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Asie du Sud-Est

Indonésie

Singapour

En couverture : première de couverture *Archipel* 1 (1971)

In Memoriam Alexander Ogloblin (1939-2020)

A famous scholar of our time, a linguist and expert on Malay-Indonesian world, and more broadly, on Austronesian linguistics, our colleague and friend Alexander Konstantinovich Ogloblin passed away on April 23, 2020 in St. Petersburg.

Alexander Ogloblin was born on January 2, 1939 in Leningrad. He graduated from the Oriental Department of Leningrad State University in 1961 with a diploma qualification on Indonesian philology. His teachers in that field were Indonesian language lecturer, Usman Effendi, the initiator of the first researches of the mathematical method in linguistics, N.D. Andreev, the expert in Indonesian grammar, G. I. Prokofiev.

In 1961-1965 A.K. Ogloblin served in the army as a translator and teacher of Indonesian language while doing doctoral studies by correspondence under the guidance of the professor of theoretical linguistics and orientalist, A.A. Kholodovich.

He got his training in Indonesia (1959-1960, practiced at the USSR Trade Office in Jakarta); in Malaysia (1978-79, University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur), in Denmark (1995, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen).

Since 1966, he chaired text-reading seminars at the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University (Professor since 1994) and gave lectures on theoretical grammar of Indonesian language and literature, Javanese, Austronesian linguistics, Malay dialectology, and others. In 1988, he defended his doctoral thesis concerning the structure and evolution of Malay-Javanese languages. His publications (books, articles, abstracts and papers, textbooks

- more than 230 overall) cover languages (especially grammar and typology), literature and culture of the Nusantara world. He is one of the authors of the world's first scientific *Grammar of the Indonesian language* (1972), which was later reprinted in Indonesia in Indonesian (1991).

For many years he was involved in the researches carried out by the Language Typology Research Laboratory at the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. The collective monographs of this laboratory include his works on the categories of causative, passive and reflexive verbs in Indonesian and Javanese languages. In 1986, he published *Madurese Grammar*, one of the main languages of Indonesia that had never been previously studied in Russia (the work was awarded with the Certificate of Honor by the Russian Ministry of Education), and in 2008 - *Grammar of Modern Literary Indonesian Language*. He contributed a lot in the compiling of the *Kamus Besar Rusia-Indonesia*, published in Jakarta (2016).

He also took part in activities of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg), and of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow).

He presented papers at many international conferences and seminars: the 6th Conference on Austronesian linguistics in Honolulu (USA, 1991) and the 7th Conference on Austronesian linguistics at Noordwijkerhout (Netherlands, 1994); Malay Congress in Kuala Lumpur (1995); Conferences on the languages of the Far East, Southeast Asia and West Africa in Moscow (1997), in St. Petersburg (1999), and others; Royal Institute for Anthropology and Linguistics seminars in Leiden on ancient Javanese texts (1998), and on the Malay epistemic tradition (2002); Language Congress in Indonesia in Jakarta (1999), etc.

A.K. Ogloblin published translations of novels and short stories by 20th-century Indonesian writers, namely Pramoedya Ananta Toer (*Keluarga Gerilya*), Putu Wijaya (*Telegram* and *Bila Malam Bertambah Malam*), short stories by S.M. Ardan, Ajip Rosidi, Nugroho Notosusanto, poems by Sitor Situmorang, Toto Sudarto Bachtiar, Subagio Sastriwardojo, Gunawan Mohamad, Wing Kardjo, and many others. In 2016, he published his Russian translation of the book *Twaalf eeuwen Javaanse literatuur: een overzicht* (2003) by Willem van der Molen.

A.K. Ogloblin was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Nusantara Society (Moscow), the compiler and the author of a series of books on Malay-Indonesian culture published by the Nusantara Society together with the Oriental Faculty, St. Petersburg State University. In 1995-1998 he was a Corresponding Member of the Bureau of the European Association for South-East Asian Studies (EUROSEAS).

A tireless scholar, teacher and author of many monographs and articles relating to the Malay-Indonesian world, Alexander Konstantinovich Ogloblin

for most Russian scholars was an example of loyalty to science, a man who was always ready to help his colleagues, to correct the lapses in the works sent to him, to give wise recommendations, being upset, but not offended when they were not always accepted. He, like the character in Javanese mythology, Semar, had an exceptional personality, real Russian-Petersburgian, and in some way a little Javanese – with true Javanese tolerance, complacency with the solid preservation of his ego.

With a number of publications that exceeded 200, he became one of the prominent experts on Austronesian linguistics, but always remained humble and modest. We will always remember him and his big contribution and devotion to the only love of his life: Nusantara.

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

Archipel a 50 ans

Pierre Labrousse[1]

La fabrique d'*Archipel* (1971-1982)

L'histoire de la revue *Archipel* avec les cahiers, les dictionnaires, a cinquante ans aujourd'hui. Cela signifie que l'essentiel de son histoire relève d'une génération qui s'en va, ou qui s'en est déjà allée, en tout cas que les lecteurs d'aujourd'hui ne peuvent pratiquement pas connaître. Qui plus est, l'histoire des revues n'est pas un genre très prisé. Elle s'efface derrière les auteurs comme si son autonomie était limitée et comme s'il ne pouvait y être question que de débats d'arrière-cuisine qu'il valait mieux éviter de transmettre à la postérité. *Archipel* est aussi l'histoire d'une entreprise.

Le terme même est polysémique. *Archipel* est une revue certes, mais aussi la dénomination de l'équipe CNRS-EHESS rattachée à la revue, puis l'éditeur des *Cahiers d'Archipel*, puis le coéditeur des *Études insulindiennes* et de divers ouvrages. Enfin, une association. Au total, pour ce bilan du cinquantenaire : plus de 25 000 pages de la revue imprimées ou consultables sur internet, une quarantaine de Cahiers et une dizaine d'ouvrages divers. La traversée d'un demi-siècle pour une revue scientifique n'est pas un fait si courant.

Archipel est né d'une idée de revue avec un tour de table qui a réuni au départ Denys Lombard, Christian Pelras et Pierre Labrousse comme membres fondateurs auxquels se sont progressivement joints, par affinité en quelque sorte, Claudine Salmon, Marcel Bonneff, Henri Chambert-Loir, Claude Guillot et Pierre-Yves Manguin, pour ne citer que les tout premiers. Au départ, il s'agissait d'une sorte de projet de jeunesse, avec l'enthousiasme et l'ambition d'ouvrir

1. Professeur honoraire, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales.

la voie dans un domaine où tout paraissait à faire. Il y avait aussi un peu de romantisme, au moins un lien affectif dans cet *Archipel* première manière.

La préhistoire des études se limitait à Louis-Charles Damais (1911-1966) déjà installé à Java avant-guerre et aux professeurs des Langues O', Antoine Cabaton (1863-1942), Véra Sokoloff (1905-1977). Quelques scientifiques étaient passés, comme Jeanne Cuisinier (1890-1964) qui avait élargi son terrain aux deux rives du détroit de Malacca, ou Pierre Pfeiffer du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle (1927-2016).

Le premier groupe à se constituer furent les études ethnographiques sous la forme d'une équipe de recherche du CNRS à Timor, avec Louis Berthe qui s'intéressait aussi aux Baduy de Java ouest, Claudine Berthe-Friedberg, Maria et Henri Campagnolo, Brigitte Clamagirand, Gérard Francillon[2].

Les fondateurs

On a souvent interprété *Archipel* comme étant le manifeste d'une nouvelle politique de la France qui aurait tardivement découvert l'Indonésie. Cette question récurrente ne peut que faire sourire. La revue n'était que le fruit d'une improbable rencontre entre Denys Lombard qui, venant d'un milieu universitaire[3], avait déjà une idée précise du *cursus honorum*[4]. Il avait d'abord été membre de l'EFEO (1966-69), avant d'être nommé à l'EHESS comme directeur avec une chaire sur l' « Histoire de la Méditerranée sud-est asiatique » (1969). Cette nomination donnait une assise plus importante au projet de formation, d'abord autour du séminaire, puis avec la constitution d'une équipe CNRS et l'attribution de locaux par l'EHESS. Mais surtout, elle entérinait un nouveau découpage de la région par la sécession de l'entité insulaire « monde insulindien » par rapport à l'Asie du Sud-Est.

Christian Pelras[5] avait fait des études classiques comme élève de Janson de Sailly, puis de la sociologie, et s'était intéressé aux tissages en Insulinde. Il avait découvert Célèbes-Sud par les Bugis de la diaspora de Malaisie et de Singapour. Dès l'époque de son premier terrain sur la commune de Goulien, petit village du Finistère (en 1962) sur lequel il écrivit sa thèse, il s'était intéressé à l'Indonésie en suivant les séminaires du CEDRASEMI[6] dès les

2. Christian Pelras, « Indonesian Studies in France : Retrospect, Situation and Prospects », *Archipel*, 16, 1978, p. 7-20.

3. Son père était directeur d'études à l'EPHE 6e section (actuelle EHESS) et sa mère, maître de conférences dans cette même institution.

4. Voir Henri Chambert-Loir, « Denys Lombard (1938-1998) », *BEFEO* 85, 1998, p. 6-18, et Christian Pelras, « En mémoire de Denys Lombard », *Archipel* 55, 1998, p. 7-10.

5. Voir la nécrologie de Christian Pelras par Antonio Guerreiro dans *Moussons*, 2014, n° 24, p. 5-12 et par Pierre Labrousse dans *Archipel*, 88, 2014, p. 3-7.

6. Centre de documentation et de recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est et le Monde

premières séances. Il restera fidèle à cette formation ethnographique bien que souvent sollicité par *Archipel* auquel il apportait et défendait la dimension ethnographique. Son premier terrain à Célèbes-Sud avec Marie-Thérèse son épouse date de 1959-1960. Premiers liens : il rencontre Claudine et Denys Lombard à Makassar (1967). Il entre au Musée de l'Homme (1962) et la même année au CNRS. C'est au CEDRASEMI, dirigé par George Condominas, qu'il sera affecté à son entrée au CNRS, en 1964, et auquel il restera fidèle jusqu'à sa dissolution deux décennies plus tard. Il avait l'habitude d'exprimer ses désaccords dans de longues lettres et de discuter des choix de la revue de façon souvent assez procédurière. Le mobilier breton de la maison où il fut hébergé a été acquis par le musée des Traditions populaires et la bibliothèque de Goulien porte son nom. La nécrologie détaillée qu'a publiée Antonio Guerreiro montre la multiplication de ses activités. Ses articles sont nombreux et divers. Mais Christian Pelras est, et restera, l'homme des Bugis.

Pierre Labrousse, enfin, capésien qui, venant des lettres classiques de l'Université de Poitiers et de La Réunion, où il avait fait partie du premier groupe de coopérants, avait été nommé lecteur à l'Université Pajajaran de Bandung dans le cadre de la coopération (1965). Il avait été le seul candidat à ce poste. L'Indonésie avait alors une réputation de pays peu sûr qu'elle devait aux discours virulents de Sukarno et à l'ébullition tiers-mondiste. Pierre Labrousse qui n'avait aucune connaissance particulière du pays, avait commencé à publier un dictionnaire français-indonésien fondamental et préparait un dictionnaire général indonésien-français[7]. Il avait aussi l'avantage de résider en permanence en Indonésie et de pouvoir assurer le suivi de l'entreprise.

Ces trois amis finalement étaient complémentaires. Tous les trois venaient des études classiques et avaient des points communs, notamment d'être des hypokhâgneux. Denys Lombard était le seul à avoir fait précéder son séjour d'une formation universitaire orientaliste acquise aux Langues O' où il avait appris cinq langues asiatiques, ce qui lui assurait une certaine avance. Il avait déjà une vision braudélienne de la région, avait déjà noué des relations professionnelles et voyageait beaucoup. Cela lui permettait de choisir et de solliciter des contributions diverses. Les quatre numéros d'hommage[8] sont la preuve de ce réseau qui ne fit que s'agrandir. Christian Pelras apportait une ethnographie du terrain déjà très diversifiée et compatible avec l'histoire. D'où les discussions sur le jugement des articles. Pierre Labrousse assurait le côté entreprise avec des contributions sur le contemporain (« Chroniques » de Jules Genest).

Insulindien, créé en 1964 par Georges Condominas, André-Georges Haudricourt et Lucien Bernot.

7. « L'élaboration d'après corpus d'un dictionnaire de l'indonésien contemporain », *Archipel* 4, 1972, p. 21-26.

8. *Archipel* n°. 56-58 et 60, 1998 à 2000.

Pour assurer la pérennité de l'entreprise, les trois fondateurs y allèrent de leur poche, environ mille huit cents euros chacun. Il est bon de le rappeler, car la chose n'est pas courante dans le milieu académique. *Archipel* a été progressivement conçu comme une entreprise, où les membres avaient autant à cœur de remplir les sommaires que de persuader des abonnés qui lui resteront fidèles. Les recettes de la vente des dictionnaires prendront la suite.

Les débuts

Le choix du titre se fit sans beaucoup de discussions. Le terme *Archipel* était, bien sûr, pris depuis longtemps, mais pas la séquence « Archipel, études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien ». On élimina les titres complexes des revues qui ne sont dénommées que par des abréviations dont on ignore souvent le sens. Il n'y avait guère que deux unités sémantiques possibles : *Archipel* et *Nusantara,* ou alors un titre symbolique du type *Moussons*. *Nusantara* était trop peu familier à un public français. On choisit *Archipel*. Ce fut un bon choix car le titre se trouvait en tête des listes grâce à sa lettre initiale et au logo du Kâla qui se détachait nettement dans les listes de revues.

Dans sa première formule, *Archipel* était géré par une société commerciale (SARL)[9], sise à Fursac dans la Creuse « *a poor centre for Malay studies* »[10]. Cette société fut dénommée SECMI (Société pour l'étude et la connaissance du Monde insulindien). Son siège était dans un garage qui existe toujours. Mais on comprit vite que la formule ne convenait pas, d'autant plus que la comptabilité faisait l'objet d'un contrôle des Impôts. C'est ainsi, qu'en 1978, l'on migra d'une SARL à une association régie par la loi de 1901, parisienne cette fois, baptisée « Association Archipel » formule plus appropriée pour les publications académiques sans but lucratif[11]. Mais cela faisait aussi entrer *Archipel* dans le radar des services de renseignement dont une personne continue d'assister aux assemblées générales. Enfin nous le supposons.

Les lieux

Si l'on pose la question des lieux de croisement, on doit relever leur caractère hétérogène. Les premières rencontres eurent lieu d'abord à Jakarta, dans le restaurant « Trio » à Menteng, qui existe toujours, puis à Bandung, avec Claudine Salmon, Denys Lombard et Pierre Labrousse. Enfin à Paris dans un des cafés de la place du Trocadéro. Il s'agissait, d'une part, de réunir des articles, de construire le sommaire du premier numéro et, d'autre part, de décider de l'impression. Le troisième lieu de rencontre de Denys Lombard et

9. Enregistrée à Guéret en janvier 1971.

10. Pour reprendre le trait d'humour de R.J. Wilkinson terminant son dictionnaire à Mytilène, *A Malay-English Dictionnary*, 1959, tome I, p. 3.

11. Création parue au Journal Officiel du 21 janvier 1978.

Pierre Labrousse fut pour le choix d'une imprimerie. Dans ce premier temps, il était prévu d'imprimer *Archipel* en Indonésie et de le distribuer en France. Cela créait une situation quelque peu floue du point de vue juridique. La revue ne bénéficiait pas d'un cadre institutionnel. Et il était impensable d'entrer dans les *izin terbit* (autorisation de paraître) qui étaient surtout faites pour contrôler la presse. À la suite d'une visite chez le directeur de l'enseignement supérieur Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri qui prodigua ses encouragements, l'inquiétude fut levée. L'idée d'une revue scientifique étrangère publiant en Indonésie et acceptant l'indonésien ne pouvait qu'agréer. Pierre Labrousse en avait conclu que le projet était bienvenu. À Bandung, restait encore en état de marche l'ancienne imprimerie Kolff, rebaptisée Tjikapundung, du nom de la rivière qui passe à proximité, puis Karya Nusantara dans le vocabulaire de l'Ordre Nouveau. Elle travaillait avec des monotypes, juste en face du Centre de la conférence afro-asiatique qui est aujourd'hui un musée. Mais l'imprimerie accusait son âge. Les caractères avaient tendance à danser. Il fallait tout relire pour éviter des sur-coquilles. On eut juste le temps de corriger la page de garde du premier numéro qui affichait « Pierre Babrousse » et « Denys Combard » ! Ce défaut est particulièrement visible sur les premiers numéros (1-5 et surtout le 5). Heureusement intervint peu après une modernisation de l'entreprise qui permit de poursuivre la collaboration, après le départ de Pierre Labrousse (numéros 6-16, 1973-1978).

On eut également recours à l'imprimerie Al-Ma'arif, dont le propriétaire était un Arabe, qui imprimait, par dizaines de milliers, des Coran bon marché et des livres d'apprentissage de l'arabe, qu'il faisait colporter dans les villages reculés. Son groupe était lié à une mosquée et à une *madrasah*. Il existe toujours[12].

De 1979 à 1982, la revue fut imprimée alternativement à Yogyakarta (n°. 17, 19, 21 et 23) et à Bandung (n°. 18, 20, 22, 24). Le choix de Yogyakarta fut déterminé par la présence de Claude Guillot qui avait pris la suite du poste de lecteur à Gajah Mada. La fabrication d'*Archipel* fut confiée à la Percetakan Persatuan, l'imprimerie de la Muhammadiyah, également équipée de monotypes, dont elle faisait fondre les caractères à Mertoyudan, aux environs de Magelang à Java Centre. Les conditions de travail étaient vétustes et Claude Guillot passait chaque jour pour corriger page par page, afin de ne pas accumuler les problèmes. L'imprimerie avait affecté à la composition un vieux prote qui avait vécu la période hollandaise et qui finit par s'éteindre sur une page d'*Archipel*. Avant de procéder au pliage, les ouvriers étalaient les cahiers sur le sol au risque de traces diverses, en particulier d'empreintes de pied. L'imprimerie était dirigée par le secrétaire de la Muhammadiyah qui était persuadé que le Pape prévoyait de venir s'établir à Yogyakarta. La solution dura jusqu'au départ de Claude Guillot. *Archipel* vint s'installer à Paris en 1983 (n°. 25). Une autre histoire commençait.

12. Mikihiro Moriyama, *Sundanese Print Culture and Modernity in 19th-century West Java*, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 2005.

La revue et les institutions

Avant *Archipel*, l'histoire de l'institutionnalisation de la recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est commence avec la création du CEDRASEMI (Centre de documentation et de recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est et le Monde insulindien). *Archipel* en fut brièvement tributaire en se plaçant sous son patronage, d'abord 43 rue Cuvier, puis 6 rue de Tournon. En fait, les deux destins étaient liés. Le CEDRASEMI ne possédait à ses débuts qu'une bibliothèque de recherche liée à la RCP 611 du CNRS (1964). L'année suivante, la formation reçut un important fonds en provenance du Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie. Le déménagement à Valbonne ne se fit pas sans peine. Une partie des postes créés revint progressivement dans la région parisienne. Les chercheurs formèrent un nouveau groupe nommé IRSEA (Institut de recherche sur l'Asie, 1993) installé à Aix-en-Provence et Marseille. Cette opération de décentralisation était-elle une réussite ? Ce n'est pas évident.

Quand Denys Lombard fut nommé directeur d'études en 1969, il se trouva dans la formation de Georges Condominas, le CEDRASEMI. Les deux dernières lettres avaient été rajoutées dès l'annonce de cette nomination. Très vite des dissensions se firent jour. L'Asie du Sud-Est portait en elle des conflits de la guerre coloniale. Les assemblées générales de la formation donnaient lieu à des échanges houleux sur lesquels Georges Condominas avait grand-peine à maintenir son autorité. Denys Lombard et les membres du groupe se trouvaient confortés dans l'idée de faire sécession. Avec la solidarité de la section orientaliste du CNRS, le groupe de recherche insulindien put transiter vers un cadre plus familier défini au CNRS par l'intitulé « Langues et Civilisations orientales » (1978). Avec, à la tête des commissions, Louis Bazin pour le Proche et Moyen-Orient, André Bareau pour le bouddhisme, Colette Caillat l'Inde, Pierre-Bernard Lafont l'Asie du Sud-Est, Jacques Gernet la Chine, Bernard Franck le Japon. Avec un échelon ultime, l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres par laquelle passaient les nominations des professeurs des Langues O'. Le partage des subsides du CNRS, source inévitable de tensions, se faisait là, entre gens de bonne compagnie, d'autant plus que la période fut généreuse en recrutements : Claudine Salmon (1969), Marcel Bonneff (1974), Monique Lajoubert (1975), Gilbert Hamonic (1977), Claude Guillot (1982), François Raillon (1985), Andrée Feillard (1994). Cette première tentative de fédérer l'Asie du Sud-Est et le monde insulindien était un échec mais sans grande conséquence. Au moins, le dialogue était-il ouvert, même si la sécession était consommée. Archipel fut logé d'abord dans un foyer de jeunes Américaines, rue de Chevreuse, puis dans les locaux de l'EHESS, 54 Bd. Raspail. Quant au LASEMA (Laboratoire Asie du Sud-Est et Monde insulindien) il fut initialement basé au 22 rue d'Athènes, puis déménagea au Centre A.G. Haudricourt, sur le Campus CNRS, à Villejuif.

Les participants

En 1962, les accords d'Evian mirent fin à la guerre d'Algérie et inspirèrent une relève des missions de l'armée. C'est ainsi qu'un premier « contingent » de professeurs partit aux Antilles la même année, et en 1963 à La Réunion. Puis le régime fut étendu à l'international, en s'ouvrant à diverses spécialités.

Dans la première vague, se trouvait Pierre Labrousse qui enchaîna, après sa période militaire réunionnaise, avec un poste à l'Université Pajajaran de Bandung. Quelques mois après, arrivait Marcel Bonneff, affecté à l'Institut de Pédagogie de Jakarta (IKIP), puis nommé à l'Université Gajah Mada de Yogyakarta. Dans la deuxième vague, diverses spécialités étaient représentées avec Bernard Dorléans, François Raillon, Gérard Chesnel, géographe, pour ne citer que ceux qui furent en relation avec *Archipel*.

Tous étaient fraîchement émoulus de l'université et forcément avec une connaissance limitée de l'Indonésie. La rencontre entre des spécialistes qui n'avaient pas encore les moyens d'aller sur le terrain et des profanes parfois présomptueux, qui avaient la chance d'y être déjà, mettait un peu de tension. On notera cependant la rapidité avec laquelle les nouveaux venus qui sont les spécialistes d'aujourd'hui assimilaient la connaissance de l'Indonésie.

Claudine Salmon avait fait des études de droit, de lettres, de sociologie, et de chinois simultanément, en se déplaçant d'une institution à l'autre, conjointement à Denys Lombard. Ils firent un premier séjour en Chine de 1964 à 1966, durant lequel ils participèrent au projet de Guide Nagel de la Chine (1568 p.) qui les inspirera pour faire un guide de l'Indonésie. Elle fut nommée au CNRS en 1969.

Marcel Bonneff avait été recruté directement par le Ministère des Affaires étrangères, théoriquement sur le poste de l'IKIP (Institut pédagogique de Jakarta), puis avait pu choisir un poste de lecteur à Yogyakarta. Il avait fait des études de psychologie et de philosophie à Bordeaux. Il commençait à apprendre le javanais. Il apparaît très tôt dans le Comité de direction avec Henri Chambert-Loir (n°. 7, 1974).

Henri Chambert-Loir avait le profil type de l'indonésianiste, à savoir des études de lettres et le malais aux Langues O'. Il avait été recruté à l'EFEO et eut d'emblée une participation active dans *Archipel*, avec la thématique littérature, philologie, histoire.

Pierre-Yves Manguin était installé à Jakarta comme représentant de l'EFEO. Il assura un temps la continuité de la revue en alternance avec Claude Guillot qui avait l'avantage de résider à Yogyakarta à cette époque et avec Henri Chambert-Loir qui était établi à Bandung.

Claude Guillot venait des études d'histoire et de lettres modernes. Il était entré dans la coopération avec un premier détachement en Égypte, puis en Tanzanie. Le poste de Yogyakarta était sa troisième affectation. Il suivit la fabrication d'*Archipel* à Yogyakarta.

Denys Lombard avait déjà noué des relations avec des collègues européens et, dès 1975, Russell Jones (SOAS) était entré dans le comité de la revue. En 1978, il organisa un premier colloque des études malaises à l'EHESS, lequel se traduisit par l'introduction, dans le comité de rédaction, de deux nouveaux collègues européens, C.D. Grijns (Université de Leiden) et Luiji Santa Maria (Université de Naples). Notons que ces rencontres, initiées par Archipel, prendront vite une dimension européenne avec l'élargissement de sa thématique à l'Asie du Sud-Est, ce qui poussera Archipel à laisser filer ultérieurement sa participation à une structure trop ambitieuse.

Les sommaires et couvertures

Le graphisme de la couverture était satisfaisant puisqu'il perdure : sobriété du dos avec une numérotation en continu, sobriété de la couverture, avec un motif de Kâla puis des motifs détourés. Pour les quatre premiers numéros fut choisie une carte ancienne de 1705[13]. Le plus important était la tête de Kâla chronophage qui fut préférée comme logo symbolique à Ananta qui avait déjà servi pour le *Dictionnaire fondamental* [14] et *La guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu* de Giraudoux, traduit par Jim Lim[15]. Le motif du Kâla fut décliné pour les quatre numéros suivants (nº. 5-8). Le nº. 10 étant un numéro spécial, le graphisme d'un bateau fut adapté au contenu (nº. 9-12). Le numéro 13 « Regards sur les indonésiennes » dirigé par Claudine Salmon représenta Srikandi, l'héroïne de *wayang* brandissant son arc. Pour le motif de couverture, il fut au début pratiqué une alternance de quatre couleurs : rouge, vert, orange, bleu, symbolique voulue par Denys Lombard dont le sens nous échappe.

Pour mieux structurer la revue, la rédaction imagina des rubriques qui eurent des destins divers. En plus de l'actualité, faite surtout de colloques, il y eut des « pages d'exotisme » dont la littérature française fournit des exemples en abondance car l'aire de l'Océan Indien reste avant tout un « horizon chimérique » selon l'expression de Jacques Le Goff, avec des auteurs méconnus comme René Ghil amoureux d'une danseuse javanaise[16].

Forts de l'expérience du guide Nagel sur la Chine, Denys Lombard avait imaginé la rédaction progressive d'un guide *Archipel* de l'Indonésie, qui

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13. *Carte des Indes et de la Chine dressée sur plusieurs relations particulières rectifiées par quelques observations par Guillaume de l'Isle de l'Académie Royale des Sciences* ; à Paris chez l'auteur sur le Quai de l'Horloge et se trouve à Amsterdam chez Louis Renard près de la Bourse. Avec privilège pour vingt ans, 1705.

14. Farida Soemargono et Pierre Labrousse, *Kamus dasar Perantjis-Indonesia,* Ananta, Bandung, 1969.

15. Jean Giraudoux, *Perang Troja tidak akan meletus*, traduit par Jim Lim, Ananta, Bandung, 1967.

16. « Pages d'exotisme I : L'odeur d'Ilang-ilang de René Ghil », *Archipel* 1, 1971, p. 103-104.

aurait été bienvenu car les guides des grands éditeurs n'avaient pas encore occupé le terrain. On en trouvera deux exemples avec le guide de Sumatra Ouest, résultat d'un voyage des responsables de la revue (n°. 4, 1972) et, dans *Archipel* 10 (1977), un guide de Célèbes-Sud. Mais les grandes maisons d'édition entrèrent vite dans le marché. L'une des agences de voyage, Assinter, confia à Sylvette et Marcel Bonneff la rédaction d'un guide publié en 1977. L'idée ne fut pas poursuivie dans le cadre d'Archipel.

À noter l'unique publicité de la page 4 de couverture du numéro 4 (1972) pour la compagnie aérienne UTA, en échange d'un transport de la revue à Paris. Les numéros réservés à UTA devant être réservés à la première classe...

Plus tard, on imagina aussi un cahier d'images (16 pages) pour pallier le manque d'iconographie des articles et répondre au rôle grandissant de l'image. Cela supposait de trouver des documents originaux. L'idée disparut puis reparut.

Enfin les numéros spéciaux, déjà présents avec le n°. 5 (1973) « Cinéma indonésien », le volume sur Célèbes-Sud (n°. 10, 1973), et celui sur la femme indonésienne par Claudine Salmon (n°. 13, 1977). Le 5 est particulièrement représentatif. Le sujet n'avait pratiquement pas été traité hors les frontières de l'Indonésie. Pour la première fois paraissait une filmographie complète du cinéma indonésien, Denys Lombard avait eu l'idée de faire un article d'histoire du cinéma en images avec les photographies de la Cinémathèque indonésienne et de traiter le thème du *silat* qui traverse les genres et les pays de la Chine à l'Indonésie.

À partir de 1983 (n°. 25), la présentation fut modifiée avec l'impression de la revue en France. Marcel Bonneff et Henri Chambert-Loir passent de « secrétaires de la rédaction » à membres du « comité de rédaction », M. Bonneff, H. Chambert-Loir, D. Lombard, Ch. Pelras. Tandis que Pierre Labrousse prend la fonction de responsable de la revue, pour signer l'envoi d'un exemplaire au ministère de l'intérieur, conformément à la loi, peu observée semble-t-il, avant que cette obligation ne soit supprimée.

Pour la gestion des abonnements, des commandes et des envois, Archipel put bénéficier de la gestion de Marie-Thérèse Pelras qui accompagna la revue pendant plus de trente ans, jusqu'à maintenant, au centième numéro, avec une constance redoutable.

Les dictionnaires

Face à l'absence de tout manuel, si ce n'est le petit dictionnaire de Surarti édité à Semarang, le terrain à défricher était vaste. Le choix se porta sur une adaptation du *Dictionnaire du français fondamental* de Georges Gougenheim[17].

17. Farida Soemargono et Pierre Labrousse, *Kamus dasar Perantjis-Indonesia*, Ananta, Bandung, 1969. Traduction de G. Gougenheim, *Dictionnaire fondamental de la langue française*, Paris, Didier, 1958.

Le financement fut assuré grâce à la demande insistante de l'ambassadeur Claude Cheysson[18] qui avait demandé des suggestions d'action culturelle. Le projet de Bandung, à savoir la publication d'un dictionnaire, fut mis en concurrence avec un autre projet du département de français de l'Université d'Indonésie. Bandung fut heureusement retenu. Cette décision était pleine de conséquence parce qu'elle constitua l'acte fondateur du financement d'*Archipel*. Les entreprises françaises furent mises à contribution et le dictionnaire imprimé à 10 000 exemplaires par l'imprimerie Cikapundung de Bandung. L'ouvrage était édité par Ananta, éditeur créé pour l'occasion, avec un logo représentant Ananta, par Sujadi. Ce dernier fut plus connu sous le nom de Pak Raden, son personnage dans une série télévisée, Si Unyil dont tous les Indonésiens d'un certain âge se souviennent.

La vente permit de recruter deux secrétaires Rukmini Adibrata et Ria Partono à plein temps pendant huit ans, qui composèrent le fichier qui allait permettre la compilation d'un dictionnaire sur corpus. La plus grande partie de ce fichier de 80 000 exemples était sous-traitée à l'extérieur par des lecteurs qui recevaient des consignes sur la thématique à retenir. C'est ce corpus qui permit de rédiger un dictionnaire indonésien-français entièrement nouveau et qui n'avait pas d'équivalent[19]. Les bénéfices permirent aussi de financer les premiers volumes d'*Archipel* et d'acheter des livres qui furent le point de départ de la bibliothèque indonésienne sise aujourd'hui avenue du Président Wilson, mais prête à rejoindre le GED (Grand Équipement Documentaire). Pierre Labrousse avait eu l'intuition de l'arrivée de l'informatique dans l'édition et fait l'acquisition d'une photocomposeuse, engin de 400 kg qui permettait de faire soit des bromures, soit des films dans une baignoire. Après cela l'imprimerie ne servait plus qu'à imprimer. L'ouvrage confié à l'imprimerie Marcel Bon à Vesoul était d'une excellente qualité. La photocomposeuse put être revendue avant l'arrivée des ordinateurs individuels.

L'Association Archipel n'avait pas les moyens de financer l'édition de cet ouvrage. On fit appel au ministère des Affaires étrangères, à l'ambassadeur Loïk Hennekine, pour organiser une souscription auprès des Centres culturels et des Alliances françaises de Jakarta et de Bandung. Ce qui permit de vendre 400 exemplaires environ. Le projet fut également classé en tête des soutiens à l'édition du CNRS (section Extrême-Orient). Tout cela permettait de boucler le financement du *Dictionnaire général indonésien-français*.

18. Futur ministre des Relations extérieures, 1981-1984.

19. Pierre Labrousse, avec la collaboration de Farida Soemargono, Winarsih Arifin et Henri Chambert-Loir, *Dictionnaire général Indonésien – Français*, Paris, Association Archipel, 1984.

Pour son pendant, le dictionnaire français-indonésien[20], l'entreprise se posait en d'autres termes. On avait sous la main nombre d'excellents dictionnaires français. Il fallait les adapter et les traduire. On n'allait pas inventer un nouveau corpus. Le choix se porta sur le *Micro-Robert* qui générait un dictionnaire français-indonésien de 1 000 pages environ, avec une grande qualité de l'analyse sémantique. Alain Rey avec qui l'accord fut conclu aurait aimé mettre un pied dans les langues orientales mais les commerciaux s'y opposèrent avec la raison que l'entreprise n'était pas formatée pour ce qu'ils considéraient comme un tout petit tirage. Archipel eut l'autorisation d'adapter le *Micro-Robert*, ce que Winarsih Arifin et Farida Soemargono firent très bien. La relecture fut assurée par Hendra Setiawan.

Les cahiers d'Archipel

La création des *cahiers d'Archipel* répondait à un double objectif. D'abord celui de manuels dont le besoin allait de pair avec l'enseignement de l'indonésien qui dans les années 80, aux Langues O', se hissa à égalité avec des langues mieux équipées en outils descriptifs et pédagogiques, comme le persan, le polonais.

L'idée des « nouveaux dragons » était à la mode. Les premiers volumes étaient liés à l'enseignement. À commencer par le premier de la collection : Denys Lombard, *Introduction à l'indonésien* (1976), suivi de la *Méthode d'indonésien* et du dictionnaire de poche de Pierre Labrousse et Farida Soemargono, auxquels on peut adjoindre *La langue minangkabau* (1981) de Gérard Moussay, suivie du monumental *Dictionnaire Minangkabau-Indonésien-Français* (1995), publié en coédition avec L'Harmattan et l'introduction à la littérature, ouvrage dirigé par Henri Chambert-Loir, *Sastra : Introduction à littérature indonésienne contemporaine* (1980).

Dans un premier temps Denys Lombard, qui manifesta toujours une volonté farouche de pousser les publications, créa une collection conjointe avec l'EHESS, qui publia les thèses de Claude Guillot, Muriel Charras, François Raillon, Chantal Vuldy, Bernard Sellato, Manuelle Franck, et quelques autres travaux, soit au total une dizaine de volumes. L'arrêt de cette collection en 1993 fut décidé par l'EHESS pour des raisons liées à l'organisation des aires culturelles. La collection s'arrêta là tout net, mais les *Cahiers d'Archipel* purent prendre la relève immédiatement, ce qui explique leur caractère parfois disparate. Mais cela fut possible grâce au recrutement d'Anna Pezzopane qui fut toujours animée par le souci de l'esthétique. Cela tient aussi à la diversité des partenariats pour des coéditions notamment avec l'EFEO, avec l'Asiathèque, L'Harmattan, l'éphémère éditeur Puyraimond qui publia la thèse de Marcel Bonneff, et Gramedia en Indonésie. L'avantage des *Cahiers*

20. Farida Soemargono, *Dictionnaire français-indonésien*, partie française basée sur le Micro-Robert, édition dirigée par Pierre Labrousse, Paris, Association Archipel, 1991.

était que la décision de publier pouvait être prise immédiatement. Les thèses avaient déjà été lues et jugées par un jury. C'est ainsi qu'une deuxième série de thèses put voir le jour dans les *Cahiers* : Farida Soemargono, Laurence Husson, Monique Zaini-Lajoubert, Andrée Feillard, Nathalie Lancret, Silvia Vignato, Jean-Marc de Grave, Paul Wormser.

