chinese presence in the region and to produce scientific and practical studies, the latter aimed at solving the problems they were faced with. Some of these studies were published in journals devoted to these countries, one of the oldest being the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (hereafter *VBGKW*) or "Transactions of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences," founded in 1778. The French, though not yet settled in Southeast Asia, were nevertheless interested in the Chinese established within the region, as evidenced by the publication of articles in scholarly journals, such as the translation by a certain C. M. of Jan Jacob Vogelaar's report on the Feast of the Dead, Qingming 清明, as observed in Batavia on April 4, 1789 in the Wanjie si 萬劫寺. This report was published in the newly founded *Journal Asiatique*

* CNRS, Paris.

1. Such as the Jesuit Guy Tachard (1648-1712) who relates his encounter with the Chinese in a cemetery of Batavia, and the hydrographic engineer and explorer François Froger (born in 1676) who left valuable notes on the first Ming loyalists he met in Malacca.

(Vol. 2, April 1823, p. 236-243).[2] Four years later, an article by the British missionary and sinologist Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857) on the Chinese New Year Festival in Batavia appeared in *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques* (26e livr. 2e série, Juillet-Septembre 1827, p. 225-227). The *Annales de l'Extrême-Orient* (Vol. 3, 1880-1881, p. 225-240) published the translation of one of the rare articles by Johannes Eduard Albrecht (1838-1890, one of the two first interpreters of the Chinese language, appointed in the Indies in 1860)[3] on primary education among the Chinese of Java. However, such contributions remained rather rare in French periodicals during the 19th century.

The foundation in 1889 of the Dutch-French journal *T'oung Pao* 通报[4] by Gustave Schlegel (of German origin, 1840-1903), prof. of Chinese at Leiden University) and Henri Cordier (1849-1925, prof. of History and Geography at the École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes in Paris) offered the hope that studies on the languages and peoples of East Asia would develop along new lines. As a matter of fact, Gustave Schlegel, after having studied in China, was appointed as one of the two first interpreters in Batavia in 1862. He remained in the Netherlands Indies until 1872, and the following year began to teach Chinese in Leiden. As a matter of fact, Schlegel was the first sinologist who took an interest in Insulindian Chinese culture, and who had a certain knowledge of Malay.[5] In the first two volumes of *T'oung Pao,* he published five studies: the first gives the Hokkien text of a philippic written in verse by a certain Tan-Iok-Po 陳育報 on Chinese Captain Li-Khi-Thai 呂崎太 (1866), along with a German translation; with this he initiated research on Chinese literature outside China; the second (unfinished), which provides a series of signboards and house sentences collected in Java with Malay translations made locally and his own translations with commentaries in English; the third, on Chinese loan-words in Malay/Indonesian, marks the beginning of research in that field.[6] In the

2. The original in Dutch first appeared in the *VBGKW* (Vol. VI, 1792, p. 1-14).

3. He was appointed in Muntok (Bangka), see Pieter Nicolaas Kuiper, The Early Dutch Sinologists. A Study of their Training in Holland and in China and their Functions in the Dutch Indies, PhD Leiden University, Leiden 2015, Part II, Appendix A, Biographies and Bibliographies of the Sinologists, p. 828-831.

4. Full name: *T'oung Pao* 通报, *Archives pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire, des langues, de la géographie et de l'ethnographie de l'Asie orientale (Chine, Japon, Corée, Indo-Chine, Asie centrale et Malaisie),* or « Archives for the Study of the History, Languages, Geography and Ethnography of East Asia (China, Japan, Korea, Indo-China, Central Asia and Malaya. ». From 1906 onwards, the list of countries is suppressed.

5. See Kuiper, The Early Dutch Sinologists, Part II, Appendix A, p. 915-923.

6. G. Schlegel, "Philippica des Chinesen Tan-Iok-Po gegen den Kapitän der Chinesen Li-Ki-Thai," *T'oung Pao* I (1890), p. 29-41; of the same, "On Chinese Signboards and House-sentences", op. cit., p. 118-136; of the same, "Chinese Loanwords in the Malay Language", op. cit., p. 391-405. For an impressive continuation, see Russell Jones, *Chinese Loan-Words in Malay and Indonesian. A Background Study*, Kuala Lumpur,

two others, he drew attention to translations of Chinese fiction into Malay and Javanese, as well as to a Sino-Indonesian calendar.[7]

Several years later, J. W. Young (of British origin, 1855-1898) paved the way for epigraphic studies with his article in French on a 19th-century inscription located near the cave dedicated to the eunuch Sanbao 三寶 (Semarang).[8] However, not many of the interpreters who succeeded them wrote for *T'oung Pao*, preferring, it seems, to publish in Dutch journals devoted to the colony,[9] and eventually in journals on China published in Hong Kong, as did some Dutch educated Peranakan journalists who wrote on the culture of their own community, such as the journalists and writers Kwee Kek Beng (1900-1975) and Nio Joe Lan (1904-1973).[10]

For their part, the French sinologists who became interested in the Chinese communities of Indochina, such as Émile Gaspardone (1895-1982), tended to publish in *Journal Asiatique*, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (*BEFEO*), *Sinologica*, and a few other reviews. Thus, the opportunity for *T'oung Pao* to deal with Chinese outside China, in Indochina and Insulindia in particular, was practically lost. Even though, since the late 1960s, European scholars started to investigate Southeast Asian Chinese because they could no longer travel to China to conduct research, very few articles on the subject were published in this journal.[11] In other words, sinology has remained essentially understood to be within China's political borders.

The creation of *Archipel,* which proposed to publish chronicles, studies, and especially documents and "dossiers thématiques" on the Insulindian world, was to become a platform for cultural and historical studies on various Chinese communities of the Indonesian archipelago, the Malay peninsula and Singapore, and to a lesser extent the Philippines, so to say on the fringes of

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University of Malaya Press, 2009 (review in *Archipel* 59, p. 223-224).

7. G. Schlegel, "Chinese-Malay and Javanese Literature in Java", *T'oung Pao*, II (1891), p. 148-151; of the same, "Un calendrier indonésien-chinois", *T'oung Pao*, II (1891), p. 175-177.

8. J.W. Young, « Sam Po Tong. La grotte de Sam Po », *T'oung Pao,* IX (1898), p. 93-102.

9. For more details on their publications, see Kuiper, The Early Dutch Sinologists, Part II, Appendix A. Biographies and Bibliographies of the Sinologists. It is worthy of note that one of the first studies on the legal statute of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies by a Dutch civil servant (J.J. Meijer, « La condition politique des Chinois aux Indes néerlandaises ») appeared in *T'oung Pao* IV (1893), p. 1-32; 137-173.

10. See C. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia. A provisional annotated bibliography*, Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981, p. 202-203; 258-261.

11. Although one article on the history of the Chinese community of Makassar by C. Salmon was published in 1969 in *T'oung Pao* (Vol. LV, 4-5, p. 241-297).

the mainstream of Anglo-Saxon research that started in the late 1950s.[12] Since 1971, slightly more than one hundred studies have been published that for the most part deal with literary and historical matters. They emanate from Western scholars, especially French coming from various backgrounds, which constitutes a novelty, but also from researchers from Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, as well as from Mainland China, altogether about fifty. Some of these authors are historians, archaeologists, museologists, anthropologists, political scientists, while others are specialists of Chinese and Malay/Indonesian languages and literatures.

Some eleven thematic "dossiers" on Insulindian Chinese were designed between 1977 and 2016 (Vol. 14, 22, 28, 32, 43, 48, 68, 72, 77, 82, 92), bringing together from two to seven articles. However, some other articles dealing with Chinese matters may have been regrouped in other dossiers as well, such as "Techniques et Histoire" (Vol. 26), which includes two articles on Chinese ceramic factories in West Kalimantan and East Malaysia, "Littérature malaysienne", with an article on modern Chinese poetry (Vo. 19), "Littératures régionales" (Vol. 34), which contains two articles on Sino-Sundanese and Sino-Javanese literatures; or "De Singapour à Saïgon" (Vol. 43), which gathers three texts related to a travelogue by a Baba from Singapore. Only the last dossier, which in fact constitutes a special issue of *Archipel*, "Chinese Deathscapes in Insulindia," is the result of a workshop entitled "Death, burial rituals, and cemeteries among Chinese communities in Insular Southeast Asia (16/17th-21st centuries)" that was organised by Teresita Ang See, Catherine Guéguen and C. Salmon, and convened in Manila by Kaisa Heritage Foundation on August 5, 2015.

Here, we intend to reflect for a moment on these fifty years of research that although not planned, have taken on a meaning that has gradually emerged over the years. Although research has been carried out in the context of all Insulindia, a large majority is focused on Java, where the Chinese community has a long and tumultuous history. This explains why we will first examine the impact of the political situation in Indonesia on the delineation of the main research fields over time. It goes without saying that historians working on the basis of sources held in public libraries and archives in Europe did not suffer from the local political situation, such as Leonard Blussé (Vol. 18, 58), Marie-Sybille de Vienne (Vol. 22), and Mary Somers Heidhues (Vol. 77).

Then, we will arbitrarily elaborate on a certain number of key themes for which the research carried out since 1971 has been particularly rewarding, such as the participation of the Chinese in Insulindian literature, the

12. See the appended list. For a comparison with the way studies on Indonesian Chinese were constituted and developed in the United States, other Anglo-Saxon countries, and elsewhere after the Second World War, see Mary Somers Heidhues, "Studying the Chinese in Indonesia: A Long Half-Century," *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia,* Vol. 32, No. 3 (2017), p. 601-633.

elaboration of an Insulindian literature in Chinese, the role of women in the making of Peranakan communities, technical knowledge, trade and transfers, the circulation of medicinal and pharmaceutical knowledge, the place of the dead in the world of the living, and the discreet elaboration on the concept of Indonesian cultural heritage *avant la lettre*.

It goes without saying that it is not possible in this article to give an account of the great variety of the subjects dealt with during these past fifty years. The reader can nevertheless get an idea of this by perusing the bibliography appended to this article.

Political Contexts and Main Research Fields over Time

Denys Lombard and Claudine Salmon were among the first European students who, after the fall of Sukarno in 1965, settled in Jakarta for their research (1966-1969). The political situation was rather tense. Chinese characters had been prohibited in public places, schools and newspapers using Chinese language[13] were closed, as were bookshops selling books published in that language, and Chinese associations, except those dealing with religious matters, were banned. These various prohibitions lasted until after the fall of President Soeharto in 1998.

The atmosphere of suspicion that prevailed within Indonesian society at that time explains why D.L. and C. S. initially focused their research on writings in Malay-Indonesian that could easily be consulted in public libraries. It turned out that the volume of this corpus was huge and varied (including texts in Javanese, Sundanese, Makassarese…), which led them to spread their investigation over several years on Insulindian Chinese literatures and Sino-Malay press and printing, and to invite other researchers to join them, among others: John B. Kwee (Vol. 19), Gilbert Hamonic (Vol. 26), Liang Liji 梁立基 (Vol. 34), Dédé Oetomo (Vol. 34), Faye Yik-Wei Chan (Vol. 42, 48), Myra Sidharta (Vol. 48), Monique Zaini Lajoubert (Vol. 48), Peter Worsley (Vol. 68), Elizabeth Chandra (Vol. 82), Yerry Wirawan (Vol. 82), and Song Ge 宋鴿 (Vol. 93, 97).

Simultaneously, but on a smaller scale, research was carried out on literature in Chinese emanating either from newcomers or from descendants of Chinese that was kept outside of Indonesia, in various public libraries in Japan, Singapore, Netherlands, Thailand and Malaysia. This research was carried out by scholars from France, Malaysia, Singapore, the Netherlands, and Hong Kong: Ho Khai-leong (Vol. 19), Brigitte de Beer-Luong (Vol. 23), Yu Wang Luen 俞王綸 (Vol. 24), Wong Seng-tong (Vol. 28), David K.Y. Chng 莊欽永 & C. S. (Vol. 43), C. S. & Ta Trong Hiêp 謝仲俠 (Vol. 47), Chen Jiarong 陳佳榮 (Vol. 52), C. S. (Vol. 56), and Pieter Nicolaas Kuiper (Vol. 77).

13. Except for *Harian Indonesia* / 印度尼西亞日報, a newspaper controlled by the Indonesian state.

Finally, as a counterpoint, a few studies on English-language literature should be mentioned: those by K.S. Maniam (Vol. 19), and Neil Khor (Vol. 74) that deal with Malaysian Chinese authors, and that by Myra Sidharta (Vol. 24), about Queeny Chang (1896-1996), the only woman writer from Sumatra to have written her memoirs in English (Vol. 25).[14]

In the mid-1970s, the Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia, then named Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia, showed an interest in the old site of Banten or Banten Lama, and at the instigation of its chief, Ms. Satyawati Suleiman (1920-1988) and Mr. Tjandrasasmita (1930-2010), Head of Islamic Archaeology, excavations were undertaken. Having been invited to visit the work in progress, D. L and C. S. were shown a series of funerary steles once erected in the old Chinatown cemetery, and later reused by the villagers as footbridges in the rice fields. Thus began their interest in old Chinese epitaphs and cemeteries in relation to social history (Vol. 9). This interest continued to develop in the years that followed; especially in Banten, where further excavation campaigns carried out within the framework of Indonesian-French cooperation in 1990, 1991 and 1992 made it possible to uncover another Chinese cemetery dating back to the last decades of the 17th century, as well as scattered tombstones from the same period (Vol. 39, 50), but also elsewhere (Vol. 12, 41, 53, 62, 66, 72, 92).

In the early 2000s, having worked on the history of Srivijaya and China based on Chinese sources (Vol. 63), C. S.'s attention was drawn to the fortuitous and little exploited discovery (1987) on the site of Muara Jambi (East Sumatra) of a military bronze gong bearing an inscription in Chinese from the Southern Song period (1231), that raised various questions, ranging from the beginnings of the spread of the gong in Insulindia, to the smuggling of bronze artifacts, and to an possible migration of Song military refugees to Sumatra in connection with the Mongol invasion and occupation of China. This led her to revisit Jambi in 2003, and to explore Chinese archaeological surveys on various fortuitous discoveries of Song dynasty gongs (Vol. 66, 76).[15]

In connection with the development of a research program on epigraphic material on the history of religions in Fujian province, initiated by Zheng Zhenman 鄭振滿 and Kenneth Dean in 1987, and the publication of two corpora of inscriptions in the following years, C. S. even extended her

14. Oei Hui Lan, a daughter of the magnate Oei Tiong Ham 黃仲涵 (Semarang 1866-Singapore 1924) also published her memoirs in English: Madame Wellington Koo, with Isabella Taves, *No Feast Lasts Forever*, New York, Quadrangle /The New York Times Book Co., 1975.

15. See also C. S., « La diffusion du gong en Insulinde vue essentiellement à travers diverses épaves orientales (période Song-Ming) », *Mirabilia Asiatica, Produtos raros no comércio marítimo. Produits rares dans le commerce maritime. Seltene Waren im Seehandel,* Vol. 2, Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, Claude Guillot & Roderich Ptak éds., Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2005, p. 89-116.

epigraphic research to the Quanzhou region (Vol. 73). This new research, in order to better appraise the cultural links between Fujian and Java during the early Qing times.

From the early 1990s onwards, the condition of Indonesians of Chinese origin improved somewhat, and it became possible to undertake field work and to study the history of former large Peranakan families, such as the Hans 韓 of East Java (Vol. 41, 62, 68), and, slightly later in the 2000s, of particular minorities such as the Chinese of Surabaya (Vol. 53), the Hainanese in Bali (Vol. 60), and even specific professions such as tombstone makers (Vol. 72), and practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacy (Vol. 74). Such fieldwork implied establishing relationships based on trust with the people to be studied, and in this respect Myra Sidharta, with whom C. S. has collaborated extensively over the years, played a key role, as did the Silas family in Surabaya, the late Tan Ting Sek 陳程錫, and the late Mouhd. Mas Oud Kasim in Makassar.

Development of Peranakan Chinese Literatures

The development over time of local born Chinese or Peranakan communities in Insulindia gave rise to hybrid cultures. On the one hand, these Peranakan progressively felt comfortable in using Malay (Vol. 20), Javanese (Vol. 34), Sundanese (Vol. 34), Makassarese (Vol. 26) and other Insulindian languages, depending upon their place of residence, but on the other, they also wanted to maintain certain elements of their ancestral culture. This explains why they enjoyed reading adaptations of Chinese traditional novels so much, hence a considerable movement of translations that extended at least from the three last decades of the 19th century to the 1960s. An advertisement in the form of a *syair* or poem (1886) composed by a merchant in Semarang, informing his readers that he had some forty Malay translations in book form for sale in his bookshop, gives a good idea of the importance of this movement in Java only (Vol. 8). A comparison with the Malay Peninsula shows that a similar movement occurred there, but on a smaller scale (Vol. 14). Similar translation activities took place in Javanese and in Makassarese, but the renditions have generally remained in manuscript form (Vol. 26 and 34). The apex of this movement in Java was reached with the two complete and simultaneous translations (1910-1912) of the historical novel of the "Three Kingdoms," *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義, one of which was published as a serial in the newspaper *Sin Po* 新報, which created special links between the novel, the press, and the emergence of the concept of nation (Vol. 97; for a comparison with the Philippines, see Vol. 32).

At the same time, these Peranakan authors developed a taste for writing *syair*. They made abundant use of this literary genre as a means of entertainment (Vol. 48), but also to recount political and other events, such as the first visit

to Java by Siamese king Chulalongkorn in 1871 (Vol. 22), the stopover of an Imperial Chinese squadron in Batavia in 1907 (Vol. 33), and even more significantly, to express their social demands, as in the poem by Nona Tan Tjeng Nio (1897),[16] written by a girl to warn young well-to-do Chinese girls against the dangers of getting married to unscrupulous men who do not hesitate to simulate love with the only goal of taking away their wealth (Vol. 28); and also to assert political demands, as in the poem commemorating the founding of the Chinese Association of Batavia in 1900 that aimed to defend the rights of the Chinese in the Dutch Indies and to develop modern education (Vol. 2).

It was also during the last two decades of the 19th century that a Peranakan author and journalist, Lie Kim Hok (1859-1912), who was strongly influenced by European literature, conceived the first modern Malay novel (1886-1887), which conveyed altogether nationalist ideas, narratives of *rocambolesque*[17] or incredible adventures, progressive ideas about the need for founding Western style banks and for improving the education given to Chinese girls (Vol. 48).

This literature in Malay, and to a lesser extent in Javanese, Sundanese, and Makassarese opens up new horizons about Peranakan, who by virtue of their special status in the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch Indies had been able to take advantage of both Chinese and European cultures, which for a few decades had given them a certain lead over the local population. Worthy of note, in the Straits Settlements, where education in English was provided from the first decades of the 19th century onwards, educated Babas, such as Lim Boon Keng 林文慶 (1859-1957), and Song Ong Siang 松旺相 (1871-1941), rapidly abandoned Malay in favour of English, and also Chinese.

In addition, the revelation, nearly fifty years ago, of a large corpus of literature, hitherto unsuspected by Westerners, and since then often named "Sino-Malay Literature," has somewhat shaken up preconceived ideas about the beginnings of "Indonesian literature" (Vol. 3). A new branch of research on Malay/Indonesian literature written by Sino-Indonesians, which until then had only been conducted by Peranakan journalists, more especially Tio Ie Soei (1890-1974) and Nio Joe Lan (1904-1973), has gradually developed.[18]

This rich corpus, if we consider it well, also allows us to observe how descendants of Chinese have gradually made a place for themselves within the Indonesian nation.

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16. The poem was very well received and was reissued at least five times, the last one in 1921. Plate 1.

17. From "Rocambole", name of the main hero of Ponson du Terrail's novels, some of which were translated into Malay by Lie Kim Hok.

18. When writing in Dutch in the 1930s for *De Indische Gids*, Nio Joe Lan called this literature "de Indo-Chineesche literatuur". After World War Two when he adapted his series of articles into Indonesian, he gave his book the title of *Sastra Indonesia-Tionghoa* (Jakarta, Gunung Agung, 1962).

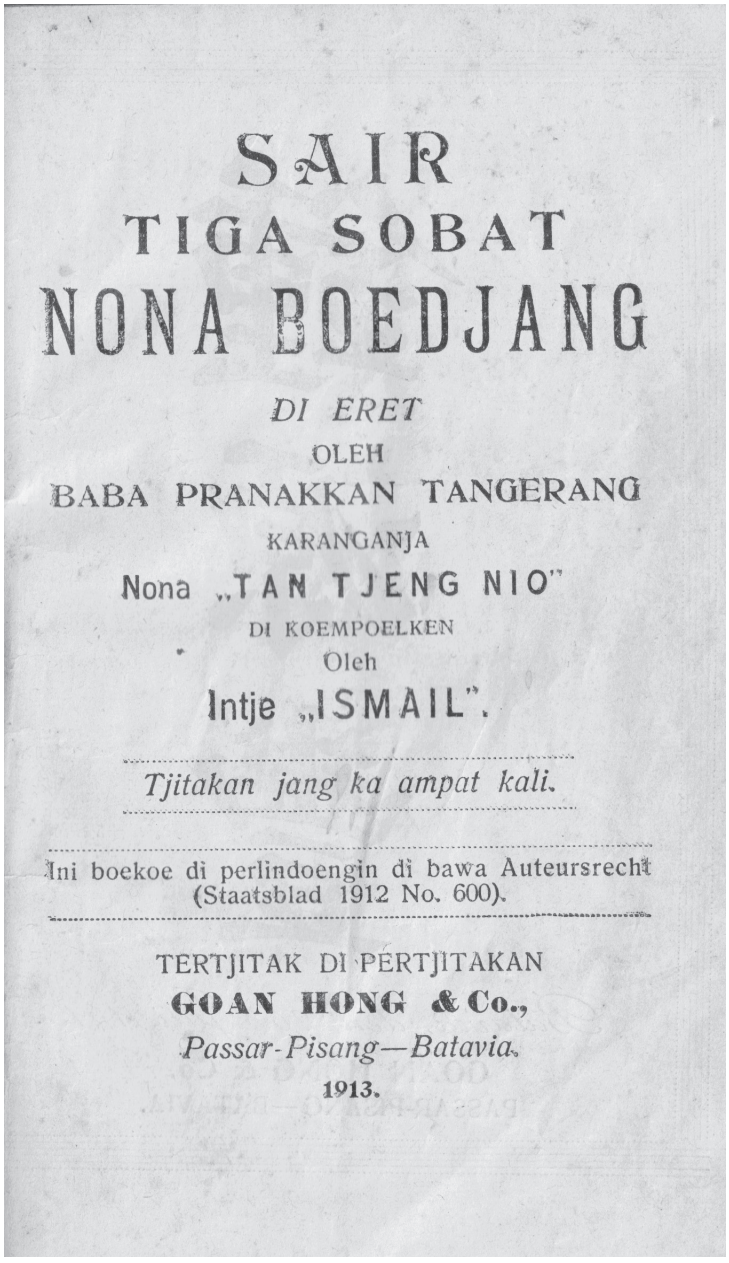
SAIR
TIGA SOBAT
NONA BOEDJANG
DI ERET
OLEH
BABA PRANAKKAN TANGERANG
KARANGANJA
Nona „TAN TJENG NIO"
DI KOEMPOELKEN
Oleh
Intje „ISMAIL".
Tjitakan jang ka ampat kali.
Ini boekoe di perlindoengin di bawa Auteursrecht
(Staatsblad 1912 No. 600).
TERTJITAK DI PERTJITAKAN
GOAN HONG & Co.,
Passar-Pisang—Batavia.
1913.

Plate 1 – Cover *of Sair Tiga Sobat Nona di Eret oleh Baba Pranakan Tangerang* by Tan Tjeng Nio, Ed. of 1913.

Elaboration of an Insulindian Literature in Chinese

It is difficult to determine what was the place of local literature in Chinese in 19th-century Indonesia, because it has been poorly preserved, no doubt due to the fact that it has remained handwritten, and also because of the successive political outbreaks that have shaken the country over time. It has been better circulated in Singapore and Penang where a press in Chinese appeared in 1881 (Vol. 6) and 1895 respectively. No Hokkien poem, other than the one discovered by Schlegel (see introduction), has been found so far. Travelogues, *youji* 遊記, from South Seas merchants have long been ignored by sinologists,[19] although as far as Singapore is concerned, the oldest newspaper in Chinese, the *Lat Po* 叻報[20] (founded in 1881) contributed to the development of this literary genre. Local scholars have shown that "educated" merchants knew how to combine business and culture and had developed a certain taste for excursions. Such accounts allow us to analyse the way these merchants looked at Europeans, Vietnamese and Chinese, and to better perceive their conceptions of space, their views of political order, and their economic networks. Moreover, one casts a light on the Baba diaspora in China and Japan. Two travel accounts, emanating from Tan Keong Sum 陳恭三 (Plate 2), and Li Qinghui 李清輝, two Babas based in Singapore, and narrating trips to Saigon (1888), to China and Japan (1889) that were published in the *Lat Po*, and a third one in manuscript form from Tan Siu Eng 陳琇榮[瑩] (Xiamen 1833 - Batavia 1906), the assistant of the sinologist W. P. Groeneweldt (1841-1915) then member of the Council of the Indies, relating an official trip to Saigon (1890), were presented and translated in *Archipel* (Vol. 43, 47, 56).[21]

With the 20th century and more particularly the movement of May 4, 1919, the Chinese decided to write henceforth in *baihua* 白話, or colloquial Chinese. This movement had repercussions in the diaspora, where a new literature, widely published in the press, spread into the big cities, particularly in the Malay Peninsula and Singapore and, to a lesser extent, in Indonesia. Here, this new literature is considered in at least four articles. Two (Vol. 28, 24) elaborate on the development of *mahua wenxue* 馬華文學 or Sino-Malaysian literature,[22] the first of the two providing an overview for the period 1919-1941, during which it was mainly the product of male authors who were native to China and had

19. For a comparison with travelogues written by mainland China merchants, see Vol. 52.

20. The name of this journal derives from the Malay term *selat* which means "straits", and was used by Hokkien and Cantonese to refer to Singapore.

21. Against one travelogue in Malay recounting a trip to Paris in 1889 (Vol. 54).

22. After the separation of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965, the name given to this literature was changed to *xin-ma huawen wenxue* 新、馬華文文學 or "Literature in Chinese from Singapore and Malaysia."

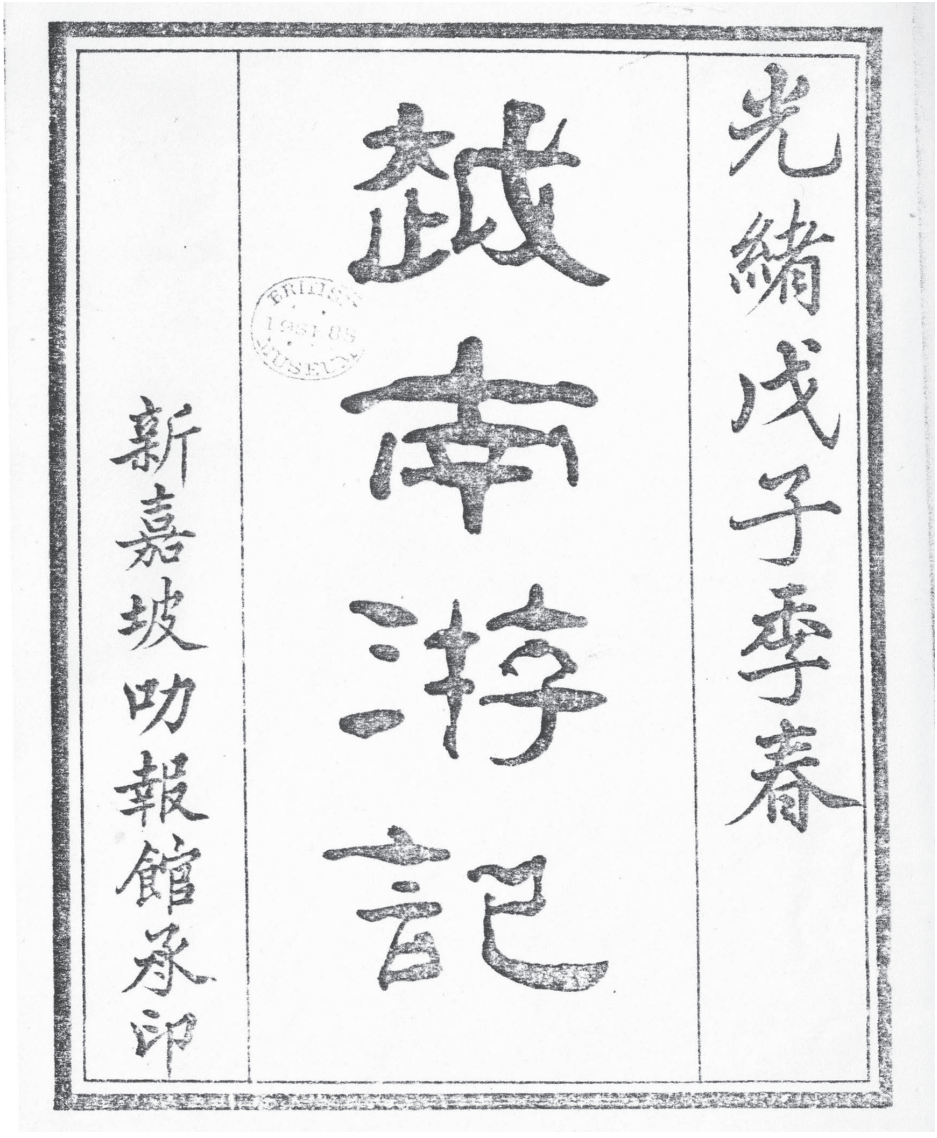

Plate 2 – Cover of *Yuenan youji* (Vietnam Travelogue), Xinjiapo, Libaoguan chengyin, Guangxu *wuzi* (1888).

migrated in order to escape political difficulties. The second emphasizes the part played by women writers in this movement. For the same period, only two women writers have emerged: the poetess Yingzi 瑩姿, and Madam L.S. who from 1927 to 1929 regularly contributed to a newspaper supplement called *Huangdao* 荒島 "Deserted Island", supplement to *Xin guomin ribao* 新國民日報 "New People's Daily." She showed much concern about women's social status, and asserted that "it was due to the biased social system that woman had become mere dependent on men." (Vol. 24, p. 208). Since 1965, more and more women have joined in literary writings. In their works, they complain about the hardships and sufferings that the family and the community have imposed upon them. They have also extended their concern to the affairs of other ethnic groups.

The third article (Vol. 23) deals with the importance of autobiographical narratives for the history of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia, as seen through the tribulations of a Chinese journalist in the South Seas (1917-1971). The fourth investigates the political vision of a selection of post-World War II Insulindian authors of their own society, by focusing on the theme of *taoke* 頭家 "businessmen" and coolies (Vol. 26), and the values that place individuals in the social hierarchy.

In short, these studies on literary production in both ancient and modern Chinese, largely ignored until now, except by local and Mainland Chinese researchers, give a first idea of what can be drawn from it for a better understanding of the Insulindian Chinese communities, as well as their cultural links with the motherland.

Role of Women in the Making of Sino-Insulindian Communities

If the study of the various literary productions has been in many ways a revelation of the social and political condition of the Insulindian Chinese, that of the very special place of women within their communities, both indigenous, and of Chinese origin, is no less so.

Formerly, when merchants arrived from China, they acted like those of other nations, who came to trade like them, and bought a woman whom they resold, if by chance they returned to their country. However, the judicial archives of the Council of the Chinese in Batavia from the late 18th century show that such local female slaves (mainly from Bali and also from South Celebes) could be promoted to the position of concubine (*qie* 妾), which entailed a relative liberation from their bondage and made them eligible to receive part of the inheritance. Another possibility was to become a "Chinese lady." In order to cross this boundary, a native woman had to be adopted by a Chinese gentleman and receive a Chinese surname. Then she was eligible for formal marriage according to the Chinese rites. (Vol. 72).[23]

23. See also Yuan Bingling, "Chinese Women in Jakarta During the Colonial Period", *Asian culture*/亚洲文化, 26, June 2002, p. 53-57.

Plate 3 – Chinese Girls Playing *Congkak* in Kupang, Timor, reproduced from Freycinet**,** *Voyage autour du Monde…,* 1824-1844.

Some of these women seem to have been held in high esteem. For example, upon the death of Siqua (Yan Erguan 顏二官), the head of the Chinese community of Batavia in 1666, he was succeeded by his widow, a Balinese, who held the office of "captain" until 1678, when a man was elected to replace her, following protests from some Chinese people. Some women went so far as to master certain elements of Chinese medicine. Two of them living in the first decades of the 18th century remained famous for having cared for the families of two governors-general for many years (Vol. 16).

It remains that it is difficult to perceive how these women of local origin became sinicised.[24] An interesting fact is that Peranakan wives were very concerned about introducing their names and those of their parents into Chinese-style genealogies. Some even went much further by introducing their family's ancestral tablets into the ancestral temples of their husband's families, such as in Makassar. Eighteenth-century Chinese sources praise some "Chinese" ladies

24. See Plate 3, reproduced from Louis-Claude de Saulces de Freycinet . *Voyage autour du Monde fait par ordre du Roi, sur les corvettes de S.M. l'*Uranie *et la* Physicienne, *pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820... publié par M. Louis de Freycinet, Capitaine de Vaisseau, commandant de l'expédition...* Paris, Pillet aîné, 1824-1844. 7 tomes de texte en 9 vol. in-4° et 4 vol. d'atlas gr. in. Folio, Plate 25.

of Batavia for their great virtue, which shows that the conception of the ideal Chinese woman had made its way beyond the seas. However, there were limits to this sinicisation. For instance, the custom of foot-binding, which was very widespread in China never spread to the South Seas. It is the hybrid culture of these women that has given the Peranakan communities their special character (Vol. 16). The particular status of Sino-Insulindian women is also reflected after their death on their epitaphs, by an ultimate construction that was aimed at integrating them into a symbolic Chinese world, and giving them posthumous names that reflected the status of their husbands, as in China (Vol. 72).

During the second half of the 19th century and even more during the early 20th century, Peranakan women in the Dutch Indies became more and more westernized and developed a taste for writing fiction and contributing articles in Malay in the press, and even claimed a certain emancipation (Vol. 28, 42, 49, and Plate 4).

It is more difficult to perceive the role of women of Chinese origin in these communities. It is towards the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th that the emigration of Chinese women to Insulindia may be traced. Several adventurers from Guangdong accompanied by their families moved to Palembang (South Sumatra) to stop ships and rob them of their valuables. In this society of pirates and outlaws, women had the same rights as men. but the fact was not well considered and Chinese texts are discreet on this subject. It seems that there have always been some emigrants to take their wives with them. But it was not until the 19th and 20th centuries that a large-scale trade in women for prostitution to the South Seas developed. As far as voluntary female migrants are concerned, for the second half of the 19th century, these were wives going to join their husbands. In the female emigration of the 20th century, three particular new social groups appeared: teachers, Buddhist nuns, and maids (Vol. 16, 19, 23).

The massive arrival of Chinese women, from the last decades of the 19th century up to 1941, contributed to changing the nature of Insulindian Chinese communities by resinicising for several decades a way of life that had borrowed heavily from the host countries, and consequently by cutting the new migrants off from the population of their host countries.

Technical Knowledge, Trade and Transfers

It is particularly difficult to study the economic role of Chinese migrants from a historical point of view, due to the rapid evolution of profit patterns and political instability over time. Here we are going to evoke successively sugarcane processing in West Java, ceramic manufacturing in Sarawak and West Kalimantan, and birds' nest exploitation in Indonesia.

Sugarcane Processing and Trade in the Sultanate of Banten

The archaeological excavations carried out in 1988 in cooperation with the Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia, and EFEO, together

Plate 4 – Portrait of Journalist and Writer Siem Piet Nio, pseud. Hong Le Hoa (b. in 1907). Private Collection.

with information from 17th-century European sources, have made it possible to identify to the south of the old city of Banten or Banten Lama, in the village of Kelapadua, formerly linked to the coast by a river, the remains of a quarter which was inhabited by Chinese farmers. From the 1630s until the victory of the VOC over the Sultanate in 1682, these farmers cultivated sugarcane quite extensively, and manufactured white sugar and arak in order to supply British buyers, with whom they signed contracts. According to the contracts signed in 1638 with six producers, the British intended to buy more than 17 tons of white sugar (Vol. 39). After 1682, the Chinese planters moved to the coast in the areas of Tanjung Kait and Sumurangsana, to the west of Ci Sasanada River, where the Dutch became their exclusive buyers. The few epitaphs found in Kelapadua and datable from the second half of the 17th century (1660s-1670s) show that the deceased originated from Zhangzhou 漳州 prefecture (South Fujian), a region known for its sugarcane plantations and sugar processing since the Song times (960-1278).

By the end of the 17th century, these sugar factories had largely exhausted the forests of the surrounding area, and slightly later those of the Batavia region, and during the second half of the 18th century, little by little sugar refineries moved eastwards to Central Java and to East Java. This is how two great Chinese families of Surabaya, the Hans 韓 and the Tjoas 蔡, took part in the modernization of the sugar industry and sugar's peak expansion until the effects of the 1920s and of the great crisis of the 1930s were felt in Java, which resulted in a period of retrenchment and partial recovery prior to World War II (Vol. 53).

Migrant Chinese Ceramic Manufacturing

While Chinese export ceramics have been the subject of a fairly large number of studies, the migration of Chinese potters to Insulindia and the construction in situ of dragon kilns*, longyao* 龍窯 (so called because of their elongated shape spreading out on a slope) that were modeled on those in use in South China since remote times, has attracted little research.

However, at the very beginning of the 1980s, three researchers investigated some of the ceramic factories still in operation in Singkawang (West Kalimantan), Sarawak, and Sabah (Vol. 26). The first two scholars explored three manufactures located in the village of Padang Pasir (6 km to the south of Singkawang), focusing on raw materials and tools, the kiln, and the distinct stages of the manufacturing process. The third scholar concentrated her research on the manufactures in the areas of Kuching, Sibu, and Miri (Sarawak), and Kota Kinabalu (Sabah). She was interested in the origin of these potters who all came from the Chaozhou 潮州 region (Guangdong) and were related to each other. The founder of the oldest and largest manufacture in Sarawak settled in Tanah Putih (Kuching) in 1910, a little later than in Singkawang (Vol. 66). Their production was diversified, reaching both urban consumers, and the Dayak living in longhouses in the interior of the country,

for whom they made large jars (*tempayan*) in order to replace those formerly imported from China.[25]

This traditional technique appears all the more interesting as the use of dragon-kilns seems to have declined in China, in favor of kilns of different models. Nowadays, those still in use in Insulindia are becoming extremely rare too, so that an ultimate survey would be greatly welcome.[26] A question that would deserve to be raised is how the potters prospected to locate the indispensable clay? Did they send out prospectors to identify suitable locations, or did they rely on information given by the local population? True enough, some place names indicate the presence of clay, such as Sungai Liat, literally "clay river," in Bangka, where Chinese potters actually came to settle, apparently at the beginning of the 20th century. When we visited that place in the 1990s, they were still making cups to collect latex in rubber plantations, as well as ordinary tableware.

Exploitation of Edible Birds' Nests, A Long-term Business

The importance given to swiftlet's nests in Chinese dietetics over the centuries has led to a long-lasting trade with the South Sea countries which continues to this day, and to which could be compared those of shark fins and of trepang or bêche-de-mer.

The term *yanwo* 燕窩 or "swiflet's nest" appears apparently for the first time in a dietary compendium *Yinshi xu zhi* 飲食須知 or "Essentiel Knowledge for Eating and Drinking" (1368), which stresses prevention of illness rather than treatment. It seems that the nests were first collected in South China and eaten locally by commoners before being imported from the South Seas, especially from Champa and Insulindia during the 15th and early 16th centuries. In the 1590s, this taste for birds' nests was extensively shared by the elite and has spread to northern provinces. The booming consumption of this delicacy during the following centuries resulted in a huge quest for swiflet's caves all over the archipelago, and the control of the birds' nest trade, at first by local rulers, subsequently by the Dutch and the Indonesian authorities.

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25. Further studies have revealed that all the Chinese potters who settled in continental Malaysia and in Singapore were Teochews, originating from the same potters' village in Guangdong province (Fengxi or Pangkhoi 枫溪) in the Chaozhou 潮州 region. The first ones settled in Kuala Lumpur in 1905, followed by others in Ipoh, Malacca and Kluang. Their production was often linked to tin mines because of the suitable clay and aimed at the domestic needs of Chinese workers as well as the fabrication of latex cups for the rubber estates. See M-F Dupoizat, Recherches sur les jarres en Asie du Sud-Est, Thèse de doctorat, EHESS, Paris, 1988.

26. In the post-World War II era, Singapore had over 20 dragon kilns in Jurong, Pulau Tekong, Pulau Ubin and Serangoon. But in the 1970s, the number of dragon kilns dwindled to about 10, and they were all located in Jurong. http://navalants.blogspot.com/2017/12/dragon-kiln.html. Retrieved on 5/10/2020.

The big novelty in the birds' nest exploitation was a progressive shift from collecting cave and cliff nests to the practice of swiftlet farming. It is probably the fact that swiftlets came to live of their own accord in old European-style houses in Java, forcing their occupants to give way to them, which was at the origin of the breeding of *burung walet* in urban areas. The production of house nests (*sarang rumah*) has developed considerably since the 1980s, giving rise to the production of a new type of knowledge aimed at taming and raising swiftlets in centres set up for this purpose (*sentra walet*).

In addition, some contractors have specialized in the construction of such buildings, ranging from blockhouse-style buildings to urban dwellings that, from the outside, are indistinguishable from the residences of the elite. Sometimes, these are sold "turnkey" and even with their population of swiftlets. Research on these birds continues to develop and several experts travel to spread their knowledge throughout Indonesia, but also abroad, notably in Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand, and Vietnam. Several books and VCDs in Indonesian are also available in Chinese, English and Vietnamese. The first centre for swiftlet research, services and equipment sales, the Eka Walet Center/ Pusat Informasi dan Sarana Budidaya Walet, was founded in Semarang in 1989, by the veterinarian E. Nugroho with the help of other practitioners.

At the time this research was published in 2005 (Vol. 76), Indonesia was the leading producer and exporter of swiftlet's nests. For years, the sale of birds' nests was largely unregulated, but in 2011 Indonesia's bird's nest industry experienced serious backlash when China imposed a ban on Indonesian exporters due to a high concentration of nitrate, lead and arsenic found in some products. As per October 2018, only 21 out of more than 100 exporters in Indonesia passed the long and tedious certification process according to new regulations, that allow them to sell their production legally, the remaining being illicitly sold in black markets at cheaper prices via a third party, in countries like Vietnam.[27]

Circulation of Traditional Chinese Medicine and Pharmacy

The practice of traditional Chinese medicine is also a long-term undertaking on which there is a very rich bibliography in Chinese, but also in the European languages. It has been questioned both scientifically and politically following the introduction of Western medicine to China in the late 19th century. It has been able to survive and even redeploy nationally and internationally because of its intrinsic values, the resilience of the practitioners, but also because of particular political circumstances.

27. China's birds' nest crackdown leaves Indonesia struggling to feather its… http://www.scmp.com/week-asia/business/article/2152955/chinas-birds-nest-crackdown-leaves-indonesia-struggling-feather. Retrieved on 13/10.2020.

The trade in plants and other medicinal products in Asia, particularly between China and the South East Asian countries, dates back to the dawn of time. It seems that Chinese doctors started travelling to South Sea countries at a very early stage. The story goes that when the prefect of Giao Chi 交趾 (present North Vietnam), Shi Xie 士燮, fell seriously ill in 226 CE, he was healed by the Buddhist monk Dong Feng 董奉 who was then famous for his medical knowledge, by a single pill. For subsequent periods, the chronicles have kept the memory of the most famous physicians who cared for various sovereigns. When Admiral Zheng He 鄭和 (1371-1433) undertook his great maritime expeditions at the beginning of the 15th century, he hired 180 doctors whose mission was to monitor the health conditions of the crew, but also to study the various medicines of the countries visited.

During the Ming Dynasty and notably after the fall of the dynasty more physicians and pharmacists went abroad. European sources mention the presence of Chinese pharmacists in Manila from the end of the 16th century, and Chinese doctors in the service of the kings of Siam, but also of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) or United East India Company employees in Batavia, at the beginning of the following century.

The truth is that very little is known about the early history of Chinese medicine in Insulindia, which has not been studied by European physicians. The information in our possession comes from travelers and employees of the VOC. We know for instance that in 1635, the Christian Chinese physician Master Isaac was appointed physician of the Company in Batavia with an enormous emolument. In 1640, the Chinese of that city obtained the permission to collect money in order to erect a "Chinese Hospital," called in Chinese Yangji yuan 養濟院 or "Hospice for the Poor," that was completed in 1646. It was run by a committee including Dutch and Chinese administrators among whom Master Isaac. But nothing is known regarding the nationality of the physicians and the apothecary attached to that institution. Dutch sources also allude to the arak distiller Tjoebitia 周美爹, who was also a prominent doctor. He used to treat Governor-General van Horn (in office 1704-1709), who was a great sinophile. Another respected physician was the wife of a certain lieutenant who during thirty years used to treat the family of Governor-General Matheus de Haan (in office 1725-1729).[28] From the second half of the 18th century onwards the Europeans apparently became less attracted to Chinese medicine, because we hardly find any reference to famous physicians in Dutch sources.

The Chinese epigraphic corpus of Indonesia allows us to trace the names of some apothecaries, where doctors generally had their practices. In the last decades of the 19th century some of them published announcements in the press.

28. In Ming/Qing China women doctors were very common.

From the late 1890s to the beginning of the 20th century, with the rise of modern medicine or *xiyi* 西醫, traditional medicine, *zhongyi* 中醫, was sharply attacked in China proper. In 1929, the newly established Ministry of Public Health took a resolution aimed at abolishing old medicine. As a result, traditional Chinese practitioners at home and abroad organized themselves to deal with the emergency. The traditional doctors were finally successful: in 1935, a resolution demanding "equal treatment for Chinese and Western medicine" was passed. In fact, it was World War II that brought the rehabilitation of Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM), due to the lack of western-trained doctors and western drugs outside the big cities. Schools of Chinese medicine were established in China, Hong Kong and Singapore in the 1950s. Exchanges between China and Indonesia occurred in the early 1960s. In 1962 nine Chinese doctors were officially sent to Jakarta to treat Sukarno. But with the ascent of Suharto, practitioners of TCM found themselves in a critical period for their profession, while the importation of ready-made Chinese medicines was prohibited.

The practitioners of TCM and acupuncture, who in 1975 created an organisation supported by Sino-Indonesian medicine merchants, succeeded a few years later in establishing schools for traditional medicine, first in Jakarta and then in other cities. Thus, TCM was gaining a foothold in Indonesia and international symposia were organised throughout ASEAN. The boom in TCM started in 1985 when business relations with PRC were normalized. With the progressive liberalization of the economy during the presidency of Megawati Sukarnoputri, the import of Chinese medicine entered into a new phase, while PRC doctors in TCM were permitted to work in Indonesia provided there should be a transfer of technology. At the time this research was completed (Vol. 74), several modern traditional health centers had been founded in Jakarta and a few other big cities, all operating with PRC Chinese practitioners working with local interpreters. Compared to the local TCM dispensaries, which cater to all classes, but particularly to those with little money, these new centres are aimed at a rather well-to-do clientele.

The Place of the Dead in the World of the Living

The leaders of Chinese communities abroad had the duty to look after the living as well as the dead. They had to help the former in case of need and ensure that the latter rested in peace in pleasant and soothing places. Despite the incessant expenditure over time, both individually and collectively, by the Chinese of Insulindia to conserve and secure their graveyards, the latter have never been really protected from destruction. As early as 1668, the community of Batavia lodged a complaint against a group of Ambonese who resided next to their cemetery and had desecrated some four hundred graves. This struggle for space between the living and the dead in urban context has grown steadily over the centuries. Since the 20th century, municipalities have planned the

destruction of urban cemeteries, as has occurred in certain European countries during the 19th century.

In the Chinese world, where dialogue between the living and the dead is extremely important and constantly renewed, these measures cause serious mental suffering, all the more so as the former are attached to their ancestral values, without the slightest possibility of putting them into perspective. If the humblest ones accept willingly or unwillingly giving up burials for cremation, as soon as they move up in society, people make enormous sacrifices to offer their ancestors a place to rest in peace. During the second part of the 20th century, Chinese businessmen were quick to realize that they could make huge profits by creating luxurious memorial parks on the outskirts of major cities (Vol. 92). In doing so, some promoters have intervened culturally by projecting in these memorial parks various cultural elements aimed at visualizing the greatness of Chinese culture, notably in Malaysia. It should be noted that Singapore does not follow this new trend, as the authorities have in principle prohibited the burial of the deceased, both on the territory of the republic and abroad.

Memorial parks as well as cemeteries must conform to the land-use plan or zoning ordinance site, and must be located on the periphery of the town or in sparsely inhabited areas of the locality having jurisdiction over the project. These new cemeteries, well maintained and boasting a pleasant atmosphere that is more or less Chinese, progressively have attracted families, even among those whose deceased are buried in old cemeteries, and who not long ago were struggling against their destruction. After hesitating more or less, they decide to discreetly transfer the remains of their ancestors to these memorial parks. Thus, they contribute to the destruction of the traces of their own history, which previously they wanted to preserve...

This collective research highlights the still highly significant place of the dead among people of Chinese origin, and the intellectual suffering caused by urban planning on the run. It also shows how the world of local entrepreneurs has seized death as a new source of profit. In the case of Malaysia, the funeral entrepreneurs had the idea of using new cemeteries as places in which to revive Chinese culture by visualising the past through a gallery of famous stelae, and by reproducing certain cultural landscapes in miniature form. In the Philippines, as in Indonesia, the tendency is rather to reunite the deceased beyond ethnic diversity, which is a way for the living to affirm their belonging to their host country. This is how politics makes its mark, even after death.

At the time this collective essay was published (Vol. 92), this model of new cemeteries had found its way into mainland China and into Muslim circles in Malaysia as well as in Indonesia.

Sino-Indonesian Architecture and the Notion of Cultural Heritage

It is to a specialist in the evaluation of hydrocarbon wells that we owe the merit of having drawn attention to the sinicised architecture of the Pasisir

by a *cahier d'images* or "Collected Images" (Vol. 51), at a time when any Chinese contribution to Indonesian culture was strongly denied, and several years before the concept of "cultural heritage" or *warisan budaya* made its way among Sino Indonesians.[29] The sailboats coming from Madura, Buton and Celebes stopped loading in the small ports of Gresik, Tuban, Lasem, and Rembang, in favour of the trucks now draining the products from the hinterland to the big cargo ships of Surabaya, and these small intermediate ports and their sinicised architecture gradually died out. This is precisely the time when P. Piollet built up his photographic corpus, which he since donated to Petra Christian University of Surabaya.

In Indonesia, unlike Malaysia, very few Peranakan families of long standing have managed to preserve and maintain the magnificent half Chinese-half European houses built by their ancestors during the 19th century. The three first heritage museums created between 2003 and 2011, one in Java, and two in Sumatra, were in fact established in houses that formerly belonged to Chinese newcomers.[30] However, apart from private initiatives aimed at safeguarding certain buildings, so far little has been done at the national level to safeguard endangered Sino-Indonesian monuments.

Conclusion

The study of Sino-Insulindians can be made in relation to the country of their ancestors, more precisely in relation to the successive policies of China and those of Insulindian countries with regard to the citizenship of the Chinese diaspora. For a time, the emphasis has been placed on the political problems these policies generated at the international level, especially since the end of World War II, and consequently the necessity for these ethnic Chinese living abroad to make a choice in terms of nationality, with all the implications that this entailed.

Here in *Archipel*, apart from a few articles that deal with national and regional identity, as well as patriotism (Vol. 14, 32, 39, 61, 84), the tendency has been towards the investigation of economic, social, cultural, and religious facts, as seen from within Insulindia. Although not immune to political circumstances, these facts spread over a rather long period of time, and in many ways affect various constituents of the host society, and to a lesser extent of mainland China.

29. The concept of heritage first appeared in Malaysia with the foundation in 1984 of the Malacca Chinese Hill Heritage Park, in Chinese Wenhua yichan gongyuan 文化遺產公園, also called "Historic Place", [Lishi] guji gongyuan [歷史]古跡公園, at a time when Bukit Cina, the oldest Chinese cemetery, was endangered by urban expansion and property developers. See C. Salmon, "Sino-Insulindian Private History Museums, Cultural Heritage Places, and the (Re)construction of the Past," *Asian Culture* 42 December 2018, p. 2-4.

30. Op. cit., p. 6-8.

Some studies aim more specifically at studying the different processes of integration at the socio-economic, cultural and religious levels. At the socio-economic level, integration efforts range from those of the newly arrived migrant who laboriously negotiated his services on the street where the different social classes rub shoulders, to those of the big businessmen who dealt with the men in power, and ended up making themselves indispensable. At the cultural level, the processes of adaptation are endless, ranging from an attempt to master the culture and language of the other, while striving to maintain all or part of one's own culture, to personal creations aimed at "translating" his or her own culture into the local ones, but also at participating in the local cultures through his or her own writings. The supreme degree of integration consists in going so far as to adopt the religion of the other, either individually, and eventually more or less collectively in relation to dramatic political events, such as the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia in 1740, and the events of 1965 in Indonesia.

Studying the Chinese component of Insulindian societies is also a way of highlighting their cultural diversity and richness which are in perpetual motion. In this respect, it could be regretted that the journal *Archipel* has not served as a platform for similar studies of the Arabic component.[31]

Last but not least, with the arrival of new Chinese migrants since the end of the 20th century, but especially in the early 21st century, new problems have arisen in terms of their impact on existing Chinese communities and on the host countries as a whole, which should also be addressed in this review.[32]

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Varia

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Sailing near the Natuna Islands and West Kalimantan: Notes on the "Zheng He Map" and Some Ming "Rutters"

Introduction

The so-called "Zheng He Map" or *Zheng He hanghai tu* 鄭和航海圖 (now *ZHHHT*), also known as the Mao Kun 茅坤 map, is among the best-studied works of traditional Chinese cartography.[1] Unfortunately, the date, origin and

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1. This article follows the modern edition called *Xinbian Zheng He hanghai tu ji* (1988). In rare cases, the facsimilized version published by Xiang Da is cited; see *ZHHHT*/ Xiang Da. Recent bibliographies list many works on this map and navigation. See especially Zhu Jianqiu 2005: 98-107; same 2010: 20-23; Liu Ying et al. 2014: especially 97-101. There are also several surveys of traditional Chinese works on nautical issues and sea routes; some of them focus on the *ZHHHT*, others take a broader approach. Examples: Zheng Yijun 1985: especially 173, 191-234; Zheng Yijun 1991; Kuan Yuanzhi and Zheng Yijun 2008: 57-64 (these three works are similar); Wade 2013; Papelitzky 2021. – The *ZHHHT* is one of several sea charts related to China's coast and the oceans. For old maps, see Liang Erping 2015, Fang Kun et al. 2016, Zhu Jianqiu et al. 2017, Tan Guanglian 2017. Lin Meicun 1011, 2015 and 2019 (2018) discusses cartographical categories and other points related to the *ZHHHT*, but not everyone will share his views. Among the earlier special studies investigating the *ZHHHT* are those by Fan Wentao 1943, Zhou Yusen 1959 and Xu Yuhu 1976. Mills 1970 made ample use of some pioneering investigations by Mulder, Pelliot, Duyvendak and others. These are all well-known titles; therefore, they do not appear in the bibliography. By contrast, "Western" scholars have rarely noticed Didier 2002. Among the most recent Chinese studies are several works by Zhou Yunzhong, cited below.

author(s) of this maritime document remain in the dark, but most scholars assume that its original version goes back to the early fifteenth century and that the *ZHHHT* is related to the voyages of Zheng He. The map shows the entire sea route from Nanjing and coastal China, via the shores of modern Vietnam and around the Malay Peninsula to the Indian Ocean, as far as the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa. In other words, it outlines what we now call the "Maritime Silk Route" with many of its branches, associated ports, islands, and other important landmarks.[2] Although the structure of the map is clear and the majority of all toponyms and nautical instructions on it are accurate, some questions related to specific regions and certain details still require a careful discussion, because there is disagreement among scholars on how to interpret them. One case is the area near modern Singapore; this includes the Riau and Lingga Islands. Lin Woling, basing his analysis on the *ZHHHT* and other sources, tried to find out which channels Zheng He's fleets had used when sailing around the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula. He concluded that the Riau Channel was an important sailing corridor, but other scholars refuted his views.[3]

There are many more problems related to the geographical and nautical concepts underlying the *ZHHHT*. The present note draws attention to one such issue: to sailing from the area near southern Vietnam, via Kepulauan Natuna, to the area of Tanjung Datu, and from there, along the coast of West Kalimantan, to Kepulauan Karimunjawa and eventually to the region of Gresik and Surabaya on Java. However, in contrast to many other routes drawn on the map, this sailing corridor remains without comments. There are no instructions concerning compass bearings or the average duration of a voyage in terms of *geng* 更 or "watches" (often calculated as c. 60 *li* 里), nor can one find astronomical data in association with these itineraries.[4] All we get is some islands and toponyms and the route itself (with one or two branches), drawn in the form of a broken line.

What are the reasons for this arrangement? Why are there no additional details for these sea lanes? One possible explanation could be that the author(s) of the map wanted to focus on the principal and most direct "avenue" connecting China, via the South China Sea, to the ports around the Indian Ocean. This was the so-called *xi hanglu* 西航路 or *Xiyang hangxian* 西洋航綫, i.e., the route

2. Some general ideas regarding the *ZHHHT* and the "Maritime Silk Route" in Ptak 2018.

3. Lin Woling 1999 is important for the analysis of certain toponyms such as Longyamen 龍牙門. For a critical work, see Chung Chee Kit 2013. A more balanced study is Kurz 2019. – Other problems related to the map are, discussed, for example, in Ptak 2019.

4. Briefly on the term *geng*: Mills 1970: 307. More elaborate notes: Didier 2002: 56-57. There are many Chinese studies on this concept. Zheng Yijun 1991 provides essential data. Recently some notes are also included in Liu Yijie 2017: 317-331.

leading to/or through the "Western Ocean" (Xiyang 西洋).[5] Apparently, the segment from the area near modern Vietnam down to the east side of the Malay Peninsula was more important than sailing near the west side of Kalimantan. This could imply that the Javanese ports and even the Sunda Strait filled a subordinate position within the network of early Ming trading routes.

However, one can quickly put in doubt these suggestions. The *Qianwen ji* 前聞記, which outlines the itinerary of Zheng He's seventh expedition, clearly indicates that the Ming fleet sailed from Champa to Java in 1432, with the winter monsoon. For this passage it needed circa 24 days. Probably some of the ships belonging to that armada made stopovers somewhere between Champa and Java, but there are no details. The fleet left Surabaya in July, with the summer monsoon, and proceeded in the general direction of Melaka and the Indian Ocean. The return voyage was of course different: From Melaka it sailed directly towards Pulau Condore and then, via Champa, back to China.[6]

Here, the crucial part is the outbound voyage. It is possible that, in order to reach Java, some of Zheng He's vessels had chosen a route near the west side of Kalimantan. Probably the other Zheng He expeditions followed a near-to-identical pattern. One may add that earlier Chinese mariners had already acquainted themselves with sailing near the west side of Kalimantan. The fleet sent by Khublai Khan to Java in the 1290s is a famous example. It used that route, perhaps because it was the safest from South China to Java.[7] Why then did the author(s) of the *ZHHHT* decide to "downgrade" this corridor by leaving out nautical instructions and other necessary details? Were the editor(s) or mapmaker(s) careless?

Two aspects come to mind. First, there are several editions of the *ZHHHT*. The ones based on the map in Mao Yuanyi's 茅元儀 (1594–1640?) *Wubei zhi* 武備志 (1621) are widely distributed, while the version in *Nanshu zhi* 南樞志 (late Ming) is not so current. However, for the present study the issue of different editions is not very important. Indeed, Chinese colleagues have shown that the differences between the extant versions are negligible in many

5. Several studies deal with the segmentation of the oceans in traditional Chinese sources. Here are only three examples: Ptak 1998, 2001 and 2004.

6. *Qianwen ji*, 36b-38a. Translations in Pelliot 1933, 307-311; Mills 1970: 14-19; Didier 2002: especially 86-87. A good study combining nautical data derived from *ZHHHT*, *Qianwen ji* and other texts is Xu Shengyi et al. 2015. Older and general works on Zheng He also discuss the entry in *Qianwen ji*. One example: Zheng Yijun 1985: especially 229-230.

7. See, for example, Groeneveldt 1876: especially: 22, 25-26, 47; Mills 1970: 23, 89; Dars 1992: 341-343; Lo Jungpang 2012: 305-306; Bade 2013: especially 46-47, 71-81. Also see Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 157. – According to Zhou Yunzhong 2015a: 336, Chinese sailors began to use the route to Java, via the west coast of Kalimantan, more frequently from the late Song period onwards; he argues this had to do with the decline of Srivijaya.

ways. It also seems that the map in *Nanshu zhi* is technically inferior to the other versions. Moreover, the sailing routes discussed here are nearly identical in all available editions.[8]

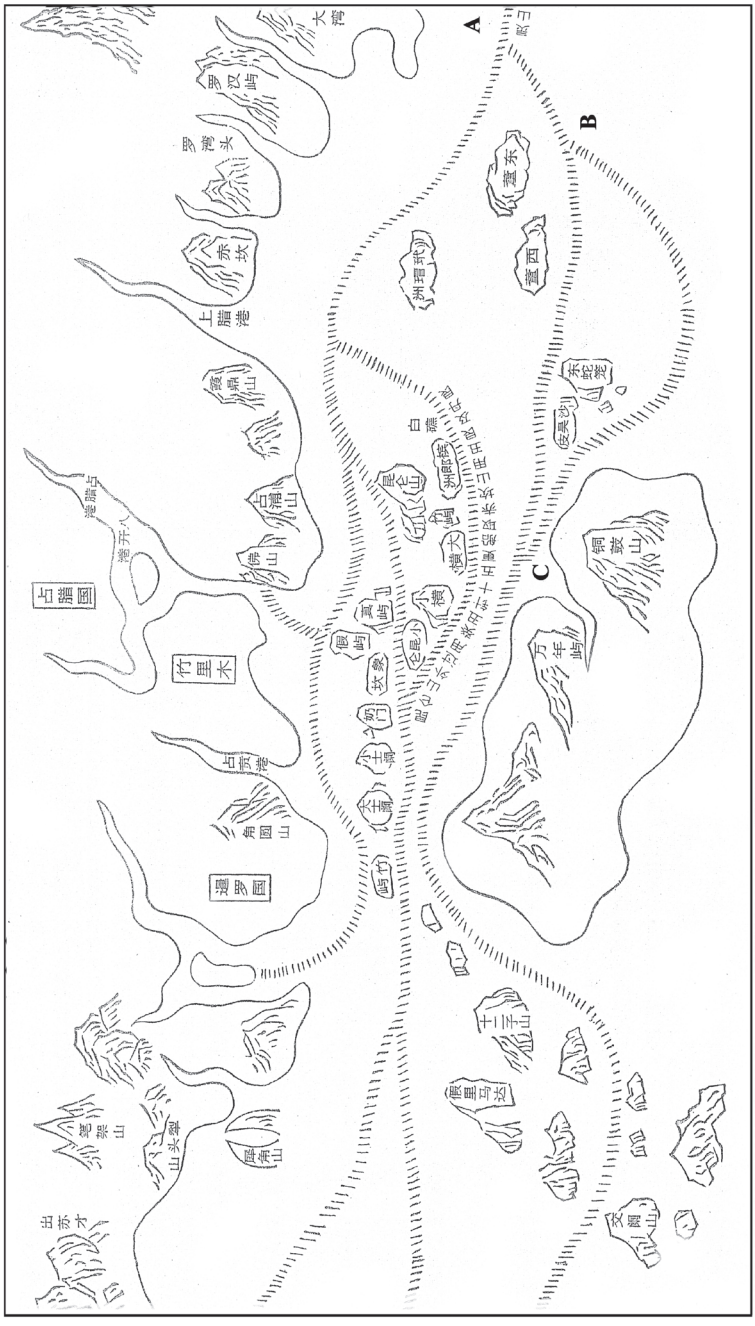
The second point is more complicated. This concerns the spatial concept behind the category "Xiyang," or Western Ocean, which changed in the course of time. From traditional texts we can tell that geographers held different opinions regarding the "border" between the Xiyang and the so-called "Dongyang" 東洋, or Eastern Ocean. According to the *Dongxiyang kao* 東西洋考 (now *DXYK*; prefaces 1617/1618) much of Kalimantan belonged to the sphere of the Eastern Ocean and the *dong hanglu* 東航路 (*Dongyang hangxian* 東洋航綫), or eastern route, which ran from Fujian to Luzon, the Sulu zone and beyond, with a branch following the coast of Sarawak to Brunei. Beyond that place began the area of the Western Ocean.[9] Other texts, including some earlier material, push the "dividing line" between the western and eastern spheres to the Sunda Strait or to locations even farther west. This shows that much of the Natuna Sea with all its sailing routes formed a connective element between the two principal oceans and the two major north-south alleys, i.e., the core route of the western trade artery (via the east side of the Malay Peninsula) and the core route of the eastern system. No doubt, Zheng He's fleets made ample use of that connective element; therefore, it was certainly necessary to show the Kalimantan route on the map, albeit without explanations.

Furthermore, one may ask whether this arrangement can tell us something about the date of the map. There is no clear answer to that question. Different spatial concepts existed in Zheng He's times and throughout the sixteenth century. Assigning the *ZHHHT* to just one of these concepts – and thus to a specific period – would be inappropriate. Many other elements should enter a discussion on the possible date of our map. More generally, key works in world history are often surrounded by certain ambiguities; that also applies to the *ZHHHT*. Such ambiguities have their advantages. In the present case, they allow (or even urge) us to examine the toponyms and sea routes on the map not only in their own light, but also by comparing the relevant details with those found in other Ming works, and especially with the data available in nautical texts. Earlier studies have also followed such an approach.[10]

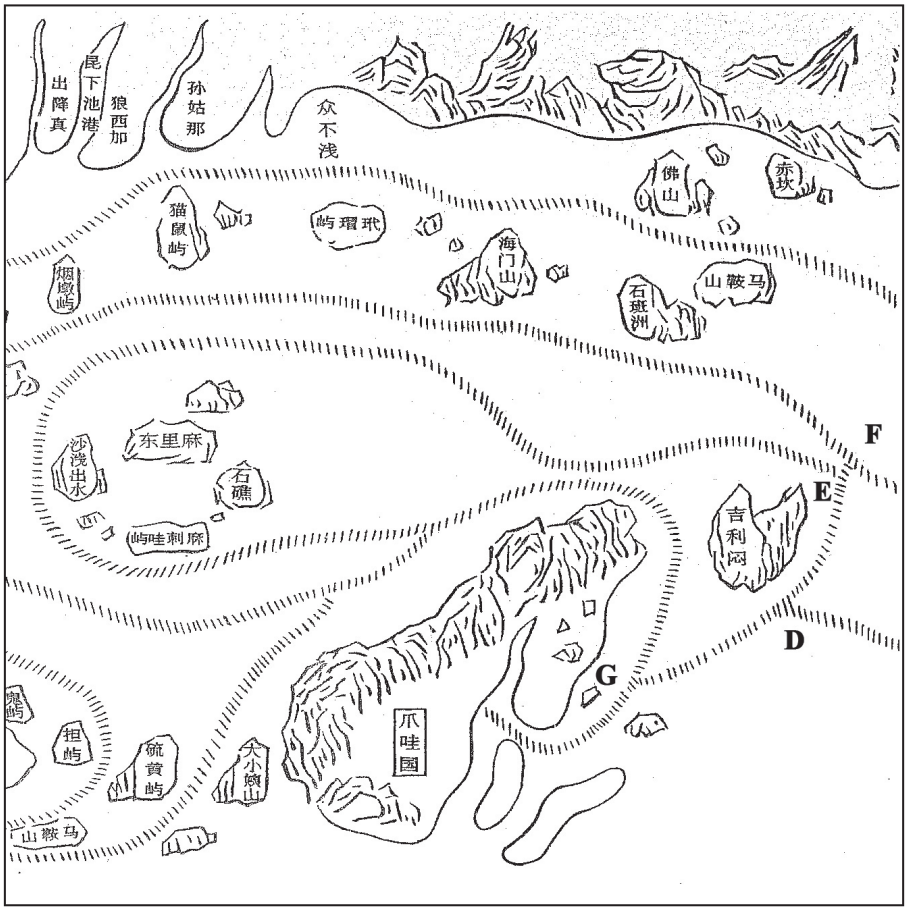
8. For comparisons between different editions of the *ZHHHT*, see Zhang Jian 2013, vol. 2: 233-252; Zhou Yunzhong 2007 and 2013: 69-86. For additional work: Zhou Yunzhong 2015b. – Most recently a new version of the map came to light at the Nanjing University Library. This coloured version, called *Tong waiguo tu* 通外國圖, seems to be a product of the Qing dynasty. My thanks to Dr. James K. Chin 錢江 for providing the relevant information.

9. *DXYK*, j. 5: 102.

10. Xu Yuhu 1976: especially 96-100, is an example: Xu cites from several sources, but in many cases offers no identification of the relevant toponyms. His study combines earlier work, among which is Xu Yuhu 1973 and 1975.



Map 1 A – Section of the *Zheng He hanghai tu*; see ZHHHT: 44-45.



Map 1 B – Section of the *Zheng He hanghai tu*; see ZHHHT: 44-45

One such study is a fine book by Zhou Yunzhong of which I made abundant use in the present article.[11] More specifically, my notes follow a "geographical orientation"; they move from north to south, i.e., from the sea near Vietnam to the Natunas, then to Kalimantan, and finally to Java. In doing so, I shall look at various place names and some physical features of the areas in question. The focus is on the *ZHHHT* and the principal intention is to establish a clearer picture of the relevant route segments shown on that map. However, in some cases the discussion turns to other sources as well, mainly for comparative reasons and for providing supportive evidence. Among these sources are the descriptions of sea routes in the following texts: *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* 西洋朝貢典錄 (now *XYCGDL*; preface 1520), the anonymous *Shunfeng xiangsong* 順風相送 (now *SFXS*; mostly Ming period), *Siyi guangji* 四夷廣記 (now *SYGJ*; completed c. 1601–1603?) and *DXYK*.[12]

Dongdong, Xidong, the Northern and Central Parts of the Natuna Islands

The starting point of our discussion is near the "twin islands" called Dongdong 東董 and Xidong 西董. The *ZHHHT* places them at some distance from the coast of modern Vietnam. Most scholars agree that these names represent Pulau Sapate (Sapatu; 9°59'N, 109°05'E) and Grande (Great) Catwick (10°05'N, 108°53'N).[13] Pulau Sapate, to the southeast of the second island, is easily visible from afar because its highest elevation reaches more than one hundred meters. Portuguese *roteiros* regularly refer to it and the adjacent area. It is quite clear from these sources, as well as from Chinese works, that Pulau Sapate served as an important landmark. A brief paragraph in the so-called *Advertências para a navegação da Índia. Roteiros*, a collection of manuscripts, describes Pulau Sapate as a barren, round island (*ilheu*). Near to it is a small "rock" (*pedra*), identifiable as Petite (Little) Catwick. The Portuguese text also says that the top of Pulau Sapate (here

11. For a review of that book (Zhou Yunzhong 2013), see *Archipel* 89 (2015): 205-208.

12. Vol. 1 of the modern collection *LDHL* contains all the relevant material. A beautiful facsimilized version of the *SFXS* is available in Jiao Tianlong et al. 2015, vol. 2. Here, I usually refer to the *SFXS* edition prepared by Xiang Da and to Liu Yijie 2017 (this book also has the facsimilized text). Liu Yijie published several articles on the *SFXS*. One of them, Liu Yijie 2015, surveys past research on the *SFXS*. Regarding the *SYGJ*: The nautical parts of its *Haiguo guangji* section 海國廣記 are also in Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 306-327. More generally, for the *SYGJ* one may now consult Papelitzky 2015a and 2020: 30-31, 41-42, 183. The last work: 118-127, 148-151, contains two case studies, which make use of the *SYGJ*.