Ce récit des origines, qui pourrait se définir comme la période nomade d'*Archipel*, appelle une seconde partie de l'histoire de la revue qui pourrait avoir comme thème la constitution d'un réseau académique international. Au fil des années, *Archipel* n'a cessé de s'étendre dans la communauté scientifique et d'accéder au rang de revue référencée pouvant entrer en ligne de compte pour la carrière des chercheurs. Mais aussi après le retour d'Indonésie en 1983, la liberté de style va progressivement se figer dans un cadre plus académique. Les exigences formelles pour obtenir la participation des institutions ont pour effet l'effacement d'une certaine indépendance. Une autre conséquence est la désaffection des abonnés privés qui est regrettable. Il conviendra d'imaginer d'autres formules sur internet. Mais enfin la génération qui a créé la revue peut se retirer avec la satisfaction du projet accompli.

Anthony Reid[1]

An Appreciation of *Archipel* 1971-2020, from a Distant Fan

I congratulate *l'équipe Archipel* on having stayed the course so heroically and creatively. Few journals are worth subscribing to for a lifetime, but *Archipel* is one. Its half-century is roughly the same period as my active life as a Southeast Asianist. I was there at the beginning as a subscriber and distant admirer, and I am happy to note that we are both still standing, though only *Archipel* with as much vigour as ever. It has retained over the half-century a remarkable mix of the deeply learned and the lightly entertaining, the relevant and the obscure. In insisting on the importance, even primacy, of culture over *l'événementiel*, it has given courage to us all in challenging times.

While the KITLV's *Bijdragen* struggled to survive in and adapt to the post-colonial world, partly by shedding much of its textual focus, three new specialist journals of quality on Indonesia emerged from the 1965 crisis and the beginnings of Soeharto's *Orde Baru*. Cornell's *Indonesia* was overtly political – in part a protest against the military takeover and all that ensued. ANU's *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* might be seen as its opposite, hoping that its pragmatic economic emphasis would support Soeharto's technocrats and contribute to making the Orde Baru an economic success.

Archipel was the third response, the most unexpected of the three since France had been seen as the centre for all things *indochinoises* but with no special interest in Indonesia. Perhaps that was its strength. *Archipel* appeared to have no political axe to grind or debts to pay, save to emphasise the splendid continuities of Indonesian culture despite the political upheavals and reversals of the mid-

1. ANU, Canberra.

20th century. While the other two new journals and the earlier *Bijdragen* were sustained by committed specialist institutions, *Archipel* arose from the inspiration, optimism and hard work of a few dedicated individuals scattered among Paris's notoriously fragmented academic scene. Indeed it seemed to be the journal itself that persuaded people in EFEO, EHESS, CNRS, Langues O' and the universities to work together and achieve miracles of coherence and longevity.

I tried to visit Paris and the Archipel office whenever in Europe, even though it was the archives of London and The Hague that drew me across the world. I must have first met Denys Lombard during my 1968 sabbatical, as one of the handful of fellow-reseearchers on Aceh, so I may have been on the list of potential subscribers even before the birth. I picked up *Le Sultanat d'Atjeh* in time to publish a description in 1971 of three books on Aceh that appeared in 1969 after a long hiatus – his, mine, and Jim Siegel's *Rope of God*. But things warmed up when I was able to spend a few weeks in Paris in 1978, when Denys invited me to talk to his seminar about Indonesian Studies in Australia. That paper appeared in *Archipel* 21 (1981) as "'Alterity' and 'Reformism'" – a polarity of motivation that still continues to intrigue me.

That visit began a period when we tried to build real bridges across the Anglophone-Francophone divide. In 1979 I was able to invite Denys and Claudine for a period in Canberra, which Denys described as a kind of trial as to whether he could overcome his resentment of Anglophone arrogance with this lesser Australian surrogate before tackling America. Denys reviewed a couple of my books, in *Archipel* and elsewhere, and translated an article of mine on Southeast Asian cities; I reviewed a few books of the *Archipel* group in English, beginning with a review of *Archipel* 17 & 18 in the new Australian journal I was editing, then called *ASAA Review* (1980). We shared an interest in the two under-appreciated French accounts of 17th century Aceh, by François Martin and Augustin de Beaulieu, and I was delighted that we were both able to remedy this to some extent by my English translations (1994) and his new edition of Beaulieu (1996) and *Archipel* article on Martin (over-generously dedicated to me, 1997).

I should also acknowledge here my debt to Christian Pelras and his very dedicated wife, for all they did both for *Archipel* and for South Sulawesi Studies. In 1980 I succeeded Christian in his pioneering role as *Tenaga Ahli Utama* in the PLPIIS (Social Science Research Training Centre) in Ujung Pandang (now rightly again Makassar). No only was his advice and example indispensable for me in negotiating a complex and unfamiliar territory, but the special issue he organized and partly wrote on South Sulawesi, *Archipel* 10, was my constant companion in exploring the region.

In these terribly difficult times for journals everywhere, *Archipel* continues to inspire hope that interdisciplinary comprehensiveness, cultural finesse and imaginative flair can still find a place. I wish it another 50 years of vigour – *vive Archipel*.

Colloque « Martial Arts, Religion and Spirituality (MARS) », 15 et 16 juillet 2020, Institut de Recherches Asiatiques (IRASIA, Université d'Aix-Marseille)

Le colloque international « Martial Arts, Religion and Spirituality (MARS) » s'est tenu les 15 et 16 juillet 2020, intégralement en visio-conférences. Initialement programmé en présentiel à Marseille, au Campus Saint-Charles de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille (AMU), la crise sanitaire – elle aussi internationale – a conduit les organisateurs à faire basculer la manifestation vers un triple support numérique se présentant sous la forme d'un carnet Hypothèses (https://mars2020.hypotheses.org/about) pour y placer le programme et les informations, d'une chaîne YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCQsM3YYvQHF7fkYLSn2TaxA/videos?view_as=subscriber) pour y héberger les vidéos des communications, et du support d'échanges Teams pour les discussions en direct des 15 et 16 juillet. C'est l'Institut de Recherches Asiatiques (IRASIA, UMR 7306, CNRS-AMU) et la Maison Asie-Pacifique (UMS MAP 1885) qui ont servi de base organisationnelle à l'évènement et contribué à financer celui-ci avec la Faculté ALLSH d'AMU et le GIS Asie.

Du point de vue des réseaux scientifiques impliqués, il s'agit d'une collaboration de membres de l'IRASIA – et plus particulièrement de l'axe de recherche n° 5 « Transmission des savoirs et des savoir-faire, orientation des valeurs sociales » (https://nyantri.hypotheses.org/) – avec le groupe de recherche international « Martial arts studies research network » – animé par Paul Bowman, Professeur de *Cultural studies* à l'Université de Cardiff (http://masresearchnetwork.apps-1and1.net/6th-annual-martial-arts-studies-conference) – dont c'était la 6e *conference*.

Une journée d'étude internationale préparatoire intitulée « Terminologies and categories of martiality. Etymologies, religious and secular dimensions, related practices » s'était tenue les 10 et 11 juillet 2019 au Campus Schuman d'AMU à Aix-en-Provence. Le thème du religieux en lien aux pratiques martiales avait déjà été retenu, mais cette JE visait à mieux cadrer la façon dont les catégories et les termes se construisent dans différents contextes socio-culturels présents ou anciens (Inde, Java, Brésil, France, Chine, Taïwan, Japon), où il est apparu que le religieux demeurait constamment référentiel aux catégories utilisées.

La question s'est aussi posée d'une catégorie dénominative englobante : en parallèle à l'émergence d'un champ d'études « Martial arts studies » dont l'objet est en cours de définition (doit-on par exemple y inclure les gymnastiques de longue vie ou les pratiques militaires ?), ne gagne-t-on pas à avoir recours à une catégorie conceptuelle susceptible d'intégrer différents degrés et contextes de ce qu'exprime le terme « martial », à savoir la catégorie « martialité » ? Le débat s'est poursuivi lors du colloque, notamment à l'occasion de l'allocution liminaire de DS Farrer (Université de Palau) et de l'allocution de clôture de Paul Bowman et Sixt Wetzler (Deutsches Klingenmuseum, Solingen) faisant écho à la première.

Concernant la tenue des discussions spécialisées, les 50 communicants (d'institutions anglaises et françaises 8, étatsuniennes 5, allemandes, canadiennes et hong-kongaises 4, chinoises et suisses 3, brésiliennes et italiennes 2, Belgique, Corée du Sud, Finlande, Hongrie, Palau, Pologne, Tchéquie 1) et 16 modérateurs – parmi lesquels des personnalités du monde académique comme l'indonésianiste Kathy Foley (Université de Californie) et le sanskritiste Sylvain Brocquet (Université d'Aix-Marseille) – ont bénéficié de l'écoute de 120 participants en tout. Ils ont ainsi pu discuter au sein de neuf ateliers centrés sur 1/ Les arts du spectacle, 2/ Les cosmologies, 3/ Les représentations classiques et populaires, 4/ L'éthique et les valeurs morales, 5/ Religions populaires, santé, globalisation, 6/ L'ascèse, 7/ Canalisation de la violence dans les rituels collectifs et dans le sport, 8/ Identités ethnoreligieuses, nationalisme et politique, 9/ Les questions de méthodologie.

L'interdisciplinarité a très nettement dominé, combinant les approches anthropologiques, arts du spectacle, choréologiques, historiques, littéraires, orientalistes, pluridisciplinaires, psychologiques, sciences de l'éducation, sciences du sport et de la motricité, sociologiques. Ces approches ont permis de rendre compte de pratiques et de contextes argentins, brésiliens, caraïbéens, chinois, coréens, européens, hong-kongais, indiens, indonésiens, israéliens, japonais, mexicains, russes et sri-lankais.

Aucun incident technique majeur n'est venu entraver la tenue de ces deux jours de discussions, lesquelles semblent avoir tout à fait satisfait les organisateurs et les participants. Des projets de publication ont vu le jour à

cette occasion et la tenue du 7e congrès du « Martial arts studies research network » aura lieu du 30 juin au 3 juillet 2021 à l'Université de Lausanne, avec pour thème « Martial Arts : Tradition and Globalisation ».

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Daniel Perret[1], *Heddy Surachman*[2], *Repelita Wahyu Oetomo*[3]

Recent Archaeological Surveys in the Northern Half of Sumatra

After 25 years of archaeological research on old settlement sites of North Sumatra Province, it seems appropriate to review what is now known of such sites and associated ones dated prior to the sixteenth century in this province and in the adjacent areas of West Sumatra and Riau provinces.[4] The recent surveys conducted with this aim were also an opportunity to collect new field data, either from locals or through pedestrian survey and soil core sampling. Two fieldtrips were conducted in 2019, the first from 28 January to 11 February and the second from 16 to 27 July (fig. 1).

Barus, on the west coast of the North Sumatra Province, north of Sibolga, where archaeological research had been undertaken from 1994 to 2005, was revisited on the occasion of the first trip, because we hoped that recent chance finds might shed light on the location of the site which, according to local traditions, predated the site of Lobu Tua (late ninth to late eleventh centuries CE), and where, according to the legend, a certain Andam Dewi cut the head of a *garuda*. It turned out differently: both pedestrian survey and two small test-pits (02°02'25.4" N, 98°22'00.7" E; 02°02'34.6" N, 98°21'47.8" E) in an area that would correspond to these traditions in terms of toponymy proved negative. The only new information is the existence of a sacred place called

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

2. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.

3. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Indonesia, Balai Arkeologi Medan.

4. The authors warmly thank Arlo Griffiths for his editing of the English-language.

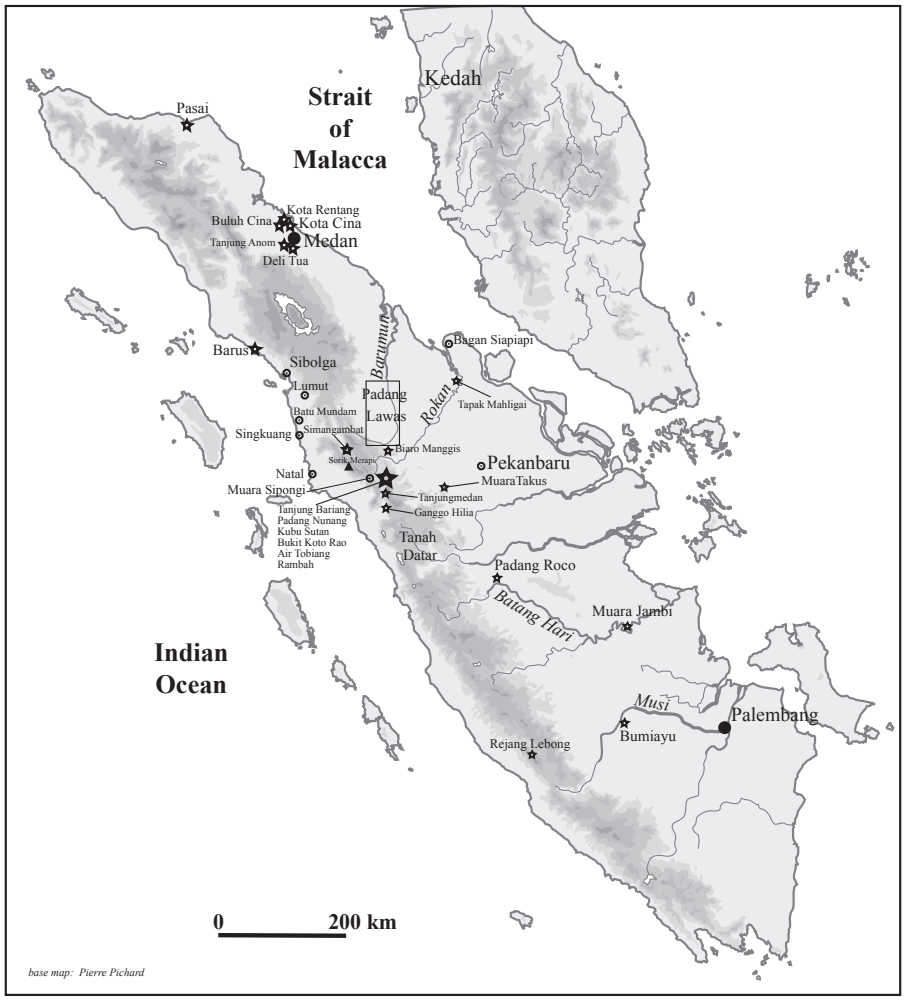

Fig. 1 – Archaeological sites mentioned in the text (D. Perret).

Keramat Aulia 44 in the village of Aek Busuk. A new place shall therefore be added to the list of toponyms linked to the legend of the 44 Muslim saints well known in the traditions of Barus and beyond (cf. Perret 2009: 583–584). Near Aek Busuk, the core of the Lobu Tua site (Desa Lobu Tua, Kecamatan Andam Dewi, Kabupaten Tapanuli Tengah) remains in the same condition as twenty years ago, covered as it still is by a coconut grove without any new constructions (02°02’17.6” N, 98°22’09.4” E).

Twenty years ago, the village of Gabungan Hasang already extended over Bukit Hasang, the other major settlement site of Barus (twelfth to early sixteenth centuries CE). The densification of occupation continues. In the hamlet of Pananggahan (Kecamatan Barus, Kabupaten Tapanuli Tengah), just north of Gabungan Hasang, the hill overlooking the old Islamic graveyard known as Makam Ambar (02°01’52.9” N, 98°24’56.3” E), which has been quarried for some eight years, will soon disappear (fig. 2). It is on this hill that, in 2003, we uncovered the stone bearing the oldest dated funerary inscription (751 H / 1350 CE) identified so far in the Barus region (Perret et al. 2009: 487, nr. 14 p. 500) (fig. 3).

(1) Month of Djûmadâ II of the year	(١) شهر جمادى الاخر سنة
(2) 751 / August 6th – September 3rd 1350	(٢) أحد و خمسين و سبعمائة.
(3) .x.x.x.	(٣) .+.+.+.
(4) xxxx.x.	(٤) .+.++++
(5) xxx.x.x.	(٥) .+.+.+++

The Arabic inscription on PNG2 tombstone

The keeper at the Ambar cemetery having had the presence of mind to save several dozen tombstones from destruction, we had the opportunity to document 21 whole or fragmentary inscribed stones, some decorated with stylized mosque lamps or interlacings or floral motifs (fig. 4). All these texts in Arabic characters are religious inscriptions (L. Kalus, pers. comm. with D.P., February 2019).

Among these tombstones rescued just in time, one drew our attention in particular since we recognized an inscription in Indic script on one of its sides (fig. 5, fig. 6). Our suggestion was soon confirmed by Arlo Griffiths, whose readings reveal that the inscription is in Old Malay (see his article

Fig. 2 – Pananggahan hill (Daniel Perret, Feb. 2019)

Fig. 3 – The PNG2 tombstone (Daniel Perret, 2003)

Fig. 4 – Gravestones from Pananggahan hill (Daniel Perret, Feb. 2019)

Fig. 5 – The Old-Malay inscribed gravestone from Pananggahan (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

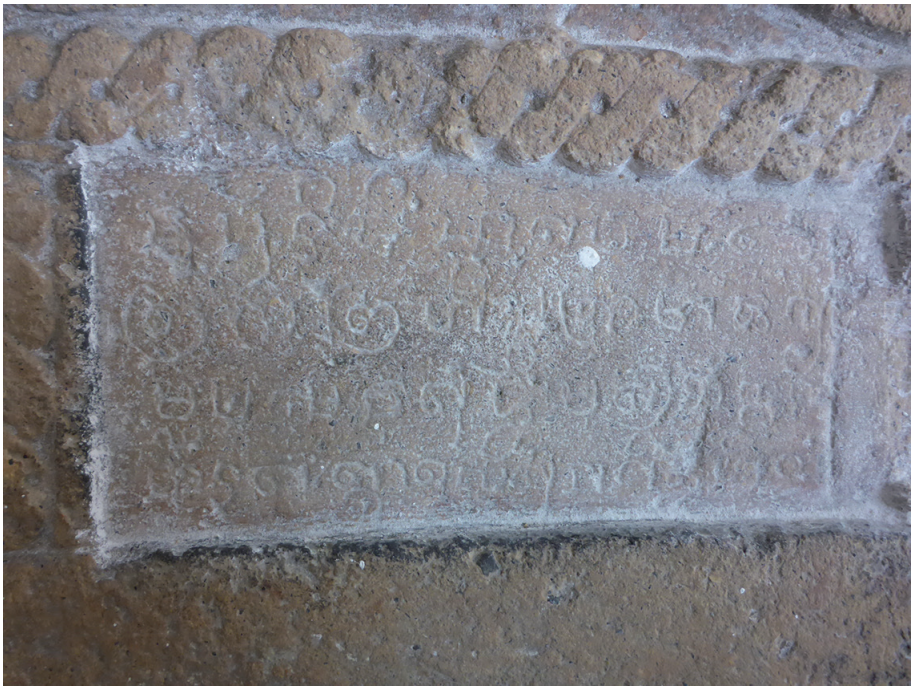

Fig. 6 – The Old-Malay inscription (R.W. Oetomo, Sept. 2019)

in this issue for a decipherment and translation as well as comments). Apart from a number of rings and gems inscribed with Indic characters, this type of find is rare in Barus. Until recently only two texts found in Lobu Tua were known: the famous inscription in Old-Tamil dated 1088 CE, and an inscription in Old Javanese in two fragments still to be thoroughly analysed, so far dated paleographically from the tenth century CE (Guillot et al. 2003: 299–300).

Although fragmentary, this Pananggahan stele (49×29×12 cm) shows a carved decoration in the style of the PNG2 tombstone mentioned above and found on the same hill fifteen years earlier. There is the same horizontally arranged brace, whose scrolls are decorated in this case. The chain motif is also found in both, a horizontal strip separating the brace from the inscription and in two vertical strips on either side of the inscription (inscribed panel: 8×14 cm). In the PNG2 stele, each vertical strip is on the top of a bell shape that can be interpreted as a pillar base.

Strikingly, the dates deciphered on both stones are very close to each other. The fact that two tombstones from the same site bear inscriptions in Arabic and Old Malay languages and bear dates within close range the one from the other recalls the case of the bilingual pair of inscriptions (also in Old Malay / Arabic) of al-malika Wabīsa's tomb in Minye Tujuh near Pasai, which include the year

781 H / 1380 CE in the Old Malay inscription written in Palaeosumatran characters (van der Molen 2007: 360–361) and 791 H / 1389 CE in the Arabic inscription (Guillot & Kalus 2008: 313–314). This precedent of Minye Tujuh, revealed more than a century ago and verified several times since, leads us to suggest that the PNG2 stele and the inscribed gravestone recently identified in the same hamlet of Pananggahan, both made of tuff and probably locally made, would come from the same grave. The major difference from the Minye Tujuh tomb would be the mention of two dates in different eras (Śaka and Hijrah). Another funerary monument displays inscriptions in two different scripts (Malay written in Jawi and in Palaeosumatran characters), the use of the Śaka and Hijrah eras, as well as a discrepancy regarding the dates. This is the inscribed pillar of Pengkalan Kempas (Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia), on which the inscription in Jawi indicates the year 872 H (1467/68) while the inscription in Palaeosumatran characters bears the year 1385 Ś (1463/64) (Boden Kloss 1921; de Casparis 1980).

The hypothesis of a unique grave is also based on another observation: the two Pananggahan stelae show a very similar style without any equivalent known so far in the Barus region.

It may not be a mere coincidence that in 2009 we had already noticed the similarities in form and style of PNG2 with two tombs of Pasai documented in 2006, located at Dusun 44 near Kuta Kareueng, an old graveyard identified as Peut Pleuh Peut by C. Guillot and L. Kalus. Carved in granite showing black inclusions, their inscriptions unfortunately do not include names or dates (Guillot and Kalus 2008: 272–273).[5]

This use of the combination of Arabic and Old Malay languages, as well as the style, both of which are reminiscent of the Pasai region, raise another tantalizing question: would the Pananggahan tomb, which is 30 or 40 years older than the one at Minye Tujuh, be the burial place of an ancestor of al-malika Wabīsa?

In his reading of the inscription, Arlo Griffiths proposes to translate "*bhagi(n)da*" by "his/her highness," which of course immediately comes to mind. In the historical context of Barus, and in particular of its close and apparently ancient links with the Minangkabau area, it is worth recalling the use of the term *bagindo* as a title of nobility in the regions of Pariaman and Tanah Datar (Moussay 1995: 113). Could the "*bhaginda*" of the inscription be linked to one of the re-founders of Barus (after the destruction of Lobu Tua), who according to local chronicles is said to originate from Tarusan, south of Padang (Drakard ed., 2003: 144-5, 216, 234)? In a previous publication (Perret 2009: 561) we had already noted a common point between old inscriptions of the Minangkabau area, Barus and Minye Tujuh, that is the use of the word

5. We thank Véronique Degroot for pointing out other similar motifs on Pasai old tombstones, in particular the motifs above the inscriptions of KK21 (1415 CE) and KL02 (1441 CE) (see Guillot and Kalus 2008: 164, 342).

Fig. 7 – Gaṇeśa image (Lumut River) (Daniel Perret, Feb. 2019)

"*tuhan*" interpreted as an eminent title.

Still on the west coast of North Sumatra, in the southern sector of Sibolga Bay, we looked near Lumut (Kecamatan Badiri, Kabupaten Tapanuli Tengah) for the discovery site of the stone Gaṇeśa observed nearly twenty years ago by Lucas P. Koestoro (2001). The aim was to check whether the surroundings might subsequently have provided indications of an ancient settlement site. The discovery site (01°35'16" N, 98°49'57.5" E) is located on the slopes of a hill overlooking a small tributary of the Lumut River upstream from the village of Jago-Jago. Gold is being mined at the foot of the hill. The statue carved in tuff is still there, but in a fragmentary and very degraded state (height 66 cm, base 45×28 cm) (fig. 7). At the same place, fragments of another image (undetermined) carved in tuff are also visible. The thick vegetation covering the hill at this location prevents effective survey, but the former landowner is not aware of any chance discovery of shards or bricks made recently, either on the slopes or at the top of the hill. The presence here of these two apparently isolated statues remains unexplained. As early as the eighteenth century, explorers who wanted to venture into the hinterland from the west coast left from the Bay of Sibolga (also known as Bay of Tapanuli), particularly from the Lumut region. This was the case of Miller, Willer, van der Tuuk and Junghuhn, the latter then reaching Portibi in Padang Lawas, after following

the Batang Toru, Batang Angkola and Sirumambe rivers. It is known also that the Lumut region was at that time already rich in camphor trees.[6] In addition, the search for gold veins still active today was certainly practiced in the area in ancient times.

Further south, still on the west coast, the place name Batu Mundam/Mundom (Kecamatan Muara Batang Gadis, Kabupaten Mandailing Natal) caught our attention because the word *mundam* is still in use in the Tamil language,[7] and this raises the question of the existence of a settlement frequented by Tamils in former times, as in Barus further north. The only significant feature in the landscape near the village is a steeply sloping hill called Bukit Peti (01°16'37.7" N, 98°51'42.2" E). This hill, no longer frequented, is at the centre of various beliefs among the locals (presence of a pond with perfumed water, an anchor, a carved house post, also a place of meditation in former times). The present village of Batu Mundam is said to have been founded five or six generations ago. According to the locals, the village's founders originated from Kampung Sawangan, on the opposite bank of the Batang Toru River. During our brief visit, we didn't hear of any find indicating the presence of an ancient settlement site in the vicinity.

Further south, Singkuang (Kecamatan Muara Batang Gadis, Kabupaten Mandailing Natal) is located at the mouth (now silted up) of the Batang Gadis River. The toponym Picar Koling was still known near this mouth in the second half of the nineteenth century. Picar/Pijor Koling is a relatively common place name in North Sumatra, recorded from the west to the east coasts. It may refer to a gold smelting workshop run by people from the southeast coast of India. According to this interpretation, Pijor/Picar would be the modern Indonesian *pijar-pijar*, namely borax, a flux used to lower the melting point of gold, and Koling would be a variant of Keling, a term well known in maritime Southeast Asia to designate people from the Indian subcontinent. Finds of "antique objects" were reported there at the end of the nineteenth century.[8] In addition, in his pseudo-historical work entitled *Tuanku Rao*, Parlindungan (c. 1964: 33–4, 38) probably made use of oral traditions to assert the presence of various foreign populations in Singkuang in ancient times. However, data collected during our survey do not go back beyond the colonial period (two Muslim tombs: Makam Syeh and Makam Raja – 01°03'40.6" N, 98°55'53.2" E), except perhaps the foundation of the Singkuang village itself by people of

6. On these points, see Perret 2014.

7. Muṇṭam means "head" or "forehead" in Tamil (https://dsal.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/app/tamil-lex_query.py?qs=muntam&matchtype=default, retrieved July 2020). The term is also used in Acehnese to designate a water container of the *kendi* type (Djajadiningrat 1934, II: 106-107).

8. *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 25, 1887: 56.

Tarutung village at about one hour by boat. The memory of the toponym Picar Koling seems definitively lost and no finds indicating presence of an ancient settlement site in the vicinity seem to have been reported recently.

About 80 km to the south, the small fishing port of Natal (Kabupaten Mandailing-Natal, North Sumatra Province) is situated in the middle of a bay protected by the tip of Ujung Sikara-kara in the north and the tip of Ujung Rakat in the south. Unlike Barus, Natal has a real coastal plain about 15 km wide. Natal is now connected both by a good mountain road (pass at an altitude of 1,270 m) to Panyabungan, although this road is frequently cut by landslides, and by an excellent coastal road to Singkuang.

The many gold-washers still in action in the torrential part of the Natal River have swapped sieves (*dulang*) for pumps that suck sediment from the river bed. The richness in gold of the Natal River basin has been known for a long time.[9] It is already mentioned by Marsden at the end of the eighteenth century, gold making the reputation of the port of Natal itself. Moreover, the discovery of old gold ornaments and rings by gold panners was reported at the beginning of the twentieth century. Whereas in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Batang Natal was navigable nearly twenty kilometres upstream of its mouth for boats carrying cargoes up to three tons, this is no longer the case today: navigation is prevented by trees falling into the river and by the erosion of its banks. The hinterland of Natal was also known for its camphor tree forests. Willer thus noticed that in the first half of the nineteenth century, camphor trade in the region was monopolized by traders from Natal. And as for Singkuang, Parlindungan's *Tuanku Rao* (c. 1964: 33–4, 38) claims that various foreign populations were present in Natal in former times. All these indications of course encouraged us to visit Natal.

A topographical landmark that immediately attracts attention is the hill (Bukit Bendera), which is about 100 m high and overlooks the small town (fig. 8). An access road leading to a telecommunication relay station built at the top has been cut into the slopes, exposing stratigraphic sections 1–3 metres deep over several hundred metres. As the thickness of the humus layer does not exceed a few centimetres, this hill does not show interesting potential as regards ancient settlement sites. A dry-stone enclosure at the foot of Bukit Bendera protects the grave of Syeh Abdul Fatah (1282 H = 1865 CE). Backing on to Bukit Bendera, on the hill of Bukit Kayu Batu, which does not exceed an altitude of 40 m, there is a graveyard (00°33' 22.3" N, 99°06' 59.6" E), including Syeh Abdul Rauf's tomb (1286 H = 1869 CE). Here, the thickness of the brown topsoil layer exceeds 50 cm and several pits could be the remains of illegal digging. However, pedestrian survey on the hill did not reveal any ancient artefact. It should be noted that the legend of the 44 Muslim saints, mentioned above about Barus, is also still alive in Natal.

9. For references about the points discussed below, see Perret 2014.

Fig. 8 – Natal seen from Bukit Bendera (Daniel Perret, Jan. 2019)

A pedestrian survey conducted on the opposite bank of the Batang Natal revealed that sandbanks cover the land, suggesting that an old settlement site could now lie under several metres of alluvium. It should also be borne in mind that, like the main river in Barus (now known as the Sirahar River), the lower reaches of the Batang Natal may have moved over the past millennium, a dynamic which would further complicate the location of any old settlement site(s). The only remains that could be relatively old uncovered during our survey are two graves oriented East-West, delimited with stones, that are now forgotten in a deserted garden (00°33'09.8" N, 99°07'19.3" E).

The main lesson of this survey on the west coast of the province of North Sumatra is that Barus, with its settlement sites dating back to the end of the first millennium CE, its numerous old Muslim graves (dated from the fourteenth century CE), and its wealth of pseudo-historical Malay texts, remains an exception. Elsewhere, no clear indicators of ancient settlements have been found, and the transmission of historical and toponymic knowledge, pseudo-historical traditions and legends, seems to have nearly broken down.

In the interior of this *kabupaten* of Mandailing-Natal, the Simangambat temple remains (01°02'31.1" N, 99°28'54.8" E, Desa Si Mangambat, Kecamatan Siabu), near Panyabungan, constitute the oldest 'classical' monument known to date in the northern half of Sumatra. Dated from the second half of the ninth century CE, a number of indications suggest that it

Fig. 9 – Candi Simangambat (Daniel Perret, Feb. 2019)

probably served a Javanese community of Śiva worshipers. Spotted by a Westerner in the 1840s, it was cleared and excavated in 2009–2010 (fig. 9).[10] Candi Simangambat is strategically located at the crossroads of two river systems, the Batang Angkola to the north and the Batang Gadis flowing from the Muara Sipongi region to the southeast, with a mouth into the Indian Ocean at Singkuang mentioned above. It is also near the Sorik Merapi volcano, at the top of which four small *stūpa*s bearing Old Malay inscriptions have been found, one of which dates back to 1242 CE (Griffiths 2014: 233–235; Perret 2018: 261–263). The Sorik Merapi site also revealed three brick structures containing funeral urns. In addition, the Batang Natal River was formerly connected by a path to this volcano. It has been suggested in an earlier publication that the Javanese community linked to Simangambat could be at the origin of the building of the oldest monuments at Si Pamutung in Padang Lawas (Perret 2014: 327).

While all the questions relating to Candi Simangambat itself are far from being resolved, the location of the settlement of the community that built and frequented this monument remains unknown. The name of a place located near the confluence of the Batang Angkola and Batang Gadis had caught our attention for several years. It is Kota Tua, practically facing Candi

10. See Soedewo (2014) for a review of the research on these remains.

Fig. 10 – Foundation memorial at Kota Tua (Daniel Perret, Feb. 2019)

Simangambat on the opposite bank of the Batang Angkola. Car access to this village requires a long detour to reach the Sayurmatinggi bridge. From there, one enters an area called Tantom Angkola (Tano Tombangan Angkola), which appears to have been opened during the 1930s by people originating from the south of Lake Toba, probably to develop ricefields. Kota Tua happens to be one of the villages founded at that time and a memorial commemorating its foundation (16 Nov. 1934) and its founders has been erected in the middle of the village (01°00'48.4" N, 99°25'58.7" E) in 2005 (fig. 10), a very rare initiative in the region! The names of the villages in this area seem to originate from the migrants' home villages, including Kota Tua. Neither the latter, nor the area at the confluence of the Batang Gadis and Batang Angkola rivers, about two kilometres from Kota Tua, seem to have yielded artefacts indicating the presence of an old settlement site. Such misleading toponymy is not an isolated case in Sumatra and may be one of the characteristics that differentiates field research on this island from what one encounters on Java.

Further south, entering West Sumatra province, Kabupaten Pasaman constitutes another area with geographical and economic assets that may have been crucial in ancient times. The source of the Batang Gadis is here. Moreover, from Pasaman, following the Batang Asik valley, it is also possible to reach the Barumun River

Fig. 11 – *Dvārapāla* and *makara* (Padang Nunang) (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

basin to the north, oriented towards the Strait of Malacca, a basin well known to archaeologists for its many Hindu-Buddhist remains of Padang Lawas. In Pasaman also flows the Batang Sumpur, which has its source in the south, near Lubuksikaping, receives the Sibinail and Batang Asik rivers before flowing into the Batang Tibawan, a tributary of the Rokan Kiri River. The latter then joins the Rokan Kanan before flowing into the Strait of Malacca in Bagansiapiapi. From Pasaman, it is therefore possible to access three watersheds: the Rokan River in the northeast, the Barumun River in the north and the Batang Gadis/Batang Angkola in the northwest. Moreover, the Pasaman region is thought to shelter gold mineral clusters and perhaps alluvial gold, as well as silver. In fact, the Rokan River basin figured among the auriferous regions of Sumatra mentioned by Tomé Pires at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and *rəkān* is mentioned among the tributaries of the Majapahit kingdom in the famous *Deśavarṇana*, an East Javanese court poem from 1365. It also appears in the Porlak Dolok inscription (Padang Lawas) dated to the thirteenth century CE (Griffiths 2014: 219-224).

All these elements suggest that Pasaman was home to a major settlement in ancient times, especially since Hindu-Buddhist remains have been found there since the 1960s. At Padang Nunang (Nagari Lubuk Layang, Kecamatan Rao Selatan) a stone *dvārapāla* and a stone *makara* (fig. 11) were found in the Sibinail/Simunair river that passes through the village, which explains their poor condition.[11] Although their style is very similar to Padang Lawas sculptures, the material is different. These two images are made of sandstone

11. On these sculptures, see Soedewo 2014: 196, 210; Degroot 2014: 45; Perret 2014: 310, 318, 322.

Fig. 12 – *Makara* recently discovered at Padang Nunang (Datuak Amran, Sept. 2019)

Fig. 13 – *Makara* recently discovered at Padang Nunang (Datuak Amran, Sept. 2019)

while the *dvārapāla*s and *makara*s of Padang Lawas are made of tuff. Both statues are now protected under a shelter (00°33'10.5" N, 100°03'11.0" E).[12] Two months after our July survey a much better preserved *makara* was discovered in the same area (fig. 12, 13). Its style is very similar, if not identical, to the Padang Lawas *makara*s.

In the same *nagari*, the village of Kubu Sutan shelters the so-called Kubu Sutan or Lubuk Layang inscription discovered some fifty years ago. The inscribed hard red stone (fig. 14) was reportedly found at its current location among the roots of a burnt *beringin* (*Ficus benjamina*) near the Batang Tingkarang (00°32'41.5" N, 100°04'16.9" E). The inscription is discussed by Arlo Griffiths in this issue.

More recently, the Pasaman region has revealed a number of monumental remains that have been surveyed by the Balai Arkeologi Medan and the Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya (BPCB) Sumatera Barat at Batusangkar. In 2013 (the year of their rediscovery by villagers), two remains of heavily damaged Hindu-

12. *Makara*: height 83 cm, base 40×60 cm (the height of the figure in the mouth is 48 cm); the *dvārapāla* is fragmentary (head missing): height 85 cm, length 40 cm, width 28 cm.