13. See, for ex., Han Zhenhua 1999: 405; *ZHHHT*: 49; Mills 1970: especially 195 no. 190; 224 no. 673; Mills 1974: 462. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 153, cites Fang Hao 方豪, who identified Dongdong and Xidong wrongly. In other early work one finds similar errors. One example: Gerini 1909: 709, 710, 714-718, 724. – Some texts write Gatwick in lieu of Catwick.

Map 2 – Laut Natuna and West Kalimantan

ilheu should not refer to the rock) looks like the "hat of a mandarin" (*barete de mandarim*).[14] Interestingly, the *SFXS*, certainly China's most important work on the sea routes through Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean, contains a comparable description: "Dongdongshan: from afar it resembles a silken hat" (東董山，遠似紗帽樣).[15] Besides that, we know that sailors tried to avoid the shallow waters to the west and northwest of that island, evidently because they considered these zones as dangerous, just as they tried to avoid the region farther north, known as the Baixos de Pulau Sissir (Cecir, etc.; various spellings).[16]

Here we may return to the *ZHHHT*. The sea route leading from the area near Dongdong and Xidong (I shall mostly stay with the Chinese names) towards the south, in the general direction of the Natuna Sea, is drawn in such a way that it passes these islands on their east side. By contrast, ships going to the area of modern Thailand and the Malay Peninsula proceeded along the west side of Dongdong and Xidong. The *DXYK* contains a written example for this second option: From Xidong vessels had to steer 195° (*danding*) and then 202.5° (*dingwei*), i.e., they would move towards the south-southwest, when heading for the said regions.[17] The Portuguese also took the route near the west side of Dongdong and Xidong when commuting back and forth between Melaka and China. Only on rare occasions would they follow an "outer" course, which led from Pulau Condore (Côn Sơn; Kunlunshan 崑崙山, also other orthographs; located to the southwest of Pulau Sapate) to the South China Sea, and from an imagined point in the center of that space either towards the Philippines or directly northbound, towards Shangchuan 上川, Macau and/or Guangzhou 廣州.[18] Clearly, the above confirms that Pulau Sapate/Dongdong marked an important location for navigation in late medieval and early modern times, even if Chinese and Portuguese pilots and sailors made use of this landmark in slightly different ways.

Regarding our map, two aspects raise questions. The first question concerns the geographical positions of Dongdong (Pulau Sapate) and Xidong (Grande Gatewick). Dongdong is to the southeast of Xidong. Strangely, the *ZHHHT*

14. Matos 2018: especially 152, 295-296; Manguin 1972: especially 80 (also n. 2 and there), 262. Manguin cites a modern source which compares the shape of this island to a shoe (*sapata*, *sapato* = Port. shoe). There are many more references to the area of Pulau Sapate in Portuguese texts, indicated in Matos and Manguin.

15. *SFXS*: 43; Liu Yijie 2017: 289; Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 153.

16. Manguin 1972: especially 80-81, 262.

17. *DXYK*, j. 9: 180. Recently, for Chinese sailing to the Gulf of Siam: Papelitzky 2015b. – Throughout the present article: Chinese compass directions always appear in brackets.

18. For a simple and useful presentation of this course, see Manguin 1972, maps 1 and 3. Also Matos 2018: 159-161.

indicates a reverse order. This means that, a ship sailing towards the south would pass Dongdong on its east side first, only then would Xidong come in sight. Surprisingly, the *SFXS* suggests the same sequence: In a description of the route from "*Cape Varella* (Lingshan 靈山) *to Java*", Dongdongshan appears in *primo loco*, Xidongshan comes next.[19] Apparently, something is wrong with this arrangement or with our interpretation. How should one solve the problem? One possibility is this: Sailors, as well as the authors of the *SFXS* and *ZHHHT*, took both islands as one cluster, without considering the "internal" setting of that zone.[20] Indeed, Chinese compounds carrying the characters for "east" (*dong*) and "west" (*xi*) always list the "east" first – hence the sequence *dongxi*.[21] Perhaps this linguistic convention is responsible for the arrangement on the map and in *SFXS*. Alternatively, we may surmise the following: For ships passing Dongdong on its east side, Xidong did not matter very much; similarly, ships sailing along the principal trade axis, close to the Vietnam coast, paid little or no intention to Dongdong. These reasons, or just one of them, may explain the unexpected setting we encounter in some sources.

However, there is more to say. According to an old study by Groeneveldt, Xidong might represent the name Pulau Siantan, an island in the Anambas group.[22] This is not very plausible: A ship approaching Kepulauan Anambas from the north would first reach Pulau Matak. Pulau Siantan is south of Pulau Matak and sailing directly from Matak to Siantan is dangerous because there are several reefs in that zone. Moreover, the distance between Dongdong and these islands is quite long. That in itself seems incompatible with the convention of presenting Dongdong/Xidong together, be it graphically as on our map, or verbally, as in *SFXS*. The only entry in *SFXS*, which clearly

19. *SFXS*: 43; Liu Yijie 2017: 289. The *SYGJ* ("*Guangzhou to Java*") only mentions Dongdongshan; see vol. 101, 881a, and Cheng Hesheng and Cheng Yijun 1980: 314. For Lingshan (and variant forms): *GDNH*: 462-464, 1069; Manguin 1972, index underVarela. – The precise title of the entry in *SFXS* is "*Return voyage from Java to Lingshan: outbound course [from Lingshan]*", which I shortened to "*Cape Varella to Java*".

20. The combination Dong/Xidong (shan) in *DXYK*, j. 9: 180, and *SFXS*: 57-58 ("*Fujian to Java*"), 70 ("*Wuyu to Tuban, Jaratan*"), suggests such a cluster. For the *SFXS* also see Liu Yijie 2017: 214, 215. In some sources, especially of later periods, one finds Dongdang 東黨, Dongdong 東洞, Xidang 西黨, Xidong 西洞, etc.; see *GDNH*: 260, 262, 263-264, 267, 329, 331, 337. – Regarding the names in the title of the second *SFXS* entry: Wuyu 浯嶼 stands for Quemoy (Jinmen 金門), an island near Amoy (Xiamen 厦門). The Chinese name for Tuban is Duman 杜蠻 (variant forms in other sources). Jaratan for Raotong 饒潼 (also other identifications; see, for example *GDNH*: 598).

21. Interestingly, Linschoten tells us the Chinese would use the name Tomsitom, which is phonetically near to the modern compound transcription Dong/Xidong. There is also the name Chimstan Sitom. See, for example, Manguin 1972: 86 and n. 6 there; 265-266, map 3; Mills 1974: 462; Mills 1979: 80.

22. Groeneveldt 1876: 26; *GDNH*: 900. – A useful modern description of the area in question in *Sailing Directions*: 20-21.

separates Dongdong from Xidong, is the one describing the route from "*Cape Varella to Java*," just mentioned above, but this entry does not specify the distance between both islands. In spite of these doubts, it is of course possible that ships proceeded from the area near Dongdong or even Pulau Condore directly to the Anambas Islands and from there to other destinations (we shall return to this possibility farther below).

The next aspect is more complex and requires a longer discussion. It concerns the fact that, according to the entry in *SFXS* just quoted, ships sailing from Cape Varella to Java passed Dongdongshan and Xidongshan on their west side, and not on the east side. The text clearly states the "proper sailing route" (*zheng lu* 正路) runs along west side of both islands. What does that mean? Here one may consider three further locations: Ma'anshan 馬鞍山, Talinyu 塔林嶼 and Xiwuqi 西蜈蜞. The same entry in *SFXS* places these islands to the south of Dongdongshan and Xidongshan, one after another, adding one should also pass them on the west side (just as Dongdong and Xidong).[23] Therefore, scholars have correctly suggested that they should be somewhere in the Natuna Archipelago, but if one investigates other early sources and the proposed identifications of these names, as well as several related toponyms, then many problems arise.

This draws our attention away from the *ZHHHT*, but it is necessary to go through the relevant material; only then can one understand the complicated "setting." The *DXYK* may serve as a starting point. It lists Shilidashan 失力大山, Ma'anyu 馬鞍嶼 (not Ma'anshan!) and Talinyu. The sailing instructions given in that context suggest that the first two locations could be near the Malay Peninsula, while Talinyu should be somewhere in the Natuna Sea. Obviously, Mills arrived at a partly different conclusion: He tentatively suggested Pulau Natuna Besar (Great Natuna) for the first name, Pulau Midai for the second and Pulau Seraja for the third one.[24]

Zhou Yunzhong was not satisfied with these and other proposals. He argued that in the entry quoted from *SFXS*, Ma'anshan is likely to represent Pulau Laut, the principal island in the North Natuna group, while Talinyu should stand for Pulau Natuna Besar (and not for Pulau Seraja). The latter is circa 50 kilometres to the south of Pulau Laut and by far the largest island of

23. *SFXS*: 43; Liu Yijie 2017: 289.

24. *DXYK*, j. 9: 180. Mills: 205 no. 348; 217 no. 550; 220 no. 609. Also see *GDNH*: 170 (Ma'anshan 4; Ma'anyu 馬鞍嶼 2), 285-286 (Shilidashan), 756 (Talinyu), which is of little help. – Note, Mills 1979: 81, 92, discussing the *SFXS*, suggests Pulau Subi Kecil for Talinyu. – Han Zhenhua 1999: 405, equates Shili(da)shan with Pulau Sarasan and Talinyu (Minnan: Taplim or Tahlna) with Kepulauan Tambelan; see there: 405, 407 and 465 n. 59 (for the Minnan transcriptions, see Xiamen daxue… 1982). – Malay chronicles, usually of later periods, rarely refer to the Natuna Sea and its islands in the fifteenth century. One exception is the *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai*. See, for example, Ferrand 1913–1914: 666-667.

the entire Natuna Archipelago. There are high mountains on both Pulau Laut and Pulau Natuna Besar (also known as Bunguran) and one finds various reefs and mini-islets in their coastal waters. Sailing through such areas posed risks, while it was certainly not very difficult to identify the major locations with high elevations. Regarding Xiwuqi, we shall get back to this name later on.[25]

To substantiate his proposals, Zhou Yunzhong also referred to a second entry in *SFXS*. This entry – "*Fujian to Java: return voyage*" – specifies the sailing directions and durations (in terms of *geng*) for different sections of a long northbound itinerary, again via the Natuna Sea. Here are some of the relevant details: (a) From Wuqiyu 蜈蜞嶼 to Talinyu (Pulau Natuna Besar): direction *danren* (345°), duration 5 *geng*; (b) from Talinyu to Ma'anshan (Pulau Laut): direction *renzi* (352.5°), duration 5 *geng*; (c) from there to Chikanshan 赤坎山 (Ké Ga on the south coast of modern Vietnam): direction *renzi* (352.5°), then *renhai* (337.5°), total duration 45 *geng*.[26] Wuqiyu (not to be confused with Xiwuqi) is new to us. Zhou Yunzhong suggests that Wuqiyu should be Pulau Subi Besar, the major island in the South Natuna group. Pulau Subi is less than 100 km to the southeast of Pulau Natuna Besar. Several Chinese entries in the *SFXS* describe Wuqiyu as a flat island, which is correct.[27] If

25. There are many short articles and notes on the Natuna Islands in the internet. For a printed article with some references to historical sources, see, for example, Franchino 1990. Archaeological studies also deal with the Natunas. However, such works, for example by Sonny C. Wibisono and John Miksic, are not of direct relevance to the present article and not listed here.

26. *SFXS*: 58-59; Liu Yijie 2017: 216, 443-444. Xiang Da, the editor of *SFXS*, omits a passage in that entry. Therefore, readers should consult Liu's text. See also Zhang Rong and Liu Yijie 2012: 81 no. 17. More details in Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 155. Mills 1979: 81, combines the data in this entry of the *SFXS* with the data in another entry. For Chikan, see, for example, *GDNH*: 966; Mills 1970: 190 no. 106; Manguin 1972: 92 n. 5; 93 n. 1 and 3; 118 n. 3; map 3. The *SFXS* and other nautical works contain several references to Chikan. One source is the *SYGJ*, vol. 101, 881b-882b. This work records a sailing course partly similar to the one described in the *SFXS* entry. See also Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 314-315. There, Mabianshan 馬鞭山 is the same as Ma'anshan (also see *GDNH*: 170). The entry in *SFXS* quoted in our text mentions a reef at the southern end of Ma'anshan. The name of this reef is Maotoujiao 帽頭礁 (Gloria Reef?).

27. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: especially 157-158. Zhou cites the entry *Fujian to Java: return voyage* in *SFXS*. This entry says, from a close distance Wuqiyu resembles an olive. See *SFXS*: 58-59; Liu Yijie 2017: 216. Yuan sources refer to an island called Ganlanyu 橄欖嶼, literally "Olive Island." According to Zhou, this name also points to Pulau Subi Besar. Moreover, he links two further names to that island: Niuqiyu 牛崎嶼 and Douqiyu 斗蜞嶼 (again found in Yuan sources). Other scholars proposed different locations. One early example: Gerini 1909: 714, equated Ganlanyu with the Tambelan Islands. The relevant entries in *GDNH* are more prudent; see 210 (Niuqiyu) and 840 (Ganlanyu). – For a brief description of Pulau Subi Besar, see *Sailing Directions*: 8.

one accepts Zhou's proposals, then the northbound route outlined in the said entry is quite clear: Pulau Subi – Pulau Natuna Besar – Pulau Laut – coast of modern Vietnam, near Ké Ga.

Notwithstanding, as was said earlier, there is some confusion in the literature on all the toponyms involved in the relevant texts. Franchino, referring to our own times, says the Chinese would use the name Ma'anshan for Pulau Natuna Besar (and not for Pulau Laut). Mills, citing the *SFXS*, also equated Ma'anshan with that island. This seems strange, because it implies the existence of two very different names for the same place: Shilidashan (*DXYK*, see above) and Ma'anshan. Regarding Wuqiyu, Mills identified this toponym with both Pulau Laut and Pulau Serasan (which is to the southeast of Pulau Subi). Needless to state, all these identifications are incompatible with the sequence just outlined above.[28]

Besides that, we must consider other early sources. One work is the anonymous *Zhenwei* (*bian*) 鍼位(編). It is certainly older than the *SFXS*, but only some parts of it have survived in Huang Xingzeng's 黃省曾 (*xing* also read *sheng*; *zeng* also *ceng*) *XYCGDL*. Huang's book records the following: "From Cape Varella… it is 50 *geng* to the island(s) called Wuqi. To the west of the reefs at the end [of Wuqi] it is 5 *geng* to Maoshan. [After] 10 *geng* one sees the island(s) of Dongshelong, surrounded by round atolls and double islands." (靈山… 又五十更，曰蜈蚕之嶼。由嶼尾礁而西，五更平冒山。又十更望東蛇龍之山，貫圓嶼、雙嶼之中…). Sonnendecker, who translated the *XYCGDL*, identified the combination "Wuqi zhi yu" with the Natuna Archipelago *in toto*, and Maoshan with Pulau Natuna Besar. Moreover, he cites Mills, who also thought that Maoshan should be Natuna Besar (a third name for that island!). Regarding Dongshelong, Sonnendecker mainly follows a suggestion in *GDNH*, which is wrong. We shall return to that problem farther below.[29]

The above leaves us with at least four Chinese toponyms, which scholars have identified with the large island of Natuna Besar: Talinyu, Ma'anshan,

28. Franchino 1990: 50; Mills: 225 no. 689 (Pulau Laut); Mills 1979: 80, 81 (Pulau Serasan, Pulau Natuna Besar).

29. *XYCGDL*, Huang's preface: 8 (for the *Zhenwei*), j. shang: 18-19 (passage cited) and notes 3-5; Sonnendecker 2005: 30-31 and notes 116-118; Mills 1970: 207 no. 381. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 159, also quotes from the *XYCGDL*. Note: Different authors punctuate the text differently. – For an early "Western" analysis of the relevant toponyms, see Gerini 1909: 710-714. Among other things, Gerini discusses the terms/names *yuanyu* and *shuangyu* (the latter in his book: *liangyu* 兩嶼), but he cannot explain them in a satisfactory way. It seems the authors of the *GDNH* considered both combinations as names; see there: 229 (Shuangyu, no. 3: possibly in the area of Lemukutan), 650 (Yuanyu, not identified). Other Chinese authors, who discussed the *XYCGDL*, offer different suggestions or avoid identifications. For an early example, see Zheng Yijun 1985: 185-186. Another example is in Han Zhenhua 1999: 405-406: Han associates "Wuqi zhi yu" with the Nansha qundao 南沙群島 (roughly: Spratly Islands) and Dongshelong with the Natuna group as a whole.

Maoshan and Shilidashan. As was said, if we follow the route established above, based on the findings of Zhou Yunzhong, then only one option remains acceptable: Talinyu = Pulau Natuna Besar. Regarding Shilidashan mentioned in *DXYK*, it was suggested that this name cannot stand for Natuna Besar. Regarding the "modern" use of Ma'anshan for that island, one may say the following: Chinese geographers and sailors used the name Ma'anshan for many locations; evidently, certain physical features of an island or mountain invited them to associate the place in question with a "horse saddle" (this is meaning of *ma'an*). Therefore, transferring such a name to Natuna Besar could be a recent phenomenon. As to Maoshan: We shall discuss this name in a different paragraph.

Two additional points may be of importance. First, the author(s) of the *Zhenwei* often placed the particle *zhi* behind a name. If we ignore these stylish insertions, then "Wuqi zhi yu" changes to "Wuqiyu". This could then mean that Wuqi zhi yu/Wuqiyu stands for two things: for the entire Natuna Archipelago and/or for Pulau Subi Besar. Second, the total distance of 50 *geng* from Cape Varella to Wuqiyu (here evidently one island: Pulau Subi Besar) is roughly compatible with the distance of 15 + 30 = 45 *geng* from Dong/Xidongshan (Pulau Sapate and Grand Catwick) to Dongshelongshan (Pulau Serasan; to the southeast of Pulau Subi Besar) recorded in a different entry of the *SFXS* ("*Fujian to Java*"). Again, we shall also discuss this last name and the implied itinerary below.[30]

Admittedly, the above sounds confusing and things become even more complicated if one searches for the relevant names in early studies and the *GDNH* dictionary. This modern source tentatively identifies Maoshan with Pulau Serasan, just north of the sea strait now called Selat Serasan. It also says, Maoshan could be the same as Maosuomen 帽所門. Next, the *GDNH* tells us that Xiwuqi 西蜈蚢 – already mentioned above – would probably stand for the small island called "Seraja" (Pulau Seraya), which lies to the southwest of Pulau Subi Besar (one may recall: at one point, Mills had tentatively equated Talinyu with Pulau Seraya!). Finally, the *GDNH* refers to an island called Dongwuqi(shan) 東蜈蚢(山), suggesting this would again be Pulau Subi Besar, which is correct. The latter appears in the *SFXS* entry called "*Cape Varella to Java: physical features*." This entry outlines a route from Dongwuqishan to Java, via Pulau Serasan and other locations on or near West Kalimantan. It also locates Maosuomen to the south of Dongwuqishan.[31]

30. *SFXS*: 57-58; Liu Yijie 2017: 214.

31. *GDNH*: 267, 337-338, 587, 771, 806-807; *SFXS*: 41 ("*Cape Varella to Java: physical features*": Dongwuqishan and Maosuomen), 43 ("*Cape Varella to Java*": Xiwuqi); Liu Yijie 2017: 288, 289. – Some early studies also deal with these and related toponyms. Gerini 1909: 710, suggests the following identifications: Wugongyu 蜈蚣嶼 (same as Wuqiyu) = "the northwesternmost of the Natunas, above the north

These suggestions require further explanations, one by one. First, the syllable *men* in the name Maosuomen could indicate a sea strait. Indeed, Maosuomen may refer to the sea between Pulau Seraya and Pulau Subi Besar, or it may stand for the space between the latter (or even Pulau Panjang; a small island near the southern shore of Pulau Subi Besar) and Pulau Serasan; the text leaves room for both interpretations. The first option could involve a north-south itinerary along the west side of Pulau Subi. If both these options are acceptable, then Maoshan, evidently an island, should point to a different location. It is unlikely to be identical with Maosuomen, and it cannot stand for Pulau Natuna Besar or Pulau Serasan; rather, it should represent a location "to the west of the reefs at the end [of Wuqi]" (see *XYCGDL*, above), i.e., either to the west/southwest of Pulau Subi or to the west of the entire Natuna group. In the first case, we may think of Pulau Seraya (however, Xiwuqi stands for that island); in the second case, one may perhaps associate the name element "Mao" with Pulau Malu. Again, this second case would imply the existence of a route along the west side of the South Natuna Islands. However, the distance of 10 *geng* from Maoshan to Pulau Serasan and the geographical position of Pulau Malu (to the southwest of Serasan!) pose questions; the distance is too long, the sailing route would follow a zigzag course. Clearly, this is not satisfactory, but presently there is no appropriate solution for the issue. The proposed identity of Maoshan with Maosuomen does not solve the distance problem. Moving Maoshan to the east side of Wuqishan is impossible, because the text requires us to search for a place "to the west of the reefs…" Considering these difficulties, one cannot rule out the possibility that there is something wrong with the *Zhenwei* fragment in *XYCGDL*.[32]

Given the many names mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, we should now try to summarize our findings, preliminary as they are (and partly based on the contributions provided by Zhou Yunzhong), before going on with the discussion. Here is what we get:

Ma'anshan 馬鞍山 = Pulau Laut
Talinyu 塔林嶼 = Pulau Natuna Besar
Wuqi zhi yu 蜈蚔之嶼 = Natuna Islands in toto (Kepulauan Natuna)
Xiwuqi 西蜈蚔 = Pulau Seraya
Wuqiyu 蜈蚔嶼 = Pulau Subi Besar/Natuna Islands in toto
Dongwuqi 東蜈蚔 = also Pulau Subi Besar
Maosuomen 帽所門 = sea space to the south/southwest of Pulau Subi Besar
Maoshan 冒山 = an island near Pulau Subi (?)

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end of Pulo Lāut"; 帽山 = Tokongboro; Dongshelong = Sarasān Island.

32. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 159, also must have felt that; he points out that the distance of 10 *geng* is wrong.

Finally, we may also recall the following: As explained, the *SFXS* entry "*Cape Varella to Java*" suggests that ships sailing between Java and the coast of Central Vietnam could pass the Natuna Islands (especially Talinyu, i.e., Pulau Natuna Besar) and the "twin set" of Dongdong (Pulau Sapate) and Xidong (Grande Gatewick) on their west side. Next, the area of Chikan (Ké Ga) is to the northwest of Dongdong/Xidong. Third, the sailing directions for the Natuna segment in the entry "*Fujian to Java: return voyage*" point to the north-northwest; they seem to be quite accurate because sailors had to consider strong winds and currents, which would not always make it plausible to steer directly towards the north (in the direction *danzi*, or 360°).

In view of all this, it makes sense to assume the existence of two Chinese sailing corridors from the Vietnam coast down to the Natuna/Subi region and Northwest Kalimantan (and in the other direction). The starting point for one route was to the east of Dongdong/Xidong (as shown on the *ZHHHT*). The second route began in the waters to the west of these islands (according to the relevant passages in *SFXS*). One may add: The starting point of the route described in *XYCGDL* is near Lingshan, or Cape Varella. Therefore, as in the case of our map, this seems to suggest that ships passed Dongdong/Xidong on the east side, and not on the west side. Finally, both the *ZHHHT* and the fragmentary *Zhenwei* seem to be older than the *SFXS*, which could mean that the route shown on the *ZHHHT* is older than the ones described in *SFXS*; but whether this was really so, is an open issue.

Dongshelong, Shawupi, Tonggushan, Wannianyu

Our next issue concerns the "ramifications" of the southbound route near the coast of Vietnam. According to the *ZHHHT*, it was possible to leave the principal (coastal) "avenue" *before* reaching Dongdong. This means a ship had to pass across the southern section of the (partly imagined) zone called Baixos de Pulau Sissir by the Portuguese (see above). However, the map does not allow us to determine the exact starting point of this branch, which led towards the south or south-southeast. For the sake of convenience, we shall label this intersection "point A." The map also records a second bifurcation – here called "point B" –, again near Pulau Sapate. B appears directly to the east of that island; it marks the beginning of two alternative routes towards the Natuna region and Northwest Kalimantan, in continuation of the previous segment. Both routes pass four islands, two of which have names; one route goes around their east side, the other passes them on the west side. Farther to the south, the two branches merge back into one major "avenue." This is "point C."[33]

33. Some facsimilized versions show three unnamed islands. However, the extra island is not clearly drawn. The Nanjing map shows two islands in all, both with names. – Note: The editors of the *ZHHHT*: 47, made no distinction between the two sailing courses from B to C. They simply drew a line from north to south, which runs

The two islands with names are Dongshelong 東蛇籠 and Shawupi 沙吳皮. In the previous chapter, we had already discussed several names related to the Natuna group, but these two names are new. To the south or southeast of the Dongshelong-Shawupi emsemble, the map shows a large island; this is Kalimantan. On its northwestern (?) section we see a mountain called Tonggushan 銅鼓山 (an identical name refers to a mountain on Hainan). Farther to the south, again on the mainland of Kalimantan, one finds Wannianyu 萬年嶼.

Some of the above toponyms do not appear in earlier sources (given that the *ZHHHT* in its present form goes back to the early Ming period). Naturally, this has led to many questions. The table below summarizes the more important suggestions regarding the "identity" of these names:

	Xiang Da[34]	J. V. G. Mills[35]	*ZHHHT* ed.[36]	Han Zhenhua[37]	*GDNH*[38]
1 Dongshelong	unclear	Tg. Datu	Serasan I.	Natuna Is.	Tg. Datu, Tg. Api ?
2 Shawupi	same as 1	Merundung	Merundung	Subi Is.	Merundung
3 Tonggushan	unclear	Mt.Asu Ansang	Belau Tunggal	Mt. Kinabalu	Mt. Asu Ansan or Mt. Niu
4 Wannianyu	unclear	Muri I.	Pontianak	Borneo	Pontianak area or Muri I.

As one can see from the table, certain proposals are not compatible with the information given on our map – unless we suppose the *ZHHHT* contains serious errors. To begin with, as Dongshelong and Shawupi appear within a cluster of islands, the first name cannot stand for Tanjung Datu and/or Tanjung Api on the mainland of Northwest Kalimantan. Nevertheless, the *GDNH* dictionary lists many similar toponyms, offering the conclusion that we are looking at several capes, including Tanjong Sirik, which is at some distance to the east of Tanjong Datu. These explanations appear under an entry for Dongxisheluoshan 東西蛇羅山. They rest on a brief description in the *SFXS*, which summarizes a sailing route from "*Pulau Tioman* (Ningpan 苧盤, near

through the waters between Pulau Natuna Besar and Pulau Subi Besar.

34. *ZHHHT*/Xiang Da, index: 20, 23, 38, 39.

35. Mills, 1970: 215 no. 526; 224 nos. 671 and 677; 280; Mills 1974: 456, 458, 460, 462-464, 468; Mills 1979: 80, 82.

36. *ZHHHT*: 47, 52

37. Han Zhenhua 1999: 405-407. Han adds: Contrary to what the *ZHHHT* suggests, the real route does not pass Tonggushan and Wannianyu!

38. *GDNH*: 124 (Wannianyu), 266-268, 336, 339, 1057 (Dongshelong, etc.), 455, 458 (Shawupi, etc.), 701-702 (Tonggushan).

the east coast of the Malay Peninsula) *to Brunei*." From that description we learn that a ship following a course of 97.5° (*yimao*) reaches Linneinuoshan 林哪喏山 (also Linlaonuoshan 林嘮喏山; third character also *ruo*) in the Anambas Islands, a voyage which takes 15 *geng*. From there, after another 25 *geng*, still proceeding in the same direction, one sights a large "mountain" in the east; its Chinese name is Dongxishelongshan (*long* 龍 in lieu of *luo*), foreigners call it Danrong Dushan 單戎獨山. The *GDNH* correctly identifies the last toponym with Tanjong Datu, following earlier suggestions.[39]

As expected, Zhou Yunzhong provides some comments on all this. First, following an article by Zhang Rong and Liu Yijie, he corrects the character *luo* in the name Dongxisheluoshan to *long* 龍. He also rejects the proposal of the *GDNH* editors to identify Linnei/laonuoshan with Pulau Tokong Malang Biru, thinking that Pulau Airabu (Ayerabu) in the southern section of the Anambas Islands would be a better option for this place.[40] However, he seems to overlook one aspect: There are some mini-islets to the south and southwest of Pulau Airabu, including Pulau Bawah. These are further candidates for Linnei/laonuoshan.

Here we may return to Dongshelong. Besides equating Dongxishelongshan with Cape Datu, the *SFXS* suggests the following (again in its description of the route from "*Pulau Tioman to Brunei*"): Sailing from that point towards the northeast (direction *danyin*, 60°), one sees Danrong Laomeishan 單戎嘮梅山, the foreign name of which is transcribed as Danrong Silishan 單絨絲立山. For the return voyage, the text gives Danrong Laomeishan (*rong* now with rad. 30). Furthermore, at a distance of 20 *geng* (direction *danshen*, 240°) from that place, there is Xishelongshan 西蛇龍山. Mills and other scholars have identified Danrong Silishan with the phonetically similar name Tanjung Sirik, which is indeed to the east of Tanjung Datu. Regarding Xishelongshan, the *GDNH* proposes Tanjung Api, to the southwest of Tanjung Datu. It also says one may read the form Dongxishelongshan as a compound reference to *Dongs*helongshan (Tanjung Datu) and *Xi*shelongshan (Tanjung Api). Mills made a different proposal: He thinks Dongxishelongshan and Xishelongshan should both stand for Tanjung Datu.[41] However the *SFXS* does not place the characters

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39. *GDNH*: 267-268 (Dong/Xisheluoshan), 496-497 (Linnei/laonuoshan), 541, 1057 (Danrong Dushan); *SFXS*: 84-85; also there 58, 234 (Dongshelongshan; *long* is the correct version) and 256 (Danrong Dushan); Xiang Da did not identify Dongshelong, Danrong Dushan and Linnei/laonuoshan. See further Liu Yijie 2017: 214, 238. Earlier identifications, for example, in Mills 1979: 80, 82; Mills 1974: especially 458.

40. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 159. Mills 1974: 458, correctly gives "Tung Hsi Shê lung mountain." Mills 1979: 82, also identifies Linneiruo/Linlaoruo with Pulau Airabu. – For a modern description of Tokong Malang Biru, Pulau Airabau, Pulau Bawah and other nearby areas, see *Sailing Directions*: 19-20.

41. *GDNH*: 267-268, 339. Also see references in n. 39, above. Mills 1974: 458, 460, 462. See further Mills 1979: 80, 82, 93. – The *XYCGDL* has Dongshelong zhi shan,

danrong (*tanjung* = cape) in front of the form Xishelongshan. Therefore, this name may stand for an island; it does not necessarily point to a cape.

Things become even more confusing if one considers several other names all of which appear in the *GDNH* entry on Dongxishelongshan: (1) Donglongshe 東龍蛇, (2) Dong sheluo 東蛇羅, (3) Donglongshe 東隴蛇, (4) Xilongshe 西龍蛇, (5) Xilongtuo 西隴陀, (6) Tuolongshan 陀龍山, (7) Shelongshan 蛇龍山, (8) Shashelong 殺蛇龍, (9) Longsheshan 龍蛇山, (10) Longsheyu 龍蛇嶼. Discussing these names would lead away from the main intention of the present study. Suffice it to say, some of them, as for example (2) in *SFXS* (which should be corrected to Dongshelong東蛇龍), seem to stand for different locations.[42] In other cases certain characters look similar, which may explain alternative name forms. While much of this is irrelevant to us, some points require attention. Zhou Yunzhong thinks the character *sha* 杀 (short form of first character in no. 8) resembles the character *dong* 东 (short form of first character in the name on our map). Therefore, Shashelong and Dongshelong should stand for the same place. For this he mainly relies on the *SFXS* entry "*Cape Varella to Java: physical features*" already quoted above. It starts with Dongwuqishan (Pulau Subi) and then lists Shashelong. Moreover, to the east of the latter one finds Tonggu(shan), to its west lies Shahupiyu 沙湖皮嶼. Here the sea is shallow, but the principal sailing route passes through that area. Following this is a brief description of Tonggushan.[43] Clearly, the sequence of names in this entry reminds of the arrangement shown on the *ZHHHT*.

Zhou Yunzhong provides further details. He identifies Shashelong/Dongshelong with Pulau Serasan (above we had already referred to that island), believing that one should substitute *dong* by *sha*, because Shashelong is phonetically close Serasan.[44] He also refers to a second entry in *SFXS* ("*Fujian to Java*"), which mentions Wuqiyu 蜈蜞嶼 (there: Pulau Subi Besar). From Wuqiyu, sailing "in the direction *dansi* (150°) for 4 *geng*, one passes Dongshelongshan; there are three islets to [its] north, in the middle are mountains/islands, one is [called] Daguishan. The large mountain/island in the southeast is Tonggushan. Entering the 'gate', the depth is 15 *tuo*; seen

as quoted above; Sonnendecker 2005: 31 n. 118, provides a confusing comment based on *GDNH* and Mills 1970.

42. For Dongsheluo/long in *SFXS*, see 84 there; Zhang Rong and Liu Yijie 2012: 82 no. 38 (correct name); Liu Yijie 2017: 238, 491 (correct name). The *GDNH* offers special entries for many of the names listed here; these entries usually direct readers to the long note on Dongxisheluoshan. In some cases, additional sources are given.

43. *SFXS*: 41-42 (cited here), 70-71 (a related entry – "*Wuyu to Tuban, Jaratan*" – with less accurate data; there: Shahupi, without *yu*); Liu Yijie 2017: 215, 288; Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 157-158. As expected, *GDNH*: 347, links the description in *SFXS* to the area of Tanjung Datu.

44. According to Liu Yijie 2017: 289, *sha* is wrong, *dong* is correct. However, Liu provides no elaborate discussion.

from nearby, [this] is a reef; to both sides of the 'gate' it is all (a) small flat island(s) called Shahuyu, which one should pass at the eastern side" (用單巳針四更船使過東蛇龍山，北邊有三個小嶼，內有大山，一個是大龜山，東南大山是銅鼓山。入門打水十五托，近看是坤身，門中二邊都是小嶼平平，號名沙湖嶼，使往東邊過。[45]

This description is quite correct: there are some islets to the northeast of Pulau Serasan. The name Daguishan should stand for the central elevation of that island; it reaches a height of more than 400 meters. The reference to Tonggushan is ambiguous. One may be tempted to associate it with a location inside the Serasan "setting", but if one accepts a broad reading, then it may simply mean something like "[At a distance], towards the southeast, [is] a large mountain…". *Men*/gate refers to the Strait of Serasan to which we shall return in the next paragraph.

Shahupiyu, evidently the same as Shawupi on our map, should stand for the Sembuni reefs (Karang-karang Sembuni; different spellings). Zhou Yunzhong links the element *sha* 沙 to the meaning of *karang* (reef, sandbank), but *wupi* (Minnan: *ggnoo-pe*) is less easy to explain. Phonetically it is quite far from the form "buni."[46] Be that as it may, both Serasan and Sembuni belong to the southern section of the Natuna Archipelago. Together with Pulau Subi Besar they form a complex chain of reefs and islands, which stretches across the sea in a diagonal fashion, from northwest to southeast. Sembuni is at the southeastern end of that chain. If one accepts these explanations, then some of the earlier suggestions shown in the table above become invalid. Shawupi in particular cannot be Pulau Merudung and Dongshelong has nothing to do with the various capes along the coast of Kalimantan. However, is this really so?

Let us get back to points "B" and "C" on the map. The northern segments of the two routes, which start at point B, cross through a larger space without islands. The eastern course assumes the form of a large arc. Dongshelong, Shawupi and two (or three) unnamed islands, all close to each other, appear near the last third of both routes. If one transfers these impressions to a modern map, then we may say the following: Point B seems to be much too close to Pulau Sapate. One would expect that point to be far away from the continent, i.e., nearer to Pulau Laut or Pulau Natuna Besar, but the map does not record these two islands (given that Dongshelong is really meant to be Pulau Serasan). We may then explain the arc-like form of the eastern route in the following way: It passed the east side of Pulau Laut and Pulau Natuna Besar at quite

45. *SFXS*: 58; Liu Yijie 2017: 214 (almost identical punctuation); Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 158. – For *tuo*, usually "fathoms," see, for example, Didier 2002: 63. One *tuo* is circa 1.70 meters.

46. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 160. Earlier research often gives different identifications for Shahupi and Shawupi. One example: Gerini 1909: 710, 714, proposed Pulau Subi. Also Han Zhenhua 1999: 406.

some distance. Therefore, these islands do not appear on the map. Ships only came close to the Natuna group near Pulau Subi Besar and/or Pulau Serasan. Furthermore, as was said, there are several islets to the northeast of Pulau Serasan; the unnamed locations on the map could represent this area. Finally, near the Sembuni region, which is another dangerous zone, one had to adjust the sailing direction by 90 degrees. The ship would then move towards the southwest and pass through the Selat Serasan.[47]

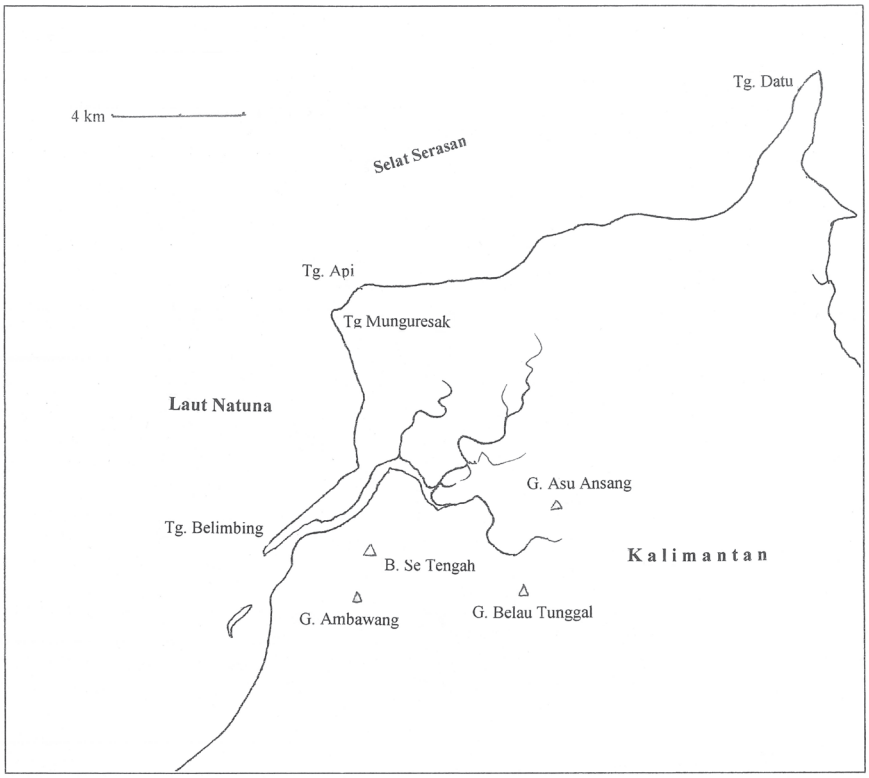
Two observations may be added to the above. First, in the middle of that strait, to the southwest of the Sembuni reefs, one finds Pulau Merudung. Other locations near that area are Pulau Malu (South Haycock), a mini islet over 140 meters high (we had already mentioned that island), and the so-called Malu reefs (Karang Karang Malu). Tanjung Api, on the mainland of Kalimantan, is about 20 kilometers to the southeast of these reefs. The question is whether the change in direction really implied that a ship had to pass the Sembuni reefs on their eastern and southern sides. Was it possible to take a "shortcut" by going around Pulau Serasan, again on its southeastern side? If so, then Shahupiyu/Shawupi could point to Malu or Merudung. However, phonetically both these names have nothing in common with the Chinese toponyms; this should be a strong argument for confirming that in most (if not in all) cases Shahupi/Shawupi must stand for the Sembuni reefs.

The second observation concerns the northern section of the arc-shaped eastern route on the map. According to the *SFXS* entry "*Fujian to Java*" (already quoted above), the southbound route begins near Dong/Xidongshan, somewhere near point B on our map. From there, "taking [the direction] *bingwu* (172.5°) for 15 *geng*, [then] *danwu* (180°) for 30 *geng*, one reaches Dongshelongshan. [Yet], sailing at a great a distance [from the latter], [where] the depth is 40 *tuo*, one is 'low' and may not see [Dong]shelongshan; there will only be the Wuqiyu, [many of which] are flat; seen from nearby, they form a long chain of reefs." (用丙午十五更，用單午三十更取東蛇龍山。遠過打水四十托，低不見蛇龍山，只是蜈蜞嶼生得平平，近看坤身相連。). Although the translation of the term *di* (low) and of the last section may not be entirely correct, the itinerary from Dongdong to Pulau Serasan, especially the minor adjustment of the sailing direction after 15 *geng*, seems to involve a route whose shape comes close to the form of an arc.[48]

The interpretation presented above rests on the assumption that Wuqiyu must refer to the entire Natuna Archipelago (or its southern segments);

47. For a modern description of this area and Selat Serasan, with several islands and reefs scattered across that strait, see *Sailing Directions*: 9-10. In certain respects, later editions of that text are clearer than the original first version mostly used here.

48. *SFXS*: 57-58. Identical directions and durations appear in another entry of *SFXS*; see 70 there. However, the parts that follow differ in both entries. See also Liu Yijie 2017: 214, 215. One may note: Modern authors punctuate this text in various ways.



Map 3 – Northwest Kalimantan

otherwise, the sequence of names would make no sense. The next part of the same entry, quoted near note 45, also mentions Wuqiyu. Readers will remember, in that case Wuqiyu clearly points to Pulau Subi Besar. One may add: The *SYGJ* of the late Ming period contains a very similar description. It gives the same directions, but wrongly records 3 *geng* in lieu of 30 *geng* for the itinerary to Tuolongshan 陀龍山 (which is the same as Dongshelongshan). Interestingly, the passages referring to Wuqiyu are left out; this saves us from the trouble of associating that name with two different entities – the entire Natuna group and Pulau Subi Besar. Finally, the *SYGJ* has Shachaopi 沙潮皮 in lieu of Shahuyu; Shachaopi is again located in the nearby sea strait.[49]

49. *SYGJ*, vol. 101: 881a; Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 314 (the punctuation is not always correct).

We still have to identify the toponym Tonggushan. Yet, before dealing with this name, we must briefly return to the sea routes shown on our map, i.e., the ones from point B to point C. So far, we have discussed the eastern "avenue." Most likely, the second route was more direct and somewhat shorter; at least the *ZHHHT* does not indicate an arc-shaped itinerary. Hence, may we say that it passed *all* islands and reefs in the Natuna Archipelago on their west side as suggested by the route in the *SFXS* entry "*Cape Varella to Java*" (see above, near note 23)? Should we link it to the route described in the *SFXS* entry "*Fujian to Java: return voyage*" (see near note 26)? There is no final answer to this question. Projected on a modern map, a (near-to-)straight line from point B towards the south, in the *danwu* direction (180°), more or less along a longitude of circa 109° E, would put Pulau Natuna Besar on the west side of that route, while Pulau Subi Besar would appear on its east side. In other words, such a line would run through the space between both these islands. Earlier, when discussing the names Maosuomen and Maoshan we had already alluded to the possibility of such a north-south corridor near the west side of Pulau Subi Besar, i.e., slightly to the east of Pulau Seraya. If this is acceptable, then we are looking at two "systems": one or several routes ran along the west side of all the Natunas, a further route went through these islands in a north-south direction. This leads to another question: Should we associate point C on the map, placed at some distance from the southwestern exit of Selat Serasan, with all these itineraries or just with one of them? My guess is that point C is related to the last option. Indeed, we may tentatively assign it to circa 1°20'N to 1°40'N (i.e., south of Pulau Muri, also called St. Petrus; 1°54'N, 108°38'E). There is a simple reason for that assumption: The southern starting point for the routes described in the two entries "*Cape Varella to Java*" and "*Fujian to Java: return voyage*" is a location called Shierzishan 十二子山 (we shall discuss this name below). The *ZHHHT* also records Shierzishan, but there the name appears much to the south of Wannianyu and thus to the south of point C. Clearly, Shierzishan has nothing to do with point C. In fact, this point must be farther to the north, near the latitude of Tonggushan.

The names Tonggushan and Wannianyu take us back to the table above. We shall consider Tonggushan first. Identifying it with Mount Kinabalu in Sabah makes no sense; this distant location has nothing to do with our topic. Mount Niu is in Northwest Kalimantan; it is far inland and certainly not always visible from the sea. Tanjung Api could be a candidate for Tonggu(shan), but there is no phonetic relation between the local and the Chinese name. In sum, these three options do not help us to identify the toponym in question. Here, then, we may turn towards the area south of Tanjung Api. "Below" that cape the coast of Northwest Kalimantan is quite flat. Nevertheless, about two or three kilometres southwest of Tanjung Api one finds Tanjung *Mungu*resak. The syllables printed in italics sound similar to Tonggu; is this cape a candidate for Tonggushan? Farther south, we see minor elevations to the east of Tanjung

B(e)limbing; this includes the mountains known as Gunung Asu Ansang, Gunung Belau Tunggal and Bukit Se Tengah (all three: different spellings). These three are still to the north of the assumed point C. Again, the syllables printed in italics are phonetically similar to the sequence Tonggu. Zhou Yunzhong thinks the Tengah option should be the most plausible one. The principal reason for that assumption is that this mountain (1°46'N, 109°21'E; hight 245 meters) is closer to the sea than the other two mountains.[50]

Yet, one entry in the *SFXS*, "*Wuyu to Tuban, Jaratan*," may not support the proposed identification of the toponym Tonggu(shan) with Bukit Se Tengah. The passage in question reads: "… one sees Longsheshan (Pulau Serasan); to the east and west are large and small islands, [this] is Tonggushan. [Upon] entering the 'gate' (Selat Serasan), the depth is 15 *tuo*; seen from nearby, it is all reefs; inside the 'gate' is a small island called Shahupi (Sembuni)" (…見龍蛇山；東西邊有大小山，是銅鼓山。入門打水十五托，近看都是昆岩，門中有一小嶼名沙湖皮…).[51] Here Tonggushan seems to be a name for several *shan* (mountains and/or islands), unless 是銅鼓山 means something like "[among which] is Tonggushan." The problem is that this entry is incomplete; some phrases are missing, which becomes evident when one compares the text with the entry "*Fujian to Java*" cited farther above (near note 45) and the related passages in *SYGJ*.[52] Therefore, we should not rely on it for our interpretation.

What, then, does Tonggushan stand for? Admittedly, there is no precise answer. From a "phonetical" point of view, each of the three names mentioned above – Gunung Belau Tunggal, Bukit Se Tengah and Tanjung Munguresak – is a plausible option. My suggestion is that we should give preference to the last name. There is a simple reason for that: When sailing through the Serasan Strait from north to south one sees this location first, before the other places come in sight. Furthermore, Tanjung Api and Tanjung Munguresak are so close to each other that sailors may not have made a clear distinction between these capes. Perhaps they even used the name of the latter for the former, which would imply that Tonggushan could stand for both places.

Here we can move to the next name on our map: Wannianyu. This toponym appears on Kalimantan "proper," more precisely, on the south side of a bay or river mouth. Near the name Wannianyu the *ZHHHT* shows a mountain. Therefore, Wannianyu cannot stand for Pulau Muri or another major island in the sea, far from the coast. Perhaps, then, we should search for it in the

50. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 160-161. *ZHHHT*, p. 52: Tonggushan = Gunung Belau Tunggal. For the mountains and the area around them, also see *Sailing Directions*: 27-28.

51. *SFXS*: 70-71. Liu Yijie 2017: 215, punctuates: "Longxishan dong, xibian…" This seems to imply that several *shan*, including Tonggushan, are on the west side of the Sembuni reefs. Tonggushan should be to the east. *Kunshen* is the same as 坤身, 崑岩, 鯤身, *kunxin* 坤辛, etc. (several other spellings).

52. For the *SYGJ*, see vol. 101, 881a; Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 314.

area around modern Pontianak (Kundian 坤甸 in Chinese). A related name, Wanniangang 萬年港, mentioned in the *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (now *DYZL*, prefaces 1349 and 1350), could refer to this region and may even be identical with Wannianyu. The mountain shown on the map, it was also argued, might then stand for the Gunung Ambawang (which is quite far from Pontianak!).[53]

Today, the greater part of modern Pontianak spreads along the southern bank of a river branch in the Kapuas delta and there is a long flat island near the mouth of this river branch (Sungai Kapuas Kecil). More islands are found in the main sections of the delta, but in late medieval times the landscape was certainly different from what it is now. Besides that, the navigability of all these channels differs between dry and wet seasons. Another point concerns the possible relation between both the names Wannianyu and Wanniangang: Can they really stand for the same location? Does *yu* mark an island near or in the delta? Should we interprete *gang* as a reference to a bay or natural port? Scholars expressed different views on all this; some specialists even suggested a phonetical relation between the combination "Wannian" and the toponym Brunei.[54] However, that does not help us to define the geographic position of Wannianyu.

Records of more recent times list the name Pulau Pontianak. The proposal to identify Wanniangang with the area of Pontianak or the city itself may lead one to associate "Pontianak Island" with Wannianyu, but this island is not in the Pontianak region; it is a mini islet much farther to the north, not too far from Pemangkat. South of that town, which sits on the southern bank of a river, one finds the Gunung Gajah; in front of Pemengkat (Pemangkat) one sees Tanjung Batu.[55] Although Pulau Pontianak is at some distance from Mount Gajah and a major river mouth or bay, such as the one shown on the *ZHHHT*, there are just as many arguments for equating Wannianyu with that mini islet, as there are for equating it with some location near modern Pontianak, or with yet another place.

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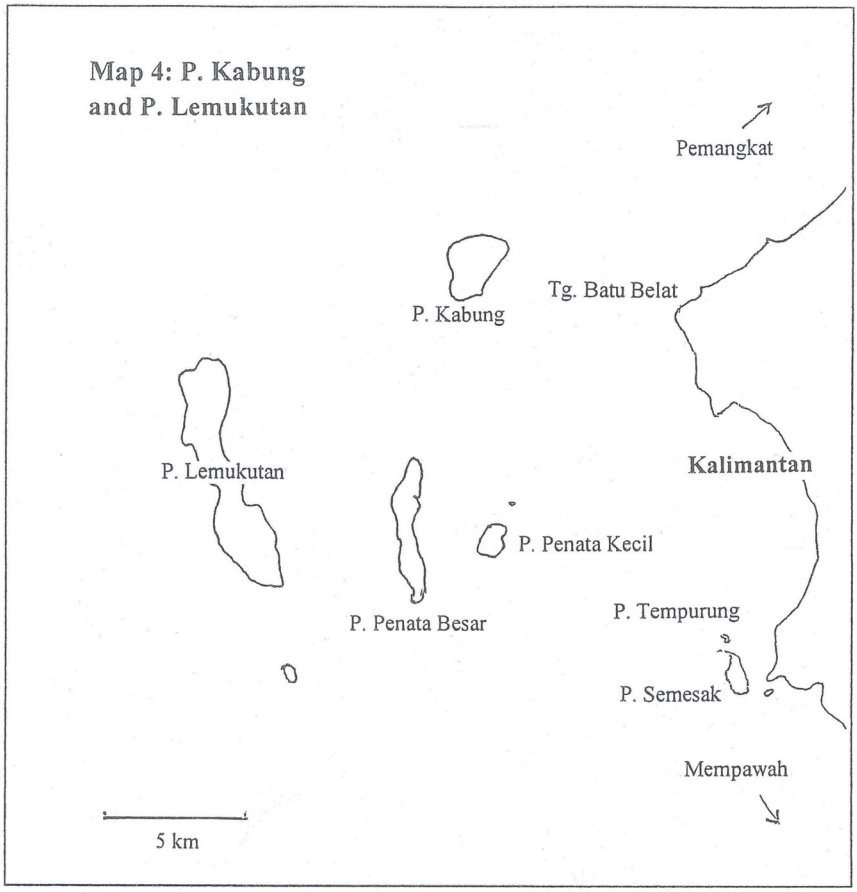
53. See *DYZL*: 342, and the detailed explanations, there, by Su Jiqing: 343 n. 1. Su cites earlier work and translations. He also refers to the list of countries in the *Nanhai zhi* 南海志 (see there, j. 7: 45-47) of the early fourteenth century. This list, discussed in several studies, contains additional toponyms related to Kalimantan. However, the question of names representing Kalimantan/Borneo, Brunei, the Pontianak region and other locations on the island remains an extremely difficult issue. Even such "common" toponyms as Boni 渤泥 (also in the *DYZL*) have led to discussions. Generally, for traditional Chinese references to and descriptions of various locations on Kalimantan, one may now consult recent research by Johannes L. Kurz; see especially Kurz 2013 and 2014. – For Gunung Ambawang, see *ZHHHT*: 52; *Sailing Directions*: 28, 33.

54. For all this, see, for example, *ZHHHT*: 52; *GDNH*: 124. For a modern description of the Kapuas delta, see *Sailing Directions*: 31-32.

55. For Pulau Pontianak: *Sailing Directions*: 28. Note: Different sources give different coordinates for this island.



Map 4 – P. Kabung and P. Lemukutan

A further proposal comes from Zhou Yunzhong, who cites a related passage from the *SFXS* entry "*Fujian to Zhaowa*." Zhou links this passage to Pulau Lemukutan and Pulau Kabung, believing that Wannianyu could also stand for these islands.[56] In terms of latitude, Lemukutan and Kabung are "between" Pemangkat (north) and the old polity of Mempawah (south); the Pontianak region is much farther to the south. To the southeast of these islands, very close to the coast of Kalimantan, one finds Pulau Semesak (various spellings) and a mini-islet called Pulau Tempurung. However, as was said, the *ZHHHT* shows no island

56. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 162; *SFXS*: 58; Liu Yijie 2017: 214-215. A similar passage is in *SYGJ*, vol. 101, 881a-b; Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 314. For a modern description of the area, see *Sailing Directions*: 30.

near Wannianyu.[57] Furthermore, the text in *SFXS* remains vague; there are no names at all and one can relate certain passages to different sites. This makes the identification of Wannianyu with the islands in the Kabung region rather difficult.

Only one element may support Zhou's suggestion – not in regard to the map, but in regard to the compass bearings in the *SFXS* entry "*Fujian to Zhaowa*": From Shahupi a ship must follow the direction *danding* (195°) for 7 *geng* to reach the area in question (Pulau Kabung, etc.). Thereafter, steering 187.5° (*dingwu*) for 4 *geng*; it will make Jilongyu 雞籠嶼 (we shall discuss this name below). From Jilongyu, still proceeding in the *dingwu* direction for another 10 *geng*, Jiaolanshan 交蘭山 (Pulau Gelam) will come in sight (Jiaolanshan is very far to the south, near the southwestern "edge" of Kalimantan; we shall also return to that island below).[58] This means that the distance between Shahupi (the reef zone in the Selat Serasan) and the unidentified area was shorter than the distance between the latter and Pulau Gelam. Hence, the unnamed area described in *SFXS* could indeed refer to Pulau Kabung and the adjacent islands near the westernmost point of Kalimantan, Tanjung Batu Belat. In other words, probably we are looking at two different concepts: the route shown on the *ZHHHT* passes Wannianyu – Pulau Pontianak in the Pemengkat region, a location near modern Pontianak, or a different site (?) –, the one in *SFXS* leads around Pulau Kabung and other nearby islands.

Elsewhere Zhou Yunzhong suggested, we may search for Wannianyu somewhere near the northern shore of the Teluk Benkolan (Bankalan). This is a large bay with mostly shallow waters. He argued that the landscape in that area changed in the course of time, just as in other sections of Kalimantan's coastal belt. Indeed, probably the long island now called Pulau Panjang was still a submerged zone at around 1400 or it was much smaller than it is today. Thus, Wannianyu could be inside the bay and Wanniangang might be a location farther inland. Yet, this is just a possibility and not more than that.[59]

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57. Near Pulau Semesak is the mouth of the Sungai Raya; slightly to its north (not south) is the Gunung Bunga. This is partly in line with the features recorded on our map. However, in this case, as in the proposal to equate Wannianyu with Pulau Kabung and Pulau Lemukutan, one would expect these islands to appear on the *ZHHHT*, near Kalimantan, which is not the case. – Several narrations refer to the history of different polities along the coast of Kalimantan; that includes Mempawah, Sambas, Sukadana, etc. See, for example, Schulze 1991 and 2004. Here, I shall not look at this material. Generally, these texts do not say very much about the fifteenth century, but some scholars of Islam believe that Chinese Muslims had settled there in the early fifteenth century.

58. Sources as in note 56. The punctuation of the entry in *SFXS* differs slightly in modern texts. *SYGJ*, vol. 101, 881a-b, gives *wu zhen* 午針 for the course from Jilongshan to Gelam. One can compare the southbound voyage outlined in *SYGJ* and *SFXS* with the descriptions of the return voyage in both sources. See *SYGJ*, 881b-882b; Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 314-315; Liu Yijie 2017, 216; *SFXS*: 58-59 (there, a passage is missing; see n. 26 above).

59. Zhou Yunzhong 2015a: 380-381, for additional suggestions.

The *SFXS* has one more entry that we must consider here. This is the entry called "*Wuyu to Lawe*."[60] Lawe (Lawi, Lawai, etc.), written Laowei 老維, was near the mouth of the Kapuas River, south of Pontianak. Tomé Pires refers to the "Ylha de Laue" and Portuguese *roteiros* also mention it. Modern maps record Pulau Laut, an island in the delta; this must be Laowei.[61] However, silting certainly had a strong impact on the physical shape of the nearby area; therefore, one cannot exactly determine the precise location of "Port Laowei" (老維港口) in Ming times. It also seems that Lawe only became important from the late fifteenth century onwards because we rarely hear of it in earlier sources. Nevertheless, one may ask whether Wannianyu had something to do with this ancient anchorage.

The other toponyms mentioned in the same entry of *SFXS* (and related to the central and eastern sections of the Laut Natuna), lined up from northwest to southeast, are Xiandanshan 仙丹山, Qiyu 七嶼 and Longjiaoshan 隴膠山. Mills identified them with Pulau Mendarik (at the northwestern extremity of Kepulauan Tambelan), Pulau Lemukutan and – splitting up Longjiaoshan – with Pulau Damar and Pulau Setinjan (or Sitinjam; both to the south of Lemukutan). The *GDNH* suggests different locations or offers no explanation.[62] There is no clear solution for these names and one may not feel comfortable with the proposal for Qiyu, because above we had already encountered another proposal for Lemukutan and the islands in its neighbourhood. Also, the description of the route in this entry of the *SFXS* has nothing to do with the *ZHHHT*; it just confirms that ships would cross the Natuna Sea from the east coast of the Malay Peninsula to the west coast of Kalimantan.

We may now summarize the findings in the foregoing paragraphs. The names recorded on the *ZHHHT* stand for the following places:

Dongshelong = Pulau Serasan
Shahupi = Sembuni reefs
Tonggushan = probably Tanjung Munguresak; less likely Gunung Belau Tunggal, Bukit Se Tengah
Wannianyu = near Pontianak or Pulau Pontianak?

60. *SFXS*: 72-73; Liu Yijie 2017: 219-220.

61. The latest modern edition of the *Suma Oriental* is the one by Rui M. Loureiro. See there, especially 234-235. For possible references to Lawe in Arabic works, see, for example, Tibbetts 1979: 255.

62. Mills 1979: 80, 86-89. *GDNH*: 284 (Xiandanshan, not identifiable; possibly in the Tambelan Islands), 515, 569, 834 (Qiyu, near the Kapuas River mouth, but not identifiable), 982 (Laowei = Laut; perhaps the same as Luoweishan 羅帷山. However, also see below: In the context of Huang Xingzeng's *XYCGDL*, Mills equated Luoweishan with Pulau Datu).

The eastern route from B to C seems clear, as had been explained; it enters the Selat Serasan from the east. In all likelihood, the western route ran through the area between Pulau Natuna Besar and Pulau Subi, while other itineraries passed along the west side of all Natuna Islands. Point C should be slightly to the north of Wannianyu.

Shierzishan, Jialimada, Jiaolanshan, Jiliwen and Java

The *ZHHHT* records a cluster of islands near the southwestern section of Kalimantan, far to the south of Wannianyu. There are eleven islands in all; six of them are to the west of the sailing route leading from point C to the south, five are to the east of that alley. The map indicates no alternative route in the immediate vicinity of these islands. From the said cluster, the route continues directly towards Kepulauan Karimunjawa. Near the latter, it merges with another sailing course (point D). This second "avenue" is connected to a set of further routes (points E and F), one of which runs through the Natuna Sea at some distance from Kalimantan. In fact, the map suggests that it was possible to proceed back and forth between the Karimunjawa Archipelago and the many "offshore" islands near the coasts of modern Cambodia and southeastern Vietnam. The distribution of these islands on the *ZHHHT* poses many problems, but this is beyond the scope of the present study. It may be sufficient to state that the southern segment of the long itinerary from the waters near Vietnam "down" to points F, E and D bypassed Pulau Pejantan and/or Kepulauan Tambelan on the west side. While this is an assumption, it is beyond doubt that the routes from Shierzishan towards the Natuna Islands (recorded in *SFXS* and *SYGJ*) were different from the route through D, E and F.[63]

We shall now look at the line between points C and D and the eleven islands to the southwest of Kalimantan. Seen from north to south, this route passes two unnamed islands first; then it runs along a location called Shierzishan 十二子山; finally, it passes two more places without names. As was mentioned, all these islands lie on the west side of that route. Jialimada 假里馬達 appears "behind" Shierzishan and the latter two islands. Therefore, it is not directly "adjacent" to the main sailing corridor. Four of the islands placed on the opposite side of this route, i.e., on its eastern side, are also without names. At the left (southern) end of that cluster is Jiaolanshan 交闌山. Fortunately, this toponym and the name Jialimada appear in several sources and one can easily identify them: Jialamada stands for Pulau Karimata, the principal island of Kepulauan Karimata; Jiaolan represents Pulau Gelam, as was already mentioned. One may add: The *DYZL* of the Yuan period and Fei Xin's 費信 *Xingcha shenglan* 星槎勝覽 (now *XCSL*) of the early Ming period contain separate descriptions of both islands.[64]

63. Portuguese *roteiros* also refer to this area, mainly in the context of sailing from Pulau Aur to Makassar. See, for example, Matos 2018: 119-123.

64. *DYZL*: 202-204, 248-250; Groeneveldt 1876: 115; Rockhill 1915: 261-263; *XCSL*,

Map 5 – Pulau Karimata and Adjacent Islands

Regarding Shierzishan and the first two unnamed islands, our map places these three to the northeast of Pulau Karimata. This suggests that we are looking at some islands in the two groups called Kepulauan Panebangan (also Penebangan) and Kepulauan Pelapis. It also means that the sailing route shown on the *ZHHHT* runs through the space between Pulau Maya and the said islands (and not through the so-called Greig Channel between the Panebangan and Pelapis groups). The other two islands on the map – i.e., the ones in front of Pulau Karimata – resist a clear identification. Perhaps they represent the two groups called Kepulauan Gurung and Kepulauan Layah; in this case, the sailing route still follows the coast of Kalimantan. Another possibility is that it crossed the sea between the Gurung and Layah groups almost diagonally, from the northeast to the southwest; if so, then the two islands on the map would stand for Kepulauan Gurung and some small island(s) to its south-

qianji: 9-10, *houji*: 11-12; Mills/Ptak 1996: especially 41-42, 92-93 (and sources cited in both works). Generally, there are many orthographic variants of both names. For instance, in *SYGJ*, vol. 101, 882a (Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 315), Karimata appears as Jialimada 渴里馬打. More names in *GDNH*: especially 713-714, 944, 964. We shall discuss some of them below.

southwest, for example Pulau Bakung Besar, Pulau Gresik, etc. Such an option could also explain two further aspects: First, the four unnamed islands to the east of our sailing course would then represent various locations from Pulau Meledang (Melandang; in the Layah group) down to Pulau Papan and Tokong Perangin. Second, a ship passing through this island world would not sail close to the Kalimantan coast; it would not even sail through the so-called Teluk Sukadana, the large bay in front of the Sukadana area. If so, it is hardly surprising that on the *ZHHHT* the coast of Kalimantan is drawn in such way that it turns away from the main sailing route. However, there is one weak point: The distance between the islands south of Kepulauan Layah and Jiaolan (Gelam), as shown on our map, is much too short.[65]

What else can one say? First, a variant form of the name Shierzishan already appears in the *Lingwai dai da* 嶺外代答 (1178) of the Song period. This source uses the form Shierzishi 十二子石, literally "Twelve Boy Stones." It associates these rocks or islands with a sailing corridor from Java to the northwest. Moreover, "ships passing them, will meet [other vessels] near Pulau Aor, [which reach that place via] a route from Srivijaya (near Palembang?)" (舟過十二子石，而與三佛齊海道會(合)於竺嶼之下。). Although the Chinese text seems clear, there are different interpretations. Here are some examples: Netolitzky, Yang Wuquan and others identified Shierzishi with Karimata Island. Su Jiqing suggests Pulau Sarutu (Serutu). Almonte translates: "… ships, after crossing twelve stones, arrive below Sanfoqi via a convenient sea route toward the Zhu Islands." These proposals raise doubts.[66]

Second, Zhou Yunzhong provides further suggestions regarding the name Shierzishan and some of the problems surrounding it. Nevertheless, one of his own proposals – this name should represent Pulau Panebangan – is not fully acceptable, because the element "twelve" in the Chinese appellation points to a group of islands and not just to a single location. Therefore, Kepulauan Panebangan is the better option for Shierzishan on the *ZHHHT*. Indeed, some of the islands to the west and south of Pulau Maya are rocky structures with high elevations; probably the element "stone" in the Chinese toponym derives from this feature.[67]

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65. The discussion in Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 162-163, presents some related details, but does not consider all the sailing options. For a modern description of the many islands and sea straits in the area to the west and south of Pulau Maya, see *Sailing Directions*: especially 73, 77-78.

66. *Lingwai dai da*, j. 3: 126, 128 n. 7 and 8; Netolitzky 1977: 55; Su Jiqing in *DYZL*: 203-204 n. 1; Almonte 2020: 184-185. – For earlier interpretations, see, for example, Hirth and Rockhill 1970: 24 and n. 3 there; Phillips 1886: 40, maps; Gerini 1909: 712 (Shierzishan = Pulau Serutu); Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 244 (Shierzishan = Karimata); Han Zhenhua 1999: 407 (Shierzishan = Kepulauan Tambelan; Zhuyu = 竹嶼 in *XYCGDL* = an island in the northern section of the Tambelan group).

67. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 162-163. – For other identifications, also see *GDNH*: 106, 964.

The third point concerns the graphic presentation of Shierzishan. As was mentioned, the modern edition of the *ZHHHT* shows eleven islands. However, in some facsimilized editions an additional unnamed island, or at least a fragment of such a place, appears near the left side (south) of Jiaolanshan. It thus seems that the name Shierzishan encouraged the mapmaker(s) to draw twelve islands on the map, evenly distributed to the west and east of the north-south route.[68] This arrangement seems to confirm that the compound Shierzishan stood for an ensemble of islands, possibly for the entire island world in the region near Pulau Maya and from there "down" to Gelam, with Pulau Karimata and Pulau Gelam being the most important constituents of the "total setting." Here one may also cite the opening phrase of the Karimata chapter in *XCLS*:[69] "This land (Karimata) and Gelam Islet gaze across each other, being in the middle of the sea" (其地與交欄山相望海洋中). Perhaps such concepts were current in the times of Zheng He. That in turn might explain the "proximity" of both islands on the *ZHHHT*. In other words, the mapmaker(s) took the idea for granted, combining it with the early concept of Shierzishan.

The newly discovered Nanjing version of the *ZHHHT* presents the area differently: It places four islands to the west side of our route: The northern island bears the name Shierzishan. Karimata is split into two places; the left one remains unnamed; it could be Pulau Serutu. Another unnamed island appears in front of these two. Gelam is the only place east of the sailing corridor and the relative distance between Karimata and Gelam is now longer. This seems more realistic than the one provided by the "conventional" versions of the *ZHHHT*, but it may simply have to do with a different understanding of the concept behind Shierzishan, or it could be purely accidental.

The following paragraphs are a bit more complicated. They lead away from the earlier spatial concepts and require us to proceed in two steps: First, we have to review the "relation" between Jialimada (Karimata) and Shierzishan; thereafter we must consider other locations as well, including Gelam. The starting point is, once again, the name Shierzishan. It appears in three entries of the *SFXS*. The first passage, taken from the entry "*Wuyu to Tuban, Jaratan: return voyage reconsidered*," refers to a northbound voyage:[70] "Karimata – from a distance it resembles a hat; to the southwest is a small island, [here] the depth is 15 *tuo*. [From there], steering 345° (*danren*) for five *geng* (north-northwest),

68. See, for example, the map available in *Yingya shenglan* (ed. by Wan Ming); less evident in *ZHHHT*/Xiang Da, 45. – There are other cases, where the mapmaker(s) adjusted certain graphical features to a name. One example is Xijiaoshan 犀角山, literally "Rhinoceros/Buffalo Horn Mountain," in the Gulf of Siam. See *ZHHHT*: 44, 51. Generally, for Chinese sailing routes to the area of modern Thailand, see Papelitzky 2015b and 2020: 117-127.

69. Mills/Ptak 1996: 92; *XCSL*, *houji*: 11.

70. *SFXS*: 71; Liu Yijie 2017: 217.

one sights Shierzishan. From afar, one sees two or three [islands], from a closer distance six or seven. They look similar: The large mountain(s)/island(s) is (are) high in the east [and] low in the west. Also, one island has reefs. Having gone around [it] at the southern [side], [one eventually finds] a reef in the north, similar to a sail; bird excrements make the top of the mountain(s)/island(s) appear white, [which] serves as a point [of orientation]. [Leaving this area], … after 45 *geng* one makes Ké Ga." (假里馬，遠看帽樣；西南有一小嶼，打水十五托。用單壬五更見十二子山；遠看二三個，近看六七個；看相似，有大山東高西低。又一嶼有老古石，南邊過，北邊有礁似帆樣；鳥屎汙白頂山為準。… 四十五更取赤坎。). Here, Jialima should be Jialimada (Karimata). If indeed so, and if Shierzishan represents the Panebangan and/or Pelapis Islands, then the direction is wrong and the distance (5 *geng*) is too long, because Karimata and Pelapis/Panebangan are close to each other. Moreover, Karimata is not an entity subordinated to Shierzishan. Mills tried to solve the problem by suggesting that Shierzishan could be the "Burung Islands." With the latter he seems to mean an area to the south-southwest of Pulau Lemukutan and not Pulau Burung (now usually Pulau Gurung) to the east-southeast of Pulau Panebangan, but in either case the geographical position is incompatible with the direction given in the Chinese text.[71]

The second entry ("*Fujian to Zhaowa: return voyage*") gives the name Jiamashan 假馬山. It practically lists all the details mentioned above, up to the sequence "six or seven [islands]," but shortens the distance from Jiamashan to Shierzishan to 3 *geng*. This is more realistic than the distance in the previous entry; yet, it still seems to be quite long. The distance to the next location, Pulau Subi Besar (Wuqiyu), is 15 *geng*; from there to Pulau Natuna Besar it is another 5 *geng* (this was already mentioned above). The "white mountain" appears in both entries; it must refer to a major elevation within the Shierzishan (or nearby?), visible from afar, but one cannot identify it.[72]

The third entry ("*Wuyu to Tuban, Jaratan: return voyage*") records the name Jialima, but not Shierzishan. From Jialima, one reaches Wuqiyu after 15 *geng*, steering 360° (*danzi*).[73]

The fourth entry ("*Cape Varella to Java*") mentions Shierzishan in the context of a southbound itinerary: From afar these islands appear as high mountains; there are two small islets in the east and two in the west; to the south are two reefs; the sailing route runs along the east side. The next place in the text is new to us: Zhenlima 真里馬. "Seen from a distance, Zhenlima resembles a hat (*mao* 帽). There is an island in the west; from this place, steering

71. Mills 1979: 81, 92. Also Mills 1970: 216 no. 545: 280.

72. *SFXS*: 58-59; Liu Yijie 2017: 217-218. As was said, Xiang Da omits an important passage. Liu's version is correct. See also there: 443-444, facsimilized text. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 162-163, follows Xiang Da's text.

73. *SFXS*: 71; Liu Yijie 2017: 217.

165° (south-southeast), one goes to Jialima… [Regarding] Jialima, there are six major islands [with] high [peaks]. To the west of the central "gate" (or strait) one sees a big [rock] (?)" (真里馬，遠看帽樣。西邊有一嶼，用單丙去假里馬… 假里馬，有大嶼六箇，高多；中央門西邊看中有塊大。).[74]

Without doubt, the above entries confirm the existence of a route, which ran from Shierzishan across the Natuna Sea, along the west side of the Natuna Islands. Above, we had already addressed this issue. However, Zhenlima is a problem. According to the fourth entry, this island resembles a "hat"; two other entries associate the same attribute with Jialima/Jiamashan (Karimata). Also, Jialima/Jiamashan cannot be identical with Zhenlima, because the last entry distinguishes between these two. Further doubts arise from the fact that the setting described in the fourth entry is similar to the descriptions of Shierzishan in the first two entries, but it assigns certain elements to diffenent locations.

Where, then, was Zhenlima? The compass direction mentioned in the fourth entry above suggests that this island could be somewhere to the north or north-northwest of Jialima/Karimata. Zhou Yunzhong noticed this. He mentions Pulau Olar (Ular), which is to the west-northwest of Karimata, but proposed to identify Zhenlima with Pulau Buan (Boewan), an island to the north-northeast of Karimata; this proposal is not compatible with the *danbing* direction.[75] Also, a sailing route via Pulau Buan would imply a zigzag course: It would run along the east (or west?) side of Shierzishan (Panebangan and Pelapis Islands) in a southwestern direction; near Pulau Buan it would turn to the southeast and pass a reef off eastern Karimata; from there it would continue in the general direction of Gelam. Clearly, this sounds complicated and there must be something wrong here. Moving Zhenlima farther to the northwest or north, for example to Pulau or Kepulauan Leman, does not help us either. From there one would need to steer 180° (*danwu*) to reach Pulau Karimata; this route would not pass the Panebangan and Pelapis Islands (Shierzishan).[76]Another question concerns the "division" between *Zhen*lima and *Jia*lima, literally "True Lima" and "False Lima." Jialima must be a phonetic transcription of the name Karimata. Probably sailors invented the version Zhenlima based on the name Jialima because the first island was similar to the latter.[77] However, this is an assumption and not more than just that. Moreover, Karimata is a large place. So, one wonders why a small island received a related name. The "hat-like" similarity is not convincing. In sum, Zhenlima remains a mystery.

74. *SFXS*: 43; Liu Yijie 2017: 289. The last phrase is not very clear.

75. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 164.

76. Xiang Da states that Zhenlima should be north of Karimata, but he gives no precise location. He also confirms that Jialima is Jialimada (various orthographs). See *SFXS*: 246, 249-250. According to *GDNH*: 642, Zhenlima is Pulau Pelapis, which seems wrong.

77. See Zhou Yunzhong 213: 164.

Here we must look at several other points. The *SFXS* (entries "*Patani to Timor*"; "*Wuyu to Sukadana*" and "*return voyage*") records further names. Two of them, Jiningmata 吉寧馬踏 and Jiningma'na (last character also *nei*) 吉寧馬哪, are usually equated with Pulau Karimata or the entire Karimata group.[78] Another name, Zhuyu 竹嶼, appears in close association with Jiningma'na. Gerini identified Zhuyu with Pulau Temayu, about 25 km south-southeast of Lemukutan. Mills suggested Zhuyu could be Masa Tiga (Pulau Mayatiga), west of the Teluk Nuri, near the coast of Kalimantan; later he stated it would stand for Pulau Meledang in the Layah Islands. Pulau Mayatiga is to the northeast of the Karimata Islands. According to the bearing given in *SFXS*, Zhuyu should be to the southeast of the latter. Meledang lies east-northeast of Pulau Karimata, or perhaps we should say it is to the east of the entire Karimata group; this comes at least close to the direction indicated in the Chinese text; therefore, the Meledang option sounds better, if it is acceptable at all. The *GDNH* repeats the first proposal by Mills, adding that Zhuyu could also be Pulau Maya near the Sukadana coast. Danwulan zhoufu 淡勿蘭州府, a third name mentioned in the entry "*Wuyu to Sukadana*," may stand for the Tambelan Islands, and Randanshan 然丹山, a fourth toponym, could be Pulau Pejantan.[79] However, these suggestions are at best courageous guesses.

The *DXYK*, already quoted above, reports the following: From Talinyu (Pulau Natuna Besar), sailing 127.5° (*chenxun*; east-southeast) for 30 *geng*, one reaches Jiningma'nashan 吉寧馬哪山 (supposedly Karimata). Thereafter, steering 150° (*dansi*) for 7 *geng* and then 165° (*danbing*; south-southeast) for 6 *geng*, one makes Wulidongshan 勿里洞山 (usually Belitung).[80] Clearly, these directions make no sense; even extremely strong currents and winds cannot explain them. In fact, Belitong is to the southwest of Karimata, not

78. See *SFXS*: 70, 72; Liu Yijie 2017: 218, 253. The *GDNH* equates these names and many other names with Karimata; see especially 325 (Jiningmana/ta), 964. See also Mills 1979: 80, 86. Su Jiqing and others thought that two early toponyms – Hulumantou 胡蘆曼頭 (in *Zhunfan zhi*) and Hulumantou 呼蘆漫頭 (*Nanhai zhi*) – might also stand for Karimata; see his comment in *DYZL*: 203 n. 1. The *GDNH*: 498, 572-573, is more careful.

79. *SFXS*: 72; Liu Yijie 2017: 218-219; Gerini 1909: 711; Mills 1970: 187 no. 59 (Jiningma'na); 191 no. 129 (Zhuyu); Mills 1979: 80, 87, 88, 92 (Randanshan, Danwulan, Zhuyu); *GDNH*: 351 (Zhuyu: no. 4), 729 (Danwulan; the "suffix" *zhoufu* seems to stand for the seat/capital of that polity), 776 (Randanshan); Han Zhenhua 1999: 407 (Zhuyu, an island in the Tambelan group). Another place, Siyangyan 巳養顏, to the west of Danwulan, is also unexplained; see *GDNH*: 158. Mills 1979: 80, 92, equates Siyangyan with Randanshan. Finally, there is Sandashi zhoufu 三嗒氏州府, identified with the Sambas sultanate in *GDNH*: 126-127, 134. – For a modern description of the Teluk Nuri (and the nearby Teluk Sukadana, south of Pulau Maya), as well as the places around it, see *Sailing Directions*: especially 75-77. For Pulau Pejantan, see 14 there.

80. *DXYK*, j. 9: 180.

to the southeast. Simply put, if one accepts the compass bearings, then Jiningma'nashan cannot be Karimata and Talinyu cannot stand for Pulau Natuna Besar. In sum, as in the case of Zhenlima, one cannot exactly define the location of Jiningma'na(shan).

Finally, we can turn southwards, from Karimata and the adjacent area to Gelam. The first text to consider is the fragmentary entry in *XYCGDL*. The route specified in that work leads from Dongshelong (Pulau Serasan) to "Luowei zhi shan" (羅幃之山). From there it is 5 *geng* to Zhuyu (Mayatiga, Meledang?); after 4 more *geng* one reaches "the island(s) of Jilong zhi yu" (鷄籠之嶼); after 10 *geng*, Gelam (now Goulan 勾攔) comes in sight. Again, we are faced with new toponyms. Mills identified Luowei with Pulau Datu, an island about 70 kilometers west-northwest of the Kapuas delta, and Jilong with Karimata. This could imply a zigzag course, which seems doubtful.[81]

Jilong, literally "chicken cage," is an important entity. The *SYGJ* also mentions an island with that name: Jilongyu 鷄籠嶼. South of it, at a distance of 10 *geng* (direction *wu* 午), is Gelam (now Meilanshan 美蘭山); directly north of the latter one finds another small island which "looks like Jilongyu" (是鷄籠嶼樣). It is not clear whether the similarity relates to the shape of both islands, the "real" one and the small one, or whether the author simply intended to compare the small island to a round (?) "chicken cage." In the first case, the name Jilong could be a phonetical rendering of Kelang or a similar name. However, it cannot stand for Gelam, because Meilanshan stands for that island. The return voyage follows a different arrangement: From Gelam one goes to Jialimadashan 泹里馬打山 (direction *guizi*, 7.5°, then *dangui*, 15°), not to Jilongyu. Thereafter one proceeds to Wuqiyu (also see above).[82]

The *SFXS* records the name Jilong(yu) (Xiang Da changes 鷄 to 雞) in four entries. The one called "*Wuyu to Tuban, Jaratan*" provides the same information that one also finds in *SYGJ*, but sets the distance from Jilongyu to Gelam (now Selanshan 色蘭山) at 14 *geng*. For the return voyage from Gelam (again Selanshan) to Jialima 假里馬 it calculates 10 *geng*. The directions are the same as those given in *SYGJ*. They point to the north-northeast, which makes no sense. This also becomes evident from the entry "*Wuyu to Tuban, Jaratan: return voyage reconsidered*," which corrects the relevant data: Now

81. *XYCGDL*, j. shang: 18; Sonnendecker 2005: 31; Mills 1970: 187 no. 55; 204 no. 334; *GDNH*: 466 (Jilongyu = Karimata). – In another context, Mills identified Jilongyu with Pulau Datu; see Mills 1979: 80, 86. – Han Zhenhua 1999: 406, sees a phonetical relation between (Pulau) Laut and Luowei; however, the Minnan pronunciation should be similar to "Lowi." Gerini 1909: 711, equated Jilongyu with Pulau or Kepulauan Gurung to the northeast of Karimata, halfway between Pulau Meledang and the Pelapis Islands, and Luoweishan (written 羅尾山 in his book) with "the northwesternmost island of the Tambelan group." Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 294 (Zhuyu is near Sumatra; Jilongyu north of Lingshan!)

82. *SYGJ*, vol. 101, 881b, 882a; Zheng Hesheng and Zheng Yijun 1980: 314-315.

the directions are *danren* (345°) and *renzi* (352.5°), both point to the north-northwest, and the distance from Gelam to Jialima is 15 *geng*. Finally, in the entry "*Fujian to Java: return voyage*," two small islands (not one island) near Gelam have the "appearance of (a) Jilong (Island)" (似鷄籠様). Xiang Da concludes from all this that one cannot identify Jilongyu; he just says Jilongyu is *near* Gelam, evidently he means the Jilong-like island(s). Zhou Yunzhong links Jilongyu to Pulau Meledang in the Layah Islands.[83]

What, then, can one say in conclusion? First, the physical similarity between Jilongyu and the "Jilong-like" island(s) makes one think of another "pair": Zhenlima and Jialima. Zhenlima and Jilongyu are in the north; one southern island is "false" (*jia*), the other is an "imagined" entity (resemblance). Is there such an intended parallelism? Second, some of the distances given above, as well as the corrected directions in *SFXS*, suggest that Jilongyu (mostly recorded in the context of southbound voyages) and Jialimada/Jialima (passed on the return voyages) were roughly in the same geographical position. This could support the old assumption that all these toponyms stand for the same island: Pulau Karimata. If one wishes to accept that, then a further assumption may be in place: The many names used for certain locations may point to different Chinese sailing traditions. Each group used a particular set of toponyms. We should probably also try to see the Zhenlima problem in that light.

At the end of this chapter we still have to briefly examine the case of Gelam. As was mentioned, the *ZHHHT* calls this place Jiaolanshan 交闌山; other Ming records use the forms Jiaolanyu 交蘭嶼, Jiaolanshan 交欄山, etc. According to some early sources, the island had "high" mountains and supplied forest wood used for building ships. In the 1290s, when the Mongol fleet sailed to Java, some members of the expeditionary forces stranded there; this is a familiar story. Scholars also believe that merchant vessels sailing back and forth between China and Java regularly passed Gelam due to its exposed position near the southwestern corner of Kalimantan. However, two aspects raise questions. First, Gelam is a flat island without high elevations. Second, the *DYZL* claims it had a rich fauna, with bears, deer and other wild animals. This cannot be correct because the total area of Gelam is quite small. Su Jiqing tried to solve the issue by arguing that skins and furs came from the jungles of Kalimantan and were sold on the island. Zhou Yunzhong offers a different view: He suggests that some six hundred years ago the name Jiaolan (Goulan etc.) stood for Mount Kelampai (and not for Gelam). This rests on the assumption that this mountain, which is inland, originally formed a separate island. Clearly, landscapes change over time, but Zhou's hypothesis sounds far-fetched, especially because Chinese texts tell us that the waters near Gelam were quite deep. The *SFXS* in particular records depths of 18 and 20 *tuo*.[84] Put

83. *SFXS*: 42, 58, 71, 271; Liu Yijie 2017: 216, 217-218, 288; Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 164.
84. See, for example, *DYZL*: 248-250; Rockhill 1915: 261-262; Zhou Yunzhong 2013:

differently, silting is a gradual process; so, if Mount Kelampani was still an island in the times of Zheng He and the sixteenth century, it certainly had no deep-water anchorage suitable for ocean-going vessels; in other words, ships would rather approach Gelam.

Besides that, one may also think of other explanations for the descriptive elements found in *DYZL*. One possibility is that sailors made no clear distinction between Pulau Gelam and Pulau Bawal, which is nearby and larger than Gelam. The highest elevation on Bewal rises to circa 90 meters and perhaps this island once supported a rich animal world.[85] A further question concerns the reliability of our sources: Ming descriptions of Gelam (with the exception of brief references to that island in nautical works) usually go back to the entry in *DYZL*. This book contains many inaccuracies. Hence, the author probably simply committed an error when telling readers that Gelam had high mountains and wild creatures. In sum, it is perhaps better to remain prudent: Jiaolanshan, as shown on the Zheng He map, is very likely to represent Pulau Gelam.

From the west side of this island the sailing route drawn on the *ZHHHT* leads towards Kepulauan Karimunjawa. Near the north coast of these islands, at point D, it merges with another traffic artery and then continues to Java, via point G. The shape of the Java coast suggests that the route ends near Surabaya or Gresik, as was mentioned. Both these places appear in several works related to Zheng He's voyages.[86] The unnamed islands north of that area must represent Madura and some adjacent places; the one to the right of point G should be Pulau Bawean. While Pulau Bawean was not important in the context of Ming trade, sources of that period frequently mention Kepulauan Karimunjawa. Scholars are familiar with the most common Chinese names for these islands: Jilimen 吉利悶/吉利門/吉里門 and Jiliwen 吉里問. The first version is also the one recorded on our map. The other versions appear in the *SFXS* and various texts of the *lishi dili* 歷史地理 or ethnographic genre. Xialaiwu 遐來勿, a further name, is unlikely to stand for Karimunjawa. According to Su Jiqing, this toponym of the Yuan period, found in *DYZL*, represents the Klabat region on Sulawesi.[87]

165-167; *SFXS*: 42.

85. Gerini 1909: 712, also thought the Chinese included Pulau Bawal in the entity called Jiaolanshan. Groeneveldt erroneously identified Jiaolan/Goulan with Belitung; see Groeneveldt 1876: especially 32. Several scholars followed him. – For a modern description of Pulau Gelam and Pulau Bawal, see *Sailing Directions*: 81.

86. Only one well-known example: Mills 1970: 86, 89-90 and notes; *Yingya shenglan*: 15, 17, 18 and notes.

87. *DYZL*/Fujita, 27b (comment by editor); Su Jiqing in *DYZL*: 93-95 n. 1; *GDNH*: especially 323-324, 965. Rockhill 1915: 122-123, leaves Xialaiwu unidentified.

Concluding Remarks

The above shows that Chinese sailors used several sailing routes between the continental sections of Southeast Asia and the west side of Kalimantan. The northern starting point of the routes drawn on the *ZHHHT* and investigated in this paper is Dongdong, or Pulau Sapate. There are two courses, which lead from there towards the south. Although Pulau Laut and Pulau Natuna Besar do not appear on the map, both routes passed these islands and perhaps Zheng He saw them from afar. The route along the east side of all the Natunas turned southwest near the Sebumi reefs and took sailors through the Serasan Strait. The other itinerary followed the south or west side of the Natunas; in all likelihood it led ships through the sea between Pulau Natuna Besar and Pulau Subi. Somewhere near the southern exit of Selat Serasan, both routes merged again and then continued along the coast of Kalimantan, down to the areas of Karimata and Gelam. Thereafter ships proceeded to the region of Surabaya and Gresik, via the northside of the Karimunjawa group.

Besides these routes, the *XYCGDL*, *SFXS*, *SYGJ* and *DXYK* record further itineraries. Some of them crossed the sea to the south/west of the sailing courses shown on the *ZHHHT*, but in many cases the relevant toponyms remain obscure, which makes it difficult to reconstruct all the relevant details. However, the general impression is that Chinese navigators became more flexible in the course of time. The sea surrounded by Kepulauan Riau, Kepulauan Lingga, Pulau Bangka, West Kalimantan, Kepulauan Natuna and Kepulauan Anambas is dotted with small islands and reefs, but Ming sailors gradually acquainted themselves with this highly complex world.

One may enrich the panorama drawn above by also considering sailing via Belitung. If one transfers the routes shown on the *ZHHHT* to a modern map, it becomes evident that there was a direct and very fast itinerary from the islands near the southeastern tip of modern Vietnam down to Belitung. This route, certainly also used by Zheng He's ships, passed the Anambas Islands on their east side and the Tambelan Islands as well as Pulau Pejantan on their west side (these islands do not appear on the map, as had been said). Near Belitung it ran through the Gaspar Strait from where it continued towards the southeast, i.e., once again in the direction of Surabaya/Gresik, this time via the south side of Kepulauan Karimunjawa. Another branch led from the Gaspar Strait towards the Sunda Strait.

Besides recording these north-south itineraries, the *ZHHHT* marks a route along the south side of Belitung and Bangka. Many texts, including Portuguese *roteiros*, also refer to such an "avenue," which connected the area of modern Singapore with the Sunda Strait and Java.[88] Furthermore, the lines drawn on our map suggest that there was a sailing course from northern Java, via the

88. See, for example, Matos 2018: 66-76.

north side of the Karimunjawa group, to the north side of Belitung. However, one may question the practical use of such an itinerary.[89] Finally, the modern edition of the *ZHHHT* indicates that it was possible to proceed from Surabaya/Gresik to the Singapore area, again via the north side of Karimunjawa. This route bypassed Belitung and Bangka on the north side. Its existence depends on the short connection between points E and F. Some facsimilized editions of the *ZHHHT* do not support the idea because the link between E and F is not clearly visible on them, or even missing altogether.[90] Be that as it may, Portuguese texts outline a similar itinerary, but the route taken by Portuguese vessels was farther to the north: it ran from Pulau Aur via Pulau Karimata and Kepulauan Karimunjawa to Makassar.[91]

One more aspect is important: The shape of Kalimantan's coastal landscape changed over time. Although the details remain in the dark, one may guess that many reefs and sandbanks, river deltas and other features were quite different some six hundred years ago. Zheng He's vessels, so it seems, sailed through various dangerous zones densely packed with all kinds of obstacles. This suggests that pilots knew these areas well. Later texts contain references to the depth of certain spaces. Perhaps a more experienced scholar should try to link the relevant figures to the ongoing debate on the size of Zheng He's "treasure ships." The simple question is would China's admirals manoeuvre huge ships with a substantial draught through these spaces near the Kalimantan coast. Was it safer for the so-called "treasure ships" to move along the more direct route which passed the Anambas and Tambelan Islands (not shown on the map) and continued through the Gaspar Strait down to Java? We do not know for sure, but the answer is probably no, because sailing through the Gaspar Strait also posed certain risks. So, then, the safest sailing course must have been the one which led to the Tambelan region and Pulau Pejantan and then from there, "diagonally," through the Karimata Strait to the Karimunjawa group (via points F, E and D). Indeed, this was probably the most important avenue for Chinese ships sailing back and forth between the coastal waters of modern Vietnam and Java.

It is not quite clear which route of these north-south connections was the oldest one, and which one came into use in later periods, after Zheng He. However, many non-Chinese sources suggest that Chinese sailors had gone to very distant areas. [92] Therefore, we may safely assume these sailors were

89. Han Zhenhua 1999: 411. Han correctly points out that the lines on the map even suggest the possibility of going from Java to Belitung and returning to Java via a different route. Again, one may ask, what the purpose of such an itinerary would be.

90. Here one may also consider the Nanjing map.

91. Matos 2018: especially 119-123.

92. Lombard 1990, vol. 2: 45-48, presents such evidence from early texts. Since then several other authors have found more evidence.

familiar with the many islands in and around the Laut Natuna from early times onward. Besides that, one may also argue that Zheng He's ships were not as heavy as we often tend to think. If they were smaller, they were certainly able to move across shallow waters and pass through narrow channels. In this case, the choice of routes may not have mattered very much. As was mentioned, more research is needed to disentangle these and other problems related to individual itineraries recorded in Ming sources, the draught of ships, the capacity of bays and ports to provide shelter to major fleets, and the possibility of obtaining large quantities of fresh water and provisions from small offshore islands en route to major destinations.

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*Aditia Gunawan** & *Arlo Griffiths***

Old Sundanese Inscriptions: Renewing the Philological Approach***

1. Introduction

Old Sundanese is known to us today thanks to the survival of documents using this language, whether written on leaves of the *gebang* or *lontar* palms, on bamboo strips, on tree bark (*daluwang*), on metal plates or on stone.[1] The number of such metal or stone inscriptions in Old Sundanese is quite limited, when

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1. Edi S. Ekadjati 1996; Munawar Holil & Aditia Gunawan 2010; Aditia Gunawan & Griffiths 2014; Aditia Gunawan 2015; Aditia Gunawan & Evi Fuji Fauziyah 2021.

compared to the material available in the other epigraphically attested languages of Indonesia, viz. Old Malay, Old Balinese and especially Old Javanese. But the documentary situation is in a way more favorable than the case of Old Malay (where very few non-epigraphic texts survive to complement a small, though ancient, epigraphic corpus)[2] and by comparison with that of Old Balinese (for which no non-epigraphic texts survive at all). Indeed, besides the tiny corpus of epigraphic Old Sundanese texts, there is a much more sizable corpus of texts transmitted on perishable materials in a variety of genres (*belles-lettres*, outlines of religious doctrine, chronicles, technical treatises). At the same time, it should be noted that, by comparison with the other mentioned languages, the Old Sundanese material is several centuries younger, as the oldest dated manuscript was copied in 1518 CE, while the oldest inscription may date to the 14th century.

The pre-Islamic Sundanese writing tradition was diglossic as well as digraphic, involving textual production and reproduction in the vernacular (Old Sundanese) as well as in a supralocal language (Old Javanese), making use of two rather distinct script types. In manuscripts, we encounter either "Old Sundanese characters," which have never been used outside the Sundanese-speaking region as far as we are aware, or "Old Western Javanese quadratic" characters (slightly adapting the term proposed by Acri 2017: 48), sometimes denoted as *aksara buda* (literally "Buddhist characters") and also known as *aksara gunung* ("mountain characters") — the two types are illustrated in figs. 5 and 6 below. The former type was generally used for carving characters into leaves of the *lontar* palm with a stylus to be inked afterwards. The second type, on the other hand, was written onto leaves of the *gebang* palm with a kind of pen. There is a strong tendency, in the Sundanese manuscript culture, to use the Old Sundanese script for writing on *lontar* in the Old Sundanese language, while reserving the Old Western Javanese quadratic script for writing on *gebang* and in the Old Javanese language, although there are some exceptions to this pattern. The degree to which these script types can be distinguished in the epigraphic context is a question to which we will return below.

The pre-Islamic West Javanese manuscripts only started to become known and studied from the middle of the 19th century onwards.[3] The existence of inscriptions in West Java, on the other hand, and notably of the Batutulis at Bogor, had already been known to Dutch observers from the late 17th century onward.[4] While most of the epigraphic corpus assembled in this article had already been published by the end of the 19th century, and post-Independence

2. Waruno Mahdi 2005; Griffiths 2018, 2020a and 2020b, Clavé & Griffiths forthcoming.

3. See Munawar Holil & Aditia Gunawan 2010.

4. See de Haan 1910–1912, vol. I, p. 67* and p. 30, for the first explicit reports on the Batoetoelis in 1690 and 1710; see also vol. II, *bijlagen* XV and XXII. Based on the sources presented by de Haan (which Atep Kurnia has kindly drawn to our attention), Saleh Danasasmita (2006: 11–41) has summarized the early history of Dutch encounters with the antiquities at Bogor.

Indonesian scholars have continued to make occasional contributions, this field of study can hardly be said to have reached maturity. Some inscriptions are very often referred to in the scholarly literature, not to mention popular publications and schoolbooks, because they contain the dating or mention of the Sundanese kings around whom a Sundanese sense of history and identity has been constructed. Other inscriptions have not attracted much attention at all. There is moreover a very strong tendency for uncritical repetition of received interpretations. And the results of Old Sundanese epigraphic research achieved so far still leave many problems without a compelling solution.

The challenges to interpretation lie, first, in the unsatisfactory quality of the reproductions of the inscriptions that have been used by scholars so far to decipher them, and, second, in insufficiencies in our understanding of the language. In the near-total absence of any study of Old Sundanese grammar and lexicon, most scholars have tended to interpret the ancient language exclusively through the lens of modern Sundanese. A systematic review of Old Sundanese linguistics has only started to be conducted by J. Noorduyn & A. Teeuw in their 2006 book, but even this seminal work was ignored in subsequent studies of Old Sundanese epigraphy.

Finally, the fact that so little is known about the historical and cultural contexts in which the Old Sundanese inscriptions were produced imposes severe limitations on their interpretation. In this regard, using contemporary external sources, in Javanese, Malay, Sanskrit or even European languages, can yield important new insights — and this is true *a fortiori* for contemporary sources from the Sunda region itself. As it happens, the development of Old Sundanese philological research in the last few decades has made textual sources in Old Sundanese much more widely available now than they were even as recently as the 1970s. These documents have much to offer as comparative material for the epigraphist's effort to interpret the inscriptions but were either unavailable to previous researchers or remained underutilized.

This article's main objective, therefore, is to present new editions of Old Sundanese inscriptions, based on direct reading from the original artefacts and on newly made photos and estampages, and to interpret the contents of these inscriptions by making systematic use of Old Sundanese sources preserved in manuscripts, along with any other documentation that seems relevant. We believe that this methodological renewal can provide a robust foundation for the further historical and linguistic exploitation of the epigraphic data.

Given this objective, we naturally limit ourselves to the inscriptions written in Old Sundanese, while excluding inscriptions in other languages, such as Old Javanese and Old Malay, although a small number of them have been found in the Sundanese-speaking region.[5] For the same reason, and others, we also give

5. Non-Sundanese inscriptions are also found in West Java from the 6th century onward, for instance seven inscriptions of king Pūrṇavarman in Sanskrit (Vogel 1925), the Sang Hyang Tapak (Pleyte 1916) and Mandiwunga inscriptions (Hasan Djafar 1991, Titi Surti Nastiti

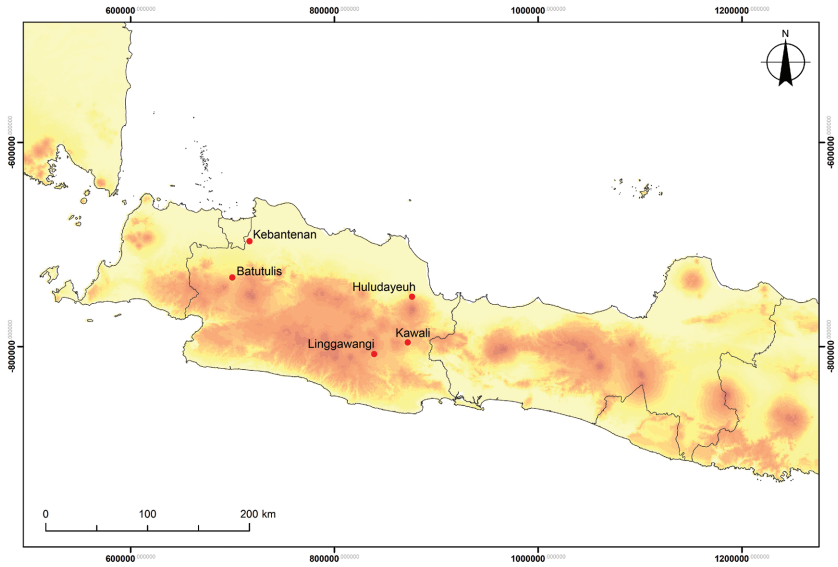


Fig. 1 – Geographic Distribution of the Old Sundanese inscriptions. Map by Chea Socheat.

relatively little consideration here to the archaeological contexts of the inscribed artefacts, although this is certainly a topic deserving systematic enquiry.

2. Romanization and other philological conventions

No international or even domestic Indonesian consensus has been reached so far on how to convert the written form of Old Sundanese documents into Roman script, that is, on how to transliterate the originals. This is as true for Old Sundanese epigraphy as it is for texts transmitted in manuscripts. In our discussion of Sundanese script, we will use the current Sundanese (rather than any corresponding Javanese or Sanskrit) terms for the various markers that can be applied to a basic *aksara* in order to modify or remove an inherent vowel *a* or add a consonant before or after the vowel, since many Sundanese scholars understand and apply them in an academic context.[6]

& Hasan Djafar 2016, Hasan Djafar *et al*. 2016: 99–104) in Old Javanese, the Kebonkopi inscription in Old Malay (Bosch 1941, Hasan Djafar 1991), Buddhist mantra inscriptions found at the site of Batujaya (Hasan Djafar 2010, Griffiths 2014b: 155–156), minor items found at other sites such as the Sadapaingan *kentongan* (Griffiths & Lunsingh Scheurleer 2014), and the recently discovered Jambansari inscription, which is an abecedary for the Indian alphabet (one recognizes the sequence *ya-ra-la-va*, etc.) although its editors do not seem to have realized this (Titi Surti Nastiti & Hasan Djafar 2016: 111–112).

6. These terms may go back to the time that (modern) Javanese script was adapted and came to be the dominant writing system in the Sunda region, no later than the 16th century. Some of

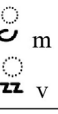
Sundanese	Javanese	Sanskrit	Sundanese UNICODE
panghulu	wulu		
pamepet	pepet		
panyuku	suku		
panéléng	taling		
panolong	tarung		
panyecek	cecak	anusvāra	
pangwisad	wignyan	visarga	
panglayar	layar	repha	
panyakra	cakra		
pamingkal	pengkal		
pamaéh	pangkon	virāma	
pasangan	pasangan		

Table 1 – Correspondences of Sundanese to Javanese and Sanskrit terms for markers applicable to consonant aksaras. Note that we show the only two *pasangans* so far admitted in the Unicode block for Sundanese script (https://www.unicode.org/charts/PDF/U1B80.pdf).

these terms (*pamaihan, téléng*, *tolong*, etc.) already appear for instance in Roorda's preface to the Dutch-Malay-Sundanese dictionary compiled by Andries de Wilde (1841). Subsequently, primers for the adapted Javanese script, better known as *Cacarakan*, as well as grammar books started to use terms rendered more pedagogical through the application of prefix *paN-*, for example *panéléng* (from *téléng*), *panolong* (from *tolong*), *pangwisad* (from *wisad*), etc. (see e.g. Oosting 1884, Coolsma 1904, Nita Sasmita 1955). Since the 2000s, the Sundanese script that is taught in schools is no longer *Cacarakan*, but a standardized set of *aksara*s modeled after those found in pre-Islamic manuscripts, whereas the terms have been maintained. The terms that were in use at the time of production of those pre-Islamic manuscripts were different. This may be inferred from the terms preserved in the poetological manual *Candrakiraṇa*, one of the known manuscripts of which comes from West Java. See Lokesh Chandra (1997: 154–156) and Zakariya Pamuji Aminullah (2019, §3.12).

Early researchers such as K. F. Holle and C. M. Pleyte, for example, did not attempt to maintain a one-to-one correspondence between the graphic elements of the original and the Roman target script. These two scholars did not (or did not systematically) distinguish consonant *ṅ* from *panyecek ṁ*, *h* from *pangwisad ḥ*, dental *d* from retroflex *ḍ*. They never gave explicit representation to the *pamaéh*, took the liberty of ignoring many punctuation marks and of imposing a distinction between the phonemes of Modern Sundanese that are nowadays spelt *e* and *eu*, whereas the original documents make no such distinction. Post-independence scholars, especially Hasan Djafar and Titi Surti Nastiti, have begun to apply greater rigor in dealing with these phenomena, for example by distinguishing the full consonant *aksara ṅ* from the *panyecek* (represented by them respectively as *ṅ* and *ŋ*), the full *aksara h* from the *pangwisad*, independent vowels (marked by them with ° before the vowel in question) from vowels that are part of a consonant-initial syllable, and explicitly rendering the *pamaéh* (with a closing parenthesis or with a slash). However, these researchers have not remained consistent in their transliteration system from publication to publication, have never distinguished between *d* and *ḍ*, and have continued to impose on the data a distinction between so-called *pamepet ə* and *paneuleung ə:* (see §3.1.1).

In the new editions of the inscriptions offered here, we apply the transliteration conventions formulated by Balogh & Griffiths (2020), i.e. largely the ISO standard 15919 but with some adaptations, among which the use of capital letters for *aksara* vowels. Particularly noticeable differences between our system and all predecessors is our use of *v* and *ṁ*, as per ISO 15919, instead of *w* and *ŋ*, our systematic representation of *pamaéh* with a median dot, our use of *:* to transliterate cases where *panolong* is intended as a marker of vowel length (see §3.1.7), and our exclusive use of *ə* for *pamepet* (not included in ISO 15919). It may not be useless to insist on the fact that these are strictly choices of transliteration, and do not imply any different insight into how Old Sundanese was actually pronounced. When citing readings of previous scholars, we adapt their system of transliteration to ours, although this sometimes involves guessing what their intentions were. Many scholars in the past have, for instance, not indicated the *pamaéh*, but some have, using other representations than our ·. If a reading implies that the editor observed a vowel killer, then we represent it in our citation of that reading. *Mutatis mutandis*, we apply the same method to other instances that pertain solely to differences between the transliteration schemes of previous scholars and our own.

By contrast with our application of strict transliteration to the texts of the inscriptions, we apply a "loose transliteration" to passages quoted from Old Sundanese and Old Javanese transmitted, i.e., non-epigraphic, texts (Balogh & Griffiths 2020: 8). This implies a normalization of orthography on several points: merging *panyecek ṁ* into *ṅ*, *pangwisad ḥ* into *h*, simplifying non morphemic gemination (*ṁṅ* to *ṅ*, *ḥh* to *h*, etc.), interpreting any consonant C

bearing *pamingkal* and *panghulu* as *Ciya*, interpreting any consonant C that bears *pasangan va* as *Co* depending on the word that is intended, and removing all instances of the *pamaéh*. When we cite modern Sundanese data, or when Old Sundanese names appear in our English translations, we follow Modern Sundanese spelling norms for the former and adjust the spelling to those norms for the latter.[7]

In our editions below, we use the follow editorial symbols:

(xyz)	reading unclear
[xyz]	lost due to damage to the support
‹xyz›	omitted by scribe, needing to be supplied
○	binding hole
_	one illegible *aksara*
⌈	*panéléng* read with first *aksara* of next line

In our translations, words in square brackets [...] are our additions to facilitate English sentence construction, while explanatory additions are placed in parentheses (...).

3. From transliteration to interpretation

3.1. Writing system and issues of spelling

When comparing Old Sundanese inscriptions and manuscripts, it becomes clear that all these documents deploy what is basically a single writing system and follow the same patterns of spelling — this fact probably reflects their production roughly during the same period, about the 14th through 16th centuries, and by the same scribal milieux. It is important to take due account of these features in order to make the pass from the "raw" transliterated textual data to the more abstract level of deciding which words, with which affixes, were intended in which meanings.

3.1.1. Absence of any spelling distinction corresponding to MdS e *and* eu

If one looks at the readings of the inscriptions published by previous scholars, one gets the impression that the authors of the inscribed texts distinguished between *ə* (generally transliterated as *ĕ* or *e*) and *ə:* (generally transliterated as *ö* or *eu*). But in reality only one marker is found in the corresponding passages, namely the *pamepet* which we transliterate as *ə* (see appendix). Pleyte (1914: 266) and Noorduyn (1962: 376) had already pointed out that the Old Sundanese script used in manuscripts does not distinguish between *ə* and *ə:*, and the same issue has been discussed with several further

7. We use *Palanggeran Éjahan Basa Sunda*, compiled by Jurusan Pendidikan Bahasa Daerah, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (2008).

references by Teeuw in his introduction to the work of Noorduyn on three Old Sundanese poems (Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 19–20). Not all of the authorities referred to by Teeuw are, in our view, reliable, and it must be stated once and for all that Old Sundanese script does not make a distinction corresponding to MdS *e* and *eu.* The *paneuleung* (◌ᮾ) admitted in the Unicode version of Sundanese script has no basis in the historical documents after which that script has been modeled. The imposition of this distinction is obviously based on the phonology and spelling habits familiar from MdS. However, we do not know how Old Sundanese was pronounced at the time of the production of the documents we have, and it seems better to avoid the risk of anachronistic phonological interpretation by maintaining a one-to-one correspondence between the graphic elements of the original and the target scripts.

3.1.2. Spelling of /Ciya/ *as* Cya

A remarkable spelling feature found both in inscriptions and in manuscripts is the addition of the *panghulu* to the consonant with *pamingkal*, so that logically one must transliterate it as *Cyi*, although it is quite evident that the vowel is actually to be pronounced before the *pamingkal*, to yield *Ciya*. Editors of Old Sundanese texts were aware of this tendency and have generally represented such *aksara*s as *Ciya,* without commenting on the resulting inconsistency with general transliteration patterns. However, Undang A. Darsa & Edi S. Ekadjati (1995) initiated its representation as *Cyi* in their edition of the *Fragmen Carita Parahyaṅan* and *Carita Parahyaṅan,* and it is this solution that has subsequently been applied in publications of Old Sundanese texts. Thus, we find spellings like *rahyiṁ* (BaTu.5) which should be understood as *rahiyaṅ*, *saṁ hyiṁ* (BaTu.7) as *saṅ hiyaṅ*, *ñyin·* (2× BaTu.7) as *ñiyan*, *syi* (Kawa1.2) as *siya*. Besides such characteristically Sundanese spellings, we also encounter ones that appear more "normal" to anyone familiar with the spelling system found in Old Javanese inscriptions and manuscripts from Java and Bali: *rahyaṁ* (Keba1.1r1–2), *saṁ hyaṁ* (Kawa4), and *sya* (HuDa.3&4). One inscription (Kawa4) combines the two in the phrase *saṁ <u>hyiṁ</u> liṁga <u>hyaṁ</u>*, suggesting the arbitrary nature of the choice.

3.1.3. Spelling of hiatus vs semivowel

Another feature that seems noteworthy, among other reasons because it is superficially similar to the spelling of /Ciya/ with *Cyi* discussed in the preceding paragraph, is the scribal freedom to choose between spellings with hiatus (*Cia*, *Cua*, etc.) or with semivowels (*Cya*, *Cva*, etc.). In the epigraphic corpus, we only find two minimal pairs: the same toponym Pakuan is spelt either with hiatus (*pakuAn·*, Keba1.1r4) or with semivowel (*pakvan·*, BaTu.3&4, Keba2.1r2, Keba4.1, HuDa.3); likewise, we find both *ia* (*ṅahəriAnan*, Keba4.3&5, Keba5.4&5) and *ya* (*ṅahəryanan*, Keba1.1v2, Keba2.1r4, Keba3.1r4), but we also have *ṅahəriyanan*

(Keba4.4 & Keba5.6). The same kinds of variation are commonly observed in Sundanese manuscripts. The semivowel *y* is commonly used to bridge the hiatus between a front vowel and *a*, as in *ea* (*papakeyan* for *papakean*, SD.46) or *ia* (*siyaṅ* for *siaṅ*, CRP.508). On the other hand, the semivowel *v* is commonly used to bridge the hiatus between a back vowel and *a*, as in *ua* (*luvar* for *luar*, CP 66). We also, though rarely, find the use of *y* to bridge the hiatus *ua*, i.e., *uya* instead of *ua/uva/va* in *karatuyan* (Keba4.7), a phenomenon of which we know just one other occurrence, viz. in a *lontar* manuscript belonging to Abah Cahya from Bandung (fol. 3r), which contains the words *kəbaṁ kakaduyan*, i.e. *kəmbaṅ kakaduan* "flower of the *kakaduan* tree." We also exceptionally find *ivə* (Kawa6.4) for MdS *ieu*, more commonly spelt *iyə* in OS manuscripts. Thus it seems that there was a certain interchangeability between the semivowels *v* and *y*.

3.1.4. Notation of consonant clusters

Old Sundanese script tends to give the impression that characters were engraved between parallel horizontal lines. Only very rarely do scribes take recourse to the subscript consonants — *pasangan* in the broad sense — that are such an important feature of Javanese and Balinese scripts. The only ones which are common in Old Sundanese script are the *panyakra* (*r*), the *pamingkal* (*y*), and the *pasangan v*. Nevertheless, Sundanese is not and has never been a language free of consonant clusters. Rather than making use of the device of *pasangan*, Sundanese scribes generally preferred to express consonant clusters by writing their constituents sequentially from left to right and applying *pamaéh* to the first. A relevant example from the inscriptions is *nis·kala vas·tu* (BaTu.5) instead of *niskala vastu*. We have only found the following *pasangan*s in the epigraphic corpus: *c* in *pañca* (BaTu.6) and *kañcana* (Keba1.1r2, 1r3), *n* in *Avighnam* (Keba1.1r1), *b* in *səmbava* (Keba1.1v1, Keba2.1r3) and *timbaṁ* (Keba1.1v3), and *k* in *niskala* (Keba1.1r2).[8] We refer to the appendix for the respective shapes.

3.1.5. Gemination and degemination

It is frequently observed that consonants are doubled with or without morphological trigger. Gemination of the velar nasal *ṅ* is expressed by adding *ṁ* to an *aksara* preceding *ṅ,* as in *bənaṁṅiṁ* (Keba2.1v4), *laraṁṅan·* (Keba2.1v3); likewise, gemination of glottal fricative *h* is expressed by inserting *ḥ* before *h*, as in *paluluraḥhan* (2×, Keba4.3 and Keba5.3), *paL̥L̥maḥhan* (Keba4.3), *ḍipaEḥhan·* (Keba3.1–2), *maḥharaja* (HuDa.2) *raḥhayu* (Kawa1a.9). Gemination of other consonants requires use of *pamaéh* on the first, as in *sugan·n aya* (Keba4.2), *mipatikən·n ikaṁ kala* (HuDa.10–11),

8. Based on his study of the manuscripts held in *kabuyutan* Ciburuy, Rahmat Sopian (2020: 133, table 8) shows that every consonant in that corpus has a *pasangan* form.

ḍevasasan·na (Keba1.2r3) and *bvan·na* (HuDa.6). As these examples show, there is a strong propensity for gemination to occur at morpheme boundaries both within and between words, but the examples of gemination within words of Sanskrit origin illustrate that the phenomenon may occur even when there is no real morpheme boundary. This phenomenon seems to have been inherited by the Sundanese writing tradition from the Javanese, where it occurs from the oldest inscriptions onward, right down to the Balinese manuscript tradition of recent centuries. By contrast, we find only one occurrence of the opposite phenomenon, degemination, in the small corpus of OS inscriptions, namely *disusuku* for *di-susuk ku* in LiWa.3. But this phenomenon is rather widespread in the OS manuscript tradition, for instance *nəbukaraṁ* for *nəbuk karaṅ* (BM.1005), *sacuduka bukit* for *sa-cu‹n›duk ka bukit* (BM.705), *ṅatvaḥkəna sabda* for *ṅatvahkən na sabda* (KP.597). Nevertheless, even in manuscripts, it is the exception rather than the rule: it seems to occur with relatively greater frequency in the case of consonants *k* and *n*, and much less so with other ones, although instances are by no means unknown: *l* (*mañcaluhur* for *mañcal luhur*, SD.67), *m* (*patiṁtimaneḥ* for *patiṅtim maneh*, KP.368), *p* (*pet hdapet sabda* for *pet hdap pet sabda*, KP.470), *s* (*titisovara* for *titis sovara*, PR.67v), *t* (*kasəbutuṁgal* for *ka-səbut tuṅgal*, JMP.3).

3.1.6. Non spelling of syllable-final nasals

A pervasive feature of OS spelling, no doubt related to phenomena observed in Javanese, is the very frequent absence in spelling of a nasal in intervocalic clusters of homorganic nasal plus palatal, dental or bilabial stop; absence of velar nasal before intervocalic *s*, *g* or *k* due to omission of expected *panyecek*; or, also due to *panyecek* omission, absence of velar nasal at word end. These phenomena have been recognized by the editors of Old Sundanese texts.[9] We follow our predecessors in supplying unspelled nasals that are expected on philological and/or linguistic grounds. In some cases, the epigraphic corpus itself contains minimal pairs supporting the assumption that a nasal is to be supplied: e.g., *hagat* (Keba4.4) compared to *haṁgat* (Keba2.1r4&5), *kaca:na* (BaTu.6) to *kañcana* (Keba1.2&3), *metaAn·* (Keba4.6) to *mentaAn* (Keba1.1r4–2v1). In other cases, the need to supply a nasal can be inferred from spellings found in manuscripts: e.g., *ṅahali‹m›pukən·* (HuDa.5–6) with reference to *halimpu* (SKK.3) or *ni‹ñ›cak·* (Kawa1b.4) to *katiñcak* (BM.221). If no such OS supporting evidence is available, we have to assume that comparison with MdS vocabulary as recorded in dictionaries is a reliable guide

9. For instance, Atja (1970) in his edition of the *Carita Ratu Pakuan* states that "Ejaan yang dipergunakan oleh penulis naskah tentu saja belum sempurna, hal-hal yang menonjol antaranya bahwa konsonan nasal pada akhir suku pertama jarang ditulis." Atja & Saleh Danasasmita (1981b: 5) state: "penghilangan huruf sengau dalam naskah Sunda kuno merupakan gejala umum. Juga dalam prasasti-prasasti." See also Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 20.

to the phonological structure of the Old Sundanese antecedent: e.g., *Ṟ̥‹m›pag·* (Kawa1b.4) is suggested by MdS *rempag*. We also supply nasals in toponyms, if the base word is identifiable in a dictionary, as in the cases of *ru‹ṅ›səb* that we presume to correspond to MdS *rungseb*, *mu‹ñ›jul* to *munjul*, *ciho‹ñ›je* to *honjé*, *cimu‹ñ›caṁ* to *muncang*. A particularly evocative example is *su‹n›-ḍasəmbava* (Keba1.1v1, 2.1r3, 3.1r1 and 1v1) which all scholars so far have assumed includes the ethnonym Sunda. But certain cases of doubt remain: should we, for instance, edit *cibakekeṁ* or *cibake‹ṅ›keṁ* (Keba2.1r5–6)? Examples showing loss of velar nasal due to omission of *panyecek* at word end include *sa* for *sa‹ṁ›* (BaTu.3&5), *rahyi* for *rahyi‹ṁ›* (BaTu.4), *saṁ hyi* for *saṁ hyi‹ṁ›* (BaTu.7), and *ḍituḍi* for *ḍituḍi‹ṁ›* (Keba1.4).

3.1.7. Notations of the vowel -o *and other uses of* panolong

A recent study by Aditia Gunawan (2019, §1.5) shows that in the writing system of pre-Islamic manuscripts from West Java, there is a marker that, in terms of its position, can be identified as the *panolong*, but which has more than the single function that is recognized for *panolong* in the Unicode block for Sundanese script, which is to apply the vowel *o* to a consonant.[10]

First, regarding the representation of the sound /o/, in the manuscripts we find four notations, which are, in descending order of frequency, (1) with lone *panolong*, (2) with application of *pasangan va*, (3) with the combination of *panéléng* and *panolong* around the basic *aksara*, (4) with spelling *-ve* (consonant with *pasangan v* plus *panéléng*).[11] The *gebang* manuscripts, which are less numerous and generally seem older than the *lontar* manuscripts, tend to use the third notation, while the latter mostly use the first.[12] Notation (4) reflects how thoroughly premodern Sundanese scribes had come to confound the two markers that, from a paleographic point of view, must be identified as *panolong* and *pasangan va*, evidently because these markers were able with equal adequacy to represent the same sound.[13] Thus, we do not only encounter free variation in manuscripts between the use of *panolong* and *-va*, but even find the fourth notation where the *-va* clearly takes over the role of the *panolong* in notation (3). Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006: 21) have given some examples of this last phenomenon from *Bujaṅga Manik*: *hoe* "cane" is spelled as *hvae* or

10. See the Unicode table referred to in the caption for Table 1: 1BA7 = "SUNDANESE VOWEL SIGN PANOLONG= o".

11. We note here that while our transliteration system is able to distinguish (1) and (3) from (2), it is not able to distinguish (1) from (3).

12. As exception we may mention the manuscript of the *Bujaṅga Manik* (Bodleian Ms.Jav.3), whose scribe uses notation (3).

13. Although it seems to be relatively more pronounced in West Javanese manuscripts, this phenomenon is not limited to the Sundanese writing tradition, but also found in Balinese manuscripts for Old and Middle Javanese (prose) texts. See Acri 2017: 56–57.

even *hvee*, *bogoh* "adore" as *bogveh* or *bvegveh*. The inscriptions clearly line up with the *gebang* manuscripts, (3) being by far the most common epigraphic notation of vowel /o/, only one example each being found for notations (1) and (2), both in a single line of a single inscription (Kawa6.6),[14] and not a single instance of notation (4). The fact that notation (3), which corresponds to the combination of *taling* with *tarung* to transcribe /o/ in Balinese and Javanese scripts, has come to be replaced by the notation with a lone *panolong* (i.e., *tarung*) in the stage of its development reflected in the *lontar* manuscripts, is a major structural innovation upon received Indic and Javanese usage in the Sundanese tradition.

Second, besides the *panolong*'s use in transcribing /o/, we also find vestiges of the function commonly observed for the *tarung* in Old Javanese documents, namely as a marker of vowel length (cf. Acri 2017: 49, 637). A third and most frequent function, which as far as we know is unique to the Sundanese tradition, is its use to mark consonant duplication. We transliterate this marker of lengthening or duplication with a colon. However, in the epigraphic corpus, we find no examples of consonant duplication and only two of vowel lengthening, viz. *pura:na* (BaTu.1) and *ka‹ñ›ca:na* (BaTu.6). It is noteworthy that these two examples are both loanwords from Sanskrit, and that the combination *a:* is obviously intended to represent Sanskrit *ā*, even if it means that the scribe misspells Skt. *kāñcana* as *kacāna*. This tendency to use *panolong* in loanwords is also observed in manuscripts, more commonly in *gebang* but also sometimes in *lontar*, for example in Perpusnas L 630 for the *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian*, in words of Sanskrit origin, such as *bhayu:* (from Skt. *vāyu*, 4v2) but also in loanwords from Old Javanese, such as *ra:ma* (4v1) and *Aji:* (19v2). The form of the *panolong* in these three functions is normally identical in the *gebang* manuscripts (e.g. fig. 2a from Perpusnas L 455), but tends to be differentiated in the *lontar*s: in Perpusnas L 623 for the *Bhīma Svarga*, the marker shown in fig. 2b represents /o/ while that shown in fig. 2c represents both vowel lengthening and consonant duplication; regarding Bodleian ms.Jav.3 for the *Bujaṅga Manik*, it has been observed to use a marker for consonant duplication (Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 22), and we have found that this takes the shape shown in fig. 2d, while the same manuscript uses the form shown in fig. 2e for the vowel /o/.[15]

14. The form of lone *panolong* as /o/ marker in this inscription is quite different from the shape that *panolong* has when paired with *panéléng*. See appendix, table 4.

15. We do not know whether the same manuscript contains any instances of the marker shown in fig. 2d as vowel lengthener — if it does, then this does not seem to have been noted in Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006), where the table on p. 434 presents an interpretation of the lengthening/doubling marker different from ours.

Fig. 2 – Forms of *panolong* in manuscripts.

3.2. Grammar and lexicon

The grammar and lexicon of the Old Sundanese language, as preserved in the available texts, whether in inscriptions or in manuscripts, are generally quite similar to Modern Sundanese. This fact probably explains why there are only very few specific studies of Old Sundanese linguistics. As exceptions, we can mention the work done by Fatimah Djajasudarma *et al*. (1990), then by Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006), and very recently by Aditia Gunawan & Evi Fuji Fauziyah (2021). The reference works we use for Modern Sundanese grammar are Coolsma 1904, Robins 1983, Hardjadibrata 1985, and Müller-Gotama 2001.

Lexical sources for Old Sundanese are minimal. Several dictionaries have been published, although they generally do not distinguish between Old Sundanese and Old Javanese vocabulary attested in texts from the Sundanese manuscript tradition and do not furnish textual references for the sources from which the lexical items are cited (Elis Suryani & Undang A. Darsa 2003). The only Old Sundanese dictionary that cites the specific textual source for each lemma is the dictionary compiled by Emuch Hermansumantri *et al*. (1986), but it is based on no more than three texts, namely *Carita Parahyaŋan*, *Saŋ Hyaŋ Siksa Kandaŋ Karəsian*, and *Carita Ratu Pakuan*. Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006) have included a glossary based on the three poems edited in their book, *Bujaŋga Manik*, *Sri Ajñana* and *The Sons of Rama and Rawana*, which forms another useful lexicographical reference. As far as morphology is concerned, we can also rely on Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006). All morphological features in our epigraphic corpus are also represented in the three Old Sundanese poems on which the two scholars based their grammatical analysis.

Our first step in examining lexical meanings is always to consult the *Sundanese-English Dictionary* compiled by Radén Rabindranat Hardjadibrata (2003) based on the *Soendaas-Nederlands Woordenboek* by F. S. Eringa (1984), which is generally very useful to grasp the meaning of Old Sundanese words if they can be matched with a Modern Sundanese counterpart. If this dictionary does not provide a promising avenue for interpretation, we check its consistency with Eringa's and if necessary consult other dictionaries of Modern Sundanese, such as Rigg (1862), Coolsma (1913), *Kamus Umum Basa Sunda* (1976), and Danadibrata (2006), although the results are often

disappointing. For more archaic words or words whose Modern Sundanese meanings are not suitable in the Old Sundanese context, we try to assemble any and all occurrences in the corpus of Old Sundanese manuscripts and extrapolate the premodern meaning(s) from the contexts. The translations provided by the editors of these texts are sometimes useful, but most of the time we find that new interpretations are required, based on more rigorous philological analysis. It also happens that the Old Sundanese terms can only be understood by comparing them with their counterparts in Old Javanese or even in Sanskrit.

3.2.1. The definite article na *and the sentence particle* ma

These two morphemes require special discussion, because both are of considerable significance in interpreting texts and our predecessors have tended not to be aware of their respective functions.

First, regarding *na*, the analysis offered by Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006: 53–60) is very useful for interpreting phrases containing this morpheme, which can be either an enclitic pronominal suffix, in which case we shall edit it attached to the preceding word (cf. Old Malay *-ña*, Old Javanese *-nya*), or an independent word. In the second function, *na* can be considered as a definite article (cf. Old Javanese *ṅ*), always placed before the noun to which it applies (which may be a common noun, a proper name, or a toponym). Eringa (1984, s.v. *na* 5), followed by Hardjadibrata (2003), records *na* in this function in Modern Sundanese. Let us consider the phrase *ya nu ñusuk* ***na*** *pakvan* (BaTu.4). All predecessors have, by their non-insertion of a space between *ñusuk* and *na*, implied that *na* is a pronominal clitic, but it seems more convincing to take it as the definite article in its use before toponyms (cf. BM, lines 60, 750). In the phrase *mahayu* ***na*** *kaḍatuAn* (Kawa1a.5), Friederich, Holle, and Pleyte considered *na* to be a suffix, while subsequent scholars have interpreted it as an article. However, we think that all occurrences of *na* in the entire inscription should be interpreted as articles, not suffixes. Thus, in the phrase *mahayu* ***na*** *kaḍatuAn*, *na* applies to the noun after it and comes after the transitive verb *mahayu*, so the meaning is "beautifies the palace." And a few lines further, in *pake* ***na*** *gave raḥhayu* (Kawa1a.8), where all predecessors have interpreted *na* as a suffix, and thus edited *pakena*, we rather assume that *na* applies to the noun *gave raḥayu* while the base *pake* serves as an imperative. The last occurrence, in *ḍi na* (Kawa1a.10), is problematic inasmuch as the word *dina* is recognized as a preposition in Modern Sundanese. However, as Noorduyn (1976) suggested in his reading of this inscription, and as suggested again by Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006: 56), these two syllables can be considered separate words, viz. the preposition followed by the article applying to the following noun.

The second morpheme, *ma* (cf. Modern Sundanese *mah*), has been analyzed in a recent article by Aditia Gunawan & Evi Fuji Fauziyah (2021).

This particle is found especially in nominal sentences and conditional clauses. In the first case, *ma* serves as a copula, connecting the subject and predicate. In both cases, *ma* has a function as a topic marker. An example of a problem of interpretation which involves both *ma* and *na* is found in Keba2.1r2–3, in the phrase *nu ḍipitəkətan· **ma na** ləmaḥ ḍevasasana*. All predecessors have read one word, *mana*, which Boechari and Hasan Djafar suggested to require emendation to *nana* (so *dipitəkətannana*). However, in this phrase *ma* has the function of connecting the subject *nu ḍipitəkətan* "that which is made the object of decree" and predicate *na ləmah ḍevasasana* "the land of divine ordinance." Another interesting case involving *ma* and *na* is found in the phrase *Aya **ma** nu pa‹n›ḍəri pake **na** gave raḥhayu pakən· həbəl· jaya ḍi na buAna* (Kawa1a.8–10). In this sentence, the particle *ma* marks its clause as conditional: the protasis is "if there is" (*aya ma*) a successor of the King mentioned in the inscription. This hypothetical successor receives an order, marked by imperative verb *pake*, to perform an action, marked by article *na* as a definitive noun modifying *gave rahayu* "good works."

3.2.2 Uses of preposition di

The uses of *di* (also spelt *ḍi*) in Old Sundanese have never been discussed so far. In the published translations of OS texts, the preposition *di* is often treated as though its range of meanings were exactly the same as that of *di* "in, at" in MdS (cf. Malay *di*). In our experience, this preposition has a broader usage in OS, comparable to the use of *i*/*ri*/*iri* in OJ (Zoetmulder 1950: 137–141). Like *i*/*ri*/*iri* in OJ, OS *di* can also mean 'to, toward," as seen in Keba3.1r1 *Ini pitəkət(·) nu (s)eba ḍi pajajaran·* "this is the decree of the one who renders service to Pajajaran" and Keba2.1v4–5 *kenaIṁ heman·, ḍi viku* "because I have affection for the hermits," but also in SKK.2 *anak bakti di bapa, eve bakti di laki* "children are devoted to [their] father, the woman is devoted to [her] husband." An important but often disregarded feature is that OS *di*, like *ri* in OJ, can also mark the direct object. We do not find any example of this category in the epigraphic corpus, so offer an example taken from manuscripts: BM.328–330 *vəruh di na əsi taṅtu, lapat di tata pustaka, vəruh di darma pitutur* "knows the content of the scriptures, is conversant with the arrangement of the books, knows the law and the admonitions." Finally, *di* can be used to indicate that the following noun is a toponym, and in such cases loses any prepositional value.[16] Our first example involves *di* placed before a toponym within a transitive construction, obscuring the difference between marking of object and of toponym: *məntasiṅ di cihalivuṅ* "I crossed the river Cihaliwung" (BM.684, *passim* with verb *məntas*). In the

16. This usage, common in OJ, has also been observed in Old Malay. See Griffiths 2020b: 241 n. 79. Tom Hoogervorst points out to us that Literary Javanese *ing* works the same, e.g. *nagara ing Surakarta* "the land Surakarta," but *nagara ing Éropah* "a country in Europe."

epigraphic corpus we find two examples probably belonging to the category of toponym marking: Keba1.1v1 *ḍayəhan· ḍi jayagiri, ḍəṁ ḍayəhan· ḍi su‹n›ḍasəmbava* "inhabitants of Jayagiri, and inhabitants of Sundasembawa," and Keba2.1r2–3 *ləmaḥ ḍevasasana, ḍi su‹n›ḍasəmbava* "the land of the divine ordinance, [namely] Sundasembawa."

4. The Inscriptions

4.1. The Batutulis at Bogor

According to De Haan (1910–1912, vol. II: 364–354, §85 n. 3), the first efforts toward a scientific study of the Batutulis are reflected in a letter from C. F. Reimer to Nicolaus Engelhard dated April 8, 1794. It mentions, among other things, that Reimer asked the president of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* for assistance in collecting publications needed for his investigation of the inscription. The first published decipherment is that by Friederich (1853: 442–468), who read the inscription through an eye-copy by E. Netscher included in the article. Friederich's interpretation was obviously the work of a pioneer. Later, Holle (1869, 1882a, 1882b) produced a series of articles dealing specifically with this inscription, improving Friederich's readings in many ways. Holle's work represents a methodological leap because he supported his readings by comparison with similar sources such as the Kebantenan plates and *lontar* manuscripts that were just becoming known in his day. Holle makes use of one of the famous archaeological photographs produced by Isidore van Kinsbergen.[17] This photo was more reliable than Netscher's facsimile, although Holle acknowledged that the stone having been painted white may have entailed an unfaithful representation of some characters. Pleyte then offered a new reading in 1911, especially emphasizing a different interpretation of the numeral for the hundreds in the chronogram. Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1913) discussed the chronogram in connection with the fall of Pakuan at the hands of Banten. Poerbatjaraka (1919–1921) presented a new reading and interpretation of the chronogram. Noorduyn (1959) discussed the inscription but without proposing a new reading. Saleh Danasasmita (1973, 1975b, 2006) devoted two articles to the study of this inscription, discussing the problems of interpretation in the historical context of early Sunda. The most recent reading was published by Hasan Djafar (2011). It is only from this last edition that we record variants in our apparatus below. Our reading is based on direct inspection of the stone in October 2010, and subsequent study of the estampage made on that occasion, which has since entered the collection of the EFEO in Paris.[18]

17. Theuns-de Boer & Asser 2005: 226–227. The photo in question is no. 15. It is available online through permalink http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:87820.

18. Among other visual documentation that is consultable, we refer to the photo taken by

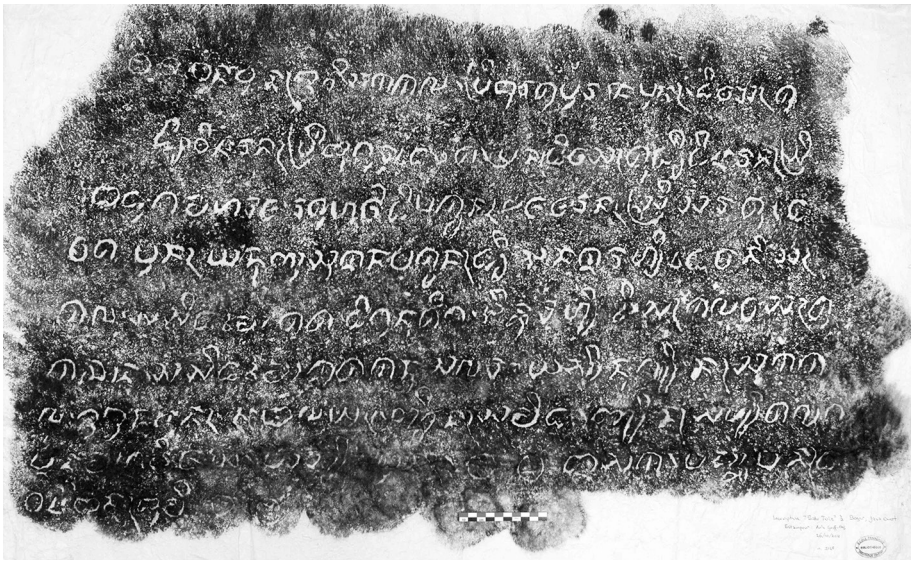


Fig. 3 – The Batutulis inscription (estampage EFEO n. 2148).

4.1.1 Palaeography

Generally, the form of *aksara*s on the Batutulis stone is very similar to what we will see in the Kebantenan plates. For example, the vowel *o* is written with symmetrical pairing of *panéléng* and *panolong*. Another prominent characteristic is the form of *k·* where the *pamaéh* takes the shape of a stroke below, as shown in fig. 4a. This feature is quite common in manuscripts, irrespective of whether the script type is Old Sundanese or Old Western Javanese quadratic. Another feature which is important to notice is the way the scribe represents the independent vowel *ə* by adding *pamepet* to *aksara A* (fig. 4b), a combination we transliterate as *qə*. Previous editors read it as *I*. Indeed, the difference in the form of *panghulu* and *pamepet* in this inscription is not very clear, but we see a short line that juts to the lower right in the middle of the *panghulu*. Moreover, the combination of the independent vowel *A* with the vocalization *i* would be unusual. What is more common is that the independent vowel *i* is represented by a distinct glyph containing the glyph for *ba* with a slanting stroke below it (fig. 4c). However, the form of *qə* with independent vowel comprising *A* and *pamepet* is common in the OS writing system in manuscripts (see figs. 5 and 6). Finally, we point out that the scribe uses a character that seems palaeographically to be retroflex *ḍ*, in order to transcribe what is generally written with a sign that palaeographically represents dental *d*. Since there is no phonological distinction between *d* and *ḍ* in any form of

Isidore van Kinsbergen; the plate in Pleyte 1911, facing p. 160; the plate in Hasan Djafar 2011.

Sundanese, it is understandable that Sundanese scribes familiar with the full range of characters available in the Indic script types that were traditionally used for transcribing Old Javanese texts, and this includes the Old Javanese manuscripts produced in ancient West Java, could have chosen the one or the other of the two Indic *d*-s. For palaeographic reasons, we transliterate as *ḍ*.[19]

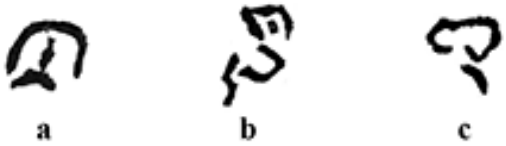


Fig. 4 – Palaeographic features of the Batutulis.

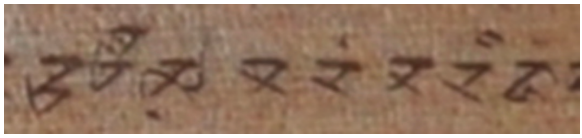


Fig. 5 – The words *qə‹ñ›cu saṁ sida* (from ms. Perpusnas L 610, *Pituturniṅ Janma*).

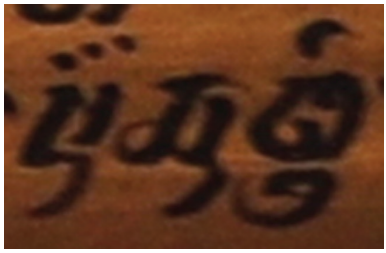


Fig. 6 – The word *qə‹ñ›cuIṁ* (from ms. Perpusnas L 630, *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian*).

4.1.2. Text and apparatus

(1) Ø Ø vaṁ(ṅ) a‹m›(p)un· I(n)i sakakala, pr(ə)bu ratu pura:na pun·, ḍivas·tu
(2) ḍyi, viṅaran· prəbu guru ḍe(va)ta p(ra)n· ḍivas·tu ḍyə ḍiṅaran· sri
(3) baduga maharaja, ratu ha(j)i ḍi pakvan· pajajaran· sri sa‹ṁ› ratu ḍe-
(4) vata pun· ya nu ñusuk· na pakvan· ḍyə Anak· rahyi‹ṁ› ḍeva nis·-
(5) kala, sa‹ṁ› siḍa mok(·)ta ḍi gunuṁ tiga, qə‹ñ›cu rahyiṁ (n)is·kala vas·tu
(6) ka‹ñ›ca:na, saṁ siḍa mok·ta ka nusa laraṁ, ya syi nu (ñ)yin· sakaka-
(7) la, gugun(uṅ)an·, (ṅa)balay·,, ñyin· samiḍa, ñyin· saṁ hyi‹ṁ› talaga [va-]
(8) Ṛna mahavijaya, ya syi pun·,, ØØ I saka, pañca pan·ḍa-
(9) va ṅ(ə)‹m›ban· bumi Ø Ø

19. See Holle 1882c, table p. 4, section B, columns 38–44; van der Molen 1983: 293 (column A). Note that specimens of two different characters, *ḍa* and *da*, have been presented under the label *da* in Table 1 in Acri 2017: 49.