Fig. 14 – Kubu Sutan / Lubuk Layang inscription (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

Buddhist brick monuments were excavated by the Balai Arkeologi Medan at the Air Tobiang site (Nagari Tarung-Tarung, Kecamatan Rao) (00°32'29.2" N, 100°01'29.7" E), near a tributary of the Batang Tingkarang mentioned above. The size of the main mound is 14.5 m (NS) by 7 m (EW). In the same *nagari*, the village of Pancahan, more precisely at the Rambah/Kubu Tanjung site, at the confluence of the Tingkarang and Kepunan rivers, there are four brick mounds (00°31'25.5" N, 100°01'35.4" E), remains of Hindu-Buddhist structures partially excavated by the BPCB Batusangkar in 1993 (BCPB Sumatera Barat 2018). The size of the main mound is 19 m (NS) by 13 m (EW) (fig. 15). A clearly visible ditch could be related to this mound. On a hill a few hundred metres away, we saw a number of erected cut stones (00°31'26.7" N, 100°01'14.6" E). At Tanjung Bariang (Nagari Lubuk Layang, Kecamatan Rao Selatan), a site a few hundred metres from the Batang Asik and Sibinail rivers revealed four large brick mounds and many smaller ones almost entirely destroyed (00°34' 14.1" N, 100°03' 05.2" E). The Balai Arkeologi Medan and the BPCB Batusangkar conducted limited excavations at this site between 2011 and 2013. Nearby is a grave showing two carved markers (00°33'57.5" N, 100°02'56.8" E), one of which is anthropomorphic (fig. 16).

The most unusual site in the Rao region is undoubtedly Bukit Koto Rao (Jorong Tanjung Aia, Nagari Lubuk Layang, Kecamatan Rao Selatan), a long hill of several dozen hectares near the confluence of the Batang Sumpur,

Fig. 15 – Mound at Pancahan (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

Sibinail and Batang Asik rivers. A succession of terraces, on which rows of brick and stone mounds can be seen (or at least made out), have been built around its periphery. The Balai Arkeologi Medan and the BPCB Batusangkar have already conducted limited excavations there, the latter having cleared in 2008 the remains of a brick structure measuring 3x3 m (Sri Sugiharta 2008). The hill is currently covered with a rubber plantation and generally thick vegetation, making it impossible to get a precise view of its topography and the density of mounds. A topographical survey would of course be essential, but it would require considerable clearing work, unless aerial survey techniques such as Lidar or drone can be used if not disturbed by the vegetation cover. During this survey, we carried out soil core sampling (between 37 cm and 86 cm deep) at ten points on the northern part of the hill to get an idea of the stratigraphy and density of archaeological finds.[13] The more or less sandy humus, 30 cm thick on average, covers a yellowish brown or reddish brown

13. Point 1 (near the northern limit of the hill): 00°32’38.3» N, 100°04’17.4” E (depth 70 cm); point 2: 00°32’36.4” N, 100°04’17.4” E (depth 77 cm); point 3: 00°32’35.3” N, 100°04’17.4” E (depth 74 cm); point 4: 00°32’35.4” N, 100°04’18.1” E (depth 37 cm); point 5: 00°32’35.5” N, 100°04’19.1” E (depth 38 cm); point 6: 00°32’35.8” N, 100°04’20.1” E (depth 86 cm); point 7: 00°32’34.4” N, 100°04’19.4” E (depth 42 cm); point 8: 00°32’33.2” N, 100°04’18.9” E (depth 56 cm); point 9: 00°32’32.7” N, 100°04’19.1” E (depth 55 cm); point 10: 00°32’31.6” N, 100°04’19.6” E (depth 42 cm).

Fig. 16 – Anthropomorphic grave marker, Tanjung Bariang (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

sandy-clayey layer. Apart from a few brick fragments in soil core no. 6, these ten cores did not reveal traces of ancient occupation surfaces or artefacts. As this survey covered only a small part of the hill, it would be premature to rule out the presence of any old settlement site.

The uncovering of all these ancient monument remains over the last two decades in the Rao region is in line with our hypothesis of a major ancient settlement site in this area. In the current state of knowledge, the surroundings of the Bukit Koto Rao site would be a strong candidate.

It should be recalled here that the remains of the Buddhist brick structures at Tanjungmedan (Jorong Petok, Nagari Panti, Kecamatan Panti, Kabupaten Pasaman) are located upstream on the Batang Sumpur. Four monuments were excavated and restored between 1992 and 2004 (Zakaria 1998; BPCB Sumatra Barat 2018) (fig. 17). Known since the 1860s, the site has yielded at least two inscriptions, one of which, clearly revealing the Buddhist affiliation of the site, is believed to be dated no later than the twelfth century (Bosch 1930: 133–4).

Further south, the inscribed tuff block of Ganggo Hilia (Jorong Pasar, Nagari Ganggo Hilia, Kecamatan Bonjol, Kabupaten Pasaman) is now protected under a shelter (00° 00’ 59.2” S, 100° 13’ 29.3” E) along the Batang Bubus (fig. 18). A tentative reading of the inscription was published in 2005,[14] but an in-depth study remains to be done. This river does not seem to be a tributary of the Batang Sumpur, but flows towards the Indian Ocean.

14. The boulder was found on the bank of the river (Setianingsih 2005).

Fig. 17 – Tanjungmedan site (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

Fig. 18 – Ganggo Hilia inscribed stone (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

The most famous Hindu-Buddhist remains of the Kampar River Basin in Riau Province are those of Muara Takus (Desa Muara Takus, Kecamatan XIII Koto Kampar, Kabupaten Kampar), on the right bank of the river (Kampar Kanan). Revealed in 1860 by the mining engineer Cornelis de Groot, clearings of the monuments yielded four Buddhist inscriptions (three on stones and one on gold plate) paleographically dated between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries CE (Griffiths 2014: 236–7). A monumental complex of four structures, including the imposing Candi Mahligai (00° 20' 09.2" N, 100° 38' 31.8" E), has been restored between 1977 and 1994.[15] The site is surrounded by an earthen wall, now partially submerged, along with several of the formerly surrounding villages, in the Koto Panjang reservoir, upstream from Bangkinang. Researches conducted since the 1970s have focused on the mapping of the earthworks and the excavation of remains of structures made of permanent materials inside and outside the walled area (Kusen et al. 1995a, 1995b). The Balai Arkeologi Medan recently cleared the remains of a brick structure on the periphery of the complex (see Soedewo et al. 2015).

The main purpose of our brief survey was to search for indications of settlement within the enclosed area. Using an auger, a first East-West series of nine cores (covering a distance of about 200 metres) were bored in the lower part of the site. With a depth varying between 22 cm and 78 cm,[16] they reveal a topsoil layer of grey-brown humus about twenty centimetres thick above a yellowish clayey sediment. These nine soil cores yielded only a few fragments of charcoal in the humus layer. The only artifact collected was a fragment of brick in the humus layer at point 5, and it should be noted that boring at points 6 and 9 was blocked by stones and tuff blocks respectively, possible indications of remains made of permanent materials. Three soil cores were bored along the river (fig. 19). Their depth varied between 102 cm and 123 cm.[17] Point 10 revealed a grey clayey sediment with red spots to a depth of 69 cm, then a grey sediment layer about 12 cm thick, above a grey clayey sediment with red spots down to a depth of 95 cm, covering a reddish brown sandy-clayey

15. Atmodjo et al. 1997; https://dapobud.kemdikbud.go.id/objek-benda/5bfc133b4abcfb04b4a6d55a/kompleks-percandian-muara-takus - retrieved 16 Sept. 2019

16. Point 1 (near a concrete and steel tube fence erected in 2014): 00°20'16.3" N, 100°38'43.8" E (depth 35 cm); point 2: 00°20'15.5" N, 100°38'43.2" E (depth 38 cm); point 3: 00°20'14.7" N, 100°38'42.7" E (depth 34 cm); point 4: 00°20'12.6" N, 100°38'41.2" E (depth 78 cm); point 5: 00°20'12.6" N, 100°38'40.2" E (depth 66 cm); point 6: 00°20'12.1" N, 100°38'39.4" E (depth 22 cm); point 7: 00°20'12.3" N, 100°38'38.8 "E (depth 59 cm); point 8: 00°20'12.8" N, 100°38'38.0" E (depth 58 cm); point 9: 00°20'13.1" N, 100°38'37" E (depth 39 cm).

17. Point 10 (the nearest to the river): 00°20'22.5" N, 100°38'16.1 "E (depth 102 cm); point 11: 00°20'21.5" N, 100°38'19.3 "E (depth 123 cm); point 12: 00°20'19.0" N, 100°38'23" E (depth 106 cm).

Fig. 19 – Soil core sampling, Muara Takus (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

sediment down to 102 cm. Point 11 revealed the same compact grey clayey sediment with red spots down to a depth of 35 cm, then a layer of dark grey clayey-sand sediment to a depth of 50 cm, covering a reddish brown sandy-clay sediment down to a depth of 123 cm. Point 12 revealed a reddish brown sandy-clayey sediment to a depth of 33 cm, then a light reddish brown sandy-clayey sediment to a depth of 88 cm covering a light sandy-clayey sediment to a depth of 106 cm. These three soil cores did not yield any artifacts. A South-North line of eight cores (covering a distance of about 525 m) was carried out in the highest part of the site (fig. 20). With a depth varying between 52 cm and 100 cm,[18] these soil cores show a more or less sandy grey-brown humus topsoil layer about 20 cm thick above a brown sandy-clayey sediment. These eight soil cores yielded only a few fragments of charcoal in the humus layer.

To conclude the discussion of these twenty soil cores, with the exception of the results of cores 6 and 9 indicating possible structural remains in the subsoil, the other 18 cores did not provide any evidence of human disturbance and instead indicated forest soil. While these soil cores are far from having covered the entire enclosed area in detail, they nevertheless suggest that most

18. Point 13: 00°19’51.4” N, 100°38’34.2” E (depth 100 cm); point 14: 00°19’53.0” N, 100°38’34.2” E (depth 58 cm); point 15: 00°19’54.5” N, 100°38’34.2” E (depth 100 cm); point 16: 00°19’57.0” N, 100°38’33.9” E (depth 65 cm); point 17: 00°20’00.0” N, 100°38’34.2” E (depth 66 cm); point 18: 00°20’03.1” N, 100°38’34.2” E (depth 68 cm); point 19: 00°20’05.1” N, 100°38’34.2” E (depth 62 cm); point 20: 00°20’08.9” N, 100°38’35” E (depth 52 cm).

Fig. 20 – Soil core sampling, Muara Takus (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

of this enclosed area has never been occupied and that human activity was probably limited to the vicinity of places of worship. As in the contemporary site of Si Pamutung in Padang Lawas, it is quite possible that the main settlement site was located outside the enclosed area. Remains may have to be sought in the villages bearing the evocative names of Batu Basurat and Koto Tuo, that have never been excavated and are now submerged by the reservoir.

In a previous publication, we have discussed the location of the building (*māligai*) intended for a princess of Rokan, mentioned in the bilingual Tamil-Old-Malay inscription of Porlak Dolok in Padang Lawas (Griffiths 2014), dated to the thirteenth century CE. Among the sites considered was Tapak Mahligai, near the mouth of the Rokan River in the Strait of Malacca (Perret 2014: 344–5). If this name Mahligai really dates back to ancient times, a settlement site should be located nearby. Tapak Mahligai (Desa Sintong, Kecamatan Tanah Putih, Kabupaten Rokan Hilir, Riau province) is presently located in the middle of a rubber plantation not far from the Hindu-Buddhist remains of Candi Sintong. The North-South facing mound that measures 22 × 19 m is some four metres high (01° 30’ 40.9” N, 100° 58’ 34.6” E). It is surrounded by a moat, and there is a batu Aceh-style gravestone at its top (fig. 21).

A partially levelled East-West earthwork and a ditch are visible just north of the mound. This earthwork connects to the Rokan River about 400 metres to the east, after passing along the south side of Candi Sintong. The latter was excavated in 2009 by the Balai Arkeologi Medan (Koestoro et al. 2011: 35–6), following a preliminary excavation carried out in 1992/93, and at the end of

Fig. 21 – Tapak Mahligai (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

which a twelfth-thirteenth centuries CE dating was suggested. It is difficult to imagine a princely building on this mound, curiously never excavated. It probably shelters a Hindu-Buddhist structure made of permanent materials. As no earthenware or stoneware shards seem to have been found in the vicinity of Tapak Mahligai, the existence of a significant settlement site in the area remains a question mark.

In the Medan region, the current capital of North Sumatra province, it is on the Kota Cina settlement site that almost all archaeological excavations in the region have focused since the 1970s.[19] At that time, it was still possible to observe the remains of two earthworks at Deli Tua, on a hill overlooking the Deli River south of Medan. Pedestrian survey carried out at that time revealed earthenware and stoneware shards indicating an occupation that could date back to the fourteenth century (Milner et al. 1978: 29–30; Miksic 1979: 234). Of this site nothing more remains today than a segment of earthwork on the edge of the hill (03° 28’ 57.3” N, 98° 40’ 27.1” E). The hill is now a housing area (fig. 22).

19. For a review of archaeological research in Kota Cina, see Perret et al. 2013. The publication of the results of the French-Indonesian archaeological programme on Kota Cina, whose fieldwork was completed in 2016, is in preparation.

Fig. 22 – Deli Tua site (Daniel Perret, July 2019)

The only place reminiscent of a distant past remains Pancuran Gading, a regularly frequented sacred spring at the foot of the hill (03° 28' 59.6" N, 98° 40' 28.5" E) (fig. 23). Tanjung Anom (Kecamatan Pancur Batu, Kabupaten Deli Serdang),[20] another old settlement site on the left bank of the Deli River, has recently been levelled, probably to become a housing area as well. Only a few shards of earthenware remain visible. Two soil cores were bored, including one (to a depth of 130 cm) in an area that had escaped the levelling operations (03° 31' 00.3" N, 98° 36' 05.8" E). It did not yield any ancient artefact. The old settlement site of Kota Rantang (Kawasan Mojopahit, Dusun 1, Desa Kota Rantang, Kecamatan Hamperan Perak, Kabupaten Deli-Serdang) was discovered in the late 1970s, and yielded Chinese, Thai and Vietnamese wares (Milner et al. 1978: 29). Excavations carried out thirty years later revealed artifacts dating the occupation between the twelfth/thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.[21] Earthenware and stoneware shards are still clearly visible on the site today (03° 44' 19.3" N, 98° 35' 19.9" E), but the strong disturbances caused by agricultural activities (rice fields and oil palm trees) have certainly eliminated any possibility of stratigraphic excavation (fig. 24). On the last day of our survey in July, a visit to the small site museum at Kota Cina gave us the opportunity to observe a first assemblage of finds (earthenware, stoneware and glassware) coming from the recently rediscovered Bulu Cina site. If this site has not already suffered the fate of all the other old settlement sites around Medan, it should

20. Different from the Tanjung Anom (Tandam Hilir) site, about 16 km west of Kota Cina, reported by Milner et al. (1978: 29), then by Miksic (1979: 237-242).

21. See Harkantiningsih & Wibisono 2012; Edwards McKinnon et al. 2012.

Fig. 23 – Pancurang Gading, Deli Tua (Daniel Perret, May 2014)

Fig. 24 – Kota Rantang site (Daniel Perret, Feb. 2019)

provide a significant contribution to the history of the region, or even the Strait of Malacca. Exploratory fieldwork has just been conducted there by the Balai Arkeologi Medan at the time this report is written.

January 2020

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Arlo Griffiths[1]

Inscriptions of Sumatra, IV: An Epitaph from Pananggahan (Barus, North Sumatra) and a Poem from Lubuk Layang (Pasaman, West Sumatra)[2]

The preceding report by Daniel Perret, Heddy Surachman & Repelita Wahyu Oetomo on recent archaeological surveys in the northern half of Sumatra mentions inscriptions in Indic script found respectively near the Makam Ambar in Barus, North Sumatra, and at the village Kubu Sutan in *nagari* Lubuk Layang, *kec*. Rao Selatan, *kab*. Pasaman, West Sumatra. The purpose of this note is to publish my readings of these two inscriptions, both of which are written in Old Malay.[3] The first, clearly an epitaph and almost certainly engraved to commemorate the death of a Muslim, according to the authors of the report, bears a date equivalent to 29 June 1350 CE, which makes it the earliest Islamic inscription in Indic script from Sumatra.

1. École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris; UMR 5189, Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques, Lyon. The research for this article has been undertaken as part of the project DHARMA 'The Domestication of "Hindu" Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia', funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no 809994). See https://dharma.hypotheses.org.

2. For previous installments of my 'Inscriptions of Sumatra', see Griffiths 2011, 2012 and 2014 in the bibliography. I thank Andrea Acri, Dániel Balogh, Henri Chambert-Loir, and especially Daniel Perret for their comments that helped me interpret the two inscriptions presented here.

3. Old Malay is here understood to be "the variant of the Malay language found in documents written in an Indic (i.e., Brāhmī-derived) system of writing" (Griffiths 2018: 275). For representing the Old Malay texts, I use the transliteration system proposed in Balogh & Griffiths 2020.

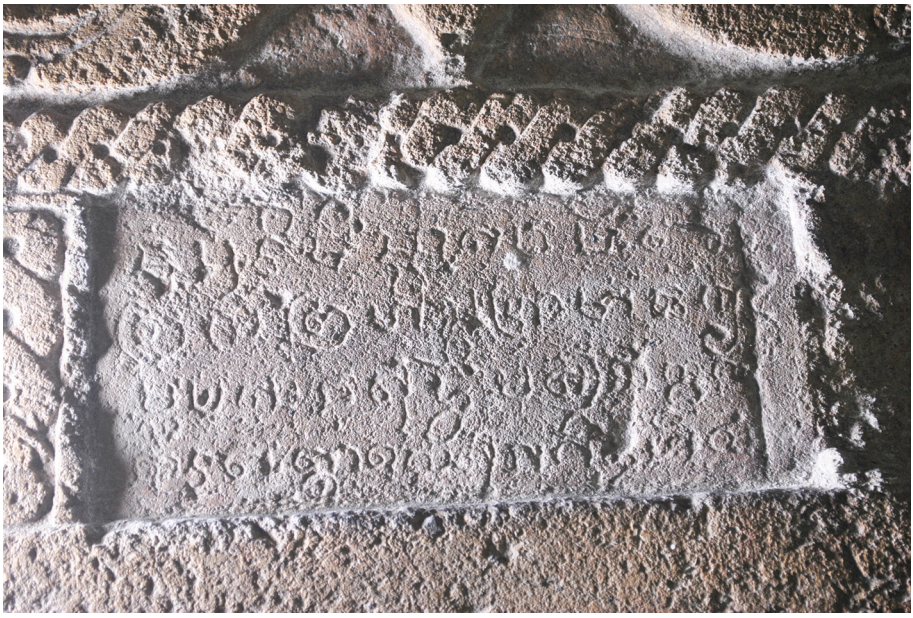

Fig. 1 – Photograph of the Pananggahan Old Malay inscription. Repelita Wahyu Oetomo, Sept. 2019.

The *raison d'être* of the second inscription, datable to the same period, is less clear; this second inscription, almost certainly from a religious context where Islam had not yet penetrated, casts interesting light on the history of application of Indic verse forms to Nusantaran languages.

The Pananggahan Tombstone

The text is deciphered here from photos furnished by Daniel Perret, one of which is shown as fig. 1. I refer to the preceding report for photos showing the shape and decoration of the stone.

Text

(1) (vars)uri diṁ sākavarṣa 1-
(2) 272 hi[laṁ] Ā(ṣā)ḍha kṛ-
(3) ṣṇapakṣa caturdviṁṣat· (m)aṅgala-
(4) vāra tatkāletu bhagi(n)da hilaṁ

Commentary

1. *(vars)uri*: This word is still obscure to me, and the reading therefore uncertain, although all constituents of *vars* seem detectable on the photographs and no clear alternatives present themselves for transliterating the engraved

characters. Unless the text we have is the continuation of a preceding part engraved on another support, we expect here an auspicious word of the type *Oṁ* or *svasti* that is normally found before a dating formula in the Indic inscriptions of Indonesia, including those of Northern Sumatra (see examples in Griffiths 2014: 217, 220, 225, 234). I have considered but rejected the possibilities (a) that we are dealing with a form of the ancient name of Barus[4] or (b) that we have here a form of the word *suri* in the meaning "queen,"[5] or in any of the other meanings that this Malay word can have.

1. *diṁ*: understand *diṅ*, i.e. /di-ṅ/. For another epigraphic instance of the preposition *di* with the definite article *ṅ*, in the inscription Tandihat III from Padang Lawas, see Griffiths 2014: 225.

2. *hi[laṁ]*: I have no satisfactory hypothesis for reading the second syllable and interpreting this word. The reading tentatively chosen here is based on the assumption that we are dealing with scribal sloppiness, due to anticipating of the crucial verb form of this text that comes in its expected place at the end of the text. I have also considered the possibility that the word beginning with *hi* here is some bisyllabic Arabic term suitable to the context, perhaps an allusion to the Hijra era, although this would not be more natural in the context than the word *hilaṁ* is.

3. *caturdviṁṣat·*: since it is incomprehensible if it means "four two six," this sequence probably has to be understood as corrupt form of the Sanskrit numeral *caturviṁśati* "twenty-four." In the spelling *catur**vv**iṁśati*, this last word would look very close to *caturdviṁṣat·* in the original script. See below p. 58.

4. *tatkāletu*: understand *tatkāla itu*, joined in vowel sandhi. On vowel sandhi in Old Malay texts, see my review in *BKI* 166 (2010): 137 (mentioning *parāhūraṁ = parahu orang* in the Tanjung Tanah manuscript); there are also instances among the Old Malay inscriptions of West Sumatra (e.g., Bukit Gombak I, lines 13 and 15, *sāsanenan = śāsana inan* and *dharmmenan = dharmma inan*; Padang Roco, *punyeni = puṇya ini*). For discussion of the Old Malay expressions *tatkāla itu = sana tatkāla*, see Griffiths 2014: 225 and 227 and 2018: 279.

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4. Because a toponym would hardly fit the context and one would expect to find in Indic script a spelling close to that given in a contemporary Indic text from Indonesia, the *Deśavarṇana*, where one reads *barus* in stanza 13.2 *hi lvas lāvan samudra mvaṅ i lamuri batan lāmpuṅ mvaṅ i barus, yekādinyaṅ vatək bhūmi malayu* "Lwas and Samudra, as well as Lamuri, Batan, Lampung and Barus – Those are the main ones among the Malay lands" (tr. Robson 1995).

5. Because in an inscription in Indic script, one would expect a form of the word closer to the Sanskrit *parameśvarī*.

Translation

barsuri (?) In Śaka year 1272, demise, (month?) of Āṣāḍha, waning fortnight, the twenty-fourth (day of the month), a Tuesday: that was the time of his/her highness' demise.

The date

The date is expressed in the Indian *pañcāṅga* ("five-element") calendar system, in a manner quite comparable to what we see in the aforementioned inscription Tandihat III from Padang Lawas, which is 171 years older (Griffiths 2014: 224–226). Our dating formula involves the following variables:

Era	Śaka
Year	1272
Month	Āṣāḍha
Fortnight	*kṛṣṇa*, i.e. waning
Number	*caturdviṁṣat*
Weekday	Maṅgala, i.e. Tuesday

In my interpretation above, p. 57, *caturdviṁṣat* is a localized form, if not to say an error, for *caturviṁśati* and meant to indicate the 24th civil day of a full month starting at new moon, i.e. the 9th *tithi* of the waning fortnight.[6] If one fills in the above parameters, while using the value 9 for the *tithi*, in the online date conversion software Pancanga,[7] the result is June 29, 1350 CE, which date fell on the Tuesday required by the text. The result is confirmed by the software HIC, which I have used to create the diagram shown here as fig. 2. None of the other interpretations of *caturdviṁṣat* that have occurred to me, namely the values 14 (*caturdaśa* in Sanskrit) or 12 (*catur* 4 + *dvi* 2 + *ṣaṭ* 6), yield a result as satisfactory as the one I propose here. Why this date is expressed using civil day rather than *tithi* remains an open question.[8]

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6. "Occasionally the day of the full month, undivided into fortnights, is given, either in place of or in addition to the *tithi* of the fortnight" (Salomon 1998: 174 n. 39). See Pingree 1982 for further details. Unfortunately, all of the examples of counting days of the full month given by Salomon and Pingree date to the first half of the first millennium CE.

7. https://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/

8. The only allusion to this counting system that I have so far been able to find in the seminal publications of Louis-Charles Damais about Indonesian dates is Damais 1952: 21 (about the 8th-century Hampran inscription from Central Java): "le nombre « 21 » fait penser à un comput solaire, par ailleurs inconnu à Java (il semble avoir existé — au moins à une date beaucoup [plus (AG)] récente — à Sélèbès en pays bugi)"; see also Damais 1955: 248 (about the same inscription): "nous ne croyons pas que les nombres au-dessus de 15 aient — au moins à Java — été employés dans un comput luni-solaire".

If my interpretation is correct and if it may be assumed, with Daniel Perret, Heddy Surachman & Repelita Wahyu Oetomo in their report on the discovery of this tombstone, that we are dealing with a specifically Islamic epitaph, then we must note the total absence of explicit indicators of the knowledge of Arabic language/script and of Islam in the Old Malay text, which would contrast with the other early Islamic inscriptions in Old Malay known so far, the ones from Minye Tujuh (Aceh) and Pengkalan Kempas (Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia).[9] And, still assuming that the Islamic affiliation of this tombstone is a valid hypothesis, we may draw the conclusion that this tombstone, just a few decades more recent than the oldest dated Islamic tombstones that have so far been found on Sumatra,[10] is indeed the oldest Islamic tombstone known so far from the Barus area. The Arabic epitaph previously claiming that honor was found at the exact same cemetery in Barus and bears a date also falling in 1350 CE,[11] but some months after June in that year. It is very regrettable that the Arabic inscription is damaged while the preserved part does not contain the name of the deceased person, which is apparently unmentioned in the Old Malay epitaph. Nevertheless, the correspondence of the shapes of the two tombstones has led the archaeologists to propose that the two might have marked a single grave. If that was the case, then we must find an explanation for the fact that the conversion of the Hijra date contained in the Arabic epitaph and that of the Śaka date contained in the Old Malay epitaph does not lead to the exact same date in the common era, a situation somewhat different from the disagreement between dates observed in the case of the Minye Tujuh epitaphs,[12] or the disagreement of dates between the texts written in Jawi and in Indic scripts on the Pengkalan Kempas tombstone.[13] I must leave open the questions (1) whether there is any issue with the reliability of the conversion mechanisms applied to the Śaka or Hijra dates on the two Pananggahan tombstones, (2) whether there are problems with the decipherment of the

9. See van der Molen 2008 and De Casparis 1980.

10. See Guillot & Kalus 2008: 177–179, for stones dated 1297 (Malik al-Sâlih) and 1326 CE.

11. See Perret, Heddy Surachman & Repelita Wahyu Oetomo in this volume, fig. 3.

12. "One problem is that the Arabic inscription, although referring to the same event, displays a different date: not 781 AH but 791 AH (1389 AD). As other details of the date are the same, it is generally assumed that a mistake was made in the second digit of the year in one of the two inscriptions" (van der Molen 2008: 356).

13. "[…] one of the riddles surrounding the Pĕngkalan Kĕmpas inscriptions: the approximately four years' difference between the dates given in the Kawi and Jawi inscriptions. […] I can see only two possible solutions of the discrepancy between the two dates. The explanation which first comes to one's mind is that of a mistake in either or both of the dates. [...] In the light of these considerations it has to be concluded that both dates are correct, implying that the Kawi and the Jawi inscriptions are not contemporary" (De Casparis 1980: 6–7).

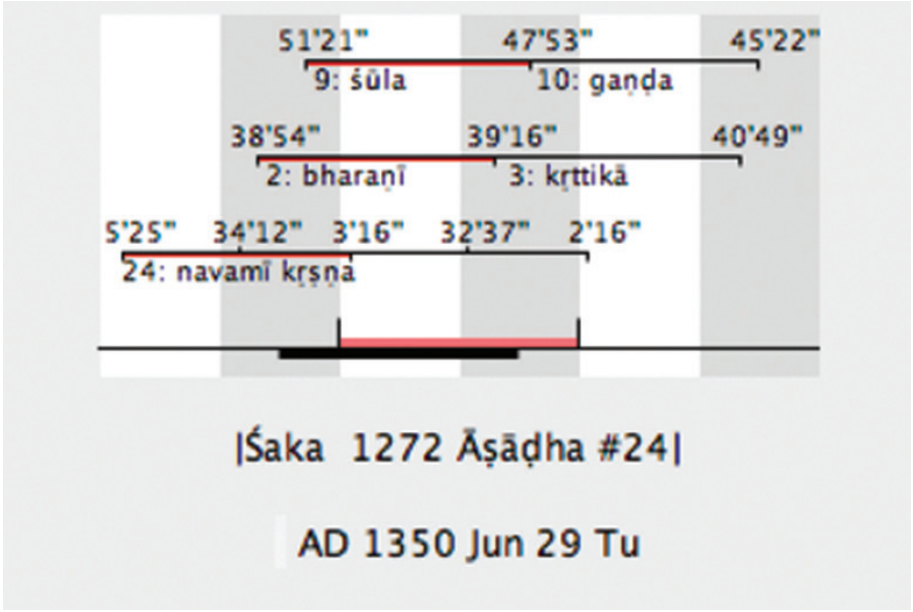


Fig. 2 – Diagram showing the dating parameters of the Pananggahan tombstone inscribed in Old Malay.

Arabic text — in which two cases it may be possible to bridge the narrow gap between the two Barus epitaphs — or (3) whether the disagreement between the dates actually means that the two epitaphs do not belong to a single grave.

The Lubuk Layang Stela

This inscription, engraved in a form of script practically indistinguishable from the script that is typical of Ādityavarman's inscriptions, was discovered in the 1970s[14] and briefly mentioned by Satyawati Suleiman (1977: 2)[15] and Machi Suhadi (1990: 227, 1995–96: 21) before it was finally published by

14. The sources at my disposal mention various dates: April 1975 (Satyawati Suleiman 1977: 2), "sekitar tahun 1970" (Machi Suhadi 1990: 227), or 22 April 1976 (Hunter 2015: 324) — the latter date is the one indicated on the typescript that I consider to have been produced by Boechari, on which see n. 17.

15. Satyawati Suleiman 1977: 2, with reproduction of an estampage of face B in plate 3. Her information is partly misleading: "The characters are Old Sumatran script, which look slightly different from the characters in Adityawarman's inscriptions, yet there are still enough similarities. The characters are very much unlike those used by the kings of Sriwijaya and also unlike Javanese characters. They have more similarities with the characters used in Cambodia. (according to Boechari)".

Budi Istiawan (1994).[16] Apparently unaware of this publication, Hunter (2015) reproduces an unpublished reading that he found among the papers of J.G. de Casparis kept at Leiden University.[17] None of the existing publications is accompanied by reproductions allowing to verify the readings, and it does not appear to have been observed so far that the inscription is metrical — in other words, that we are dealing with a poem —, while awareness of the metrical structure makes it possible to achieve a more reliable reading and interpretation. For these reasons, it may be useful to include my decipherment here, even though the text remains very challenging.

My reading is based on the estampages bearing the numbers n. 2005 and n. 2006 held at the EFEO in Paris, which were made during my 2011 campaign of documenting inscriptions in West Sumatra. In my edition, in lost parts whose metrical structure is known, I use ⏑ to indicate a lost short syllable, and – to indicate a lost long syllable. The breve sign ˘ on top of a vowel means that it is short but needs to be read as long to suit the meter.[18] The several instances of a closing symbol are here represented by the pilcrow sign (¶).

16. This article is based on an unpublished report by Budi Istiawan (1992).

17. Hunter (2015: 375 n. 60) attributes the typescript to De Casparis, but I suspect it is by Boechari, because various Indonesian publications refer to a reading by Boechari and it is likely that Boechari would have shared it also with De Casparis. The text printed by Hunter does not agree precisely with any of the readings I have myself copied in the De Casparis archives, but I suspect this may be due to typing errors on Hunter's part, and so I do not believe that he has seen a different document than the one I have, which exactly resembles the Boechari typescripts that I have collected in preparing the edition of Boechari's selected writings.

18. For general information on how Indic meters work, in a Nusantaran context, see Zoetmulder 1974: appendix III ("Kakawin metres"), pp. 451–472.

n. 2005 / N. Lubuk Layang A

Fig. 3 – Lubuk Layang stela, face A. Estampage EFEO n. 2005.
Photo courtesy of the EFEO.

Edition

A (East face, fig. 3)

(1) {2 akṣ.} I[ndra] ...
(2) {1 akṣ.} (pu)rṇ(n)endra(bh)u ...
(3) ra ma {1 akṣ.} surimadaṇa ...
(4) dha(r)i[ṇi][19] // 0 // ¶ // 0 // ¶ // ...

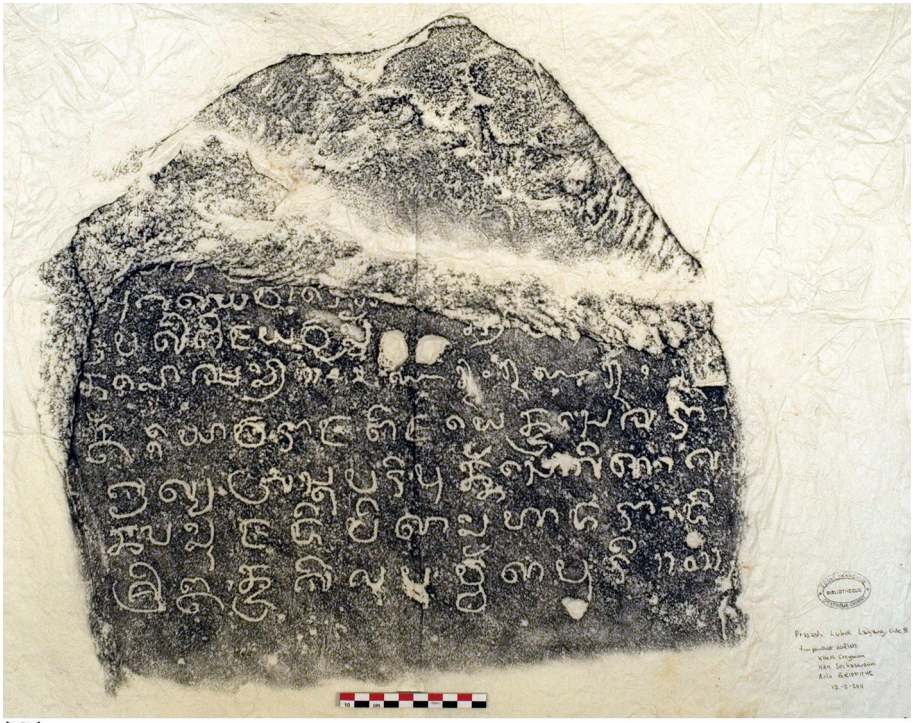
(5) Oṁ̆

Amarabijaya yauvāsūk(ṣm)a jăy**(6)**endravarmman·,
satatavibhava p(ū)jāpa**(7)**ñcadānăsila(ta)tvā,
sadavaca(ṇa) bi**(8)**seṣābhakti dĭ mātapĭtā,
sakala**(9)**[ja](nas)utr̥̆ptisvasthaśanto(ṣabandh)[u][20]

(10) *about 7 akṣaras illegible* ¶ 0 //

19. It seems likely that what precedes formed part of at least one stanza, but the damage is too severe to be able to reconstruct what the meter was.

20. The meter is Mālinī, containing four *pāda*s, each of which has the pattern ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏓. The second *pāda* seems to have one syllable too many, but I suspect that the unclear *ta* in *pañcadānasila(ta)tvā* was intended to be crossed out. In any case, the meter supports reading *pañcadānăsilatvā*, and if this is understood as equivalent to *pañcadānaśīlatva*, we can obtain a more or less plausible sense.



n. 2006 / N. Lubuk Layang B

Fig. 4 – Lubuk Layang stela, face B. Estampage EFEO n. 2006.
Photo courtesy of the EFEO.

B (West face, fig. 4)

(1) *only traces of two akṣaras*
⏑ ⏑ **(2)** sugatayavā(so) ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏔
(3) (nr̥)patibijayavarmma ⏓ ⏓ (n·) ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏓ **(4)** na mokṣam·[21]
|| 0 || ¶ // 0 // ¶ // 0 //

(5) Oṁ̊

yauvarājabijayendrasekharā,
(6) kr̥tya Astu[22] paripurnna sobhitā,
ka**(7)**n pamūja di pitā mahādarā,
di **(8)** śri Indrakila(pa)rvvatāpuri || 0 ||[23]

Translation

Face A:

Indra ..., ... earth.

Om. Jayendravarman is victorious over the immortals, youthful, subtle; is always mighty (due to?) being one who has the customary practice of the five gifts of worship (*pūjā*); he speaks the truth (? *sadavacaṇa*); is specially devoted to his parents; is a friend for the contentment, health and satisfaction of all people.

Face B:

… abode of the Buddha ... king Vijayavarman, … death.

Om. May the deeds of the crest-jewel of victorious heirs apparent be perfect [and] beautiful with (*kan*) zealous (*mahādara*) offerings (*pamūja*) to parent(s) in the town of Śrī Indrakīlaparvata.

21. This is the remainder of another Mālinī stanza. See n. 20. Since we lack 2×15+2 syllables before *sugatayavā(so)*, we may infer that at least one more line has been lost above the one here numbered 1.

22. *kr̥tya Astu*: the apparent dot between the two words is probably accidental damage to the stone.

23. The meter is Rathoddhatā, containing four *pāda*s, each of which has the pattern ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏔.

Commentary

Although it does not contain a date, this inscription can confidently be dated to the 14th century, based on the similarity of its script to that found in the preceding inscription, in the inscriptions of Ādityavarman, and in the Tanjung Tanah manuscript (Kozok 2015).

Previous scholars have mainly commented on the names figuring in this inscription and proposed various scenarios in which the person or persons whom it celebrates may have been related — politically, chronologically, and in terms of family relationship — with Ādityavarman. I do not have anything to add on those issues, except to warn that any hypothesis is bound to be fragile as long as a comprehensive study of the Ādityavarman corpus has not been undertaken, and as long as the linguistic features of that corpus, to which this inscription seems comparable, are not given due account. In this case, I especially caution against the assumption, which underlies previous discussions of this inscription, that the diversity of names encountered in this text means that we are dealing with more than one protagonist.

Although it is found in a damaged context, the presence of the word *sugata* indicates that the religious context is (still) Buddhist. The theme of respect for parents and grandparents that we find expressed in two stanzas of the present inscription is also a red thread in the Ādityavarman corpus.[24]

Previous scholars do not seem to have stated explicitly that this inscription is formulated in a kind of mixed language, containing a conjugated Sanskrit verb form (*astu*) side by side with Malay prepositions (*di*, *kan*) and derived forms (*pamūja*). Such a mixture is not found in the Ādityavarman corpus, where a clearer distinction can be made between texts that are wholly or partly in Old Malay (Bukit Gombak I, Gudam II) and all other texts which are in a language that is admittedly very eccentric as Sanskrit, but nevertheless clearly not intended to be Malay. Furthermore, as stated above, the fact that this text is formulated largely, or perhaps entirely, in verse form has also escaped scholarly attention. Since versification is the hallmark of literary aspirations in the Indic cultural world (what Sheldon Pollock has called the "Sanskrit Cosmopolis"),[25] the fact that the text is at least in some sense linguistically Old Malay combined with the fact that it is composed in verse means that this text constitutes a precious new piece in the puzzle that is the history of Malay literature.[26]

24. Cf. the inscriptions Saruaso II and Paninggahan and the inscription on the Mañjuśrī statue from Candi Jago.

25. See Pollock 1996.

26. On this topic, see Griffiths 2018: 279 and Griffiths 2020.

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Jiří Jákl [1]

The Sea and Seacoast in Old Javanese Court Poetry: Fishermen, Ports, Ships, and Shipwrecks in the Literary Imagination

Introduction

It is well-known that the Malays were and still are excellent mariners. Classical Malay literature, with the earliest texts dating to the late thirteenth century, abounds in descriptions of the open seas, seacoast, communities of fishermen, ships, harbours, and life associated with the early urban environment of ports (Braginsky 2004: 465-77, 681-94).[2] Though it cannot be doubted that pre-Islamic Java had multiple and complex relations with its close as well as more distant neighbours, maintained long-distance shipping links with South and East Asia, the links that had played an important role in the early state formation in Java (Wisseman Christie 1995), the maritime world and its culture is only poorly reflected in Old Javanese epigraphic record, neither does it figure prominently in Old Javanese literary texts. Scholars of Old Javanese literature have often noted that the world of Java is typically represented as the domain of inland royal courts, religious communities, and peasants, with the economy based on rice agriculture rather than fishing, shipping, and trade (Zoetmulder 1974; Wiryamartana 1992; Worsley 2012). This picture is based mainly on the fragmentary textual evidence that has survived to our days,

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2. I would like to thank Pierre-Yves Manguin, who invited me in December 2019 to present some of the ideas discussed in this article at the seminar he teaches in Paris. I am also grateful to Claudine Salmon and two other reviewers for valuable comments on the first draft of this paper, which helped substantially to improve the arguments presented here.

which has been little concerned with the environment of Javanese coasts and open seas. Our views are certainly distorted for ships and shipping culture do not figure prominently in literary representations of pre-Islamic Java. Yet, there is substantial, mostly Chinese and European evidence that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and well into the seventeenth century, the Javanese were very active at the seas as shippers and traders who used large ocean-going ships serving the regional and international long-distance trade that linked Southeast Asia with other parts of the world (Manguin 1993, 2012).

In this study I collect and analyse a number of Old Javanese literary vignettes that can further our knowledge about the seacoast and people living in this environment. I will also offer an interpretation of one paradox pertaining to the literary representations of Javanese shipping: why the ships called *joṅ* in Old Javanese – which were large ocean-going vessels – are in virtually all literary references predating the fifteenth century associated with shipwreck or other form of maritime mishap. As with other issues discussed in this study, the evidence available to us highly affect the questions that can be asked: the major sources about the maritime environment and the social world of the people living there are not Old Javanese inscriptions but *kakawin*s, Old Javanese court poems in metrical system, a literary genre traditionally considered to be a work of fiction (Zoetmulder 1974). In the last three decades, however, scholars have found ways to appreciate the documentary value of *kakawin*s as a specific historical source for the social, religious, and material aspects of Javanese pre-Islamic culture (Supomo 1995; Hoogervorst and Jákl 2020). Recently, Worsley (2012) has suggested that rather than works of literary fiction, ultimately an early-modern Western construct, Old Javanese *kakawin*s should be understood as a reflection of a sort of "hyper-reality," a complex living experience of pre-Islamic Javanese that links the world of mortals, ancestors, and divine beings in a functional web. This useful concept is also followed and upheld in this study.

Though we hear very little about the open seas and maritime life in Old Javanese *kakawin*s, texts give us some glimpses into the environment of the seacoast and the life of the people drawing their livelihood from marine and coastal resources. These often charming literary vignettes are nevertheless mediated through the lens of court experience: few people at Javanese (inland) courts would have had any direct experience with the open seas, while some level of acquaintance with the coastline might have been widespread. This article develops its arguments in four sections that capture the four major contexts in which the seascape and coasts figure in Old Javanese poetry. First, it is a place where fishermen live, and where *gajamīna* ("elephant fish") can be observed. The coast is also a place where local and foreign ships can harbour and trade their products. Now, it is striking how little we hear about harbours and port cities: there is only one description of a harbour in Old Javanese literature known to me, which is a unique, down-to-the-earth vignette, in

which we find a glimpse to the port-based prostitution, plausibly the earliest reference we have to this social phenomenon in Southeast Asia. In the second part of this study I discuss a shipping lore, and especially the muddy territory of Old Javanese boat and ship terminology. In the third part I narrow down my focus on one Old Javanese term, *joṅ*, and its literary associations with the maritime mishap. In the last section, I shortly discuss the motif of the seacoast as a place of natural and divine beauty.

Socio-Cultural Environment of the Seacoast in Old Javanese *Kakawin*s: Fishermen, Whales, and Ports

As a starting point, let me introduce a passage reflecting a possibly typical attitude of the Javanese court population to the environment of the seacoast and its social life. In the *Sumanasāntaka*, a *kakawin* composed around 1200 CE by Mpu Monaguṇa, princess Indumatī has little appreciation for the beauties of the seacoast and its egalitarian society of fishermen:

> *təkwan tan hana harṣa ni ṅhulun ataṇḍaña pasisi huwus tama ṅhulun*
> *pora wwaṅ nika tan wruh iṅ puruṣabheda hiliran amukət hanāmayaṅ*
> *mogheraṅ ṅwaṅ isin maṅambila karaṅ-karaṅan i pasurak niṅ ampuhan*
> *aṅhiṅ ryaknya maṅaṅkul-aṅkul ajajar baṅun asəgəh anəmbah iṅ maṅö*[3]
>
> "What is more I take no pleasure in visiting the seaside. I know it well.
> The common people there have no regard for difference of rank. They fish with *hiliran*, *pukət*
> sein-nets, and *payaṅ* trawl-nets.
> So I am ashamed and embarrassed to collect shell-fish in the roaring surf.
> Only the waves rise high in rows and appear to welcome respectful poets who are lost in reverie."[4]

This passage, though situated in the mythical past, reflects the values of a noble Javanese figure, accustomed to the hierarchical life at Javanese court. Helen Creese (2004) has demonstrated persuasively that for pre-modern Javanese and Balinese women of aristocratic descent, courts were places where they were sequestered, leading a life based on the strict social hierarchy. The description of rugged coast and unrefined manners of the folk living there certainly reflects something of this deep-seated mentality. At the same time, the passage seems to be a self-reference by Mpu Monaguṇa to his poetic skills: rolling tidal waves would welcome him in a courtly *səmbah*-gesture of humble bow. The rugged seacoast depicted in Old Javanese court poetry has typically been interpreted as a reflection of the rough south coast of Java, where the ocean is deep, the terrain can be difficult, and whales are easy to be spotted (Wiryamartana 1992; Teeuw and Robson 2005: 605). At this *locus*, poets strive

3. *Sumanasāntaka* 50.11. Old Javanese text taken from Worsley *et al*. (2013: 204).
4. Worsley *et al*. (2013: 205).

to achieve a kind of aesthetic rapture, denoted *laṅö* in Old Javanese, in which they hope to reach a union with the divinity, often represented by Kāma, the god of love and aesthetic experience. In the state of divine rapture, Javanese *kawi* would compose poetry and leave his or her verses in the form of graffiti-like inscriptions scribbled on a rock or cliff at the seashore. Alternatively, a *kawi* would jot down verses into a note-pad he carries with him, which might have had a form of a folding notebook made from bark-paper (Jákl 2016). The breathtaking scenery in which the literary activity of Javanese *kawi*s took place is depicted in the *Bhomāntaka*, an anonymous *kakawin* composed in the late twelfth century CE. In stanza 3.37, prince Sāmba and his military retinue of cavalrymen, tasked with the protection of hermitages, follow the steep path along the cliffs at the seacoast:

luṅhā sampun adoh hulih nrəpatiputra humaliwat i deśa niṅ pura
mārgāgöṅ ləmah aṅgəgər hawan irāgarihul i saləsək nikaṅ watu
təkwan koṅaṅ ikaṅ pasir sabha-sabhān ikaṅ aṅapi laṅö kasaṅhuban
tuṅhā niṅ paraṅan ləṅöṅ hana wuruṅ-wuruṅan niṅ atanah karīṅ śilā[5]

The prince had already left far behind him the district of the capital,
And the highway; his path rose into the hills and was bumpy because of the packed stones.
It also overlooked the shore, often frequented by people composing poetry, covered in the mist;
The edge of the cliff was so entrancing that there were unfinished works of those wielding the pen,
left behind on the rocks.[6]

Though the shore is depicted as a desolate place, where only a rambling poet would come to search for beauty, other passages suggest that the south coast of Java was not an uninhabited district. Quite on the contrary, almost all descriptions of the seacoast in Old Javanese literature introduce an image of simple fishermen plying their trade in the coastal waters. At another place in the *Bhomāntaka* we encounter prince Sāmba and his retinue standing on a high-rising cliff, a *locus* that certainly supports a view that south rather than north coast of Java served as a literary model for the anonymous author of the text. Like high-rising observation towers at Javanese courts, used in the past for distinguished guests to follow rituals and performances, the cliff offers the men a breathtaking, bird-like view. Standing high above the sea, they observe carefully innumerable canoes of fishermen dotting the seascape:

5. *Bhomāntaka* 3.37. Old Javanese text taken from Teeuw and Robson (2005: 106).
6. Teeuw and Robson (2005: 107).

ṅkāneṅ lod hana ta plawā nikaṅ amañciṅ aparahu jukuṅ panuṅgalan
rūpanyāputih aṅhulap-hulap apan lumarap i larap iṅ wway iṅ tasik
warṇāpiṇḍa manuṅgaṅ iṅ kuda sumәṅka tumurun i baṅәt nikaṅ halun
mumbul pwa ṅ gajamīna kāraṇa nikān paṅәcәpuk awәlah mareṅ tәpi[7]

Out at sea there were the boats of fishermen, with canoes holding one man each,
They looked dazzlingly white, for they glittered in the sparkling seawater;
It looked as if they were riding horses, rising and falling on the big waves,
But then a whale surfaced, and so with much splashing they paddled for the shore.[8]

In this humorous vignette fishermen paddle quickly their *jukuṅ*-boats to the safety of the shore. Old Javanese term *jukuṅ* is related to Malay *jongkong*, and in modern language denotes a dugout canoe. It plausibly referred to the same or similar primitive watercraft in ancient Java, too. The motif of the whale (*gajamīna*) that surfaces represents an interesting pun, for in this passage *gajamīna* does not seem to be exclusively a well-known sea mammal. As I have shown elsewhere (Jákl 2014), Old Javanese is rich in terms for large sea mammals, and *gajamīna* (a loanword from Sanskrit that translates "elephant fish") refers in this context rather to a mythological beast, while at the same time it is "just a whale." In my view, the passage is actually a mockery and critique of Sāmba's cavalrymen, young sons of court notables, who are allegorically identified with fishermen in their canoes. To appreciate this narrative strategy, we must come back to stanza 2.10, where the whale (*iwak liman*) serves as a mythical carrier (*wāhana*) of Bhoma, the king of demons, and eponymous anti-hero of the *Bhomāntaka*. In stanza 2.10 we gather from the report of the venerable sage Nārada that when Bhoma set in the past on his world-conquering campaign, he was riding a huge beast, travelling across the sea.

The identification of Sāmba's cavalrymen with the fishermen, and the *gajamīna* with Bhoma's sea-going mythical carrier, serves as a subtle critique: the moment the whale surfaces the fishermen paddle to the shore for safety, as would later do some of Sāmba's cavalrymen when facing Bhoma's demonic warriors as their enemy.

The seacoast as a domain of fishermen is depicted in other poems, such as the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*, a *kakawin* composed by Mpu Panuluh in the second half of the twelfth century CE. The vignette in the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* is part of a description of a "pleasure trip" organized by King Kṛṣṇa. Courtiers and their servants marvel over the beauty of the coast:

7. *Bhomāntaka* 3.42. Old Javanese text taken from Teeuw and Robson (2005: 108).
8. Teeuw and Robson (2005: 109).

tan tuṅgal taṅ aweh ləṅöṅ niṅ umulat nya ṅ amayaṅ amibit hanāmukət
līlā tan hana rəsnya riṅ wway i dəmit ni parahu niki lūd paḍāgaliṅ
mosyan himpər aburwa-burwan anəṅah sakayapu kalilī n huwus ləpas
lwir mukṣeṅ təpi niṅ laṅit kahiḍəpanya hilaṅ anusup iṅ ghanāhirəṅ[9]

There were various things that enchanted the watchers: see, the people fishing with trawl-nets,
with line and hook, and still others with seine-nets,
At their ease, without fear of the water, seeing the slenderness of their boats, all equally unsteady,
Bustling to and fro as if pursuing each other out to see, like aquatic flowers swept along by the
current, for they were already well on their way,
And if dissolving into the horizon, one would think, disappearing into the black clouds.[10]

The passage quoted above depicts fishermen in their boats, denoted *parahu* in the text, who catch fish with at least three types of fishing-tack. Mpu Panuluh marvels at the dexterity of the men: unlike a simple fishing rod and undemanding method of fishing with the line and hook, the use of seine-nets (*pukət*) and especially trawl-nets (*payaṅ*) requires a high degree of cooperation between several boats, and a great level of skill and experience at the side of fishermen. The poet also appreciates fearlessness the men demonstrate: at least some of them are engaged in catching lobsters and giant-crabs at the reefs, which can be even today a life-endangering business. Though paddled *jukuṅ* canoes might have been the most common type of fishermen's vessels in pre-modern Java, in Old Javanese epigraphic record we also encounter boats propelled by poles. Rather surprisingly, such references are rare in extreme, at least according to the interpretations of Old Javanese boat terminology offered so far. Shallow boats propelled by poles (*galah*) are mentioned in at least one Old Javanese epigraphic document: in the Turyan inscription, issued in 929 CE by Siṇḍok for the benefit of a certain Ḍaṅ Atu Pu Sāhitya.[11] In this inscription *parahu magalaha* ("boats propelled by poles") are mentioned (de

9. *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* 8.5. Old Javanese text taken from Robson (2016: 70).

10. Robson (2016: 71).

11. Old Javanese *galah* has a number of meanings, but the basic meaning of this term is "spear, lance." In his extensive gloss on *galah*, Zoetmulder (1982: 477-78) does not consider "pole" among its meanings, though the Turyan inscription leaves no doubt that *galah* indeed denoted pole used to propel punts, which it still does in modern language. The problem of poles used to propel boats is complex. In Malay poles are called *galah prahu*, and *galah* is also attested in this sense in Madurese and Balinese. I leave open a possibility that boats propelled by a pole or poles are covered by the Old Javanese term *masuṅhāra*. Zoetmulder (1982: 1856) glosses *suṅhar* as "part of a boat (mast?)." But the fact that most of these crafts mentioned in Old Javanese inscriptions seem to have operated inland, either on rivers, lakes, or dams, would point at simple boats rather than sailing vessels.

Casparis 1988: 45).[12] The inland location of the inscription, found still in situ in the rice-fields of the village of Turen, some 15 kilometres southeast from Malang, indicates that such boats were used on shallow waters.[13] Apart from fishing boats propelled by poles or paddles, we also encounter fishing vessels using sails, for example in *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* 8.6, where we find a reference to the "sails of the fishermen who use the trawl-nets" (*layar iṅ amayaṅ*).

While images of fishermen and fishing are not rare in Old Javanese literature, depictions of harbours and port urban sites are almost non-existent in *kakawin*s. This anomaly is even more striking when we consider how common literary depictions of ports and harbour communities are in classical Malay literature (Manguin 1996; Braginsky 2004). Here I would like to introduce a rare Old Javanese literary vignette in which a harbour and some aspects of the life in port are depicted. The vignette is found in the *Bhomāntaka*, in stanzas 6.8 to 14. The harbour, denoted *palabuhan* in stanza 6.11, is called Anartha, as we gather from stanza 6.8. It is located at the river delta, and its entry point is overseen by a high-rising tower, denoted *waruga* in the text. The term has many parallels in Indonesian languages, and in the *Bhomāntaka* it seems to refer to a kind of watch-tower or lighthouse to monitor approaching ships. We gather this from stanza 6.11, where the *waruga* is called "observation tower" (*paṅuṅaṅ*). Teeuw and Robson (2005: 609) have noted that in Sumatra and Sulawesi, *waruga* often refers to a kind of lodging used in the past by travelling state officials. Prince Sāmba and his military retinue pass Anartha on their march to the mountains, arriving at the port at the day of Ləgi, when a great market is held there. We can only guess the reason why the military party visits the port, possibly the men were in need to restock on food supplies and fodder for horses, but the text is silent on the actual cause of their visit. In the market, "they found warehouses in succession, arranged in rows, not to mention single stands" (*kambah asarik racana ni pajajarnya len təpas*), as we learn in stanza 6.11. Next, in stanzas 6.12-13, the anonymous author of the text offers us a description of female alcohol vendors, who double at the same time as prostitutes. Let me quote an excellent translation of the two stanzas by Teeuw and Robson (2005: 129):

12. Turyan A.18-19. The boat is further specified as having no *tuṇḍan* (*tanpa tuṇḍāna*), which further emphasizes a rather simple structure of this type of boat. For the meaning of Old Javanese *tuṇḍa*, see the discussion below.

13. The inscription informs us that part of the *bwat haji* (obligatory labour for a lord) of the villagers of Turyan was transferred to a sacred barrage, a dam which was built to hold back the waters of the stream (de Casparis 1988: 40). It is tempting to speculate that the boats propelled by poles mentioned in the text were used at the shallow waters of the dam.

kahatur manis pəkən ikātiśaya sukha ḍatəṅ nrəpātmaja
atihaṅ-tihaṅ tarima tekiṅ amalija lulut paḍāhajöṅ
amurah liriṅnya tinawākən ika ri haliwat nrəpātmaja
irikā n katon kupa-kupaṅnya saha jaja sajöṅnya pintanən

masuhun-suhun səkar ikaṅ parawan ajaja kūṅnya kaṅlihan
mawade hayunya ri harəpnya hañaṅən ira saṅ nrəpātmaja
mwaṅ apaṅkwa-paṅkwana təṅahnya maṅusira təwas karāsikan
lalu kāsihanya tuna kūṅnya manaḍah-asiheṅ kuraṅ wəlas[14]

It happened to be the day of Ləgi, and the market was exceedingly happy at the Prince's coming:
The traders in love, equally pretty, were making ready to receive him;
Cheap were the glances they offered as the Prince passed by,
And then their *kupaṅ*-shells could be seen, together with their sweets and palm-wine for the asking.

Carrying flowers on their heads, the ladies paddled their love languidly,
Offering their beauty for sale, in the hope that the Prince would carry them off,
Would take them on his lap and embrace their waists in order to seek the profits of the delights of love.[15]

Teew and Robson (2005: 609) have noted a pun in the use of the term *kupaṅ*, which refers to a kind of shell, which shape is suggestive of female genitalia. Moreover, "the *kupaṅ* shells" of women vendors that could be seen (*katon kupa-kupaṅnya*) is a double allusion to sexual availability of these female vendors provided on top of selling alcohol and snacks. More precisely, the term *kupaṅ* denotes a class of marine molluscs or its mussel, which were put to use in some parts of pre-modern world as a weight-value unit. In pre-Islamic Java, moreover, *kupaṅ* denoted a type of coin. The term probably derives from the cup-shaped flan of the coin that resembles the mussel. Zoetmulder (1982: 928) claims that Old Javanese *kupaṅ* refers to a "shell used as money" but Wisseman Christie (1996: 260) rightly observes that the use of this term for a small currency unit does not indicate any early use of shells as currency in Java. In ancient Javanese monetary system there were four *kupaṅ* in one *māṣa*, and each *kupaṅ* weighing about 0.6 gram. The *kupaṅ* weight was associated both with gold and silver in Old Javanese inscriptions, although Wisseman Christie (1996: 260) observes that no gold coins of this weight have as yet been reported from Java.[16] To summarize, by the time *Bhomāntaka* was composed, *kupaṅ* denoted coins which were commonly used in market transactions. To the best of my knowledge, this twelfth-century vignette gives us, though in the form of a literary metaphor, the earliest description of port-based prostitution in Southeast Asia.

14. *Bhomāntaka* 6.12-13. Old Javanese text taken from Teeuw and Robson (2005: 128).

15. *Bhomāntaka* 6.11-13.

16. See also van Aelst (1995: 357-93) for the history of low-value coins and coinage in Java.

Boats and Ships in Old Javanese *Kakawin*s: A Few Notes on a Complex Terminology

The seacoast, of course, is also the place where diverse types of boats and ships can be seen. Old and Middle Javanese language is rich in words denoting watercrafts and their structural elements, though many of these terms are not fully understood (Setianingsih 1993; Barrett Jones 1984: 39-42; Prihatmoko 2014: 162, 167-68). Unlike sea-going vessels, riverine crafts, which were certainly a common sight in pre-modern Java and are often mentioned in inscriptions, figure in Old Javanese literary texts very rarely. In the epigraphic record, in particular in the inscriptions of Siṇḍok and Airlaṅga, riverine crafts are typically listed as means of taxable transport. The men who operated these vessels figure among the category of full-time professionals (*samwyawahāra*), along with other professional transporters, such as the men who hired out pack animals, carts, and wagons (Wisseman Christie 1998: 350). Frequent inscriptional references to riverine boats, especially in the context of inter-village trade, indicate that the villages concerned must have been on navigable rivers. The terminology of riverine crafts (and vessels operated in river deltas and coastal waters) mentioned in Old Javanese epigraphic corpus is complex and often difficult, but a detailed analysis of the data would certainly bring new evidence about the economic and social life of Java before 1500 CE. Barrett Jones (1984: 40) has noted the richness of boat and ship terminology in her brief discussion of the Bimalāśrama inscription, an undated charter issued for the benefit of a Buddhist monastery of Bimalāśrama.[17] In a long list of water vessels she has counted staggering twenty-nine types of boats and ships. Though many of these terms refer to an "economic type" of the vessel (what kind of commodity it carried), the inscription is a treasure-trove of Javanese pre-modern boat names and shipping lore.

We have seen above that the vessels used by fishermen were sometimes provided with sails. Larger ships, such as *bahitra*, *joṅ*, *palwa*, *pəlaṅ*, and *sampo* seem to have been equipped with one or more canted rectangular sails. Depictions of water vessels at Javanese temple monuments also indicate that larger ships were provided with two sails. Borobudur, in particular, is rightly famous for its technically sound depictions of at least eleven water crafts; apart from sails, reliefs show details of outriggers, rowing configurations, rigging elements, and rope use. These visually striking depictions have been mined by a number of scholars as a source for the history of ships and ship-building in Southeast Asia, though the debate has mostly focused on five outrigger vessels

17. The inscription has been misread and misnamed as the Dhimalāśrama inscription (Barrett Jones 1984: 44; Wisseman Christie 1998: 372; Hedwi Prihatmoko 2014). Recently, Arlo Griffiths has suggested, drawing on evidence in a short inscription from Dieng in Central Java, that the correct name of the monastery for whose favour the charter was issued is actually Bimalāśrama (personal communication).

with canted rectangular sails, bipod masts and rowing galleries (Jahan 2006; Manguin 2010). Old Javanese literary evidence, on the other hand, has been only rarely used as a source by historians. Yet, a careful reading of several passages can support visual evidence, and even provide some new insights. For example, visual evidence of temple reliefs that two sails were used on Javanese trading ships seems to be supported by a passage in *Bhomāntaka* 4.1, where we encounter the phrase *layar niṅ banyāga* ("the sails of a merchant-ship"). By way of metaphor, the author likens the sails to the breasts (*anusu-nusu*) of a maiden (*kanyā*), which seems to indicate that (typical) merchant vessel was provided with two sails. The same phrase (*layar niṅ baṇyāga*) is attested in *Sumanasāntaka* 51.2, where we learn that "the sails of a merchant ship, following the wind, head off into the distance like mist" (*layar niṅ baṇyāgānutakən aṇin aṅdoh kadi limut*).

Very interesting are references to ships denoted *bahitra*. The word is a loanword from an Indian source. Zoetmulder (1982: 188), for one, glosses *bahitra* rather generally as "boat, vessel," which is the meaning of this word in Sanskrit. In my view, we can be more precise about the type of ship denoted *bahitra* in Old Javanese. Literary references indicate that *bahitra* was a large, ocean-going ship, which was probably owned and operated by foreigner mariners. In the *Smaradahana*, a *kakawin* composed by Mpu Triguṇa in the twelfth century CE, *bāhitra* refers to a large, ocean-going vessel that is said "to be heading to Java" (*maṅajawa*).[18] An interesting literary vignette in the *Sumanasāntaka* can help us to specify the type of the ship denoted *bahitra* in Old Javanese texts. It is found in stanza 33.4, which depicts the arrival of prince Aja and his retinue at the seashore. From the coastline the men can see three types of watercrafts, which are compared by way of an extent metaphor to three kinds of animals. Two of them are local birds, while the third animal is a "foreigner," a non-native visitor:

> *mambö sāgara ramya niṅ laṅit awarṇa tali hurut-urutnya tan pəgat*
> *kālaṅkyaṅnya baṅun jukuṅ niṅ amayaṅ ləyəp i lari nikāmaḍəm ḍarat*
> *kuntul mör kadi tuṇḍan iṅ banawa kāri tan ilu kajahat lanālayar*
> *saṅ hyaṅ candra baṅun bahitra ḍatəṅ iṅ kuləm amawa śaśā mare jawa*[19]
>
> The beautiful sky gave the impression of the ocean: the unbroken threads of clouds were
> like fishing lines [of fishermen],
> The *kālaṅkyaṅ*-bird was like a canoe of the fishermen who use the *payaṅ*-nets, disappearing from
> view when its course headed for the shore.
> The heron in flight resembled the *tuṇḍa* of a *banawa*-ship that – safe from shipwreck –

18. *Smaradahana* 5.12.

19. *Sumanasāntaka* 33.4. Old Javanese text taken from Worsley *et al.* (2013: 166).

continued to sail.
The holy moon was like the ocean-going *bahitra*, coming in the night, carrying the hare as its
cargo to Java.

In a brilliant metaphor, Mpu Monaguṇa depicts the sky and the sea as if being inverted and merged together. The world of the sky above the seacoast, with its clouds, birds, and the moon, turns into a sea-space where fishermen in small boats work their nets, and larger merchant ships ply their business. This charming vignette is one of a number of passages found in the *kakawin* poetry, which are based on an image of the inverted, topsy-turvy world, a concept that can be traced to the Tantric lore, and which is related to the Balinese esoteric practices of visualizing and embodying Ongkāra Ngadəg and Ongkāra Sungsang. This is, however, not a place to go in details on this topic. Now, in the stanza quoted above, three types of vessels on apparently different size and type are introduced: *jukuṅ* used by the fishermen, a larger *banawa*-ship, which is characterized by the presence of *tuṇḍa*(s), possibly some type of superstructure (or outriggers?), and an ocean-going trading vessel denoted *bahitra* in the text. Interestingly, the *jukuṅ* and *banawa* are associated with the native species of birds, while the *bahitra* is not. In my view, this narrative device can be read as a meta-poetical commentary on three distinct types of watercraft. Old Javanese *jukuṅ* refers to the canoe propelled by paddling, which is metaphorically associated in this passage with the *kalaṅkyaṅ*. I will demonstrate in a study that is still under preparation that Old Javanese *kalaṅkyaṅ*-bird should be identified as the White-bellied Sea Eagle, a bird native to Southeast Asia, which feeds mostly on fish and sea snakes. As fishermen catch fish with trawl-nets, the *kalaṅkyaṅ*-bird seems to be hunting for fish at the seashore. The *banawa*-ship, associated with the heron in flight, is certainly a larger watercraft than a simple canoe, as the heron would be a larger bird than the *kalaṅkyaṅ.* As for the *bahitra*, it is not associated with any native bird, but rather with a hare (*śaśa*), which it brings as its cargo to Java, as we learn in the last line of the stanza. This is, of course, a poetic trope well-known in Sanskrit literary discourse. In my view, the *bahitra*-ship would also be a "foreign species," so to say, an ocean-going ship owned or operated by foreigner mariners, possibly Indians.

Shipwreck in Old Javanese Court Poetry: Why Junks always Wreck?

As elsewhere in the maritime world, not all ships made it safely to the port. Numerous shipwrecks found in the Indonesian waters indicate that marine mishaps were the occasional dark side of the business. Probably unsurprisingly, vignettes of marine mishaps found in Old Javanese court poetry almost always represent shipwreck in a figurative sense, as a metaphorical vehicle to illustrate some other theme. Such figurative uses of the shipwreck motif

have a very long history, stretching back to antiquity (Thompson ed., 2013). In Javanese and Malay texts, the ship is sometimes construed as a metaphor for the larger community from which it hails, and the same is true for a metaphorical description of shipwreck. One of the most interesting vignettes is found in *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* 22.29-33, where the demon king Rāwaṇa is likened to a wrecked ocean-going *sambo*-ship, which is described in five stanzas of the text. Old Javanese *sambo* is most probably a loanword from Old Malay, where we find the form *sāmwau*, a word which may be related to modern Malay *sampan*, the term well-attested in classical Malay literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The origin of Old Malay *sāmwau* and Old Javanese *sambo* terms is a complex issue, and we have little idea what the actual referents of these words looked like. Boats denoted in Old Malay *sāmwau* must have been substantial ocean-going water crafts, but the Kedukan Bukit inscription is silent about the type and form of these vessels.[20] Cognates in a number of Southeast Asian languages seem to imply that Malay (in particular Śrīvijayan) shipping culture and Old Malay nautical lexicon must have been influential in the Indian Ocean.[21] The ultimate origin of Old Malay and Old Javanese terms, however, may go back to the shipping lore of Funan mariners, who connected Southeast Asia with littoral China and South Asia already in the first half of the first millennium CE. Porée Maspero (1986: 80), for one, has made a link between Old Malay *sāmwau* and a very old Chinese loan - pronounced *buk* 舶 and by now *bo*, which first appeared in Chinese record in the third century CE, when it referred to large ocean-going vessels. As suggested by Claudine Salmon (2019: 25), the term may have first belonged to a language now lost to history.[22]

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20. Boats denoted *sāmwau* are first mentioned in the Old Malay Kedukan Bukit inscription, issued in 685 CE, where we learn that *sāmwau* carried Śrīvijayan military troops to the reaches of the Musi river. Another Old Malay epigraphic document, the Kota Kapur inscription, issued by the same ruler in 686 CE, does not mention any specific name of boat, but the finding site of this epigraph on the island of Bangka (apparently conquered by Śrīvijaya) implies that boats of some sort must have been used in the Śrīvijayan military campaign. Furthermore, the Kota Kapur inscription informs us that the army of Śrīvijaya had conducted a military expedition against Java. Of course, any army dispatched from Sumatra or Bangka island to Java could only have proceeded by sea.

21. Manguin (2012: 171, n. 12) has suggested that the broad coverage of cognates of Old Malay *sāmwau* is most probably related to Śrīvijaya's considerable outreach in the seventh to thirteenth centuries CE. Pre-modern shipping technology and maritime lore of Śrīvijaya must have been influential for cognates of *sāmwau* are found in a number of Austronesian languages, and the word even passed to Austroasiatic, Tibeto-Burman, and Thai languages. In Old Khmer it is called *saṃvau*, which becomes *saṃbau* in modern Khmer (Pou 1992: 488).

22. Large ships were built in China as early as in the Han dynasty, as is suggested by the find of a shipyard at Guangzhou dated to the third to second century BCE, where

The passage in the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*, to which we now come back, can further our knowledge about the boats denoted *sambo* in Old Javanese, and *sāmwau* in Old Malay. In the speech delivered shortly before Rāwaṇa's death, his younger brother Kumbhakarṇa likens him to a wrecked *sambo*. In stanzas 22.32-33, the structural elements of *sambo* are said to be defunct and/or destroyed, and likened to Rāwaṇa´s bad character: a rotten keel is said to be Rāwaṇa's lack of knowledge, smashed masts are compared to his broken devotion, torn and tattered sails are his immoral behaviour, and destroyed rudders are Rāwaṇa's lack of loyalty. As I read this literary vignette, it offers a window into the construction of the *sambo*-boat as it was known to an anonymous Javanese author of the text around 900 CE. The ship had one or more masts (*tihaṅ*) provided with sails (*layar*).[23] The meaning of *kawuntat* is unclear, but Robson (2015: 580) has interpreted it as "rudder." The keel is denoted *lunas*, which is still the term for ship's keel in modern Javanese. Now, the context of the ocean where the ship is said to be wrecked, and a reference to *bhāṇḍa* ("merchandise, cargo") in stanza 22.33, which is likened to Rāwaṇa's virtues (*dharma*), and said to be "vanished" (*ləṅit*), clearly suggest that the *sambo* envisaged by the poet is a large, ocean-going merchant ship.[24]

Javanese gentry living at inland courts, a typical audience of the *kakawin* poetry, seem to have understood well the nuances of ship terminology, and courtiers were certainly able to decode metaphors based on the ship-lore, for much of the international imports (which arrived as cargoes on ocean-going ships) were used and redistributed by the inland courts. In my view, the same method of analysis of "metaphorical marking" can be applied to another, much better known ship term: *joṅ*. Old Javanese *joṅ* is usually taken to be an Austronesian word rather than a loan from a non-Austronesian

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ships up to 30 meters in length were constructed (Schottenhammer 2012: 66). The term *bo* has been used in a number of compound words to denote sea-going vessels. Claudine Salmon (2019: 25), who has recently discussed this term in some detail, notes that the compound form *bochuan*, which designates a ´sea-going vessel´, occurs already in the *Huayang guozhi* 华阳国志 ("Records of the Countries to the South of Mount Hua"), a text dated to the fourth century CE.