1. The two opening circle-shapes are not clearly visible from a distance but clear on the estampage. — *vaṁ(ṅ) a‹m›(p)un·* ◇ *vaṁ na pun·* HD. For the shape of *ṅa*, see *ṅabalay* in l. 7. — *pura:na* ◇ *purane* HD**.** There is a vertical stroke between *r* and *n*, which has been interpreted as *panéléng* by Pleyte and Hasan Djafar, but we think it is a *panolong*, for *panéléng* has a different shape in this inscription. See the *panéléng*s in *mok·ta* (ll. 5 and 6) and in *ḍeva nis·kala* (l. 4) — they are all different from the shape we see here in line 1. It seems that the marker in line 1 is intended to be the same as the *panolong* we have identified in *kaca:na* (l. 5). There is a horizontal stroke on top, but it could be accidental. — **2.** *dyi, viñaran* ◇ *diya viñaran* HD, with emendation of the second word to *diñaran*. We accept the emendation and add that *ḍyi* needs to be emended to *dyə*, the word we also find further on in this line and in l. 4. — *p(ra)n·* ◇ *prana* HD. This reading seems impossible to us, for there is unmistakably a sign between the *n* and the following *ḍi*, and this sign can only be *pamaéh* or punctuation. Since the word *pran* (even if interpreted as *pəran*) does not seem to exist in Sundanese, we propose to emend this to *pun·*, as in lines 1 and 4. — **4.** *ñusuk· na* ◇ *ñusuk·na* HD. See §3.2.1. — *rahyi‹ṁ›* ◇ *rahiyaṁ* HD. We do not see the *panyecek*. — **5.** *sa‹ṁ› siḍa* ◇ *saṁ sida* HD, with a note explaining that the *panyecek* is present although hard to read. We are inclined to assume that it is absent. Cf. the cases of *sa ratu* and *rahyi* for *saṁ ratu* and *rahyiṁ* (= *rahiyaṁ*) above. — *mok(·)ta* HD ◇ We cannot clearly see the bottom stroke expected as *pamaéh*, but there is a trace of a small stroke to the right and bottom of the *aksara k*. — *gunuṁ* ◇ *guna* HD. There can be no doubt about reading with *panyuku* and *panyecek*. See the toponym Gunuṅ Tiga in the CP as cited by Pleyte (1911: 176). — *qə‹ñ›cu* ◇ *I‹ñ·›cu* HD. See the discussion in §4.1.1. — *(n)is·kala* ◇ *nis·kala* HD. The first consonant is very hard to read as *n*, but that is what it must be. — **6.** *ka‹ñ›ca:na* ◇ *ka‹ñ›cana* HD. The vertical stroke after *ca* is a *panolong* as vowel-lengthener (see §3.1.7). — **7.** *(ṅa)balay·* HD ◇ The first *aksara* is unclear. If we are to follow HD who reads *ṅabalay*, then this means that at the beginning of line 1, we also need to read *ṅa*. Another possibility would be to read *(A)balay·*. Whether we read it as *ṅa* or *A*, the *aksara* seems slightly deviant from the other instances of the same *aksara*s in this inscription. — **7–8.** *talaga [va]r̥na* HD ◇ Cf. Pleyte 1911: 172, citation from FCP.6a: *ti saṅ hyaṅ talaga varna miñak hanət sago‹m›boṅ uyah salave kəlek lilitan salave təktək …* "From Talaga Warna: essential oil one *gombong*, salt 25 *kəlek*, waist band 25 *təktək* …"; cf. also BM 1352–1355, a passage which locates Talaga Warna somewhere around Bukit Ageung (presumably the ancient name of present-day Gunung Gede in Bogor):

sadataṅ ka bukit Agəṅ,	When I arrived to the Mount Ageung,
eta hulu Cihalivuṅ,	that is the upstream of Cihaliwung,
kabuyutan ti Pakuan,	sacred place of Pakuan,
saṅ hiaṅ Talaga Varna.	the holy Talaga Warna.

4.1.3. Translation and commentary

Om, pardon [any errors]. This is the memorial of his majesty the former king, inaugurated here with the name Prabu Guru Déwata, (and also) inaugurated here with the name Sri Baduga Maharaja, king of kings in Pakwan Pajajaran,

Sri Sang Ratu Déwata. He is the one who demarcated Pakwan here, (being) the child of Rahyang Dewa Niskala, the one who vanished at Gunung Tiga; grandchild of Rahyang Niskala Wastu Kancana, the one who vanished to Nusa Larang. He, that one, produced the commemoration monument, artificial hill, cladded [it] with stone; he produced the ritual ground (*samiḍa*); he produced the holy Color Lake. Greatly victorious was he! In the year: "the five Pandawas guard the earth" (i.e. in 1455 Śaka).

The contents of the inscription allude to the nature of the site on which it was placed, namely a terrace of the type known as *punden berundak*, not only in West Java but also in Central and East Java,[20] whose features were still clearly recognizable to a visitor in 1770. See fig. 7.

1. *vaṁ(ṅ) a‹m›(p)un·* ◇ We interpret this problematic sequence as two words, *vaṁṅ* as an equivalent of *oṁ* (cf. §3.1.7, although the cases of *-o/-va* are there always postconsonantal), the usual invocation at the beginning of texts (seen also at the start of Keba1), followed by *ampun* "pardon, forgiveness, remission" (Hardjadibarata 2003, s.v. *ampun*; cf. Malay and OJ "id"). We have not found the word *ampun* in any other OS texts, but it is found in Carita Pantun *Lutung Kasarung* (Ajip Rosidi 1973: 49): *ampun-ampun sadumuhun* (i.e. *sang rumuhun*), *sabeunang-beunang kujang potong* "I beg your pardon, O ancestors, for all the results [achieved merely] with a broken machete (*kujang*)."

An almost certainly related word that is more commonly used at the beginning of a sentence is *pun*, as we find in Keba2.1 and Keba4.1. In the manuscript corpus, we find this *pun* used in a variety of manners. A first example comes from the opening verses of PJ.5–8: *pun kami sadu, nitiskən para saṅ hyaṅ, ti luhur satuṁtuṅ rambut, ti handap sausap dampal* "*Pun*, please allow me to send down the gods, from above as far as the tip of the hair, from below as far as the tip of the foot"; a second comes from the beginning of a mantra in VL.4: *ajina, oṅ paksama guru pun, pasaduan kami di na liṅga si jaja* "Its mantra is: '*Oṅ*, I beg the Guru's pardon, I ask permission to the *liṅga* called Jaja'!." But it occurs most commonly in dialog, as in BM.445–447: *saṁtabe namasivaya*, *pun kami titahan taan [ti kadatuan]*, *taan uraṅ ajuṅ laraṅ* "I beg your pardon! Homage to Siwa! I am instructed by the Lady [from the palace], our Lady Ajung Larang." Noorduyn & Teeuw tend not to translate this word, except if it occurs in the more extensive form *samapun*, in which the element *sama* can be explained as a borrowing, through OJ, of Skt. *kṣama* "patience, forbearance, forgiveness." The word *saṁtabe* in the previous example is derived from the same Skt. base (see OJED, s.v. *saṁtabya* and *kṣāntawya*). An example of *samapun* occurs in BM.959: *samapun mahapandita, kami nema paṁvidian* "My respects, wise man, I accept your gift."

20. On *punden berundak* sites, which form a kind of link between Indianized culture and megalithic tradition, see Schnitger 1939–1942, Haris Sukendar 1985, Agustijanto Indrajaya & Degroot 2012.

In the epigraphic corpus, however, *pun* appears more often at the end of a sentence. See, e.g., Keba1.1–2: *nihan· sakakala rahyaṁ niskala vas·tu kañcana pun·* "This is the record of Niskala Wastu Kancana *pun*." In this usage, one might be inclined to speculate that *pun* is an abbreviation of *sampun* "finished, already," as attested in TB.38v4: *sampun ñiən bərarh pətiṅ, ṅagavay trəna, taru, lata, guluma* "[Darmajati] has created the day and night, producing grass, trees, creeping plants, shrubs." This idea might then be felt to find confirmation in the colophon of the PJ manuscript: *pun təlas sinurat, riṅ vulan kalima pun* "*pun* The writing was finished in the fifth month *pun*" (cf. OJ *sampun* "completed, finished; already; after," OJED, s.v. *sampun*, also *pun* II). But the word is not used in this meaning in MdS where *sampun* or *sapun* means "pardon." We are rather inclined to attribute the same function to both initial and final *pun*, namely that of lending a ceremonial or polite nuance to the sentence. This nuance seems to survive in its use in MdS, as explained by Coolsma (1904, §165): "[*pun*] serves the speaker or writer merely to give expression to his humility or politeness". Coolsma's examples show how *pun* was used in his time, by people speaking or exchanging letters in a respectful manner, using the appropriate *lemes* register. Cf. also the use of *pun* in OJ as "a personal demonstrative particle and personal pronoun for the third person, used of so. in a position lower relative to another (usually the addressed)" (OJED, s.v. *pun*), and the use of *pun* as a formative element in pronominal and deictic elements of the *krama* register in Modern Javanese (*-ipun*, *dipun-*, *punika*). In the light of this understanding, we will not translate *pun* whenever it occurs below. But here, at the beginning of this first inscription, we consider that the formula *vaṅ* (i.e., *oṅ*) *ampun* expresses a meaning analogous to that of *oṅ avighnam astu* at the start of Keba1. Cf. also the opening of RR.1 *oṅ karana saṅtabean*.

1. *sakakala* ◇ Apart from this inscription, the word *sasakala* also occurs in Keba1.1 and LiWa.2. There is no doubt that it is from the Sanskrit *śakakāla* which literally means "Śaka-era" but practically comes to mean "chronogram."[21] This definition is suitable if its occurrence coincides with a dating element, as is the case of the Linggawangi inscription. However, this sense is not suitable in Kebantenan 1, where it occurs to designate the decree of a deceased king and we translate it as a "record." Regarding transmitted OS texts, we should especially mention the *Bujaṅga Manik*, which includes numerous occurrences of *sakakala*. On several occasions, the protagonist visits holy places, recalling them as the *sakakala*s of certain gods or saints: Mount Caru as *sakakala* of Lord Cupak (BM.695–696), Jalatunda as *sakakala* of Silih Wangi (BM.731–732), Mount Marapi as *sakakala* of Darmadéwa (BM.774–775). Noorduyn (1982: 421) interprets this word as meaning "the place preserving the memory of." In his edition of this text, the phrase *sacunduk ka Jalatunda, sakakala Silih Waṅi* is translated "and arrived at Jalatunda, which keeps the memory of Silih Wangi" (BM.731–732). Thus, the second meaning of this word would be "place of commemoration, memorial." In the episode where Bujangga Manik arrives at Mount Sembung (BM.1080–1087), he narrates how he builds a shrine by erecting a *liṅga*

21. See Damais (1958: 51, §106) for a discussion of *śakakāla* in this sense.

(*nañjərkən liṅga*), creating a statue (*ñiyan harəca*) as well as a *sakakala* (*ñiyan sakakala*). Here it thus seems that the meaning of *sakakala* is one grade more concrete, and can be translated, following Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006), as "monument."

In the Batutulis inscription, the term is mentioned twice, specifically at the beginning part as a statement that the text is a *sakakala* (line 1), and as one of the king's works (line 6–7). In the latter context, Noorduyn (1959) interprets *sakakala* as meaning "monument," which is suitable because it appears side by side with other concrete works such as an artificial hill (*gugunuṅan*), and its cladding with stones (*ṅabalay*). However, even here it seems to have the connotation of something related to memory. And so we make our own Poerbatjaraka's interpretation (1919–1921) of the word *sakakala* in Batutulis, followed by Bosch (1941) for the Old Malay Kebonkopi inscription, as "memorial" ("*gedenkstuk*"). Further epigraphic occurrences of *śakakāla* in contexts that support a sense "memorial" — although in all these cases, "chronogram" is an equally fitting or sometimes even the more suitable translation — can be found in the Sanskrit inscription of Wurare ("Joko Dolog," from Mojokerto, East Java), dated 1289 CE (Poerbatjaraka 1922: 432), and also in 14th/15th-century Old Javanese inscriptions from hermitage sites (studied in Schoettel & Griffiths, forthcoming), among which one from Gunung Nyamil, Blitar (1328 CE)[22] and one from Candi Sukuh, Gunung Lawu, Central Java (1457 CE).[23]

1. *pura:na* ◇ This must be a loanword from Sanskrit *purāṇa* "old." Several OS texts contain the expression *purana vindu*, sometimes in close contextual connection with the verb *divastu*. E.g. FCP.3v: *kenana urut maharaja trarusbava ṅahanan sabijil ti na purana vindu* "because [it is] where the great king Trarusbawa lived, after [he] appeared from the primordial globule"; further occurrences can be found in SC 17v and SD.48. Apparently the expression means "of old, in former times."

2. *ḍivastu* ◇ Cf. RR.681 *divastu dijiən ratu* "inaugurated and made kings" (Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 194, 427).

2. *ḍyə* ◇ All predecessors have interpreted this word as though it were a 3s pronoun (like *dia* in Malay) but actually the word means "here." In this inscription (as in HuDa), only the pronoun *siya* is used. We do not find *dyi* (*diya*) as 3s pronoun in any OS text. In MdS *dia* is a dialectal pronoun of the 2nd person (particularly in Banten), besides *diana* as 3s pronoun.

4. *ñusuk* ◇ This verb has for a long time been interpreted as expressing the foundation of the kingdom. Indeed, Pleyte (1911: 160) translated *stichtte*, which is Dutch for "founded"; Poerbatjaraka (1919–1921: 389) used the same verb, but in the present

22. *// sakakalan(ira) ra kaki (sa)ca (s)un(y)a hatapa racut gunu(ṁ ña)mil· // sunyamarga pakṣani(ṁ) vo(ṁ)* "The memorial/chronogram of the venerable elder Saca sunya who performed (liberating) penance on Gunung Nyamil: void-path-wings-man."

23. *peliṁ duk· kil(i) ri kayaṁṅan· duk a(nu)ṁkul· mar(iṅ) arga pavitra*, *sakakalanya goḥ viku hanahut· butut·, 1379,* 'Commemoration of the time when the nun was at the sacred place (hermitage?) [and] when she paid homage to Mount Pavitra. Its chronogram is "Cow as Ascetic biting [its] tail". 1379.'

tense (*sticht*); the entire discussion in Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1913: 139–144) is based on the assumption that the inscription records the date of foundation of Pakuan Pajajaran. Pleyte (1914a) dismissed the text which is known nowadays under the title *Amanat Galuṅguṅ* as a "Pseudo-Pajajaran Chronicle" for no other reason than that the figure said to *ñusuk* Pakuan is another than the king who *ñusuk* Pakuan Pajajaran in our context. It is only in the work of Saleh Danasasmita (1973) that we see these assumptions starting to be questioned. We translate "demarcated" and limit ourselves to citing two occurences in AG3r: *jaga isəs di carek nu kolot, ṅalalokən agama nu ñusuk na galuṅguṅ*, *marapan jaya praṅ jadyan tahun* "One day, [you] should pay attention to the prohibition of the elders by ignoring the sacred doctrine of the one who demarcated Galunggung, in order to gain victory in battle and the success of harvest." Cf. Kawa1 for the use of the nearly synonymous verb *marigi* "to dig a moat, a trench." In MdS, Rigg (1862, s.v.) notes that *nyusuk* means "to cut a canal, to cut a trench in the earth." This seems to be in accordance with Carita Pantun *Demung Kalagan*, which implies the meaning "to demarcate":

basa nyusuk ti pakuan	When [he] demarcated Pakuan
sawétaneun gunung cisalak	from the eastern part of Mount Cisalak
sakaléreun gunung gedé	from the northern part of Mount Gedé
basa nyusuk ti pakuan	when he demarcated Pakuan
basa ngabedah di kuta pajajaran	when he established the fort of Pajajaran
ku prebu susuk tunggal	[it is done] by King Susuk Tunggal
nu nyusuk kali cihaliwung téa	who demarcated the river Cihaliwung

In OJ epigraphic texts, the verb *susuk* typically occurs in constructions such as *manusuk sīma*, literally meaning "to demarcate a *sīma*," which clearly imply the foundation of a religious freehold. Cf. also Old Malay Paṇai inscription (*ca* 11th/12th c., Padang Lawas, North Sumatra) which contains the phrase *mañusuk bumi* (Griffiths 2014a: 235). In our opinion, therefore, the OS word *ñusuk* can also imply the meaning "to open up, to found." The apparent contradiction between Batutulis and *Amanat Galuṅguṅ* about who *ñusuk* Pakuan should not be resolved by regarding one right and the other wrong, but can be seen as a reflecting the different concerns of their respective authors (see our discussion in §5). We may conclude this comment by pointing out that that the chronogram in this inscription, generally assumed by previous scholarship as marking the date of the founding of Pakuan, most probably does not furnish the date of the event intended by *ñusuk* at all, nor that of other works of the king, but rather that of the production of the memorial (*sakakala*) inscription itself. See our discussion in §4.1.4.

6. *nusa laraṅ* ◇ This place is mentioned in CP.21b: *aya na səvə prəbu vaṅi ṅaranna iñana prəbu niskala vastu kañcana nu surup di nusa laraṅ* "There is a son of the king called Prabu Wangi, he is King Niskala Wastu Kancana, who has vanished at Nusa Larang."

7. *ṅabalay* (or *Abalay*) ◇ Rigg (1862) describes *balay* as "an ancient and sacred spot, for making offerings and prayers," adding that "they are frequently found on mountain tops throughout the country, and are often still held in some degree of awe by the natives." According to Hardjadibrata (2003), *balay* means "join together

(natural) stone (as paving around the house, as reinforcement of the roadway, as delimitation around a graveyard, as a path)" while *ngabalay* means "put such paving etc. somewhere." BM.1409–1414 depicts the practice of *dibalay* with some detail:

ku ṅaiṅ gəs dibabakan,	It was set up as place by me,
dibalay diundak-undak,	it was cladded with stone, arranged in terraces,
dibalay sakuliliṅna,	paved all around,
ti handap ku muṅkal datar,	from below with flat rock,
sər maṅguṅ ku muṅkal bənər,	whirling upwards with "true/straight" rock,
ti luhur ku batu putih.	from the top with white stone.

In another part of the same text, the meaning of *dibalay* denotes embellishment with jewels (*dibalay ku p‹ə›ramata*) in a garden (BM.1582), or with pearls (*dibalay ku muteṅhara*) on a palanquin (BM.1713). In our context, some scholars have interpreted the word as meaning "to harden the earth." But taking Bujangga Manik's description and Rigg's notes into account, it seems more likely that *ṅabalay* is related to covering such structures with stone. If we read *gugunuṅan· Abalay·*, the meaning will be "an artificial hill with stone cladding." See also fig. 7.

7. *samiḍa* ◇ The word *samiḍa* means firewood (Skt. *samidh*), but we believe that the word is used here as equivalent for *pasamiḍaan*, a term designating the place where various acts of religious devotion were carried out, as in SC.1125: *dəṅən bale paṅəyəkan, saṅgar paiyilan, pahoman ṅuruṅ jalan, kalavan pasamidaan, gəsan ṅukus puja ñapu* "with the weaving pavilion, the shrine *paiyilan*, offering places surrounding the road, along with the

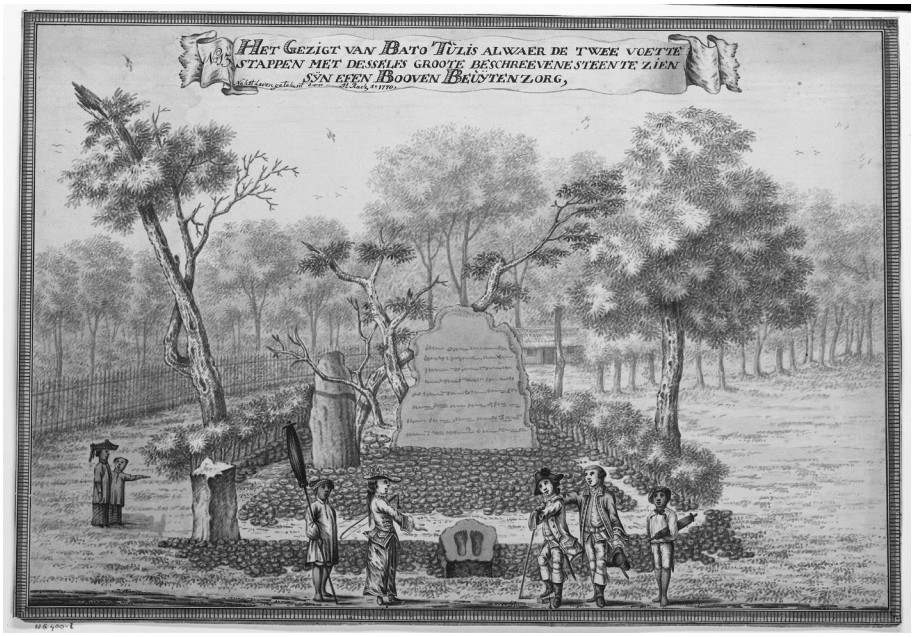


Fig. 7 – Johannes Rach's painting of the Batutulis, 1770 (https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-400-I).

place for firewood (*pasamidaan*), for burning incense, worshiping, and sweeping." There are instances in MdS where the base word has the same meaning as its derivation with *pa- -an*, e.g., *jimat* and *pajimatan* "amulet" (Robins 1983: 116–117).

4.1.4. Chronogram and Chronological Framework

The Batutulis is the inscription most abundantly discussed by previous scholars because it is the only one that mentions names of kings along with a date, although the word designating the century number in the chronogram is very controversial both in terms of its reading and in terms of its numerical value. We read the problematic word as *ṅə‹m›ban·*. Pleyte read it as *əban*, which he understood to mean *ə‹m›ban*. He was relying on the opinion of Kern, who proposed to Pleyte that the word *əban* stands for *əmban* and can express the value 4 "because it happens in Indian narratives that rich folks' children have four nurses" (Pleyte 1911: 162). This meant that the Batutulis was dated to 1455 Śaka (1533 CE). Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1913: 143–44) disputed this interpretation and considered that other historical data imposed attributing to the problematic word the value 3, to obtain the year 1355 Śaka. He did not offer an interpretation of the chronogram as a sentence nor did he take a firm position on the reading *əmban* proposed by Pleyte, but noted that the mention of the five Pandawas makes one think of the 3 *panakawan*s, so that *əmban* might express the same value and meaning. Subsequently, Poerbatjaraka (1919–1921) established the correct reading of the word as *ṅə‹m›ban*, which he took as a synonym of the Javanese chronogram word *nəmbah*, the shared semantic element being the use of two hands, so that he was able to translate the sentence as "the five Pandavas cradle the earth" while assigning to *ṅəmban* the value 2, to obtain the date 1255 Śaka.

Saleh Danasasmita (1973: 12–13, 2003: 32) connected the word *əmban* with *panakawan* = *sakawan* "companion," assumed that it would have the value 4 that the latter words have in Javanese *candrasengkala*s (Bratakesawa 1980: 51), and was inclined to consider this the type of chronogram that cannot be translated as a sentence. We are differently inclined, and point out in favor of the reading *ṅəmban*, which Poerbatjaraka translated as "cradle," that the word does not only mean "to carry on both arms or in a carrying-shawl, cradle" but also "to be the guardian of" or "to be the companion of" (OJED, s.v. *ĕmban*).

None of our predecessors was aware that the word *ṅəmban* actually figures in Balinese chronogram lists collected by H. N. van der Tuuk and Victor Korn — always expressing the value 2. Although these texts date to the late 19th century in their extant forms, it is likely that at least some of the material contained in them was drawn from considerably older sources.[24] We have to admit that the interpretation of the word in this value 2 seems more

24. Cf. Hägerdal (2006) on Balinese chronogram lists, with examples of *ṅəmban* (*ngemban*) on pp. 81, 83, 104,178, 185, 189 and 190. We owe the information on *ṅəmban* in Balinese sources to Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan.

intuitive than the value 4 (because "to cradle" implies the presence of two people) and if it is accepted in the Batutulis, it would mean reverting to the date 1255 Śaka proposed by Poerbatjaraka.

In terms of its sequence of rulers, the inscription shows a rather striking agreement with the *Carita Parahyaṅan* while the same sequence of three generations of rulers is also reflected in the Kebantenan inscriptions (to which we turn in §4.2). However, assigning to the Batutulis the date of 1255 Śaka would lead to a difference of about two centuries with the chronology implied by the *Carita Parahyaṅan* (CP), as inferred by several scholars on the assumption that the composition of the chronicle must be coeval with the Banten sultanate's defeat of Pakuan in 1579 CE.[25] If this date may be relied upon at least as an approximation of the date of composition of the CP, it is then possible to go back in time following the information on the lengths of reign of the kings of Pakuan recorded in the chronicle, which does not itself use absolute dates. Using this method, we obtain the following chronological sequence from the last ruler of Pakuan down to Niskala Wastu Kancana who is mentioned in the inscription as well as in the CP.[26]

– Nu Siya Mulya, 12 years	1567–1579
– Nilakéndra, 16 years	1551–1567
– Sang Ratu Saksi, 8 years	1543–1551
– Ratu Déwata, 8 years	1535–1543
– Surawisésa, 14 years	1521–1535

Then we reach the kings mentioned (though rarely under exactly the same names) in the epigraphic corpus:

25. See Pleyte 1911, Amir Sutaarga 1965, Saleh Danasasmita 1973 & 1975b, De Graaf & Pigeaud 1974 §6-03, Ricklefs 2001. As Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan points out to us, the universally cited date of 1579 (= 1501 of the Javanese era) is based solely on the reliability of the chronogram given in the *Sajarah Banten*, whose oldest dated manuscript dates back only as far as the 1730s (see Titik Pudjiastuti's 2015 edition of four versions of the *Sajarah Banten*, p. 64 for the two oldest dated manuscripts both dated 1732 CE, and p. 284, stanza XX.17, for the chronogram, apparently corrupt in one of these two manuscripts, viz. Leiden Or 7389, that was used by Titik Pudjiastuti as basis for her edition — and see Hoesein Djajadiningrat 1913: 132 for the reading and interpretation of the chronogram in the manuscripts he consulted). The 1579 date is not implausible, given what is known from other sources of Banten's expansionism in the 1570s, but it is also not as solid as the secondary literature often suggests. Centennial years like 1500, 1501 and 1503 are also related to the idealised "rise-and-fall" cycle of kratons in the Modern Javanese Tradition (cf. Ricklefs 1999), which makes us wonder how much trust we can put in its accuracy.

26. We follow the chronology reconstructed by Saleh Danasasmita (1973, 1975b, 2003), which is eight years shorter than that of Amir Sutaarga (1965). The latter interpreted *sadəwidasa* as meaning that the reign of Nu Siya Mulya lasted "twenty" years, while the former interpreted the numeral as meaning "twelve."

– Ratu Jaya Déwata, 39 years 1482–1521
named Guru Déwata, Baduga Maharaja and Ratu Déwata in BaTu; named Baduga Maharaja and Ratu Déwata in Keba; expired at Rancamaya according to CP

– Tohaan of Galuh, 7 years 1475–1482
named Rahyang Dewa Niskala in BaTu, Ningrat Kancana in Keba; expired at Gunung Tiga according to both CP and BaTu

– Niskala Wastu Kancana, 104 (!) years 1371–1475
thus named also in BaTu and Keba, expired at Nusa Larang according to both CP and BaTu

Taking into account the significant correspondences between the CP data on the names of kings and their places of decease (or enshrinement), on the one hand, and those of the inscriptions, on the other, it seems necessary also to give some credence to the chronicle's information on lengths of reign, notwithstanding the fact that the reign of 104 years ascribed by its author to the king furthest removed from him in time is very suspect.

Based on this chronology, it is difficult to accept the interpretation of the chronogram of the Batutulis as expressing the year 1255 Śaka. The only interpretation that would fit the absolute chronology above is that of Pleyte and Saleh Danasasmita, viz. 1455 Śaka, implying that the word *ṅəmban* could express the value 4, at least for the author of the inscription. This would place the inscription in 1533/1534 CE, or about twelve years after Sri Baduga Maharaja expired, when he would still have been in living memory as a former (*purana*) king. This is the conclusion we hesitantly maintain in our translation above, despite the very significant countervidence on the value of the chronogram word *ṅəmban* in Balinese sources. As we will outline further on (§5), we have the impression that the inscription fits well in what is known about the historical context of the first half of the 16th century CE. Most of the other epigraphic and manuscript material in Old Sundanese is indeed dated or dateable with some confidence to the 15th–16th-century range.

Unless and until new sources emerge to confirm or refute the conclusion reached above, we must of course remain open to other possibilities. One of these would be to reject the *Carita Parahyaṅan* altogether as a reliable source for questions of absolute chronology, and to move the entire chronology outlined above back in time by about two centuries. But this would mean moving the inscription to a completely different historical context, which seems implausible to us. Another possibility would be to imagine that the inscription was created at least some decades after the decease of Sri Baduga Maharaja in the early 16th century CE but that the author of the inscription did intend 1255 Śaka, not as an authentic historical date but because he wished to make his contemporaries believe that this former king had lived about two centuries further in the past than he actually had. Although this last interpretation is highly speculative, it is the only one we see that allows us to

work with the expected value 2 for *ṅəmban* while also allowing us to keep lending some credence to the information contained in the *Carita Parahyaṅan* and to retain the Batutulis as a product of the 16th century.

4.2. The Metal Plates from Kebantenan

This item consists of five copper plates found in *desa* Kebantenan, *kabupaten* Bekasi, West Java. In the center of each plate, there is a small hole clearly applied prior to engraving the text, in the manner also seen in palmleaf manuscripts, indicating that the plates form a set that was intended to be bound together with string. When found, they were used as objects of worship, hanging on a string in a small house belonging to a farmer (*NBG* 5, 1867: 38). It was Raden Saleh who first informed the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* of the existence of these inscribed plates. Although the farmer did not at that time allow the society to purchase them, they were offered to the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* two years later by the *assistent-resident* of Meester-Cornelis (present Jatinegara) to whom they had been shown by another man as though they were proof of ownership of a tract of land called Cipamingkis (*NBG* 8, 1870: 74 and 80–81). Today, they are still kept in the National Museum, Jakarta, under inventory numbers E. 42 through E. 45.

The inscriptions on these plates were first read by Holle (1867b: 559–567, 1872: 367). As a pioneering scholar, Holle deserves appreciation for the relative accuracy of his readings. Pleyte (1911: 163–167; and appendix 2, pp. 198–199) gave a new and improved reading of the text, especially the passages concerning taxation, in his lengthy article on the chronology of the kings of Pajajaran based on data from inscriptions and manuscripts. Boechari (1985–1986: 103–107) published the texts again,[27] though without any translation or interpretation, and this edition in turn was the main reference used by Hasan Djafar (1991), who offers Indonesian translations for Keba1–4. Since none of

Number	Facsimile Pleyte	Rubbing Leiden	Photos
1. MNI E 42	√	√[29]	√
2. MNI E 43	–	√	√
3. MNI E 44	–	–	√
4. MNI E 45	–	–	–

Table 2 –Visual documentation used for editing the Kebantenan plates.

27. Boechari suggests about these plates that "*Nampaknya lempengan ini bekas piagam lama yang dihapus dan kemudian ditulisi piagam baru*" (almost the same words are repeated four times on pp. 103–106). We do not understand what gave Boechari this impression.

the previous editions totally supersedes its predecessors, we systematically report the readings of all four previous editions in our apparatus.[28]

4.2.1. Paleography

There is on the whole great similarity to the script seen in Batutulis, for example in the spelling of vocalization *o* with symmetrical *panéléng*/*panolong* and the exclusive use of *ḍ* instead of *d*, but some characters are similar to those used in the Kawali group (see Eka Noviana 2020: 116–117). A small difference from Batutulis lies in the use of two manners of writing *k·*. In Kebantenan we find not only the manner used in Batutulis, where the vowel killer is a horizontal line under the *aksara k,* but also the more wide-spread manner, which involves adding a standard *pamaéh* to the *aksara k*. However, the *aksara n* (fig. 8a) is very similar to the one used in the Kawali inscriptions and different from the one seen in Batutulis. We also find one unusual *aksara*, shown in fig. 8b and interpreted by us as *gh* in Keba1.[29] The grapheme *gh* is different both from *k* and *g* in this group of inscriptions; it resembles the sign that expresses *ñ* in the Kawali inscriptions, but is different again from *ñ* in the present group of plates. It is also different from the shape of *gh* in Old Western Javanese script (see Acri 2017: 638). Another character that is quite exceptional is the *ś* (fig. 8c) that occurs twice, both times in the *aksara śri*. Previous scholars who dealt with the Kebantenan plates have always transliterated it as *s*, thus conflating this character with *s* proper (fig. 8d). Finally, one characteristic that is quite prominent is the shape of *aksara E*, which is similar to *aksara l* but with a *panghulu* on top. It is unfortunate that when Aditia Gunawan checked the plates at the National Museum, the character in question could not be photographed. However, in his table Holle (1882c: 25, no. 79) has reproduced this *aksara E* as shown in fig. 8e.

Fig. 8 – Palaeographic features of the Kebantenan inscriptions.

4.2.2. Kebantenan no. 1 = MNI E. 42 a and b

This was previously edited by Holle (1867b: 563, Plaat II and III) and Pleyte (1911: 163–164), then by Boechari (1985–1986: 103), and most recently by Hasan Djafar (1991: 10). Aditia Gunawan checked the reading in May 2013,

28. We do not know if all three expected rubbings can be found in Leiden, but in the set of photos of the rubbings that is at our disposal, we only find one of plate 2, recto.

29. Holle read it as *g* in his 1867b article, but he later represented it as *gh* in his famous *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw Indisch Alphabetten* (1882c: 7, column no. 79).

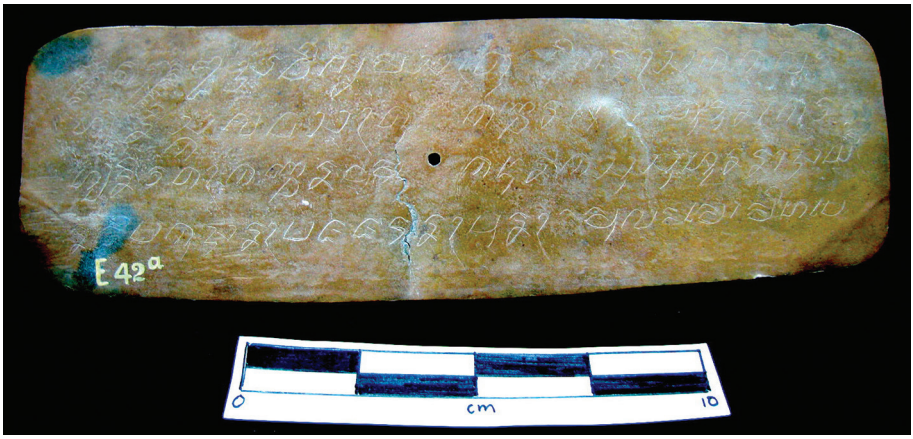


Fig. 9 – Kebantenan no. 1 (MNI E 42 a recto, photo by Terrylia Feisrami).

then reread the text with Arlo Griffiths on the basis of the rubbings from the Kern Institute collection in Leiden, of Pleyte's facsimile, and of photographs kindly shared by Terrylia Feisrami.

This inscription is engraved on two very thin copper plates, measuring 21.5 × 6.5 cm each. The first plate has four lines of writing on its two sides; the other one has 3 lines of writing on only one side. The bottom side of the second plate is damaged, but the reading is not disturbed because the part in question does not bear writing.

4.2.2.1. Text and apparatus

Plate 1, recto.

(1) // Ø // Oṁ Avighnam as·tu, nihan· sakakala ra-
(2) hyaṁ niskala vas·tu ○ kañcana pun·, turun· ka ra-
(3) hyaṁ niṁrat· kañcana, ma○kaṅuni ka susuhunan· Ayə-
(4) na ḍi pakuAn· pajajaran· pun·, mulaḥ mo mihape

Plate 1, verso.

(1) ḍayəhan· ḍi jayagiri, ḍəṁ ḍayəhan· ḍi su‹n›ḍasəmbava,
(2) Aya ma nu ṅabayuAn· ○ Iña Ulaḥ ḍek· ṅahəryanan·
(3) Iña, ku na ḍasa, cala○gara, kapas· timbaṁ, pare⌈-
(4) ḍoṁḍaṁ pun·, maṅ‹k›a ḍituḍi‹ṁ› ka para muhara, mulaḥ ḍek· men·-

Plate 2 recto.

(1) taAn· Iña beya pun·, kena Iña nu puraḥ ḍibuhaya,
(2) mibuhayakən· na kacari○taAn· pun·, nu pagəḥ ṅavaka-
(3) n· na ḍevasasan·na ○ pun· Ø , Ø

1r1. *Avighnam* ◇ *avignam* H P B HD. — **1r4.** *pakuAn·* H B HD ◇ *pakvan·* P. — **1v1**. *ḍəṁ* ◇ *dəṁ* P; *dəṁ* HD, with note "baca jöŋ"; *don* B. B's note "Maksudnya: *jöŋ*" makes clear that his reading is a printing error for *döŋ*. See our comment on this word below (§4.2.2.2). **—** *su‹n›ḍasəmbava* ◇ *su‹n›da səmbava* H P B HD. —**1v3**. *Iña*, H ◇ *Iña* P B HD. There is a clear punctuation mark after *aksara ña*. — **1v4**. *maṅ‹k›a* ◇ *maṅa* H B HD; *maṅga* P. **—** *ḍituḍi‹ṁ›* P ◇ *ditudi* B HD. H reads *ditudi* but emends it to *ditu‹ñ›jaṅ*. —**2r1**. *beya* H B HD ◇ *beya‹s›* P.

4.2.2.2. Translation and commentary

Om. Let there be no obstacle! As follows was the record (*sakakala*) of Rahyang Niskala Wastu Kancana, that came down to Rahyang Ningrat Kancana and also to His Highness now [ruling] at Pakuan Pajajaran (i.e., to Sri Baduga Maharaja). Do not omit to take care of the inhabitants of Jayagiri and the inhabitants of Sundasembawa. If there is someone providing them livelihood, don't be eager to disturb him with the *dasa*, *calagara* [penalties], cotton *timbaṅ*, rice paddy *doṅdaṅ* [taxes]. Also with regard to the [people from] various river mouths: don't be eager to ask them toll. Because they are the ones who are assigned to be cherished, who cherish the code of conduct, who firmly practice the divine ordinances.

1r1. *sakakala* ◇ See our comment under BaTu.1 (§4.1.5).
1r4. *mihape* ◇ This word means "to take care." See also KUBS s.v. *mihapé* 2, which cites an expression *mihape poé paré* "ménta dipangnalingakeun," meaning that the paddy should be watched carefully. HD translates *mulah mo mihape* "telah menitipkan," while the construction of *mulah mo* in OS texts implies an imperative "do not fail" (like Indonesian *jangan tidak*). Cf. SC.33–37: *mulah mo rəñə svaraiṅ, svaraiṅ ayəna ini, mulah mo mihape iña, suganiṅ salah tucap, suganiṅ salah səbat* "You must not fail to listen to my voice, this voice of mine, now; you must not fail to pay attention to it, for there might well be an error of speaking, there might well be an error of citation."
1v1. *ḍəṁ* ◇ This conjunction is common in the OS corpus, but unfamiliar from the point of view of MdS (where the common coordinating conjunction is *jeung*). While we do find *rəjəṅ* in OS, we never find *jəṅ*. Clearly, the suggestion made by B and HD to read *jə:ṅ* was only based on their knowledge of MdS.
1v1. *ḍayəhan* ◇ This word is not found in MdS. Cf. the glossary in Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006, s.v. *dayeuhan*). It is clear that in OS contexts, this word means "inhabitant" (from *dayəh* "settlement"), based on the occurrences in RR.224–227 and 1430–1434, BM.25–29. Cf. also SMG.2 and WL.12&18. Pleyte (1911: 164) assumes the meaning "capital," while Hasan Djafar (1991) leaves the word untranslated.
1v1. *su‹n›ḍasəmbava* ◇ We read *su‹n›ḍasəmbava* as a single word, because it seems to be a Sanskrit-style *tatpuruṣa* compound, meaning "the origin of Suṇḍa."
1v2. *Aya ma* ◇ Cf. MdS *mah*. For the use of *ma* in OS sentences, see Aditia Gunawan & Evi Fuji Fauziyah 2021.
1v2. *ṅahəryanan* ◇ Previous scholars have related this verb form to MdS *heureuy* "to tease." One occurence of the passive form *dihəryanan* in KK.2r seems incompatible with

such a meaning, and rather implies that the verb means "to obstruct, to hinder": *təhər hibar dilah siya, kilaṅ kapindiṅan mega, kilaṅ kapindiṅan bukit, saṅkilaṅ dihərianan, hantə kaalaṅ-alaṅan* "then your light is bright, even if it is covered by the clouds, even if it is covered by the mountains, even if it is hindered, it would not be obstructed." We therefore propose to associate the OS forms with MdS *heurin*. Hardjadibrata (2003, s.v. *heurin*) notes forms such as *ngaheuheurin* "make st. overcrowded, take too much space, be in the way," *ngaheurinan* that has the same meaning as *ngaheuheurin*, and also *kaheurin* "st. that stands in the way, obstacle, impediment." Compared with these MdS data, is seems that we have to assume an OS base form *hərian* from which is derived a secondary base through suffix *-an*, and finally a verb with prefix *ṅa-*, morphologically analogous to *nga-heurin-an* in MdS but having a meaning, "to obstruct," that is only recorded for other specific forms in MdS.

1v3. *dasa calagara* ◇ Our predecessors have offered various comments on the interpretation of these two terms that appear to be related to payment of tax or penalties. As Pleyte's did, our analysis starts by comparing SMG.15, which contains relevant information: *voṅ papa ma nu bobotoh,*[30] *voṅ kalesa ma na dasa, si manareṅ ma, calagara, si manarek*[31] *ma, na paṅuraṅ* "the gambler is a sinful man, the *dasa* is a stained man; the *calagara* is one who *manareṅ*; the *paṅuraṅ* is one who extracts." This passage suggests that the word *dasa* can be traced to Skt. *dāsa*, which means "slave, servant" (also in OJ). Regarding the word *calagara*, in view of the frequent correspondence of Sundanese /c/ to Javanese /w/ (Nothofer 1975: 301–310), it may be considered the Sundanese equivalent of OJ *valagara*, a rare word glossed as follows in OJED, s.v.: "prob.: a kind of marriage (sexual intercourse?) which is normally prohibited (with a young girl, *wāla*?); also: the corresponding contribution (to obtain permission) or penalty." In our view, the term is ultimately derived from Sanskrit *balātkāra* "employment of force, compulsion, violence; (in law) the detention of the person of a debtor by his creditor to recover his debt" and not or only secondarily connected with *vāla* "child." The word *valagara* is attested, to our knowledge, in two OJ inscriptions,[32] in the still unpublished texts called *Śaivaśāsana* and *Ṛṣiśāsana* and in the published *Kuṭāra-Mānava*.[33] Although none of the relevant passages make perfectly clear what the term means, they do reveal that *valagara* had some connection with a particular way of marriage engagement and was a kind of payment that needed, under normal circumstances, to be made to the government. Occurrences of *balātkāra*, or derived forms, in OJ Parva texts and in inscriptions from Bali, seem compatible with the

30. Cf. Kawa6 and our commentary on *bvatoḥ*.

31. The manuscript has *manareka*. A scribal error *ka* for *k·* may easily occur by omission of the *pamaéh*. We thus read *manarek* and interpret it as an equivalent of Malay *menarik* "to extract." See also Nothofer (1975: 230) showing that related languages have /e/ instead of /i/ in the word which is *tarik* in MdS.

32. The two occurrences are *valagarādhi* "*valagara* etc." in the Kaladi inscription (dated to 831 Śaka, but a reissue probably dating to the late Majapahit period — Barrett Jones 1984, App. 4), 8v4, and *pabə:ñjat· (v)alaghāra* "levy on illegitimate children and on *valagara*" (?) in the Narasinghanagara inscription (13th century — van Naerssen 1941: 46–54, reading corrected by Arlo Griffiths based on a photo of the plate), 14r4–5.

33. The passages from the *Śaivaśāsana* and *Ṛṣiśāsana* (texts currently being edited by Marine Schoettel as part of her doctoral research) are cited in OJED from manuscripts; the *Kuṭāra-Mānava* occurrence is in 191.1 (ed. and transl. Jonker 1885: 76 and 142).

hypothesis that it and *valagara* are connected terms, their interrelationship being a topic that requires further research.[34] Returning to the quoted SMG passage, we see *calagara* associated with a word spelled *manarẹ̄ṁ* in the manuscript, which Pleyte (1911: 198–199) as well as Atja & Saleh Danasasmita (1981c: 59) represented as *manarə̄ṅ*. This error for the vowel led these scholars to consider *manarəṅ* as derived from the base *barəṅ* (MdJ and MdS *bareng* "together"), thus giving rise to the assumption of a meaning like "collective tax," and contrasting this with *dasa* as individual tax. Now if we rely on the manuscript, the SMG passages actually reads *manareṅ* instead of *manarəṅ*, but this is hard to accept since there is no such word in OS or MdS. We tentatively propose to read *si manarema ma* instead of *si manareṅ ma*, assuming that the *panyecek* in the manuscript is accidental and that haplography has occurred. The form *manarema* can then be derived with prefix *maN-* and infix *-ar-* from the base *tema* "accept" that we also find elsewhere in OS. See e.g. BM.959 *samapun mahapandita*, *kami nema paṅvidian* "Pardon, wise man, I accept your gift" and KP.43 *katema ku bətara indra* "was accepted by the God Indra." Thus, *si manarema* could mean "the ones who accept (each other in marriage)." It would also be possible to obtain more or less the same meaning if we assume the base is *tarema*, i.e. MdS *tarima*.[35] In either case, to obtain the reflexive meaning, one would actually expect to read *si patarema ma* — but this is even further removed from the transmitted reading, and thus we are forced to admit that the interpretation of the passage remains doubtful. Nevertheless, it seems clear that *dasa* and *calagara* in this passage designate types of people liable to pay certain penalties. This is inconsistent with the use of the same terms in two passages of the *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian*. These are, (a) SKK.9: *jaga raṅ kadataṅan ku same, paṅuraṅ dasa calagara, upəti paṅgərəs rəma, maka suka gəi‹ṅ›uraṅ, maka rasa kadataṅan ku kula-kadaṅ, ku baraya* "One day we'll be visited by the *same*,[36] collector (*paṅuraṅ*) of (penalties such as) *dasa*, *calagara*, *upəti*, *paṅgərəs rəma*. Then we'll be happy, then we'll feel (like) being visited by relatives, by family members," and (b) SKK.10 *dəṅ maka ilik-ilik di na turutanən, mantri, gusti, kasasa, bayaṅkara, nu marək, paṅalasan, juru lukis, pande daṅ, pande mas, pande gəlaṅ, pande vəsi, juru vidaṅ, vidu, vayaṅ, kumbaṅ, gəndiṅ, tapukan, bañolan, pahuma, pañadap, pañavah, pañapu, belamati, juru moha, barat katiga, pajurit, pañumpit, pamanah, pamraṅ, paṅuraṅ dasa calagara, rare aṅon, paceleṅan, pakotokan, palika prətələm, siṅ savatək guna, aya ma nu satiyadiguna di kahulunan, eta keh na turutanən, kena eta ṅavakan tapa di nagara* "And then pay attention to the ones who should be followed: officer, noble man (*gusti*), *kasasa*, member of the *bayangkara* corps, confidant (*nu marək*), messenger, painter, coppersmith, goldsmith, bracelet smith, blacksmith, architect (? *juru vidaṅ*), actor, puppeteer, trumpeter,

34. For the Parva passages, see the references assembled in OJED, s.v. *walātkāra*. The attestations in inscriptions from Bali are *pamalatkaran* in the Bebetin AI plates (Goris 1954, no. 002 — in Old Balinese), line 2r5 and *amalatkara* in the Gurun Pai plates (van Stein Callenfels 1926: 14–18 — in Old Javanese), 3v5–3v4.

35. See Nothofer (1975: 314): "According to Professor Noorduyn Old Sundanese has *tarema*." An instance is RR.808 *akiiṅ gəs katarema, ku ṅaiṅ paṅhaat kita* "Grandfather, I am most grateful for your kindness."

36. The OS word *same* seems to correspond to *sāmya* in OJ. Zoetmulder (OJED, s.v. *sāmya*) notes: "It seems to be a person (group of persons, *para sāmya*) with some authority on a lower (village?) level, subaltern official or chief. They are mentioned with *kuwu* and *juru*. Cf. OJO 61 (distinguished from *tanayan thāni*)."

gamelan musician, drummer, joker, dry rice field farmer, palm tapper, wet rice field farmer, sweeper, death defying solder (? *belamati*), magician, *barat katiga*, soldier, blowpiper, archer, warrior, collector of *dasa* and *calagara* (penalties), children of shepherds, pig farmers, chicken farmers, fisherman, diver, [and] all those who are of use. If there is anyone who has the virtues of fidelity, etc., in service, it is he who is to be followed, for he is dedicating himself to the country." In the two SKK passages, it seems that *dasa* and *calagara* indicate a certain type of penalty, as we find in our inscription, as opposed to the SMG passage where it rather seems to designate the persons liable to pay such penalties.

1v4. *timbaṁ* ◇ Hardjadibrata (2003, s.v.) defines the term *timbang* as a kind of measuring unit for rice paddies, equivalent either to ½ or 1 *pikul* weight of paddy depending on the source. In MdS, one *pikul* has a weight of approximately 61.75 kg.

1v4. *ḍoṁḍaṁ* ◇ Pleyte (1911: 199) records that he found the term *peso doṁdaṁ* in an Old Sundanese text. Although the context of his discussion implies that he found *peso doṁdaṁ* in SMG, we have only found the term attested in SKK.17, where it is listed among items held by the religious teacher: *gaṅgamam saṁ pandita ma kalakatri, peso raut, peso doṁdaṁ* (?)*, paṁot, pakisi, danava pinakadevanya, ja itu paranti kumərət sagala* "the weapons of the scholar (*pandita*) are the betel nut cutter (*kalakatri*), *raut* knife, *doṁdaṁ* knife, *paṁot*, spike (*pakisi*). The Danawas are their deities, for they are utilised to cut everything." Pleyte assumed that a *peso* "knife" being used for *doṁdaṁ* means that the word *doṁdaṁ* in this passage cannot have the meaning "tray" that is recorded, i.a., by Eringa (1984, s.v. *dongdang* 2): "kind of (long wooden or bamboo) carrying tray (carried on a pole by two men, for transporting plates or edibles etc. at feasts and slametans)."[37] See also *Ensiklopedi Sunda* (Ajip Rosidi 2000: 200) for a description and a drawing. Unfortunately, the meaning of the segment *peso doṁdaṁ* is particularly unclear, so that it hardly helps to interpret our inscription. Considering that *timbaṁ* is a unit of measurement, *doṁdaṁ* might concretely mean a unit of paddy corresponding to the volume of a *doṁdaṁ*. This implies that *doṁdaṁ* is more voluminous than *timbaṁ*.

1v4. *ḍituḍi‹ṁ›* ◇ See OJED s.v. *tudiṁ* "index," *anudiṁi* "to point the finger at (esp. with the left hand in challenging)"; *tudiṁ* in MdS means "accuse someone," but in this context "addressed to" seems better. It is interesting that Pleyte (1911: 163 n. 4) related *ditudiṁ* to *tuduh* in MdS, which could also means both "to address, to indicate" and "to accuse someone."

1v4. *para muhara* ◇ We are inclined to consider *para muhara* as a short equivalent of a hypothetical construction *muhara para muhara* which would mean "various river mouths." See de Casparis 1991: 38–41 on such constructions of *para* in OJ epigraphical sources. Both the full construction and the shortened equivalent are also recorded in OS texts. Cf. CP.45a: *dayəh para dayəh*, *desa para desa*, *nusa para nusa*, *ti kəliṅ bakti ka rahyaṅtaṁ kuku* "various cities, various regions, various islands, from Keling venerated Rahyangtang Kuku"; and BM.917–919: *bətəṅ rəəs ku sakitu, bogoh ku nu mava iña, bibijilan para nusa* "after admiring all these things, I was attracted

37. We translate from Eringa's Dutch, because the *dongdang* entries in Hardjadibrata (2003) seem to have suffered some (technical?) mishap leading to the loss of most of the second entry. Rigg (1862, s.v.) has: "a cage or contrivance made of bamboo to carry out eatables with dishes &c; also to carry about boxes of clothing &c. to preserve them from sun and rain."

by the crew, they came from various islands." The persons from such places may be implied in this construction, as in KS.2.18: *palana ka puhavaṅ, ka para desa, ka malayu, mo mənaṅ mo vaya-vaya sakti ṅabiyapaka* "the result of it for the ship master, for [the people from] various regions, for [the people of] Malayu, is that they will not be able to pervade their forces." This is why we translate *para muhara* as "the [people from] various river mouths."

2r1–2. *dibuhaya* ◇ The meaning of *dibuhaya* is problematic for several reasons, and this word only appears in Kebantenan (*dibuhaya* and *mibuhayakən*), and *Bujaṅga Manik* (*dibuhaya*). The first difficulty concerns the function of the prefix. In OS, as in MdS, forms with *di-* can have both active and passive meanings. The most common function is to form a passive verb. However, it should be noticed that the absence of an object in the sentence suggests that *dibuhaya* may be an active intransitive verb, as is the case for *dipraṅ* "to go to battle," *diajar* "to learn," *dibuah* "to bear fruit, *ditapa* "to practice asceticism" and many other examples (see Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 35). The second difficulty concerns the meaning of the base. The only occurrence for comparison is found in BM.15–17: *ambuiṅ tataṅhi tiṅgal, tarik-tarik dibuhaya, pavəkas pajəəṅ bəṅət* translated by Noorduyn & Teeuw as "Mother, keep awake while staying behind, even if you pull as strongly as a crocodile, it is the last time we see each other face to face." Obviously we do not expect any meaning like "as strongly as a crocodile" here, even if all the MdS dictionaries record *buhaya* "crocodile." In the context of this inscription, the word can be understood in the light of *buhaya* in OJ (OJED, s.v. *buhaya* I), whose derived form *(m)abuhaya* means "love-smitten, pining, languishing." We presume that *buhaya* is also related to Malay *buai* "swaying, swinging, the motion of *pendulum*," and the verb *berbuai* "to swing" (Wilkinson 1959, s.v. *buwai*). On this basis, we propose that OS *dibuhaya* may mean something like "to cherish, to treat gently, to treat with care" if it is active, or "be cherished, be treated gently, be treated with care" if it is passive. The fact that *mibuhayakən*, the active transitive form of *buhaya*, occurs here immediately after *dibuhaya* reinforces the notion that the *vikus* treat the rules of proper conduct (*kacaritaan*) with great care. Compare also the choice of the word *heman* in Keba2.1v5, which expresses the king's affection for the hermits. Thus, we propose to translate *kena Iña nu puraḥ ḍibuhaya, mibuhayakən· na kacaritaAn·* as "because [the hermits] are the ones who are assigned to be cherished [by the king], who cherish the code of conduct" as the first alternative, or "because they are the ones who are assigned to cherish, (i.e.) who cherish the code of conduct" as the second option. Consequently, the words *tarik-tarik dibuhaya* in the BM passage could be translated as "[even if we] cherish each other strongly" or "[even if we] are strongly cherished by each other."

2r2. *kacaritaan* ◇ See our discussion in §4.2.7.

4.2.3. Kebantenan no. 2 = MNI E. 43

The inscription was read first by Holle (1867b: 562, Plaat I) and then by Pleyte (1911: 169). Boechari (1986–1987: 104–105) provided a new reading although without any translation. The most recent reading is the one by Hasan Djafar (1991: 11), now with Indonesian translation. Our new reading is based on Leiden rubbings and a photograph. It is engraved on both sides of a copper plate measuring 21.5 × 6.7 cm: the recto has six lines, and the verso has five.

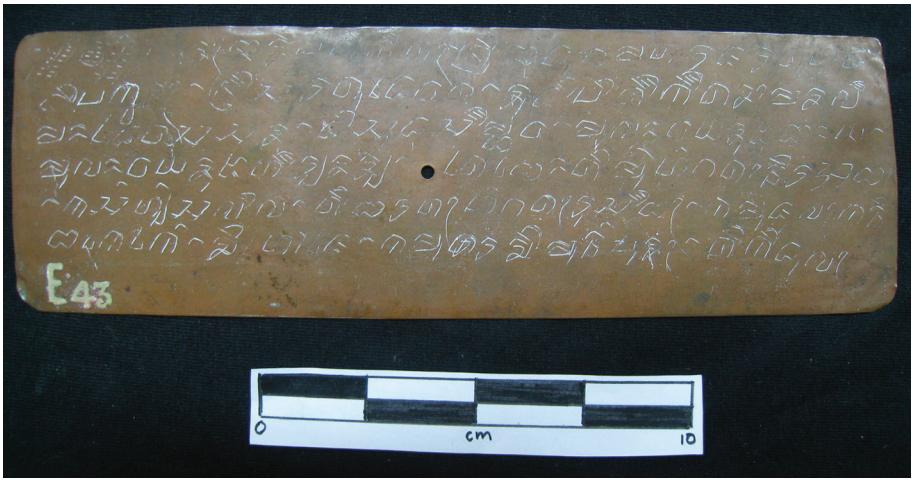


Fig. 10 – Kebantenan no. 2 (MNI E 43 recto, photo by Terrylia Feisrami).

4.2.3.1. Text and apparatus

Plate 1, recto.

(1) // Ø // pun· Ini pitəkət· śri buḍuga maharaja ratu haji
(2) ḍi pakvan·, śri saṁ ratu ḍevata, nu ḍipitəkətan· ma na lə-
(3) maḥ ḍevasasana, ḍi su‹n›ḍasəmbava, mulaḥ vaya nu ṅubaḥ ya,
(4) mulaḥ vaya nu ṅahəryanan ya, ○ tebeḥ timur haṁgat· ciraAb·
(5) , ka saṁ hyaṁ salila, ti barat· haṁgat· ru‹ṁ›səb·, ka mu‹ñ›jul· ka ci-
(6) bakekeṁ, ciho‹ñ›je, ka mu(ha)ra cimu‹ñ›caṁ pun·, ti kiḍul·

Plate 1, verso.

(1) haṁgat· Ḷvəṁ comon·, mulaḥ mo mihape ya, kena
(2) na ḍevasasana saṁgar kami ratu, saparaḥ jalan· gəḍe,
(3) kagiraṁkən·, Ḷmaḥ laraṁṅa○n· pigəsanən·na para viku
(4) pun·, Ulaḥ ḍek· vaya nu kəḍə ḍi bənaṁṅiṁ ṅagurat· ke-
(5) naIṁ heman·, ḍi viku pun·

1r1. *śri* P ◇ *sri* H B HD. — *buḍuga* ◇ *baduga* H P B HD. Looking at the element *baduga* in Batutulis, it is clear that *buduga* here must be an error, which all previous editors have either failed to notice or silently corrected. OS manuscripts always have *baduga* (cf. CP.30a, AG.1v). This word is probably a Sundanese development of Skt. *pāduka*. — **1r2**. *śri* P ◇ *sri* H B HD. — *ma na* ◇ All predecessors read as one word, *mana*, on which B and HD note "Maksudnya: nana". See §3.2.1. — **1r2–3.** *ləmaḥ* ◇ The word is spelt here with consonant *l* plus *pamepet*, rather than with *aksara* vowel as in 1v3 *Ḷmaḥ*. — **1r3.** *ḍi* H P ◇ *om*. B HD. **—** *vaya* H P HD ◇ *Aya* B. **—** *ṅubaḥ ya* H P HD ◇ *ṅupahya* B. — **1r4.** *vaya* H P HD ◇ *Aya* B. — **1r4.** *ṅahəryanan ya* ◇ *ṅahə:ryanan·* H P B HD — *tebeḥ* H P

◇ *te beḥ* B HD; B and HD note: "*te* [baca: *ti*] *beḥ*", but the word *tebeh* is commonly used in OS texts. Cf. BM.662, 1082, 1160. **—** *ciraAb·* ◇ *ciraUb* H P B HD. The third basic *aksara* is *A*. It seems that a small stroke below its right element is interpreted as *panyuku* by all predecessors, which would mean *qu* in our system. But we are inclined to read only *A*, since the *aksara U* has its own shape in this plate (see *Ulaḥ* in 1v4; see also the appendix). — **1r6.** *mu(ha)ra* ◇ The *aksara h* in this word is badly executed. The engraver seems to have first written *ra* and then tried to correct his mistake by changing it into *ha*. —**1v1.** *Ḷvəṁ* ◇ *ləːvəːṁ* H P B HD. **—** *mo mihape ya* HD ◇ *mo mihapeya‹n›* H P; *mo himapeya‹n›* B. — **1v3.** *kagiraṁkən* ◇ *kagiraṁkəːn* H P B HD. **—** *laraṁn̓an* ◇ *laraṅan* H P B HD. — *pigəsanən·na* ◇ *pigəːsanəːn·na* HD; *pigəːsanəːnna* H P B HD. — **1v4.** *vaya* H P HD ◇ *Aya* B. **—** *kəḍə* ◇ *kədəː* P; *kəːdəː* H B HD. **—** *bənaṁn̓iṁ* ◇ *bəːnaṁn̓iṁ* P HD; *bəːnaṅiṁ* H B. — **1v5.** *kenaIṁ* ◇ *kenana Iṁ* H; *kenana Aiṁ* P; *kena AIṁ* B HD.

4.2.3.2 Translation and commentary

This is a decree of Sri Baduga Maharaja, the king of kings of Pakuan, Sri Sang Ratu Déwata. That which is made the object of decree is the land of divine ordinance, [namely] Sundasembava. May no one change it, may no one burden it. On the east side, the limit is the Ciraab to the Water deity (*saṅ hyaṅ Salila* — i.e., the Sea?); on the west the limit is the jungle (*ruṅsəb*) to Munjul, to Cibakékéng, Cihonjé, until the Cimuncang estuary. From the south, the limit is the haunted forest (*ləvəṅ comon*). Do not fail to take care of it! Because [the land] of the divine ordinance is the shrine of me, the king. Along the highway to its upstream, [it is] the forbidden land that will serve as place of the hermits. May no one be aggressive to my work of restricting, because I have affection for the hermits.

1r1. *pitəkət* ◇ In OS, this word is often mentioned side by side with the word *talatah* "message," as in SC8r: *kena iña taṅtu saṅ sida karuhun, talatah saṅ sida sukma, pitəkət saṅ sida ləñəp* "for that is the rule of the deceased ancestor, the message of the deceased soul, the exhortation of the deceased who has vanished." In OJ, *pitəkət* means "(the drawing of so.'s attention) exhortation, advice, warning" (OJED, s.v. *nĕkĕt*), or in other words, "a decree." Cf. MdJ *piagəm*, and *nihan sakakala* in the opening of Keba1, with our comment on *sakakala* in BaTu.1.
1r3. *su‹n›ḍasəmbava* ◇ See our comment under Keba1 (§4.2.2).
1r4. *haṁgat* ◇ The word is no longer known in MdS, but in all OS contexts, it means "border, limit." Among many occurrences in FCP, we cite as example FCP.3b: *alasna dənuh ti barat haṅgat cipaheṅan ti hulu cisogoṅ alasna puntaṅ ti timur hulu cipalu ti kaler haṅgat hulu cilamaya* "the domain of Denuh: in the west the limit is Cipahéngan from the upper Cisogong. The domain of Puntang: in the east [the limit] is the upper Cipalu, in the north the limit is the upper Cilamaya." The word must be related with the group of Malay words *enggat, senggat*, *tenggat*, that express similar meanings (Wilkinson 1959, s.vv.).
1r4. *ciraAb* ◇ This river name is derived from the word *raab*, which is presumably related to MdS *rahab* "provide so. with necessities." Toponyms Ciraab or Cirahab still exist in several areas, both in West Java and the western part of Central Java.

1r5. *ru‹ṁ›səb* ◇ HD leaves this word without translation, considering it as a toponym. But it can be equated with *rungseb* in MdS. "bony, prickly, thorny; fig.: stinging, caustic, snide (of a remark etc.)." In the context, a common noun meaning "jungle" seems fitting.
1v1. *ləvəṁ conom* ◇ This seems to mean "haunted forest." Cf. MdS *leuweung onom*, which has this meaning. We suppose that the word *comon* has become *womon* at some stage, because of the interchangeability of /w/ and /c/ observed in the history of Sundanese (*caringin* = *waringin*, *cai* = *wai,* see our comments on *calagara* in Keba1), before finally becoming *omon* in MdS. The word *ruṅsəb* "jungle" in 1r5 will then be a quasi synonym.
1v2. *saṁgar* ◇ Cf. SKK.18: *hayaṅ ñaho di puja di saṅgar ma: patah puja daun, gəlar palajaṅ, puja kəmbaṅ, ña‹m›piṅan liṅga, ṅomean saṅ hyaṅ, siṅ savatək muja ma ja‹ṅ›gan taña* "If one wishes to know about the offerings in the *saṅgar*: the arrangement of a leaf offering, *palajaṅ* offering, flower offering, putting a cloth on *liṅga*, maintaining the deity, all kinds of offerings, ask the *jaṅgan*." Cf. also SC.1125 quoted in our comment under BaTu.7. These passages suggest that *saṅgar* means "shrine," as in OJ. MdS has the particular meaning "offering place (of wood or bamboo on high stilts, also of a basket fixed on a bamboo pole, built before harvest on the rice field, consisting of the *puncak manik* with various spices and toilet-articles for Nyi Sri); *nyanggar* place offerings on the *sanggar*."
1v4. *kəḍə* ◇ Cf. CP.12a: *təhər bava ku kita kədə-kədə*! "Then you should take [it] by force!"; AG.1r: *mulah pabvaṅ pasalahan paksa, mulah pakədə-kədə, asiṅ ra‹m›pes, cara purih, turutan*, *mulah kədə di tinəṅ di maneh, isəs-isəskən carekna pa‹n›tikrama*, "Do not reject (some one) who has the wrong ideas, do not be aggressive toward each other. Whoever is decent, as one is supposed to be, follow [him]! Do not be obstinate with your own ideas. Pay attention to the words of propriety (*pantikrama*)." Cf. OJ *kədə̄* "feeling the urge to, feeling impelled to, set on; (wanting, seeking to obtain, etc) at all costs (by any means); keeping on, cannot but ..., unremittingly, insistently, obstinately, unavoidably" (OJED, s.v. *kĕdö*). It seems that the OJ/OS word survives into MdS *keudeuh* as a synonym s.v. *keukeuh* "obstinate, stubborn, tenacious, unyielding; *kumeukeuh* s.m.; *keukeuh peuteukeuh*/*kedeuh*/*keudeuh* s.m. (emph.); *ngeukeuhan* hold on to st., stay with st., stubbornly ask about st.; *pakeukeuh-keukeuh* both sides stubbornly stand firm (maintain their stand)." Cf. also MdS & MdJ *kudu* "must, have to, need to, should, ought to."
1v4–5. *kenaIṁ* ◇ For an explanation of the pronominal suffix *-iṅ* (corresponding to pronoun *aiṅ*), see Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 48.

4.2.4 . Kebantenan no. 3 = MNI E. 44

The inscription was read first by Holle (1872: 367–369, Plaat V), following his previous reading of other plates (1867b). Subsequently, Pleyte (1911: 170) gave a new reading and Dutch translation. Boechari (1985–1986: 104–105) provided a new reading although without any translation. The most recent reading is the one by Hasan Djafar (1991: 11), now with Indonesian translation. Our reading is the result of autopsy by Aditia Gunawan on May 23rd, 2013. Alas, no usable reproduction is available for this plate, which is extremely thinly engraved and therefore hard to photograph. It is engraved on both sides of a copper plate measuring 14 × 5.3 cm: the recto has four lines, and the verso has two.

4.2.4.1. Text and apparatus

Plate 1, recto.

(1) Ini pitəkət(·) nu (s)eba ḍi pajajaran· mi(t)ə(k)ə-
(2) tan(·) ti kabuyutan· ○ ḍi su‹n›ḍasəmbava, aya ma nu ṅaba-
(3) yuAn· mulaḥ A(ya) ○ nu ñəkapan ya, mulaḥ aya
(4) nu munaḥ-munaḥ Iña, nu ṅahəryanan·, lamun aya nu

Plate 1, verso.

(1) kəḍə pa‹L̥›baḥna luraḥ su‹n›ḍasəmbava, ku ṅaIṁ ḍititaḥ ḍipaEḥ-
(2) han·, kena Eta luraḥ kavikvan·,

1r2. *ti* ◇ *ka* P; *na* H B HD. — **1r2–3.** *ṅabayuAn·* H B HD ◇ *babayuAn·* P. — **1r3.** *mulaḥ A(ya) nu ñəkapan ya* ◇ *om*. P; *mulaḥ Aya nu ñəkapan·* H B HD. — **1r4.** *ṅahəryanan·* ◇ *hahə:ryanan·* H P B HD; HD add a note "[baca: ṅahöryanan·]." — **1v1.** *pa‹L̥›baḥna* ◇ *pa‹m›bahna* H; *paambahna* P; *pa‹am›baḥna* HD. We prefer to assume that an *aksara L̥* has been omitted by the engraver, since the *aksaras ba* and *L̥* are quite similar in shape, so that we can understand *paləbahna* as in MdS "place where something is located." Cf. also the functionally equivalent use of *ḍi* in Keba2.1v4 *kəḍə ḍi bənaṁṅiṁ ṅagurat*. — **1v1.** *ku ṅaIṁ* ◇ *ku AIṁ* H P B HD.

4.2.4.2. Translation and commentary

This is the decree of one who renders service to Pajajaran, issuing the decree from the sanctuary of Sundasəmbava. If there is anyone who provides livelihood [to it], may no one be impudent to him. May no one kill him [or] obstruct him. If anyone is aggressive to (*paləbahna*) the domain of Sundasəmbava, he is commanded by me to be killed, for that is the domain of the hermits.

1r1. *nu (s)eba ḍi pajajaran·* ◇ Our predecessors considered that *nu seba ḍi pajajaran* is the king mentioned in the other Kebantenan inscriptions, but they seem to have overlooked the fact that this decree, by contrast with the other ones, is issued from a *kabuyutan*. In our opinion, *nu seba ḍi pajajaran* is not the king of Pajajaran but a single local-level officer (note his use of the first person singular pronoun *aiṅ*), who renders service to the king of Pajajaran, as a confirmation of the king's decrees. Cf. MdS *séba* "gift that is offered as a tribute (to the authority, head of government)." The expression *nu seba* also occurs in RR.1024–1025 *nu rea di pada handap, di ləmah mayak nu seba* "the people were on the lower platform, on the ground, those who serve are sitting."
1r3. *ñəkapan* ◇ Cf. SKK.11: *aya ma janma paeh maliṅ, paeh papañjiṅan, paeh ṅabegal, paeh meor, siṅ savatək cəkap carut, eta jəəṅ kena ulah diturutan* "If there are people who die while stealing, die while cheating, die while robbing, die while tricking(?), all kinds of impudent and evil [acts], pay attention to it for it should not be followed." Cf. OJ *cəkap* "impudent" (OJED, s.v. *cĕkap*). In MdS *nyekapan* means "provide so. with the necessities," and is a polite (*lemes*) variant of *nyukupan* (from *cukup*).