23. *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* 22.32. Old Javanese *layar* can be traced to its Proto-Austronesian form **layaR*, and cognates of *layar* for sail are known to have spread widely across the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, as they are found in a number of South Asian languages, the Maldives, and, of course, in Malagasy of Madagascar (Hoogervorst 2013: 202).

24. I can come up with only one solution why the author of the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* selected Old Malay loanword, which is very rare in Old Javanese, to refer to the ship that wrecks, and represents thus Rāwaṇa´s doom: Rāwaṇa, who on the metaphorical level represents in the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* the Buddhist Śailendra dynasty, ousted in the mid-ninth century from their Javanese territories, is associated with the Malay-type vessel, *sambo,* and hence with the Malay Śrīvijaya kingdom, an economic and political competitor of the Javanese Sañjaya dynasty.

source. Zoetmulder (1982: 748), for one, glosses *joṅ* as "(sea-going) ship." Manguin (1980, 1993), who has analysed in detail the evidence we have for this type of ship, has demonstrated that junks were large (often very large), ocean-going ships operated by Southeast Asian mariners, especially Javanese and Malays. When the first Portuguese visitors encountered Javanese junks in Southeast Asian waters, junks were mostly used to transport high-volume commodities, such as rice and timber, among the ports of Southeast Asia and beyond (Manguin 2012). The earliest reference to Old Javanese *joṅ* is attested in eleventh-century Balinese inscriptions,[25] and the first literary reference to *joṅ* is in the *Bhomāntaka*, a court poem composed in the late twelfth century CE. Most interestingly, the *joṅ* figures in all Old Javanese literary references in the context of shipwreck, which is, as we have seen above, associated in Old Javanese literature with the forces of *adharma*. In the *Bhomāntaka* the reference occurs in the framework of a joyful celebration of gods, who arrive to congratulate King Kṛṣṇa for his victory over the demon king Bhoma. In stanza 109.3, Waruṇa, called in the text "Lord of the Waters" (*toyādhipati*), and "God of the Waves" (*saṅ hyaṅ ryak*), is particularly elated when Bhoma is killed in the battle. Let me quote the relevant passage:

> *saṅ hyaṅ ryak rob sukhe śīrṇa musuh ira sawaṅ joṅ asāt riṅ karaṅ göṅ*[26]
>
> The God of the Waves was at the high tide of his happiness that his enemy had been shattered like
> a *joṅ* run aground on a great reef.

Another reference to *joṅ* is found in the *Arjunawijaya*, a *kakawin* composed by Mpu Tantulār in the second half of the fourteenth century. In stanza 8.11, we learn that "the *joṅ*s and *pelaṅ*-boats wrecked and sank down" (*joṅ pelaṅ tan dwa biṅkas karəm*).[27] The third passage in which *joṅ*-ships figure is found in the *Sutasoma*, another work by Mpu Tantulār, where we have a vivid description of a march of demonic troops of the cannibal-king Poruśāḍa to the battlefield. Some of his warriors move on the ground, while others fly through the air. Still other troops use the sea to reach the battlefield. The Three Worlds (*triloka*) suffer in this complex military operation, as we gather from stanza 114.11, where Mpu Tantulār depicts the havoc demonic troops cause:

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25. I am grateful to Pierre-Yves Manguin for noting me that the term *joṅ* is attested in the Balinese epigraphic corpus already in the eleventh century CE, while the first literary reference can be traced to the late twelfth century CE.

26. *Bhomāntaka* 109.3c. Old Javanese text taken from Teeuw and Robson (2005: 581).

27. *Arjunawijaya* 8.11.The passage is part of a long description of a havoc in the world of men caused by the war between the divine forces of *dharma* and demonic forces of *adharma*. The sea is in tumult, and as a consequence many ships wreck.

dudwekaṅ mahawan samudra malətuh tekaṅ mahāsāgara
mīnosah kakəbur pəjah kaliwatan joṅ pəlaṅ akweh karəm[28]

Still other (troops) moved across the impure waters of the great ocean;
The fish tossed and turned, stirred violently they died, and many of the junks and *pəlaṅ*-boats passing over the sea sank down.

It seems to me that Mpu Tantulār uses the motif of wrecked *joṅ*(s) in two of his texts like a set phrase. Apart from Old Javanese court poetry, ships denoted *joṅ*s are associated with the maritime mishap also in the Middle Javanese text *Raṅga Lawe*, a *kiduṅ* that may have been composed as early as the fourteenth century CE, but which final redaction postdates 1500 CE (Zoetmulder 1974). We learn in stanza 8.37 that its broken, malfunctioning rudder (*kamodi*) is the reason why the *joṅ* wrecked (*joṅ kuraṅ kamoḍyanulus karəm*).[29] The negative associations of *joṅ* with the shipwreck – what seems to have been a well-known literary cliché – calls for an explanation. I can only think about one reason why *joṅ* is stigmatized in Old Javanese court poetry: ships denoted *joṅ*s must have been associated with the shipping of Javanese port enclaves of the north coast of Java (*pasisir*), districts which were never under the complete control of Javanese rulers, who were based at inland courts. As early as the twelfth century, *joṅ*s might have been associated with the growing economic and possibly political power of the *pasisir* administrators and local lords, who were approached with distrust by Javanese inland royal courts. This finding would fit the model according to which Late Kaḍiri period (ca. 1100 to 1222 CE) was a time of increased social tensions between the well-established, inland and agriculture-based Javanese courts, and the growing power of new merchant elites, who were active in the international shipping and trade with luxurious goods, especially Indian textiles and Chinese stoneware and porcelain (Jákl and Hoogervorst 2017). We lack evidence, however, that these tensions would have developed into a full-fledged military conflict between the two zones. Recently, Victor Lieberman (2009: 780) has noted in his discussion of pre-Islamic Java that "despite tensions between mercantile coast and agrarian interior reminiscent of conflicts in Burma and Angkor, for long periods before 1500 Java succeeded in wedding the two spheres under a single authority."

Shipwreck is a rare literary motif in Old Javanese poetry, which has been noted, but largely uncommented, by previous scholarship (Zoetmulder 1974; Wiryamartana 1992; Worsley *et al.* 2013). The motif has a narrative parallel in much more common depictions of ruined temples and monasteries. Recently, Stuart Robson (2012) has discussed the motif of architectural ruins in a stimulating study, noting that the image of collapsed temples, monasteries, and hermitages, overgrown with lush vegetation, is a literary trope that is distinctly

28. *Sutasoma* 114.11cd.
29. *Raṅga Lawe* 8.37.

Javanese, and has no exact parallel in Sanskrit *kāvya* poetry. Interestingly, Old Javanese descriptions of wrecked ships and collapsed temples display one common feature: they are often eroticized. In my view, the motif of a wrecked ship is an allusion on a painful separation of lovers. Let me introduce a vignette in the *Sumanasāntaka*, in which collapsed masts (*tihaṅ*) of a ship (*banawa*) remind Mpu Monaguṇa of a pair of lovers, who embrace one another, unable to part:

> *banawa kajahat iṅ lod biṅkas de niṅ alun agöṅ*
> *tihaṅ ika gumalaṅgaṅ muṅgwiṅ tuṇḍan ika marək*
> *kadi ta paməkulanya n māsih tan wənaṅ apasah*
> *sapati sahuripa ṅwaṅ līṅanya n wruh aṅucapa*[30]
>
> A *banawa*-boat wrecked at sea had been smashed by great waves.
> Its [collapsed] masts were propping one another, positioned at the fore of the *tuṇḍan*;
> As if being embraced, as lovers do when they are unable to part:
> "In death and in life I will remain with you", they might have said if they had known
> how to speak.

My understanding of this charming passage is that the image of two lovers, likened to the masts collapsed one against the other, implies that the ship depicted by Mpu Monaguṇa has two masts. Moreover, the lovers who are "unable to part" (*tan wənaṅ apasah*) would probably be standing rather than sitting, and the legs of standing persons whose bodies are joined in embrace would remind the poet of bipod masts, which were typical for Indonesian pre-modern ships. The verbal form *gumalaṅgaṅ* in the second line of the stanza quoted above is difficult. In the corpus of Old Javanese literature, the verb *gumalaṅgaṅ* seems to be attested only in this passage. It is derived from the root form *galaṅgaṅ*, which exact meaning in Old Javanese is unknown. Zoetmulder (1982: 478), for one, glosses *galaṅgaṅ* as "1. sharpened bamboo pole; 2. a bench or couch made of bamboo? a small pavilion of bamboo?" In the modern Javanese shipbuilding terminology, *galaṅgaṅ* refers to the "dock," but its meaning in Old Javanese inscriptions seem to be "pavilion" or rather some kind of "prop"; it may be a technical word for a piece of wood or bamboo that secures some sort of a wooden construction and makes it permanent. My best guess is that *galaṅgaṅ* in the passage quoted above refers to the configuration of the two masts that collapsed one against the other, so that they "prop one another," which is how I translate the verb *gumalaṅgaṅ* in the text. Another difficult term in this passage is *tuṇḍan.* Scholars of Old Javanese typically translate *tuṇḍan* as "deck," which is, however, rather anachronistic for before 1500 CE boats were not yet provided with rigid decks.[31] Zoetmulder (1982:

30. *Sumanasāntaka* 36.1. Old Javanese text taken from Worsley *et al.* (2013: 170).

31. The antiquity of boats with rigid decks in the Indo-Malay world is not known.

2065) glosses *tuṇḍan* "storeyed construction (on chariot; decks or bridge of a ship); anything done in shifts (in succession); levy to be done in shifts?" In *Sumanasāntaka* 33.4 discussed above we have seen that boats denoted in Old Javanese *banawa* were provided with one or more *tuṇḍan*, a superstructure of an unknown form. The finding that Mpu Monaguṇa likens a *banawa*-boat provided with a *tuṇḍan* to the heron in flight would suggest that one *tuṇḍan* (one or more of them) would be positioned crosswise to the hull of the boat.

The Seashore as a Place of Natural and Divine Beauty

By far the most common depictions pertaining to the maritime side of pre-Islamic Java are the vignettes in which the seacoast is represented as a place of sheer natural beauty to be enjoyed. In these literary vignettes, the seacoast participates in what we can call "the economy of aesthetics": court-validated views and concepts according to which the (divinized nature) is subject to and participates in the refined court culture of show and performance of political power. The divinized nature thus takes part in a court pomp and show. At the same time, descriptions of the natural world are often eroticized, as we have seen above. Unlike in the previous sections, my treatment of this last theme must be very selective. Let us start with a charming passage in the *Bhomāntaka*, where the beauty of the seacoast is compared to the beauty of a young woman:

sawaṅ kanyā lwir niṅ pasisir i halilintaṅ nrəpasuta
ləṅöṅ warṇanyāhyas mapata-patahan taṅ ryak alaṅö
layar niṅ baṇyāgānusu-nusu katon manda tan awās
limut niṅ wway māwrāsəmu-səmu pupur piṅhay i pipi[32]

The seashore looked like a maiden as the prince passed by;
Her appearance was enchanting, all dressed up and with the lovely waves as her headband,
The sails of a merchant-ship resembled her breasts, faintly visible, not very clear,
And the mist that spread on the water had the look of white powder on her cheeks.[33]

Elsewhere in the *Sumanasāntaka*, we find another eulogy on the beauty of the sea and seacoast. Stanzas 51.1-2 is built upon a dialogue in which one of the court ladies tries to persuade Princess Indumatī about the superiority of the charms of the seacoast. We have seen above that Indumatī prefers the mountains to the *pasisir* coastal districts, which she considers dangerous

European ships were typically provided with rigid decks, but there is evidence that boats with permanent decks were known and used in Southeast Asia even before the first Europeans reached the region in the early sixteenth century. Such boats may have been denoted by the term *kapal*, a loanword from Tamil (Salmon 2019: 27).

32. *Bhomāntaka* 4.1. Old Javanese text taken from Teeuw and Robson (2005: 110).

33. Teeuw and Robson (2005: 111).

and lacking a clearly established social hierarchy. The court lady, obviously well-informed about the visual beauty of the Javanese coast, opposes boldly Indumatī´s views and tries to persuade her mistress to change her evaluation of the coast and people living there. Let me quote her words:

taham rakryan diṅ parwata ləwiha saṅkeṅ jalanidhi
anūṣāpaṇḍan raṅkaṅ apasir asaṅhub saha kilat
muwah tan pāntyāntyāmpuhan ika baṅun kārttika sadā
manuknyāliwran yan wahu mari jawuh lwir laru-laru

kumənbaṅ tuñjuṅ kāṅinan uwur-uwurnyāṅjrah aputih
layar niṅ baṇyāgānutakən aṅin aṅdoh kadi limut
ləṅəṅ ryaknān sandhyāmirah asəmu meghānisik iwak
laṅit suṅsaṅ lwirnya n maśaśadharamāyā makalaṅan[34]

"No my lady! How could the mountains possibly be superior to the ocean
With its islands, creeping pandanus, beaches, mist, and lightning.
And the endless surf. It is like an everlasting Kārttika."

"Like flowering lotuses caught by the wind white jellyfish are spread in all directions.
And the sails of ships running before the wind head off into the distance like mist.
The waves are enchanting and in the evening are red and like clouds in the form of fish scales.
The sea with the moon's round reflection on it looks like the sky turned upside down."[35]

We have seen above that the images based on the topsy-turvy world were highly appreciated by Javanese *kawi*s, who seem to have based this imagery on the actual Tantric practices documented in Old Javanese Tutur texts. Though Javanese *kawi* is typically seen as a "poet," in pre-Islamic times *kawi*s were important religious figures, whose tasks are to be looked for especially in the field of warfare magic. Composing and writing *kakawin*s was part of their ritual agenda. Zoetmulder speaks about "religio poetae," a practice that entailed teaching and religious duties particular to the social group of *kawi*s. Multiple associations between the *kawi*, physical destruction, ruined temples, dead bodies, and the coastline, is most prominent in *Sumanasāntaka* 33.6-7. This textual sequence, in my view, one of the most charming descriptions of the seacoast in Asian literatures, informs us how a *kawi* comes to die at the place where a river empties into the sea, to be united there with the physical elements of the divinized nature:

34. *Sumanasāntaka* 51.1-2. Old Javanese text taken from Worsley *et al.* (2013: 206).
35. Worsley *et al*. (2013: 207).

ramya lwir siluman karaṅ ri mukha niṅ muhara paḍa-paḍāṅhapit bañu
alwā tiṅkah I mekhalanya ri təṅah paṅadəg-adəgan iṅ marāṅləṅəṅ
karwānuṅgul apāntaran sapaṅuhuh kadi gupura siwak sakeṅ adoh
lwir hambal sphaṭikāṅ alun turunan iṅ kawi pəjah atuhāṅhañut laṅö

priṅgā ahrit təpi niṅ samudra kadi paṅhinəpan i ləṅəṅ iṅ labuh kapat
lwir prāsāda pukah karaṅ ni paraṅanya hana kadi siluṅluṅ i kawi
airtambaṅnya baṅun wwit iṅ truh asəwö kilat awilət alūṅ awaṅkawa
lumrāwarṇa rəṅit kukusnya sinawat-sawat inidəran iṅ guruṇḍaya[36]

The reefs, flanking the water on both sides at the river estuary, were like a vision conjured up
by magic.
These stretches of reef were broad and in their midst were places where those who came in the
pursuit of beauty stopped.
Both reefs, within shouting distance of each other, towered aloft, looking from afar like a split
gateway.
The sea swell resembled a flight of crystal steps, a staircase down which a poet descends when in old
age he dies and is swept away on a sea of poetic beauty.

The rugged and inaccessible terrain of the coastline was like a place to spend the night in the beauty
of the first rains of the fourth month.
The rocky cliffs there resembled a tower temple which was half tumbled down. It was like the
repository for the ashes of a poet.
Streams of water tumbling down were like the roots of misty drizzle, which put forth shoots of
lightning, twisting and reaching out, creating a luminous glow in the sky.
The spray spread out on all sides like small flies upon which the circling cliff-swallows swooped.[37]

Conclusion

This study has discussed selected passages from a number of Old Javanese *kakawin* court poems in which the sea, seacoast, and the life associated with this environment is depicted. Unlike in the much better studied classical Malay literature, authors of *kakawin*s were little interested in the theme of the open seas, but they demonstrate some interest in the natural, social, and economic life of the seacoast. In most literary vignettes analysed in this study, depictions of the seacoast are clearly based on the rugged coastline of south Java, where the sea is deep and cliffs and small islands often represent remarkable landscape features, rather than mostly flat coasts of north Java

36. *Sumanasāntaka* 33.6-7. Old Javanese text taken from Worsley *et al*. (2013: 168).
37. Worsley *et al.* (2013: 169).

bordered by the shallow Java Sea. Three topics were discussed in some detail: the fishing folk inhabiting the world of *kakawin*, boats and ships noted by ancient Javanese poets (special attention has been paid to Old Javanese terms *sambo* and *joṅ*), and the natural beauty of the coastline celebrated in several texts. I have also analysed a unique passage in the *Bhomāntaka*, in which a harbour and its economy is depicted in a remarkable narrative detail. To conclude, Old Javanese audience, based mostly at inland royal and princely courts, considered the seacoast to be a dangerous, yet beautiful place, where whales can be spotted easily, and where egalitarian fishermen and mariners, little interested in court hierarchies, plied their trade. Literary vignettes discussed in this study certainly demonstrate that Javanese poets were well-aware and knowledgeable of the life in seacoast districts, and were able to depict their socio-cultural environment with a distinct charm and often surprising attention to detail. We can only regret the almost complete loss of the Old Javanese literary output of the *pasisir* districts predating 1500 CE. As a consequence, the social, economic, and religious life of Javanese pre-Islamic ports and early cities remains just little known.

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Śaivistic *Sāṁkhya-Yoga*: Revisiting the Eclectic Behaviour of the Balinese Hindu Textual Tradition[5]

Introduction

The Old Javanese (OJ) terms expounding the tenets of Śaivism found in Bali may be traced to those of Indian Śaivism. Most of those terms are found in OJ texts that have been traditionally handed down in Bali for generations. Many such religious texts show a hybrid character. This tradition of hybridization is still documented in a modern authoritative book of Śaivism in Balinese entitled *Aji Sangkya* (AS),[6] compiled in 1947 by Ida Ketut Djelantik. In the

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5. The transliteration system used in this article maintains, side-by-side, prevalent conventions used by modern scholars to render Balinese, Sanskrit, and Old Javanese (for the latter two we use the modified IAST/ISO15919 system advocated by Acri and Griffiths 2014, which has the advantage of being consistent with the transliteration of Sanskrit). Meanwhile, as far as the *Aji Sangkya* is concerned, the spelling has been adapted to the reformed Indonesian version for the sake of clarity.

6. Acri (2013:74) considers it as a modern texbook of Hinduism. It is inspired by several OJ and Indian texts mentioned in the AS, such as *Bhuvanakośa, Vṛhaspatitattva, Tattvajñāna, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Pañcaviṅśatitattva, Buku Yogasūtra, Nirmalajñāna, Saṅ Hyaṅ Daśa Ātmā, Sārasamuccaya, lontar Samādhi, Catur Yuga Vidhi Śāstra, Sapta Bhuvana* (Djelantik, 1947:1; also mentioned in Acri, 2013:75-6).

introduction, the author mentions *Igama Siwa*[7] while promoting teachings about the existence of *Ida Saṅ Hyaṅ Vidhi*[8] and His bliss for creating the universe and everything within it, including humans (Djelantik, 1947:1). In this sense, Djelantik made an effort to attribute an equal position to both "traditional" Śaiva theology and reformed Hinduism within the frame of the Balinese religion.[9] Meanwhile, by its very title, the AS[10] is affirmatively related to *Sāṁkhya*, an ancient Indian dualistic philosophical school, as well as *Yoga*. The AS asserts explicitly both positions as the ultimate understanding of the true *Yoga* on the theoretical basis of the *Sāṁkhya* (Djelantik, 1947:14).

However, this position regarding the theology of Śaivism is not new. Śaivism reconciles the dualism of the *Sāṁkhya* and the monism *(advaita)* of the Vedānta (Bernard, 1999:130). Soebadio (1985:54; cf. Yasa and Sarjana, 2013:126) noted that in Indonesia, Śaivism (and Śaivasiddhānta in particular) has a very close relationship to both the monistic and dualistic schools of philosophy. Suamba (2016:300-1) affirms that it has undergone very dynamic

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The AS is considered an authoritative modern exposition of Śaiva doctrine in Bali, and it has been translated into Dutch by Hooykaas (1950-51) as "Çāngkhya-leer van Bali" in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*; into Indonesian by Gde Sandhi (1973), I Wayan Suka Yasa and Ida Bagus Jelantik (2008) with brief content analysis, Ida Komang Wisasmaya (2012), the grandson of Djelantik; into palm-leaf manuscript in *Tutur Aji Sangkya* found in the *Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Bali* (T/I/12 = K31, 60 folios); see more in Acri (2013:75). Recently, Ida Bagus Agastya (2015) has made a concise description of the AS with some intertextual notes.

7. The term "*igama*" is used to define religion in its philosophical sense, in this case of the Śaivism. Djelantik (1947:1) explains in Balinese as follows, *"Sahantukan Igama Siwa punika sané wenten iriki ring Bali miwah Lombok katahan nganggé Basa Kawi miwah Sanskrit, punika duaning titiang ngawangun Buku diastu alit sané ngambil papalihan paplajahan Igama Siwa keni nganggé Basa Bali kapara, mangda molah katampén antuk sareng katah* ('Because the *Igama Siwa* found here in Bali and Lombok is mostly using *Basa Kawi* (OJ) and Sanskrit, that is why I compose this book even though (it is) very small (concise) while applying the pattern of the teaching of the *Igama Siwa* in *Basa Bali kapara* (the Balinese for all castes), in order to make people (reader) easier to understand')."

8. *Ida Saṅ Hyaṅ Vidhi* is the Balinese Hindu name for God.

9. Acri (2011b:156) states that Balinese religion appears to be a 'localized' form of Śaivism characterized by a monotheistic theology, viewing in Śiva the Paramount Lord and the all-encompassing Supreme Reality (*paramārtha*). In this case, Acri (2011b:159) argues that the concept of the devotion to a single deity – in modern Balinese case, the "neutral" Saṅ Hyaṅ Widhi or Saṅ Hyaṅ Tuṅgal – should not be interpreted as an "invention" following the influence of Monotheistic religions, but rather as a polarization of existing ideas, following the attempts by the reformers to align their religion with the dominant form of Hinduism in order to avoid the denomination of "sectarian" coined by colonial scholarship, and be recognized as a true "world religion."

10. Acri (2013:74) translates the title as "*Textbook of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy*," while Hooykaas (1951) freely rendered it as *"Çànkhya-leer van Bali*".

processes of finding "the best" in order to fit the local tradition. The AS may thus be regarded as a text that is ontologically rather dualistic, yet monistic as well as Śaivistic at the same time. This textual eclectic attitude can be detected also in the new hybrid textual constructions by Balinese intellectuals, as well as in many aspects of Balinese culture and religion.[11] As Acri (2013:97) asserts, "most Balinese reformist authors never rejected altogether the fundamental tenets and deeply Śaiva persuasion of their traditional theology but simply sought to reconfigure and integrate it in order to ensure compliance with certain trends of neo-Hindu orthodoxy." This means that the hybrid construction of the AS reflects the traditional character of Balinese Hinduism inherited from the OJ Śaivistic tradition of eclectic behaviour. Hence, it is rather difficult to reduce Balinese Hinduism to a specific strand in relation to Indian thought because it has a very dynamic inclusion of textual canons, which is complicated further if one observes Balinese religious praxis. This article analyses the eclectic attitude reflected by the AS, one of the authoritative books on Balinese Hinduism, in order to attain a hermeneutic interpretation.

The Dualistic Ontology of the *Sāṁkhya* in Relation to the AS Paradigm

A discussion of the relationship between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* in the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (SK)[12] and *puruṣa* and *pradhāna* in the AS first requires a comparison of the concepts found in both texts. In the SK, the process of manifestation of the *prakṛti* or material principle plays an important role in its philosophy. First, a connection with the *puruṣa* is established so that the material becomes conscious, to the point of releasing the relationship of the material from the *puruṣa*, or vice versa (the liberation of the *puruṣa*, i.e. isolation or *kaivalya*). Next, the separation from the body (*śarīrabhede*) takes place, and the *prakṛti* as the root cause (*pradhāna*) ceases to operate, having accomplished the purpose of the *puruṣa*, and attains a form of liberation that is both completely absolute (*aikāntika*) and final or permanent (*ātyantika*) (SK 68 in Saraswati, 2008:118). The *prakṛti* does not evolve and is not created from anything (SK 3). It is the origin or root of all matters (*mūla*). In this view, the *prakṛti* is the uncaused first principle, and the cause of all. Similarly, the *puruṣa* is neither created nor creative; it is just there. The connection between the two is caused by the attractiveness of the *prakṛti* for the *puruṣa*.

11 See Sumardjo (2002).

12. One of the oldest extant texts of the *Sāṁkhya* philosophical system is Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (350 CE) (Larson and Bhattacharya, 1987:43). The SK text used in this article is that printed in Appendix II, "The Text of the Sāṁkhyakārikā as attested in the Yuktidīpikā within the commentary to the corresponding verse," in Albrecht Wezler and Shujun Motegi's edition (1998) of the *Yuktidīpikā*, as well as the appendix subtitled "Samkhya Karika of Ishvara Krishna Sanksrit Text, Transliteration, and Translation" of *Samkhya Darshan: Yogic Perspective on Theory of Realism* by Swami Niranjanananda Saraswati (2008).

SK 19 and 20 explain the passiveness of the *puruṣa* (*draṣṭṛtva*). The nature of the connection (*saṁyoga*) of both is that the *prakṛti* has no consciousness but possesses the natural tendency or qualities (*guṇa*) to attract the *puruṣa*. This is related to the explanation given in SK 21, which is more straightforwardly presupposing the *prakṛti* as *andha* (blindness) and the *puruṣa* as *paṅgu* (lameness).[13] In the SK, the initiating discourse implies that interest in the nature of existence is triggered by misery (*duḥkha*) in which ordinary efforts, such as using drugs, are not enough to solve the basic questions of "being." The discriminative knowledge (*viveka*), the manifest (*vyakta*), and the non-manifest (*avyakta*) may be the prerequisite to discover the answers to the questions. There are two more similar principles, namely *avikṛti* (neither developing nor evolutive principle) and *vikṛti* (developing principle). The *avyakta* is in one direction to the *avikṛti*, the *prakṛti* with its tendencies (*triguṇa*), whereas the *vyakta* and the *vikṛti* are the *tattva* (principles) from *buddhi* ("intellect")[14] downwards (Bhattacharyya, 2008:158-60). Additionally, the *prakṛti* manifests as the *buddhi* only through its connection with the *puruṣa*. In line with the three sources of misery, there are also three methods for searching knowledge (*pramāṇa*): *dṛṣṭa* or direct experience, *anumāna* or inference, and *āptavacana* or statements from experts or trusted sources. From this, it can be understood that the SK paradigm is built through a psychology of anxiety, which can only be diminished by the knowledge of truth.

Meanwhile, the dualistic principles, the *puruṣa* and the *pradhāna*, in the AS exist due to the meeting of Śiva and Māyā. Then, this relationship is assumed to be like the relationship of the soul with the body, which is multi-layered and boundless. The separation causes, on the one hand, the *puruṣa* to return to its pure origin, i.e. a condition of flawless purity, called Saṅ Hyaṅ Paramaśiva, and, on the other, the *pradhāna* to return to its pure unconsciousness, the *Māyā-Tattva*. Therefore, the aim of the discourse in the AS makes Śiva the supreme principle to Whom all the principles return (Balinese: *mulih maring*); this is called *Parama Mokṣa*.

In the AS, the discourse is built through the two key terms *cetana* and *acetana*, denoting two opposing states. If these were separated, nothing would exist. The *cetana* is understood as being conscious (Balinese: *ménget*), and the *acetana* is understood as being unconscious (Balinese: *lupa*). Both come as the *Śiva-Tattva* and the *Māyā-Tattva*. This forms a discourse of Śaivistic theodicy

13. Jakubzak (2006:186) notes that in the *Upaniṣad*s the seeing bird refers to the passive inner controller (*antaryāmin*) and actionless witness (*sākṣin*) who is beyond all misery and joy.

14. The Old Javanese dictionary by Zoetmulder (1982:266) glosses *buddhi* as the power of forming and retaining general notions, intelligence, reason, mind, discernment (in *Sāṁkhya* second of 25 *tattva*'s); opinions, notion, idea (cf. *hidĕp*); character, nature disposition; intention, purpose (cf. *ambĕk*). In other words, the *buddhi* indicates the innate intelligence or the primordial memory.

devoid of any reference towards *Māyā* as delusion; rather, this principle is referred to as the origin of worldly life. The AS is more focused on just the principle of *cetana* or the *Śiva-Tattva*, which manifests into three categories: *Paramaśiva, Sadāśiva,* and *Śivātmā*. The text's theological paradigm is the conviction that all things are coming and will return to Śiva rather than the promotion of the anxiety paradigm found in the SK.

According to the SK, the *buddhi* is manifested from the meeting of both ontological principles of *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*. As explained in verse 23 of the same text, according to Saraswati (2008:103), the *buddhi* is both intellect and intuition. Usually, the *buddhi* has similar meaning with *mahat* "cosmic intelligence." From it, *ahaṁkāra* emerges and brings forth the lower sixteen *tattva*s: *manas* (mind), five *jñānendriya* or *buddhīndriya* (senses or organs of perception), five *karmendriya* (organs of action), and five *tanmātra* (subtle elements). From the five *tanmātra* emerge the five *mahābhūta* (gross elements).

However, in the AS, the *buddhi* has a different sense (see e.g. 3.1). It is regarded as *citta* or "mind" that undergoes the degradation of consciousness, because the focus of the AS is on the consciousness. This structuring follows the structure found in the *Tattvajñāna* (TJ),[15] which offers a schematic presentation of Javanese Śaivism.[16] In fact, in the SK, the *citta* is never explicitly mentioned or included as one of the principles. In the philosophical system found in the SK and the YS, the *buddhi* is considered one category that actually forms the *citta*, along with the *ahaṁkāra* and the *manas*. In this sense, the *buddhi* is the in-between state, which is expressed by the Balinese words *bingung* (confuse) and *biapara* (confusion). When it comes to indecision, according to the AS, the *buddhi* then has various characteristics: *caturaiśvarya* (four powers), *aṣṭatuṣṭi* (eight contentments), *aṣṭasidi* (eight perfections), *balikaning caturaiśvarya* (opposite of four powers), and *pañcawretaya*[17] (five distress) (Djelantik, 1947:10). In line with the category of the *caturaiśvarya* found in the AS, SK 23 mentions it similarly within the frame of *sattva* called *sāttvikametadrūpa*, namely *dharma* (goodness), *jñāna* (knowledge), *virāga* (indifference), and *aiśvarya* (power or highest attainment and perfection). However, the AS has a more complicated layered explanation. Each item is categorised in a more detailed fashion, for instance *dharma*, which is further divided into *sīla* (Balinese *solah rahayu*: good behavior), *yajna* (Balinese *barés*: generous), *tapa* (Balinese *ngated utawi matunain indria*: discipline or reducing sensual pleasure), *virakta* (Balinese *medalem sayang*: having compassion), *tyāga* (Balinese *las utawi lagas*: consistent or brave), and *yoga* (concentration).

15. See Yasa and Sarjana (2013:39).

16. See Suamba (2016:16).

17. The term is rather confusing since the word *wretaya* is not found in Sanskrit. The author, perhaps, has found different term for *kleśa* (impurity) as found in the *Yogasūtra* (YS II.12) of Patañjali (See Karambelkar, no year:194-5; Sura and Yasa, 2011:42).

According to both the AS and SK, after the *buddhi* comes the *ahaṁkāra*.[18] In SK 24, it is explained as a statement of the self or "sense of ego." This sense of ego is not a subjective substance, but an objective one (Bhattacaryya, 2008:222). It is composed of the personal pronoun *aham*, "I", and the root *kṛ*, "to do, make or perform." This sort of Individuating Principle produces new modes of being. In line with that, according to the *Sāṁkhya*, the function of the *ahaṁkāra* is to feel the sense of I-ness,[19] which makes the self feeling that it is acting, wanting, and having. Acri (2011a:425) translates it, on the basis of its occurrences in the OJ text *Dharma Patañjala* (DP), as "self-identity." Palguna (2014:179) defines it in the light of *Kakavin Dharma Śūnya* as 'ego' or "self." Then, because it is influenced by the *sattvaguṇa*, the *ahaṁkāra* manifests into eleven *tattva*s and, when it is influenced by *tamas*, it further evolves into the five subtle elements.

Further, the description of the *ahaṁkāra* in SK 25 is similar to that found in the AS. In both texts, there are three characteristics, namely *vaikṛta* for *sāttvika ahaṁkāra*, *taijasa* for the *ahaṁkāra* influenced by *rajas*, and *bhūtādi* for the *ahaṁkāra* influenced by *tamas*. As a result of the influence of the *vaikṛta*, the *ahaṁkāra* manifests as the *manas* (mind) and the five *jñānendriya* (senses of perception) and five *karmendriya* (organs of action), and as a result of the *tāmasika ahaṁkāra*, the *bhūtādi* then manifests as the *pañca tanmātra* (subtle elements), which later becomes the *pañca mahābhūta* (gross elements). Both groups manifest because of the influence of the *rajas* on the *ahaṁkāra* (*taijasād ubhayam*). Furthermore, according to the explanation of the AS, the *ahaṁkāra* is still influenced by the *citta* and the *buddhi*, which carry the *triguṇa*. The *buddhīndriya* consists of *cakṣu* (sight), *śrotra* (hearing), *ghṛāṇa* (smell), *rasa* (taste), and *tvak* (touch). Then, the *karmendriya* consists of the ability to speak (*vāk*), grasping (*pāṇi*), locomotion (*pada*), excretion (*pāyu*), and sexual procreation (*upastha*) (SK 26). However, the explanation of the *tāmasika ahaṁkāra (bhūtādi)* is not given according to its various constituents; it is only explained in broad outlines, as in SK 38. Meanwhile, in the AS, all the constituents mentioned in detail are very similar to those listed in the TJ and the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (VT). Interestingly, in the AS, the *ahaṁkāra taijasa* section is not explained. As found in the SK 25 and TJ IVc as well in the VT 33.26-7, the *taijasa* is helping the *vaikṛta* and the *bhūtādi* to make the *ekādaśendriya* and the *pañca tanmātra*, like a pendulum.

18. According to Zoetmulder (1982:28), the *ahaṁkāra* means conception of one's individuality, the egoistic self (one of the stages in the evolution of the *prakṛti*); selfishness, pride, conceit, arrogance; selfish, proud etc.; (also in more favourable sense) self-confidence, confidence, and courageous.

19. Cf. Jakubzak (2006:188).

As seen in the description of the *ahaṁkāra* outlined above, from the *vaikṛta* comes the *manas*.[20] The definition given to the *manas* resembles that of the *buddhi*, as described earlier. SK 27 and 29 further explain the nature of the *manas* as a determinant of the nature of the evolution of the five *jñānendriya* and five *karmendriya*. The *manas* also provides a basis for consideration, deliberation, thought, and analysis (*saṁkalpa*). Additionally, together with the *mahat* or *buddhi* and the *ahaṁkāra*, the *manas* functions to support or maintain the vital breath (*prāṇa*) that preserves life. Thus, life is highly determined by these three principles.

The SK also explains the functioning of the three together (the *buddhi*, the *ahaṁkāra*, and the *manas*) with one of the senses simultaneously or subsequently in the process of responding to an object, or in cases where awareness of something arises not from something that is directly experienced (for example, conceptualisation, or logical inference). All three operate based on memory and imagination (SK 30). In SK 31, it is stressed once again that the motives for all the activities linked to the *tattva*s are fulfilling the aim of the *puruṣa* (*puruṣārtha*).[21]

In the AS, the *manas* is given a glorifying term as *rājendriya* or the king of the senses. It is in charge of perceiving everything. In fact, it is explained that its position is on the seeds of the brain, between the forehead, heart, navel, and between the genitals and navel. In all places, according to the AS, there may be the *manas*. Therefore, the *manas* in both texts refers to the mind. However, the positions or the locations of the *manas* in the human body are explained in the AS, whereas in the SK they are more generally referenced.

The Dualistic Epistemology of *Yoga* in the AS

The Śaiva Yoga and the Pātañjala Yoga described in OJ texts come to a similar climax, the union with the Supreme Being. However, Acri (2013:97) notes that the goal of *samādhi* in Pātañjala Yoga is that of striving after isolation of the spirit from the mind, and that OJ texts as well as the AS introduced a new theistic understanding of *samādhi*. In the AS, the word is understood as meaning oneness with God, Śiva. Besides the understanding of *samādhi* as the isolation of the spirit from the mind, the YS also states that by meditating on Īśvara (i.e. Śiva, God) comes *samādhi* (*samādhisiddhir īśvarapraṇidhānāt*) (YS II.45 in Vivekananda, 1976:213; Sura and Yasa, 2011:48). While in this passage of the YS Īśvara would appear to be conceived of as a means rather

20. According to Zoetmulder (1982:1096) *manah* (Skt *manas*, mind in the widest sense as applied to all mental powers) spirit, mind, heart, feelings. Monier-Williams (1999:783) defines the *manas* as mind; intellect, intelligence, understanding, perception, and feeling.

21. The *puruṣārtha* has four dimensions, namely *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*, which are well-known in Balinese Hinduism.

than an aim, the Śaiva concept of liberation is clearly aimed at the union of the soul with Śiva, leading to a conscious experience by the soul of Śiva's bliss (Schomerus, 2000:363).

The word Īśvara could be understood as a theistic element in the YS. This understanding is also shown by the translation of the word Īśvara as "God" by Vivekananda (1976) and Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Iserwood (1953). However, YS I.24 considers the equation between the words *puruṣa* and *īśvara*. There is also a comparison that gives the superior position to Īśvara over the *puruṣa*. In other words, the *puruṣa* is the adept; there is a distance caused by devotion. All the verses that use the word *īśvara* in the YS imply the union of the *puruṣa* with Īśvara through practice of *yoga*. This leads to a slightly different understanding of the divinity of Śiva in the AS. Śiva is considered equal to the *cetana*,[22] which also means being intelligent, human being; soul, mind; and awareness, understanding, intelligence.

Then, in the AS, Śiva is understood as (Balinese) *ménget*[23] (having memory or consciousness). Then, it is divided into three categories according to Śaiva point of view of OJ texts: *Śivātmā*, *Sadāśiva*, and *Paramaśiva*. This distinction results from the different qualities of consciousness of Śiva. The lowest hierarchical Śiva is the *Śivātmā*, having a similar state of consciousness as the *puruṣa*; the middling consciousness is *Sadāśiva* or the worshipped Almighty God; and the highest is *Paramaśiva* or the transcending and pure consciousness. These different qualities result from the influence of the *acetana*, the unconsciousness. This means that Śiva has a state of transcendence and immanence at once.

This is certainly different from the understanding of Īśvara in the YS, which continuously resides in a transcendent position. At this point, it can be understood that the YS paradigm is Godliness, worship, and an emphasis on the transcendental. In other words, the relationship between the *puruṣa* and Īśvara in the YS is the bottom-up relationship of theology in one direction. If the SK builds a downward evolution doctrine – without Īśvara – of all manifestations, the YS builds an upward spiritual doctrine. Nevertheless, YS I.24 explains that Īśvara is a special *puruṣa*, untouched by misery and actions and their results and desires (Vivekananda, 1976:138). This makes His transcending state similar to Paramaśiva. Moreover, it is explained in YS I.27 that the manifestation word for Him is 'OṀ' (*praṇava*) (*ibid.*: 141). This

22. In Monier-Williams (1999:397) the word *cetana* is defined as being visible, clear, superior, excellent; percipient (able to capture precisely), conscious, able to see (hear and feel). Acri (2013:76) translates it as Sentience (capacity to feel, perceive, or experience subjectively).

23. The Balinese word *ménget* is composed of {*ma-*} "suffix meaning to have" + {*inget*} "remember," "having memory," "being aware," and "conscious." In short, the word *ménget* in Balinese language has the same meaning with the word *cetana* in Sanskrit, 'having consciousness' (cf. Partami et al., 2016:507).

similar position of Paramaśiva and Īśvara is clearly stated in VT 7-10[24] as well as practiced in everyday Hindu prayers in Bali.

In the AS as well as in OJ texts, Śiva and Śivātmā have a historical relationship. It is explained that "*Ida Saṅ hyaṅ Śivātmā tattva*" has been much disoriented, His disoriented state becomes confusion, (that then He) has will to produce all principles' (Balinese) *Ida Sanghiang Siwatmatatwa, sampun kahanan bingung, kabingungan Idané punika sané manados biapara, makayun ngawijilang sarwa tatwa* (Djelantik, 1947:36). The Balinese phrase *sarwa tatwa* is used to mean the 25 principles of the SK. This means that there is a traditional relationship: the relationship between the universal and the particular (Gadamer, 2004:375). The particular, the *puruṣa*, adheres to the universal or Śiva because He is the source, the father (*Aji*).

The immanence of Śiva into Śivātmā occurs as the *puruṣa* is produced by the influence of Māyā. As explained in Schomerus (2000:44; 381), Śaiva doctrine (for instance, monistic Śaiva Siddhānta) in India understands Śiva as *Sat*, existing as a true reality. According to non-dualistic schools, everything comes from this reality, Śiva. At this level, Śiva is understood in the sense of monism. Moreover, in the theology of monistic Śaiva Siddhānta, God is also *Cit* (pure intelligence) and *Ānanda* (joy and the basis for the blessedness of souls) (Schomerus, 2000:48). Thus, the basis of *puruṣa* is happiness, according to the sense of Śiva as *Ānanda*. The entity mentioned in the AS after the Śivatattva is the *Māyātattva*. The discussion about the *Māyātattva* replaces the term *acetana*. On the other hand, when examined intertextually, the use of the word *māyā* is found in early *Siddhāntatantra*s, as Goodall (2004:xxvii; quoting Sanderson, 1992) explains, to mention the material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇam*), while Śiva is only the efficient cause (*nimitta-kāraṇam*) of the universe. This conforms to a dualist idea of causality, which was prevalent in "orthodox" Śaiva Siddhānta,[25] which has greatly influenced the conceptual relation of Śiva and Māyā.

The term *māyā* is also found in the OJ tradition of Śaivism. The presence of this principle is closely related to the understanding of Śiva as *Sadāśiva*. It is explained that in the process of creating the world, *Śivatattva* (for example, the *Sadāśivatattva*) splits into two: *cetana (Śivatattva)* and *acetana (Māyātattva)* (Suamba, 2016:20-9). Yasa and Sarjana (2009:41-2), on the basis of the TJ and in line with the AS, explain that the *acetana* is called the *Māyātattva*,

24. See Sudarshana Devi (1957:38,76).

25. According to the historical investigation by Goodall (2004:xxvi), "Early non-dualist works of the school could have gone missing, but it appears likely that the Śaiva Siddhānta was a broadly dualist school which only after the twelfth century felt the influence of non-dualist Vedānta. The early Siddhāntatantras are not only not influenced by non-dualist Vedānta, they seem in fact to ignore it. It is only among the tantras that cannot be demonstrated to be early that we find works which either teach or appear to presuppose a Vedānta-influenced non-dualism."

the principle of unconscious reality. The understanding of the *Māyātattva* mentioned in the AS can be traced to the TJ. It holds a position below the *Śivatattva*, vertically. Acri (2013:81), in his explanation of the evolution of universal principles found in the VT, emphasizes the horizontal dualism reflected by the Ātman's position between the *cetana* (Śiva) and the *acetana* (Māyāśiras or Māyā).

The term *māyā* generally means delusion according to the Vedāntins. The same term can also be found in the doctrines of non-dual Kashmir Śaivism. Māyā is considered not a separate reality, but the gross power of consciousness. It is the single, eternal, and an unconscious source of the worlds and everything in them, including the bodies and faculties of each soul (Sanderson, 1992; quoted by Goodall, 2004:xxvii-xxviii). It is referred to as Māyā Śakti (Bernard, 1999:139). In the sense of delusion related to monism, *māyā* has been regarded as a negative force that must be avoided. Bhattacharyya (2008:93) explains that *māyā* is the conceptual formulation of the feeling of the vanity of life just as another doctrine is of the demand for absolute certitude (*Brahman*). This is like existence without any essence. Therefore, in relation to Śaivism, this term is often replaced by the term *śakti*, referring to the potentiality of the power of the soul itself. In addition to the VT and the TJ, the terms *māyā* and *śakti* also appear in the AS. It seems that the use of both is not only intended to assert the authenticity of Śiva in the doctrine of monism but also to initiate a dualistic understanding *(cetana-acetana)* to facilitate the process of understanding Śiva as the consciousness and Māyā as the unconsciousness. From the two principles, as explained in the AS, the *puruṣa* emerges, as does the *pradhānatattva*. The *puruṣatattva* and the *pradhānatattva* are the result of the meeting between Śiva and Māyā (the father and mother of both) (Djelantik, 1947:7).

In YS I.3, the *puruṣa* is no longer explained because it has direct reference to the SK. However, it is identified with the *draṣṭā* "seer" (Vivekananda, 1976:20). The realization of the *puruṣa* is the key to the whole set of practices in the YS as releasing the *puruṣa* from its object, the *prakṛti*. This is the highest goal of the yoga discourse contained in the YS. The dualism in the YS is understood by the knowledge of the subject, the *puruṣa*, which is aimed at knowing everything that has *triguṇa* (*sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*), the *prakṛti*. The *puruṣa* comes to the *prakṛti* to form a duality; the subject comes to the object. In this context, the SK illustrates that the *puruṣa* comes after the *prakṛti*. In YS I.19, IV.2, and IV.3, the *prakṛti* has the same position as described in the SK. It is the cause of experience, as suggested by the terms *pratyaya* "experience" and *nimitta(ṁ)* "cause." Moreover, the word *prakṛti* itself also means cause, something present before another thing (Bernard, 1999:72). The more radical understanding of the dualism of the *puruṣa* and the *prakṛti* in the YS is the view that the paramount aim of yoga is to free man forever from the three types of pain *(duḥkhatraya)* (Bernard, 1999:87). These three kinds of pain occur as a result of the attachment

to the cause of experience that is avoided through the discriminative knowledge *(viveka)* of the *puruṣa* and the *prakṛti*. In other words, that goal is achieved by negating the *prakṛti*, the object of knowledge.

In the AS, the word *prakṛti* is not used, but the word *pradhāna* means the unconsciousness of the Māyā. This meaning tends to be positive and to have a complementary position with the *puruṣa*. Herein lies the difference between the AS and the two canonical texts of dualism. The *puruṣa* and the *pradhāna* are intended to complete each other and form a duality or hermeneutic intersubjectivity. In some parts of the AS, the relationship of *puruṣa-pradhāna* can turn into *pradhāna-puruṣa*. When referring to the YS, the *prakṛti* is the objective entity of knowledge determined by the subject of knowledge, the *puruṣa*; thus, one is allowed to leave the other after knowledge is discovered. On the contrary, in the AS, the relationship between the two has dialectically made them exist together with reciprocal positioning and mutual understanding of the objective experience. This is in line with the view of Gadamer that knowledge is entirely dialectical (Gadamer, 2004:439). The last sentence of the first paragraph of page 8 confirms the position of both principles in the AS, (Balinese) *Nénten wénten punapa punapi iriki ring jagaté sané tan madaging Predana-Purusa, apan mawiwit Predana-Purusa, mawinan sami awaking Predana-Purusa* ("There is nothing here in the universe that does not contain *Pradhāna-Puruṣa*, because all come from *Pradhāna-Puruṣa*, and all manifest from *Pradhāna-Puruṣa*") (Djelantik, 1947:8). This gives a clear understanding of the different position of the YS, which tends to make the *puruṣa* the subject. However, according to the SK, the *prakṛti* is positioned as the Husserlian phenomenological object,[26] which comes first before the subject. Therefore, the YS never leave the subject-object dichotomy. Nonetheless, in the AS, the relations between the two entities are dialogically built; both are subjects stylistically implied by the use of the Balinese verbs *ngwrediang* (issuing; developing) and *mangelimbakang* (spreading) to mention the activities of the *puruṣa* and the *pradhāna.* Therefore, it can be understood that the AS develops the Gadamerian intersubjective philosophical discourse,[27] whereas the YS remains in the position of subject-object determined by the intentionality of both relationships like the SK.

The Emergence of the term Citta *as one of the Principles (*tattva*)*

The dualistic relationship between the *puruṣa* and the *prakṛti* of the SK has made what is called in the YS as *citta* emerge. This reflects the way in which

26. Based on Husserl, the object is known due to the intentionality of the subject to it (Blackburn, 2013:418-20; 454).

27. The relation of two things is based on the horizon of both, without subject-object relation, but the objective knowledge is called hermeneutic experience, which is attained through a fusion of horizon (Gadamer, 2004:437; 449).

the AS frames the meeting of the *puruṣa* and the *pradhāna*. Unlike in the SK, in the YS, the word *citta* is the key to understanding all the yoga doctrines mentioned in chapter I *Samādhi Pāda*, chapter III *Vibhūti Pāda*, and chapter IV *Kaivalya Pāda*.[28] The word *citta* is often translated as "mind." Thus, the central point or core of the yoga doctrine in the YS may be in the mind.[29]

The states of mind are called *vṛtti*, and they have two divisions: *nivṛtti* (will not to will) and *pravṛtti* (will to will) (Bhattacharyya, 2008:284). YS IV.5 states, *Pravṛttibhede prayojakaṁ cittamekamanekeṣām* ('Though the activities of different created minds vary, the one original mind is the controller of them all' [Vivekananda, 1976:252]). Bernard (1999:94) and Vivekananda (1976:116) propose another term frequently used for the mind as a whole, namely *antaḥkaraṇa* (the internal doer). Bernard (1999:94) states that the *citta* comes from the root *cit*, which means to "perceive, understand, know." The term *cit* is related to the concept of the nature of Śiva in Śaivism, as explained by Schomerus (2000:147). It refers to knowing everything without learning. Similarly, according to Monier-Williams (1999:395), *cit* means "thinking; thought, intellect, spirit, and soul." Thus, the word *citta* refers to something that knows.

In the AS, a vertical comparison is made by linking the *citta* to the *puruṣa*. In the VT (35, in Sudarshana Devi, 1957:36), it is stated, (OJ) *apan ivəh ikaṅ citta lavan ātmā bhedanya,* ("it is very difficult to understand the difference between the mind [*citta*] and soul [ātmā]"). Acri (2011a:485) has detected the similarity between the DP and the YS when they state that the perception of reality by the mind is mirrored in the soul's perception of reality, which mistakenly identifies itself with the mind. In the TJ, there is also some difficulty in interpreting *citta*: (OJ) *Citta ṅaranya ganal riṅ puruṣa, guṇa ṅaranya dadi niṅ Pradhānatattva, an kacetana deniṅ Puruṣa* ('*Citta* is the gross form of the *Puruṣa. Guṇa* is the manifestation of *Pradhānatattva*, given the consciousness by the *Puruṣa*'). A similar explanation comparing the *citta* with the *triguṇa* is also found in the AS: (Balinese) *Kabiaparan cita punika kawastanin triguna, dagingipun triguna punika keanggén wisaya antuk cita* ('The confusion of the *citta* is called *triguṇa*, meaning that *triguṇa* is used as contentment *(wisaya)* by the *citta'*).

In the AS, the position of the *citta* is obviously under the *puruṣa* as a result of its first meeting with the *pradhāna*. However, in the VT, the TJ, and the DP, one notes a position of interchangeability between the *citta* and the *puruṣa*, and yet identifying both as the same would be a mistake. Meanwhile, in YS

28. In chapter II, the term is not mentioned but categorized according to its activities (*vṛtti*) as the five troublesomes (*kleśa*) in attaining *samādhi*.

29. The term "mind" is closely related meaningfully to the term "*cogito*" or the Cartesian Doubt. In this sense there is a distinction between mind and body. In this view it is understood that the soul is different from the body. The mind is said to represent the soul similar to the understanding offered by VT (cf. Blackburn, 2013:562).

IV.20, the *citta* and the *buddhi* actually replace one another, *Cittāntaradṛśye buddhibudheratiprasaṅgaḥ smṛtisaṅkaraś ca* ("Another cognizing mind being assumed, there will be no end to such assumptions, and confusion of memory will be the result") (Vivekananda, 1976:261; Sura and Yasa, 2011:65). In the YS, the position of *buddhi* is not explicitly mentioned, just like that of the *citta* in the SK. The *citta* can be exchanged with any of the following three mental principles: *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, and *manas*. However, the AS actually gives a different position to the *citta*, above the *buddhi*, as explained earlier, (Balinese) *Budi punika sinah sesudan i cita sané sampun banget pakirang makta ménget*… ("The *buddhi* is clearly after the *citta*, in which it has lacked memory"). Thus, Djelantik seems to have introduced a new construction that is not attested in the VT or the TJ, the two authoritative *tattva* texts in OJ. Therefore, unlike the YS, which uses the word *citta* to refer to *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, and *manas*, the AS actually construes *citta* as one separate *tattva*. The difference in the position of the *citta* may be the result of dynamics of the discourse of yoga in Bali during the author's time, thus reflecting the eclectic attitude of the tradition. Although the AS explicitly refers to the YS, it retains a specific structure. Any discrepancies cannot be simply understood as misunderstandings; rather, as it is clear from the discussion of the term *citta*, it can be presumed that a new understanding did take place in relation to the dualistic philosophical discourse found in Sanskrit seminal sources and reelaborated in the AS. Therefore, the text documents a deconstruction, the creation of a new structure, or even a renewal of understanding of the tradition, even though that tradition is still firmly adhered to as AS still keeps its concordance with the YS.

The Emergence of Aṣṭāṅgayoga *in the AS*

The term *aṣṭāṅgayoga* has been interpreted as the eight limbs or, rather, ancillaries of yoga. These eight ancillaries are found in the YS of Patañjali and other later texts of the Indian tradition. The *Dharma Pātañjala* (DP), the text studied by Acri (2011a:477), devotes almost one-third of its exposition to this type of yoga. Ensink (1974:198 in Acri, 2011a:477) notes that the importance and uniqueness of the DP lie in the fact that it constitutes the only OJ source that expounds the yoga with eight ancillaries (*aṣṭāṅga*) – characterising the Pātañjala variety of yoga – instead of the yoga of the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*), which characterises a variety of Tantric *yoga* described in the majority of Śaiva and Buddhist sources from both the Indonesian Archipelago and the Indian Subcontinent.[30] Acri (2013:85) states that the most widespread form of yoga

30. The adoption of the eight ancillaries of yoga by Djelantik was regarded by Bakker (1993:302, cited in Acri, 2013:89) as a contribution of Indian thought to Balinese thought. Djelantik is seen as a reformer, as a member of modern Balinese religious elite, who refers directly to Indian sources.

in the Javano-Balinese literature, including Tuturs and Tattvas, is the (more or less markedly) Tantric variety of yoga of the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*). Further, Acri (2011a:477-8; 2013:86) states that over time, Patañjali came to be recognised as the ultimate authority on yoga in the mainstream Brahmanic traditions, and even in Śaiva sources (especially in South India). Thus, the YS assumed the contours of the 'classical' or 'orthodox' formulation of yoga in the Hindu episteme through the centuries. Surely enough, in line with these developments, and in harmony with both the YS and the DP, the *aṣṭāṅga* variety of yoga is found in the AS.

In YS II:28, the *aṣṭāṅgayoga* is called *yogāṅgā*. The text explains in advance about *viveka*, which means (right) discrimination achieved by practicing the eight ancillaries of yoga. Then, the following *sūtra*s explain the ancillaries one by one in detail. It is interesting to compare the *yama* and the *niyama* in the YS, the AS, and earlier OJ texts. The VT expounds a similar list of *yama* and *niyama*, in *śloka* 60 and 61.[31] Moreover, before the verses about the *yama* and the *niyama*, it is stated: (OJ) *Nahan yaṅ ṣaḍaṅgayoga ṅaranya, pinakajñāna saṅ paṇḍita, mataṅyan kapaṅgih Saṅ Hyaṅ Viśéṣa, ika ta kayogīśvaran maṅkana, ya teka karakṣanriṅ daśaśīla* ("These six ancillaries of *yoga* form the knowledge of the *paṇḍita* [priest]. That is why one attains *viśeṣa*. This kind of *yogīśvara*-hood is to be guarded by the ten virtues [*daśaśīla*]")[32]. This means that the five *yama* and the five *niyama* can be added to the *ṣaḍanggayoga*. Similar to the exposition in the VT, the term *daśaśīla* is also found in the *Vratiśāsana*.

The description of the *yama* in the AS is more similar to that in the YS, whereas the description of the *niyama* tends to be closer to that in the VT, as shown in Table 1. However, no 1 to 1 correspondence can be detected. In the *yama* section of the YS, there is a difference in terminology between *aparigraha* (non-receiving) vs. *avyavahārika* (non-litigation) of the VT. The word *aparigraha* is definitively closer to (Balinese) "*tan loba makadi mamangan manginum jantos mamunyah* (not greedy like eating and drinking until getting drunk)" of the AS. This means that the AS here tends to concord the YS rather than the VT.

31. See Sudarshana Devi (1957:66;106).

32. Adapted from the translation by Sudarshana Devi (1957:106).

Table 1 – Comparison of the *Yama* and the *Niyama* (YS, AS, VT) with Adjustments to the Order of the YS

	YS	AS (Balinese)	VT
yama	*ahiṁsa* (non-killing)	*tan mamati-mati miwah nyakitin* (non-killing and non-injury)	*ahiṁsa* (idem)
	satya (truthfulness)	*tan linyok* (non-prevaricating)	*satya* (idem)
	asteya (non-stealing)	*tan mamaling* (non-stealing)	*astainya* (idem)
	brahmacarya (chastity)	*(tan) marosih kalih paradara* (not in courtship and not having sexual intercourse)	*brahmacarya* (idem)
	aparigraha (non-receiving)	*tan loba makadi mamangan manginum jantos mamunyah* (not greedy like eating and drinking until getting drunk)	*avyavahārika* (not litigate)
niyama	*śauca* (purification)	*keni apik ring raga-sarira* (knowing how to clean self-body)	*śauca* (idem)
	saṁtosa (contentment)	*tan ngulurin pangan kinum* (not to follow desire for food and drink)	*āhāralāghava* (not to eat heavily)
	tapa (mortification)	*tan kroda* (not being angry)	*akrodha* (not being angry)
	svādhyāya (self-study)	*mangda teher baktine ring guru* (having to be obedient to the teachers)	*guruśuśrūṣā* (devotion to teachers/elders)
	īśvarapraṇidhāna (worship of God)	*anteng tetep bakti ring Batara luih mamuja japa-astawa* (being diligent and keeping the devotion to *Batara* (God) with good worshipping)	*apramāda* (not being careless)

In the *niyama* section, the tension between the YS and the VT in the AS becomes increasingly apparent. For example, in the AS, we find the Balinese clause *mangda teher baktine ring guru* ("having to be obedient to the teachers"), whose meaning is closer to *guruśuśrūṣā* (devotion to the teachers/elders) than to *svādhyāya* (self-study). Likewise, the meaning of (Balinese) *tan kroda* is similar to the word '*akrodha*' in the VT, which refers to "not being angry," as opposed to the item *tapa* ("mortification") in the YS. An interesting point is the expression, (Balinese) *anteng tetep bakti ring Batara luih mamuja japa-*

astawa (being diligent and keeping the devotion to *Batara* [God] through good worshipping [*japa-astawa*]), which is closer to "*īśvarapraṇidhāna*" (worship of God) in the YS. Therefore, insofar as the *yama* and *niyama* are concerned, it can be concluded that the AS contains a combination or even coalition of the YS and the VT.

Unsurprisingly, the term *tarka*[33] is not mentioned as one of the eight ancillaries of yoga in the AS, since this item is only found in *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. In YS I.17, there is an item referred to as *vitarka* (reasoning), but it does not belong to the *aṅga*s. *Tarka* has become one of the *aṣṭasiddhi* (eight supernatural powers) found in the VT[34] – comparable to the term *viveka* in the SK and YS. *Tarka* usually features as the fifth *aṅga* before *samādhi* in the texts of Śaivism in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese (including VT and TJ).[35] According to VT 58, the word *tarka* or *tarkayoga* means continually reflecting on Him (God) as ethereal and representing continuity and stability and as a being devoid of sound (Sudarshana Devi, 1957:105). The God reflected in the VT is called *Paramārtha* (the Highest Truth). This term shows the distinction between the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* and the *aṣṭāṅgayoga*.

The *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* does not contain *āsana* (posture). It is not found in the VT but is found in the TJ instead. Interestingly, the TJ presents a hybrid list of seven ancillaries middling between *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* and *aṣṭāṅgayoga*: *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, *tarka*, and *samādhi*. The term used for the ancillaries is *prayogasandhi*. Thus, there have been dynamics of change in OJ texts related to the number and position of the ancillaries. It is, therefore, not surprising that the *aṣṭāṅgayoga* (with the sequence of *aṅga*s as in the YS rather than in the OJ texts) is found in the AS instead of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. This fact positions the AS – in spite of its composition in the modern period – as one of the key texts of the *tattva* genre, giving it an eclectic flavour within the dynamics of the yoga discourses. It can be stated that there has been a fusion of these discourses on yoga ancillaries, even though the term *aṣṭāṅgayoga* is not explicitly mentioned in the AS.

An interesting point is the explanation of *dhāraṇā,*[36] *dhyāna*, and *samādhi*. In YS III.1, *dhāraṇā* refers to the mind when it holds on to some object, similarly in the AS, it refers to focusing on a single object, which becomes the true aim. Then, *dhyāna* refers to keeping the mind in a state of holding onto

33. In Monier-Williams (1999:439) *tarka* is glossed as conjecture; reasoning, speculation, inquiry; philosophical system; logic, and confutation. Similar to this, according to the OJ dictionary, the definition of *tarka* is conjecture, guess, opinion; reasoning, inference (Zoetmulder, 1982:1954).

34. Compare VT 33.4, "*tarka* means deliberative knowledge" (OJ) *tarka ṅaraniṅ jñāna mangūha* (Sudarshana Devi, 1957:33,87).

35. See Table 2: The Ancillaries of Yoga in Acri (2013:87).

36. All the explanations are based on Vivekananda (1976:218-219).

the object for some time, and to the unification of the mind with its object: like a mixture of freshwater and seawater, its taste becomes salty, as explained in the AS. This may be regarded as the commitment of the author of the AS to the yoga tradition of Pātañjali (as per the YS) rather than to that of OJ texts. In the OJ tradition of yoga, *dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna* are not in sequential position, while in the AS the sequence appears exactly as per the YS. Then, *dhāraṇā* is understood as the state when "Oṅkāra which is the nature of Śiva should be placed in the heart absorbed in *tattva*s." Because Oṅkāra is held continuously, hence it is known as *dhāraṇā*' (VT 57 translated by Sudharsana Devi, 1957:105). Meanwhile, the understanding of *dhyāna* is characterized by a peaceful mind state. Herein lies as well the difference between the Śaiva Yoga and the Pātañjala Yoga; the Śaiva consistently suggests Śiva in the manifestation of Oṅkāra ("OṂ," *praṇava*) as the object of meditation on *dhāraṇā*, without continuation on *dhyāna*, whereas the Pātañjala does not mention any specific object. The AS follows the latter: (Balinese) *ring asiki sane mawit tatujon sujati*[37] ("a single object, which becomes the true aim").

The adherence of the author of the AS to the tradition of Patañjali is somewhat less apparent in his explanation of the word *samādhi*: in the YS, the state of *samādhi* is like unexpressed meaning in any form, whereas in the AS, it is explained as "the state of selflessness (I-lessness)[38]" (Balinese) *tan kantun éling ring rage*. Prabhavananda and Iserwood (1953:171) refer to it as absorption. Bernard (1999:190) defines it as the individual who becomes one with the object of meditation. Pott (1966:6) argues that in the state of *samādhi*, "Human consciousness has gone (*śūnya*), and one is no longer subject to relativity. It is a condition which cannot be described in words, one of great bliss and transcending any conception of time and place." It can be concluded that *samādhi* is the state of the intersubjectivity or interconnectedness of the one who meditates with the meditated, undifferentiated state of subject-object.

Acri (2013:97) regards *samādhi* (which he translates as absorption, as per the YS) in the context of the Śaiva yoga expounded in Sanskrit sources as well as in the DP as union with God. Another understanding is expounded in the VT: "*Samādhi* (concentration) is to think of Him continuously as absolute, unconceptual, without desire, calm, unchanging and without characteristics (Sudharsana Devi, 1957:105)." According to *Jñānasiddhānta* (JS), *samādhi* refers to concentration – when the mind is unworried, it has no concepts, it has no possessions, there are no desires in it, it has no objects, and it is clear without obstructions (Soebadio, 1971:187; 213). Even so, the term *samādhi* is complementarily used to refer to the term yoga.[39] In both traditions of yoga,

37. See Djelantik (1947:17).

38. The term is related to the Gadamerian hermeneutics that I-lessness is the state when speaking to someone is indeed speaking to our inner self (Regan, 2012:289).

39. See Bhattacharyya (2008:293) as well as Acri (2011a:483).

Śaiva and Pātañjala, *samādhi* is the highest attainment, however, once more, different object of both determines different state of it, between Śiva and unspecified object.

Besides, in the AS, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, and *samādhi* are each attributed different time frames (10 minutes for *dhāranā*, 20 minutes for *dhyāna*, and 30 minutes for *samādhi*). No mention of these time frames can be detected in any OJ text known to us. Mentioning durations of each of the three ancillaries enables the reader to understand the implementation of the three terms in the yoga practice in a more contextual chronology. The practice of these three ancillaries is called *saṁyama* in the YS as well as in the AS, though the description shows slight differences. This term is also found in the JS (*dhyānāditraye samyamaḥ* [*śloka*, chapter 19.7]), where it has been glossed in the Old Javanese commentary as consisting in *prāṇāyāma*, *dhāraṇā*, and *samādhi* (Soebadio, 1971: 201–211; see discussion in Acri 2011c:561), whereas the VT identifies the standard three items of *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, and *samādhi* with the word (OJ) *sinaṅyama.* This means that the AS is in concordance with the YS as well as the VT.

With respect to the terms of yoga discussed above, it can be said that the AS documents a renewal of Śaivism in Bali in concordance with both Indian sources and Old Javanese texts. Therefore, since the premodern period, the discourses of yoga as well as Śaivism have been eclectically constructed. Acri (2013:97) regards Djelantik, the author of the AS, as merely paying lip service to Pātañjali's system by adopting external means such as the ancillaries while maintaining the internals of Śaiva *yoga*. Our investigation suggests that the AS is in concordance with the YS as the authoritative text of yoga in the frame of the Balinese Śaivistic philosophical discourse. Indeed, the YS also appears to be a hybrid formulation derived from the 'tradition text' of the old *Sāṁkhya* philosophy and the early "tradition text" of Buddhist philosophising (Larson, 1999:724-5). This means that the AS follows such tradition of textual formulation.

Related to this eclectic construction, Djelantik had constructed a breakthrough before the issue of state religion in Indonesia was forcing the Balinese people to adhere to one of the religions recognized by the state. As pointed out by Picard (2011:124), the struggle for state recognition firstly took place from 1950, three years after the AS was published, when the Minister of Religion came to Bali for this task. Following those events, Balinese Hinduism finally found the best formulation for recognition. In relation to this, with the publication of the AS, Djelantik had predicted, so to speak, the political pressure of the central government towards the Parisada to universalize the Balinese belief system. Moreover, Djelantik wrote that the AS was compiled using the *Bali Kapara,*[40] which is not actually the lowest level of Balinese,

40. The word *Kapara* is derived from prefiks {*ka-*} + {*para*} meaning general, all, without mentioning any caste in Balinese social system (See Partami et al., 2016:299).

but a kind of "everyday" or "general" Balinese used for both honorific and deprecatory levels of the language (Balinese: *munggah tedun*).[41] Djelantik (1947:1) confirms that the language of the text was chosen in order "to enable the common people to understand more easily" (Balinese) *mangda molah katampén antuk sareng katah.* This means, on the one hand, that Djelantik had broken the restrictions on the access to the sacred knowledge that the traditional palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*) contained, as asserted by Picard (2011:122). A very common term for this in Bali is *ajawéra* or *haywa werah* "do not divulge." Regarding this restriction, Djelantik tries to be the hermeneutic agent for the renewal of Balinese Hinduism through his eclecticism. As explained by Gadamer (2004:22), the hermeneutic understanding is for the sake of reaching the common sense or *sensus communis,* and a humanistic idea of fluency.

On the other hand, Djelantik convinced the Balinese people that Śaivism is not only the religion of the elites, but of all Balinese (including the lay people) who follow the traditional beliefs that Acri (2011b:156) call "localized ancestor-cults." Djelantik elaborated a coalition of Indian dualism and OJ Śaivistic texts to enable his fellow Balinese to have similar *sadrasa* or tastes of the *Adiluhung* "high culture" of the OJ and Sanskrit. Therefore, we would argue that Djelantik's authorial agenda reflects the eclectic textual strategy characterising the literary history of the Indonesian Archipelago, as originally noted by Gonda (see Soebadio, 1971:54; Sedyawati, 2009:33). Therefore, the AS may be regarded as a new eclectic construction of Śaivism that is in harmony with Indian texts on dualistic philosophy (*sāṁkhya*) and yoga.

Conclusion

The AS provides a relatively simple construction of key theological and doctrinal tenets of three schools of Indian religious thought: Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Śaivism. Since its earliest textual records, Indian Śaivism has dealt with the doctrine of dualism and monism, as has Śaivism in Indonesia. The relationship (and, perhaps, synthesis) between dualism and monism has contributed to shape the archetype of Śaivistic orthodoxy in Indonesia since the premodern period. The legacy of this relationship has been inherited in Bali, arguably because it is the best formulation that fits some key values of Balinese culture. However, the texts of Old Javanese Śaivism were not totally similar to one another: every text had a different structure and doctrinal variations that indicated the forms of Śaivism adhered to by their anonymous authors. Therefore, we have described

41. Definitions of the levels and registers of Balinese vary. For instance, the Dinas Pengajaran Daerah Provinsi Bali in 1971 distinguished three levels, from lowest to highest: Basa Kapara (*lumrah*), Basa Madia, and Basa Singgih (Suwendi, 2014:4), while other official bodies and authors proposed different arrangements. Apparently following the (to our mind imprecise) division mentioned above, Acri (2013:75) states that the AS was composed in 'low-level Balinese' (*bahasa Bali kapara*).

the AS as a new type of eclectic textbook that provides a formulation of dualistic-monistic Śaivism in Bali, yet in concordance with the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga schools of philosophy. This affirmative construction does not only concord with Indian dualistic thought, but is also the result of the development of Śaivism in Indonesia. The AS introduced an element of doctrinal renewal or innovation via a specific understanding of some key Old Javanese Śaivistic texts preserved in palm-leaf manuscripts from Bali. This agenda of innovation was already shaped by the hermeneutic understandings of the authors of several texts that came before the AS was composed. Thus, the AS may be regarded as a dualistic-monistic text in the tradition of the Old Javanese Śaivistic texts from the premodern period.

AS *Aji Sangkya*
DP *Dharma Pātañjala*
JS *Jñānasiddhānta*
OJ Old-Javanese
TJ *Tattvajñāna*
SK *Sāṁkhyakārikā*
VT *Vṛhaspatitattva*
YS *Yogasūtra*

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Palu'e Ikat: Nomenclature and Iconography

Introduction

This paper presents extensive documentation of the traditional hand-woven tie-dyed textiles (Ind. *tenun ikat*) of the Palu'e, an Austronesian cultural-linguistic group in eastern Indonesia, and investigates the extent to which the nomenclature and local interpretations constitute an iconography of the designs.[3] Researchers' assumptions amidst the forgotten meaning and symbolism of traditional textile patterns locally and their connection to mythology became a pressing issue in the course of writing. As noted by Mattiebelle Gittinger (1990:42-43) in her seminal work (1979), textiles have been "part of larger ordering structures that are no longer recognized," and "[t]he message of design is often extremely complex even though local people cannot explain it today." Roy W. Hamilton (1994) includes similar observations in a survey of Flores and Solor textiles, for example from Edward D. Lewis (1994:160): "Both the origins and the meanings of the motifs of Sikkanese cloths were once encoded in a complex oral and mythic tradition which has now, for the most part, been lost." Hamilton (1994:119) reports from Mbai, Flores, that

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3. This research grew out of a language documentation project (2014-2016) conducted under the auspices of the Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (RISTEKDIKTI), with the Oral Traditions Association (Asosiasi Tradisi Lisan, Jakarta) acting as an Indonesian partner organization. We thank all our Palu'e interlocutors, and especially weavers Longge (whose work is shown in fig. 8 and 15), Meti, and Sugo.