1v1. *ku ṅaIṁ* ◇ For occurences of *ṅaIṁ* instead of *aiṅ*, cf. BM, RR, SRD, CWG *passim*, and the specific examples cited in §4.1.2 and n. 35. It is important to note that the variant *ṅaIṁ* in these texts only occurs after the words *ku* and *ka* (see Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 47). However, this does not mean that *ku aiṅ* never occurs: we find it in CP.42a and CWG.265.

4.2.5. Kebantenan no. 4 = MNI E. 45, recto

The inscription was read first by Holle (1867b: 564), and then by Pleyte (1911: 197). Boechari (1985–1986: 106) provided a new reading although without any translation. The most recent reading is the one by Hasan Djafar (1991), now with Indonesian translation. The new reading offered here was made by Aditia Gunawan based on autopsy on May 23rd, 2013. No reliable visual documentation is available. The verso side is not entirely legible because the writing is very worn out. Each side of the plate seems to contain an independent text, so we give the text on the verso a new number, Kebantenan 5. Kebantenan 4 and 5 are engraved on the two sides of a copper plate measuring 20.5 × 6.5 cm, and both consist in eight lines of writing.

4.2.5.1. Text and apparatus

(1) // Ø // pun· Ini pitəkət· sri baḍuga maharaja ratu haji ḍi pakvan· sri saṁ ratu ⌈-
(2) ḍevata, nu ḍipitəkətan· ma na L̥maḥ ḍevasasana, ḍi gunuṁ samaya sugan·n aya
(3) nu ḍek· ṅahəriAnan· Iña, ku palulураḥhan· ku paL̥L̥maḥhan· mulaḥ aya
(4) nu ṅahəriyanan· Iña, ti timur ha‹ṁ›gat· ciUpiḥ ti barat· ha‹ṁ›gat· ciləbu
(5) ti kidul· ha‹ṁ›gat· jalan· gəḍe pun· mulaḥ aya nu ṅahəriAnan· Iña ku ḍa-
(6) sa ku calagara Upəti paṁgəR̥s· R̥ma Ulaḥ aya nu me‹n›taAn· Iña ⌈-
(7) kena, saṁgar kami ratu nu puraḥ mibuhayakən· na karatu(ya)n· nu pagəḥ ṅavakan·
(8) na ḍevasasana pun· Ø Ø

2. *ma na* ◇ *mana* H P B HD; B & HD with a note: "[baca: nana]." **— 2.** *sugan·n aya* HD ◇ *sugan aya* H P; *sugana* B — **3.** *ṅahəriAnan·* ◇ H P; *ṅahə:riyanan·* B HD. — **4.** *ṅahəriyanan·* ◇ *ṅahə:riAnan·* H P; *ṅahə:riyanan·* B HD. — **4.** *ciləbu* H P ◇ *ciL̥bu* HD. Here *lə* is formed by *aksara l* and *pamepet*. Note that Holle and Pleyte did not actually distinguish between *lə* and *L̥*. — **5.** *ṅahəriAnan·* ◇ *ṅahə:riAnan·* H; *həriAnan* P; *ṅahə:riyanan·* B HD. — **6–7.** *kena, saṁgar* ◇ *kena saṁgar* H P B HD. The punctuation mark after the word *kena* is superfluous because the word *kena* "for, because" is a conjunction. — **7.** *mibuhayakən· na* ◇ *mibuhayakə:na* H; *mibuhayakə:nna* P B; *mibuhayakə:n·na* HD — **7.** *karatu(ya)n·* ◇ *ka ratu pun·* H P B HD. This part is not clear due to the fourth *aksara* being very faint, but when Aditia Gunawan inspected the plate he did not see any *panyuku*, and observed that the character has three vertical strokes.

4.2.5.2. Translation and commentary

This is the decree of Sri Baduga Maharaja, the king of kings in Pakuan, Sri Sang Ratu Déwata. That which is made the object of decree is the land of divine ordinance on Mount Samaya in order that there may be no one who burdens it by the taxes of territory (*palulurahan*) [and] by the taxes of land (*palələmahan*). May no one burden it: in the east the limit is Ciupih; in the west the limit is Ciləbu; in the south the limit is the highway. May no one burden it by *dasa*, by *calagara*, tribute (*upəti*), and levies on fallow rice-field land (*paṅgərəs rəma*). May no one ask them [such taxes] for that is the shrine of me, the king, who am the one to cherish the kingship, who firmly practice the divine ordinance.

3. *paluluraḥhan ku paL̥L̥maḥhan·* ◇ It is interesting to note that the respective base words here, *lurah* and *ləmah*, are also used elsewhere in this group of inscriptions (Keba3.1v2 *lurah kavikvan*, Keba4.2 *ləmah devasasana*). In OJ, the circumfix *pa- -an* is used to form several terms connected with tax, although never with reduplication, e.g. *paramasan*, *parəgəpan*, *paməḍihan*.
5. *paṅgəR̥s· rəma* ◇ We hypothesize that the base word *gərəs* is equivalent to *garis* and *gores* in Malay and *geret* in MdS. Hardjadibrata (2003, s.v.) defines the latter as "notch, indentation, stripe, scratch; stroke, flourish (of a character); *ngageret* make a notch on/over st, notch st." It is important to notice that Hardjadibrata also records the meaning "delimit st. with a stripe, indicate/mark the limit of st." The term *rəma* in MdS means "left (and overgrown again with underbrush and weeds) block of arable land (esp. a dry rice-field that hasn't been planted for more than two years); fallow rice-field land." We presume that *paṅgəR̥s· R̥ma* is a tax levied on fallow dry rice-fields, possibly calculated with reference to the area of *rəma*. Cf. the OJ term *carik huma* which literally has a similar meaning, attested in the Adulengen plates (945 Śaka) and Padlegan I stela (1038 Śaka). See OJED, s.v. Pleyte relates the term *gərəs* with *roris* "to inspect, look over"; in this case, the *paṅgəR̥s· R̥ma* would be an inspector of abandoned rice-fields. Cf also SKK.9 quoted in our comment to *dasa calagara* in Keba1.1v3.
7. *ṅavakan* ◇ Cf. SC.882–884 *emet imət rajə‹n› ləkən, pakagəiṅ na ditapa, ṅavakan saṅ hyaṅ darma* "be attentive, meticulous, keen, persevering, be conscient in practicing asceticism, in practising the holy *dharma*."
7. *karatuyan* ◇ We assume that this is a variant spelling of *karatuan*. See our discussion in §3.1.3. Also compare the nearly identical structure seen in Keba1.2v2: *mibuhayakən· na kacaritaAn·* "to cherish the code of conduct" applied to the hermits, while in the present context, it is the king who cherishes the kingship.

4.2.6. Kebantenan no. 5, MNI E. 45, verso

See the description in §4.2.5. Among our predecessors, only Pleyte (1911: 197, bijlage 2) read this text.

4.2.6.1. Text and apparatus

(1) // o // _ _ _ ni pitəkə_ _ _ _ _ _ maharaja ratu haji ḍi
(2) _ kuvan· _ _ _ _ _ _ nu_ _ _ _ _ _
(3) samapun· _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
(4) ṅahəriAnan· Iña ku paluluraḥhan· _ paḽḽmaḥhan· mulaḥ
(5) Aya nu ṅahəriAnan· Iña ti timur hagat· ciUpiḥ ti barat· luraḥ cira
(6) _ _ _ _ Ḷtik· lor haṁgat· jalan· gəḍe pun· mulaḥ vaya nu ṅahəriyanan·
(7) I _ _ _ _ _ _ mibuhayakən· na _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
(8) _ _ _ _ (Adi paI) _ _ _ _ _

1. *_ni pitəkə_* ◇ *_pitəket·* P; restore *Ini pitəkət·* ? — *_ _ _ maharaja* ◇ *sri baduga maharaja* P. — *ratu haji ḍi* ◇ *om*. P; **2.** *_ kuvan·* ◇ *_pitəkətan* P; restore *pakuvan·*? — **3.** *samapun·* ◇ *_ ma pun sa* P. — **4.** *_ paḽḽmaḥhan·* ◇ *ku paḽḽmahan·* P — **5.** *luraḥ* ◇ *haṁgat* P. — **5–6.** *cira_* ◇ restore *ciraAb·*? — **6.** *Ḷtik· lor* ◇ *_ti kaler* P. — **7.** *I_* ◇ *Iña* P. — (*Adi paI*) ◇ *Adi pun·* P.

4.2.6.2. Commentary

Boechari notes at the end of the recto: "kata *pun* ini menunjukkan bahwa prasasti berakhir di sini. Tetapi sisi belakangnya masih ada tulisan tipis yang bertumpuk dengan bekas piagam lama dan sukar sekali dibaca". While we could read only a few parts, we suspect that the two sides of the plate contain a different text, although, at first glance, they appear the same. For example, the word *samapun* in v3 corresponds to nothing on the recto; also, after mentioning Ciupih as the eastern border, the western limit on the verso is different from Ciləbu as we find on the recto, but begins with the string *lurah cira_* (perhaps "the territory of Cira[ab]"?). Moreover, the highway (*jalan gəḍe*) here seems to be the northern limit (v6: *lor haṁgat· jalan gəḍe*), while in r5 it is the limit in the south. These modest findings make it possible to formulate two alternative hypotheses: either the inscription on the verso contains a decree for a different area from that on the recto, and consequently mentions partially different boundaries, or the two texts actually refer to the same area. In the first case, it can be assumed that the area intended on the verso was located south of Mount Samaya. In the second case, we can imagine that the text on the verso is a rejected draft of the inscription which was rewritten on the recto, especially regarding the area's borders.

4.2.7. The Hermitage

The most crucial information contained in the Kebantenan charters concerns the relationship between the Sundanese king and religious institutions. Through these decrees, the religious domains, which were likely situated in the mountains (as suggested by the mention of toponyms such as Mounts

Samaya and Jayagiri),[38] received special privileges. The religious domain is called *ləmah devasasana*, and since all the divine rules are to be practiced there by the hermits (*viku*), it is also called a "hermitage" (*lurah kavikvan*). If we look to eastern Java, the *Deśavarṇana* (1365 CE) enumerates different types of religious establishments (Cantos 75–78). Pigeaud argued that the poem's author, Mpu Prapañca, makes a distinction between domains and sacred places placed under the authority of some court official (*rinakṣa*), and independent (*svatantra*) communities (Pigeaud 1960–1963, IV: 228, 253). It is probably the former scenario that we encounter here in 15th-century Sunda, as the king explicitly states that the land under his protection is his official shrine of worship (*saṅgar kami ratu*).

These texts state that the *devasasana* was practiced by both hermits and kings. The *Carita Parahyaṅan* narrates how king Niskala Wastu Kancana, the king recalled in Kebantenan 1 as the grandfather of Sri Baduga Maharaja who issued the decrees, brought prosperity and peace in various domains of social life, including freedom in religious practice:

> *ña mana saṅ rama enak maṅan, saṅ rəsi enak ṅarəsisasana, ṅava/kan na purbatisti purbajati, saṅ disi enak masini, ṅavakan na manusasana, ṅaduuman alas pari alas, ku beet hamo diukih, ku gəde hamo diukih, ña mana saṅ tarahan enak lalayaran, ṅavakan manurajasasasana,* ‹‹*saṅ hyaṅ apa‹h›, teja, bayu, akasa,*››[39] *saṅ ‹pra›bu enak ṅalu‹ṅ›guh di saṅ hyaṅ jagatpalaka, ṅavakan saṅ hyaṅ rajasasana, aṅadəg di saṅ hyaṅ liṅ/ga vəsi, brata siya puja tan palum, saṅ viku e‹na›k ṅadevasasana, ṅavakan saṅ hyaṅ vataṅ agəṅ, enak ṅadəg‹kən› manurajasunya.* (CP.22b-a)
>
> Therefore the elders are at ease to eat; the ascetics are at ease performing the ordinance of asceticism, practicing the original rule and original state of existence; the *disi* is at ease to deliberate, practicing the ordinance of Manu, allotting all kinds of forest tracts: [he] cannot be vanquished by subtle [enemies], cannot be vanquished by the gross [enemies]. Therefore the seamen are at ease to sail, practicing the ordinance of the *rajasa* men.[40] The king is at ease governing as the protector of the world, practicing the holy ordinance of the king, standing on the holy *liṅga* of iron, he performs continence and worship without being dejected. The hermits are at ease practicing the divine ordinance, practicing the great book, at ease to make firm the *manurajasunya*.

The ideal image of the conditions under Niskala Wastu Kancana's reign implies that his grandson might have felt compelled to guarantee their maintenance. Both the Kebantenan texts and the *Carita Parahyaṅan* confirm

38. We are unable to offer a convincing localization of these mountains on a modern map.

39. The segment enclosed in ‹‹...›› seems intrusive and would probably have to be deleted in a critical edition. We ignore it in our translation.

40. The term *manurajasa* may be a synonym of *voṅ rajasa* "a particular corps of troops" (OJED, s.v. *rājasa*). The *Kiduṅ Harṣavijaya* 1.55a mentions it among other kinds of military officials: *voṅ sinəlir bayaṅkara lan voṅ jayasari siṅhajaya ndatan kari voṅ rajasāṅlurug iṅ malayu* "The chosen men of the *bayangkara* corps with the victorious men of the *singhajaya* corps, not to mention the men of the *rajasa* corps went to attack Malayu."

that hermits are a group practicing the *devasasana*. In the CP it is quite clear that *devasasana* is a doctrine, while the term *ləmah devasasana* in the inscriptions refers to the region where the *devasasana* is practiced.

Hardly any data is preserved in other Old Sundanese sources to interpret the meaning of *devasasana*. We are a bit luckier if we consult contemporary Old Javanese sources. The definition of *devaśāsana* is furnished in an unpublished text called *Ṛ̊ṣiśāsana* (§2):

> *devaśāsana ṅaranya, śāśana saṅ saugata, māheśvara, mahābrāhmaṇa, salvirniṅ samayi, putraka, sādhaka, pitāmahā, bhaṭāra parameśvara, salvir ḍaṅ hyaṅ saliṅsiṅan, vulusan, tigaṅ rāt, raja, jambi, air bulaṅ, air asih, maṅulihi, taji, kamūlan , parhyaṅan, devaśāsana ṅaranikā //*
>
> We call *devaśāsana* the precepts for the Buddhists, the Māheśvaras, the Mahābrāhmaṇas, all of the [four initiatory levels] of the Lord Parameśvara [namely] the neophytes (*samayin*), the fully initiated disciples (*putraka*), the fully initiated yogic practitioners (*sādhaka*), the master ascetics (*pitāmahā*), all of the revered masters (*ḍaṅ hyaṅ*) of Saliṅsiṅan, Vulusan, Tigaṅ Rat, Raja, Jambi, Air Bulaṅ, Air Asih, Maṅulihi, Taji, of the *kamūlan*s, of the *parhyaṅan*s. Those [precepts] are called *Devaśāsana*.
>
> (ed. and transl. from Marine Schoettel's ongoing work toward a PhD dissertation)

This passage of course leaves much unclear about the meaning of *devasasana*. However, it seems noteworthy that the term is explicitly defined as ecumenical, namely as pertaining to various men of religion: Śaivas, Buddhists, ascetics, students of various levels, and various other religious functionaries.

One of the Kebantenan texts also mentions that the hermits in the area protected by this king cherished *kacaritaan*. It seems that the word *carita* in *kacaritaan* does not mean "story" as is usually the case in MdS. We assume that the meaning of the word here is closer to that which the word has in Sanskrit, namely "acting, doing, practice, behavior, acts, deeds, adventures; fixed institute, proper or peculiar observance" (Monier-Williams, s.v. *carita*). Such meanings are required to understand the shift toward the sense "sphere of activity, habitat" that we find in a stanza in SKK.15:

> *tatakaṁ carita haṁsa, gajendra carita banəm,*
> *matsyanəm carita sagarəm, puspanəm carita baṁbarəm*
>
> The pond is the habitat of the goose; the forest is the elephant's habitat; the sea is the habitat of fishes; flowers are the habitat of the bee.

Moreover, there is a clue about the relation between *viku* with *carita* in SKK.20, which provides a picture of the *viku*'s duties and functions:

> *hayaṅ ñaho di sandi, tapa, luṅguh, pratyaksa, putus, taṅkəs, kaləpasən,*[41] *tata hyaṅ,*[42]

41. It should be noted that this sequence, although somewhat different, is systematized into five segments (*vuku lima*) in the SKK.4, namely *sandi*, *tapa*, *luṅguh*, *pratyaksa* and *kaləpasən*. Cf. also the OJ text *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* §49 (in Undang A. Darsa 1998: 205).

42. The words *devata* and *hyaṅ* can mean "god" in a general way, but in case of a hierarchical relationship, as in SKK, we see in Old Sundanese that *hyaṅ* should be interpreted as "ancestor" or "holy spirit." Cf. LiWa below, and further SSK.2 *maṅku bumi bakti di ratu, ratu bakti di devata,*

tata devata, rasacarita, kaləpacarita, siṅ savatək nata-nata para devata kabeh, saṅ viku paraloka taña

If one wishes to know about *sandhi*, asceticism, posture, vision, completion, epitome, liberation, the position of the ancestors, the position of the gods, the practice of feeling, the practice of ritual (*kaləpa*), all types of arranging all gods, ask the otherworldly hermits (*viku paraloka*).

The chapters of the Old Javanese juridical text called *Svayambhu* (of which an edition and translation is being prepared by Arlo Griffiths in collaboration with Timothy Lubin) bear titles ending in *-carita* (*dharma-carita*, *maryāda-carita*, etc.), where the word means the rules/customs on a given topic. Based on the aforementioned usages of *carita* in Old Sundanese and Old Javanese, we assume that *kacaritaan* refers to the religious traditions adhered to by the *viku*s.

It is also interesting to note that one of the toponyms for one of the territories under the King's protection is Sundasembawa, which literally means "the origin of Sunda." This word reminds us of a more local equivalent of the word with the same meaning, *sunda wiwitan*, a term used for the religion of the Baduy (Kanekes) people in Banten today, whose practices seem in many ways seem to be vestiges of those that would have been current all over the Sunda area in pre-Islamic times (Saleh Danasasmita & Anis Djatisunda 1986). The relationship between the court and religious institutions should, if possible, be further explored to gain a clearer picture of the role of religious institutions in social life. This is among the aims of the doctoral research currently undertaken by Aditia Gunawan.

4.3. The Huludayeuh Stone

This inscription is found *in situ* at *dusun* Huludayeuh, *desa* Cikalahang, *kecamatan* Sumber, *kabupaten* Cirebon, West Java, about 15 km to the west of the city of Cirebon, at the coordinates 06°47' 046" S, 108°24' 205" E.[43] The inscription was discovered only in the early 1990s (Tony Djubiantono 1994)

devata bakti di hyaṅ "A governor is devoted to the king, the king is devoted to the god, god is devoted to the deified ancestor." The chosen translation might seem arbitrary, but *devata* generally refers to the well-known deities of Indian origin in this text, mostly in the group called *pañcadevata*: Īśvara, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. In SKK.20–21, these gods are devoted to Batara Seda Niskala (The Immateralized Lord): *basana brahma, visnu, isora, mahadeva, siva bakti ka batara, basana indra, yama, baruna, kovera, besavarna, bakti ka batara, basana kusika, garga, mestri, purusa, patañjala, bakti ka batara, siṅ para devata kabeh pada bakti ka batara seda niskala* "when Brahma, Wisnu, Isora, Mahadéwa, Siwa are devoted to the Lord; when Indra, Yama, Baruna, Kowéra, Bésawarna are devoted to the Lord; when Kusika, Garga, Méstri, Purusa, Patanjala are devoted to the Lord — all of gods together are devoted to Batara Seda Niskala." In several other Nusantaran languages, however, *devata* rather means ancestor, while *hyaṅ* means god. Cf. discussion in Clavé & Griffiths forthcoming, §3.3 s.v. *devata*.

43. In the course of his very early survey of antiquities and religious practices in Cirebon and Kuningan, F.C. Wilsen (1857: 77, 78, 79 and 92, and unnumbered plate) recorded that the term *hulu dayeuh* (literally meaning "origin of the settlement") was used to designate chopped-off cylindrical stones placed in a village sanctuary (*kabuyutan*).

and first published by Hasan Djafar (1991 and 1994). The last mentioned publication contains an eye-copy. A photo of the stone was published in *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (rev. ed., Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati 2008: 380). We visited the site in June and September 2013, and during our second visit were able to make two estampages which are now part of the EFEO collection in Paris (inventory numbers n. 2309 and n. 2310). Our edition was established using Hasan Djafar's eye-copy and comparing it first with the photos we had taken of the original. Subsequently we reverified our reading based on the EFEO estampages.

4.3.1. Special features of script and language

This inscription makes use of a remarkably thick script, lacking the sharp-angled ductus that is characteristic of Sundanese script as seen in the Kebantenan and Kawali inscriptions, and is in that sense comparable to the Linggawangi inscription. The *aksara ra* has a much longer "tail" than we see in any of the other inscriptions (fig. 11a), and the almost box-like shape of *ma* is even more exceptional (fig. 11b). These untypical palaeographic features accompany some textual features that seem rather un-Sundanese, namely the repeated spelling *sya* instead of *syi* and the repeated use of *ikaṅ* where one would expect *na*.

4.3.2. Text and apparatus

(1) [...] (ra)tu (ṅa)rana, (ta) [...]
(2) [...] sri maḷ(ha)ra(ja) ra(t)[u]
(3) [ha](j)[i] ri pakvan· sya saṁ ra(t)[u]
(4) [de]vata pun·, masa sya

a **b**

Fig. 11 – Palaeographic features of the Huludayeuh inscription.

(5) ṅrətakən· bumi ṅaha-
(6) li‹m›pukən· na bvan·na
(7) ñuruḥ saṁ (di)si suk·laja-
(8) (t)i ṅaṟbuḥkən· Ikaṁ ka-
(9) yu si pr̥‹n›dakaḥ, ṅalaAn·
(10) na Udubasu, mipati-
(11) kən·n ikaṁ kala

Hasan Djafar (1994) indicates with ellipsis at the beginnings and ends of all lines except line 3 that he supposed an undetermined number of *aksara*s

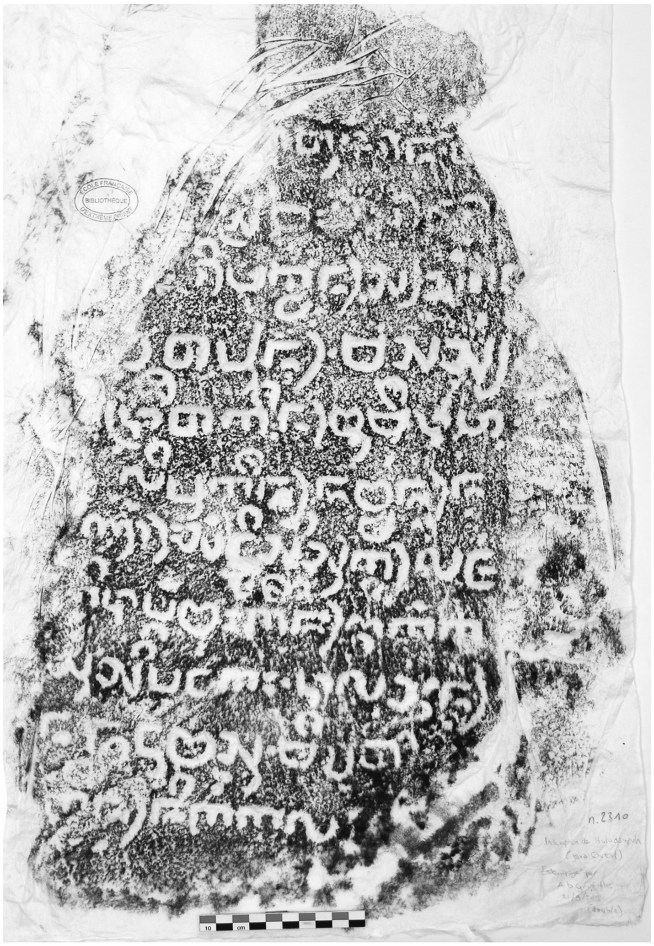


Fig. 12 – The Huludayeuh inscription (estampage EFEO n. 2310).

to have been lost there. This, we feel, is too imprecise. In fact it seems that a rather small number of *aksara*s is lost, and only in lines 1–4, because we can read uninterrupted words at the transitions between lines 5–6, 7–8, 8–9 and 10–11. It is not possible to estimate with precision the number of *aksara*s that might have been lost at the openings of lines 1 and 2. Finally, we note that the shape of the stone does not suggest that any lines have been lost before the first (partly) preserved line of text.

1. *(ṅa)rana* ◇ *purana* HD. The *aksara* read as *pu* by HD is quite faded, but resembles much more closely the *ṅa* in l. 8. Moreover, the vocalization *u* below the sign to the left is perfectly clear, so it is very hard to suppose the presence of another such vocalization which would be totally invisible right next to it. — **1–2.** At the transition

between these lines, one might restore *baduga* or *prəbu*. — **3.** *[ha](j)[i]* ◇ in HD's eye-copy, the consonant *j* is clear, but the estampages do not allow to confirm this reading. Nevertheless, comparison with BaTu.3 strongly suggests that indeed one needs to restore *haji*. — **5.** *ṅrətakən·* ◇ *ṅrətakə:n·* HD. — **5–6.** *ṅahali‹m›pukən·* ◇ *ṅahalipu_ _kən·* HD. HD notes that some *aksara*s are lost in a gap between *ṅaha* and *lipukən* due to damage suffered by the end of line 5 and in the beginning of line 6. But in our opinion, there is no reason to presume any loss of *aksara*s here at all. — **7.** *ñuruḥ* ◇ *ñaraḥ* HD. It is clear on the estampage that there are two *panyuku*s. — *(disi) suk·la ja(ti)* ◇ *dy̲ isi suk· laja.. ..i* HD. There indeed seems to be some element below the *aksara di* (cf. HD's *dy̲*), but in our opinion it is most likely to be accidental. — **8.** *ṅaṚbuḥkən* ◇ *ṅaṚbaḥkə:n* HD (HD's °*r* is intended as °*ṛ*, or what we represent as *Ṛ*). There is clearly a *panyuku*. — **8–9.** *kayu* ◇ *ka .... su* HD. Although damage to the stone has made some part of the left vertical stroke of *y* disappear, the *aksara yu* can still be read with certainty. Its width is definitely greater than that expected for *su*. — **9.** *si pṛ‹n›dakaḥ* ◇ *si padakaḥ* HD. We see quite clearly a round stroke under *p* that must represent *ṛ*. — *ṅalaAn·* ◇ *ṅalasan·* HD. The shape of *A* is slightly different than that of *sa* (cf. *saṁ* in line 3) — **10–11**. *mipatikən·* ◇ *mipatā... Iś·* HD.

4.3.3. Translation and commentary

[…] Ratu by name, […] Sri Maharaja king of kings in Pakuan. He was Sang Ratu Déwata, when he made the world prosperous, made the earth harmonious, [by] ordering the *disi* Suklajati to fell the widely branching trees, removed Udubasu, killed Kala.

4. *masa sya* ◇ The word *masa* has two functions in OS. It can be a noun meaning "time," as in RR.758–759 *ulah rea kasauran, hese lamun lain masa* "do not waste too many words on it, it is difficult when it is not the proper time." Its second function, which seems to be the one we are dealing with here, is as conjunction "when," usually at the beginning of the clause. Cf. PR 24r4–v1 *masa siya ti manusa, nu ma‹ṅ›ku saṅ hyaṅ hayu, ma‹ṅ›katkən saṅ hyaṅ ajñana* "when he was in the form of a human, endowed with the holy weal, bringing with him the holy knowledge" and CP.15b *rahiyaṅtaṅ vərəh masa siya ti‹ṅ›gal anak sapilañcəkan* "[It is] Rahiyangtang Wereh, when he had left all his children."
5–6. *ṅahali‹m›pukən* ◇ The form *ṅahalimpukən* is derived from the base *halimpu* which is still used in MdS, meaning "melodious, sweet-sounding, harmonious (of the voice: not shrill or high-pitched)." It seems that the meaning was broader in OS, not only connected with sound. Cf. SKK.3: *lamunna pahi kaopeksa saṅ hyaṅ vuku lima, na bvana boa halimpu* "if all five segments had been noticed, the earth would be harmonious"; KP.848–849: *hamo ñaho di pamali, moha di sabda nu halimpu* "Ignorant about forbidden things, confused about harmonious sound."
7. *ñuruḥ* ◇ There is no verb *nyuruh* in MdS, but we find *pañuruhan*, a nominal derivation from the same base, in SSK.6: *jaga raṅ kəna pañuruhan, mulah mo raksa saṅ hyaṅ siksa kandaṅ karəsian, pakən uraṅ satya di pivaraṅan* "If one has been given the order, one shall not fail to guard the holy precepts from the ascetic milieu, so that one is faithful doing the service."
7. *saṅ disi* ◇ See below, §4.3.4.

7–8. *suklajati* ◇ TB.9v contains a dialogue between Kala and Darmajati. Kala asks: *lamun aya viku haji putih suklajati*, *tərus ajñana, viku vruh* (em. *vraḥ* ms) *tan paguru, viku bataṅ tan pamitra* [...], "[I wonder] if there is a royal hermit Suklajati, whose knowledge is penetrating, a hermit who knows without being taught, a solitary hermit without companions?" Then Darmajati replies: *oh aya anakiṅ, viku haji putih suklajati, ratu jadi mañuyu* "He exists, my child, the white royal hermit Suklajati, the king who became an ascetic." Could there be a connection with the *śuklabrahmacāri* discussed in some Old Javanese treatises transmitted on Bali? Cf. *Ślokāntara* 1.5 *śuklabrahmacāri ṅaranira, tan parabi sañkan rare, tan mañju tan kumiṅ sira, adyapi təka riṅ vr̥ddha tuvi sira tan pañucap arabi sañka pisan* "Śuklabrahmacārī is one who has not married since childhood. He is neither averse nor impotent. Even when he comes to old age, he does not marry. He does not talk to women even once" (ed. and trans. Sharada Rani 1957: 35, 76). If so, the *disi suklajati* would have been a celibate ritual practitioner.
8. *ṅarəbuhkən* ◇ This must be connected with *rubuh/roboh* in MdS, OJ and Malay. Cf. also *rəbah* in OS and OJ.
9. *kayu si pr̥‹n›dakaḥ* ◇ The reading *pr̥‹n›dakaḥ* can be interpreted as equivalent to *prandakah*, since *-r̥* is interchangeable with *panyakra* in the writing system of West Javanese manuscripts, especially on *gebang* (e.g., *ciḍr̥* for *cidra*, Perpusnas L 642 fol. 8v1). The spelling *paR̥bu* for *prabu* in Kawa1a.3 shows the reverse phenomenon. The word *prandakah* can then be interpreted as equivalent to *parandakah*, i.e. a *pa-* derivation from the base *randakah* that means "spread out widely, branch off widely (of a tree, deer antlers)" in MdS.
9. *ṅalaAn* ◇ On the relation between this word and Kala, who figures in line 11 of our inscription, cf. SD.18: *madəman kalavisaya, ṅalaan kala murka, ṅaləbur dudu ti‹m›buru* "to extinguish the power of Kala, to remove the evil Kala, to dissolve fault and envy."
10. *Udubasu* ◇ Cf. SC.1105. In OJ contexts, this figure is called Vudubasu. See *Pārthayajña* 40.8 as cited in OJED, s.v. *wudubasu*: *ndak ajar putuṅku ri katattvan iṅ kurukula, ya dumehnya durjana kalā manahnya yan ala, dadiniṅ surākala lavannikaṅ vudubasu* "I will tell you, my grandchild, about the reality of Kuru race, the reason that they became malicious Kāla. When their minds are evil, they are becoming Surākala and Udubasu."
10. *kala* ◇ According to HD, the text is not completely preserved and after the word *kala*, which he presumes means "time," an expression of date would follow. Our analysis shows that Kala here means the evil god of that name, and inspection of the stone gives no reason to suspect loss of any text after it. Moreover, several occurrences in OS and OJ literature mention Udubasu and Kāla in the same context.

4.3.4. Context

In his article on the inscriptions of the ancient Sundanese kingdoms, Hasan Djafar (1991: 29) advised that "*Penelitian lebih lanjut terhadap prasasti baru ini perlu diadakan mengingat kemungkinan implikasinya dalam penulisan sejarah Jawa Barat khususnya masa kerajaan-kerajaan Sunda menjadi amat penting*". Our revised reading has started to reveal the global meaning of this inscription, allowing us to analyze its place in the broader context of Sundanese history.

It has become clear that the inscription mentions the same king as the one who figures in Batutulis and Kebantenan. Hasan Djafar (1994) suspected that the inscription was made during the reign of Surawisésa after Ratu Déwata's death, on the basis of his reading the word *purana* in the first line and interpreting it as meaning "deceased." We agree that this inscription is *post-mortem*, although our argumentation is based on a different approach (see §5).

The aim of this inscription is not merely to glorify Ratu Déwata for having caused the world to be prosperous, but especially to commemorate how he harmonized it. Ratu Déwata ordered a certain *disi* to take down trees, drive an evil being Udubasu away, and kill Kala. These three activities can be understood in the context of opening new land.

The word *disi* is often mentioned as the fourth in a series of five social categories, along with *prabu* (king), *rama* (elder), *rəsi* (ascetic), and *tarahan* (sailor).[44] Compared with these other terms, the meaning of *disi* remains rather unclear. Saleh Danasasmita *et al*. (1987) translate it as "ahli siasat/peramal," and seem to have extrapolated this sense from the *Amanat Galuṅguṅ*, in which we find the passage (AG.3r) that they edited as follows: *saṅ prabu enak aluṅguh, saṅ rama enak amaṅan, saṅ disi jaya praṅ* "the king is at ease sitting [on the throne], the elders are at ease eating, the *disi*s are victorious in war." The *Carita Parahyaṅan* contains further useful indications concerning this word, in the passage that we have we cited in §4.2.7. This passage notably suggests that the *disi* had as duty to allot (*ṅaduuman*) all kinds of forest tracts, which is clearly compatible with the role that our inscription assigns to the *disi* called Suklajati. A *disi* may have been involved in warfare as suggested in the *Amanat Galuṅguṅ*, though probably in its ritual aspects. Another Old Sundanese text, the *Pabyantaran*, contains predictions of the outcome of battle based on natural portents (Mamat Ruhimat *et al.* 2014: 168–193). In all contexts, it is possible to assume that the *disi* was a kind of priest in charge of exorcism rituals who seems to have played an essential role in pre-Islamic Sundanese society. Again in the *Carita Parahyaṅan* (§16), Ratu Déwata, the King mentioned in our inscription, is also responsible for opening new

44. Cf. SMG.12 *hantə ṅənah uraṅ ñəbut ṅaran a‹m›bu ayah, ṅuni paṅguruan, maṅkaṅuni na matuha, sañarah ṅaran saṅ prəbu rama rəsi disi tarahan* "It is not suitable for us to mention the name of mother, father, and teacher, let alone elders, including the names of kings, village elders, hermits, *disi*, and seamen (*tarahan*)"; SMG.15 *ini byaktana ma nu kəna ku na kapapaan, di saṅ prəbu rama rəsi, disi mvaṅ tarahan* "this is the explanation of the ones who are affected by the violations with regard to the king, the [village] elders, the hermits, the *disi*s, and the seamen"; SKK.3 *ña mana dikaṅkə‹n›kən ka nu mava bumi, ya maṅupati dadi prabu rama rəsi disi mvaṅ tarahan* "The reason why they are being compared to those who are governing the world, [is because] they became manifest as kings, village elders, hermits, *disi*s, and sailors"; SKK.27 *saṅ bujaṅga pagəh di kabujaṅgaanana krəta, saṅ tarahan pagəh di katarahanana krəta, saṅ disi pagəh di kadisianana krəta* "the disciples firm in their discipleship will be successful; seamen firm in their seamanship will be successful; *disi*s firm in their *disi*-ship will be successful."

territory by filling up a swamp with earth. As this construction took place, there appeared creatures that inhabited the area. One of them is Udubasu:

> *ndəh nihan tə‹m›bəy saṅ rəsi guru misəvəkən saṅ halivuñan‹,› iña saṅ susuk tu‹ṅ›gal nu munar na pakvan rəjəṅ saṅ hya‹ṅ› halu vəsi nu ñaəran saṅ hya‹ṅ› rañcamaya, mijilna ti saṅ hya‹ṅ› rañcamaya, ñaran kula ta saṅ udubasu, saṅ puluṅgana, saṅ surugana, ratu hya‹ṅ› banaspati, saṅ susuk tuṅgal iñana nu ñyə‹n› na pala‹ṅ›ka sriman sri vacana sri baduga maharaja diraja ratu haji di pakvan pajajaran, nu mikadatvan sri bima untarayana madura suradipati, iña na pakvan saṅ hyaṅ sri ratu devata.*
>
> As follows is the origin of Sang Resi Guru who had a son [named] Sang Haliwungan. He, Sang Susuk Tunggal, is the one who restored Pakuan, and Sang Hyang Haluwesi is the one who filled up with earth the holy Rancamaya. [They] appear from Rancamaya: "My name is Sang Udubasu, Sang Pulunggana, Sang Surugana, King Hyang Banaspati." Sang Susuk Tunggal is the one who made a palanquin for the illustrious orders (*sriman sri vacana*) of Sri Baduga Maharaja Diraja, King of kings in Pakuan Pajajaran, the one who has the palace [called] Sri Bima Untarayana Madura Suradipati. There, in Pakuan was the holiness Sri Ratu Déwata.

This passage is essential for establishing the relationship of Ratu Déwata — the very name which is mentioned also in the Huludayeuh inscription — with Sang Halu Wesi, who in the *Carita Parahyaṅan* is depicted as being in charge of filling up with earth a place called Rancamaya — a toponym known in present-day Bogor. In areas that are about to be built or turned into settlements, it was necessary to hold some ritual to clean the place from evil creatures, among which Udubasu.

Recent Sundanese mythological tradition still knows the name Budug Basu as a mythical figure in the Dewi Sri cycle. He is Sri's brother. One episode narrates how Budug Basu — along with his father, Sapi Gumarang, and his brother, Kalabuat — attacks an agricultural field in Pakuan. Their attacks always fail at the hands of protagonist Sulanjana. In the end, these destructive figures were willing to give in and promised to serve Sulanjana, on the condition that their names should always be invoked, and they should be pleased by the various kinds of plants as a means of offering every time the clearance of agricultural land took place.[45] Could the name **Sula**n**ja**na go back to the name **Su**k**laja**ti in this inscription, since it has three syllables in common?

4.4. The Kawali Stones

This group of six inscribed stones is preserved in various spots on the site called Astana Gedé at Kawali in *kabupaten* Ciamis.[46] Five of them (Kawali 1–5)

45. For studies of the narrative cycle of Dewi Sri in Sundanese culture, see Hidding 1929 (particularly pages 1–18 on the myth of Sulanjana, summarized in Dutch) and Sukanda-Tessier (1977: 71–84). Pleyte provided an edition and translation into Dutch (1907). Satjadibrata (1931), and recently, Kalsum & Etti Rochaeti (2015) have offered an edition of *Wawacan Sulanjana*, without however translating the text.

46. For a more detailed description about the site, see Rusyanti (2011). For a physical description

were already known to scholarship by the beginning of the 19th century, while Kawali VI was only discovered in 1995. Some of these inscriptions had already been observed by Stamford Raffles more than 200 years ago, as recorded in his famous *History of Java* (1817, II: 58). An account of journeys undertaken in the period 1817–1826 (Olivier 1836–1838, I: 190–191) records as many as 12 inscriptions having been found at Kawali and reproduced by a certain J. H. Domis, and announces that gentleman's plan to publish them. But this number 12 is not confirmed by other sources and we owe the first published decipherment of five inscriptions to R. Friederich (1855: 149–182). Friederich's work was supported by Jonathan Rigg, who himself published the first Sundanese dictionary seven years later (1862).[47] Netscher (1855) contains a brief mention of the Kawali stone with footprints, left handprint, and the *Añana* inscription (see §4.4.5). K.F. Holle then improved Friederich's reading (1867a: 450–470). Pleyte (1911, 167 with plate B and appendix 2, p. 197) only read Kawali 1. In the post-independence era, Noorduyn (1976) read the five inscriptions again without giving any translation. Dirman Surachmat (1986) cited the reading and translation of five inscriptions (Kawali 1–5), but excluding Kawali 1b, in his interesting paper on the toponymy around Kawali. Noorduyn (1988) read Kawali 1b and provided a translation with comments. Subsequently, Hasan Djafar (1991) read Kawali 1–5 offering a more rigorous diplomatic edition along with an Indonesian translation. Titi Surti Nastiti (1996) gave readings of all the inscriptions on the site, including Kawali 6, which had just been discovered one year earlier. Her readings too are accompanied by an Indonesian translation. Nandang Rusnandar (1999) again included all of the inscriptions, even Kawali 6, but his readings contain many errors so we do not refer to them in our notes. Likewise full of errors are the readings of Machi Suhadi (1999) and Djadja Sukardja S (2002), who each published booklets about the sites and its inscriptions, so that we do not refer to them either in our Apparatus. Richadiana Kartakusuma (2005) re-published the six inscriptions and provided translations into Indonesian. Titi Surti Nastiti & Hasan Djafar (2016) reproduced the reading from their previous publications. Our reading is based on direct observation of the stones in 2013 and on consultation of the photographs by Isidore van Kinsbergen[48] as well as those made by Arlo Griffiths.

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of the inscriptions, see Titi Surti Nastiti & Hasan Djafar (2016).

47. On Jonathan Rigg, his life and œuvre, see Atep Kurnia 2011.

48. See Theuns-de Boer & Asser 2005: 232–233. The relevant numbers are indicated in the table below. The photos of the Kawali inscriptions can be found online at https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl with the search term "kawali".

Kawali 1a	Friederich 1855 (facsimile by Raden Saleh); photo van Kinsbergen no. 60; Pleyte 1911; Titi Surti Nastiti 1996; Machi Suchadi 1999
Kawali 1b	Friederich 1855 (facsimile by Raden Saleh)
Kawali 2	Friederich 1855 (facsimile by Raden Saleh); photo van Kinsbergen no. 58; Titi Surti Nastiti 1996; Machi Suchadi 1999
Kawali 3	Friederich 1855 (facsimile by Raden Saleh); photo van Kinsbergen no. 59; Titi Surti Nastiti 1996; Machi Suchadi 1999
Kawali 4	Friederich 1855 (facsimile by Raden Saleh); photo van Kinsbergen no. 57; Titi Surti Nastiti 1996; Machi Suchadi 1999
Kawali 5	photo van Kinsbergen no. 56; Titi Surti Nastiti 1996; Machi Suchadi 1999
Kawali 6	Titi Surti Nastiti 1996; Machi Suchadi 1999

Table 3 – Published visual documentation of the Kawali stones.

4.4.1. Palaeography

The script used in the Kawali inscriptions is quite uniform. Some of the *aksara* shapes differ from those seen in the other inscriptions, and are palaeographically closer to the characters used in pre-Islamic *lontar* manuscripts from West Java. We can see, for example, the close similarity of the Kawali script with the one used in *lontar* manuscripts in *aksara ya*, *ra*, *sa*, and also in the *panghulu* and *panolong* markers (see the Appendix). De Casparis (1975: 55) has already discussed the forms of *ma, ya, sa, ra, A, panghulu, pamepet,* and *pamaéh*. Here we focus on some other interesting features. A number of *aksara*s are similar to those found in the Kebantenan inscriptions, for example *na* (fig. 13a) which is strikingly different from the same character in other inscriptions. The *aksara ca* in the Kawali 1 corpus has a shape (fig. 13b) which is similar to *na* in the same inscriptions but with an additional line curved to the right. As in Batutulis and Kebantenan, we also find in Kawa1 a special form of *k·* (fig. 13c). This form is identical to what we find in *lontar* manuscripts. Very unique forms are found in the word *Iña* (fig. 13d) which was misread as *bhagya* by early scholars. We can recognize this type of *I* by a slanted line under a double arch. By contrast, the independent vowel *I* is normally formed by writing *b* and adding a slanting stroke below (as illustrated in fig. 4c and appendix, table 2). The *aksara ña* can also be recognized by the separate parenthesis-shaped stroke to the right of a *ga* shape. In manuscripts, *ña* is formed by adding such a stroke to the shapes of *ba* and *ya*. As such, these two features are unique and only exist in the Kawali inscription. Another very striking feature is the absence of any certain *panyecek* signs on all stones except the *liṅga*s. The sound /o/ is also interesting to note, spelled not with the combination *panéléng* and *panolong* as in the other OS

inscriptions, but only with *panolong*. In Kawali 6, there is a sign that predecessors have read as *panolong*, which looks like the arabic number 2 on the bottom right of the script concerned. However, we see two types of signs, although the differences are small. We interpret the first form (fig. 13e) as the *pasangan va*, while the second form (fig. 13f) represents *panolong*.

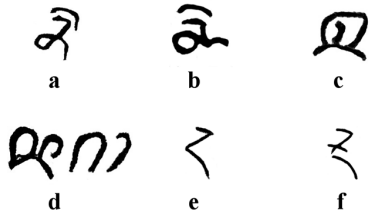

Fig. 13 – Palaeographic features of the Kawali inscriptions.

4.4.2. Kawali 1a

This is the text engraved on the main face of the stone.

4.4.2.1. Text and apparatus

(1) ✣ nihan· tapak· va-
(2) lar nu syi muliA tapa I-
(3) ña paR̥bu raja vas·tu
(4) maṅaḍəg· ḍi kuta kava-
(5) li nu mahayu na kaḍatuAn·
(6) suravisesa nu marigi sa-
(7) kulili‹ṁ› ḍayəḥ nu najur sakala-
(8) ḍesa Aya ma nu pa‹n›ḍəri pake na
(9) gave raḥhayu pakən· həbəl· ja-
(10) ya ḍi na buAna

1–2. *tapak· valar* N HD TSN ◇ *tapa kata* F; *tapa kavali* P; *tapa‹k› kavali* RK. — **2.** *nu syi muliA tapa* H ◇ *nusya muṅi atapa* F; *nu saṁ hyaṁ muliA tapa* P; *nu siya muliA tapa* N RK; *nu siya muliA tapa‹k·›* HD TSN. — **2–3.** *Iña* ◇ N HD TSN RK; *bhagya* F H P. — **6–7.** *sakulili‹ṁ›* H N ◇ *sakulili* F; *sakulilim̀* HD TSN RK; it may be doubted that any *panyecek* was written here — **8.** *pa‹n›dəri* ◇ *padəri* F; *pa‹n›də:ri* H N HD TSN RK; *pandə:ri* P. — **9.** *həbəl* ◇ *həbəṅ* F; *hə:bə:l* H P N HD TSN RK.

4.4.2.2. Translation and commentary

These are the footprints (*tapak valar*) of the one of praiseworthy asceticism. He, his majesty king Wastu, ruling in the city Kawali, is the one who beautified

the palace Surawisésa, who dug a moat around the city, who planted (crops) in all villages. If there is one in the future, he must be observant of (*pake*) good works, so that success in the world will be long-lasting.

1–2. *tapak· valar* ◇ The word *walar-walar is* attested in Rigg (1862: 526) "foot-mark, track (of man, animal, etc.) on the ground." We suppose that *tapak valar* is a kind of redundant compound, of the type *tapak lacak* (MdS & MdJ), *asal mula*, *cantik jelita* (Malay), etc. Here it probably helps to express plurality.
2. *nu syi muliA tapa* ◇ We do not understand precisely why Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006 (Glossary, s.v.) indicate that the expression *nu siya* has the meaning "venerable, reverend." Surely, its juxtaposition with a third word can yield honorific sense, as in the present context and in CPV.247 *nu siya mahapandita* "the reverend great teacher," but in all contexts it can be analyzed as equivalent to Malay *ia yang*. Further examples are SA.927 *nu sia laksana bela* "the one who carried out the sacrifice," SA.502 *nu sia ṅukus ñamida* "those who burn incense and firewood." It can also be used to form epithets, as we see in BM.1181 Nu Siya Laraṅ (litt.: the one who is forbidden) and in the designation used in CP for the last king of Pakuan Pajajaran, viz. Nu Siya Mulya (litt.: the one who is praiseworthy, cf. Malay *yang mulia*). The latter is very similar to *nu siya mulia* in our inscription. But here it is followed by the word *tapa*, so we interpret it as "the one of praiseworthy asceticism," an epithet for King Wastu. See also §4.1.4.
2–3. *Iña* ◇ On the position of *Iña*, see Kawa2.2–3.
7–8. *sakalaḍesa* ◇ The word *sakala*, of Sanskrit origin, means "all" here as it does in Sanskrit and in OJ when it is the first member of a compound (OJED s.v. *sakala* 2). It is surprising that in the OS corpus, this word is only attested with this meaning in this inscription. In manuscripts, we always find *sagala* in the meaning "all," while *sakala* usually refers to the "manifest world," as the opposite of *niskala*, as it does in OJ (OJED s.v. *sakala* 1).

4.4.3. Kawali 1b

This is the text on the lateral faces (1 = top, 2 = right, 3 = bottom, 4 = left). It was first read by Friederich (1855) and then by Pleyte (1911: 197) but their readings contained numerous mistakes so we exclude them from our apparatus. Our edition, like those of Hasan Djafar (1991) and Titi Surti Nastiti (1996), follows that of Noorduyn (1988: 309–310), which we have found to be flawless by consulting our own photographs. Noorduyn was the first to observe that this text is in verse form.

4.4.3.1. Text and apparatus

(1) hayuA ḍiponaḥ-p(o)naḥ
(2) hayuA ḍicavuḥ-cavu(ḥ)
(3) IA neker Iña Ager
(4) Iña ni‹ñ›cak· Iña R̥‹m›pag·

3. *IA* N HD TSN ◇ *Iña* RK **—** *Ager* N HD TSN ◇ *A(ṁ)ger* RK **— 4.** *Iña Ṛ‹m›pag·* N HD TSN ◇ *IA Ṛ‹m›pag·* RK.

4.4.3.2. Translation and commentary

It should not be defied / it should not be treated wantonly / anyone striking it will fall prone / anyone kicking it will fall to the ground.

We have accepted Noorduyn's translation which seems perfectly adequate. See also his valuable comments on the translation (1988: 310). We would like to add about the occurrence of *IA* in line 3 that this word can be understood as *iya* or *ya*, and can stand as 3rd person pronoun (cf. Keba2.3&4 on *ya* standing for *iña*). It is interesting to note that the equivalent word *iya* appears *passim* in *Amanat Galuṅguṅ*, a text which originates from the eastern part of West Java, and may share dialectal features with the language of the Kawali inscriptions. See for example AG.14: *asiṅ iya nu mənaṅkə‹n› na kabuyutan na galuṅguṅ, iya sakti tapa, iya jaya praṅ* "whoever is he who acquires the sanctuary of Galunggung, he will be powerful in asceticism, he will be victorious in battle."

4.4.4. Kawali 2

4.4.4.1. Text and apparatus

(1) Aya ma
(2) nu ṅəsi I-
(3) ña kavali I-
(4) ni pake na kə-
(5) Ṛta bənər
(6) pakən· na‹ñ›jər
(7) na juritan·

2. *nu ṅəsi* ◇ *nu jəḥ si* F; *nu ṅə:si* H N HD TSN RK. — **2–3**. *Iña* N HD TSN RK ◇ *bhagya* F H — **3–4.** *Ini* HD TSN ◇ *bari* F H; *bani* RK.

4.4.4.2. Translation and commentary

If [you] occupy this (place called) Kawali, be observant of the proper behavior, so that [you] remain upright in battle.[49]
6. *na‹ñ›jər* ◇ Cf. PJ.126: *dəgdəg tañjər jaya praṅ* "indeed upright, victorious in battle".
7. *na* ◇ Cf. *ḍi na* in Kawa1a.10 and see our discussion under §3.2.1.

49. Hasan Djafar's translation into Indonesian: "*Semogalah ada yang menghuni di Kawali ini yang melaksanakan kemakmuran dan keadilan agar unggul dalam perang*." Richadiana Kartakusuma's translation: "*Kepada yang mengisi Kawali berani menerapkan kebenaran agar bertahan dalam perjuangan (hidup)*."

4.4.5. Kawali 3

One word of uncertain reading. Netscher 1855 read *angkana* (i.e. *aṅkana* or *aṁkana*) and interpreted it as "his/her sign." Noorduyn (1976) read *Añana*. We accept his reading, based on the assumption that it is a spelling variant for *ajñana*. In OS sources, we often find the letter *j* being dropped from this word. See e.g. SMG.38 *vuku añana* "knowledge section," SC.14 *maṅucap kaañanaan* "expound the knowledge."

4.4.6. Kawali 4

(1) saṁ hyiṁ liṁ-
(2) ga hyaṁ

This short text can be translated: "The sacred *liṅga* of the ancestor." Note the two spellings of the word *hyaṅ*. The spelling *hyiṁ* is also used in Kawa5.

4.4.7. Kawali 5

(1) saṁ hyiṁ liṁga
(2) biṁba

This short text can be translated: "The sacred *liṅga* of Bingba (or Bimba)." Titi Surti Nastiti reads *biŋba* and in her translation indicates "Bingba (= Arca)," which implies that she sees a connection with the Sanskrit word *bimba* "image." This raises questions both about the meaning of *liṅga*, and about the history of usage of the *panyecek*, which would thus stand for /m/ (rather than usual /ŋ/). It is interesting to note the meanings of *hyaṁ* "ancestor" and *biṁba* "image" in Kawali 4 and 5. One may wonder whether the difference between ancestors and "Hindu" gods is relevant here (see footnote n. 42), in which case each *liṅga* would have been used for worship of a specific type of deity.

4.4.8. Kawali 6

This inscription was accidentally discovered on 3 October 1995 by Sopar, the caretaker of the site (Titi Surti Nastiti 1996: 19). A decipherment of the text was published for the first time by Titi Surti Nastiti (1996) and reproduced in Hasan Djafar & Titi Surti Nastiti (2016), while Richadiana Kartakusuma (2005) offered a slightly different reading.

4.4.8.1. Text and apparatus

(1) ✣ Ini pə̰Ṛti‹ṁ›-
(2) gal· nu Atis·-
(3) ti rasa Aya ma nu

Fig. 14 – Kawali 6 (photo by Arlo Griffiths).

(4) ṅəsi ḍayəḥ Ivə
(5) Ulaḥ bvatvaḥ bisi
(6) kvakvaro

1. *pəṚti‹ṁ›gal·* TSN ◇ *pəṚtiṁgal·* RK. — **5.** *bvatvaḥ* ◇ *botoḥ* TSN RK. — **6.** *kvakvaro* ◇ *kokoro* TSN RK.

4.4.8.2. Translation and commentary

This is the relic of those who are of stable emotions (*atisti rasa*). If one resides here, one should not gamble: it will lead to suffering.

1. *pəṚti‹ṁ›gal* ◇ The prefix *pərə-, prə* or *pra* is not commonly used in OS. So far we have encountered *prəbakti* "devotion, worship" and *prətapa* "ascetic." All instances are nouns, whether designating agents (*prətapa*) or actions (*prəbakti*). It must be noted that the base *tiṅgal* in OS (as in MdS and MdJ) never seems to have the meaning "to reside, to live (in a place)" familiar from Malay, but rather means "to be left behind." We have the impression that *prətiṅgal* here has a meaning similar to MdS *titinggal* "relic, inheritance" and to that expressed by *tapak-valar* in Kawa1a. Compare how in Malay the expression *jejak* has the same meaning as *peninggalan*.
2–3. *Atis·ti* ◇ Cf. SMG.32: *nu ka‹ṅ›kən joṅ ta ma, na gəiṅ atisti pasanta* "what is comparable to a seaboat is the stable and peaceful mind." It is not clear whom *nu Atis·ti rasa* refers to, whether it is the same as *nu sia mulia tapa* in Kawa1a, i.e., King Wastu, another former king (or kings), or the hermit (or hermits). In our opinion, the first and second are the most plausible interpretations. However, the third interpretation need not be incompatible with the other two as kings themselves may be ascetics. Cf. CP11a, 39a, 24b, passages which narrate how several kings became ascetics (*ṅarajarəsi*).
4. *ivə* ◇ A variant (as per §3.1.3) of *iyə* "this, here," MdS *ieu*. Cf. CP.12r *ivə keh pamalaan*

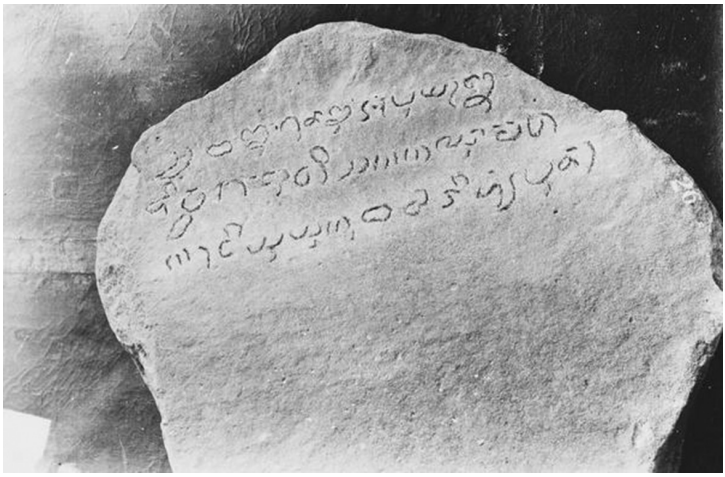

Fig. 15 – The Linggawangi stone (photo OD-1460, courtesy of the Kern Institute collection, Leiden University Library).

ai‹ṅ›, təhər bava ku kita kədə-kədə! "this is my punishment, so you take [him] with force." **5.** *Ulaḥ bvatvaḥ* ◇ Cf. SMG.15 as quoted under Keba1. Prohibitions of gambling are a common thread seen in late pre-Islamic prescriptive texts and inscriptions from Java and Bali. See Schoettel & Griffiths, forthcoming.

4.5. The Linggawangi Stone

The inscription is kept at the National Museum in Jakarta with the number D. 26. A black and white photograph of this inscription, reproduced here as fig. 9, is available in the series of the former *Oudheidkundige Dienst* under no. 1460 (*OV*, 1912: 84), and a color photo accompanies the recent publication by Hasan Djafar *et al*. 2016: 92–93. In July 1877, the *Resident* of Priangan sent a letter to the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* concerning the discovery of this inscription in *desa* Linggawangi, Tasikmalaya (*NBG* 15, 1877: 111, 150, 142; Groeneveldt 1887: 381; Verbeek 1891: 52–53; *ROD*, 1914: 77, no. 233). In October of the same year, the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* sent a facsimile of the inscription to Holle with the request to read it. Holle responded immediately, and his reading was published in the same year (Holle 1877). Although Holle mistakenly read the first and last numeral signs expressing the date of the inscription, he still entertained the right conclusion, viz. that the inscription forms a date 1333 Śaka, only to reject it as he thought that his reading didn't allow it. Pleyte (1911: 162) offered a new reading still rather marred by errors but nevertheless accepted the date of 1333, citing a letter from H. Kern. Saleh Danasasmita (1975a) published an extensive analysis, but an error of reading leads to a far-fetched interpretation of the year as 1033 Śaka. Only Hasan Djafar's reading (1991, reproduced in Hasan Djafar *et al*. 2016) can be relied upon, although the relationship between the numeral signs and the

chronogram words is not explained because this scholar does not translate the text. We read the text from the OD photo and we discuss the content of the inscription, particularly the interpretation of the chronogram.

4.5.1. Palaeography

This short inscription makes use of a rounded script, lacking the sharp-angled ductus that is characteristic of Sundanese script as seen in the Kebantenan and Kawali inscriptions, and is in that sense comparable to the Huludayeuh inscription. The appearance of the *aksara ṭā* in the word *baṭāri* in the third line is noteworthy. In our corpus, this *aksara* is only found in the present inscription. It is ubiquitous in *gebang* and *lontar* manuscripts, although in the latter, the character also represents the syllable /tra/ (see Aditia Gunawan 2019: 27–28; Rahmat Sopian 2020: 135).

4.5.2. Text, apparatus and commentary

(1) (sva)ba 3 guna 3 Apuy· 3
(2) di vva(ṁ) 1, Iti sakakala rumata-
(3) k· disusuku baṭāri hyaṁ pun·

1. *(sva)ba* ◇ // ba HD. See below, §4.5.4 — **2.** *di vva(ṁ)* ◇ *divva* HD. The position of *panyecek* is quite unusual, more to the left than in l. 3 *hyaṁ*. — *Iti* ◇ The Sanskrit word *iti* is used here as equivalent for *ini* or *nihan* seen in other OS inscriptions (BaTu.1, Keba1.1r1). — **3.** *disusuku* ◇ understand *disusuk ku*. On such degemination, see §3.1.5.

4.5.3. Translation

Shining 3 qualities 3 fires 3 in man 1: such is the chronogram (or: this is the memorial) of Rumatak being marked off by (the deified female ancestor) Batari Hyang.

4.5.4. Chronogram

Although this inscription is short, some problems have so far not been solved, particularly related to the chronogram. First of all, one may ask whether it is intended as a series of independent words or as a sentence. The presence of a preposition *di* in the second points to the latter possibility. The problem lies in the initial character of the inscription, before the letter *ba* and the number 3. Hasan Djafar (1991) considers the sign as an opening mark and transliterates it as //, to which choice it may be objected that no comparable opening mark is found in any other of the inscriptions assembled here. We read it as *sva*. The *aksara s* can be recognized by the form of two curved and slanting lines (cf. *s* in line 2). The *pasangan va* is recognizable, although it is slightly more tapered here than the *pasangan va* in line 2. Thus, the beginning of the inscription contains the word *svaba*, a spelling variant, as per §3.1.7, for *śvabha* or *śobha* "bright, brilliant, handsome" (OJED, s.v. *śobha*). This word may then be explained as expressing the same numerical value as *ava* or *ba*, words which have a very

similar lexical meaning (OJED, s.v. *awa* 2, "bright, clear, shining, glowing") and share the same second syllable. The Old Javanese *Pararaton* contains a chronogram *ba-ba-tańan-voṅ,* which expresses the value 1233 (Brandes 1920: 342, Noorduyn 1993). Whether we read *svaba* or // *ba*, the meaning will be the same. Thus, we interpret the sentence *svaba guna apuy di vvaṁ* as "shining is the nature of the fire in man," the numerical implication of which is explained explicitly by the number signs in the inscription, to be read as per convention in the reverse order, namely 1333 Śaka or 1411/1412 CE.

5. Implications

Our study of the Old Sundanese inscriptions has shown how closely they are related to the pre-Islamic Sundanese manuscript tradition. Therefore, the regrettable gap that is noticeable in academic circles today between scholars who read Old Sundanese manuscripts and who study the inscriptions needs to be bridged again, following in the footsteps of Holle, Pleyte, Noorduyn and Saleh Danasasmita. Based on a systematic comparison of epigraphic and manuscript sources, including sources in Old Javanese, we have managed to shed light on several doubtful readings and problems of interpretation. Nevertheless, linguistic, philological, and paleographical aspects of this small epigraphic corpus still leave many gaps to be filled by further research. In this final section, we turn to the broader historical implications of our study.

The only two Śaka dates contained in the inscriptions, namely 1333 (Linggawangi) and — although the interpretation of the chronogram remains uncertain — 1455 (Batutulis), furnish a broad chronological framework. It is surely significant that this date range largely falls after the dates associated directly or indirectly with Majapahit rule in East Java. The latest charters issued by the Majapahit kraton are the group of stone inscriptions concerning a freehold (*sīma*) called Trailokyapuri, all of them found near Trowulan in East Java and dated to 1408 Śaka; the last royal inscriptions on copper-plate are those of Waringin Pitu (1369 Śaka) and Pamintihan (1395 Śaka).[50] All these dates fall in the 15th century CE. Besides these royal inscriptions, the epigraphic corpus of 15th-century Central and East Java is rich in stone inscriptions apparently unconnected with the kraton but associated with ascetic communities settled in mountain hermitages, notably in the Merapi-Merabu, Lawu, and Bromo-Semeru massifs.[51]

Now compared to this roughly contemporary epigraphic material from relatively nearby regions, the inscriptions we have presented here show surprising differences starting with their material aspects. Not only in size, but also in the engraving technique and (if we may judge from their greater shininess and yellowish color) also in their metallurgical composition, the set

50. These royal inscriptions have been analyzed in magisterial fashion by Noorduyn (1978).

51. These will be presented exhaustively in Schoettel & Griffiths forthcoming.

of Kebantenan plates is different from most if not all of the copper plates ever issued from Majapahit or earlier Javanese kratons. None of the stone inscriptions reveal any effort at preparing the stone otherwise than by furnishing a smooth writing surface on one side; this is very different from most Majapahit-period inscriptions, except the non-royal inscriptions found at mountain sites.

It is thus all the more remarkable that in the Sundanese context, all inscriptions do reveal a more or less evident connection with the kraton, although we purposefully do not designate them as "royal" here because their contents show no real similarity with the royal inscriptions of late Majapahit, at the exception of the Kebantenan inscriptions, which have most in common, in form and contents, with the royal inscriptions on copper-plate of late Majapahit. Although none of these plates bears a date, the use of the words *susuhunan ayəna di pakuan pajajaran* "His Highness now [ruling] at Pakuan Pajajaran" seems to indicate that the plates refer to current events. Moreover, the king expresses himself using a first personal pronoun in *saṅgar kami ratu* "the shrine of me, the king." Hence, we can argue that the Kebantenan inscriptions were issued when king Sri Baduga was on the throne (a period we have tentatively accepted may have corresponded roughly to the years 1482–1521 CE).

We emphasize this point, because we believe that this "current" aspect sets the Kebantenan inscriptions apart from all the stone inscriptions. The Linggawangi inscription can be interpreted as recalling an event during the lifetime of a deceased queen (*baṭāri*). The Batutulis inscription quite explicitly states that the king was dead when it was produced. As we have tried to show above, this inscription is a memorial (*sakakala*) of the deceased king Sri Baduga, probably created during the first half of the 16th century CE. In our opinion, it is also possible to read as a *post-mortem* memorial the inscription Kawali 1a, which mentions the name of King Wastu. Based on known historical data and on the location of Kawali in the Galuh area of eastern West Java, historians have argued that the King Wastu mentioned in this inscription may be identified as Niskala Wastu Kancana (Pleyte 1911: 165–168; Saleh Danasasmita 1975b). This would make him the father of Déwa Niskala, alias Tohaan in Galuh, and the grandfather of Sri Baduga — it would make him the ancestor of all kings listed in the *Carita Parahyaṅan*, and one who supposedly ruled for... 104 years. If we assume this identification to be correct and if we are able to find some way to rationalize this implausible indication of a reign lasting 104 years without affecting the rest of the *Carita Parahyaṅan*'s chronology, then assuming that the inscription was produced during the king's lifetime would imply that it was engraved at the end of the 14th century, two generations before Sri Baduga.

But these assumptions need to be reconsidered. There are some remarkable textual similarities between two of the Kawali inscriptions and Batutulis. While Batutulis uses the term memorial (*sakakala*), Kawali 1a mentions the footprints (*tapak valar*) of King Wastu, and Kawali 6 is said to be a relic (*pərətiṅgal*) for commemoration of *nu atisti rasa*, which we have argued may

designate a former king (or former kings). Both in Batutulis and in Kawali 1a we find mention of the king's involvement in delimiting the kingdom's territory: while the term used in Batutulis is *ñusuk*, Kawali 1a uses the practically synonymous term *marigi*. Although we do not wish to reject altogether the identification of King Wastu in Kawali 1a with Niskala Wastu Kancana of the *Carita Parahyaṅan* nor wish to question the entire framework of relative chronology offered by that text, we propose to consider Kawali 1a, and by extension the whole Kawali group, as postdating the reign of Niskala Wastu Kancana, meaning that these inscriptions may have been produced quite some time after his demise, ostensibly around 1475 CE.

The most problematic case is the Huludayeuh inscription. Its opening words, which might have given some indication of this text's *raison d'être*, have been lost due to damage to the stone. However, the text does mention Sang Ratu Déwata *alias* Sri Baduga. Now was this stone engraved during Sri Baduga's reign, or is this yet another case of *post-mortem* commemoration? We are inclined to favor the latter interpretation as this text, with its allusions to the opening of forest tracts, seems to share some fundamental characteristics with the way post-Majapahit Javanese historiography frames a picture of the past.[52] We therefore propose to assign the Huludayeuh inscription to a period at least some decades after 1521 CE.

And so we conclude that much if not all of the Old Sundanese epigraphic corpus is younger than most scholars have so far assumed, that its production does not necessarily cover a range as long as that marked by the earliest and latest dates explicitly recorded (1411 and 1533 CE), but may entirely be circumscribed to the 16th century (the only possibly earlier items being Linggawangi). This conclusion has important corollaries.

First, with regard to the applicability of the palaeographic method for dating documents. In this article we have tried to examine to what degree the twofold distinction of script types applicable to Old Sundanese manuscripts is pertinent also in the epigraphic context, but from the various subsections on palaeography above, it emerges that the distinction between "Old Sundanese" and "Old Western Javanese quadratic" characters is not evidently pertinent in the epigraphic context and that, in the present state of knowledge, a review of paleography cannot help to narrow down the dating of the inscriptions. Conceivably some progress toward better understanding of this complex issue can still be made through more exhaustive studies of palaeographical aspects of the manuscripts, and comparison with contemporary inscriptions from Central and East Java.

Second, considering the predominant commemorative nature of this epigraphic corpus, we argue that these texts must be read as part of an effort, reflected also in the contemporary redaction of a chronicle, the *Carita Parahyaṅan*, to frame a

52. See Van Naerssen (1968: 44) about the *Babad Tanah Jawi*: "The founding of a new kraton goes together with the clearing of a forest."

specific picture of the past, namely to create a local Sundanese history, rather than as more or less objective records of contemporary events. This means that there is reason to be careful in their exploitation for writing *histoire événementielle*, although it seems possible that they were produced sufficiently soon after the events to which they refer to retain some factual validity.

Third, the chronological and discursive context in which we propose to regard these texts naturally leads us to consider the social and political contexts of the Sunda region from the late 15th into the 16th century. The Portuguese records suggest that a Sundanese polity was involved in international commercial exchange, and even signed a trade agreement with a representative of Portugal in 1522.[53] The impression that some parts of Sunda were well integrated in this period into a cosmopolitan network is reinforced by the travelogue of Bujangga Manik that we have often referred to in the preceding pages. The decades before and after the turn of the 16th century saw momentous political dynamics all around Pakuan Pajajaran. With the fall of Majapahit in East Java and the concomitant rise of Islamic polities first at Demak, and subsequently at Cirebon and Banten, the Sundanese highlands would have become more directly exposed to external pressures. We imagine that it is partly in response to these pressures that Sundanese was raised to the status of a literary language, in a process that led to the production of the inscriptions — alongside the manuscript culture with which they are so intimately connected — that have been our focus here.

Having thus pushed our analysis well beyond the confines of our disciplinary and empirical fields of specialization, we have also reached the limits of what we can say in this contribution. We hope it will help to give the Sunda region a place in the larger picture of early modern Indonesian, Southeast Asian and global history.[54]

53. Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1913: 73–80) presented the Portuguese sources known at his time, and assumed that the "Sunda King" who figures in them was the King of Pakuan. The same sources, and others that were not yet known at the beginning of the 20th century, were analyzed in Guillot 1991. According to the new interpretation proposed by Guillot, the Sundanese polity in question would have been not Pakuan but Banten, which he imagines as a principality nominally subordinate to Pakuan but practically enjoying a substantial degree of autonomy.

54. The above conclusions may be contrasted with the strictly positivist reading of the Old Sundanese sources and their classification in 'Zaman Kuno', i.e. the pre-Islamic period, in *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (Bambang Sumadio & Endang Sri Hardiati 2008, chapter VII 'Kerajaan Sunda'), or with the total absence of Sundanese-language sources in the seminal study of *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce, 1450–1680* by Anthony Reid (1988–1993).

6. Appendix: Script tables based on Old Sundanese inscriptions and manuscripts

6. 1. Consonant *aksara*s

Transliteration	BaTu	Keba	HuDa	LiWa	Kawa	Gebang SKK	Lontar SMG
ka							
k·							
ga							
gha							
ṅa							
ca							
ja							
ña							
ta							
tā*							
da							
ḍa							
na							
pa							
ba							
ma							
ya							
ra							
la							
va							
sa							
śa							
ha							

* This *aksara* is also used as equivalent for *tra*.

6. 2. Vowel *aksara*s

Transliteration	BaTu	Keba	HuDa	LiWa	Kawa	Gebang SKK	Lontar SMG
A							
I							
U							
E							
O							
qə							
Ṛ*							
Ḷ**							

* This *aksara* is equivalent to *rə*.
** This *aksara* is equivalent to *lə*.

6. 3. *Pasangan*s

Transliteration	BaTu	Keba	HuDa	LiWa	Kawa	Gebang SKK	Lontar SMG
ka							
ca							
na							
ba							
va							

6. 4. Vocalizations and other markers

Term (transliteration)	BaTu	KeBa	HuDa	LiWa	Kawa	Gebang SKK	Lontar SMG
panghulu (i)							
pamepet (ə)							
panyuku (u)							
panolong (o)							
panolong to mark vowel length (:)							
panolong to mark consonant duplication (:)							
panéléng (e)							
panyecek (ṁ)							
pangwisad (ḥ)							
panglayar (r)							
panyakra (r)							
pamingkal (y)							
pamaéh (·)							
ṛ*							
adeg-adeg (symbols)							

* This is equivalent to *rə*.

6. 5. Numbers (only in Linggawangi and in manuscripts)

Value	LiWa	Gebang SKK	Lontar SMG
1			
3			

7. Abbreviations and Sources

7.1 General abbreviations

KUBS *Kamus Umum Basa Sunda* (Panitia Kamus Sunda 1976)
MNI Museum Nasional Indonesia
NBG Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
MdJ Modern Javanese
MdS Modern Sundanese. Unless stated otherwise, the quoted meanings are taken from Hardjadibrata (2003).
OJ Old Javanese
OJED Old Javanese-English Dictionary (Zoetmulder 1982)
OS Old Sundanese
OV Oudheidkundig Verslag
Perpusnas Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia
ROD Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst
Skt. Sanskrit

7.2 Designations of inscriptions

BaTu Batutulis
HuDa Huludayeuh
Kawa Kawali
Keba Kebantenan
LiWa Linggawangi

7.3 Sigla for previous editors

B Boechari
F Friederich
H Holle
HD Hasan Djafar
P Pleyte

RK Richadiana Kartakusuma
TSN Titi Surti Nastiti

7.4 Works of Old Sundanese literature

AG Perpusnas L 632a, *Amanat Galuṅguṅ*, published in Atja & Saleh Danasasmita 1981a.
BM Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms.Jav.3, published as *Bujangga Manik* in Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006.
CP Perpusnas L 406, *Carita Parahyangan*, published in Atja & Saleh Danasasmita 1981b.
CRP Perpusnas L 410 (now lost), *Carita Ratu Pakuan*, in Atja 1970.
FCP Perpusnas L 406, published as *Fragmen Carita Parahyangan* in Undang Ahmad Darsa & Edi S Ekadjati 1995.
JMP L 624b, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Jati Mahapitutur,* published in Tien Wartini *et al.* 2010.
KK Ciburuy no. Cb.Ltr-17, *Kavih Katanian*, edition in preparation by Ilham Nurwansah.
KP Perpusnas L 419 and L 420, *Kawih Paniṅkes*, published as *Kosmologi Sunda Kuna* in Undang A. Darsa & Edi S. Ekadjati 2006 (edition based on ms. Perpusnas L 420).
KS *Kaputusan Saṅ Hyaṅ*, romanized typewriting, ms. Perpusnas no. 280 Peti 89.
PJ Perpusnas L 610, *Pituturniṅ Jalma*, published in Tien Wartini *et al.* 2010.
PR Perpusnas L 1099, *Pakeən Raga*, published as *Sanghyang Tatwa Ajnyana* in Tien Wartini *et al.* 2011b.
CPV Perpusnas L 416 & L 423, *Carita Purnavijaya*, published in Pleyte 1914.
RR Museum Sri Baduga 1101, *The Sons of Rama and Rawana*, in Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006.
SA Perpusnas L 625, *Sri Ajñana*, published in Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006.
SC Perpusnas L 626, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Svavarcinta*, published in Tien Wartini *et al.* 2011a.
SD Perpusnas L 408, *Sevaka Darma*, in Saleh Danasasmita *et al.* 1987.
SKK Perpusnas L 630, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian*, published in Atja & Saleh Danasasmita 1981c, new edition in preparation by Aditia Gunawan.
SMG Perpusnas L 621, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Sasana Mahaguru*, published in Aditia Gunawan 2009, new edition in preparation by the same author.
TB Perpusnas L 620, *Tutur Bvana*, published in Tien Wartini *et al.* 2010.
VL Perpusnas L 622, *Varugan Ləmah*, published in Aditia Gunawan 2010.

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*Amanda tho Seeth**

"Electing a President is Islamic Worship"—The Print Media Discourse of Azyumardi Azra during *Reformasi* (1998–2004)

Introduction

The role of religious agency in democratization processes has caught increased academic attention since the inaccurateness of the secularization paradigm became widely accepted and a "religious turn" started to gain ground in the social sciences from the 1980s onwards. A more nuanced and fine-grained understanding on the nexus between religion and democratization has evolved, which points toward the ambivalence and the Janus-faced character of the sacred (Appleby 2000) as well as its increasing role as a public force in processes of modernization and political liberalization (Casanova 1994). Accordingly, religious actors—defined as "any individual or collectivity, local or transnational, who acts coherently and consistently to influence politics in the name of religion" (Philpott 2007: 506)—take up multifaceted roles in democratization processes (Künkler and Leininger 2009). They can support or hamper the introduction of democracy in their country (Toft, Philpott, and Shah 2011; Künkler and Leininger 2009; Philpott 2007; Cheng and Brown 2006), and due to several structural reasons and lack of resources may also opt to abstain from clearly positioning themselves politically (tho Seeth 2020). In societies where religion plays an important role in shaping personal and group identities, attitudes, and behavior, religious actors can take crucial leading positions during a democratic transition and publicly mobilize faithful followers for or against democracy.

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Such was particularly the case in Indonesia where during the *Reformasi* (reform/democratization) from 1998 to 2004 the future role of Islam in state and society was heatedly debated about in the public sphere. The *Reformasi* was characterized by the mushrooming of anti-democracy Islamic groups—*Front Pembela Islam* (Defenders of Islam Front, FPI), *Laskar Jihad* (Jihad Army, LJ), *Jemaah Islamiyah* (Islamic Congregation, JI), and *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (Indonesian Party of Liberation, HTI), just to name a few—which sought to mobilize society for Islamist ideologies by peaceful or violent means. On the other hand, a dedicated pro-democracy Islamic (counter) movement emerged, which had a strong base in the Islamic academic and Islamic intellectual *milieux* (Künkler 2013; 2011). The pro-democracy movement was particularly linked to the Islamic mass organization *Nahdlatul Ulama* (Revival of the Ulama, NU) and its leader Abdurrahman Wahid, the Islamic mass organization *Muhammadiyah* and its leader Amien Rais, the *Paramadina* Foundation and *Paramadina* Islamic University under the aegis of Islamic thinker Nurcholish Madjid, the *Jaringan Islam Liberal* (Liberal Islamic Network, JIL) that had been established by the intellectual activist Ulil Abshar-Abdalla, and, most importantly for the purpose of this article, the nation-wide diffused state-funded Islamic higher education system (*Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri*, PTKIN).[1] Individual Islamic academics and their institutes and organizational entities from the PTKIN system were highly visible in the transitioning public sphere. They approached society through diverse public channels (media, speeches, conferences, workshops) and ardently promoted the compatibility of Islam and democracy—but also upheld the separation of religion and state—by combining and balancing arguments from Islamic theology and non-religious sources, often of Western origin (tho Seeth 2020).

Against this backdrop, this article[2] focuses on the public print media discourse initiated by Azyumardi Azra, one of the most prominent contemporary representatives of the PTKIN system, who during the Indonesian democratization process served as rector of the country's largest Islamic academic institute: the *Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syarif*

1. As of 2020, PTKIN comprises 17 *Universitas Islam Negeri* (State Islamic Universities, UIN), 34 *Institut Agama Islam Negeri* (State Islamic Institutes, IAIN), and 7 *Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri* (State Islamic Colleges, STAIN).

2. This article is an abridged and revised version of a chapter of my dissertation on the role of Islamic universities during the democratization processes in Indonesia and Tunisia, defended in 2020 at the Department of Political Science at Philipps-University Marburg (tho Seeth 2020). The dissertation project was funded by a scholarship by the Marburg Research Academy. I thank my supervisor Claudia Derichs for her enormous support throughout the dissertation project. Furthermore, I thank Azyumardi Azra and Mirjam Künkler for their collaboration, expertise, and support from which the project greatly benefited. I especially thank the three anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on the previous draft of this article.

Hidayatullah Jakarta (State Islamic Institute Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, IAIN Jakarta) that in 2002 was officially transformed into a full-fledged university, the *Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta* (State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, UIN Jakarta). Azyumardi Azra is a public figure who combines academic intellectualism with political engagement through a public discursive practice, and an analysis of his agency is overdue. The relevance of Azra's academic-political activism is mirrored by the official honors he has received by several foreign observers: In 2009, he was selected by the Prince Waleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University in Washington DC and The Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre, Amman, Jordan, as one of "The 500 Most Influential Muslim Leaders" active in the scholarly field. In 2010, he was awarded the honorable title of "Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire" (CBE), and in 2014, he received the academic Fukuoka Price from Fukuoka City, Japan, for his strong promotion of cross-cultural and cross-religious dialogue. Already in 2005, after the Indonesian transition to democracy had been achieved, he was awarded by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono the *Bintang Maha Putra Utama* (literally "Star of the Greatest Son of the Soil"), the highest honor for Indonesian civilians, for his contribution to the strengthening of a moderate Islam in the country (Azra Website 2020).

Until now, Azra's many writings and intense public participation during and after *Reformasi* have not been made an object of English-speaking in-depth scientific inquiry, neither in Indonesian studies nor in political science, while in Indonesia itself, already three treaties on his life and work have been published (Nurkomala 2013; Dwifatma 2011; Fathurrahman 2002). To my knowledge, the only example for an English-language discussion of Azra's thought is Khairudin Aljunied's *Muslim Cosmopolitanism: Southeast Asian Islam in Comparative Perspective* (2017), where, however, only a few pages are dedicated to showcasing that Azra is a cosmopolitan Islamic thinker. Aljunied's piece is limited to Azra's appraisal of the concept of the indigenous *Islam Nusantara*, and neither a close reading of his other works nor a contextualization of his persona within the broader streams of Indonesian Islamic academia is provided.

This is a shortsighted perspective as Azra's public role is representative and symptomatic of the wider phenomenon of an Islamic academia-based public intellectualism that combines with pragmatic political agency in the public sphere—a distinctive particularity of Islamic and wider public political life in Indonesia. The participation of Indonesian Islamic academics in public political discourse and social activism is indeed a given. It is a historical continuum that most visibly emerged during the Japanese occupation years (1942–1945) when Islamic intellectualism was for the first time channeled into an institutionalized, bureaucratized academic form. Intense participation of Islamic academics in public political debate and engagement spanned over

the post-colonial authoritarian era and is booming by the freedoms of the contemporary democratic system. PTKIN thus served and serves as a source of an Islam-connected political activism, however, under authoritarianism, its political agency was highly controlled and coopted by state agendas.

Hence, Azra is only the most visible tip of an iceberg of a deeply institutionalized cohort of PTKIN academics who act as public Islamic intellectuals beyond the campus walls, currently mostly in a mission of strengthening a moderate interpretation of Islam, religious and cultural pluralism, democracy, and human rights. Largely trilingual (Indonesian, Arabic, English), these academics function as cultural brokers between the local Indonesian, the Arab-Islamic, and Western culture (Lukens-Bull 2013: 3), and they therefore transmit and "translate" issues of democracy and human rights for a pragmatic and localized application in Indonesia. Simultaneously, through their fluency in the English and/or Arabic language and their frequent visits to other parts of the Islamic and the Western world, they act as informal diplomats and ambassadors of Indonesia in the international sphere (Allès and tho Seeth forthcoming 2021).

Due to his reputation, popularity, and physical presence in the Indonesian capital, Azra had and still has access to the nation's most prestigious media outlets and highest political elite circles.[3] Furthermore, due to his socialization under the Suharto regime (1966–1998), Azra's public agency is embedded in and is a product of the long history of Indonesian state-funded Islamic academia that was consciously geared toward—controlled and functionalized—public agency and political participation in domestic and international affairs. For the purpose of reinforcing moderate Islam and thus legitimizing his regime, Suharto welcomed the public presence of so-called *ulama plus*—Islamic intellectuals with a broad range of expertise in religious as well as worldly matters. The concept of *ulama plus* was first put on the table by minister of religious affairs Munawir Sjadzali (1983–1993) in the context of growing Islamist tendencies in the Middle East and rising concerns about its potential spillover to Indonesia (Lukens-Bull 2013: 15–16; Feillard 1999: 274). Himself an alumnus of Georgetown University in the US, Sjadzali was also the brain behind the initiation of increased academic exchange with the West, while he simultaneously introduced his *Reaktualisasi Agenda* (Re-actualization

3. A comparably high public status as embodied by Azra is contemporarily held by Komaruddin Hidayat, former rector of UIN Jakarta (2006–2014) and current rector of *Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia* (International Indonesian Islamic University, UIII). Bahtiar Effendy, professor of Political Science at UIN Jakarta who deceased in 2019, is another example of a public Islamic academic. Many other members of the academic cohort affiliated with PTKIN universities and higher education institutes located in more peripheral Indonesian cities work on lower public scales at the regional level, and their concrete political attitudes and agency remain understudied. What all UINs share is the institutionalized teaching of a pro-democracy civic education course to all first-semesters, first initiated in the year 2000/2001 (Jackson and Bahrissalim 2007).

Agenda), a policy which emphasized Islamic values, ethics, and morals as a basis for Indonesia's *Pembangunan Nasional* (national development). Tellingly, a collection of three key speeches of Sjadzali on the topic was published as *Peranan Ilmuwan Muslim dalam Negara Pancasila* (The Role of Muslim Scientists in the Pancasila-State). In these speeches, Sjadzali reaffirmed Suharto's New Order policy line that scholars of Islam must engage for the nation and its development (Sjadzali 1984). Azra carries with him this legacy of the New Order regime, however, in an emancipated, updated, democratized fashion, which plays a crucial role in shaping Islamic and political discourses and agency in contemporary Indonesia. Notwithstanding its strong base in New Order socialization, the following elaborations will show that the public and political role of Indonesian Islamic academics can be traced back further back in time, preceeding the establishment of the nation-state.

Postulating that the intellectual thought and agency of an individual prominent figure can be representative of more widely diffused societal currents, this article demonstrates that through understanding Azra and his work, broader religious and social realities and institutionalized patterns of great relevance to Indonesian political culture can be grasped.[4] Therefore, this article takes Azra as a point of departure for illustrating the importance of the broader Indonesian phenomenon of public Islamic academics who actively engage in the political realm. Moreover, from the perspective of media studies, Azra is also representative of what has been singled out as an Indonesian "cosmopolitan Islamic journalism" (Steele 2018). However, the contribution of Indonesian Islamic academics to this specific form of journalistic activity has not yet been covered by research and the article at hand aims to fill this lacuna. Moreover, due to the popular acknowledgement of the media as the fourth estate of democracy, a closer look at individual Indonesians' discursive media practices is worthwhile to better understand the media's function as a vehicle for pro-democracy mobilization in that country.

Furthermore, the article shows that Azra's print media discourse during *Reformasi* occasionally and partially liberated itself from the deeply institutionalized Indonesian political culture which aims to avoid conflict and seeks discursive harmony and consensus by abstaining from the articulation of direct criticism, and which reduces political discourse to inconcrete transcendental signifiers such as "Islam" and "the people"/"the nation" (see Duile and Bens 2017). While Azra defended the mainstream consensus on the centrality of the *Pancasila* and a moderate Islam, by voicing quite sharp and provocative criticism on the political and religious elites as well as on the lack of democratic quality of Indonesian civil society, Azra exited the traditional political culture of Indonesia that imposes broad consensus and harmony

4. Another approach of contextualizing an Indonesian Islamic academic (Komaruddin Hidayat) and his work is presented in Woodward 2017.

on political issues, and he opened up space for a much needed "conflictual consensus"[5] which furthers progressive democratic politics. Azra's step toward this discursive practice of openly expressing criticism and political alternatives may has been encouraged by the enthusiastic, liberating atmosphere of the *Reformasi* years, as they constituted a long-awaited window of opportunity for the direct articulation of political critique, while in the contemporary constituted democracy, Indonesian political culture presents itself again in a more consensual, flattened and harmonized version (Duile and Bens 2017).

After briefly discussing some sociological aspects of public intellectuals and how they relate to Indonesia and Azyumardi Azra, the historical background and the political particularities of Indonesian Islamic academia and its function as a provider of public intellectualism and as a space for political agency are presented. The article then pursues a qualitative text and content analysis of the media articles Azyumardi Azra published during the democratic transition. The analysis is limited to articles in the four most prominent Indonesian media outlets, namely *Kompas*,[6] *Republika*,[7] *Tempo*,[8] and *Gatra*[9], published between the collapse of the New Order regime (May 21, 1998) and the beginning of the democratic consolidation marked by the taking office of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as first directly elected president (October 20, 2004).

Following the epistemic and methodological approaches of Mayring (2015), Kuckartz (2014), and Silverman (2011), the aim of the text analysis is to reduce the richness of information and to summarize the content of the source material.

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5. The concept of the "conflictual consensus" has been put forward by Chantal Mouffe and acknowledges consensus on the institutions of a liberal democracy and the ethical and political values that inform political association, while it demands dissent on the meaning of these values and how they should be implemented (Duile and Bens 2017: 5–6). See Duile and Bens 2017 for a discussion on its lack in Indonesia.

6. *Kompas* is a daily newspaper in print since 1965. It was established by Chinese and Javanese Catholics and was linked to *Partai Katolik Republik Indonesia* (Catholic Party, PKRI). After the legislative election of 1971 and with the attempt to weaken the opposition, the Suharto regime aimed at stricter media censorship and began to end *Kompas*' proximity to PKRI, mainly by dissolving the party and merging it into *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* (Indonesian Democratic Party, PDI). Since 1969, *Kompas* is Indonesia's largest newspaper.

7. *Republika* is a daily newspaper in print since 1993. It addresses the Muslim community, mostly of modernist (*Muhammadiyah*) orientation. It was established by the Suharto regime and is closely connected to *Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia* (Association of Indonesian Muslim Intelligentsia, ICMI).

8. *Tempo* is a weekly magazine in print since 1971. It was established by the writer Goenawan Mohamad and was banned twice by the Suharto regime for its critical articles: for two months in 1982 and from 1994 onwards. It was relaunched after the collapse of authoritarianism in 1998. It is modeled after the American *Time* magazine.

9. *Gatra* is a weekly magazine in print since 1994. It was established by the Chinese Muslim businessman Bob Hasan, who held close relations to the Suharto regime. After the closure of *Tempo* in 1994, *Gatra* took over many of *Tempo*'s former journalists, who then followed a regime-friendly line. Like *Tempo*, *Gatra* is modeled after the American *Time* magazine.

The overall attempt of this study is to abstract after close reading the main topics and messages Azra aimed to convey and mediate to his readers. For this purpose, each Indonesian media article was coded according to a keyword that best summarizes the topic and message conveyed through the piece. The coded articles were then grouped into more abstract categories which are presented in a table that also provides quantitative information. The analyzed data set included 84 articles which were grouped into nine distinct categories. Out of these nine categories, four are presented here in detail, namely category 1 "Indonesian Democracy," category 3 "Pluralism and Peace," category 4 "Elections," and category 5a "Islam and Democracy." Throughout the presentation, the analyzed material is cited by English translation of the Indonesian original in order to enable the reader to follow in detail the discourse Azra delivered. In sum, the analysis shows that Azra must be conceptualized as a pro-democracy Islamic actor whose main concern during the democratic transition of his country was to provide the public with impulses on the compatibility of Islam, democracy, pluralism, peace, and a strong and free civil society. He merged non-religious with clearly theological argumentation and underpinned his statements with references to scientific literature and holy scriptures, thereby stimulating a constructive discourse on the fruitful interplay of Islam and democratic norms and values, not shying away from criticizing grievances in Indonesian politics and society.

Despite him being an advocate of social justice and equality with strong empathy for the needs of the underprivileged strata of society, a close reading of Azra's writing style reveals that his articles addressed the educated, cosmopolitan-oriented Muslim middle class. Based on this finding, the outreach of Azra's print media discourse remained mostly limited to the confines of the better off academic middle class milieu[10]—which does not mitigate the discourse's societal relevance. However, this finding demonstrates that the pro-democracy discursive mission of Azra, and also the one of his academic colleagues, tends to largely diffuse within the realms of the higher educated pious classes—where it is also constantly reproduced. As a result, the Islamic academic milieu—and alumni thereof in the middle and also upper class—continues to constitute an essential sphere for the breeding of pro-democracy sentiments. It is this social strata that has—provided that it applies more diverse class-sensitive approaches, means, and jargons—an ingrained potential to meaningfully reach out to and shape the political elite level as well as lower echelons of society in a pro-democracy mission.[11]

10. One could argue that this is most newspapers' target group anyway.

11. Having its roots in the Sukarno era, the PTKIN system has developed an internship program called *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (Student Service Program, KKN) which obliges students to spend several weeks to months in poorer rural areas to engage in community service for the local population. The campuses manage their KKN activities through an organizational body called *Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat* (Institute of Research and Service to

Sociological Aspects of Public Intellectuals and their Relevance in Indonesia

A zooming in on Azra's intellectual print media output and his persona as a "celebrity intellectual" (Posner 2003: 26) is inherently linked to and justified by the—mostly Western-focused—wider scholarly discussion on the role of intellectuals in the (democratic) public sphere. Habermas (1962) has shown that the origin of the public sphere in European societies can be traced back to the bourgeois' 18th century growing network of public intellectual and critique-oriented communication on art, literature, the economy, and politics in emerging public places such as literary clubs, reading circles, and coffee houses. The rise of print technology and newspapers played a crucial role in the development of the public sphere and a deliberative culture, which, in the long run, contributed to the evolution of democratic political systems. While in its very early form, the relationship between intellectuals and political authorities was characterized by patronage (Shils 1972), the contemporary popular understanding of intellectuals' duty is to be unpleasant, to question orthodoxy, to confront established authorities, to stimulate change, and therefore, as Edward Said has famously coined, "to speak the truth to power" (Said 1996: 97). Hence, intellectuals are mostly considered as having the potential to working toward the improvement of democracy and social justice, they are perceived as a potential counterpower and as a critical conscience that openly addresses grievances.

Intellectuals are not necessarily campus-affiliated academics, but it is exactly this species and its role in the public sphere that sociological literature is most curious about. Having the academic in mind, Pierre Bourdieu and his colleagues have called the intellectual a paradoxical and bidimensional being which is torn between political engagement in the real world and retreat into the ivory tower (Bourdieu, Sapiro, and McHale 1991: 656). The public academic intellectual's function is generally seen as to fruitfully connect the world of the common, lay people and the more elitist microcosm of the university by communicating "specialized knowledge in an understandable and relevant way for a public outside the specialty" (Eliaeson and Kalleberg 2008: 1). Basing their argumentations on scientific findings, academics in their function as public intellectuals inform and articulate criticism in a clear and rational manner in the public sphere, however, they at times set their own political agendas and mobilize public attention and loyal followers by their high prominence, celebrity, and charisma—Pierre Bourdieu and his anti-neoliberal engagement in the public arena is an example of the academic intellectual turning into a charismatic public rebel.

Society, LPPM). Programs and facilities like KKN and LPPM prove PTKIN's consciousness and willingness to engage with and to empower underpriviliged communities, but scholarly work has not yet taken the initiative to inquire whether the community service includes pro-democracy missions or whether it is limited to religious, educational, and health campaigns.

Shils' (1972) observation that in history intellectuals and political authorities for a long time maintained a symbiotic relationship is worth discussing in the Indonesian context as the nexus between the PTKIN system and the Ministry of Religious Affairs has always been strong, and it still is. Personnel is actively exchanged between PTKIN and the ministry and networks and individual friendships stretching between both state entities are maintained. To a certain extent, their status as *pegawai negeri* (civil servants) constrains Indonesian Islamic academics' independence and public agency, and therefore their public statements mostly oscillate within an informal discursive frame that determines what is generally perceived as socially accepted and politically correct. This informal frame of institutionalized norms and values is the product of the Indonesian state- and nation-building project, and particularly shapes the Islamic academic discourse by what is officially considered a mainstream "good Islam" (moderate, tolerant, peaceful, inclusive, pluralism-friendly, progressive, loyal to the nation-state and accepting the *Pancasila*) and a "bad Islam" (literal, extremist, exclusive, violent, regressive, aiming for alternative political concepts).[12] Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, political discourse in Indonesia is mostly characterized by the avoidance of conflict and the imposition of broad consensus on political issues, which is an inherent threat to democracy (Duile and Bens 2017). In public political discourse, PTKIN academics are confronted with these constraints and have to navigate their way through or around them. Against this backdrop, it is remarkable that in several media articles Azra clearly transgressed the harmonized, consensual Indonesian political culture by expressing sharp criticism on politics, religious elites, and society.

In some points, public Islamic intellectualism in Indonesia converges and in others it contrasts with developments of intellectual life that Posner (2003) has observed in the United States: as in America, in Indonesia we note a robust demand and supply of public intellectuals that is, however, not filled by independent thinkers who may even be societal outsiders or systemic underdogs, but by established university-based academics.[13] However, different than in America, in Indonesia the thematic scope of individual academic intellectuals' debates in the public sphere is not shrinking and public intellectualism is not undergoing a shift from academic "generalists" to academic "specialists." As exemplified by Azyumardi Azra's multi-disciplinary training, polyglotism, cosmopolitan attitude, and broad intellectual horizon that all mirror in the manifold issues he addressed in his print media discourse during *Reformasi*, in Indonesia the generalists continue to dominate the public scene. This is not to say that Indonesian Islamic academics are not holders of specialized knowledge and experts in their respective academic field(s). It rather points to the fact that

12. I here liberally lean on and modify the terms Mahmood Mamdani uses in his critical discussion on the Western distinction of Muslims into "good Muslims" and "bad Muslims" (Mamdani 2002).

13. This phenomenon is known as the "academization of intellectual life" (Posner 2003: 29).

they do not shy away from linking insights from their specialized knowledge to academic discussions outside their prime intellectual comfort zone(s), and relating the fused findings to broader questions of societal relevance. Also, Indonesian Islamic academics tend to present, promote, and market themselves in a self-esteemed fashion as generalists—nowadays particularly through the instrument of social media—and they invest time and energy to educate themselves on subjects that are beyond their original training.

Bourdieu posits that the intellectual world is constituted through competition, inclusion and exclusion, a series of struggles, and individuals' accumulation of capital. In the intellectual world, the most highly valued form of capital is competence in one's field or discipline, and the official reputation and authority (symbolic capital) that it generates. It is a high amount of symbolic capital that enables individual academics to distinguish themselves from the mass of their peers and to enter the political world. Writes Bourdieu: "Very plainly, the intellectual is a writer, an artist, a scientist, who, strengthened by the competence and the authority acquired in his field, intervenes in the political arena" (Bourdieu 2002: 3). This leads to the question what distinguished Azyumardi Azra from his colleagues, what allowed him to participate in political debate in the democratizing public sphere to an extent highly above the average, and becoming a "celebrity intellectual."

In his creative practice of merging theological with non-religious argumentation, Azra was not necessarily different from other academic or non-academic Islamic intellectuals who publicly promoted democracy during *Reformasi*; neo-modernist Nurcholish Madjid, for instance, followed a similar line. What contributed to Azra's uncomplicated access to political debate in the public sphere and to him being widely listened to, being read, and being invited to public events was the high officially sanctioned social-religious position he occupied as head of the nation's largest and most established facility of state Islamic higher learning. In a Bourdieusian sense, as rector of IAIN/UIN Jakarta, Azra possessed a high amount of symbolic capital, the resource that refers to prestige, authority, and a high position in social space. In this aspect, he had an advantage over, for instance, Madjid, who had opened his private Islamic Paramadina University only in early 1998, and which was thus an institutional newcomer in the academic scene.[14]

Similar to pro-democratic Islamic intellectual Abdurrahman Wahid, who served as Indonesian president from October 1999 to July 2001 and who had before led the Islamic civil mass organization NU (1984–1999), Azra had a strong, well-working, and well-known institutional and infrastructural

14. However, Madjid's impact on the introduction of democracy in Indonesia was crucial as in a personal visit to the presidential palace in May 1998, he persuaded dictator Suharto to finally step down.

base at his disposal—a whole *apparatus*—which facilitated public visibility, communication, mobilization, and thus his rise to public prominence. Vast parts of the politically interested public welcomed Azra in the public sphere and in political deliberation, because he was perceived to speak not only on behalf of himself, but in the name of a bigger institution and as an authoritative representative of the PTKIN avant-garde of Islamic knowledge, which historically always has had a share in (controlled) public political participation in Indonesia. From the perspective of the media outlets, these circumstances made him "marketable to the demanders of public-intellectual work" (Posner 2003: 46). Furthermore, Azra's lead position as campus rector was an outcome of the first-ever free democratic election by the IAIN Jakarta senate members—a fact which contributed to his credibility and legitimization as a *homo democraticus*.

The History of Indonesian Public Islamic Academic Intellectualism

While in the Middle East Islamic (intellectual) thought is mainly disseminated through books and mosques, in Indonesia it is spread through organizations, thus having a strong social function and a communitarian character (Assyaukanie 2009: 224–225). It is against this backdrop that in Indonesia Islamic academia-based public intellectualism is since long a given and societally widely accepted. Moreover, Islamic academics and alumni from the PTKIN system enjoy a high reputation and are acknowledged as religious authorities by mainstream Muslim society. The Indonesian state authorities actively support the public role of Islamic academics by frequently upgrading professors from PTKIN facilities to high religious and political positions within the state bureaucracy, most notably to leading ranks within the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Many professors serve parallel to their university occupation as leading members in the state-funded *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (Indonesian Ulama Council, MUI), current examples being Professor Amany Lubis (rector of UIN Jakarta 2019–2024) and Professor Sudarnoto Abdul Hakim (professor of Islamic History at UIN Jakarta). Another example for PTKIN's public visibility and the overlap of the political, religious, and Islamic academic sphere is the appointment of former UIN Jakarta professor Nasaruddin Umar to function for a second term (2020–2024) as Imam of Jakarta's main state mosque Istiqlal. Since circa 2013, Indonesian governments seek to include Islamic academics as actors into the state's Islamic public diplomacy and soft power agenda, which aims at internationally branding Indonesia as a religiously moderate, modern, peaceful, and democratic country. For this purpose, new Islamic academic institutes that are heavily based on the PTKIN model and that draw on its staff are being established in Indonesia as well as abroad, and PTKIN scholars act on the international parquet as cultural and religious brokers, informal diplomats, and ambassadors (Allès and tho Seeth forthcoming 2021).

In all these positions, Islamic academics move between the elitist-scholarly, the political, and the popular sphere, making abstract, intellectualized—and oftentimes foreign—ideas and concepts accessible to the wider Muslim populace. Their high mobility between different social spheres strongly resembles what has been observed in the context of Indonesian civil society elites as "boundary-crossing" and "zig-zagging" between social subfields (Haryanto 2020). Where does this multidimensional competence and profile of Indonesian Islamic academics, and in particular their public and politicized feature, stem from?

While the institutionalized public political function of Indonesian state Islamic academia can be traced back to its founding momentum in July 1945 under the Japanese occupation administration, the existence of individual Islamic intellectuals with a public mission and a high media presence precedes that date. Yudi Latif distinguishes six generations of what he calls "Indonesian Muslim intelligentsia," mentioning Azyumardi Azra as a member of the fifth generation. This showcases the importance of understanding Azra and his contemporary colleagues as forming part of a longer tradition and historical chain of publicly engaged Islamic intellectuals, and who also incorporated elements from Western thought (see Latif 2008, especially page 472). Prominent early examples of this kind of public Islamic intellectuals include Agus Salim[15] (1884–1954) and Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy (1904–1975). Salim was a highly learned cosmopolitan man who drew on intellectual sources from both classical Islam and modern Western science. In the 1920s, he was considered the "thinker" (Kahfi 1996: 107) of the Islamic nationalist *Partai Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union Party, PSI), and later, in independent Indonesia, he served as minister of foreign affairs (1947–1949). The forerunner of his political engagement was, however, the written word: From 1916 to 1920, Salim was editor-in-chief and journalist of the newspaper *Neratja*, which took an openly critical stance toward Dutch colonialism. Moreover, he expressed the personal religious experience he had obtained through the pilgrimage to Mecca and his ideas on Marxism and socialism in Islam through interviews and articles in national and international media outlets (Kahfi 1996: 7; 107).

Ash Shiddieqy was an Islamic legal scholar who, before his engagement in independent Indonesia in organizations such as *Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia* (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims, Masyumi) and *Persatuan Islam* (Islamic Union, Persis), aimed at making intellectual debates on Islamic law more accessible to lay Muslims. Particularly during the 1930s, his medium for public communication was the mass media where he regularly wrote articles for *Pedoman Islam* and served as editor of *Soeara Atjeh* and *al-Islam* (Feener 2002: 90). In his treatise on the movements for the creation of a national Islamic legal school in Indonesia, Michael R. Feener posits that Ash Shiddieqy's "most long-lasting contributions to Indonesian thought came

15. I thank Delphine Allès for directing my attention to Agus Salim.

about through his involvement with the Indonesian system of State Islamic Institutes (IAIN)" (Feener 2002: 90). This comment hints at the crucial role of an institutionalized and highly bureaucratized state Islamic academic system—the PTKIN—for the effectiveness of Islamic intellectual occupation in Indonesia, to which I will turn later in detail.

Another important "generation" of publicly engaged Islamic intellectuals that emerged before the creation of the Indonesian nation-state and its state-funded Islamic higher education system was constituted by a group of men born around the year 1910 (for instance Hadji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah "HAMKA," Prawoto Mangkusasmito, Mohammad Natsir). These had acquired through their Dutch education and/or autodidactic learning a solid expertise in non-Islamic epistemologies and channeled their wide-ranging religious and non-religious knowledge of and approaches on social issues into modernist Islamic political activism to further Indonesian independence. In his seminal work on Masyumi, Rémy Madinier demonstrates how, despite their strong Islamic outlook, these personalities were in many topics heavily inspired by Western authors and openly referenced them in their own writings and public argumentations, while they rather neglected references to Indonesian history and past Indonesian polity (Madinier 2015: 1–60). Madinier concludes that these Islamic intellectuals who constituted the Masyumi leadership "favoured an attitude of openness to the rest of the world and forged for themselves a political culture which was a mixture of Western references and Muslim values" (Madinier 2015: 60). This assessment is partially confirmed by Khairudin Aljunied who devotes a whole book to carve out that HAMKA was a "cosmopolitan reformer" (Aljunied 2018).

It was then under the Japanese rule over the Indonesian archipelago that the seeds were planted to channel this particular kind of Islamic intellectualism—public, pragmatic, worldly oriented, socially and politically engaged—into a politically functional academic system: In the context of their Pan-Asian and anti-Western ideology, the Japanese initiated the establishment of Indonesia's first Islamic higher education institute, the *Sekolah Tinggi Islam* (Higher School of Islam, STI) in Jakarta. STI was installed as a political instrument and as a bulwark against the Western powers and for enforcing Indonesia's road toward independence. Accordingly, it was staffed with politically experienced prominence from the independence movement and worked at the interstices of academia and state- and nation-building. After independence was declared in August 1945, STI staff simultaneously occupied leading positions in the government or in leading Islamic organizations, thereby deepening the close relationship between Islamic academia and the world of politics (tho Seeth 2020). Also, in October 1945, the *Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia* (Movement of Young Muslims, GPII) was founded at STI, which used the campus as a platform to spread Islam and to defend the Republic (Madinier 2015: 73).

President Sukarno and his regime (1945–1966) furthered the institutionalization of Islamic academia as a political actor. Sukarno did so by popularizing the idea of *ulama intelek*, i.e. Islamic scholars who should be able to combine classical Islamic and modern Western epistemologies, thus emphasizing the need for pragmatic application of Islamic academic thought for resolving contemporary real-world problems and to empower the nation. Out of the initial STI cell and some of its offshoots, he started to establish from 1960 onwards a nationwide system of IAINs. To the disadvantage of the modernist Islamic civil mass organization *Muhammadiyah*, Sukarno predominantly employed at the IAINs followers of the rivalling traditionalist NU. As a consequence, state Islamic academia became a bastion of NU and it backed up Sukarno's power. The state regarded the IAINs as an "efficient instrument for revolution" (Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia 1965: 247), tasked to spread through its staff ideas on "character and nation-building" (Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia 1965: 249), which included socialization into the *Pancasila* state ideology and into a loyal, state-compatible Islam.

Moreover, Sukarno's concept of *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (Three Noble Aspects of Higher Education),[16] with which he came forward in 1962 after the introduction of his Guided Democracy in 1959, obliged IAIN campuses to directly serve the development of society and to solve pressing national questions of education, healthcare, hygiene, and welfare. Students were sent through a service program to remote villages to assist in alphabetization and health campaigns. Already in 1962, a health corps for the local population was set up at IAIN Jakarta which offered medical and welfare services for mothers and children (Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia 1987: 110–11), and later Jakarta students started to raise money to build local schools. In addition to its role for the uplifting of society, the student service program intended to counter the communist and Islamist opposition in the country and to discursively legitimize the Sukarno regime, all of which contributed to Islamic academia's growing participation and competence in the political realm.

Under President Suharto, state-funded Islamic academia was heavily aligned to represent and mobilize for the New Order's national developmentalist agenda, which was oriented toward capitalist growth and modern Western civilization. To achieve this goal, Suharto expanded the number and infrastructure of the IAINs, put an end to their liaison with NU, and instead staffed them with followers of *Muhammadiyah* (Porter 2002: 53–55). With its urban middle-class milieu and its focus on modernity, progress, and a rationalist interpretation of Islam, *Muhammadiyah* was seen to better fit the national modernization project and to cater for its compatibility with Islamic teachings. Through academic as well as more public conferences, media

16. The three noble aspects, which are in place until today, are: *Pendidikan/Pengajaran, Penelitian, Pengabdian pada Masyarakat* (Education/Teaching, Research, Service to Society).

appearances, and the persisting close relationship with the political elite—particularly with the Ministry of Religious Affairs—the IAINs became a mouthpiece of modernist Islamic intellectualism, the *Pancasila*, and the state mantra on national development. Public academic workshops on the campuses and state-financed scientific publications propagated the regime's ideological preferences, and the public appearance of Islamic academics was explicitly asked for, if not even expected.

Suharto supported the careers of IAIN-based modernist Islamic intellectuals like Mukti Ali (1923–2004)[17] and Harun Nasution (1919–1998)[18] who had pursued religious studies in the 1950s and 1960s at the Canadian McGill University and who had shaped with their international academic insights and cosmopolitan outlook the curricula of the IAINs. Exchange of IAIN staff with Western universities and the integration of non-religious, Western-developed methods and theories from the social sciences into the study on Islam became a defining marker of New Order Islamic scholarship. The academic exchanges bred a strong cohort of cosmopolitan-oriented Indonesian Islamic academics who promoted a progressive, moderate Islam, and intercultural and interreligious dialogue, especially with Western civilization and Christianity. These "cosmopolitan Muslim intellectuals" (Kersten 2011) produced unique critical Islamic discourses that in the 1980s and 1990s also started to include appreciation of democracy, human rights, religious freedom, and gender equality (van Bruinessen 2012) and thus—as a consequence of their close contact with Western democracies—began to indicate a gradual inner emancipation from the repressive Suharto regime.

It has been observed that in the 1980s and 1990s Muslim intelligentsia began "to dominate socio-political discourse in the Indonesian public sphere" (Latif 2008: 421), and seven years before the collapse of authoritarianism it was found that "Muslim intellectuals speak continually about the value of democracy to Islam and Indonesia" (Federspiel 1991: 245). The incremental development of free political thought and speech was backed up by the institutional support for rational analysis by the IAINs, which was particularly furthered by Harun Nasution, a sympathizer of the rationalist Islamic school of thought of the *Mu'tazila* (van Bruinessen 2012). IAIN Jakarta graduate Nurcholish Madjid (1939–2005) was another public figure, who stimulated an Islamic renewal (the *Pembaruan* movement) with a liberal, cosmopolitan outlook, particularly after having proceeded his studies on Islam from 1976 to 1984 under the aegis of Pakistani modernizer Fazlur Rahman at the University of Chicago. Back at IAIN Jakarta, Madjid founded the *Mazhab Ciputat* (Kersten 2011: 124)—an Islamic school of thought or informal think tank, named after the district in South Tangerang, a neighboring city of Jakarta,

17. IAIN graduate, professor, and minister of religious affairs (1971–1978).

18. IAIN graduate, professor, and rector of IAIN Jakarta (1973–1984).

where IAIN and now UIN Jakarta is located—which sought to "deconstruct Islam" (see Effendy 1999) through intellectual discourse. One of its few hand-picked members was Azyumardi Azra.[19]

Azra's Media Writings during *Reformasi*

Hailing from a lower middle-class background, Azyumardi Azra was born in 1955 in the small town of Lubuk Alung close to Padang on the island of Sumatra. His family came from the ethnic Minang and followed the *Muhammadiyah* Islamic tradition. After having finished the local elementary school, Azra proceeded to a middle school in Padang, which prepared its students to work as teachers in religious schools. After graduation from this middle school, in 1975, Azra left Sumatra for Jakarta to study at the Department of Arabic Language, Faculty of *Tarbiyah* (Islamic Education), at IAIN Jakarta, from which he graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1979. During his following student years, he was appointed from 1979 to 1982 as chair of the student senate at the Faculty of *Tarbiyah*, and from 1981 to 1982, he served as chair of the *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (Muslim Students' Association, HMI). In 1982, he completed his *doktorandus*[20] at the Department of Islamic Instruction, at the Faculty of *Tarbiyah*. The same year, Azra was employed at the *Lembaga Riset Kebudayaan Nasional* (Research Center of National Culture, LRKN), which formed part of the *Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* (Indonesian Academy of Sciences, LIPI), while simultaneously working as a part-time lecturer at IAIN Jakarta. After having quit LRKN in 1985, he started a full-time academic employment at the Faculty of *Tarbiyah*, IAIN Jakarta. In 1986, Azra received a Fulbright scholarship from the US government to conduct MA studies at Columbia University, New York City. At Columbia, in 1988, he received a master's degree in Middle Eastern Studies and in 1989 another master's degree in History. Azra continued his academic career with historical PhD research at the same university which he finished in 1992 with a well-known study published in 1994 by University of Hawai'i Press as *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. From 1994 to 1995, he was a research fellow at the University of Oxford and returned to IAIN Jakarta in 1996 to become professor of Islamic History (Nurkomala 2013; Dwifatma 2011; Fathurrahman 2002).

After the fall of Suharto in May 1998, in October of that year, after the first-ever democratic election of the IAIN Jakarta's senate, Azra was officially appointed as IAIN Jakarta rector by President B.J. Habibie. Reelected in October 2002

19. The other members were Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, Bahtiar Effendy, Nasrulah Ali Fauzi, Hadimulyo, Badri Jatim, Ali Munhanif, Saiful Muzani, Muhamad Wahyuni Nafis, Jamal D. Rahman, Irchamni Sulaiman, Nanang Tahqiq, and Ahmad Thaha (Kersten 2011: footnote 71).

20. Drs.; a Dutch academic degree that can be obtained after a bachelor's degree.

for a second term until 2006, he was the campus' first democratically elected rector and the key person who accompanied and shaped IAIN/UIN Jakarta's fate during Indonesia's democratic transition. In his position as university rector, Azra exceeded far beyond the classical administrative tasks demanded of that function. Building on the journalistic experience he had gained over many years during the Suharto era as contributor to the newspapers *Panji Masyarakat*, *Merdeka*, and *Kompas*, throughout the transition he addressed the public through the media on several issues concerning the ongoing democratization process. Through his intense media presence, he participated in the country's newly democratizing public sphere, claiming public space and raising his voice as a representative of Islam, thereby underpinning his—and Islamic academia's—role as a religious and social-political authority. During *Reformasi*, he composed a total of 84 articles for the four most prominent media outlets *Kompas*, *Republika*, *Tempo*, and *Gatra*. Azra's journalistic output peaked in the election year 2004 when he was offered a weekly column in *Republika*.

The following analysis of the media articles shows that Azra commented on a manifold of topics which were relevant to the challenges of transitioning Indonesia. Issues of democracy, the role of Islam therein, challenges and hindrances to democratic consolidation, and criticism of Indonesia's democratic deficits featured strongly. As his language and writing style suggest, the articles addressed an educated, academic, cosmopolitan audience of the middle class. Azra made at times excessive use of an array of abstract foreign words and expressions—some of them academic terminology—alien to the average-educated Indonesian (e.g. "*l'histoire se répète*," "*vis-à-vis*," "anathema," "brain-drain," "blessing in disguise"). In many articles, Azra drew on insights he had gained at international conferences or from academic books which he referred to and from which he cited in order to strengthen his arguments.

The majority of the literature Azra referred to was of Western origin. He strongly engaged with the works of prominent US scholars who dominated the academic scene in the social sciences and humanities during the time of writing in the early 2000s (e.g. Robert Hefner, Samuel P. Huntington, Dale F. Eickelman), but also with Western classics (e.g. Max Weber). In some articles, he referred to classical Islamic scholars (e.g. al-Ghazali, al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, Ibn Taymiya), as well as to religious sources (Qur'an, Hadith, Old and New Testament). Despite his tendency to refer more often to non-Muslim than to Muslim authors, in qualitative aspects, Azra did not prioritize Western thoughts and arguments over the ones of Muslims, but he tried to balance both. He rather engaged in an educative mission that aimed to widen the Indonesian readers' intellectual horizon through introducing them to Western scholars and their works. Azra's fluency in Arabic and English allowed him to consult original sources from both cultures, to compare them, and to transmit his findings to the Indonesian audience. Azra thus functioned as a broker between different cultures. Equally important, he legitimized the

particularities of Indonesian culture and Indonesian Islam, and thereby tried to nourish Indonesian Muslims' self-esteem, independence, and emancipation from established Arab role models. His academic training as a historian shone through in many articles where he contextualized polarizing, controversial political, social, and religious affairs by explaining their historical origin and developments and presenting global comparisons. Azra's tone was generally rational, neutral, and mediating, and a calming, educative mission led most of his articles, trying to promote intra- and interreligious, intercultural, and interethnic tolerance and peace.

In contrast, Azra's tone was more outraged and even accusing when he broached the issues of democratic deficits in Indonesia and what he perceived as misinterpretations of Islam. Recurrent targets of his criticism were political and religious elites who, in his view, did not engage enough in the democratization process and the dissemination of a peaceful Islam. His criticism was also directed toward Indonesian civil society, which, according to Azra, lacked a democratic civic culture. Azra emphasized the importance of a deeply embedded democratic civic culture as a necessary precondition for the realization of a consolidated democracy. From Azra's perspective, the Indonesian political and religious elites were responsible for the lack of such a democratic civic culture. As can be concluded from his writings, Azra clearly favored a top-down approach for disseminating pro-democracy sentiments in the country, and he expected the political and religious elites to initiate this dissemination. Azra himself engaged in this project by addressing through his articles the educated middle and upper echelons of society on the importance of democracy and on a tolerant, peaceful Islam, hoping that these convictions would then trickle down to the wider masses of society. The following table presents an overview of the articles' topics, their underlying messages, and frequencies. Categories 1, 3, 4, and 5a will be discussed in greater detail.

Indonesian Democracy [Category 1]

In most of his articles (24 articles/28 percent), Azyumardi Azra discussed the qualitative status quo of Indonesian democracy. He held a very critical stance toward Indonesia's transition process as "there are not yet convincing signs which would indicate that the transition which now halfway proceeded can truly succeed in realizing an authentic democracy."[21] Accordingly, democracy "is still weak."[22] Azra arrived at this conclusion because of his holistic understanding of democracy which strongly emphasizes a deeply entrenched democratic culture: "However, democracy is more than only party politics and elections; democracy

21. "belum terlihat tanda-tanda yang meyakinkan (convincing signs), yang mengindikasikan bahwa transisi yang tengah berlangsung dapat benar-benar berhasil mewujudkan demokrasi otentik (authentic democracy)" (Azra, June 28, 2000: 63), brackets with English terms in original.

22. "masih lemahnya" (Azra, July 20, 2002: 63).

Rank	Topic	Content/Message	Number	Percent (rounded)
1	Indonesian Democracy	Indonesia suffers from democratic deficits. Democratic civic culture, political rationalism, and good governance must be strengthened.	24	28%
2	Contemporary Islamic Issues	Issues concerning Islam must be understood in historical, political, and social context.	21	25%
3	Pluralism and Peace	Islam is tolerant and peaceful. Different religions and cultures must peacefully coexist.	14	16%
4	Elections	Elections and active voter participation are important for Indonesian future. Islam supports elections of political leaders.	9	11%
5a	Islam and Democracy	Islam and democracy are compatible.	5	6%
5b	Indonesian Islamic Identity	Indonesian Islam is not subordinate to Arab Islam.	5	6%
6	Islamic Education	Islamic education needs reform and more funding.	3	4%
7	Other	Epitaph on Edward Said; critique on George W. Bush	2	2%
8	Education System	Education system must engage in democratic socialization.	1	1%

Table 1 – Topics and contents of Azyumardi Azra's 84 media articles (*Kompas, Republika, Tempo, Gatra*, May 21, 1998 to October 20, 2004)

is also a cultural attitude, a social attitude, a moral attitude, an ethical attitude, and an attitude of responsibility."[23] He posited: "Democracy is also a view of life that needs to be realized in everyday-life."[24]

From Azra's perspective, for a democracy to work, a democratic culture needs to be present within civil society where relationships "are carried out cooperatively rather than conflictually."[25] This must be secured by a state that is "able to guarantee the basic rights of civil society, like the freedom to have an individual opinion, to organize, and to take initiatives."[26] In a similar vein, he wrote that "democracy starts by the principle of broad public participation, the freedom to form an individual opinion and to choose (self-determination), political equality, and so on."[27] Azra thus stressed the relevance of the civil component for the success of the transition process.

However, he did not find a strong democratic culture to exist in Indonesia, neither within civil society, nor on the political elite level: "elite politics and many parts of society are not yet ready for what I call a civilized democracy, and to borrow the above mentioned frame from Hefner, a democratic civility."[28] Against the backdrop of *premanisme* (thuggerism) and vigilantism, which were dominant phenomena during the transitory period, Azra found that Indonesia was a "mobocracy"[29] rather than a democracy. He repeatedly stressed that this was due to the weakness of democratic sentiments within civil society, as well as within elite politics: "there has not yet been established a civic culture and democracy in society, appreciation toward the rule of law is weak, and the political parties have not yet succeeded in democratizing themselves by building up a civic culture and civility on the leadership level as well as within the masses."[30]

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23. "Tapi, demokrasi lebih daripada sekadar parpol dan pemilu; demokrasi juga adalah sikap kultural, sikap sosial, sikap moral, dan sikap etis, dan sikap bertanggung jawab" (Azra, April 15, 2004: 12).

24. "Demokrasi juga berarti pandangan hidup, yang diwujudkan dalam kehidudpan sehari-hari" (Azra, September 23, 2004: 12).

25. "menjalin hubungan yang lebih kooperatif daripada konflik" (Azra, June 28, 2000: 63).

26. "menjamin hak-hak dasar masyarakat madani seperti kebebasan berpendapat, berorganisasi dan berprakarsa" (Azra, June 28, 2000: 63).

27. "demokrasi bertitik tolak dari prinsip partisipasi public yang luas, kebebasan berpendapat dan memilih (self-determination), kesetaraan politik, dan seterusnya" (Azra, January 8, 2004: 12), English term and bracket with English term in original.

28. "elite politik dan banyak kalangan masyarakat belum siap dengan apa yang saya sebut demokrasi keadaban (civilized democracy) dan, meminjam kerangka Hefner di atas, keadaban demokratis (democratic civility)" (Azra, June 28, 2000: 63), brackets with English terms in original.

29. "mobocracy" (Azra, January 8, 2004: 12).

30. "belum terbentuknya civic culture, dan demokrasi dalam masyarakat, lemahnya penghargaan kepada rule of law dan belum berhasilnya parpol mendemokratisasikan dirinya dengan membangun civic culture dan civility baik pada tingkat pimpinan maupun massanya" (Azra,

The overall tone of Azra's articles testifies that he saw the political—and at times religious—elite to be responsible of fostering a democratic civic culture within civil society. He blamed the country's elite for being responsible for the lack of a strong democratic civic culture, for prevalent democratic deficits, and the potential failure of the democratization process. Azra defended a top-down rather than a bottom-up approach as the recipe for a successful democratization. Azra was, however, skeptical about the elite's actual ability to serve as a democratic role model. He heavily criticized the political elite, Muslim leadership figures, and Islamic organizations for their involvement in money politics, corruption, despotism, and for their internal fragmentation and instability.

A recurring person under critique was NU intellectual Abdurrahman Wahid in his position as Indonesian president from 1999 to 2001. Azra even went as far as accusing Wahid of the "desacralization of the presidential institution."[31] He disapproved of Wahid's tendency to personalize politics and to follow intuition rather than rational consideration in decision-making. This made President Wahid unpredictable, which is "clearly not conducive to the rise of a democratic political culture which needs predictability, transparency, rationality, and accountability."[32] An entire article critically treated Wahid's involvement in what Azra called "The Mystification of Indonesian Politics at the Beginning of the New Millennium."[33] In this article, Azra reflected on Wahid's frequent visits to the tomb of Ahmad Mutamakin, a Muslim saint believed to have had supernatural powers that he used to defend justice in society. As Wahid had publicly declared to be Mutamakin's descendant and seeking to continue Mutamakin's missions, Azra detected here a mystification of politics he felt uncomfortable with. Azra criticized that some parts of Indonesian society—followers of NU in particular—perceived Wahid as a "saint,"[34] which Wahid himself boosted through his esotericism.

Furthermore, Azra found that Wahid showed contradicting characteristics by, on one hand, having a track record as an engaged promoter of democracy and the principles of openness, plurality, tolerance, and egalitarianism, while on the other hand, he clearly stood in for a mystical Islam and criticized followers of a more formalized religion. Azra pointed toward the unreflected "unreserved mass mobilization to show support for President Abdurrahman Wahid"[35] and to Wahid's discursive support for the introduction of Islamic

January 8, 2004: 12), English terms in original.

31. "melanjutkan 'desakralisasi' institusi kepresidenan" (Azra, June 28, 2000: 63).

32. "jelas tidak kondusif bagi pertumbuhan budaya politik demokratis yang memerlukan prediktabilitas, transparensi, rasionalitas, dan akuntabilitas" (Azra, June 28, 2000: 63).

33. "Mistifikasi Politik Indonesia di Awal Milenium Baru" (Azra, January 1, 2000: 48).

34. "waliyullah," Arabic, lit. 'representative of Allah' (Azra, January 1, 2000: 48).

35. "pengerahan massa untuk menunjukkan dukungan tanpa reserve kepada Presiden Abdurrahman Wahid" (Azra, March 4, 2001: 80), English term in original.

law including *hudud* law (corporal punishment) in Aceh, even though, so Azra stressed, "Indonesia is not an Islamic state."[36]

In the aftermath of Wahid's impeachment, Azra continued with his sharp criticism of Wahid's and his followers' blending of Islam and politics. After the *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* (People's Consultative Assembly, MPR) had announced Wahid's deposition on July 23, 2001, Islamic scholars of NU gathered in a *taushiyyah* (a conference in a small circle)[37] to decide over the legality of the impeachment by consulting classical Islamic legal sources and to issue a recommendation addressed at the government. Commenting on this procedure, Azra wrote:

> Indonesia is not an Islamic state. And arguing on the basis of classical Islamic political law, like it is done by Islamic scholars of NU (...), is irrelevant and does not fit Indonesia which is not an Islamic state. (…) Democratization rejects absolute power—like the one incorporated by a caliph and sultan from the era of classical Islam.[38]

Azra defended the separation of religion and politics and advocated politics based on human reason. He judged critically the practice of *istighatsah* (praying collectively to Allah for achieving a certain goal) if done publicly by politicians:

> *Istighatsah* is not a real political power; politics has its own logic, system, institution, and procedure. (…) the use of religious language (and [religious] ritual, symbolism, as well as institution) should be avoided. The politicization of these religious elements is a very dangerous reduction, because it gears everything [religious] toward political power. Religion is divine and as such sacral; its politicization is a desacralization which inevitably reduces religion [to politics].[39]

He stated that "It is about time that—for the benefit of our democracy and the sustainability of the Indonesian state and nation—political rationalism also becomes the attitude of our politicians."[40]

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36. "Indonesia bukan negara Islam" (Azra, March 20, 2001: 54).

37. For the Indonesian readers, Azra translated the term 'taushiyyah' as "rekomendasi," by which he means a recommendation based on Islamic deliberation (Azra, July 28, 2001: 46).

38. "Indonesia bukanlah negara Islam. Dan hujjah (argument) fiqu siyasah yang sering digunakan sementara kiai NU (…) tidak relevan dan tidak kontekstual dengan Indonesia yang bukan negara Islam. (…) Arus demokratisasi yang menolak absolutisme kekuasaan–seperti khalifah dan sultan pada masa Islam klasik" (Azra, July 28, 2001: 46), bracket with English term in original.

39. "istighatsah bukanlah kekuatan politik riil; politik memiliki logika, sistem, lembaga, dan prosedurnya sendiri. (…) penggunaan bahasa (dan juga ritual, simbolisme, serta lembaga) agama seyogianya dihindari. Politisasi perangkat-perangkat agama tersebut merupakan reduksi sangat berbahaya, karena mengorientasikan semuanya kepada politik kekuasaan. Agama adalah sesuatu yang ilahiai dan–karena itu–sacral; politisasi terhadapnya merupakan desakralisasi yang–tak bisa lain–dapat reduksi agama itu sendiri" (Azra, June 10, 2004: 12), English term in original.

40. "Sudah waktunya rasionalisme politik juga menjadi sikap para politisi kita demi demokrasi dan keberlangsungan negara bangsa Indonesia" (Azra, April 15, 2004).

Openly voiced criticism of corruption and calling for the strengthening of good governance were of special concern to Azra. One extensive article from 2003 was dedicated to convincing the readers that Islam does not accept corruption. Azra backed up his point by citing a Hadith in its Arabic original and then translating it into Indonesian and explaining its meaning:

> I am convinced that no matter what religion, and Islam in particular, condemns acts of corruption in whatever form. The above cited Hadith actually only says "Allah's curse over the one who commits bribery and over the givers of bribe money," but in a modern Arabic dictionary *risywah* not only means "bribery," but also "corruption" and "dishonesty."[41]

Azra extended this linguistic and theological discussion by writing that "In the wider context of Islamic doctrine, corruption is an act that contradicts the principle of justice (*al-'adalah*), accountability (*al-amanah*), and responsibility (…) Islam really hates corruption."[42]

He explained the causes of corruption as originating from an unauthentic religiosity which is split between the private and public sphere: "Here happens what is a sharp disparity between personal religiosity and social religiosity, a severe separation between a religious attitude in the mosque or in places of worship and the behavior in the office, on the main roads, and so on."[43] He suggested that this religious split could only be overcome by a holistic understanding of religiosity. Here, Azra saw religious organizations like churches, NU, and *Muhammadiyah* in direct responsibility to act. These organizations are, however,

> Unfortunately (…) more interested in issues concerning religious worship and the principal personal rituals toward God than in "social worship," such as the eradication of corruption and the creation of good governance. (…) These organizations have to release a "fatwa" about the obligation to do jihad against corruption.[44]

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41. "Agama mana pun, khususnya Islam, saya yakin, mengutuk tindakan korupsi dalam bentuk apa pun. Dalam hadis yang dikutip di atas, memang hanya dinyatakan 'kutukan Allah terhadap penyuap dan pemberi suap', tetapi dalam kamus bahasa Arab modern, 'risywah' tidak hanya berarti 'penyuapan' (bribery), tetapi juga korupsi dan ketidakjujuran (dishonesty)" (Azra, September 5, 2003: 4), brackets with English terms in original.

42. "Dalam konteks ajaran Islam yang lebih luas, korupsi merupakan tindakan yang bertentangan dengan prinsip keadilan (al-'adalah), akuntabilitas (al-amanah), dan tanggung jawab. (…) Islam amat membenci korupsi" (Azra, September 5, 2003: 4).

43. "Di sini terjadi disparitas tajam antara personal religiousity dan social religiousity; bahkan lebih parah lagi terjadi pemisahan antara sikap keberagamaan di masjid atau rumah-rumah ibadah dengan tingkah laku di kantor, di jalan raya, dan sebagainya" (Azra, September 5, 2003: 4), English terms in original.

44. "Sayangnya (…) lembaga-lembaga seperti ini lebih tertarik pada masalah-masalah ibadah dan ritual mahdhah (pokok) daripada 'ibadah sosial' seperti pemberantasan korupsi dan penciptaan good governance. (…) Jika perlu, lembaga-lembaga ini dapat mengeluarkan 'fatwa' tentang wajibnya melakukan jihad melawan korupsi" (Azra, September 5, 2003: 4), English term in original.

In the run-up to the presidential election in 2004, Azra criticized the nominated presidential candidates of the Golkar Party and the Democratic Party for their ongoing unrealistic "romanticism about the good state of the economy and the stable security situation during the New Order,"[45] which distracts the population from the nation's real problems. He suggested to nominate presidential candidates who stand for the principle of good governance: "choose presidential candidates and vice-presidential candidates who are able to bring this country into a state of good governance. Choose personalities who possess a political will, a strong commitment, a clear strategy and program to eliminate corruption which has broken out like a disease in the last few years."[46] On October 14, 2004, a day before the beginning of the holy month of Ramadan and six days before Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was sworn in as new president, Azra reflected upon the clearing intention of Ramadan and hoped for wider social-political effects:

> Trust, control, and self-cleaning during the Ramadan: This can also concern the refreshing of the new national leadership and other public leadership by establishing a clean leadership and good governance. (…) Therefore, may the blessings of the Ramadan lead to purity and piety not only on the private, individual, but also on the social-public level.[47]

Pluralism and Peace [Category 3]

A thematically fairly coherent group of 14 articles (16 percent) addressed the topic of religious, cultural, and ethnic pluralism, and mutual tolerance. Against the backdrop of the increase of interreligious clashes during Indonesia's transitory period and the event of September 11, 2001, these articles argued against religiously motivated violence, interreligious conflicts, and for a peaceful, tolerant Islam. Azra repeatedly asserted that since the collapse of authoritarianism, too much bloodshed had occurred in Indonesia: "The phenomenon of conflict and violence between the followers of the Abrahamic

45. "romantisme tentang keadaan ekonomi dan keamanan yang baik selama masa Orde Baru" (Azra, April 1, 2004: 12).

46. "memilih capres/cawapres yang dapat membawa negeri ini ke dalam penciptaan good governance, yang memiliki political will, komitmen kuat, strategi dan program yang jelas bagi pemberantasan korupsi, yang semakin merajalela dalam beberapa tahun terakhir" (Azra, June 24, 2004: 12), English terms in original.

47. "Amanah, pengendalian, dan penyucian diri sepanjang Ramadhan, bagi kepemimpinan nasional baru dan kepemimpinan public lainnya dapat diaktualisasikan dalam pembentukan pemerintahan bersih, good governance. (…) Dengan demikian, berkah Ramadhan untuk mencapai kesucian dan derajat ketakwaan tidak hanya pada tingkat pribadi, individual-personal, tetapi juga dalam kehidupan sosial-publik" (Azra, October 14, 2004: 12), English terms in original.

religions is also rising in our home country, at least in the last three years."[48] He stated: "There has been too much violence in the last years in this country."[49]

Azra found these violent outbreaks to conflict with democracy, because "one of the essences of democracy is peaceful conflict-resolution."[50] In several articles he stressed that Islam is a peaceful religion that rejects violence: "Islam is a religion of peace (…) and each Muslim is obliged to realize this essence of Islam in the way he thinks and acts;"[51] "Islam means grace for the universe, it is neither a religion of violence, nor of terror;"[52] "Islam criticizes violence, in particular terrorism."[53] He cited from the Old and New Testament and from the Qur'an to show the shared appreciation of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam of their common ancestor, Abraham.[54] In an article on Muslim-Christian relations titled "Building a Bridge,"[55] Azra admitted that theological differences between the two religions exist, however, he argued that interreligious dialogue is essential for "developing a more accurate mutual understanding of the above mentioned doctrines until, amidst some differences, an attitude of appreciation evolves."[56]

In order to counter Muslim disapproval of other faiths and cultures, Azra called for "initiating a campaign to make Indonesian Islam a refreshed example of ummatan washatan,"[57] which is a Qur'anic concept he proved by citing from the holy scripture. The term describes "a well-balanced Muslim community, located within the middle, one which does not stand in extreme poles."[58] The contemporary need for *ummatan washatan*—also referred to as *washatiyyah*—was a recurrent topic in many articles. Azra stated that according

48. "Gejala konflik dan kekerasan di antara pengikut agama Ibrahim juga meningkat di Tanah Air kita, setidak-tidaknya dalam tiga tahun terakhir" (Azra, December 23, 2000: 4).

49. "Sudah terlalu banyak kekerasan terjadi dalam beberapa tahun terakhir di negeri ini" (Azra, March 1, 2004: 1).

50. "salah satu esensi demokrasi adalah peaceful resolution of conflict" (Azra, March 11, 2004: 1), English term in original.

51. "Islam adalah agama perdamaian (…) dan setiap Muslim berkewajiban mewujudkan esensi Islam itu dalam cara berpikir dan bertindak" (Azra, January 15, 2004: 12).

52. "Islam adalah rahmatan lil alamin, rahmat bagi semesta alam, bukan agama kekerasan apalagi teror" (Azra, March 7, 2004: 54).

53. "Islam mengecam kekerasan, apalagi terorisme" (Azra, August 19, 2004).

54. Azra, December 23, 2000: 4.

55. "Membangung Jembatan" (Azra, April 22, 2004: 12).

56. "menumbuhkan pemahaman lebih akurat satu sama lain terhadap doktrin-doktrin tersebut, sehingga dapat memunculkan sikap menghargai di tengah berbagai perbedaan" (Azra, April 22, 2004: 12).

57. "mengampanyekan Islam Indonesia sebagai contoh aktualisasi ummatan washatan" (Azra, August 19, 2004: 12).

58. "umat yang berada di tengah, seimbang, tidak berdiri pada kutub ekstrem" (Azra, August 19, 2004: 12).

to his understanding, in Indonesia, *ummatan washatan* has been in the making since the end of the 12th century through the peaceful dissemination of Islam and its blending with local religious beliefs and practices. It is also "imprinted in the Pancasila"[59] and is in contemporary times "relevant and contextual for modernity and democracy."[60]

Besides *ummatan washatan*, Azra emphasized the concept of a multicultural democracy, which he wanted to see blossoming in Indonesia: "What is of importance now and in the future is how the now half-consolidated democracy can develop toward the direction of a multicultural democracy. In some of my papers on multiculturalism, I have emphasized the importance of multiculturalism as the basis of citizenship."[61] Under a multicultural paradigm, so Azra argued, "a person is appreciated and recognized based on his merit, achievement, and abilities."[62] He claimed that cultural freedom needs to be fostered in post-Suharto Indonesia, but that unfortunately "Until now, a conservative culture has survived that rejects diversity."[63] For Azra, cultural freedom was key for the development of the nation, because "cultural freedom is important not only within the domain of culture alone, but it strongly determines the success and failure of the social, political, economic domains, etc."[64] He repeatedly referred to the *Pancasila* and the Indonesian state motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) as a good basis for a multicultural democracy. However, he simultaneously pointed out that more needs to be done for the dissemination of multicultural sentiments.

In this context, Azra once more supported a top-down approach. For instance, for strengthening Muslim-Christian relations, he saw in charge "leaders, personalities, and intellectuals of the different religious communities who must improve mutual understanding."[65] It is

59. "terpatri dalam Pancasila" (Azra, August 19, 2004: 12).

60. "relevan dan kontekstual dengan modernitas dan demokrasi" (Azra, August 19, 2004: 12).

61. "Yang penting sekarang dan di masa datang adalah bagaimana demokrasi yang tengah dikonsolidasikan sekarang ini dapat berkembang ke arah demokrasi multikultural. Dalam beberapa makalah tentang multikulturalisme, saya menekankan tentang pentingnya multikuluralisme sebagai basis kewargaan" (Azra, August 12, 2004: 12).

62. "seseorang dihargai dan diakui berdasarkan merit, prestasi, dan kemampuannya" (Azra, June 22, 2004: 1), English term in original.

63. "Sampai sekarang ini konservatisme budaya yang menolak keragaman masih bertahan" (Azra, August 5, 2004: 12).

64. "kebebasan kultural penting bukan hanya dalam ranah budaya itu sendiri, tetapi juga sangat menentukan dalam keberhasilan dan kegagalan dalam ranah sosial, politik, ekonomi, dan lain-lain" (Azra, August 5, 2004: 12).