"[t]oday's weavers do not have names for the individual motifs or any explanation of their history." Prior to Hamilton, Warming and Gaworski (1981:85) reported that weavers in eastern Indonesian villages were "not accustomed to talking about the motifs they create and found it odd that we should be interested in what the motifs 'mean'." On Borneo, Michael Heppell (2014:91-94) cites Derek Freeman's observation (1949-1951 field notes) that Iban weavers were 'quite unable' to match names of patterns to design elements, though Heppell is convinced that Iban patterns constitute a "language of symbols," forming part of a now largely forgotten "secret domain." Vernon Kedit (2009), a descendant of an Iban master weaver, affirms the esoteric symbolism of Iban *pua kumbu* textiles and opines that the meaning of the patterns rests primarily with the maker, to whom Haddon and Start (1936:xiii) had already pointed for ultimate clarification. "Only the weaver herself would know what each motif represents [...]" (Kedit in Hoopen 2018:93).[4]

Indeed, the earliest inquiries that we know of provide no evidence that ikat patterns are understood as symbolical messages in the cultures concerned. Jasper and Pirngadie (1912:280) were informed by Sumbanese weavers (women) that they only design motifs that they consider to be beautiful. Some forty years later, a Sumbanese Marapu priest assured Alfred Bühler that their patterns, which are often figurative, all have meaning, although neither he nor his associates (men) could provide any details (in Adams 1969:151). Were the motifs meaningful (i.e. "full of meaning") to the priest at another level or a different way to Bühler's line of inquiry? In an extensive debate, Heppell and Kedit challenged the conclusions of Traude Gavin (2003) on Iban ritual textiles in a study examining naming and scrutinizing the common underlying assumptions of "reading textiles." The latter is the linguistic model used by anthropologists to analyse non-verbal modes of communication, resulting in art forms being "perceived as containing a 'visual grammar' which may be 'read'," as Kathy M'Closkey (2004:97) emphasizes in writing about Navajo textiles. Gavin (2003:273) refutes the idea of "a readable code of symbols" in the Iban cloths and concludes that names of design motifs are often based on formal resemblance and serve as a mnemonic device, as "labels" denoting rather than indicating meaning.

Gavin and Victor King (2017) ascribe the desire to read textile designs to the influence of Western written cultures and institutional education, which explains why educated persons from ikat cultures show the same "preoccupation to reveal the symbolic meanings assumed to be embodied and conveyed in artistic productions" of previous "oral cultures" (King 2017:85).

Our search for the "real meaning" of Palu'e textile designs was further distracted by long-established methodologies and interpretations, which

4. We infer that the motifs are likely to represent and mean something different to weavers from another longhouse or village, and that their interpretations would be less authentic according to Kedit.

proliferate through assumptions of "cultural continuums" and circular referencing without field evidence. These universalizing frameworks represent an epistemological problem for traditional textile studies, which depend on input from anthropologists. In addition, collectors, traders, enthusiasts, and local politicians, all of whom are keen to know the meaning of textile patterns, encompass textile studies. Our discussion therefore engages with a central problem in anthropology, namely the meaning and interpretation of artefacts. Susceptible to, but aware of, the problems with the comparative method and the "Malay Archipelago" as a "field of anthropological study,"[5] we adopt a multivalent and grounded approach to the issue of meaning in ikat patterns.

This first iconography of Palu'e ikat contributes to the growing body of documented naming systems, such as the Iban, Batak, and Savu, which all have specific and shared traits, for future comparison purposes.[6] Our inquiry begins with the following questions: Are motifs representational or symbolic? What objects are depicted? Are motif names descriptive of the motifs or do they refer to the named objects? Are the patterns repositories of mythology with a code of symbols that can be decoded and interpreted? What is the function of the nomenclature?

Previous Research

Michael Vischer (1994) did the first study of Palu'e textiles, providing an anthropological account of the relationship between Palu'e ideas connected with textiles, including non-Palu'e heirlooms, and the system of Palu'e socio-cosmic thought. The most common women's tubular skirt (*sarong*) is elucidated with the help of local male interlocutors from the "ceremonial domain" (*tana*, meaning customary land with borders) of Ko'a,[7] revealing a coherent relationship between design, social structure, and cosmology. According to their narratives (Vischer 1994:265), "women first decorated their textiles with exclusively geometrically stylized representations of objects from their daily lives." They "depicted" tubers, maize, the pigsty, chicken's feet, and the fine-toothed comb. Later, the weavers added motifs from the male realm, such as a "trace of the civet cat," which "consists of groupings of dots portraying the footprints a civet cat leaves on a humid surface" (Vischer 1994:266).

5. Josselin de Jong outlined a comparative research programme for the future anthropological study of Indonesian societies (1935).

6. For terminology, see *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019). See Sandra Niessen (2009) and Geneviève Duggan (2001) on Batak and Savu ikat, respectively. Drawing on colonial archives, Duggan and Hägerdal (2018) confirm the link between the Savunese matrilineal patterns and oral history.

7. Hereafter, Palu'e place names will be used to refer to the traditional domains, also described as "domains," which are defined territories with a ceremonial centre. Each domain consists of several hamlets or villages.

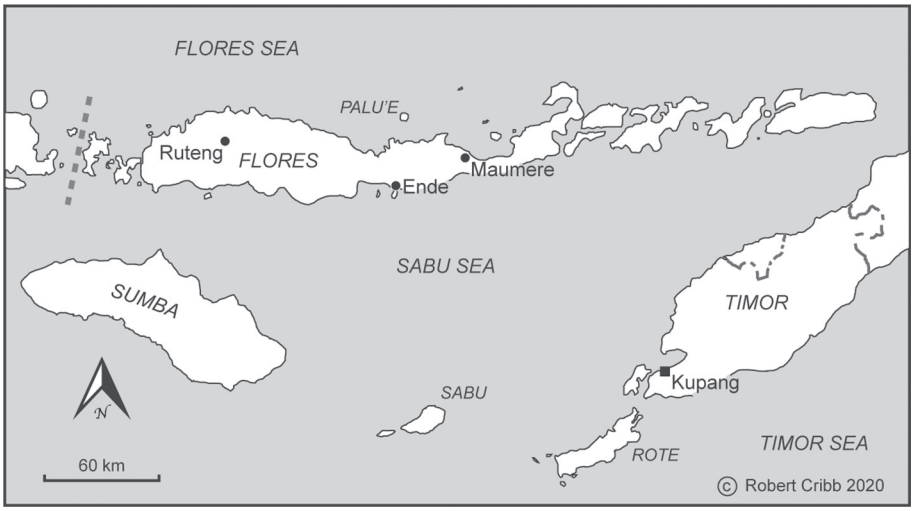

Fig. 1 – Eastern Indonesia, Nusa Tenggara Timur Province.

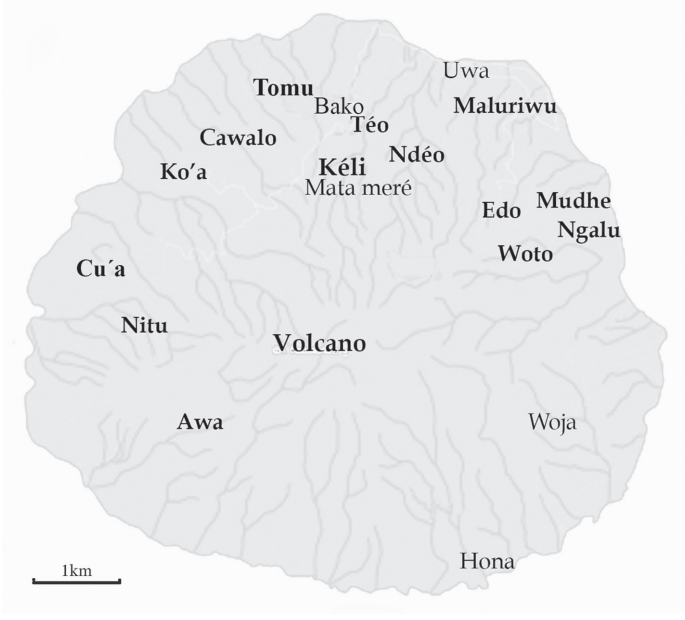

Fig. 2 – Map of Palu'e. The names of ceremonial domains are in bold and placed by their main settlements. Cawalo and Ko'a stretch from the northwest coast to the south coast. Images are the authors' own, unless indicated otherwise.

Palu'e

Palu'e (*Lu'a*) is a small (49 km^2) volcanic island near the coast of north-central Flores. The term Palu'e also refers to the cultural-linguistic group *ata Lu'a* that inhabits the island and the common language of *Sara Lu'a*.

The <10000 inhabitants are traditionally horticulturalists, growing tubers, beans, and maize. Palu'e men fish and engage in seasonal work outside the island or migrate to Malaysia for work. The women work more on the plantations than the men, look after the children, cook, and weave cloths. Because of the frequent eruptions of the island's active volcano, a few thousand Palu'e people now live in settlements along the Flores north coast. Palu'e Island is relatively poor and isolated, not visited by tourists.

Adha (Ind. *adat*), Palu'e ancestral custom, prevailed beyond the first decades of the twentieth century when the Dutch pacified the island and brought it under administrative control and a Catholic mission was established by Societas Verbi Divini (SVD).[8] With the gradual conversion to Catholicism and the transition to modernity, ceremonies devoted to the ancestors and the Supreme Being, *Hera Wula Watu Tana*, or "Sun Moon Stone Soil," lost its prestige and sacredness.[9] The traditional Palu'e worldview emphasizes fertility, ancestors and descendants, and is characterised by an asymmetric dualism, particularly between male and female forces, as illustrated by the common, shifting categories of heat (male) and cool (female).[10] The Supreme Being is the realm of the *lakimosa*, the spiritual leaders of a ceremonial domain, and is rarely invoked. The *lakimosa* generally maintain a close connection with *Hera Wula* (short, the first word pair invokes the second), representing heavenly and earthly powers that give rise to life. The name with two binary word pairs exemplifies asymmetric dualism. *Hera Wula* denotes up/above and is masculine, while *Watu Tana* is feminine and denotes down/below. Sun is hot (masculine) and Moon is cool (feminine), while Stone is masculine and Soil feminine. *Hera Wula,* the animated universe, may appear in dreams or visions in different animal forms, such as a water buffalo or a pig.

Hina hama pu mori, the ancestors, are revered and close to people's hearts, and their sanctions are feared. Custom is still practised alongside Catholicism, particularly the water buffalo ceremonies and the dowry system that ties houses, families and alliances together in reciprocal exchanges of masculine and feminine goods, in which *dhama lambu* ("*sarong*s and clothes," cloths of mostly Flores designs and other clothing) are the main symbolic good given by wife-givers to wife-takers.[11] Cloths are integrated into the sacred realm

8. A note on spelling: *bh* and *dh* stand for the implosives /ɓ and ɗ/. *W* is read [v].

9. "Supreme being" is the term used by Vischer.

10. See James Fox (1989:44-48) for comparisons with other eastern Indonesian peoples.

11. Susan McKinnon (1989) analyses the significance of this engendered exchange

(see Vischer 1994). Heirloom textiles, primarily *patola*, are sacred and serve important ceremonial functions. Palu'e cloths, conceptually female and cool, are thought to enhance healing, particularly the treatment of rashes, and the deceased are traditionally given a cloth as a mortuary gift of exchange to be worn in the realm of the ancestors.

Of Palu'e's fourteen traditional domains, seven larger and more interior domains, the "domains of buffalo blood," defined from the largest sacrificial animal, adhere to an agricultural cycle beginning with the ritual of *Pua karapau*, when young water buffaloes are brought to the island. After the ritual begins a five-year period allowing for building, clearing of land, bartering and trade. The cycle ends with *Pati karapau*, when the full-grown buffalo(es) is (are) sacrificed as atonement and for fertility at the ceremonial centre. Once the ceremonies are over, a period of five years of restrictions ensues. During the buffalo ceremonies, there must be several nights of *togo*, dance-chanting with rhymed riddles, to which other domains are invited. The buffalo rituals require the wearing of Palu'e cloths, which are primarily made in the domains of buffalo blood. "Domains of pig blood" participate in the rituals of allied buffalo domains, in particular Awa and Téo.[12] Overall, there is less weaving in these domains, with either little or no requirement to wear Palu'e cloths ceremonially.

Methodology

Theoretical considerations

The language documentation preceding this research covered several genres of oral traditions, using the ethnographic method (participatory observation, interviewing, elicitation) and recording interlocutors based on the methods of field linguistics.[13] More tailored data related to weaving with interlocutors from the different weaving domains were collected in a similar way on subsequent short visits. The analysis consists of two parts: (1) The meaning of the nomenclature, whether lexical or metaphorical, is determined based on a semantic analysis of linguistic field data, the spoken vernacular, and translated-interpreted into written English glosses. It is examined, in close analysis of name and form, to what extent the cloth nomenclature conveys the meaning of designs (whole) and motifs (singular parts), and whether the nomenclature is embedded in mythology and the motifs are symbolical. (2) Mikhail Bakhtin's (1990) thoughts on meaning in folk art match our multivalent

among the Tanimbar. She took this direction of research after finding that the textiles did not have any inherently meaningful patterns.

12. Téo has a history of carrying out buffalo ceremonies but has renounced its ceremonial ability (Vischer 2006:186).

13. The work is described in SD1-000, Danerek (2017), and in the introduction to Danerek (2019).

approach, and we propose to put his main idea to the test: artefacts and their imagery retain and accumulate new meaning over the course of history, and each interpretation has validity and may even return at some point to an original meaning. We inquired of Palu'e weavers, who are all women, and male interlocutors about how they understand Palu'e cloth designs, motifs, and nomenclature, including ritual usages, while considering both original and subsequent meanings assigned by the creators and their descendants.

The nomenclature was created in an oral culture. Except for the oldest among them, weavers today are generally literate, with around six years of elementary education, but Palu'e culture is still clearly more oral than written or media-visual (electronic). Bearing this divide in mind, we find Gavin's terminology to be useful, except that, as Walter J. Ong (2002:32, 73-75) explains, the term "label" is not a suitable description for the vernacular. In written cultures, words are primarily imagined as visible signs and "tend rather to be assimilated to things" ("motif name"-object), whereas oral cultures equate the word with a "necessarily powered" speech event (Ong 2002:32). To illustrate the problems with naming and appearance, we begin by examining a few motifs on the same and most common women's *sarong* from two major weaving domains with different nomenclatures and motifs. The motif names are drawn from interlocutors in the Ko'a and Kéli domains respectively and then crosschecked. We first show that matching a motif with its name is almost impossible, for both ikat experts and the average Palu'e person, including many weavers.

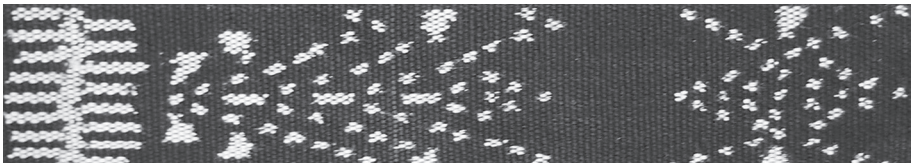

Fig. 3 – Motifs on *Wua wela*, Ko'a (*sarong* Fig. 11). Left to right: *keke*, or "comb" (traditional nit comb), *wé'u sangane/ri'ine*, or "vine tuber with branches/twigs," *manu wa'ine*, or "chicken feet."

Fig. 4 – Motifs on *Wua wela,* Kéli. Left to right: *laku la'ene*, or "traces of civet cat," *mata bo'one*, or "short eyes," *mata ké'o*, or "maize eyes." See the *Wua wela* worn in Fig. 18.

Ikat motifs are, more often than not, symmetrically composed and identical left/right and up/down. The chicken feet motif bears a minimal formal resemblance to chicken feet, which have three forward pointing toes. Of the above motifs, only the 'comb' is figurative; locals perceive a comb, although the real object usually has fewer teeth on one side only. The tuber

motif is more complex. It is not a stylized geometrical representation, even if the species have branches/twigs, assuming resemblance is a requirement for the definition. Making a trailing plant recognizable in warp ikat is almost impossible, and it would be naive to assume that Western style mimesis was a primary guideline for Palu'e creators. Moreover, as Soetsu Yanagi (1989:118) reminds us, apart from being an artistic creation that does not reproduce nature: "Real pattern is the consequence of a series of technical processes." If it is impossible to determine what is represented from the formal properties, does the naming then determine what is represented?

The three motifs in fig. 4, "traces of civet cat," "short eyes" and "maize eyes," and "chicken feet" in Fig. 3, are all made up of rhombuses. A rhombus in a rhombus bears a formal resemblance to an eye with the iris, and such motifs are named "eye" in textile traditions around the world. When rhombuses stand as singular motifs, they are called *koja walane*, or "*kenari* nut," in Cawalo, Ko'a, and further northwest, and *kobho*, or "(pig)sty," in and near Kéli and Ndéo.

Gavin (2003:206) and Ong (2002:50) explain how oral cultures tend to assign names to geometric figures based on resemblance with objects from everyday life, whereas scientific cultures have specific categorical names.[14] The singular rhombus, a basic form, bears a formal resemblance to the oval *kenari* nut, which is more difficult to argue in the case of the pigsty. "Traces of civet cat" is certainly more a stylized representation than a realistic depiction since it consists only of rhombuses.[15] "Maize eyes," a diamond grid, has seven eyes and is flanked by three triangles on each side, which contributes neither to the name nor to the impression of maize.[16]

Apart from having eyes, "maize eyes" has a formal resemblance to maize; the rhombuses have no space between them, like the kernels of corn on a cob. Doubled motifs are more problematic since it can be difficult to discern the basic unit after which it is named. "Short eyes" is in fact two "short eye" motifs, a rhomb-in-rhomb pattern with lines protruding from each of the four diagonal lines. The shared axes form two additional rhombuses, making "short eyes" formally similar to "maize eyes." Below are images of the ornamental band *dubhi napene*, which is tied to ceremonial necklaces (*dubhi*), and the motif *dubhi napene*. The motif is clearly figurative, pointing to the object with the same name, a reversal of Ernst Gombrich's (1984:93) description of artistic creation, according to which 'making comes before matching'.

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14. Modern Indonesian has retained a descriptive name for the rhombus, *belah ketupat,* the name for the small lozenge-shaped rice container of plaited bamboo leaves.

15. The Nitung versions of "traces of civet cat" consist of fewer rhombuses, flanked above and below by several triangles, which makes the motif less figurative. The number of triangles is part of the motif name.

16. Another motif with four rhombuses in a row is flanked in the same way but only named after the triangles (fig. 15).

Fig. 5-6 – *Dubhi napene* and the motif on *sarong Cabu tedhéne*. Kéli.

The above exercise provides four working categories for motifs and names (names by themselves are not referential): 1. figurative: simplified realistic representation, referential (i.e. referring to an object) 2. figurative: stylized representation, referential; 3. formal resemblance, non-referential (sharing formal properties with an object with the same name); 4. no formal resemblance, non-referential (others). These categories are unstable and cannot be clearly demarcated, but the object of a stylized representation should be recognizable since, following Yanagi (1989:113), "[a] pattern is both true to nature and artificial." To the second category belongs what Yanagi (1989:114) described as "a picture of the essence of an object," as exemplified by the bamboo grass pattern.

Fig. 7 – Bamboo-grass pattern (Yanagi 1989:114).

We begin with the assumption that the most common categories are (2) and (3). For example, "traces of civet cat" is the only motif depicting animal footprints (based on name alone). Symmetrical and stripped of non-essentials, the association with footprints, among other things, is certainly possible, although there is nothing in the image that points to any particular animal. However, because the civet cat is the only hunted mammal on Palu'e, it makes sense to assume that the "animal footprints" refer to that animal. Apart from that, "civet cat," like "maize," can be substituted by another species or thing. Most motifs

are not representational to the same degree as these two, which, together with the specific style and technique, suggests that "making comes before matching" (i.e. not depicting) more often than the reverse (i.e. depicting).

Fieldwork

In the language documentation, Stefan and his local assistant and partner Ratu (b. 1984, BA computers) collected lexemes from the semantic domain of weaving and came across names of designs that neither they nor most weavers had ever heard of. They talked to more weavers and focused on interviewing senior weavers aged above 65 years (referred to hereafter as "grandmothers"). This prompted a search for old cloths resulting in the discovery of one *Bhejo* and one *Loka*, both over a century old, and no longer made or worn in Kéli and Ndéo, where the search was carried out. We have not come across any other Palu'e cloths as old as these. Stefan and Ratu had the cloths remade, and both thought that pursuing this work would be more rewarding than language documentation, while also offering immediate benefits to the community. The following year (late 2016), during Magnus' first visit to Flores and Palu'e, the three of us decided to collaborate on Palu'e ikat. Sadly, Ratu, who was often in poor health at the time, passed away not long after. Nevertheless, we continued the work the following year, assisted by local friends and weavers, including from Ratu's family, using the same collaborative method of inquiring into collective memory. Stefan was based in Kéli during his research. Ratu, who also lived in Maumere, was from the neighbouring Ndéo. We had easier access to interlocutors there, particularly the *lakimosa*, although this was more important for other subjects, and Stefan already knew skilled weavers and interlocutors in the other domains of buffalo blood.

Importance was placed on tangible work, including the traditional natural dye methods, which had been extinct for decades. A couple of other lost designs were discovered and remade from memory with the help of a few grandmothers and our weaver and main interlocutor, Longge (60), who also carried out inquiries and crosschecking. The inventory of customary textile types, according to present memory, has now been identified, with samples made in Palu'e natural dye methods. However, we cannot rule out that other *adat* designs existed before the 1900s.[17]

Documenting motifs and their names can be difficult and tedious work, requiring patience, time, and good interlocutors. Today's Palu'e weavers make more Flores cloths than they do Palu'e cloths. We estimate that most cannot tie

17. Peter ten Hoopen (2018:259) shows a late 1800s cloth, provisionally identified as originating from Palu'e. Though unknown on Palu'e, the ikat technique and motif shapes suggest Palu'e makers. Hoopen's work is also available online (Pusaka Collection), where numbered images can be accessed, including of the mentioned cloth (PC 209).

Palu'e patterns and that the majority of those who can are unable to identify most of the motifs on their cloths by name. The more curvilinear and figurative motifs on Flores cloths are simply *bunga* (Ind.) "flowers." Motif names are only mentioned when mother and daughter, or kin and neighbours, work together, or if a senior weaver tells them how and which motifs should be included.

Using *Sara Lu'a*, we consulted individuals who are considered to be knowledgeable in their own communities, among them weavers who remember the motif repertoire and nomenclature of their respective domains. Typically, if someone was unsure, they would refer us to another, more knowledgeable interlocutor, although, more often than not, we, or a Palu'e friend or assistant, already knew who to talk to. Occasional errors were corrected by crosschecking with more confident interlocutors, who were, without exception, senior members of the community (>55 years). At times, the interviewing process became irritating, not least to the weaver who was being questioned again about the same matter. Meti, our most senior (>75) weaving interlocutor, from Kéli, emphasized both the weaver's and the oral culture's separation of motif name and object, which were still too closely assimilated in our minds.

Stefan: What is *mbési*? -*Mbési* is its name!! Iiii [...] It's originally like that. Original!'[18] Later, having presumably grown wiser, we went straight to the point: 'Are the motifs, like chicken feet, what the names say they are?' This elicited a similar, almost typical response from grandmother Huke: "It's just the name. My mother taught me like that, from generation to generation. Nobody knows." Stefan: "Is the 'goat eyes' motif goat eyes?" Huke: "Hahaha…"[19]

Over time, it became possible to predict some names, or parts of them, based on a logic of resemblance and the descriptive words in use for composite motifs, and also to discern the basic motif that names a double or another version, or even to suggest a more "correct" name than the one provided. Naming is not arbitrary, although some weavers mix names up because some motifs, especially doubles, are very similar to others. What the names of *sarong* types and motifs mean as lexemes, including combined words, in *Sara Lu'a* is almost always clear, despite the many homonyms. However, it took us three years to understand *kela(ne),* the name of the common triangle motif. The name of the most common *sarong*, *Wua wela*, also had us puzzled for a long time, until Malu, a knowledgeable grandfather from Cawalo and our most senior male interlocutor (75), revealed a linguistically sensible explanation, which met with immediate agreement from weavers. Interpretations of textile designs are typically obtained from male interlocutors, although no men, to

18. "*Asli*" (Ind.). Weaving, videoclip, SD1-301. All quotes from *Sara Lu'a*, Indonesian and Dutch are the authors' translations.

19. Nangahure, Flores, 13 Oct 2018. Laughter is, of course, inherently ambivalent. We interpret it as a repeat of the previous answer.

our knowledge, can identify the repertoire of motifs from their own domain. The menfolk, including the few *lakimosa* we spoke to, can at best name the three most common *sarong* types and cite some motif names, although they are only able to identify a small number of these, or even none. This is consistent with Vischer's (1994) interlocutors, who mentioned a few names of plants and animals in literal terms. Interpretations vary but invariably fall within the traditional worldview, and none are as coherent as Vischer's, which, we infer, were provided by a limited number of local male experts in close proximity to the Ko'a ritual centre. Ratu struggled to interpret *Wua wela*, including its elusive name, but did not get much further than seeing footprints of a civet cat while "cleaving a hill" (*kela wolo* ascending straight upwards).

Researchers contribute to the production of the meanings associated with artefacts together with the local communities and, possibly, other actors. Being able to name a domain's cloths and motifs or participating in an informed discussion about them with senior weavers always met with approval. We also provided them with information, with the results of the documentation being fed back to members of the community in further inquiries. We have no reason to believe that we were misled in our inquiries, as "naive foreign anthropologists," by interlocutors who were having fun while concealing the deeper layer of secret meanings.[20] Results were also shared with weavers who had a more immediate need for them, particularly a Palu'e refugee weaving collective on Flores, west of Maumere, who had relocated there after the volcanic eruptions on Palu'e in 2012-2013. They lack arable land and the women therefore work primarily with weaving, which is not something most women on the island tend to do. The members are inspired by the established weaving collectives in Sikka regency and are in the process of reclaiming their heritage. We shared with them several *adat* designs of which they were unaware, including the motif names.

The collective provided ethnographic data, which they themselves have reason to gather. Sugo (41) and her friends revealed how they had struggled with the meaning of their patterns from the first time a potential buyer had inquired about it. Sugo, amid much smiling and laughter, told us how she had spontaneously improvised an answer to increase her chances of selling her cloth, although the potential customer was not won over by her premature explanation.[21] A year or two later, the weavers began a more serious effort to explain the patterns, discussing them collectively and asking their seniors for their views, just as we were doing. They came up with a few ideas but admitted that they could not make up any sensible story from the designs, even after learning the motif names.

20. According to her critics, Gavin was deceived by her Iban interlocutors. See Hoopen (2018:93) for a summary of this ethnographic issue, or the Iban experts mentioned in the introduction.

21. Personal communication during several field visits (2017-2019).

We identify four "design clusters," represented by four major weaving domains each with their own motif inventories for the same types of cloths: Ko'a, Cawalo, Nitung, and Kéli. The Ndéo style is shared with Kéli. The two domains are close allies and support each other's buffalo ceremonies. Awa and Cu'a tend to follow the style of their larger neighbour, Nitung. Nitung and Cu'a support or participate in each other's buffalo ceremonies, while Awa, which also supports Ko'a, only participates. The people of Woja, an area that is not a single ceremonial domain, mostly descend from Kéli, support the Kéli buffalo ceremonies, and make cloths that are very similar to the Kéli. The people of the fishing hamlet Hona in the same area speak like the Cawalo, and their cloths are similar to the Cawalo. Tomu, though ceremonially allied with Cawalo and Ko'a, tend to follow the style of Kéli and Ndéo. Tomu people often borrow cloths for ceremonial use, and they need help from other domains to perform their ceremonies. Téo, like Awa, are only participants in the buffalo ceremonies, and tend to follow the style of the neighbouring allies Kéli and Ndéo.

Regaining 'lost' meaning and heritage

New meanings and interpretations of traditional designs and motifs can be created, and this is obviously going on today. Maxwell (2003:127), writing about anthropomorphic forms in Southeast Asia, notes that, in some cases, the style of motifs "is so schematic that their real meaning is not immediately apparent and may not even be understood by present day weavers." But if the "real" meaning is the meaning that the anonymous creators assigned to their patterns hundreds of years ago, there seems little prospect of accessing that meaning. Colours are a case in point. All Palu'e cloths use the same basic, archaic colour trinity common throughout insular Southeast Asia: a black (or dark blue indigo) background,[22] with red bands and white (undyed cotton) motifs, which may be swapped for yellow. The black is associated with fertile soil and the red with blood, bravery, and the setting sun. Today, the red together with the white, associated with purity, can be associated with a religious God-fearing society, highlighting a process of reinterpretation and acculturation since the Palu'e were converted to Catholicism during the 1900s: "The red bands symbolize the character of the Palu'e who are courageous and defend the truth as a people who are faithful to the almighty God."[23]

Vischer's Ko'a interlocutors (1994:263-264) associate the black with the deep black sea and ancestral voyages and the red with the setting sun, from where the ancestors voyaged, and, on another level, with the blood of Ko'a's two main origin groups. This makes equal sense, although Ratu expressed

22. Black is traditionally achieved by overdyeing the dark indigo blue yarn with bark and leaves from two tannin-rich plants.

23. Sugo with father, a ritual officiate in Woja, 26 Sept. and 21 Dec. 2018.

scepticism, not least about the association of the fine yellow threads on *Wua wela* with placenta and, in particular, the white with semen, which together are said to relate to conception.

Descendants ascribe new meaning to designs in a long process of forgetting, remembering and reinterpretation, because that is the nature of oral traditions, which contrasts with the tendency of the reference work to arrest this evolving process. "While motifs such as reptiles, birds, buffaloes, ships [...] depicted in spiral, hooked and rhomb configurations, have been identified among the earliest [...] Southeast Asian art, new meanings have been added to these ancient forms, and objects and designs have been transformed and reinterpreted to suit local conceptions [...]" (Maxwell 2003:407). Like a "floating signifier" (Lévi-Strauss 1987:62-64) ikat patterns leave unlimited scope for the imagination, but the laws of local interpreters' symbolic thinking distribute the vast surplus of signification along predictable routes, which anthropologists tend to follow. Thinking along Bakhtinian lines (1990), the interpretations mentioned are all valid, and become increasingly so as more sincerity and effort is invested.

Nomenclatures and iconographies

Terminology and technique

Palu'e ikat textiles are *sarong*s (*dhama*) and shoulder cloths (*sépa*). Since the latter follow the style of the main *sarong*s, the discussion focuses on the latter. *Dhama Lu'a* refers to all Palu'e *sarong*s, whereas *nae* is specific to Palu'e men's *sarong*s. Different from the Sikka and Ende-Lio traditions, the designs (*ringgi*) and patterns are all egalitarian, providing no indication of the wearer's status or descent (other than their domain). Neither is there any hierarchy between the different cloths, although there are reasons why the *Wua wela* design is the most popular and why *Dhama hura*, which is only decorated with a pattern of linear dots, has disappeared. Cloths are ranked primarily by execution, reflecting the 'technology of enchantment' (Gell 1992). All can be worn both during major ceremonies and in everyday life. Only minor variations are allowed in the making of Palu'e cloths, and there are small differences between domains, which can serve to identify the wearer. The cloths are often made after a model, if not directly from memory. Each design became accepted and copied in the community longer ago than any living person can remember. Being impossible, weavers do not create new patterns for *adat sarong*s, but even the smallest variations can lead to incremental change.

After the motifs (*léko*) have been tied (*nuju*) to bundles of cotton yarn with the characteristic stipple technique, dyed (*langi*), and reassembled on the loom, the cloths are woven (*noru*) with the continuous, circular warp technique, using the ancient back-strap loom common to eastern Indonesia. The ready woven circular warp is cut from the weft side into two pieces,

which are sewn together in both warp and weft directions to form a tubular cloth and are identical up/down and inside/out. Because two or more motifs are tie-dyed together, the motif bands are identical and symmetrical on the *sarong*, whether as mirror images or not. Asymmetry requires more ikat work and is extremely rare these days.

Because the tying of threads in warp ikat is mainly done rectilinearly and diagonally, ikat patterns tend to be geometric. "Ikat weavers assemble complex geometric motifs by repeating simple shapes ("primitives") and applying transformations to them […]," notes Christopher Buckley (2012, appendix Classification [...]) in a phylogenetic study that points to a shared origin of the Southeast Asian warp ikat traditions, a "proto-Austronesian warp ikat." In tying >< <> are equivalent; two chevrons made from the same primitive, a diagonal line. Working from "basic building blocks," as Alfred Gell (1998:164) noted, is "not only ancient, but also practical," and often how visual artists actually do approach their tasks. Palu'e is unique in the categorical application of ikat dots (*weja* "piece") over a large part of the cloth surface (stippling) and exclusively geometric patterns. A design has thousands of dots with many different motifs, which must be correctly aligned prior to dyeing and before the weft is inserted. For this reason, Palu'e cloths are considered more difficult than the Flores cloths that Palu'e weavers often make. Haddon and Start (1936:xiii), with contemporaries (see Gavin 2003:1-3), thought that motifs could begin as realistic depictions and change or degenerate through time, which would explain the discrepancy between Iban motif names and appearances. The consistent Palu'e technique, a sign of involution, rules out that possibility.

Widths of bands and motifs are measured in *lati*, the unit for ikat dots counted diagonally. The motifs of a band can be mentioned with *lati*, such as *léko lati limane* ("five unit motifs"). As a rule, the number is uneven. Bands are called *hopa, enda* or *dui*. The largest ikat bands are called *hina*, or "mother," sometimes referred to as *nua*, or "houses." Palu'e women's cloths have one or two "mother bands" along the warp. Cloths from the Ko'a domain (fig. 11) have a *hina ca*, or "large mother," which is wider than *hina lo'o*, or "small mother." The different designs are largely decorated with the same motifs, drawn from the inventory of a domain. The smaller bands, down to "three *lati*," are called *hanane*, or "children." The motifs on the child bands tend to follow the motifs of the larger bands, as halves or thirds, which obscures the source, while retaining their names. Vischer's (1994:264) interlocutors associate the three types of bands on their *Wua wela* with the stem family (*hina ca* interpreted as conceptually male) and marriage alliances between houses, and the mother bands with the domain's two ritual centres. Similar terminology and associations to the stem family are common among the Sikka.

Our findings differ little from Vischer (1994), who observed that Ko'a strictly followed older models.[24] There are no strict rules for the sequence of motifs, or even which motifs to include or repeat, although the rule is to begin with a singular version of "chicken feet" (see figs. 13, 15). It is unusual that the whole inventory of motifs is included. We have examples of cloths with fewer, larger motifs on a wider mother band, up to double the size and about half the number of motifs, six instead of 10-12. This is a matter of personal preference and is accepted practice in several domains.

All traditional Palu'e *sarong* designs have names that function as proper names, like the names of bird species. The cloths are decorated with roughly 50 different motifs, up to 15 per domain, including variants, many of which are domain-specific. The names of the Palu'e ikat *sarong*s are, in order of observed prevalence: *Nae romo*, or "Joined warp"/"Wide carving," or, simply, "Sarong ikat";[25] *Wua wela*, or "Dehiscing areca" (stage in the flowering of the palm); *Widhi mata*, or "Goat eye"; *Bhejo* "(to) Tie"; *Loka*, or "Family, Cluster"/"(to) Carve"; *Sa loi*, or "One tuber";[26] *Cabu songgo*, or "lively and exalted"; *Cabu tedhéne*, or "chant-dancing next to one another"; *Sika dobho*, or "Sikka machete";[27] *Dhama hura*, or "Rain *sarong*."

The glosses for *cabu*, "to dance and sing in trance," and "to compete, to fight (as cocks)," both have ceremonial relevance (*togo*), and *tedhéne*, meaning "next to, in row," describes how participants are positioned during dancing. *Songgo*, or "to praise or give offerings," can, with *cabu*, be interpreted as "lively and exalted," which fits the ceremonial context. *Dhama hura* was extinct and specific to Ndéo and Kéli. *Cabu songgo* is identified with Nitung but is also made in the neighbouring Cu'a and Awa.