65. "para pemimpin, tokoh, dan cendekiawan agama-agama mesti meningkatkan saling pengertian dan pemahaman" (Azra, April 22, 2004: 12).

> the state that needs to acknowledge diversity and cultural differences in the constitution, in the rule of law, and in other legislation. The state must also formulate policies to protect the interests of different groups, may they be ethnic or cultural minorities, or may they concern the ones who have been socio-culturally and historically marginalized.[66]

Azra called this a "politics of recognition"[67]—a political approach which acknowledges minorities as equal citizens and strengthens their political participation in democratic processes.

Azra also regarded the sphere of education as key for spreading multicultural values. He wrote:

> The formation of a multicultural Indonesian society should not be taken for granted or handled with an attitude of trial and error. On the contrary, it must be sought systematically, programmatically, in an integrated manner, and continuously. The most strategic step is to be taken through a multicultural education which needs to be carried out by all educational institutes.[68]

The focus of a multicultural education should be on teaching "collaboration, teamwork, mediation, and the negotiation of differences in order to resolve conflicts"[69], as well as on teaching values of "humanity, commitment, and the cohesion of humans through tolerance and the mutual respect of personal and communal rights."[70] Azra addressed the importance of secular schools as well as Islamic *madrasahs* to engage in the teaching of religion with a "multicultural perspective."[71]

Elections [Category 4]

In nine articles (11 percent), Azra discussed the importance of democratic elections and active voter participation for the future of Indonesian society and politics. All of these articles were written and published in the year 2004,

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66. "negara perlu mengakui keragaman dan perbedaan-perbedaan kultural dalam konstitusi, tata hukum, dan perundangan lainnya. Negara juga perlu merumuskan kebijakan-kebijakan untuk menjamin kepentingan-kepentingan berbagai kelompok berbeda, apakah kelompok etnis dan budaya minoritas, atau mereka yang secara sosio-kultural dan historis termarginalisasi" (Azra, August 12, 2004: 12).

67. English term in original, (Azra, August 12, 2004: 12).

68. "Pembentukan masyarakat multikultural Indonesia tidak bisa secara taken for granted atau trial and error. Sebaliknya harus diupayakan secara sistematis, programatis, integrated, dan berkesinambungan. Langkah yang paling strategis dalam hal ini adalah melalui pendidikan multikultural yang diselenggarakan melalui seluruh lembaga pendidikan" (Azra, September 3, 2003: 5), English terms in original.

69. "kolaborasi, kerja sama, mediasi, dan negosiasi perbedaan-perbedaan dan dengan demikian, menyelesaikan konflik" (Azra, September 3, 2003: 5).

70. "kemanusiaan, komitmen, dan kohesi kemanusiaan termasuk di dalamnya melalui toleransi, saling menghormati hak-hak personal dan komunal" (Azra, September 3, 2003: 5).

71. "perspektif multikuluralisme" (Azra, August 26, 2004: 12).

in the run-up to and aftermath of the country's legislative election on April 5, 2004, and the first direct presidential election, which took place in two rounds on July 5, and on September 20, 2004.

Azra confessed that "democracy is also time- and energy-consuming"[72] and that "a general election is not an easy affair,"[73] which is particularly the case, so he wrote, in such a geographically and culturally complex country as Indonesia. However, he wanted his readers to understand democracy as a process and procedure in which elections play a key role, because they, for instance, legitimize the national leader and preserve the viability and sustainability of democracy. General elections are "much more than just for the sake of a democratic party,"[74] it is through elections that a newly won democracy must be protected.[75] Azra not only emphasized that "to vote in general elections is the right of every individual or citizen,"[76] but he also portrayed voting as a citizen's key responsibility: "The general election forms part of the citizen's responsibility to prevent the state's backslide into political, economic, and social adversity."[77] Through the presidential election, which Azra called a "golden opportunity,"[78] democracy could be consolidated[79] and Indonesia could gain stability.[80]

Azra assessed non-voting as problematic and he aimed to encourage his readers to cast their vote. He did so by referring to Islam, which, so he claimed, does not support non-voting: "Islam deplores non-voting or abstaining from choosing a leader."[81] Three days before the general election took place, he even condemned non-voting as a sign of *jahiliyah*, a Qur'anic term that refers to pre-Islamic ignorance and unbelief: "Furthermore, in contemporary times, there is a tendency in our political world to lose our patience, which shows through anarchical acts and non-voting, which means not wanting to vote in the general election. Things like these illustrate the reality of jahiliyah in our

72. "Demokrasi juga time- dan energy-consuming" (Azra, March 18, 2004: 12), English terms in original.

73. "pemilu bukanlah urusan yang mudah" (Azra, March 18, 2004: 12).

74. "lebih daripada sekadar pesta demokrasi" (Azra, March 31, 2004: 33).

75. Azra, March 18, 2004: 12.

76. "mencoblos dalam pemilihan umum (pemilu) adalah hak setiap individu atau warga" (Azra, April 2, 2004: 13).

77. "Pemilu adalah bagian tanggung jawab warga negara untuk mencegah negara jatuh kembali ke dalam keterpurukan politik, ekonomi, dan sosial" (Azra, March 31, 2004: 33).

78. "Kesempatan Emas," title of article (Azra, September 30, 2004: 12).

79. Azra, July 3, 2004: 45.

80. Azra, July 8, 2004: 12.

81. "Islam menyayangkan sikap-sikap golput atau tidak berpartisipasi dalam pemilihan pemimpin" (Azra, April 2, 2004: 13).

politics."[82] Thus, voting is an Islamic duty, also because "Islamic theologians and experts of state law from al-Mawardi to Imam al-Ghazali have already outlined that it is obligatory for the Muslim community to establish and empower a state."[83] Azra sharpened the religious underpinning of his argument by calling the election of a president *ibadah*, Islamic worship: "electing a president is Islamic worship. And Islamic worship has to be done as genuinely as possible, with a sincere and honest conscience."[84]

Islam and Democracy [Category 5a]

In five articles (6 percent), Azra commented on the relationship between Islam and democracy and advocated their compatibility. This was clearly stated when he wrote that "In a nutshell, there is an Islam which is tolerant, inclusive, modern, and compatible with democracy and with contemporary development."[85]

In one article of this category, Azra engaged in a deep discussion on the relationship of Islam to absolute political power and to democracy. He aimed to transmit to the readers that Islam does not support absolute political power, but that it features in itself democratic concepts. He identified the Qur'anic notion of *al-amr bil maruf wa i-nahy an al-munkar* (enjoying good and forbidding wrong) as the equivalent to the democratic concept of "checks and balances," which also legitimizes the depositioning of sovereigns when they do wrong.[86] He claimed that "for democracy to grow (...), conceptual support is needed, in particular from an Islamic perspective."[87]

For Azra, the transitory period was the decisive momentum for the Indonesian state and society to disprove the widely spread assumption that Islam and democracy cannot go together. Over the course of the election year of 2004, he repeatedly made this point and expressed it in growing sharpness. Shortly after the general election and in the run-up to the presidential election, he postulated that "the Indonesian Muslim community can prove that Islam has

82. "Apalagi pada masa sekarang, ada kecenderungan di dalam dunia politik kita, bahwa kita sering kehilangan kesabaran, yang bisa dalam bentuk tindakan anarkis, golput tidak mau memilih dalam pemilu. Hal-hal tersebut menggambarkan realitas jahiliyah dalam politik kita" (Azra, April 2, 2004: 13).

83. "Para ulama dan figh siyasa, sejak dari al-Mawardi sampai Imam al-Ghazali telah menggariskan, bahwa wajib bagi kaum Muslimin untuk mendirikan dan memberdayakan negara" (Azra, July 7, 2004: 29).

84. "memilih presiden adalah ibadah. Dan ibadah haruslah dilaksanakan sebaik-baiknya, dengan nurani yang ikhlas dan jujur" (Azra, July 7, 2004: 29).

85. "Singkatnya adalah Islam yang toleran, inklusif, modern, kompatibel dengan demokrasi dan perkembangan kontemporer" (Azra, March 25, 2004: 12).

86. Azra, July 25, 1999: 30.

87. "pertumbuhan demokrasi (…) perlu dukungan konseptual, khususnya dari perspektif Islam" (Azra, July 25, 1999: 30).

no problem with democracy"[88] and that "the Indonesian Muslim community proves the compatibility of Islam with democracy."[89] After the successful accomplishment of a free and fair presidential election which constituted the country's democratic consolidation, he enthusiastically concluded that "Indonesia, which is the biggest Muslim nation and state in the world, shows to the world that there is no problem between Islam and democracy on this earth."[90] According to Azra, what distinguishes Indonesia from other democratic Muslim-majority countries like Turkey is that through the legal framework and the state ideology *Pancasila* which acknowledges the belief in God, "the Indonesian democracy is a democracy which is not hostile toward religion."[91] This "gives great hope that Indonesia will evolve as a model for the compatibility of Islam and democracy."[92]

Conclusion

This article has looked in-depth at the media writings the Islamic academic, public intellectual, and former university rector Azyumardi Azra published during the Indonesian democratization. It has made the point that much of the characteristics and focus of Azra's media discourse is embedded in and representative of a greater Indonesian historical and social structure still of relevance today: the public political engagement of state-funded Indonesian Islamic academia (PTKIN) which is of a cosmopolitan orientation and engages for a moderate Islam. Throughout Indonesian history, in their function as political, cultural, religious, and intellectual brokers and authorities, Islamic academics constituted a crucial element within the public sphere and its regime-controlled official political discourse, largely addressing the educated middle-class milieu, which has left certain traces in public political and Islamic academic life until today.

In the post-Suharto era, this public and politicized feature of Islamic academia has gained a new democratic quality. Many individual academics—such as Azra—who under the New Order had been trained to participate in the controlled public political discourse now gear debates toward the compatibility of Islam and democracy. They also promote the institutional separation of

88. "kaum Muslim Indonesia bisa membuktikan bahwa Islam tidak punya persoalan dengan demokrasi" (Azra, April 8, 2004: 12).

89. "Kaum Muslimin Indonesia membuktikan kompatibilitas Islam dengan demokrasi" (Azra, May 13, 2004: 12).

90. "Indonesia yang merupakan bangsa-negara Muslim terbesar di dunia menunjukkan kepada dunia bahwa tidak ada masalah antara Islam dan demokrasi di bumi ini" (Azra, October 7, 2004: 12).

91. "demokrasi Indonesia adalah demokrasi yang tidak bermusuhan terhadap agama" (Azra, May 13, 2004: 12).

92. "memberikan harapan besar bagi pertumbuhan Indonesia sebagai model bagi kompatibilitas Islam dan demokrasi" (Azra, May 13, 2004: 12).

Islam and democratic politics, and they call for the responsibility Islamic authorities and Muslim civil society have for the success of the democratic project. This is primarily done by arguing from within Islamic theology for the advantages of a democratic society and a democratic political system, underpinned by rational and cosmopolitan-flavored arguments and global and historical comparison and contextualization. These arguments are also informed by a sound academic knowledge of and practical experience with consolidated democratic life, often gained through long-term study stays in Western democracies. Moreover, the discourses show a strong emphasis on the upholding of a moderate Islam, the promotion of societal and religious pluralism and peace, and they also spur a critical observance of the political processes and the behavior of individual politicians and religious leaders. Therefore, so this article argued, a significant part of Indonesian Islamic academics from the PTKIN system must be recognized and conceptualized as a distinctive group of religious actors in political processes, who take up leading public roles in backing up the democratic system, thereby manifesting themselves as politically engaged public intellectuals. Another central argument this article put forward was that through his sharp criticism of political and religious elites as well as civil society, Azra's print media discourse during *Reformasi* partially transgressed the frame that confines political discourse in Indonesia to a strongly structured and harmonized consensus on how to speak politics, and that he thus moved toward practicing a much needed "conflictual consensus" (Duile and Bens 2017). On the other hand, Azra's discourse once more proved the persisting consensus on the *Pancasila* as a key reference in political and Islamic academic debate in Indonesia.

Future research should take individual Islamic academics from the state-funded PTKIN system and their written output, public speeches, and comments as starting points for enlarging understanding on the discursive practices that occurred during the country's transition phase (1998–2004), but also in the more contemporary era. In any case, such analyses must be of a relational character. They have to contextualize individual academic persona and embed them within their (international, Western, and Islamic) educational trajectories, social networks, and within Indonesia's political structure in order to arrive at a complex understanding of the origins and impulses that these academics' discourses and public actions derive from. Sociological literature on public intellectuals in the Western context provides theoretical and conceptual approaches and perspectives (capital endowment, nexus of state and intellectuals, specialists vs. generalists) that may help to identify similarities, differences, and specific configurations in Indonesian public intellectual life. In particular, not much is known about the concrete political orientation and agency of academics who are based at peripheral PTKIN institutes in more remote regions outside of Java, mainly in Eastern Indonesia.

On another level, insights on the aforementioned KKN-program[93] and whether its activities in the countryside include pro-democracy missions are necessary.

A reality check may also reveal more conservative, regressive academia-based trends that are counterproductive for the blossoming of democracy and inter-faith equality and peace in Indonesia. Only recently, a controversial study ranked UIN Bandung as the country's first, and UIN Jakarta as the second, most fundamentalist campus (Setara 2019). Findings like these underpin the importance of campus ideology and Islamic academic discourses for the future of Indonesian society and politics, and follow-up research must be channeled toward better understanding past and current developments of ideological preferences and political agency within the Islamic academic milieu.

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93. See footnote 11.

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COMPTES RENDUS

Stuart Robson and Hadi Sidomulyo, *Threads of the Unfolding Web: The Old Javanese Tantu Panggĕlaran*. *Translated by Stuart Robson with a Commentary by Hadi Sidomulyo*. Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2021, ix + 325 pp., ISBN: 978-981-4881-99-9 (hard copy); 978-981-4951-00-5 (pdf).

The *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* is an Old Javanese prose literary work that "is not history, and also not fiction" (p. 3), which intends to transmit aspects of life and belief of, and for, the communities of Śaiva hermits inhabiting the network of religious institutions (*maṇḍala*) located in the mountains of ancient Java. The title of the text, poetically translated by Stuart Robson as "Threads of the unfolding web," refers to such network (*paṅgəlaran*, lit. "that on which st. is spread out")[1] of institutions dotting the Javanese landscape, while the threads (*tantu*) "may be viewed as its manifold permutations, whether in the form of sacred sites, holy orders, or established 'lines' of continuity" (p. 73). Mixing myth and legend with "quasi-history," the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* is closely linked with the topography of Java and its socio-religious setting, and could thus be regarded as an account of a Javanese "pilgrimage circuit."

The text, as noted by Robson in his Introduction, is characterized by a down-to-earth, "rustic" style, which suggests that it originated in non-courtly milieus, probably from oral traditions circulating in the countryside. Just like the majority of Old Javanese texts, the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* is anonymous and undated; however, the colophon of one of its manuscripts contains a date equivalent to AD 1635, which serves as a *terminus ante quem*. On account of its language, which is close to that of the *Calon Araṅ* and the *Pararaton*, Robson suggests that the text may have been written around the 15th century in East Java; however, he also speculates that parts of it may originate from an earlier period, i.e. before 1222 AD, given the fact that the

1. Zoetmulder, P.J. (with the collaboration of S. Robson), *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*. 2 vols. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982. Henceforth: OJED.

only cities (*nagara*) mentioned by name are Daha and Galuh, which are associated with the Kaḍiri Kingdom (p. 4). Given the attention paid by the text to topography, as well as some matching details about religious traditions mentioned in epigraphic documents and in the text (see below), this hypothesis does not seem unwarranted. Be this as it may, the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* fills a gap in the historical record of the "age of transition" in Javanese history, which witnessed the shift from the Hindu-Buddhist to the Muslim religious and socio-political order, by providing modern readers with a glimpse into socio-religious realities that are seldom described in the largely prescriptive Old Javanese Śaiva literature, as well as in *kakavin*s (which often present us with idealized descriptions of hermitages located in the countryside).

The book is divided into two parts, which are the distinct fruits of a collaboration between Stuart Robson and Hadi Sidomulyo, two leading scholars of ancient Java specializing in Old Javanese philology and East Javanese history and archaeology, respectively. Part I mainly coincides with a translation of the Old Javanese text into English by Robson, which is the only translation to have been undertaken after Pigeaud's Dutch translation of 1924. Robson's translation is based on the edition prepared by the latter scholar, which is photographically reproduced in Appendix 3 of the book (pp. 223–294, corresponding to pp. 57–128 of the 1924 publication). Hadi Sidomulyo in the Preface explains that a new critical edition would hardly be possible since "the whereabouts of two principal manuscripts used by Th. Pigeaud for his dissertation were no longer known" (p. vii). Still, various manuscripts bearing the title *Tantu Paṅgəlaran*/*Pagəlaran* exist in Bali,[2] but whether they are copies of the manuscripts containing inferior readings used by Pigeaud, or of different versions of the text, it is not known, as Robson does not mention any of them. His very short Introduction treats the codicological tradition of the text in just one paragraph, and does not provide much information about the text indeed. Hadi Sidomulyo's Introduction to his study delivers some extra information, yet a unified Introduction at the beginning of the volume would have been more practical.

Robson's translation is, as usual, elegant (to the extent that the style of the text allows) and pleasant to read, and mostly accurate. He does not provide any cross-references to the page numbers of the relevant portions of the edition, which makes it difficult and time-consuming to compare the translation against the Old Javanese text. This is made even more complicated by the fact that Robson's division of the text into three headings (brought down from the seven in Pigeaud's book) is not found in the original text, which has no obvious divisions. The footnotes to the translation are intended to draw attention to lexicographical and textual problems rather than providing an exegesis or contextualization of passages of the text, a task that is undertaken by Hadi Sidomulyo in Part II. Without commentarial footnotes explaining and contextualizing the many enigmatic passages of the text, the same comes across as abstruse and at times hardly intelligible or meaningful even for the specialist. The "stories" related in the text are deeply embedded in the coeval Javanese religious and socio-historical context (which ultimately owes to a South Asian religious

2. See, for instance, the romanizations produced in the framework of the Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka project (*Sang Hyang Tantu Pagelaran* [HKS 5454]; *Tantu Panggelaran* [HKS 3459 and 4504]), as well as two *lontar*s in the collection of the Pusat Dokumentasi Budaya Bali in Denpasar, accessible on ww.archive.org.

background), and even if Part II attempts to interpret this context, a more thorough annotation would have helped the reader to grasp it, and access a level of meaning that goes beyond the *prima facie* meaning provided by the bare-bones translation. As an example of Robson's terse style of annotation, I may refer to footnote 44 (p. 22), which, commenting on the "riddles" set by Viṣṇu and Brahmā to Gaṇa, glosses the latter's statement "you [Viṣṇu] keep killing your fellow gods"—an explanation of the Sanskrit compound *brahmahatya* (*sic*)—as: "in fact 'brahman-murderer' (Z[oetmulder's OJED, p.] 255); the T[antu]P[aṅgəlaran] has a somewhat different interpretation here." This note suggests that Robson may have been unaware that in Sanskrit literature the sin of *brahmahatyā* or murder of a brahman is associated with the cutting of the fifth head of the God Brahmā (a brahman by definition) by Śiva, who thus commits the heinous sin. Indeed, the text itself makes this transparent by relating how the five-headed Brahmā reproached Gaṇa for the fact that he has only four heads, as a result of which Śiva Parameśvara cuts Brahmā's middle head with his left hand, homologized to Viṣṇu: "it turned out that the god Gaṇa was proven right regarding the god Wiṣṇu, that he was a *brahmahatya* (god-murderer)" (p. 23). While Robson correctly (yet inconsistently with respect to his own remark in fn. 44) grasps the sense of the riddle by translating *brahmahatya* as "god-murderer" (the "god" being Brahmā), he does not unpack its mythological and sociological background.

Some instances of alternative translations, or translations of corrupted words, could be proposed. I will discuss below four such instances. First, the exceedingly common word *bhāva* is translated differently according to the context, usually as "way of living/behaving," in contrast to Pigeaud's *staat* ("state, interviewed "condition"; see p. 6 of the Introduction); however, on p. 25 Robson applies the meaning of "state" to a passage where it does not seem to be entirely apt: "Lady Umā was angry, quickly took hold of the weapons of the gods, and these were her state [*sic*] (*bhāwa*)," which I would rather translate as "… this was her state of mind" (a meaning closer to the original Sanskrit; compare OJED p. 225, "temperament, state of mind or body"), or "… this was her behaviour." Second, on p. 27, Robson translates *tabə-habət* (or *tabəh-abət*) as the command "perform austerities on the side of the road," and connects it to the stem *abət* (related to *habət*, *aṅabət*, "a very old term for 'to commit armed robbery,' indeed occurring on the side of the road"; fn. 69), which he interprets as referring to "a community of religious persons," rather than to the stem *tabəh*, "beating/striking a musical instrument." However, the passage is about performers ("you must go around in the world; you must be a performer […] you must tell stories about the world"), like the *vidu* and the *abaṇḍagiṇa aṅgoḍa* (left untranslated on p. 27, but rendered as "performer" in Robson's translation of the *Wangbang Wideya*[3]). Indeed, those characters were interpreted as performers by Pigeaud, and I may add that there is nothing unusual about Śaiva ascetics involved in performance, especially

3. Robson, S., *Waŋbaŋ Wideya: A Javanese Pañji Romance*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971, p. 18. Compare the comments on *abhaṇḍagarya* and *dhārabhaṇḍa* in *Kuñjarakarṇa* 33.3, defining *bhaṇḍagiṇa* as "buffoonery" (related to the Sanskrit *bhanda,* "jester, buffoon" and *bhānda* "mimicry, buffoonery, a musical instrument"), which notably forms part of the description of *devapūjā*: Teeuw, A., and S.O. Robson, *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana: Liberation through the Law of Buddha—An Old Javanese Poem by Mpu Ḍusun*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1981, p. 194.

in Java.[4] This connection is made transparent by the text itself in another passage, where Brahmā and Viṣṇu are said to roam "the world practising the art (*giṇa*) of wayang performance, [so they were called *abhaṇḍagiṇa awayang*] […] they went around singing and performing [and so were called *baṇḍagiṇa menmen*]" (p. 46). Third, on p. 53, we read that Mpu Barang is "sitting facing a bowl with excellent meat, the skulls of people his drinking cups, and the bodies of people his food." Robson comments on the expression "excellent meat" in fn. 209 as follows: "*mahāmangsa*; Z[oetmulder's OJED, p.] 1082, 'excellent food (meat).' Also found in R[āmā]Y[aṇa] 26.24b." Clearly, from the context of the passage, *mahāmaṅsa* is to be understood as a technical term denoting "human flesh," which is commonly attested in Sanskrit literature.[5] I am not sure whether Robson, who flatly follows Zoetmulder's gloss, has grasped the actual meaning and background of that word, and I also wonder whether a general reader will grasp them (this is yet another instance where a more articulate exegetical note would have been in order). Finally, on p. 26, Robson does not translate the word *haṣtapaḍāsarī* (used by Umā to refer to his middle son), noting that its meaning is unknown. Since the term is attributed to the son who would instruct mankind in the knowledge of letters,[6] and who would become a Mpu Bhujaṅga (a type of religious practitioner/priest, but also a man of letters), it could be emended to *aṣṭapadākṣarī*, representing a Sanskrit *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning "one mastering the letters arranged in eight portions/divisions," namely the eight *varga*s or classes of letters into which the Sanskrit (as well as Old Javanese) syllabary is traditionally divided (the sixteen vowels with the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, the five groups of stops with the nasals, the semivowels, and the sibilants with *ha*).

I now turn to Part II, by Hadi Sidomulyo. This commentary, serving as a useful supplement to Pigeaud's extensive notes, disentangles the threads and clears a path through the "encyclopedic jungle of Śivaitic traditions" (p. 73) that is the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran*. The strong point of this section of the book is the discussion of the links between the narrative of the text and Javanese topography. As the events narrated in the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* unfolds against a landscape that is often still recognizable today, the author traces them to relevant sites surveyed by him and his team in recent years, thereby documenting significant archaeological vestiges (many of which have unfortunately disappeared as a result of looting, or have been damaged by the relentless action of nature). As such, it constitutes a most useful and well-researched piece of scholarship, whose value is further enhanced by the several photos of sites, artistic objects and inscriptions as well as maps accompanying it. The author, whose knowledge of East Javanese history and heritage is unmatched, expands on many other interesting elements found in the text, against the background of Javanese history

4. See Acri, A., "Performance as Religious Observance in Some Śaiva Ascetic Traditions from South and Southeast Asia," *Cracow Indological Studies* 20/1, 2018, pp. 1–30 (esp. pp. 15–24).

5. See, for instance, Monier Williams, M., *Sanskrit–English Dictionary,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899, p. 789: *mahāmāṁsa* "'costly meat,' N. of various kinds of meat and esp. of human flesh."

6. Printed in the edition as *akṣara vijjāna*, but probably to be read as the compound *akṣaravijñāna* (note the variant *akṣara vyañjāna,* "the consonant letters," in mss. DE, p. 245).

from the Central Javanese period to the final years of Majapahit, as well as West Java, for instance by comparing information drawn from the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* with relevant passages of the Old Sundanese *Bhujaṅga Manik* and *Carita Parahyaṅan*.

The author is very modest in admitting his limited expertise in religious matters, for example when he notes that an exhaustive study of the diverse religious communities treated in the text, "the nature of the various orders and their relationship to one another, as well as their distinguishing features, extend beyond both the bounds of this publication and the competence of the present writer" (p. 75).[7] The same applies to the author's self-admitted lack of expertise in matters pertaining to the history of Śaivism in the Indian Subcontinent. While duly recognizing the importance of the text for our knowledge of traditions of Bhairavika and Kāpālika Śaivism in Java, the author is content to refer to a single, mainly art historical publication by T.S. Gopinatha Rao[8] when he draws comparisons with Indian material, thereby choosing to ignore fifty years of subsequent scholarship on those traditions, as well as David Lorenzen's seminal work on the Kāpālikas.[9] As a specialist of Javanese and Balinese Śaivism, I would also have expected a more thorough use of secondary literature on those religious traditions, especially for the benefit of the general readers, who may wonder about the identity of the "Ṛṣis," the religious denomination distinct from the Śaiva and Buddhist traditions, or of the demon Bṛṅgiriṣṭi, into whom Kumāra is turned by Umā (pp. 45, 142),[10] or again of the five deities called *pañcakuśika*s (p. 85).

In spite of the reservations expressed above, and keeping in mind the author's restricted scope, the author is successful in extracting from the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* precious information on Bhairava-worshiping religious denominations in premodern East Java. By integrating the data from the text with information gathered from epigraphical documents, he highlights the important place they occupied in East Java in the period from the 13th to the 15th century, as well as the continuation of distinctive themes of this current of Śaivism in later Javanese religious culture (see for instance the parallels with Siti Jenar discussed on p. 77). Particularly enticing is his remark that the combined data mentioned above, and the text's association between the master Mpu Palyat and the King of Galuh (p. 150), "provide a reason to regard the court of Kaḍiri

7. Compare his Preface, p. ix: "One important area of study which has not received the attention it deserves is the Śaiwa tradition in ancient Java. Since this constitutes the central theme of the *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, it is clearly in need of a deeper investigation. The complexity of the subject, however, requires a separate study by a qualified expert."

8. Gopinatha Rao, T.A., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 vols. Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1971.

9. Lorenzen, D.N., *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two Lost Śaivite Sects*, 2nd revised edition, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991 (first edition 1971).

10. This is a Javanese development of Bhṛṅgiriṭi, an elusive figure described in early Śaiva Sanskrit sources as belonging to Śiva's holy family, and indeed identified as the son of Rudra and the brother of Vināyaka (Gaṇapati) in the *Śivadharmaśāstra,* or as Śiva's demon-son Andhaka in the *Vāmanapurāṇa* and *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*. The same Bhṛṅgiriṭi features in the Old Javanese Śaiva text *Dharma Pātañjala* as a son of ŚIva along with Kumāra and Gaṇapati. See Acri, A., *Dharma Pātañjala:A Śaiva Scripture from Ancient Java Studied in the Light of Related Old Javanese and Sanskrit Texts*, second edition, New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2017, p. 370.

as the cradle of the Bhairava cult in eastern Java" (p. 151), which is in harmony with Robson's idea that the text could have originated from the same period and region. This fascinating hypothesis would have deserved a more thorough discussion.

Another important topic that could have been treated more extensively is sacred geography, especially the "recreation" on Java of the sacred geography of the Indian Subcontinent, which is a prominent theme of the *Tantu Pañgəlaran,* and indeed the numerous references to India (as Jambuḍipa) found throughout the text. Particularly noteworthy is the one occurring in the context of a voyage by the Javanese brahman Mpu Barang, who witnesses the worship of the god Haricaṇḍana by Indian Brahmins, whom he submits, and with whom he ritually exchanges ash-marks. One wonders whether these references represent purely imaginary events, reflect historical memories going back to an earlier epoch, or suggest that networks of trans-Indian Ocean pilgrimage extending beyond the palatine centres of power existed in East Java during the 14th and 15th centuries.

A minor contentious point I wish to draw attention to is the author's description of the stone artefact crowning the central terrace of the bathing place of Jolotundo in Trawas (East Java), completed in AD 977–978, as "displaying a symmetrical configuration of nine cylindrical stone columns in the coils of a serpent, symbolizing both the mythical Mahāmeru and the mountain Penanggungan itself" (fn. 63, p. 94). I would argue that the "cylindrical stone columns" are actually stylized *liṅga*s representing the body of Śiva according to the popular configuration referred to as *navasaṅga*, i.e. a central supreme Śiva surrounded by eight manifestations located at the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. Of course, both interpretations need not be mutually exclusive.

As a whole, the book is a welcome addition to the library of scholars working on aspects of the literature, history, and religious traditions of both ancient and modern Java, as well as general readers interested in Javanese culture and its rich textual heritage. We should be grateful to the authors for making available such an important and difficult source. As they make clear that the book, "[a]lthough directed primarily to the scientific community, […] has from the outset been conceived as a popular edition, designed to draw the interest of the general reader," and "provides no more than the groundwork for ongoing research" (p. ix), it is only natural that the treatment of certain aspects, especially the central theme of Śaiva traditions in 12th to 15th century East Java and their South Asian roots, will have to be taken up by other scholars on the basis of the foundations laid by this book, as well as the previous work by Pigeaud. A worthwhile endeavour would be a comprehensive study of the religious establishments of the *maṇḍala* type in the light of a larger corpus of epigraphical and textual sources, as well as the later reception of the text in Java and especially in Bali, where it apparently played a role in the formation of the religious discourse from the 15th–16th century to the present, as suggested by the attestation of several of its central narratives in Balinese texts and oral lore (such as the story of Kumāra-gohpāla, corresponding to Rare Angon, associated with the birth of Kāla).

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Campbell Macknight, Mukhlis Paeni and Muhlis Hadrawi (ed. & trans.), *The Bugis Chronicle of Bone*. Canberra, ANU Press, 2020. 153 p. ISBN9781760463571 (print); 9781760463588 (online from press.anu.edu.au).

The modest community of scholars and students of Bugis-Makassar culture and history have much reason to be grateful to Campbell Macknight and his two Bugis colleagues. They have persevered over a half-century of other demands on the time of each of them, as well as changing expectations and conventions of Bugis scholarship, to bring this very difficult project to fruition during the fruitful retirement of the two initial collaborators, Macknight and Mukhlis.

Campbell Macknight deserves special gratitude for having taken up the supreme challenge for an outsider of pursuing the sources to their scholarly base. Having first discovered South Sulawesi culture as an Australian archaeologist interested primarily in Sulawesi's contribution to Australia's deep history, he recognised that the Bugis and Makassar also have their very distinctive internal voices in the form of remarkably realistic chronicles of each royal tradition. Since the Bugis and Makassar texts in the former Matthes-Stichting (continued after independence as the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara) in Makassar seemed far from secure, he personally microfilmed them for deposit in the ANU Library to ensure that there would be duplicates in the case of loss. Leonard Andaya is acknowledged as having arranged the photocopying of six further Bone texts in 1976 to add to the ANU Library collection.

The Dutch tradition of Indology, which made the scholarly editing and translating of an important Indonesian manuscript a common topic for a PhD, and indeed for the training of colonial officials, is no more. Very few Bugis or Makassar texts have been expertly edited since Noorduyn closed the Dutch era at a very high level with his Wajo chronicle (1955). It would today be considered a dangerously unprofitable choice of topic for a PhD, even in Indonesia. Although the Ministry of Education sponsored the translation into Indonesian of numerous chronicles in the 1980s, it cannot yet be said that the discipline of text editing is yet very securely placed in Indonesia. Every such text that emerges is therefore of immense value, particularly for historians like me.

The erudition behind this edition has been accumulating over decades, and shows at every step of the way. Macknight and the other authors have published widely meanwhile on the methodology of rendering a text written on lontar leaves in Bugis script without word or sentence breaks into roman characters and modern understanding of sentence structure. Happily they have adopted modern Indonesian place-names for the English text, notably omitting the glottal stop (Wajo') of the Bugis text . They have opted to present a "diplomatic edition, which seeks to provide an exact account of... one manuscript," rather than a "critical edition" using all texts to construct the presumed intention of the original author (pp. 7-8). The other known manuscripts are similar in essential content, explaining the genealogy of rulership from the original heaven-descended *tomanurung* to the crisis of the 1660s when the Dutch conquered Makassar and their ally Aru Palakka took charge of Bone. Their choice fell on NBG 101 of the Bible Society, now in Leiden, collected during the Dutch seizure of the Queen of Bone's house in 1859. It was at least among the oldest and best-credentialed as belonging to the court, and moreover was unusually clearly and consistently written.

Bone has not hitherto gained the attention it merits as the largest and strongest Bugis state at most times since states can be documented in the fifteenth century. Makassar (Gowa-Tallo) demanded attention for what I call the "Makassar enlightenment" of the 17th century, as well as its international importance; Wajo for the unique value its chronicles placed on personal freedom, and its diaspora admired as sailors, soldiers and even authors throughout Nusantara; Luwu as the acknowledged "eldest" of the Bugis states and presumed home of the La Galigo epic about a mythical remote past. By contrast Bone may have been underrated as the Sparta of South Sulawesi, more important for its power than its cultural achievements.

Neither the chronicler nor the editors of this chronicle make it their business to correct (or confirm) this stereotype. The editors are concerned to present the text as honestly and correctly as possible. Yet the historian hungry for controversy may note that although the chronicle is largely concerned with battles, conquests by Bone, and of course succession, the consent of the governed is still explicitly documented in a kind of social contract. Even more interesting is the prominence of queens in that line of succession, even into the nineteenth century when other Nusantara monarchies had largely abandoned the practice.

Finally, the great merit of this edition is to have published through ANU Press, which proclaims itself "Australia's first open-access university press." This whole book is available free to all on the website, creating a remarkable equality between Bugis teenager and Leiden Professor. I thank Archipel for making me proud possessor of the handsome print copy, also available from the press for a price. But one can be sure it will have a much more dynamic life in its electronic form.

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Farish A. Noor and Peter Carey (ed.), *Racial Difference and the Colonial Wars of 19th Century Southeast Asia*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2021. ISBN: 978 94 6372 372 5 ; ISBN Version pdf: 978 90 4855 037 1

La violence de la colonisation, notamment les guerres qu'elle a engendrées, est au centre de l'ouvrage collectif dirigé par Farish Noor et Peter Carey. Le thème y est cependant revisité – et les guerres relues – au travers du prisme des discours raciaux produits, au 19e siècle, sur les populations de l'Asie du Sud-est. Cet ouvrage s'inscrit dans la lignée de trois autres monographies publiées par Farish Noor, à titre d'auteur, chez le même éditeur : *The Discursive Construction of Southeast Asia in the 19th Century Colonial-Capitalist Discourse* (2016), *America's Encounters with Southeast Asia, 1800-1900 : Before the Pivot* (2018) et *Data-Gathering in Colonial Southeast Asia 1800-1900 : Framing the Others* (2019). Chacune de ces études aborde, à sa manière, la construction discursive de la région à partir de textes de la littérature coloniale considérés comme classiques. Tous trois sont à cet égard, selon les mots de l'auteur, « un livre sur des livres »[11]. L'œuvre présentée ici analyse le rôle joué par ces livres, et d'autres écrits, lors des guerres et conflits coloniaux ayant agité Java, le Siam, Pahang, le nord de

11. "A book about books".

Bornéo ou encore les Philippines au cours du 19e siècle. Fruit du travail de sept auteurs, l'ouvrage traite donc moins des affrontements coloniaux, qu'il n'en explique les ressorts discursifs, articulés en termes de différence raciale.

L'introduction expose les modalités de la conquête européenne à cette époque. Fulgurante, elle a été réalisée au moyen d'une supériorité technologique (armes) et légitimée par la production d'un discours pseudo-scientifique (différentiation raciale). Cette période a profondément modifié les structures politiques et territoriales, les rapports entre population locales et Européens, et également la perception que les sud-est asiatiques ont d'eux-mêmes. L'influence durable des discours raciaux dans la région est un des arguments mis en avant par les éditeurs.

Le premier chapitre (p. 31-71) revient sur une période courte mais fort importante de l'histoire javanaise, les dix-sept années qui allèrent de l'arrivée du premier gouverneur général des Indes néerlandaises, Herman Willem Daendels (1808-1811), au début de la guerre de Java (1825-1830). Peter Carey détaille les profonds bouleversements engendrés par Daendels, notamment dans les rapports entre aristocratie javanaise et pouvoir colonial, avant de décrire le retour des Néerlandais, après l'interrègne britannique (1811-1816), et les débuts de la guerre de Java. L'arrivée des nouveaux bureaucrates européens, qui n'ont guère de goût pour le pays et ses cultures, marque une rupture avec la période précédente, généralement plus respectueuse. Le nouveau résident de Yogyakarta, le major Nahuys van Burgst, fait partie de ces hommes au dédain apparent. Il s'illustre par son islamophobie et des mœurs légères, plus ou moins affichées, qui offensent l'aristocratie javanaise et contribuent aux frictions grandissantes qui débouchent sur la guerre de Java.

Les chapitres deux (p. 73-106) et trois (p. 107-149) amènent le lecteur à Bornéo. Le premier décrit la genèse de l'image du guerrier Dayak sous la plume d'Henry Keppel, Rodney Mundy et Frank Marryat. Ces trois auteurs, également officiers, ont participé à la lutte contre la piraterie aux côtés de James Brooke (1803-1868) dans le nord de l'île, au Sarawak actuel, et Farish Noor démontre à quel point cette expérience a nourri l'idée d'une population qui serait plus sauvage et plus belliqueuse que d'autres. Il n'en fallait pas plus pour personnifier la violence, lui donner un visage et des attributs. Mais si le Dayak est devenu le « signifiant » (p. 95) de cette violence il est également, à d'autres occasions, celui du sauvage à civiliser.

Les images du pirate et du chasseur de tête se retrouvent dans le chapitre suivant qui prend pour cadre la rébellion de Mat Salleh (1894-1905) dans ce qui est aujourd'hui l'Etat du Sabah. Yvonne Tan y explique que les auteurs coloniaux s'efforcent de lire la diversité ethnique du nord de Bornéo en termes binaires : les populations des côtes – les Badjao et les Suluk – étant composées de sauvages en partie civilisés, alors que celles des terres, notamment les Dusun, descendraient d'ancêtres chinois. Les rapports coloniaux font ainsi sens de la révolte de Mat Salleh en termes de différence raciale, les mauvais autochtones se rebellant alors que les bons acceptent le nouvel ordre politico-économique de la British North Borneo Company. Cette vision qui regroupe les populations sous des traits stéréotypés, au moyen de catégories raciales, devient la norme et se retrouve dans la rhétorique et la politique nationale postindépendance du Sabah.

Les relations franco-siamoises, et leur rivalité à l'est du Mekong, sont le sujet du quatrième chapitre (p. 151-178) qui démontre comment l'idée de race puis de nation thaï est appliquée à un territoire et à ses habitants afin de contrer les velléités françaises dans la région. À la suite de l'incident de Paknam (1893), également nommé conflit

franco-thaï, les populations de l'est du Mekong, ainsi que leurs descendants vivant hors du territoire, se voient octroyer la protection consulaire des Français. Menacés par une ingérence européenne sur leur propre territoire où vivent des Lao, les Thai se décident à user des mêmes armes que les Européens et introduisent la notion d'identité et de race thaï sur leur territoire. Cet engagement intellectuel avec l'idée de race – cette fois définie comme asiatique – se prolonge ensuite dans la société thaï où le pouvoir politique et une classe moyenne émergente usent différemment de la notion à des fins de légitimation ou de contestation du système politique.

Le chapitre cinq (p. 179-209), de Netusha Naidu, traite de la guerre civile qui éclate à Pahang (1891-1895) et de la manière dont le conflit est représenté, notamment dans les médias britanniques de l'époque, afin de légitimer l'intervention de l'État colonial. Derrières les efforts des Britanniques pour dépeindre les Malais comme peu fiables et naturellement peu enclins à la tâche, se trouvent ce que l'auteur nomme des « glissements » de langage où les protagonistes, le Sultan Ahmad et Dato' Bahaman, apparaissent sous des traits favorables, lesquels révélent les contradictions des stéréotypes appliqués.

Enfin, les deux derniers chapitres concernent les Philippines. Brian Shott (p. 211-241) offre une étude fascinante sur la perception des Philippins, par les soldats américains, lors de la guerre américano-philippine (1898-1902). Au regard curieux des premiers temps, se substituent rapidement des jugements racistes, voire un discours sur la suprématie de la race blanche. À cet égard, le déploiement de quelque 6.000 soldats afro-américains et les débats que cela suscita dans la presse afro-américaine de l'époque est particulièrement intéressant. Si nombre reproduisent le discours civilisationnel, d'autres sont plus réservés et il apparaît que le racisme aux États-Unis a été suffisamment connu aux Philippines pour que les insurgés rappellent aux soldats de couleurs les cas de lynchage ainsi que leur histoire (p. 227).

L'ouvrage se clôt sur un chapitre de Mesrob Vartavarian examinant les relations entre les musulmans des Philippines et les pouvoirs coloniaux qui se sont succédé depuis 1800 dans l'archipel (p. 242-271). Les Espagnols, les Américains, puis les Philippins ont défini les populations musulmanes en des termes raciaux qui correspondaient à leur imaginaire colonial. S'il s'agit du chapitre qui fait le moins appel au discours scientifique ou racialisé produit sur les populations dont il est question, il s'agit aussi de celui qui couvre la plus grande période – presque deux siècles – et permet de repérer la mise en place de structures de contrôle politique.

L'ouvrage présente une diversité qui ne peut être que saluée. Il couvre une large partie de l'Asie du Sud-est et mobilisent des sources de nature variée – rapports coloniaux, lettres, journaux intimes, carnets de notes, ouvrages scientifiques, gravures et presse locale – lesquelles permettent d'accéder à la vision d'administrateurs mais également à celle de soldats aux trajectoires et aux statuts fort divers. À cet égard, il ouvre une fenêtre sur différents mondes sociaux et confirme, pour qui en doutait, que la question raciale est présente à l'esprit de tous les acteurs de la domination coloniale.

La richesse des matériaux a cependant rendu difficile l'exercice d'équilibriste qui consistait à traiter des conflits à la lumière des discours raciaux sans trop en dire, ni sur les uns ni sur les autres. Force est de constater que certaines contributions ont mieux réussi l'exercice que d'autres dont l'argumentation plus diluée rend la lecture parfois moins agréable. L'ouvrage reste cependant une réussite, il offre une mine

d'informations et permet d'aborder les guerres et conflits coloniaux sous un angle renouvelé. Il convainc en cela le lecteur qu'il y a encore des choses à dire, et beaucoup à écrire, sur deux sujets que l'on croyait pourtant connus.

Elsa Clavé

The 1965-66 Elimination of Indonesian Communists: Two Recent Re-readings

John Roosa, *Buried Histories: The Anticommunist Massacres of 1965-66 in Indonesia.* Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2020. Series: Critical Human Rights. ISBN: 978 02 9932 730 9.

Vanessa Hearman, *Unmarked Graves: Death and Survival in the Anti-Communist Violence in East Java, Indonesia.* Singapore: NUS Press, 2018. Southeast Asia Publications Series, Asian Studies Association of Australia. ISBN: 978-87-7694-257-1.

These two authors have added significantly to accounts of the bloody aftermath of the alleged communist coup attempt of 1965 in Indonesia. Roosa is known for his study of the events of October 1965 and the swift retaliation of General Suharto and other army leaders against the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI,[12] that ended with the replacement of President Sukarno´s Guided Democracy with a military-led New Order. Here, the narrative deals with the retaliatory violence of 1965-1966 against the party and its purported sympathizers, when hundreds of thousands were murdered, often by politically-aligned civilian militia groups, while even more were arrested, interrogated, tortured and incarcerated without trial. The account profits from Roosa´s years of investigations. In addition to contemporary documents and official accounts, he cites memoirs (many unpublished), interviews and other new sources that became available as former prisoners were released after 1979 and especially after 1998 and the fall of Suharto's New Order. Many of these accounts have been collected by Indonesian researchers, archived at the Indonesian Institute of Social History in Jakarta. Regional experiences varied and the military itself was far from united in its attitude toward Sukarno or the PKI. For this reason, it is important that Roosa names names and specifies dates; in addition, many of his interviewees have since died, closing off important oral testimony.

The core of the book are four regional studies: Surakarta, Bali, South Sumatra and Riau that show carefully how the Indonesian Army, and the regional commanders in particular, were responsible for provoking and organizing the deaths of suspected adherents of the PKI or its front organizations—or not. In Java and elsewhere, military commanders and special units incited youth organizations or militias of various backgrounds—Islamic parties, the Nationalist Party, even urban toughs, depending on local conditions—to massacre suspected sympathizers of the PKI.

12. John Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto's Coup d'État in Indonesia,* Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006.

The cases of South Sumatra and Riau, both of which involved reprisals against oil industry laborers aligned with their PKI-affiliated union Perbum (Persatuan Buruh Minyak), illustrate how local commanders differed. In South Sumatra-Palembang, the local military arrested union members and activists, incarcerating them. Unable or unwilling to provide food for such a large number, they gradually removed groups of prisoners for execution until, finally, the rest were left to die of neglect and hunger on an island in the River Musi. In Riau-Pekanbaru, in contrast, the military commander was sympathetic to Sukarno and, although there were arrests and some executions of union organizers and others, there were no killings on a similar scale as long as he remained in charge.

Roosa builds his case carefully, underlining the culpability of the military and individual military commanders. Yet the armed forces, who even now, after the end of the Suharto era, permeate all levels of administrative responsibility. An entire chapter discusses the use of torture against detainees, showing how little information such cruelty brought to light. Roosa suggests that killings on such a large scale deserve the epithet of genocide, even though they do not fulfill the classic definition of the term, that it is directed to ethnic, religious, or national groups. Would "politicide" be more appropriate or could communism be, in the broadest sense, a religious conviction, thus meeting the definition?

Such an impressive work deserves a longer discussion than is possible here, but there is one minor error: the name of Oei Tjoe Tat, member of Sukarno's last cabinet, appointed to a fact-finding commission charged with investigating the first massacres of October-December 1965, political prisoner and author of an important memoir, is consistently misspelled.

Roosa ends with "Afterlives," a short recounting of a meeting in Jakarta in 2016 that attempted to open efforts toward reconciliation and a new picture of 1965-66 that differs from the official version that ascribes the blame for the purported coup to the PKI and attributes the massacres of the left to a spontaneous outbreak of violence in an atmosphere of "kill or be killed." Roosa and others show how helpless the PKI really was, unable to organize more than small pockets of resistance; most of its adherents were caught completely off guard by the events, many even sought safety by turning themselves in to the police, only to face retaliation and death. This explanation had little effect on the few official participants in the meeting, most of whom were from the military and who stubbornly held to the official version still propagated in public displays and in education. In fact, most of them left the conference after their own lectures on the opening day.

Vanessa Hearman's book deals with a more limited, but important, region of the PKI's activities, East Java, parts of which province strongly supported the party from the 1950s and even during the struggle for independence. The study moves from published sources about the history of the PKI, its policy of peaceful cooperation with the Sukarno government under Chairman D. N. Aidit, and the explosion of violence against its supporters in late 1965, to the region of South Blitar, where remnants of the PKI tried to establish a rural base for resurrecting the party and its front organizations. Like Roosa, Hearman profits from first-hand accounts that became available after the end of the New Order. She conducted extensive interviews with participants and, as far as possible, people in South Blitar.

Rebounding from its defeat in the Madiun Rebellion of 1948, the PKI expanded its influence at many levels, participating in the elections of 1955 and 1957, utilizing

auxiliaries like Gerwani, the women's organization, SOBSI, the labor federation, Barisan Tani Indonesia, the peasants' union, and HSI, the union of intellectuals, to multiply its supporters and expand its influence across the archipelago. East Java was an important area of its successes.

In the northern parts of East Java, however, people adhered to a stricter Islam, there, the NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), with its base in the rural *pesantren*, was the strongest political force. The harbor city of Surabaya, with its large contingent of laborers, many organized in SOBSI, was a stronghold of the left, as were Blitar and other regions in the south. After 1957, with the abolition of elections and Guided Democracy, the party leadership under Aidit saw some of its political rivals eliminated, while it gained new opportunities to extend its influence. In particular, Sukarno's "Nasakom" ideology opened opportunities for the PKI to participate widely in administration and politics. At the same time, the new situation gave much more power to the armed forces, which were predominantly, but not entirely, opposed to communism. Navigating the new situation gingerly, the party greatly expanded its membership and that of its subordinate organizations, growing ever closer to Sukarno himself.

Following Mortimer,[13] Hearman shows how the party began in the mid-1960s to expand its rural activities with *aksi sepihak* (one-sided action), seizing land from larger owners and claiming to implement Indonesia's long-dormant land reform legislation. This aroused the opposition of landowning groups, who in East Java often adhered to the NU. In 1965, the party also proposed arming peasants and workers as a fifth armed force, threatening the military's monopoly of violence. From October to December 1965, an estimated 100,000 supposed PKI supporters were slaughtered (some estimates are as high as 200,000), often by youth and militia of the NU, armed and encouraged by army leaders. Some escaped, only to be arrested and imprisoned, brutally tortured and mistreated. In the following months, the first-rank leadership of the party was wiped out.

The most important contribution of Hearman's account is in its last two chapters, where she describes how surviving second-echelon leaders from the PKI and front organizations like Gerwani and BTI attempted from early 1967 to reconstitute the party using the model of China's Yenan. This final bastion in Java was short-lived. While its isolation seems to have spared the area from the orgy of violence in 1965-1966, a new commander of the region´s Brawijaya Division began a campaign to wipe out these last pockets of resistance within a few months. The Trisula campaign[14] between May and September 1968 used overwhelming military force and counter-insurgency tactics inherited in part from colonial times. refined in the anti-guerilla battles in Malaya, Vietnam and elsewhere during the 20th century.

Like Roosa, Hearman profited from the changed climate for researchers, especially after 1998, to build her account of how the Brawijaya Division and its auxiliaries moved against the rebels. With an enormous advantage in men and arms, the military overwhelmed the former leaders of the party and mass organizations. Having attempted to assimilate into the rural population, they were hunted, sometimes

13. Rex Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism under Sukarno: Ideology and Politics, 1959-1965*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.

14. Trisula is a kind of three-pronged spear.

denounced, and forced to flee to the forest, surviving in caves and raiding garden plots near the edges of settlement, isolated and starving, before finally being captured. Unlike the victims of the 1965 massacres, those captured were usually arrested, imprisoned and even tried in a semblance of legal retribution, an attempt to present the New Order as controlled and orderly. Some survivors, finally released from about 1979, were Hearman's informants.

Hearman then turns to the cruel effects of the counter-insurgency campaign on the villagers themselves, a few of whom also testified, anonymously, to Hearman years later. The army extended strict control over the population, recruiting spies, turncoats and informers. In the name of development, it built roads and compelled villagers, whose houses had been dispersed near their fields, to move near the roads. There, they had opportunities for better mobility and even cash incomes, but concentration meant military and administrative supervision and isolation—villagers were mingled with settlers from other villages in the new settlements. Land tenure became an issue as well. In an area of largely nominal adherence to religious practices, the military promoted both Pancasila and Islam, building or repairing mosques and prayer houses, enabling religious instruction, hoping to counteract the supposedly atheistic core of communism. Its campaign did not, in contrast to the practice of late 1965, cooperate with NU or its adherents. If anything, the officers kept their distance from what was the most influential religious organization in the province.

If the military´s operation succeeded in wiping out the last remnants of the PKI in Java, it also succeeded in suppressing the population. Visiting the area even several years after the dissolution of the New Order in 1998, journalists and researchers noted the reluctance of the villagers to speak, not only with outsiders, but with each other.

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Elke Papelitzky, *Writing World History in Late Ming China and the Perception of Maritime Asia*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, East Asian Maritime History 15, 2020, 240 p., Index, 38 Tables, 14 Figures. ISBN 978-3-447-11309-0

In this ten-chapter book (based on her dissertation), Elke Papelitzky examines in great detail how certain late Ming scholars became interested in foreign countries and their relations with the Middle Kingdom after the lifting of the ban on maritime trade in 1567, i.e. at a time when the empire was threatened on its northern border[15] and the tributary relations with the various Asian countries were undermined by the new situation of the global trade system. In order to do this, the author explains in the introduction (Chap. 1), how she selected seven works, some better known than others, from the 1570s to the first three decades of the 17th century, which she considers to be "world histories" although the term is hardly used by those concerned. These are, in chronological order, the *Shuyu zhouci lu* 殊域周諮錄 or "Records of the Dispatches Concerning Various Regions" the *Xianbing lu* 咸賓錄 or "Records of all Guests,"

15. The Ming dynasty was to be overthrown by the Manchus in 1644.

the *Siyi guangji* 四夷廣記 or "Extensive Records of All Barbarians," the *Yisheng* 裔剩 or "Historical Records of Distant Peoples," the *Huangming xiangxu lu* 皇明象胥錄 or "Records of the Interpreter of the Glorious Ming," the *Siyiguan kao* 四夷館考 or "Thoughts from the Translation Office," and finally the second part of the *Fangyu shenglüe* 方輿勝略 ou "Complete Survey of the World."[16]

In Chapter 2, the author gives a historical overview of the tributary system and how, since the Han, the Chinese have written about "barbarians" and the categories into which they are placed. The next three chapters present the characteristics of the selected texts: editions, existing prints and manuscripts,[17] biographies of the authors (all are from southern China: Zhejiang, Fujian, Jiangxi, Anhui, Hubei) all of whom except one served as officials, the structure of the texts, and paratexts including maps, illustrations, prefaces, and *fanli* 凡例, disclaimers, or explanatory notes.

Chapter 6 (pp. 67-85) looks more specifically at the content of the books. The seven texts deal with some 205 countries, excluding the minority regions of the empire. Sixteen appear in all the books, these are China's closest neighbours, some western countries, as well as some of those visited by Admiral Zheng He 鄭和 (1371-1433); others appear in only one or two books. A list of the most frequently appearing countries is given in Table 7 (p. 72). Next, the author considers at length how the said countries are broken down, generally more or less according to traditional categories, with the exception of Shen Maoshang 慎懋賞, the author of the *Siyi guangji*, who coined the *haiguo* 海國 or "maritime countries" category under which he places all those in the southern regions. Papelitzky notes that the countries the authors expand on the most are those in the north and west, presumably because of the military threat they pose to the empire's borders.

This then leads her to ask the question of the authors' motivations, which are in fact quite diverse and not always obvious. For some, these are clearly expressed in their preface or warning. For example, Yan Congjian 嚴從簡 (fl. 1559-1575), the author of the *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, who has a great deal of professional experience – he had access to the official archives and reproduces various extracts from imperial edicts and memorials – stated that he wished to transmit his knowledge to posterity. Indeed, this work was widely used by the other authors. Luo Yuejiong 羅曰褧 (fl. 1585-1597), the author of the *Xianbin lu* explained that he was exclusively interested in foreigners who continued to bring tribute, hence the title given to his work. He was convinced that foreigners were descendants of Chinese, a worldview that dates back to the Han. Mao Ruicheng 毛瑞徵 (fl. 1597-1636), the author of the *Huangming xiangxu lu*, on the other hand, was dissatisfied with the existing accounts and intended to add to them. He deplored the fact that the Portuguese were not included and that, more generally, the information was not up to date. He was concerned about national security and the threats posed by the "barbarians of the north" and pirates along the coasts of Zhejiang and Fujian. This is why he decided to write his own book to improve knowledge. This concern for safety and knowledge was shared by Wang Zongzai 王宗載 (fl. 1562-

16. Only the *Shuyu zhouzi lu* and the *Xianbin lu*, from which the other works borrow more or less extensively, have been the subject of a modern edition punctuated and annotated. Some of the other "world histories" are available online.

17. For this purpose, the author uses the following bibliography: Wolfgang Franke and Foon Ming Liew-Herres, *Annotated Sources of Ming History. Including Southern Ming and Works on Neighbouring Lands 1368-1661*, 2 vols, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2011.

1582), the author of the *Siyi guangji* who interviewed a Siamese envoy to complete the written sources.

Chapters 7-9 (pp. 86-168) constitute three case studies relating to Siam, Malacca and Portugal. The way in which the seven works presented these entities geographically and historically, as well as their diplomatic, tributary, and even commercial links with China, their customs, their productions, and their foreign policy, and finally the maritime routes linking them to the Ming Empire (sometimes presented in great detail, see Figure 13, p. 17), is analyzed here in a comparative manner. In some cases, the authors give an overall assessment (mitigated for Siam, often judged too bellicose towards its neighbours, good for Malacca and rather negative for Portugal).[18]

Although these world histories have many differences, they share some commonalities as well. While the authors have made an effort to enrich their documentation, some even taking the trouble to list their sources, they do not, strictly speaking, criticize them and simply accumulate them in their own work. Moreover, they remain attached to the traditional worldview according to which foreigners must bring tribute to the glorious Ming. Their worldview is therefore selective, to the extent that they sometimes deliberately ignore facts; for example, some authors refuse to give information about the Portuguese, whose presence on the southern coasts threatens the established order. However, the author of the *Siyi guangji*, as well as those of the *Fangyu shenglüe* and the *Huangming xiangxu lu* are more open and accept reality. These are the main lines drawn by the author.

Overall, these texts reveal the world view of a group of scholars who had never crossed borders but who had certain intellectual and even kinship links between them. This overall vision of the Asian maritime regions would undoubtedly benefit from being considered in relation to that (or those) emerging from contemporary Portuguese narratives. Moreover, if we move from a macro view of maritime Asia to a micro view of the various "maritime countries", it must be said that the notes contained in these works are very rich in original historical details, which would benefit from being more widely used by historians working on South-East Asia in general and Insulindia in particular. In short, this study by Papelitzky opens the way to new and promising research.

Claudine Salmon

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Gregor Benton 班國瑞, Huimei Zhang 張慧梅, Hong Liu 劉宏 (Ed.), *Chinese Migrants Write Home* / 二十世紀華人移民書信選注. *A Dual-Language Anthology of Twentieth-Century Family Letters*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co, 2020, 334 p. Numerous plates. ISBN 9789813274921

This book is a collection of letters in Chinese covering the period 1902-1980s and their English translations. These letters come from emigrants who lived in Southeast Asia (Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines) as well as in the United States and Canada, but also from family members who remained in China. They come from several

18. Under the Ming, the rumor was that the Portuguese ate children, and they were considered to be very violent, well-equipped militarily, and therefore dangerous.

institutions such as: the Museum of Chinese in America (MOCA), the City of Vancouver Archives, Shantou Qiaopi Museum 汕頭僑批博物館 (Guangdong, founded in 2004), and the National Library in Singapore. This correspondence is distributed under eleven thematic headings corresponding to eleven chapters: Reasons for Migrating, Immigration Procedures, Migrant' Life Overseas, Migrant Dependants' Lives in China, Distribution of Remittances, Household Matters, Economic Issues and Politics, Education, Society, Family Values, New Ideas, and Advice to Family Members, and Others Issues.

To understand the purpose of this book it is important to know that it is the result of a four-year research project launched in Singapore in 2013 by the editors, following their participation in an international symposium held in China, on remittances accompanied by letters (*qiaopi* 僑批) from emigrants to their families in southern China. This project was entitled "*Qiaopi* and Changing Memories of the Homeland: Emigrants' Letters, Family Ties, and Transnational Chinese Networks."[19] It was funded by the Singapore Ministry of Education and Nanyang Technological University. The term *qiaopi*, which is said to date from the 1920s, is only known in a certain milieu. *Qiao* stands for *huaqiao*; *pi* has been the subject of much debate. *Qiaopi* is the equivalent of *huaqiao de jiashu* 华侨的家书 ou "letters from overseas Chinese to their families." The responses to the *qiaopi* are called *huipi* 回批.

Gregor Benton and Hong Liu have previously published a book that is a good study of the nature of this *qiaopi* trade and its development.[20] The reader of the anthology unfamiliar with this money transfer system will benefit from reading this study first. Indeed, the money transfers between the Chinese established in Southeast Asia and their families in Southern China go back a long way, but are not or hardly documented. For example, in the case of the Malacca Captain Li Weijing 李為經 (1614-1688), it is known from a manuscript genealogy that he sent a sum of money to his family in Xiamen for the construction of an ancestral temple on that island. At a time that remains uncertain, at least during the reign of Qianlong (1736-1795), people specialised in this type of trade. They collected the money in Southeast Asia and went to China in order to give it to the people concerned. They were known as *shuike* 水客 or "water guest."

Before the establishment of Western-style Chinese banks in Southeast Asia, merchants specialized in this type of trade and established shops called *piju* 批局 or "remittance shop." With the establishment of these shops, transfers were made in a standardised form: an envelope including the sum of money and an accompanying letter. The envelope itself contained the name of the recipient or a designation in a central column, the address in the right column, and the amount of money sent, the name of the sender and his country of residence in the left column. The accompanying letters were, depending on the educational level of the persons concerned, written by themselves or by a public writer. The editors do not seem to have considered this question, nevertheless important, since the style, one might think, would differ if the letter were written by a third person, even if some emigrants could also use correspondence manuals.[21]

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19. The Qiaopi Project was formally registered under UNESCO's Memory of the World Program.

20. Gregor Benton, Hong Liu, *Dear China. Emigrant Letters and Remittances, 1820-1980*, Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018.

21. We found in Iquitos (Peru) the first volume of a textbook that dated from the late Qing (1st

To return to the present volume, it aims to highlight the social content of this correspondence which, through the ages, reveals the suffering and financial problems of those who have remained in the country, but also of those who left it and were having difficulty succeeding in their migratory project. On both sides, the weight of financial hardships is felt and, in the background, that of the political situation. The editors did not say how they selected the letters, but one can think that the choices were quite limited. Indeed, as far as Southeast Asia is concerned, there are very few letters from the very beginning of the century, the majority of which do not go back beyond the years 1920-1930.

Editing and translating the various letters was a very difficult task because of the use of many local expressions which could not have been understood without the help of Prof. Liu Jin 劉進, from Wuyi University 五邑大學. We will stop for a moment at the oldest one for Southeast Asia (pp. 10-12) and make a comment. It dates from 1902 and was written by an emigrant in the Philippines to a relative in Vancouver to recounts the difficulties he had encountered since leaving his country, and to borrow money. The editors have omitted the name of the Philippine port transcribed (in Cantonese?) 尾利□打埠 where he arrived (p. 10), yet this is important to the understanding of the letter. The transcription is not common. According to Teresita Ang, Go Bon Juan and Lyonel Ty, it is very likely a rendering of Manito, a port located in the province of Albay which produces a lot of abaca. The author of the letter notes that from time to time he earns a living by cutting abaca stalks in the fields, and not hemp as in the translation. The confusion arises from the fact that the author uses the expression of *ma* 麻 for *jiaoma* 蕉麻.

This is the first bilingual English-Chinese collection of its kind, and the editors are to be congratulated for opening a new genre of study. In the Chinese world, similar researches have already appeared. We mention only two: *Qiaopi gushi* 僑批故事 "Stories from Overseas Letters" published in 2014 by the Provincial Archives of Guangongdong 廣東檔案館 in the Guangdong Memory Series, Jiyi xilie congshu 廣東記憶系列叢書; *Qiaopili de zhonghua qing* 僑批裡的中華情, "Love for China in Overseas Letters" by Singaporean author Rongzi 蓉子 published in 2018 in Guangzhou by Huacheng chubanshe.

Claudine Salmon

Pieter Nicolaas Kuiper, *The Early Dutch Sinologists. A Study of their Training in Holland and China and their Functions in the Netherlands Indies (1854-1900)*, PhD Thesis, Leiden University, The Netherlands, 2015, 2 vols., 1035 pages, 45 illustrations, 19 appendices, 4 indexes. ISBN/EAN: 978-90-71256-45-5

P. N. Kuiper's thesis has the great merit of unveiling the singularity of the first forty-odd years of Dutch Sinology, which unlike that of other European countries was not directed towards China, but to the management of the Chinese communities in the

ed. 1881, re-engraved in Foshan 佛山, Guangdong, 1903). It was titled: *You xue xinzha you* 幼学信札 "The Young Learn to Write Letters".

Netherlands Indies. In 1848, a change in the administration of justice at home and in the colony had a far-reaching effect on the legal position of the Chinese in the colonial possessions, since the Governor-General was authorized to declare parts of the Civil Code or Commercial Code applicable to the local population. This greatly boosted the need for translators. Moreover, in the mid-1850s, the increase of Chinese coolies for work in the tin mines of Bangka and Belitung and, since the 1870s, in the East Coast plantations of Sumatra, resulted in a greater demand for interpreters.

Since the 17th century, translations from Chinese to Malay and from Malay to Chinese had been made by leaders of the Chinese community. By the mid-19th century, more and more colonial authorities rightly or wrongly suspected some translators of misinterpreting the texts on purpose, hence their request to have Dutch students trained as translators and interpreters.

The authorities in the metropolis were slow to react. The first lessons were given by private teachers. Johannes Josephus Hoffmann (1805-1878), of German origin, became the first professor of Chinese in the Netherlands and the first professor of Japanese in the Western world. However, a Chinese and Japanese language course was established at Leiden University in 1855, and a chair of Sinology in 1877, which was inaugurated by Gustaaf Schlegel (1840-1903) of German ancestry and a former student of Hoffman, who had first worked as interpreter in the Indies from 1862 to 1872.

The study is divided into thirteen chapters that mainly focus on the following questions: the origins of Sinology (pp. 7-33), students of Hoffman and Schlegel, their stays in South China (pp. 35-386), their compilation of dictionaries (pp. 387-448), their working as interpreters and translators with the assistance of Chinese teachers introduced from Southern China, who also acted as clerks (pp. 449-508), their advisory functions (pp. 509-561), and their studies and missions. Finally, the reform of 1896 initiated by W.P. Groeneveldt (1841-1915, former interpreter), which was aimed to strengthen the Sinologists' position as advisers (pp. 599-616). From that time on, they were called "Official for Chinese Affairs" (*Ambtenaar voor Chineesche Zaken*), instead of "Interpreter (*tolk*)," a formal designation that turned out to be incorrect. As a result, the brightest ones moved to more brilliant careers, as showed in the very detailed biographies of the 26 first Sinologists followed with their honours, publications, manuscripts, obituaries, and the fate of their libraries, which are given in Appendix A (pp. 825-967).

In the epilogue the author provides an overview of the Sinology in Leiden after the passing of Schlegel,[22] the evolution of the new function of the Official for Chinese Affairs in the Indies, until the end of their Bureau (and the deliberate destruction of the archives) when the Japanese invaded the Indies in 1942; the creation in 1947 of the University of Indonesia which included a Sinological Institute (Sinologisch Instituut, Batavia) "as Leiden's little brother" (p. 620) that was staffed with former Officials for Chinese Affairs. The departure of the last of them in 1954 marked the end of a full century of Dutch Sinological involvement in the Archipelago.

Here we would like to emphasize the chapters that help us to better understand the functions of the Sinologists in the Indies: the publication history of dictionaries and their evaluation (Chapter 11), the Sinologists' translations (Chapter 12), their advisory functions

22. Worthy of note: in 1917, a new curriculum for Leiden was proclaimed, and Mandarin become the main language (p. 1000).

(Chapter 13), and their missions (Chapter 14). The Sinologists compiled three dictionaries that were supposed to help them in their work with the Chinese in the Indies, at a time when the interest in Chinese dialectology was mainly the realm of missionaries.[23]

The first, by J.J.C Francken (1838-1864) and C.F.M. De Grijs (1832-1902), was an Amoy-Dutch dictionary (*Chineesch-Hollandsch wordenboek van het Emoi dialekt*). It was started by Francken in China in 1862 and published by De Grijs in Batavia in 1882. It is arranged according to Zhangzhou/Xiamen pronunciation of the Hokkien dialect which was generally spoken on Java; unlike Rev. Carstairs Douglas' *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (London, 1873), it includes Chinese characters, but in a non-systematic way.[24] It contains about 33,000 entries, and some 2,000 sayings, and has remained very useful up to now, in spite of its shortcomings.[25]

Schlegel Dutch-Chinese dictionary in Zhangzhou dialect (*Hô Hoâ Bûn-Gi Lui Ts'am* 荷華文語累參 *Nederlandsch-Chineesch wordenboek met de transcripsie der Chineesche karacters in het Tsiang-tsiu dialect,* was published in instalments from 1882 to 1891 in Leiden by Brill. Although it was criticised by some for including "obscene" terms and quotations, but it was regarded by others as one of the best dictionaries. Unfortunately, this dictionary was not "to become a classic dictionary that would long be in use" (p. 442), the main reason being that after the end of the 19th century, the Sinologists did not continue to translate systematically the colonial ordinances into Chinese.

The fourth and last dictionary compiled by a Sinologist in the Indies was P.A. Van de Stadt's Hakka dictionary (*Hakka-wordenboek*), that was published in Batavia in 1912 in two parts: Dutch-Hakka and Hakka-Dutch. At that time, Van der Valk was General Agent of the Billiton Mining Company, but he had previously studied Hakka in China. It is a practical dictionary of the Hakka dialect as spoken on Bangka and Belitung, but it lacks Chinese characters. It is full of Malay and hybrid loanwords. Van de Stadt could make use of several other dictionaries, including Ch. Rey, *Dictionnaire Chinois-Français, dialecte Hac-ka* (Hong Kong, Imprimerie de la Société des missions étrangères, 1901).

In the chapter on interpretation and translations, the author provides a vivid description of the difficulties encountered by the interpreters in relation to the variety of dialects spoken in the colony, and even in the same city. In 1878, it was finally decided that pure interpretating work had to be done by ethnic Chinese: "Since they could feel and think as a Chinese and made idiomatic translations, they were best able to bring across the meaning" (p. 468). On the contrary, regarding translating work, which had long been assumed by Chinese,[26] it was thought that they had to be done

23. We leave apart Hoffman's Japanese-Dutch-English dictionary, the aim of which was to promote Japanese studies and to maintain the precedence of the Dutch language among the Japanese, as well as manuscript dictionaries (pp. 387-398).

24. A Chinese printing facility was established in Batavia with Chinese type in 1862, and the Government Press continued to use this type at least until the 1920s.

25. It was still possible to purchase it when we arrived in Jakarta in 1966.

26. An example of such translations is the *Huaren meisegan tiaoli* 华人美色甘条例 (Regulations of the Chinese Orphans Chamber), a manuscript copy that belonged to B. Hoetink (1854-1927), which is now kept in The East Asian Library, Leiden University. Dutch text in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië,* 1828, n° 46.

by Dutch interpreters. The main reason was that although the Chinese versions were generally correct, they were not directly made from Dutch but from Malay, eventually with some undesirable consequences. But in the Indies the interpreters could not use the translation methods of the European interpreters in China, who relied on educated Chinese who, after hearing the oral explanation of the text, composed excellent draft translations. In the Indies the interpreters were left with the difficulty of composing in Chinese except for those who managed to select excellent teachers. One example was Hoetink's collaboration with Jo Hoae Geok 杨怀玉 (?-1899) from Xiamen, who accompanied him in Makassar in 1878 and stayed there, where he married the daughter of the Chinese *kapitan*, became a wealthy businessman, and was appointed as *luitenant* of the Chinese in 1896 (pp. 186-187, 472).[27] Kuiper provides a sample of renditions of legal texts made by the Sinologists with the originals in Dutch, and their renditions in English (pp. 485-494). Special attention is also given to account books, the manner in which they were interpreted, translated and excerpted, because during the 19th century cases of bankruptcy and fraud with bankruptcy were rampant among the Chinese on Java (pp. 494-500)

Chapter 13, as well as presenting the biographies of the Sinologists allow the reader to obtain an insight into the diversity of their advisory functions. They ranged from supervision of the Orphans and Estate Chambers (by becoming "extraordinary members") to their expertise in law and customs for the courts. In some cases, they entered into philological conflict with the peranakan heads of the Chinese communities. They occasionally complained about their weak advisory position. Chapter 14 provides an overview of the topics for which the colonial government needed their services, such as study missions at home and abroad, investigation of secret societies, arranging for emigration of coolies, other coolie matters…

The contribution of these Sinologists is uneven; some concentrated their research on Insulindian Chinese, and mainly published in Dutch, such as M. von Faber (1838-1917), B. Hoetink (1854-1927), and J. L. J. F. Ezerman (1869-1949). Others became eminent scholars and civil servants such as: Schlegel, whose list of scholarly publications is impressive,[28] Groeneveldt who in 1877 after having been an interpreter for almost thirteen years, became Referendary (*Referendaris*) at the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry, and Honorary advisor for Chinese Affairs, and authored diverse historical studies;[29] de Groot, who in 1891 became Professor of Geography and Ethnography of the Indies Archipelago in Leiden, and who inherited the chair of Sinology after the passing of Schlegel, and who has remained famous for his *Religious System of China* in 6 volumes (1892-1910); and, again Simon Hartwich Schaank (1861-1935), who published important studies on the Chinese in Sumatra

27. See also *Archipel* 77 (2009), pp. 38-44 for the presentation of Tan Siu Eng 陈琇荣 (1833-1906), assistant of Groeneveldt.

28. See *Liste chronologique des ouvrages et opuscules publiés par le Dr. G. Schlegel : 1862-1901*, Leiden, 1902.

29. One of the best known being his *Notes on the Malay Archipelago, Compiled from Chinese Sources*, first published in the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, Vol. 39, 1880, reprinted in 1887 in England, and by Bhratara in Jakarta in 1960.

and Borneo, and who is also known for his linguistic studies, especially on ancient Chinese phonetics.

To sum up, this research provides an extremely rich overview of the forty-odd years of Dutch Sinology at home and in the Indies; as such, it is a must for the student who is interested in the history of European Sinology, but also in that of of Insulindian Chinese communities, since both are inseparable.

Claudine Salmon

Wang Gungwu with Margaret Wang, *Home is Where We Are,* Singapore, Published under Ridge Books imprint by NUS Press, National University of Singapore [2021], 300 p., Bibliography, Appendix, Index, Plates. ISBN 978-981-325-132-8 (casebound).

En terminant le compte rendu de *Home is Not Here*, « Notre domicile n'est pas ici » qui s'achève sur le désenchantement des Wang à l'arrivée des communistes à Nanjing, le retour de la famille en Asie du Sud-est fin 1948, l'obtention de la nationalité malaise pour Wang Gungwu, et son entrée à l'université de Malaisie (MU) en 1949 (*Archipel* 97, 2019, p. 323-325), nous nous demandions s'il y aurait une suite. La sortie toute récente de *Home is Where we Are* ou « Notre domicile est là où nous sommes » apporte la réponse à notre question.

Tout comme le premier volume, lequel comportait plusieurs extraits des mémoires de la mère de l'auteur, *Home is Where We Are* emprunte de nombreuses citations à ceux de son épouse Margaret, née Lim Ping Ting 林娉婷, écrits à l'intention de ses enfants. Ces derniers apportent un éclairage complémentaire et font preuve d'un esprit très pragmatique. Margaret Wang n'aura pas eu le plaisir de voir l'ouvrage paraître, puisqu'elle s'est éteinte le 7 août 2020.

Ce deuxième volume est divisé en neuf parties. Deux concernent la rencontre de Wang Gungwu avec Margaret et sa famille, les débuts de leur vie de couple et la naissance de leur fils, alors que Gungwu termine la rédaction de sa thèse en Angleterre. On apprend ainsi comment les futurs époux se sont rapprochés du fait qu'ils étaient tous deux nés dans des familles d'enseignants, et qu'ils partageaient le même goût pour la culture britannique, Margaret s'étant consacrée à l'enseignement de l'anglais. Une troisième partie évoque leur installation à Petaling Jaya dans une maison suffisamment spacieuse pour héberger les parents de Wang Gungwu.

Les six autres concernent essentiellement les différentes étapes du cheminement intellectuel et professionnel de l'auteur principal depuis son entrée à MU, jusqu'en 1968, année qui marque la fin de son enseignement au sein du département d'histoire de ladite université, et son départ pour l'Australie. Ces quelque vingt années durant lesquelles Wang Gungwu n'a cessé de s'adapter à son pays d'accueil sont particulièrement instructives pour le lecteur occidental qui s'intéresse à la manière dont les personnes d'origine chinoise furent amenées à se repenser afin de s'intégrer dans une Malaisie alors en construction.

L'éducation anglaise dont le jeune Gungwu avait bénéficié depuis son enfance, à laquelle s'était ajoutée une culture chinoise classique dispensée par son père, puis à l'université de Nanjing, plus le compartimentage d'une société coloniale multilingue

avaient fait qu'il ne se sentait pas partie prenante de la société locale, d'autant plus qu'il n'avait pas vraiment eu accès à la culture malaise, pas plus qu'à la littérature chinoise locale en langue vernaculaire (*baihua*). Encouragé par Beda Lim, un étudiant *peranakan* dont l'anglais était excellent, il publie en 1950 un premier recueil de poésies intitulé *Puls*e. C'est à MU qu'il prend conscience de la politisation de ses camarades, alors que lui-même n'avait jamais réfléchi au fait qu'une partie de l'héritage colonial devait être rejetée. Cette première constatation se trouve confirmée lors d'un symposium, organisé en 1950 à Manille à l'initiative de la Rockefeller Foundation, au cours duquel il rencontre de jeunes auteurs d'Asie du Sud-est déjà bien en place, et découvre notamment les écrivains indonésiens de la « Génération 45 » dont il ignorait tout. Ce constat d'ignorance l'amène à se poser la question de savoir quel genre de Malaisien il peut bien être ; aussi, à quelque temps de là, décide-t-il d'apprendre le malais sérieusement, de suivre les cours des grands maîtres de l'époque, et de se spécialiser en histoire afin d'élargir son horizon, tout en gardant un intérêt pour la littérature. L'éducation politique de Wang Gungwu se poursuit, tant en observant la société de Singapour, qu'en s'impliquant dans un syndicat d'étudiants, ce qui en 1951 l'amène à visiter Sri Lanka et l'Inde. Ce faisant, il découvre l'importance des mouvements nationalistes dans ces deux pays, et rencontre de jeunes chercheurs désireux de réécrire l'histoire de leur pays, telle l'indianiste Romila Thapar avec laquelle il restera en contact.

À son retour dans la ville du Lion, Wang délaisse un peu les activités syndicales pour mieux se plonger dans ses études d'histoire. En vue de rédiger un premier exercice universitaire sur les réformateurs et révolutionnaires chinois dans les Straits Settlements durant les années 1900-1911, il se rend à Hong Kong pour chercher des documents d'archives sur Kang Youwei et Sun Yat Sen. Ce séjour, et en particulier les rencontres avec d'éminents professeurs raniment son intérêt pour l'histoire de Chine. Wang consacre ensuite un long développement à la manière dont il mûrit le sujet de sa thèse, laquelle allait porter sur les relations économiques entre la Chine et les mers du Sud au X^{e} siècle, sujet qui avait l'avantage de lui permettre de garder un équilibre entre l'histoire de son pays d'origine et celle de son pays d'accueil. En 1954, grâce à une bourse du British Council, il se rend à Londres et s'inscrit à la SOAS[30]. C'est alors qu'il se familiarise avec les études sinologiques européennes. En 1957, sa thèse terminée, il rentre en compagnie de sa famille à Singapour. Il est aussitôt recruté dans le département d'histoire de MU, et chargé de donner un cours sur les débuts de la période moderne (1500-1800). En mai de cette même année, la fédération de Malaisie était devenue indépendante et Tunku Abdul Rahman, en tant que premier ministre, avait obtenu qu'un campus de ladite université soit établi à Kuala Lumpur où les premiers cours devaient commencer dès 1958. En mai 1959, Wang Gungwu décide d'aller s'établir en Malaisie avec sa famille.

C'est l'époque où les États-Unis, inquiets de la montée du communisme, entendent se substituer aux puissances européennes, et viennent courtiser les nouveaux États d'Asie du Sud-est. C'est ainsi qu'en 1960, Wang se voit invité par la Asia Foundation à entreprendre un voyage de quatre mois pour se familiariser avec les recherches sur la Chine dans

30. Le département d'Études Chinoises de MU sera fondé à Singapour en 1953, et celui de Kuala Lumpur en 1963.

quatorze des plus prestigieuses universités américaines. S'ensuit un rapport extrêmement instructif sur les études sinologiques et les enseignants- chercheurs rencontrés (p. 174-191) et sur une reconceptualisation de la région d'Asie du Sud-est dans un contexte plus vaste. Cette mission d'étude marque le début d'un ballet d'invitations, mais aussi de réflexions, Wang Gungwu constate alors le fait qu'il est tantôt regardé comme un spécialiste de l'histoire de la Chine, tantôt comme un historien travaillant sur l'Asie du Sud-est. Les choses se compliquent encore après qu'il est élu doyen de la faculté des lettres en 1962, que l'université décide d'ouvrir un département d'études chinoises et que, suite à l'idée du Tunku d'établir une « Greater Malaysia » lancée en 1961, Wang en tant que nouveau doyen de la faculté des lettres se sent obligé de coordonner un recueil d'essais visant à présenter les conditions de base d'une telle fédération. Cette idée, comme on sait, allait provoquer bien des remous, puisque pour finir Singapour n'en fera pas partie, ce qui ébranla fort le coordinateur du rapport. En 1963, Wang Gungwu est nommé professeur. Il renonce alors à sa charge de doyen de la faculté des lettres, et réintègre le département d'histoire afin de mieux se consacrer à son enseignement et à la préparation de manuels d'histoire nationale.

L'année 1965 allait voir les changements politiques se précipiter dans la région : la séparation de la cité-État de Singapour de la fédération de Malaisie en août, la chute de Sukarno et l'annihilation du plus grand parti communiste de la région suite au prétendu coup d'État du 30 septembre, puis, au début l'année suivante, la révolution culturelle en Chine. Tous ces événements auxquels s'ajoutent diverses invitations à participer à des colloques mettant l'accent sur l'Extrême-Orient et la Chine en particulier, vont pousser Wang Gungwu à accepter en 1968, la chaire d'histoire de l'Asie orientale qui lui est proposée à ANU, dans le cadre de la Research School of Pacific Studies.

Cette décision allait donner une orientation plus large à ses recherches, mais du même coup mettre un terme à un projet longuement caressé : écrire une histoire nationale de la Malaisie qui ferait une place équitable aux différentes communautés, projet ô combien difficile qui n'a toujours pas été réalisé…

Le dernier chapitre conclut sur l'idée qu'au cours de ces quelque cinquante dernières années passées entre l'Australie, Hong Kong et Singapour, Wang Gungwu, tout comme son épouse, est arrivé à transcender la question du domicile pour se sentir chez lui là où il se trouve[31], indépendamment de toute question de nationalité[32].

Cette somme, qui fait peu de place au subjectif, et dans laquelle l'auteur principal dialogue avec lui-même en introduisant des réflexions et des questionnements souvent postérieurs sur ses prises de conscience successives, ainsi que sur certaines de ses analyses politiques, ne peut qu'interpeller les historiens d'Asie du Sud-est, mais pas seulement. Sa façon de regarder la Chine à partir de la périphérie et en s'exprimant en anglais plutôt qu'en chinois fascine, et l'Université chinoise de Hong Kong a déjà publié les deux volumes de mémoires en chinois.

Claudine Salmon

31. Expression traduite en chinois par xinan ji shi jia 心安即是家 « On est chez soi là où on a la tranquillité d'esprit. ».

32. Après leur installation à Singapour en 1996, Wang Gungwu et son épouse ont conservé leur nationalité australienne.

Voyageurs, Explorateurs et Scientifiques: The French and Natural History in Singapore, Singapour, Lee Kong Chian Natural History Museum, Faculty of Science, National University of Singapore, 2019, 428 p., Plates, Index. ISBN: 978-981-14-3342-9. Version numérique gratuite accessible sur le site https://lkcnhm.nus.edu.sg/publications/

La passion pour les sciences naturelles, et particulièrement pour la zoologie – au début du moins – fut une constante de l'intérêt des Européens voyageurs qui, de leur propre initiative commencèrent à collecter, au hasard des rencontres, les curiosités naturelles qu'ils découvraient. En Europe, la propriété et l'entretien d'un cabinet de curiosités, faisait partie de l'affichage d'une aisance comme on peut encore le voir dans le Museum d'histoire naturelle de La Rochelle. Ajoutons que l'intérêt pour ces objets était à l'occasion doublé d'un aspect lucratif qui n'a cessé de se développer et même de se professionnaliser à la fin du XIX[e] siècle où de nouvelles filières ont relancé l'intérêt pour la zoologie : les chasses du gros gibier et la capture des animaux de cirque, qui souvent allaient de pair.

La systémisation des règnes naturels commence à poindre au XVIII[e] siècle. Dans un premier temps on trouve, à la suite du récit de voyage, quelques chapitres consacrés à la description des spécimens ignorés. Mais les reproductions, faites loin des objets et mal identifiées sont de médiocre qualité. À quelques exceptions près comme le recueil en couleurs de Louis Renard, *Poissons, écrevisses et crabe*s… (1718) avec la célèbre image finale, et très curieuse du dugong. On se trouve à la charnière de l'avancement des sciences, après le livre d'Albertus Seba, qui représente beaucoup d'animaux de la zone malaise : *Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri* (1734), avec ses planches de curiosités mélangées, où l'emplacement des illustrations dépend essentiellement de l'espace disponible – ce qui ne manqua pas, dit-on, de plaire énormément aux surréalistes –. La transition, au niveau iconographique commence vraiment avec les oiseaux de Pierre Sonnerat (*Voyage à la Nouvelle-Guinée* (1776)).

Au début du XIX[e] siècle – c'est là que commence cet ouvrage – l'ordonnancement du règne animal et du règne végétal, c'est-à-dire la construction savante de la discipline va devenir le souci principal des botanistes. Pour cela, il fallait s'appuyer sur des lieux de collecte, les jardins botaniques et sur des hommes, à savoir des naturalistes qui étaient encore une denrée rare. Les Hollandais avaient déjà montré l'exemple avec le Jardin botanique de Buitenzorg (1817), géré par Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt. Le présent ouvrage commence donc avec l'installation de Sir Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), en mai-juin 1819 à Singapour, après une visite à Paris d'où il déclare dans sa correspondance, que « le Jardin des plantes est à visiter tout de suite après le Louvre ».

Pour assurer le développement des classifications, le présent ouvrage a le mérite d'explorer les archives du MSH et du jardin botanique de Singapour. Le personnage le plus influent est évidemment Raffles qui dans le souci d'une planification urbaine, rangea au rang des nécessités la création d'un jardin botanique. Il recruta deux Français, Pierre Médard Diard (1794-1863) et Alfred Duvaucel (1793-1824). Pour la petite histoire, la mère de ce dernier avait épousé en deuxièmes noces le naturaliste Georges Cuvier qui ne manquait pas d'entregent. C'est par cette porte là que commencent les relations franco-singapouriennes dans les échanges zoologiques et botaniques qui vont de pair avec le développement de la cité.

Ce sont ces deux botanistes qui se mirent au service de la puissance coloniale pour faire progresser l'émulation qui se développait dans la taxonomie : l'identification savante intégrant le nom du découvreur ou servant d'hommage à une personnalité. Il est d'ailleurs intéressant de retrouver le même schéma à Java. Le naturaliste Jean-Baptiste Louis Claude Leschenault de La Tour, botaniste de l'expédition du commandant Baudin (1800-1804) avait été débarqué malade à Timor. Il fut récupéré par les autorités de Java. Il contribua à la connaissance botanique de cette île en faisant la description de plusieurs dizaines de milliers d'espèces.

Dans ce début du XIX^{e} siècle, après les guerres napoléoniennes, la France et plus précisément la Monarchie de Juillet avait besoin de réaffirmer sa présence dans toutes les parties du monde. Les expéditions se succèdent : Dumont d'Urville, Freycinet, Duperrey, Laplace… Les plus importantes par le volume de leurs publications sont les deux Tours du monde de Dumont d'Urville avec, chaque fois, une douzaine de volumes, 200 planches de zoologie et une centaine de botanique, sans parler des cartes. Le groupe des savants s'est étoffé et spécialisé. Outre les originaux des collections, l'intérêt du présent ouvrage est de tirer de l'oubli des archives privées, qui recensent les correspondances des savants, les dons au Jardin botanique qui sont de diverses origines mais qui étaient peu exploités. S'ajoutent également les correspondances des voyageurs, par exemple Marguerite Marie du Bourg de Bozas, femme du monde ou Martine Marie-Pol de Béarn qui croise à bord du *Nirvana*. Louis Lapicque (profita du yacht *Semiramis*. Il devait accompagner un riche héritier mais la croisière fut annulée pour scandale financier. La propriétaire offrit donc le bénéfice de la croisière au seul Louis Lapicque. (« À la recherche des Négritos », *Journal des voyages*, 1895 (2)). Le Comte de Beauvoir est aussi intégré alors qu'il est plutôt le chroniqueur littéraire du voyage autour du monde.

La publication de ce livre a bénéficié d'une abondante illustration. Il n'y avait que l'embarras du choix, encore que les planches des atlas auraient pu être plus nombreuses car elles appartiennent à l'histoire de la gravure. Parallèlement à sa fonction d'emporium, Singapour joua le rôle de plaque tournante des collectionneurs, ne serait-ce que pour l'expédition des objets et des voyageurs. À partir du moment où la ville est créée, les échanges naturalistes suivent le mouvement au même rythme. C'est une collaboration scientifique qui dure depuis deux siècles, qui était peu connue et qui est intimement et originalement liée à l'histoire de Singapour.

Pierre Labrousse

Judith E. Bosnak and Frans X. Koot, *The Javanese Travels of Purwalelana. A Nobleman's Account of his Journeys across the Island of Java 1860-1875*. Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2020 [Hakluyt Society, Series III, 36] xxii+272 pp. ISBN 9780367530051. Hardback.

Fondée en 1846, la Société Hakluyt, basée à Londres, a publié en plus de 150 ans une liste impressionnante d'éditions savantes de sources primaires concernant la littérature de voyage de différentes époques et régions, écrites à l'origine dans différentes langues du monde. Trente-sixième volume de la troisième série, ce présent ouvrage est une traduction, accompagnée de notes, de commentaires, de cartes, d'images et de planches,

du premier récit de voyage en langue javanaise et sur l'île de Java paru dans la série majestueuse des livres Hakluyt à reliure bleue. Ce récit exhaustif a été écrit par un jeune fonctionnaire aristocratique au service du gouvernement des Indes Néerlandaises, à savoir le régent (*bupati*) de Kudus (1858-1885), Raden Mas Arya Candranĕgara (c. 1836-1885), sous le pseudonyme de Raden Mas Arya Purwalĕlana. Après une première publication d'ouvrage en deux volumes en 1865-1866 par Landsdrukkerij (Imprimerie Nationale), maison d'édition officielle du gouvernement colonial, une seconde édition, revue et augmentée par l'auteur lui-même, a été publiée par des éditeurs privés en 1877 (à Semarang, chez G.C.T. van Dorp & Co) et 1880 (à Batavia, chez Ogilvie & Co); les deux éditions sont en écriture javanaise. Comme il a été dûment noté par les deux traducteurs (p. xvi, n°. 2), une romanisation complète de la deuxième édition a été mise à disposition tout récemment sur le site web de sastra.org.[33]

Ce n'est qu'en 1986 que le javanologue français Marcel Bonneff a impressionné le monde académique avec son excellente traduction française de la deuxième édition du texte (ou, autrement dit, l'édition de dernière main), accompagnée par des commentaires fort documentés et érudits, une introduction détaillée et d'utiles cartes[34]. Ce magnifique travail de pionnier a été suivi en 2013 par une traduction néerlandaise de Judith E. Bosnak et Frans X. Koot[35], également basée sur la deuxième édition, dont Revo A. G. Soekatno avait fait une translittération (cette dernière est restée non publiée). En raison de la domination mondiale de la langue anglaise aujourd'hui, même parmi les universitaires non anglophones spécialisés dans les études indonésiennes, c'est une bonne chose que Bosnak et Koot aient maintenant rendu le récit de Purwalĕlana accessible à un public potentiellement beaucoup plus large. Bosnak et Koot ont fait tout leur possible pour aider le grand public à mieux comprendre un monde bien différent du nôtre au début du XXI^{e} siècle. La traduction intégrale comporte de nombreuses notes de bas de page, ce qui est un bon service pour tous les non-initiés aux affaires javanaises. Pas moins de neuf annexes, sur des sujets aussi fondamentaux que la langue javanaise, les poids et mesures, noms botaniques, l'administration coloniale, l'architecture des palais en Java, les conventions poétiques, les titres, fonctions et honorifiques javanais, le calendrier javanais et un résumé de l'histoire javanaise avant le XIX^{e} siècle, sont incluses. En plus de cela, afin de visualiser le texte, les traducteurs ont ajouté à ce récit pas moins de 73 images en noir et blanc, 24 planches en couleur, 5 diagrammes et 4 cartes.

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33. Le volume 1 est accessible dans le site web https://www.sastra.org/kisah-cerita-dan-kronikal/riwayat-dan-perjalanan/238-cariyos-purwalelana-candranagara-1877-790-hlm-001-139 et dans https://www.sastra.org/kisah-cerita-dan-kronikal/riwayat-dan-perjalanan/812-cariyos-purwalelana-candranagara-1877-790-hlm-140-259. Le volume 2 est disponible sur https://www.sastra.org/kisah-cerita-dan-kronikal/riwayat-dan-perjalanan/1717-lampah-lampahipun-raden-mas-arya-purwalelana-candranagara-1880-1873.

34. Marcel Bonneff, *Pérégrinations javanaises. Les voyages de R.M.A. Purwa Lelana : une vision de Java au XIX^{e} siècle (c. 1860-1875)*. Paris : Ed. de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1986.

35. Judith E. Bosnak & Frans X. Koot, *Op reis met een Javaanse edelman. Een levendig portret van koloniaal Java in de negentiende eeuw (1860-1875).* Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2013.

Le noble voyageur avait entrepris les quatre voyages décrits à travers le centre et l'est de Java et à Batavia peu avant sa nomination comme régent de Kudus en 1858, alors qu'il n'avait que 22 ans environ. Ainsi, le nom intrigant de Purwalĕlana, composé des éléments plutôt littéraires et livresques *purwa* (début; ancien ; premier) et *lĕlana* (voyager, vagabonder, aller à l'aventure ; errer), pourrait-il peut-être simplement faire référence aux « anciennes aventures » de l'auteur. Une autre hypothèse, avancée par Bonneff, serait que le jeune auteur a utilisé ce nom de plume pour évoquer des liens archétypaux avec la tradition littéraire javanaise très ancienne des pérégrinations. Cependant, plusieurs interprétations sont possibles et les traducteurs laissent sagement les options ouvertes (p. 22).

Vivant à une époque coloniale marquée par de grandes transformations, Purwalĕlana a toutefois adopté une approche résolument non traditionnelle, en écrivant en prose un récit réaliste à la première personne. Il me semble que le noble « vagabond » a beaucoup en commun avec la figure du flâneur décrite par Walter Benjamin, c'est-à-dire le promeneur individualisé et observateur pointu des effets de la modernisation. Pour ne donner qu'un exemple des observations de Purwalĕlana parmi tant d'autres des bouleversements dans toutes les sphères de la société javanaise apparus dans la seconde moitié du XIX[e] siècle, je mentionnerai seulement que Purwalĕlana, entre autres, attire l'attention sur le nouvel usage occidental d'une carte de menu lors des dîners entres nobles à Surakarta (p. 169). Comme il le dit lui-même, les Néerlandais appellent cela un « mĕnu », ce dont il doit donner une description car il n'en existe pas d'équivalent dans son propre vocabulaire javanais.

La seule critique possible de ce livre de sources très utile serait de pinailler en énumérant les fautes de frappe, mais on aurait du mal à trouver de nombreux exemples. J'ai noté « panditha » (p. 143 n. 3) pour « pandhita » ; « kinanti » (p. 200 n. 1; p. 254) pour « kinanthi » ; « Hiatory » (229 note 2) pour « History ». Concernant un petit détail à propos d'une race de cheval appelé « Sidney [*sic*] horse » (p. 58, n. 1), les traducteurs n'ont pas pu identifier de quel type de cheval il s'agit. Le texte javanais (p. 47 du premier volume) parle de *kapal teji Sidni*. En fait, aux Indes néerlandaises ce cheval était connu sous le nom de « Sydney paard » (cheval de Sydney). Cet animal était assez populaire à Java, comme en témoignent de nombreuses annonces « cheval de Sydney à vendre » dans les quotidiens coloniaux en néerlandais de l'époque[36]. Il s'agit probablement du « Stock Horse » australien, envoyé à l'origine de Sydney à Java.

En bref, cette traduction minutieuse abondamment annotée et illustrée mérite d'être saluée, offrant au lectorat général et à toutes sortes de chercheurs mais aussi et surtout aux spécialistes sur l'Archipel insulindien, la possibilité de prendre connaissance d'un guide privilégié de Java au XIX[e] siècle vu à travers le prisme d'un témoin oculaire javanais privilégié.

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36. Par exemple *Java-Bode*, le 16 septembre 1868, p. 1, disponible sur le lien http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010487245:mpeg21:pdf.

Monique Zaini-Lajoubert (dir.), *L'image de la famille dans les littératures modernes d'Asie du Sud-Est*, Paris, Les Indes Savantes, 2019, 326 p. ISBN 978-2-84654-539-6

Peu d'ouvrages ont été consacrés, en langue française, aux littératures modernes et contemporaines de l'Asie du Sud-est. Outre le volume pionnier de Pierre-Bernard Lafont et Denys Lombard[37] (1974), et un premier ouvrage collectif dirigé par Monique Zaini-Lajoubert[38] (2003) sur le thème de l'émergence des États modernes, nous ne connaissons pas d'ouvrage francophone ayant traité des littératures de la région en profondeur. Le monde anglo-saxon a certes produit un nombre plus important d'études – six au total (p. 12) – mais il convient de noter qu'une partie a pour but premier d'offrir un panorama des littératures de la région, et non une série d'études approfondies des œuvres[39]. À ce titre, l'ouvrage coordonné par Monique Zaini-Lajoubert forme un apport considérable à notre connaissance de ces littératures.

Dix contributions sur les littératures modernes de sept pays sud-est asiatiques sont regroupées autour du thème de la famille. Ce vaste sujet est abordé dans l'ouvrage sous divers aspects tels le couple traditionnel ou transgressif, la cellule familiale, les rapports aux anciens, ou encore les relations mère-enfants. Les sujets se croisant, les chapitres n'ont pas été organisés thématiquement mais par pays et ordre alphabétique. Les « Relations interpersonnelles en Birmanie » ouvre ainsi l'ouvrage qui se termine par un chapitre sur un récit autobiographique vietnamien. Au total, plus d'une trentaine d'œuvres écrites entre les années 1920 et 2000 – une majorité datant des années 1960-1990 – sont commentées.

Le couple est naturellement présent dans la quasi-totalité des études mais un chapitre lui est en particulier dédié, celui d'Etienne Naveau, qui analyse la représentation des mariages mixtes dans la littérature de Sumatra ouest entre 1920 et 1950 (p. 83-136). Denise Bernot traite quant à elle des rapports du couple avec le reste de la maisonnée, dont le fonctionnement, et l'éclatement progressif, est au centre d'une nouvelle de l'écrivaine birmane Khin Hnin Yu (p. 25-47). Enfin, dans les deux romans cambodgiens analysés par Suppya Nut, les couples amoureux sont dépeints comme perdants lorsque ceux-ci s'opposent au souhait et à la cohésion de la famille (p. 67-80).

Les rapports entre parents et enfants – en particulier mères et fils – sont également largement représentés. Khamphanh Pravongviengkham aborde, à travers le roman laotien *Orage de la vie* (1979) de Dao Neua, le thème traditionnel de « la dette du lait maternel » (p. 174) qu'un fils n'a pas eu le temps de rembourser à sa mère en se faisant bonze avant que celle-ci ne décède (p. 157-183). Le roman épistolaire *Lettres de Thaïlande* (1969), présenté par Jean Baffie, met en lumière les relations d'un immigré chinois avec sa mère, à laquelle il écrit et se confie (p. 209-233). Quant aux

37. Pierre-Bernard Lafont et Denys Lombard (dir.), *Littératures contemporaines de l'Asie du Sud-est*, Colloque du XXIX[e] Congrès international des orientalistes, Paris, l'Asiathèque, 1974.

38. Monique Zaini-Lajoubert (dir.), *États et littératures en Asie. L'émergence des États modernes, XIX[e]-XX[e] siècles*, Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2003.

39. Patricia Herbert et Anthony Milner (ed.), *Southeast-East Asia : Languages and Literatures : a Select Guide*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1989; Ulrich E. Kratz (ed.), *Southeast Asian Languages and Literatures: A Bibliographic Guide to Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Javanese, Malay, Minangkabau, Thai and Vietnamese*, New-York, Tauris Academic Studies, 1996.

nouvelles thaï contemporaines présentées par Louise Pichard-Bertaux, elles laissent transparaître l'évolution des rapports entre générations en milieu urbain où l'aspect matériel du coût de la vie vient jouer un rôle nouveau au sein de la famille (p. 235-256). Plus transgressif, le discours autobiographique de *Nguyên Hồng* dans « Jours d'enfance », présentée par Doan Cam Thi, évoque le désir sensuel, « dans une intimité des plus évocatrices » (p. 270) d'un fils pour sa mère (p. 259-275).

Mais c'est en fin de compte la place de la femme au sein de la cellule familiale et de la société, que ce soit dans son rôle traditionnel d'épouse, de mère, ou en tant que femme active en dehors du foyer, qui est le plus discuté dans l'ouvrage. Trois chapitres sont en particulier consacrés à ce thème. Sabai Shwe Demaria présente la position de la femme birmane dans la famille à travers le roman *Fleur de lotus blanc sur fond d'émeraude* (p. 49-63). Monique Zaini-Lajoubert met en lumière la représentation des femmes qui ont, ou pourrait avoir, un rôle en dehors du foyer dans quatre romans malaisiens (p. 187-206), un thème qui est également présent dans le chapitre de Savitri Scherer qui étudie les figures de femmes fortes, au comportement parfois transgressif, dans cinq romans balinais (p. 137-156).

En sus de l'étude des œuvres, plusieurs chapitres présentent le genre littéraire abordé dans son contexte culturel, historique et social, introduisant de ce fait à la littérature du pays. La contribution de Suppya Nut expose ainsi les conditions de l'émergence du roman cambodgien. Jean Baffie traite de la « littérature de langue thaie relative à la vie des Chinois de Thaïlande », donnant la genèse de cette littérature tout en expliquant les raisons de son relatif déclin. Quant à Khamphanh Pravongviengkham, il introduit son étude par des considérations sur la langue et les grandes étapes de la littérature lao. Enfin, on apprend avec Doan Cam Thi comment la conscience de soi, et l'expression des sentiments personnels, a fait son apparition dans le roman vietnamien.

Si l'ouvrage contribue à notre connaissance des littératures modernes et contemporaines de l'Asie du Sud-est, il permet également de prendre conscience des manques de la recherche dans ce domaine. Monique Zaini-Lajoubert précise, en introduction, que la région n'est pas représentée dans sa totalité. Il existe certes une production littéraire inégale d'un pays à l'autre mais c'est surtout le manque d'expertise sur les littératures modernes de cette région qui explique l'absence de certains pays dans cet ouvrage. Bien que Singapour et les Philippines possèdent une importante production littéraire contemporaine multilingue, quasiment aucun travaux n'existe en français sur ces littératures[40]. On regrettera également que la majorité des études adoptent une approche sociologique de ces textes, reléguant les éléments d'analyse littéraire – sur le style et la langue – au second plan. Ils sont pourtant du plus grand intérêt, comme le montre les passages du présent ouvrage (notamment p. 26, 47, 70, 174, 240-241), puisqu'ils s'avèrent essentiels pour une approche globale des

40. L'article de Zeus Salazar (« Introduction à la littérature moderne tagale », *Asian Studies Journal*, 11 (1), 1973, p. 129-150) est à notre connaissance la seule étude pour les Philippines. La revue française *Jentayu*, qui a pour but de faire connaître les littératures d'Asie, a publié les traductions françaises de nouvelles et de poèmes d'auteurs venant de Singapour (numéro spécial Covid-19) et des Philippines (numéros 7 et 10). Deux numéros spéciaux ont par ailleurs été consacrés à la Thaïlande (2017) et l'Indonésie (2018). Louise Pichard-Bertaux et Bernard Sellato, « Autour des littératures contemporaines d'Asie du Sud-Est en France : Thaïlande et Indonésie », *Moussons* 33, 2019, p. 175-183.

œuvres, lesquelles gagneraient à être considérées pour leur forme et leur fond. Les évolutions des usages linguistiques font en effet pleinement partie de la « modernité » des littératures que l'on cherche à étudier. On ne peut qu'espérer que l'ouvrage sur l'image de la famille dans les littératures modernes de l'Asie du Sud-est servira d'exemple et inspirera de nombreuses autres initiatives afin de pallier le manque de la recherche actuelle.

Elsa Clavé

Raymond Corbey, *Jurookng. Shamanic amulets from Southeast Borneo*. Leiden: C. Zwartenkot Art Books, 2018, cartes, photographies, dessins au trait, bibliographie, 243 p. ISBN 978-90-5450-019-3

L'auteur du livre, Raymond Corbey, anthropologue de formation, combine différents talents. Formé à la philosophie et à l'archéologie, il a enseigné à Tilburg et est actuellement rattaché à l'Université de Leyde aux Pays-Bas[41]. Son intérêt pour le statut de l'art tribal en Occident et pour les questions culturelles qui y sont liées a abouti à une approche innovante des collections ethnographiques aux Pays-Bas, associant la tradition historique à une méthodologie comparative et à l'esthétique, qui irrigue ses publications sur les collections muséales et privées.

L'approche choisie par Corbey procède par l'analyse des notions qui relèvent de « l'agentivité » (*agency*), informant le pouvoir et la matérialité des objets rituels en rapport à la cosmologie. Dans cette perspective, les objets rituels peuvent être considérés comme des « personnes » avec leur arrière-plan d'événements biographiques et de souvenirs qui peuvent agréger matérialité et traces (selon Kopytoff 1986 ; Gell 1998). De sorte que la hiérarchie rituelle est démontrée et légitimée par l'exposition ou l'utilisation des objets, combinée à des effets sociaux et politiques pour s'étendre à un réseau social et de parenté. Le pouvoir est ainsi créé et recréé à mesure qu'il se dégage de ces objets rituels, à des moments cérémoniels-clés. Inversement, il peut refléter une dimension « cachée » contenue dans l'objet du fait qu'il ne représente pas seulement les attributs du chef ou du chamane mais aussi le pouvoir spirituel dans sa capacité à croître. Les objets se trouvant ainsi « animés » par une force dynamique, particulièrement pendant les fêtes ou les rites curatifs, se chargent de sens. Dans un rituel, surtout dans un rituel chamanique, le pouvoir des objets interagit avec les esprits, c'est-à-dire les esprits ancestraux/des morts récents, ceux des esprits bienfaisants et malfaisants que le chamane rencontre durant ses voyages dans les mondes des esprits. *Jurookng* forme un exemple de cette approche.

Ce livre épais dont le titre, en langue vernaculaire, désigne les amulettes chamaniques des Benua'-Bentian, Tunjung et celles des populations Luangan qui y sont rattachées

41. Ses principales publications sont : *Tribal Traffic* (2000), centré sur les collectionneurs et marchands d'art tribal, *Headhunters from the swamps* (2010) au sujet du Marind Anim du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle Guinée – à savoir la Province de Papua, Indonésie – à partir d'une étude approfondie des archives des Misions de l'Église catholique néerlandaises (Mission du Sacré Cœur à Tilburg).

au Sud-Est de Bornéo (*jurookng*/*jurokng*/*jurong* de manière générique *: gimat*) vient s'ajouter à la littérature publiée sur le sujet dont une liste essentielle est donnée par l'auteur (p. 9). L'ouvrage est centré sur la publication d'une collection de 64 amulettes en bois dont la majorité a été rassemblée à Samarinda – Kutai, Kalimantan Est, *Kaltim* – dans les années 1960 par le célèbre collectionneur néerlandais Jac Hoogenbrugge. Ultérieurement, ce dernier acheta d'autres amulettes aux missionnaires catholiques (mission du Sacré Cœur à Tilburg, Pays-Bas) ou à des collectionneurs et marchands privés à Jakarta et aux Pays-Bas. Après son décès en 2014, sa collection intégra une autre collection privée (p. 15-16, note 7). D'après une information fournie par un collectionneur ayant acheté plusieurs charmes à Hoogenbrugge, certains proviendraient directement des Dayak du Mahakam qui descendaient en ville (note 6, p. 15). Hoogenbrugge a laissé des notes au sujet de la provenance de sa collection d'amulettes. Une série de dix de ces amulettes avait été présentée durant l'exposition *Kalimantan, Mythe en Kunst*, au Musée Nusantara de Delft sur les cultures de Bornéo en 1973 (Avé et van der Werff 1973, p. 96, n^{os} 64-68). En outre, l'ouvrage intègre des données d'une brève enquête de terrain faite par l'auteur à Kutai (Kaltim), des entretiens avec des spécialistes locaux du rituel *belian* et leurs parents.

La plupart des objets de la collection de référence étudiés par Corbey sont des amulettes figuratives à l'aspect anthropomorphique ; quelques-unes ont aussi un caractère hybride et zoomorphique (comparer Goldman 1975 ; Wentholt 2016). Le livre s'organise en deux grandes parties: la première comporte douze chapitres introductifs (p. 14-99), la seconde est constituée du catalogue lui-même (p. 102-231). Tout au long du livre, Corbey utilise uniquement le mot « amulette », dont il donne une définition (p. 29). Je relève qu'il ne prend pas en compte d'autres catégories de « charmes » utilisés par les Dayak comme les pierres, les perles, les tiges de rotin tordues, les dents d'animaux ou les objets fabriqués par l'homme telles les petites cloches sphériques en cuivre ou des figurines[42] en bronze.

Le thème du livre est introduit dans une courte section « Au long du fleuve Mahakam » qui donne une localisation des principaux groupes ethniques et qui est centrée sur la région du moyen Mahakam, de l'amont de Tenggarong jusqu'à Barong Tongkok, l'ancienne aire du sultanat de Kutai. La contextualisation de la collection se focalise sur les pratiques chamaniques, les rites de purification et de guérison des Tunjung, des Benua'Bentian et des populations qui y s'y rattachent, les Luangan

42. À l'exception d'une photographie d'un paquet de charmes *jimat* de la région de Muara Teweh (Kalimantan Centre) conservé à Leyde au Museum voor Volkenkunde/Nationaal Museum van Wereldkulturen (figs. 30, p. 92-93 du livre), le récit relié au charme cité par Corbey est fascinant. En outre, je remarque le dessin d'un petit collier chamanique *gerangih* (fig. 23, p. 75) redessiné dans le livre d'après Hopes 1997 : 107, montrant des dents d'animaux, des graines et des rotins à côté de huit amulettes figuratives. Il faut ajouter que de spectaculaires colliers chamaniques croisés Tunjung et Benua'-Bentian sont ornés de 33 ou 90 *jurookng* ; ils sont connus sous l'appellation *sumbang sambit* dans la région du *kabupaten* Pasir. Des photos d'archives comparatives de colliers croisés des chamanes Luangan et Tunjung sont incluses par Corbey (fig. 11, a,b,c , p. 38-39 ; comparer Hopes 1997 : 106-108) ; ces colliers ont la propriété de protéger le chamane pendant la séance. Il est possible que les bras et mains croisés qu'on trouve sur la poitrine sur certaines effigies funéraires *blontakng* et ceux des *jurookng* aient la même signification.

(appartenant tous à l'aire culturelle « Barito »). Judicieusement, l'auteur fait remarquer la variabilité des usages et des échanges qui ont pu avoir eu lieu entre des groupes ethniques voisins ou plus distants, tels les Bahau-Modang, et peut-être les Busang de l'amont, et les populations du Mahakam appartenant à l'aire culturelle Barito (p. 37, 40-41). De fait, certains amulettes et charmes de chamanes célèbres et/ou de guerriers renommés pourraient avoir circulé et donc être échangés entre des individus alors que d'autres ont dû être transmis aux descendants au sein de la communauté comme objets rituels puissants. En dehors de la région du Mahakam traitée directement par Corbey, des amulettes et charmes chamaniques sculptés sont aussi connus dans la région Murung du haut Barito, ainsi que le note l'explorateur Carl Lumholz (1851-1922), cité par l'auteur (p. 44), ainsi qu'à Pasir et dans les Mts Meratus du Sud-Est de Kalimantan. Bien qu'il y ait des variations entre les pratiques rituelles des chamanes (*tukang belian*, *balian*, *pemeliatn*, *pemelian*) de ces dernières régions.

Pour résumer, les sujets couverts dans la première partie du livre incluent entre autres : l'arrière-plan du sultanat de Kutai dans le bassin du Mahakam ; les missionnaires catholiques romains – Capucins et, à partir de 1926, la Mission de la Sainte Famille (MSF), venus aussi des Pays-Bas (d'après Coomans 1980 : 14-16, 97) ; l'attribution des amulettes ; les catégories d'esprits connues des Benua'-Bentian et Tunjung ; les têtes trophées et les crânes sacrés (ancestraux) ; les rituels *belian* ; l'influence de l'hindouisme et de l'islam. Il conviendrait de souligner que certains des grands poteaux sacrificiels (*blontang*, *belontang*, *belontakng*), sculptés dans le contexte des rites de secondes funérailles dans l'ère culturelle Barito – chez les Benua'-Bentian, les Tunjung et dans l'aire Luangan – présentent de fortes similitudes iconographiques avec les amulettes en forme de figures anthropomorphiques et composites. Corbey met en rapport cet aspect des *jurookng* à une sculpture protectrice *tunau,* provenant d'une longue maison Bentian (fig. 15, p. 52). C'est aussi évident d'après les dessins de huit positions de mains (fig. 25, p. 78-79) faits d'après les objets de la collection de référence. Une série de dessins de la main de Hoogenbrugge lui-même identifie 23 sculptures de formes distinctes dans sa collection (fig. 13, p. 48). La fig. 24, p. 77 du livre reproduit cinq amulettes d'après une gravure de Carl Bock[43]. Ces amulettes qui présentent un intérêt comparatif, ont été collectées à la fin des années 1870 – et probablement fabriquées avant –, une période durant laquelle les raids de « chasses aux têtes » faisaient rage dans la région du Mahakam. Les entretiens réalisés par l'auteur dans le *kabupaten* Kutai Barat apportent un éclairage sur l'utilisation des amulettes et l'arrière-plan ethnique des chamanes. Mais l'interprétation qu'il en fait reste toutefois limitée.

De toute évidence, les amulettes de l'ancienne collection Hogenbrugge tombent dans une catégorie distincte des divers *ganti diri* or *patung silih* utilisés dans les rites

43. Bock 1985 [1982] : pl. coul. n° 27. La planche originale inclut deux figures qui ne sont pas reproduites par Corbey ; la première (n° 2) provenant des Bentian de Dilang Puti, la seconde (n° 1), provenant probablement des populations Long Way Medang qui habitent le long de la rivière Kelinjau, un affluent nord du Mahakam. Ces figures ne sont pas des amulettes mais, respectivement, un poteau *belontakng* de grande taille et un poteau commémoratif (*bo' jeung*), voir les observations de Dewall et Weddik, 1849. Les autres amulettes qui figurent sur la planche 27 de Bock ont sans doute une provenance mixte, certaines doivent venir des Wehea ou des Long Belah Modang, d'autres des Benua'-Bentian (voir Bock, *ibid* : 130, 214).

curatifs chamaniques : ces derniers représentant le patient. Les premières font plutôt partie des objets rituels personnels des chamanes comme le démontrent les usages courants qui en sont faits au moyen et bas Mahakam. Inversement, elles peuvent se rattacher au voyage du chamane à la recherche des âmes perdues dans les nombreux villages des esprits (*benuo*). Les autres sont peut-être des représentations des esprits alliés des chamanes (*sehabat*), convoqués pendant la séance. Les rituels de guérison *belian* des Benua'-Bentian et des Tunjung sont bien résumés d'après la littérature ethnographique par l'auteur (p. 60-66). Je note qu'un court chapitre sur le style *belian bawo* de rituel chamanique est basé sur les observations d'un officier néerlandais, le colonel Piete Te Wechel faites lors de *la première nuit du rituel* (en 1911), mais il manque de précisions sur ce point particulier[44].

La section catalogue du livre (p. 102-231), la plus riche, fournit des photos en gros plan de très grande qualité des amulettes (souvent dans deux ou trois positions, de face et de côté, de dessus et de dessous) mettant en valeur les détails de sculpture. Les personnages des amulettes sont plus faciles à décrire grâce à la taille des images, leurs dimensions étant indiquées généralement par la hauteur (en cm). La série des 64 sculptures miniatures est des Tunjung et Benua' (environ 28) et celles des ethnies « kayaniques » (29). Un petit nombre de figures montrent encore des types distincts (7), incluant celles faites à partir de racines aériennes (lianes). Il est probable que quelques-unes des amulettes soient *nommées individuellement* d'après les entités spirituelles : les amulettes Tunjung et Benua'-Bentian montrant des orifices de suspension sont d'authentiques *jurookng*. Ce point est confirmé par la citation de Michael Hopes dans le livre (p. 73, comparer avec Hopes 1997, p. 103 *sq*). En fait, les amulettes de la collection de référence ne sont probablement pas seulement de nature chamanique telles que les chamanes les utilisent lors de rites spécifiques comme le Belian Bawo, sculptées par eux ou encore par des sculpteurs spécialisés. Elles incluent des « amulettes personnelles », semblables à celles portées par les guerriers pendant les raids de chasse aux têtes – parfois attachées au sabre *mandau* chez les Modang et les Bahau – tandis que d'autres sont vraisemblablement en rapport à différentes activités (chance, magie, voyage, commerce, fécondité ou simple protection contre les mauvais esprits). Cette liste de fonctions n'est pas exclusive, elles peuvent empiéter les unes sur les autres. Dans ce cas, seule la formule rituelle (*mantra*, *jampi*) prononcée afin d'activer l'objet s'avère différente. Ces aspects ne sont pas considérés par l'auteur dans ses analyses. Aucun fragment de texte rituel, récit ou mythe des ethnies Benua'-Bentian et Tunjung n'est cité à l'appui de ses analyses.

Quand on observe leur morphologie, certaines pièces de la collection, les n^{os} A10, A21 ou A52, sont assez intrigantes par leur forme unique. Étonnamment peu d'amulettes représentent des actes sexuels (n° A59), pourtant courantes chez les Dayak, et pas une ne représente une femme enceinte, un rituel fréquent de protection

44. Il serait tentant de le mettre en rapport à la « carte chamanique » des villages d'esprits où le chamane Benua' voyage. À ce moment crucial, il pourrait avoir besoin de la « présence » physique des amulettes auprès de lui comme aides ou encore « armes » magiques ; sur cet aspect du rituel *belian bawo*, comparer avec Bonoh 1984/85 :54-73, Guerreiro et Sellato 2012 : 28-29, à propos d'une planchette de chamane en bois léger (collection privée) ; cet objet fonctionne comme un outil mnémotechnique pour le chamane *pemeliatn* (comparer Hermans 2015 : 91 *sq*. ; Hopes 1997 : 150).

chamanique[45]. Sur d'autres figures, les organes génitaux sont bien exposés (n[os] A9, A37, A53). On peut remarquer également qu'un nombre d'amulettes de la collection présentent un orifice de suspension percé dans la partie basse ou incurvée, formant « la base » de la figure. Quelques-unes de ces amulettes étaient peut-être incluses dans un collier chamanique ou, alternativement, elles faisaient partie d'un paquet de charmes – (voir les fig. 30, p. 92-93), telles que dans l'exemple provenant de la région de Muara Teweh à Kalimantan Centre, de la collection du Musée National des Cultures du Monde à Leyde[46], reproduit par Corbey. À l'exception de cette pièce, aucune autre illustration d'amulettes figuratives, provenant de musées ou de collections privées, n'est incluse dans le livre, un fait surprenant d'autant que l'auteur affirme qu'il a trouvé plusieurs milliers d'images de ces amulettes dans la littérature et les archives (voir la citation plus bas). À ce point, je fais remarquer qu'un nombre d'articles de la collection de référence ne montrent pas de trace d'orifices de suspension (environ 31) soit, en gros, la moitié. Ces amulettes ont dû être enveloppées dans un tissu de coton, ou dans de l'écorce battue (*kulit kayu*), et attachées avec des fibres, en général faites aussi d'écorce, sur le corps du porteur, le *mandau*, ou bien conservées dans une boîte spéciale, un tube de bambou ou un panier.

Certaines amulettes, provenant des ethnies de langue et de culture « kayaniques », étaient clairement utilisées par divers groupes ethniques en amont et sur les affluents du Mahakam. Il reste à établir comment les spécialistes rituels et les chamanes (*dayung*, *lun enjuk*) Bahau-Modang et Busang les auraient considérées compte tenu qu'ils avaient leurs propres charmes et amulettes, opérant dans des contextes rituels spécifiques. La même question peut être posée au sujet des régions montagneuses qui limitent les provinces de Kalimantan Est et de Kalimantan Sud (Kalsel). La région de Lendian, à la périphérie de Kutai, de Pasir et de Kalsel, est une région où les charmes et les amulettes combinent divers traits des Luangan, des Bentian et des populations apparentées (voir Weinstock 1983 : Appendice « A » p. 196-228). Corbey ne soulève pas ces questions importantes. Dans son interprétation des attributions ethniques, il se limite à des généralisations:

« In sum, it has been argued that (a) most of the amulets in the present set hail from the middle-Mahakam River region, where the two major ethnolinguistic and style areas meet; the majority thereof are "Kayanic" in style. (b) Similar amulets, but thinner, more plain and abstract, were in use throughout the region positioned to the southwest, stretching as far as the middle Barito river region ; a few amulets from the present set may hail from this region. (c) A small number of the 64 amulets may well stem from the Ngaju and Ot Danum ethnic groups residing in South Borneo, forming part of the ("Barito") linguistic cluster as the Luangan groups, and/or, in the case of very few, other regions of Borneo. Consultation with ethnographers and art dealers familiar with these, neighbouring and other Dayak groups underlined all these three points, as did an

45. La famille/belle-famille du chamane décédé doit les avoir gardées en raison de la forte valeur attachée à la fécondité humaine ; on peut supposer que ces objets pourraient être encore utilisés dans la maison à cause du pouvoir qu'ils ont accumulé au cours du temps avec leurs invocations secrètes.

46. Musée formé par la réunion des collections du Tropenmuseum d'Amsterdam et celles du Musée de l'Afrique à Berg en Dal à celui du musée d'Ethnologie de Leyde, le er avril 2014. Le nouveau musée, Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, détient une collection de plus de 400.000 objets.

inspection of a few hundred published ethnographic photographs and several thousand photographs kept in various archives » (p. 46-47) .

Bien que le livre n'inclue aucune amulette figurative sculptée comme des bouchons et/ou utilisées sur d'autres objets de la région culturelle du Barito-Mahakam – par exemple des charmes en bois placés sur le berceau du nourrisson ou sculptés sur la poignée de couteaux (*pisau raut*) ou de boîtes de chamane – ce *corpus* de 64 amulettes est une addition d'importance aux sources déjà publiées. Une remarque à propos du style et de la variation : j'observe que quelques amulettes montrent des similitudes avec d'autres catégories de sculptures sur bois provenant du Mahakam et de ses affluents du nord et du sud. Seuls les nos. A31/A49 arborent des figures d'esprits zoomorphes des Bahau Sa' et des Busang, sculptées dans un style kayanique classique. Les figures de « type Janus », c'est-à-dire qui arborent une double tête et des corps entiers (n^{os} A17, A35, A36, A42) se rencontrent pour la plupart dans l'aire Benua'-Bentian et Tunjung, dans les régions frontalières de Kalimantan Sud et Centre (parmi les populations Luangan, les Ma'anyan et autres groupes qui s'y rattachent), mais non habituellement parmi les populations Bahau-Modang du moyen Mahakam. La même chose peut être dite au sujet des amulettes composites et/ou hybrides (n^{os} A6, A16, A19, A38). La pièce n° A3 est une combinaison unique de motifs de spirales kayaniques sur une structure stylistique, qui serait à rapporter aux Tunjung. Le bois rougeâtre (bois dur ?) dans lequel elle est sculptée est très particulier dans cette catégorie de charmes/amulettes. Plus généralement, l'attribution de ces amulettes figuratives pose un autre problème à cause de la propension qu'ont les sculpteurs à reproduire certains traits stylistiques des sculptures/gravures *ukiran* des populations voisines – à savoir sur les mains, les bras, les bulbes des yeux –, en particulier chez des Tunjung et des Benua' de la région du moyen Mahakam (comparer les motifs de la sculpture Bahau, *cf.,* Avé 1981: 68). D'une certaine façon, l'inspiration dérivée des styles Bahau-Modang peut être identifiée comme une « signature » du sculpteur (*tukang ukir*) et comme le signe d'un savoir supérieur. Jusque dans les années 1950-1960, l'art de sculpter ces sculptures miniatures impliquaient un fort pouvoir rituel, la possession d'esprits alliés. Quelques amulettes pouvaient être utilisées aussi comme « médecine » (*obat*) par le chamane, en fonction des cas qu'il avait à soigner. De ce point de vue, les essences de bois utilisées par les sculpteurs sont pertinentes, un point sur lequel l'auteur passe rapidement. Malgré les réserves plus haut, je dois souligner que *Jorookng* contribue de manière significative à la connaissance des amulettes de la région du Mahakam.

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Antonio Guerreiro

Résumés – Abstracts

Daniel Perret

Fifty Years of the Journal* Archipel *(1971/1-2020/100): Figures and Trends

This article presents a series of statistics about the first 100 issues of *Archipel*, which offer a corpus of nearly 25,000 pages. Sixteen tables highlight various features: evolution of the number of pages, categorization of the contributions, variations regarding research notes and articles, number of signatures according to nationalities, evolution regarding texts published in French and English, distribution of the occurrences in the texts according to their geographical frameworks, distribution of the occurrences in the texts in chronological terms, distribution of book reviews, and online consultations. One of the lessons of this statistical review is the significant number of Southeast Asian signatures. Furthermore, the internationalisation of *Archipel* is real, since almost half of the signatures are foreign (32 nationalities). The corollary of this phenomenon is the increasing place taken by English. The examination of the corpus has also highlighted the appearance of a new format from the turn of the century, a format reflected through fewer but longer texts. Lastly, through the Internet revolution, *Archipel* has acquired a visibility unimaginable for the journal's founders 50 years ago.

Cinquante années de la revue* Archipel *(1971/1-2020/100): chiffres et tendances

Cet article présente une série de statistiques sur les 100 premiers numéros d'*Archipel*, qui offrent un corpus de près de 25 000 pages. Seize graphiques mettent en évidence diverses caractéristiques : évolution du nombre de pages, catégorisation des contributions, variations concernant les notes de recherche et articles, nombre de signatures selon les nationalités, évolution concernant les textes publiés en français et en anglais, répartition des occurrences des textes selon leurs cadres géographiques, répartition des occurrences des textes en termes chronologiques, répartition des comptes rendus d'ouvrages et consultations en ligne. L'un des enseignements de cette étude statistique est le nombre important de signatures d'Asie du Sud-Est. Par ailleurs, l'internationalisation d'*Archipel* est réelle, puisque près de la moitié des signatures sont étrangères (32 nationalités). Le corollaire de ce phénomène est la place croissante prise par l'anglais. L'examen du corpus a également mis en évidence l'apparition d'un nouveau format à partir du début du siècle, format qui se traduit par des textes moins nombreux mais plus longs. Enfin, grâce à la révolution Internet, *Archipel* a acquis une visibilité inimaginable pour les fondateurs de la revue il y a 50 ans.

Jérôme Samuel

Archipel *illustré – et autres sujets mineurs*

Tout au long de son histoire, *Archipel* a accordé une place particulière à l'illustration. Cet article montre que cet intérêt pour l'image va de pair avec la volonté initiale des fondateurs de la revue, de s'adresser à un public plus large que celui des seules personnes issues du monde académique. Il aborde ensuite les formes et la place occupée par l'illustration dans *Archipel* et reproduit, pour finir, treize photos parues dans la revue, plus particulièrement représentatives de goûts, d'ambiances et de présences sur le terrain des collaborateurs de la revue.

Archipel *illustrated - and other minor subjects*

Throughout its history, *Archipel* has given a special place to illustration. This article shows that *Archipel*'s interest in images goes hand in hand with the initial desire of its founders to address a wider public than just those from the academic world. It then discusses the forms and the place occupied by illustration in *Archipel* and finally reproduces thirteen photos that appeared in the journal, which are particularly representative of the tastes, atmospheres and field presences of the journal's contributors.

Claudine Salmon

The Contribution of* Archipel *to the Knowledge of Insulindian Chinese (1971-2020) − Some Key Topics

The creation of *Archipel*, which proposed to publish chronicles, studies, and especially documents and "dossiers thématiques" on the Insulindian world, was to become a platform for cultural and historical studies on various Chinese communities of the Indonesian archipelago, the Malay peninsula and Singapore, and to a lesser extent the Philippines, so to say on the fringes of the mainstream of Anglo-Saxon research that started in the late 1950s. Since 1971, slightly more than one hundred studies have been published that for the most part deal with literary and historical matters. Here we intend to reflect on these fifty years of research, that, although not planned, have taken on a meaning that has gradually emerged over the years. We arbitrarily elaborate on a certain number of key themes for which the research has been particularly rewarding. The reader can get an idea of the variety of subjects dealt with during these fifty years by perusing the bibliography appended to this article.

La contribution d'*Archipel *à la connaissance des Chinois d'Insulinde (1971-2020) − Quelques sujets clés

La création d'*Archipel*, qui se proposait de publier des chroniques, des études, et surtout des documents et des « dossiers thématiques » sur le monde insulindien, devait devenir une plateforme d'études culturelles et historiques sur les différentes communautés chinoises

de l'archipel indonésien, de la péninsule malaise et de Singapour, et dans une moindre mesure des Philippines, pour ainsi dire en marge du courant dominant de la recherche anglo-saxonne qui a débuté à la fin des années 1950. Depuis 1971, un peu plus d'une centaine d'études ont été publiées, qui traitent pour la plupart de questions littéraires et historiques. Nous entendons ici réfléchir sur ces cinquante années de recherche qui, bien que non planifiées, ont pris au cours des ans une signification qui s'est progressivement imposée. Nous développerons arbitrairement un certain nombre de thèmes clés pour lesquels la recherche a été particulièrement enrichissante. Le lecteur peut se faire une idée de la variété des sujets traités pendant ces cinquante années en consultant la bibliographie donnée en appendice.

Roderich Ptak

Sailing near the Natuna Islands and West Kalimantan: Notes on the "Zheng He Map" and Some Ming "Rutters"

Most scholars think the so-called "Zheng He Map" was drawn in the early fifteenth century. This famous map shows the sailing route from Nanjing in China via the Malay world to Sri Lanka and India, West Asia and East Africa. It also indicates several branch routes. One such branch leads from the sea near the southern section of modern Vietnam to the Natuna Islands, Cape Datu and the west coast of Kalimantan. From there it continues to the northern shore of Java. Further routes link Java to the areas of Billiton, Bangka, Sumatra, and so on.
The present paper examines the Vietnam-Natuna-Kalimantan-Java segment. It discusses various toponyms shown on the map in connection with that route and compares the relevant information with data found in other sources of the Ming period, especially nautical texts. The conclusion is that Chinese vessels used several north-south sailing corridors through the Natuna Sea.

Navigation à proximité des îles Natuna et du Kalimantan occidental: Notes sur la « Carte de Zheng He » et quelques « rutters » Ming

La plupart des chercheurs pensent que la « Carte de Zheng He » est un produit du XV^{e} siècle. Cette célèbre carte montre la route maritime de Nanjing en Chine, via le monde malais, jusqu'à Sri Lanka et l'Inde, le Proche-Orient et l'Afrique orientale. Il indique également plusieurs itinéraires secondaires. Un de ces itinéraires nous emmène de la mer près du Viêt Nam aux îles Natuna, puis au cap Datu et à la côte ouest de Kalimantan. De là, il continue jusqu'à la partie nord de Java. D'autres routes relient Java aux régions de Billiton, Bangka, Sumatra, etc.
Cette contribution examine le segment Viêt Nam-Natuna-Kalimantan-Java, en particulier les toponymes indiqués sur la carte en relation avec cet itinéraire. Elle donne aussi des comparaisons avec des informations trouvées dans d'autres sources de la période Ming, principalement des textes nautiques. La conclusion est que les navires chinois utilisaient plusieurs voies de navigation nord-sud à travers la mer de Natuna.

Aditia Gunawan & Arlo Griffiths

Old Sundanese Inscriptions: Renewing the Philological Approach

Old Sundanese inscriptions had already been studied by the end of the 19th century by the Dutch scholars, and post-Independence Indonesian scholars have continued to make occasional contributions. However, the epigraphic corpus still leaves many problems without a compelling solution, while the available editions are of uneven quality. This article's objective is to present new editions of fifteen Old Sundanese inscriptions, based on direct reading from the original artefacts and on newly made photos and estampages, and to interpret the contents of these inscriptions by renewing the philological approach, pioneered by some Dutch scholars in the 19th century, of making systematic use of Old Sundanese sources preserved in manuscripts, in order to elucidate the meaning of the inscriptions. Our study shows that the inscriptions are related to the social and political contexts of the Sunda region from the late 15th into the 16th century, and that they are predominantly commemorative in nature rather than being records of contemporary events.

Inscriptions anciennes en soundanais : renouveler l'approche philologique

À la fin du XIX^e^ siècle, les inscriptions en vieux soundanais avaient déjà été étudiées par les savants néerlandais, et les chercheurs indonésiens ont continué à apporter d'occasionnelles contributions à ce domaine après l'Indépendance. Néanmoins, l'étude de ce corpus épigraphique comporte de nombreux problèmes qui n'ont à ce jour pas trouvé de solution satisfaisante. Les éditions disponibles, de plus, demeurent de qualité inégale. L'objectif de cet article est de présenter de nouvelles éditions de quinze inscriptions en vieux soundanais à partir de lectures réalisées à même la pierre, et à partir de nouveaux jeux d'estampages et de photographies récentes. Nous offrons une interprétation de ces inscriptions en renouvelant l'approche philologique consistant à faire un usage systématique des sources vieux-soundanaises préservées dans les manuscrits afin d'éclairer le sens des sources épigraphiques, méthode élaborée par les pionniers néerlandais au XIX^e^ siècle. Notre étude révèle que les inscriptions sont ancrées dans le contexte social et politique de la région soundanaise de la fin du XV^e^ et du XVI^e^ siècle, et qu'elles semblent principalement avoir une dimension commémorative, plutôt qu'une vocation à relater des évènements contemporains.

Amanda tho Seeth

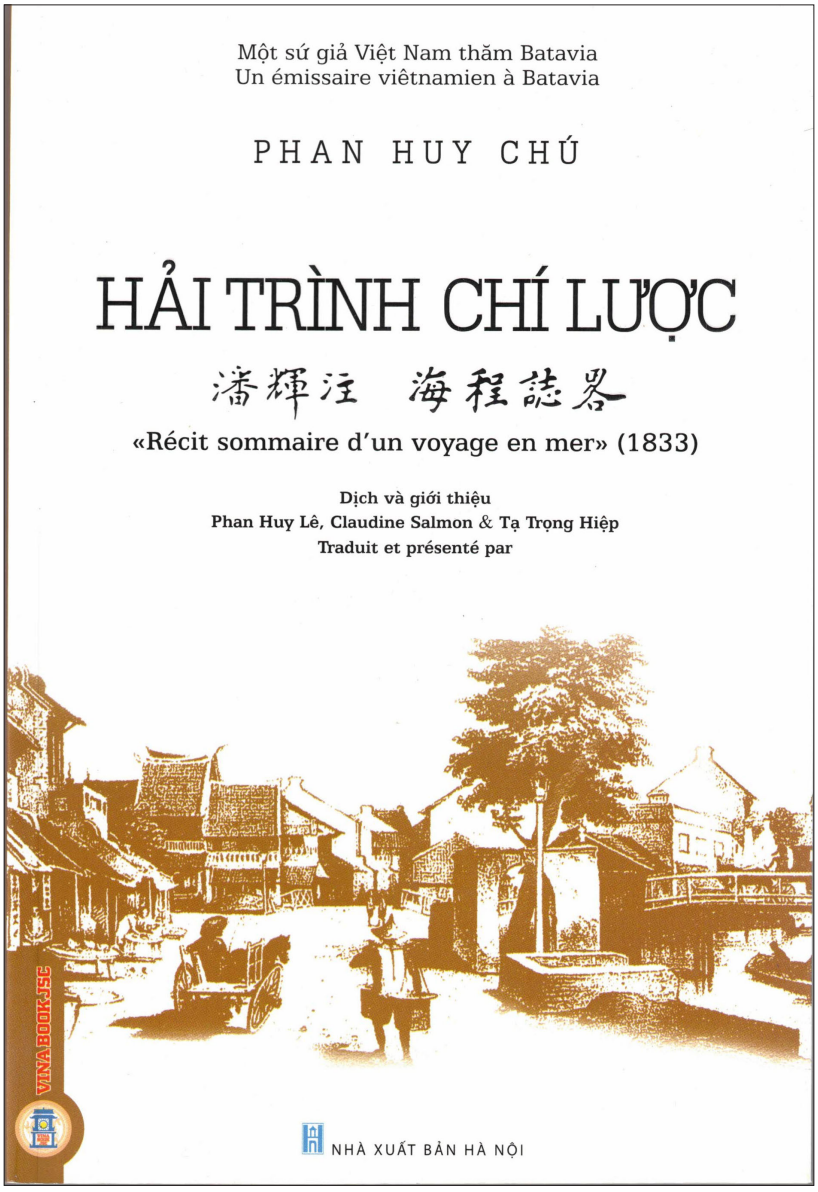
"Electing a President is Islamic Worship"— The Print Media Discourse of Azyumardi Azra during* Reformasi *(1998–2004)

This article analyzes and contextualizes the journalistic activity of Islamic academic and celebrity public intellectual Azyumardi Azra during the Indonesian democratization process from 1998 to 2004, the so-called *Reformasi*. An in-depth content analysis of 84 media articles Azra published in the four most prominent Indonesian media outlets is presented. It finds that in his position as rector of the country's largest Islamic higher education institute, Azra mostly addressed the educated Indonesian middle class on

topics such as the compatibility of Islam and democracy and interfaith tolerance and peace, and that he also articulated sharp criticism on the country's political and religious elite and civil society, all of which actively contributed to critical discourse and the expression of freedom of speech in the democratizing public sphere. The article first discusses several classical sociological aspects of public intellectuals and assesses their relevance for the Indonesian context. Next, by drawing on the history of state-funded Indonesian Islamic academia, the article argues that Azra's public political engagement and discursive style are representative and illustrative of a broader phenomenon that since the country's independence shapes the Indonesian public sphere: the public political agency of Islamic academics who act as cosmopolitan brokers in society. The article further argues that the Indonesian Islamic academic milieu constitutes a distinctive religious actor group in political processes and in publicly backing up democracy—dynamics that deserve more scholarly attention.

"L'élection d'un président est une célébration islamique". Le discours d'Azyumardi Azra dans la presse écrite pendant la Reformasi (1998-2004)

Cet article analyse et contextualise l'activité journalistique de l'universitaire musulman et célèbre intellectuel indonésien Azyumardi Azra durant le processus de démocratisation indonésien de 1998 à 2004 (Reformasi). L'analyse approfondie du contenu de 84 articles publiés par Azra dans les quatre plus importants médias indonésiens est présentée. Elle révèle qu'en sa qualité de recteur du plus grand institut d'enseignement supérieur islamique du pays, Azra s'est surtout adressé à la classe moyenne indonésienne éduquée sur des sujets tels que la compatibilité de l'islam et de la démocratie, la tolérance interconfessionnelle et la paix. Elle montre qu'il a également formulé des critiques acerbes à l'encontre de l'élite politique et religieuse du pays et de la société civile, ce qui a contribué activement au discours critique et à l'expression de la liberté d'expression dans la sphère publique en cours de démocratisation. L'article examine d'abord plusieurs aspects sociologiques classiques des intellectuels publics et évalue leur pertinence dans le contexte indonésien. S'appuyant ensuite sur l'histoire du monde académique islamique public indonésien, l'article soutient que l'engagement politique public d'Azra et son style discursif sont représentatifs et illustratifs d'un phénomène plus large qui, depuis l'indépendance du pays, façonne la sphère publique indonésienne : l'agentivité politique public des universitaires islamiques qui agissent en tant que courtiers cosmopolites dans la société. L'article soutient en outre que le milieu universitaire islamique indonésien constitue un groupe d'acteurs religieux distinct dans les processus politiques et dans le soutien public à la démocratie - une dynamique qui mérite une plus grande attention de la part des chercheurs.



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