Sara Lu'a has many homophones. Concerning the name *Wua wela*, or "Dehiscing areca," the other glosses for *wela* are the nouns "lower part of the belly" and "smoked pig fat," which does not fit at all. Vischer (1994:259) glosses *Wua wela* as "the candlenut [cloth]" and *wua wela* as "candlenut." *Wua* is the name for the areca tree and its ceremonially important fruits,[28] while the name for the candlenut tree, and its fruits, is *welu*.

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24. Longge (SD1-130) thought that weavers were more creative in the past, "using their brains" and not just copying.

25. The men have only one ikat *sarong*, which explains its prevalence.

26. *Sa* is used in counting; *ha* is the amount "one." *Loi* is a tuber whose inedible roots are used in the dye process to protect the thread. The Kéli/Ndéo *Sa loi* is extinct and significantly different from the Ko'a and Cawalo *Sa loi*, which are still made.

27. *Cabu tedhéne* and *Sika dobho* are similar to *Widhi mata*. Meti, who knows the two designs by heart and also tied them for us, confirmed their status as *pusaka* (Ind., "heritage").

28. *Wua* is a generic term for fruits in the form *x wuane* "fruits of x."

The men's sarong

Nae romo has a wider warp and shorter weft than the women's *sarong*s and is sewn together directly along the weft without first cutting the warp into two identical pieces, as is the case with the women's cloths. Two identical warps or *sarong*s are often sewn together to form one large *Nae romo*.

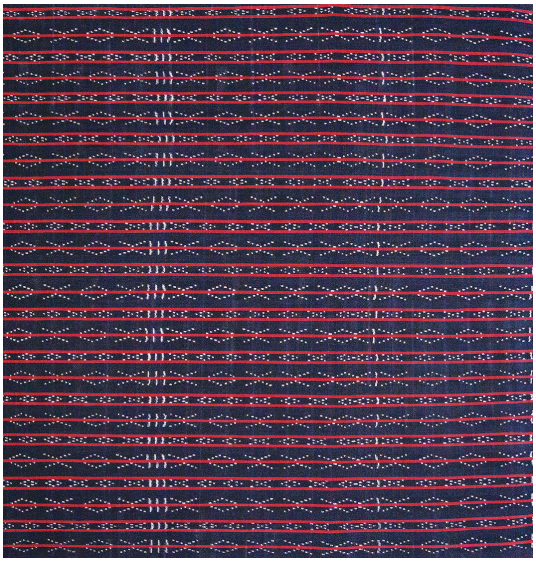


Fig. 8 – *Nae romo*, Kéli. Short *sarong* (one piece).

The *Nae romo* design is almost the same in every domain. *Nae romo* has only two style clusters, one represented by Kéli and Ndéo, the other represented by the domains of the north (Cawalo, Ko'a, Nitung, Cu'a). The domains that are not mentioned follow one or the other of the two clusters. We discuss the cloths and the motifs from Kéli and Ko'a interlocutors for that reason. Both the naming systems and the design formats are the same. This cloth only has small basic shapes as motifs. Simple shapes are more open to signification, although there are institutionalized interpretations, which we question. The *Nae romo* design is made up of two alternating rows of motifs against a black background. The main motifs, i.e. crosses and rhombuses, consist of diagonal lines of three or five ikat dots.

29. The time glass marker was referred to as *keke*, or "comb," on the *Nae romo*, although on Ko'a women's *sarong*s (Figs. 3, 11), *keke* has the same classic shape of a comb, as in the other domains.

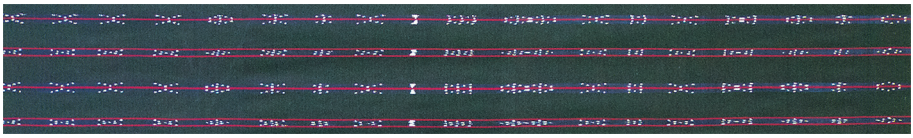


Fig. 9 – *Nae romo* motifs. Ko'a. Motifs: (right to left until the "time glass,"[29] the vernacular is not repeated hereafter): 1. *koja walane*, or "*kenari* nut"; 2. *laku la'ene*, or 'trace of civet cat"; 3. "*kenari* nut"; 4. *mata dhiti*, or "flat eyes"; 5. *manu wa'ine*, or "chicken feet"; 6. "trace of civet cat"; 7. "chicken feet"; 8. "*kenari* nuts"; 9. "flat eyes."

The five different motifs on each of the two alternating rows, one split by the red line, are almost identical and have the same names. Similar motifs with the same names are found on women's *sarong*s. Like the motifs on child bands, they can be seen as smaller versions of the mother band motifs. "Flat eyes," which has no eyes, is neither a name for anything other than the motif nor does it resemble any known object, including the version on the mother bands of women's *sarong*s. The only link we can point to between the form and its name is the horizontal lines (eyes shut). "*Kenari* nuts" appears in the same shape on women's cloths, where the singular *kenari* nut is more simplified. "Chicken feet" is just a cross of dots. "Trace of civet cat" appears here in two similar forms, one as a minimal single lozenge (seven dots) and the other with three vertical lines of dots. The naming was crosschecked with two senior Ko'a weavers,[30] after a weaver in her 30s, who did not want to be quoted, mentioned the same names, except "traces of civet cat" for what should be "*kenari* nuts," and "chicken feet with combs" instead of "flat eyes." The latter makes particular sense since the motif actually consists of those two shapes as a conjoined motif. The same interlocutor also renamed a large motif on the women's *sarong* based on its formal characteristics, showing that she was both unaware of its real name and evidently happy with the new name – a good example of inconsistencies, creativity, or errors on the part of interlocutors.

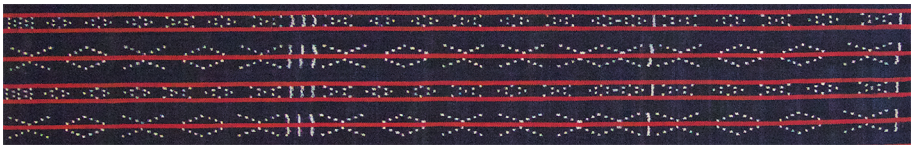


Fig. 10 – *Nae romo* motifs. Kéli (*sarong* fig. 8). Motifs (unordered): *kekene*, or "combs" (far left, small row), *kobhone*, or "(pig)sty" <>, "chicken feet" ><, *mata lawane*, or "long eye" ><><, *widhi matane*, or "goat eyes" <><>.[31]

Like the Ko'a version, the two rows of motifs are almost identical, and the motifs with the same names also appear on Kéli women's cloths but more elaborate on the mother bands. "Long eye," formed by allowing two crosses

30. Pali and Toji, Ko'a, 30 April 2019.

("chicken feet") to align, is, like the "comb," not obligatory on Kéli *Nae romo*. "Goat eyes" is formed by two adjoined rhombuses ("pigsty"), just like "*kenari* nuts" on the Ko'a version, and the Kéli *Nae romo*, or "combs," motif and the "flat eye" of Ko'a on the smaller row are identical (both 12 dots). Some of the shared motifs have different names in the different domains or style clusters.[31]

The rhombus is the most common shape in Palu'e warp ikat because of the geometric stippling technique, in which the rhombus is also used to assemble more complex motifs. Rhombuses and triangles, including *tumpal*, are often understood in the literature as signs of abundance and fertility.[32] Maxwell (2003:139) mentions "ancient rhomb and triangular shapes" in certain Batak textiles as examples of how "male and female elements [...] are sometimes reduced to phallic and vulval symbols," and the simple cross as a way of representing the human form. Applying this interpretation to *Nae romo*, the *kenari* nut or (pig)sty rhombuses, and the technically identical 'chicken feet' crosses with which they are paired, could both represent human forms. Are the rhombuses symbolic of vulvas and the crosses of phalluses?

Hoopen (2018:67, 277), with reference to Willemijn de Jong (in Hamilton 1994:217. Fig. 10-8), views the Lio diamond pattern *mata bili* as a symbol, "which probably represents the vulva, a fertility symbol," and relates it to a similar *mata kari*, or "buffalo eye" from Sumba. Jong (1994:217. figs. 10-8) cites Ndate ("pers. comm."), a local Catholic priest, who "interprets it as the female vulva, symbolizing fertility," and adds that "Nggela weavers do not know its symbolic meaning." Following this, male line of thought, which Boudot and Buckley (2015:7) identify as "psychoanalytical approaches to the art of 'primitive cultures'," the Palu'e "maize eyes" motif, even the majority of motifs, may be assumed to represent vulvas, although local weavers are unaware of it. This is how lozenge and triangular shapes in Palaeolithic cave engravings have for long and predominantly been categorized by scholars as vulva, without considering how this sexual interpretation first appeared and gained such universal appeal.[33]

Another widespread idea is that the rhombus is protective. In a study of Flores ikat, P. Sareng Orinbao (1992:47), a Catholic priest from Flores, refers to the "expert opinion" of Alkema and Bezemer (1927:507) that "the rhombus

31. The three white vertical lines are signs for measuring, called *loki netine* (*loki*, or "make hole," *neti*, or "bring"). The single line *mbolane*, meaning "the good one" (or *dhéké mbolane*, meaning "good staff"), is a sign for measuring and bordering between motifs.

32. See Gavin (2010:227-233) for an analysis of this pattern of elongated triangles, which is often found near the edges of cloths. The pattern consists of elongated lozenges on *sarong* batik *tumpal*.

33. Genevieve von Petzinger (2017:220-224) discusses methodological problems in Paleolithic research. Henri Breuil (an abbé) first identified cave engravings as vulva in the early 1900s. In the 1960s, Leroi-Gourhan made the interpretation standard through his structuralist classification system, which categorizes based on resemblance.

has the power to protect the wearer from disease." Similarly, Jong (1994:221) says this about Lio cloths: "Of the geometric motifs, the rhombus (symbolizing combat against calamity and providing healing power) is the most important."[34]

Alkema and Bezemer refer, without citing page numbers, to a short anecdote in Jasper and Pirngadie (1912:8) about a diamond-patterned *pamintan sarong* on Borneo, which "has the power to heal the ill when worn." Jasper and Pirngadie provide no reference, nor do they speak specifically about the pattern or the rhombus.[35]

Members of the mentioned weaving collective came up with the interpretation that "chicken feet," which exist on all Palu'e cloths in different forms, may be symbolic of *ata manu wa'ine*, the person in a family or clan who must ritually plant beans before the others.[36] The idea is tempting since "chicken feet" is first in the sequence of motifs on women's cloths, but the weavers were not convinced themselves. The following day, we asked Mumbu, a senior man who performs the ritual, about this, but he knew nothing of any such link. In due time, we were provided with an interpretation of *Nae romo* expressing the traditional worldview: The two bands of rhombic figures and crosses symbolize a harmonious community living in mutual assistance (Ind. *gotong royong*), unity and oneness.[37] This is consistent with Orinbao's (1992) description of the fundamental principle of Flores ikat art: the harmonic and inseparable dualism between sexes/partners and fertility, infused with sacrality and purity.[38] The same interlocutor also associated the chevrons (*ngengane*, meaning "something wide open"), which the crosses and rhombuses consist of, with the fertile earth (the black background) that gives life to farmers, though without assigning any sex to them. No interlocutor has described the rhombuses and crosses in sexual terms or as human forms.

Women's sarong*s*

In this section, after describing the two most common women's *sarong*s, we compare and analyse one of the types, but from the two major weaving domains of Cawalo and Kéli, each of which has different motif inventories and nomenclatures. Because both the naming systems and the design formats are the same, using another design type from other domains would yield

34. Jong refers to Orinbao and Ndate in the preceding paragraphs. Ndate was a student of Orinbao.

35. We searched in works referred to in the preceding and following pages and found nothing. *Pamintan* batik cloths with different patterns for different types of healing do exist.

36. Lali (41), Nangahure, 24 April 2019.

37. Mama Sugo with father (26 Sep and 21 Dec 2018).

38. Orinbao acknowledges the influence of the pioneering work by Jeanne Adams (1969).

different meanings, but the same conclusions. We discuss all the motifs on the mother bands for the reasons mentioned above. This is not the entire inventory of each domain, although a significant majority of them are covered. The other women's *sarong*s are largely decorated with the same motifs. We must also briefly address an enigma among the Palu'e *adat* cloths, *Loka*, which is seldom worn but found all around the island. Oral history, and the curvy-linear patterns without names, is evidence that *Loka* is not originally from Palu'e but was instead copied from Sikka peoples (Hewokloang) before the 1900s and appropriated locally. *Loka* is therefore not included in the discussion.

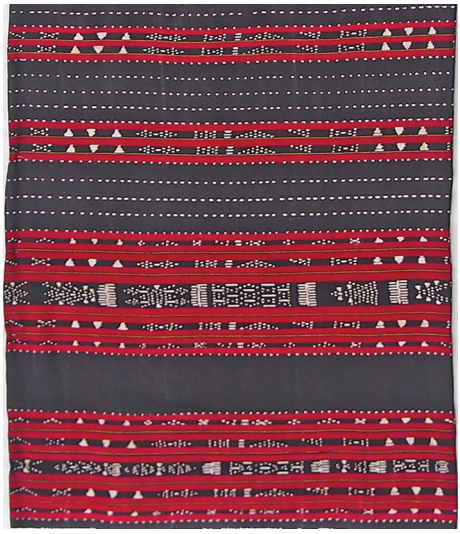


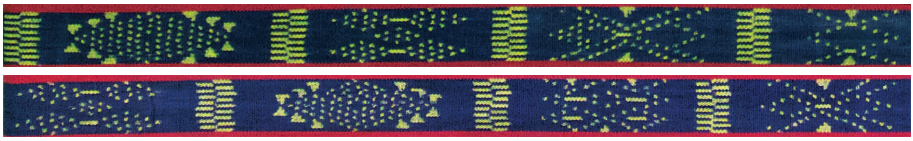
Fig. 11 – *Wua wela*. Ko'a.

Fig. 12 – *Widhi mata.* Cawalo.

Figs. 11-12 show the (lower) halves of the *sarong*s and, therefore, the entire front since the other (upper) half is identical. Figs. 13-14 show the mother bands of the *sarong* in fig. 12 (front and back). The *Wua wela* of Ko'a has one *hina ca*, one *hina lo'o*, and twelve *hanane* along the warp.[39] The Cawalo *Widhi mata* has two identical *hina* and six identical *hanane,* and features rows of small motifs inside the large black bands. The largest black band furthest from the centre on both types must be empty. The iconic rows of triangles on the child bands surrounding the mother bands on both *sarong*s are called *kelane*, meaning "something cleaved/'clefts'." Glosses for *kela* are "thunder," "(to) cleave," "spicy," and "hot." We concluded that "cleft" is correct after learning that some Flores groups refer to rhombuses in ikat as "areca fruit" and to triangles as "cleft areca fruit" (Orinbao 1992). We have never come across *nua* "house" (Vischer 1994:264), except as an interpretation of what the motif

39. The Kéli version has only one mother band, while the Cawalo has two of the same size.

represents. As a rule, the cloths feature between eight and ten motifs on the mother band, with one or two motifs repeated. This Ko'a *Wua wela* features 18 motifs, including seven "combs" and the variants among the other eleven. According to interlocutors from the same village, the band would be complete with a twelfth motif. The Cawalo cloths feature, as a rule, eight large motifs. In fig. 12, each motif is located between two comb motifs, which function here as borders and are not counted. *Wua wela* has five large black bands with the linear pattern of dots *hua wuane* "vine tuber (species) fruits," named after the tiny white-yellowish fruits characteristic of the species.[40] The same pattern is contained within the thin red lines on *Widhi mata*, which are usually in rows of four, in all domains.



Figs. 13-14 – Motifs *Widhi mata*. Cawalo.

Motifs, right to left, excluding the comb borders: 1. "chicken feet"; 2. *Mbési*, or "(species of) squash"[41]; 3. *mbusa* (*lape rua*), or "arrow (two layers)"; 4. *séra dhaba dhubune,* or "*séra* head like ritual centre," (*Séra* "Ceram," "male personal name"); 5. "squash"; 6. "chicken feet (two layers)"; 7. "*séra* head like ritual centre"; 8. arrow (two layers).[42]

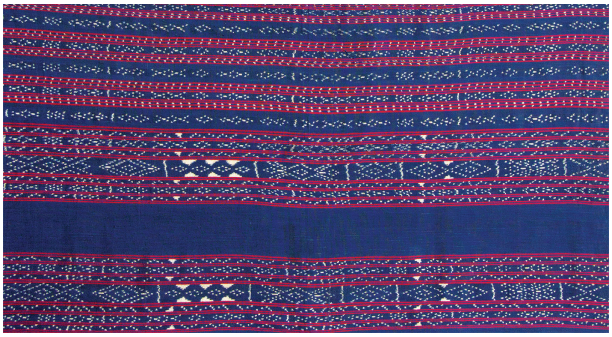


Fig. 15 – *Widhi mata*. Kéli. Unsewn warp. Indigo.

40. Vischer (1994:266) interprets *hua wuane* as a generic term for allergenic seeds and emphasises the fact that *Wua wela* is used to cover the patient after treatment for skin problems. The tuber *hua* can also cause rashes.

41. Sikka: *bési.* The "squash" motif can be more elaborate, like the Kéli (next), also in Cawalo.

42. Another Cawalo *Widhi mata* that we examined with the help of Eli, a senior (>50) Cawalo weaver (7 May 2018), has two other motifs, *lenge wuane*, or "fruits of *lenge*" (or *lenga*), and *kéza*, or "turtle" (similar to *séra dhaba dhubune*), and the comb motif is not used as a border.

Motifs right to left: 1. "chicken feet"; 2. "squash"; 3. *widhi matane*, or "goat eyes"; 4. *mata bo'o*, or "short eye" (also *lambo*, "a Bugis boat with several sails"); 5. *séra ladhone*, or "red *séra*"; 6. *kela deta dhelune*, or "three triangles ('clefts')"; 7. *manu wa'i sangane*, or "chicken feet branches"[43]; 8. "long eye" (or "long *lambo*").

More curious than the obvious lesser differences is the fact that the Kéli "Goat eye" cloth must include the motif "goat eyes," which we have never seen on any Cawalo "Goat eye." As regards the more complicated nomenclature, the Cawalo senior weaver explained that "*séra* head like ritual centre" is a pun on a Bugis (*Pugi*) hat, and everyone present laughed.[44] The hat shares a minimal formal resemblance with the ritual centre, a large "Family, Cluster"/"(to) Carve" oval structure formed from a pile of overgrown rocks. The word *séra* is also associated with an unidentified red type of headwear, although no interlocutor has associated it with the motif. The squash motifs (*mbési*) resemble each other, but not squash. The same "squash" appears on Kéli, Ndéo and Woja cloths, and it is similar on the Nitung, Ko'a, and Cawalo cloths. Is it "an angular version of *jilamprang* drawn in stippled lines," as suggested by Hoopen (PC 209, PC 305)?[45]

Fig. 16 – *mbési* "squash"

Fig. 17 – *Patolu jilamprang* (PC 061).

43. Different from other "chicken feet," but actually an inversion, <> instead of ><, which shows that these shapes are identical for the persons who tie them.

44. 28 April 2019.

45. *Jilamprang* motifs derive from the eight-petal lotus flower motifs on *patola*, called 'basket pattern' in India (Hoopen 2018:73). Barnes (1989:352) shows images of similar transformations of *patola* motifs on Lamalera and Atadéi cloths. The motif *séra ladhone* (fig. 15) may also be derived from *jilamprang*.

Transformed by technique, rectilinear and geometric with stippled rhombuses, elongated to fit within the mother band, with arrowheads added on each side of the centre.

Fig. 18 – *Pati karapau*, Ndéo, 5 Feb. 2014. Kéli women wearing *Wua wela*. *Singgi-singgi*, sacred heirloom batik or *patola* cloths, surround the ceremonial centre.

Closing discussion and conclusions

The names of the Palu'e cloths are either metaphoric and high ("Dehiscing areca") or simple and pure ("Rain *sarong*"), without any connection to status or purpose, with the more marginal *Cabu songgo* and *Cabu tedhéne*, whose names relate to ceremonial chant-dancing, being possible exceptions. Neither do the designs reveal status or purpose, and there are also no intrinsic links between design and name. It makes sense to interpret the "vine tuber fruits" pattern as raindrops on the "Rain *sarong*," but we have almost no information about this (until recently) extinct cloth. In some domains, the "Goat eye" *sarong* features the motif "goat eyes," although it is only one of the motifs, with no hierarchy between them, and is not exclusive to "Goat eye." Motifs are always separated from each other, never obscured, and subordinate to the whole.

There is no clear-cut answer to the question of the depiction, symbolism, and meaning of Palu'e motifs. Naming is not arbitrary, but consistent within each domain, although many weavers only know half of the names. With few exceptions, the motif names constitute an inventory of things that are

traditionally important or seen in everyday life; maize is a traditional crop, while the goat is a domesticated animal with ritual significance. The most ritually significant animal, the water buffalo, is absent in both name and form. The ritual centre appears in naming, but the cited name invokes a Bugis (*séra*) hat, which is oval like the ceremonial structure and the motif.

Concerning what motifs really are, Palu'e weavers refer upstream the genealogy to their mothers and further, just like the Lio (Jong 1994:220): "When asked about the symbolical meaning of the motifs, weavers generally answer that they originate from the ancestors." The persons who tie and weave these patterns understand that most motifs do not depict according to naming, and by all accounts, weavers do not appear to have been puzzled by these matters until outsiders started asking about them.

Our most senior interlocutor made clear that *mbési* "squash" is the given transmitted name of the motif and that there is no point in asking why or whether it depicts anything. The discussions with weavers, the close observation of motifs, and the technique of geometrical stippling lead us to infer that the majority of motif names are primarily and exactly just that, i.e. names, rather than indicating meaning by pointing to objects. Weavers can do without motif names because the transmission of motifs from generation to generation is primarily handed down through the use of existing cloths. They can also invent names should the need arise, as the cited inconsistencies or errors suggest.

Senior men, who are at a greater remove from the making process and are only able to identify a small number of motifs, take a literal approach and mention how things from everyday life have inspired the motifs. For weavers, motif names, like the names of the cloths, are like given names, separate from the objects to which they refer, whereas they assimilate in the minds of their husbands, who are prone to see names and motifs as signs referring to other signs. The interlocutor for the iconic Palu'e cloths even mentioned *mbési*, or "squash," as a sign (Ind. *melambangkan*) for a species of squash, but the motif is a stippled version of *jilamprang*. It was mostly men who provided the few examples of symbolism: the cross-and-rhombus design of *Nae romo* and the linear dot pattern (a harmonious and mutually helpful society); the triangle(s) (island-mountain or houses), whose name is an ethno-geometric term for the half rhombus (a cleaved *kenari* nut).

The word *séra* (Ceram) appears in several motif names and is associated with Bugis ancestral descent because the Palu'e have a long history of interaction with seafaring peoples who are often lumped together as *ata Pugi* (Bugis) or *ata Séra*. We infer that the symbolism of *hua wuane*, the linear dot pattern, derives from how all the different parts of the vine tuber with its fruits are linked together like the dots of the pattern, which serves as an analogy for the bonds formed between the individual members of the *adat* community. It makes no sense to say that this widespread and ancient pattern is a stylized representation of the plant.

A minority of the motifs do indicate meaning on a name basis, in line with how "figurative" and other categories were defined in the introduction. We have shown the ornamental band, which is realistic and simplified; the arrowhead; the (knit) comb; and "traces of civet cat." These motifs capture the essence of the objects. If generics are included, "goat eyes" is also figurative, whereas the diamond pattern "maize eyes" remains in the category of formal resemblance. The "eye motifs" animate the cloths because the naming influences perception, so that motifs are assimilated to objects. Therefore, while acknowledging the reservations noted above, we accept the men's literal approach to motifs and meaning as a descriptive, though incomplete, iconography.

Several motif names are taken from edible plants, although there are few formal resemblances. "Maize eyes" does not depict maize; it is an ancient lozenge pattern consisting of rhombus-eyes adjoined like corn grains on a cob. However, we cannot rule out that the more composite motifs especially build on visualized abstract elements of objects. Judging from form, "squash" is a stippled geometrical version of *jilamprang*, which is a good reason to be sceptical of literal interpretations. Whether the creator(s) of "vine tuber with twigs" was inspired by the species is impossible to say; patterns are not self-explanatory, and it is near impossible to produce a recognizable stylized representation of a trailing plant in stippled warp ikat.

Palu'e cloths do not feature any anthropomorphic motifs, unless rhombuses and crosses operate as male/female symbols, a fact that remains unconfirmed. The only zoomorphic-like motifs are "goat eyes" (generic) and "traces of civet cat" as an indirect sign of the animal. "Chicken feet," which are mostly M-shapes with a central rhombus, are not figurative.

Fieldwork shows that the same basic motifs of combined diagonal lines, like rhombuses, are interpreted differently among different ikat-producing groups, even within Palu'e. These motifs are found in warp ikat all over insular Southeast Asia, whether because of the shared technique or because of a common origin of proto-Austronesian warp ikat. Here, matching comes after making. The fact that (mostly male) interlocutors, sometimes even from the same domain or village, give different interpretations to patterns reflects Bakhtin's idea that meaning in folk artefacts is transformative and cumulative. Our field experiences on Palu'e largely replicate those of previous investigators in other places, but on the issue of forgetting design meanings and underlying mythologies, we suggest the possibility that the patterns were not intended to confer meaning according to their assumptions, or perhaps not at all.

> "Until recently, the motifs of the cloths themselves bore names that recalled the major events, characters, and creatures of Sikkanese myths. The names are retained, but the myths are now almost completely lost, and it has proven impossible to reconstruct the meanings of the textile motifs in relation to Sikkanese mythology." (Lewis 1994:168)

"Until recently" implies that if the researcher had arrived a generation earlier, the researcher's reconstruction of meaning would be possible, granted that the naming was taken from myths and with other intentions than giving the motifs familiar or powerful names. We doubt that, and indeed have witnessed Sikka experts differing on the interpretation of the most basic design elements.[46] The Palu'e, along with many other groups, have not forgotten the meaning and symbolism of their patterns. Instead, the patterns derive their meaning from the very act of being handed down from generation to generation as an integral part of the culture. Meaning and symbolism may perhaps have been assigned to them in the course of their history, but perhaps never more so than in the current era of heritage discourse, with interlocutors being prompted to assign meaning. Now, educated persons from ikat-producing cultures believe that ceremonies should benefit from protection and that the weavers have forgotten the meaning of patterns, which have become bothersome floating signifiers.[47] Or, as Hoopen (2018:66, 93) puts it: "The universal yearning for meaning is irrepressible and can be so fervent that it becomes self-defeating."

The Palu'e folk tales and myths were recorded for the Palu'e audio collection. The depositor has not found any link between the nomenclature and the recorded narratives, which includes a myth about the origin of weaving – curiously, a tale of loss and recovery of know-how (Lengu, SD1-037). Neither has any local interlocutor stated any such connection. No motif names record an important person or event. Lengu (1916-2017), the most important contributor, did not draw on any cloth designs for her storytelling. Ikat patterns function as markers of group or clan identity, but we conclude that they are inherently ineffective as repositories of longer narratives or as a cultural mnemonic device beyond the essentials, such as clan origin in Savu ikat (Duggan and Hägerdal 2018).

Researchers in the interpretive sciences carry with them interpretations of symbolism that "attempt to coordinate or even identify symbols with myths" (Ladner 1979:233). The approaches of the (Western) written scientific traditions are problematic, and especially French anthropological structuralism and the psychoanalytic tradition (Jungian: rhombus-vulva), whose perspectives are fundamentally different from the oral cultures to which they are applied.[48] We have quoted several examples of how the rhombus (including triangles and

46. Discussion IG for Sikka *tenun ikat*. Maumere 25 April 2019.

47. In the course of our work, we came across two university students, a Palu'e man and a Sikka man, working with issues related to Palu'e weaving and weavers' groups for their MA theses. They expressed the same types of assumptions highlighted in this article, namely that the weavers "have forgotten the meaning of their patterns," and so on. The latter encouraged the weaving group mentioned to create a new "story cloth," which incorporated figurative, non-stippled motifs.

48. See Gavin's (2003: 276-277) discussion entitled "Problems of approach."

crosses), the most prevalent shape in (Palu'e) ikat, is often interpreted as a symbol of protection or fertility, from being a symbol of the vulva (rhombus-in-rhombus) to, ultimately, the divine mother. This is not impossible, but there is a lack of fieldwork evidence. Specifically, we demonstrated a case of circular referencing: Dutch and Dutch East Indies researchers in the early 1900s influenced local Flores researchers/authors who in turn, as local intellectual authorities, misled subsequent (Dutch) researchers/authors.

Textual archaeology enhances our understanding of the concepts used to describe material culture, and we draw a parallel with the standardized male-centric vulva interpretations in Palaeolithic cave art research, which continue to govern knowledge-production. We conclude that the rhombus-in-rhombus, when named "eye of x," is best understood literally because it is an iconic form of an eye. Were the rhombuses placed vertically instead of horizontally, they would also be iconic forms of the female vulva, but they are neither positioned nor named so. The making is more important to consider than the matching because the universally applied technique of tying diagonal lines as patterning explains the prevalence of rhombus motifs in warp ikat. Alongside acknowledging that ikat-cultures show great variety, we see other ways of reconciling the differing opinions on the meaning and symbolism of patterns. The symbolism that Palu'e interlocutors, including Vischer's, speak of is consistent with the fundamental principles of Flores ikat set out by Orinbao (1992). It links the design with cosmology through the traditional worldview, which holders of traditional offices especially must reproduce, resulting in unsurprising philosophical iconographies.

We consider the nomenclature to be important and indeed crucial for documentation purposes. More than enabling reference among weavers, it serves as a mnemonic device that conjures up images of designs and motifs. However, we conclude that it is the very transmission of patterns from generation to generation that assigns them sufficient and lasting meaning, whereas signification and exegesis are inherently transient, although stabilized by a traditional worldview. Ikat cloths, including the ancient technology and the ceremonial context, both signify and constitute a form of cyclical transmissibility. Of importance here is the link between ancestors and the new generations, as shown by the Palu'e word *pu*, which signifies both grandparent and grandchild, with the grandchild being given the name of his/her grandparent. Cloths do not need encoded messages to be meaningful and sacred, as illustrated by the *patola* displayed in the buffalo ceremonies, from which the "basket pattern," or *jilamprang*, evolved to become *mbési*, or "squash," simultaneously fulfilling both decorative and sacral purposes.

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CLAUDINE SALMON [1]

Of the Use of Calligraphy in Sino-Javanese Communities (18th-Early 21st Centuries)

Calligraphic art was conceived by the Chinese as a technique allowing the acquisition of certain virtues, and the mastery of this art as a proof of eminent qualities. As stated by Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BC-18 CE), "Writing is the trace or the drawing of the mind" *shu, xinhua ye* 書, 心畫也." We can say that calligraphy had among literati, at least until the Tang 唐 period (7th-10th centuries), the functions of a quasi-religious asceticism. The Buddhist monk Zhiyong 智永 (seventh generation after Wang Xizhi 王羲之, 303-361),[2] who lived around 581, was renowned for his diligence in calligraphy. He is famous for having locked himself up in a temple for 30 years, and practiced this art every day. It is said that the worn-out brushes he used filled up several huge bamboo buckets, that he buried them, and gave this place the name of *tui bi zhong* 退筆塚, "Tomb of worn out brushes." He wrote out 800 copies of the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 or "Thousand

* My thanks to Li Xiuxian 李秀贤 and Hu Sudan 胡素丹 who invited me to visit their Calligraphy and Painting Institute in Jakarta, where I met several other calligraphers, among whom Ruan Yuanchun 阮淵椿, and Peng Tao 彭濤. I am also grateful to Li Huizhu 李惠珠 for allowing me to visit her two workshops in Bandung, at Maranatha Christian University, and at Yayasan Dana Sosial Priyangan. Last but not least, I also thank Lucie Rault and Song Ge 宋鴿 for having read a previous version of this article, Leo Suryadinata and Kuo Liying 郭麗英 for having helped me solve a few language issues.

1. CNRS, Paris.

2. Wang Xizhi was traditionally referred to as the Sage of calligraphy, *shusheng* 書聖; his master was Wei Shuo 衛鑠 (272-349), who belonged to a family of famous calligraphers, and was commonly addressed just as Lady Wei, or Wei furen 衛夫人.

Character Text" in verse, to teach children to write *caoshu* 草書 (cursive script), by giving both *caoshu* and *kaishu* 楷書 (standard characters) forms throughout,[3] and many people came over to the temple to ask for his calligraphy.

The tireless copy of famous inscriptions and calligraphy was also intended as a means of assimilating the genius of the writer or of his time. Close to us, historian Wang Gungwu 王賡武 (b. 1930) who grew up in Insulindia wrote in his memoirs that his father encouraged him to practice calligraphy, something he loved to do himself.[4] Speaking of his mother he says:[5] "Her proudest achievement was to cultivate through much practice a beautiful hand in writing the standard *xiaokai* 小楷 calligraphy, a skill all the girls in her family were expected to have. She told me often how hard she had practised with an older female cousin and how she became as good as her cousin whose calligraphy everyone admired." Archaeologist Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩 (b. 1938), who currently serves as Honorary Director of the Dunhuang Academy, wrote in her biography, co-authored with Gu Chunfang 顧春芳, that her father who owned an elegant calligraphy, taught her this art since the time she was a child, and also found models of calligraphy, *zitie* 字帖, by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557-641) and Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (708-785) to copy. She further states:[6] "When I was a child, I also liked to imitate my father's writing, and imperceptibly my characters were similar to his."

Calligraphy has also been practised by artists, either amateurs or professionals, who had practical and economic motivations behind their art. Instead of giving their calligraphies as mere gifts or in exchange of favors, some literati were constrained to rely on their art "for negotiating everyday life." Bai Qianshen 白謙慎, from whom we borrow this phrasing,[7] devoted a study to Fu Shan 傅山 (1607-1684), a Ming loyalist member of the cultural elite who, for having refused to serve the new dynasty was compelled to use his calligraphy in dealing with the problems of everyday life. In laying the emphasis on a more realistic view of this art, Bai Qianshen had in mind to investigate the dimensions of Chinese calligraphy beyond self-expression, and to study the relationship of Fu Shan with his socially diverse public.

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3. The *Qianzi wen*, composed by Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 (6th century), was used as a traditional reading primer. It contains 1000 unique characters from the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi.

4. Wang Gungwu, *Home is Not Here*, Singapore: Published under the Ridge Books imprint by NUS Press, National University of Singapore, 2018, p. 9.

5. Wang Gungwu, *Home is Not Here,* p. 7.

6. Fan Jinshi *koushu* 樊錦詩口述, Gu Chunfang 顧春芳 *xuanxie* 撰寫, *Woxin guichu shi Dunhuang* 我心歸處是敦煌 "Dunhuang is where my heart belongs," Nanjing: Yilin chubanshe, 2019, p. 5.

7. See Qianshen Bai, "Calligraphy for Negotiating Everyday Life: The Case of Fu Shan (1607-1684)," *Asia Major*, Third Series, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1999), pp. 67-125.

In a similar way, here we intend to explore the part played by calligraphy in a diasporic milieu, and more especially in Java where Chinese communities have a rather long, but quite eventful history. In this context, calligraphy will not be considered as the "art of the elite" produced for self-amusement and expression, but rather as the product of "amateur" artists.[8] This, in order to uncover the practical motivations of the latter, and the diverse use of their works to assist in establishing and maintaining social links within the diverse strata of Chinese communities, but also with the outside world, and the netherworld. In so doing, we will pay attention to the rather codified language of calligraphy that has been more or less understood by commoners. We will successively review the use of calligraphy during the Qing times, its ups and downs during the 20th century, and its revival during this century in relation with the new political conjuncture.

Calligraphers and Calligraphy in Java during Qing Times

Who were the calligraphers?

Information regarding calligraphers practising their art in Insulindia is scarce, but we know that literati, and merchant literati were among the Chinese migrants who happened to sojourn in Java. Indeed, the sovereigns of Srivijaya and later on of Banten used Chinese interpreters and translators who also acted as secretaries, as stated in Chinese sources.[9] However, the oldest known records that allude to the practice of calligraphy in Java only date back to the 18th century. They mention literati who came as private preceptors, and occasionally wrote calligraphies in order to satisfy the demand of their compatriots. The latter, as in their homeland, liked to decorate their homes, offices, sanctuaries, with rather codified inscriptions engraved on wood that fulfill special functions, as we will see below. They were of two main types: pairs of scrolls, *duilian* 對聯, composed of rhymed antithesis couplets, and wooden horizontal panels, *hengbian* 橫匾 and *hengpi* 橫批, composed of four, three, or even two large characters. The *hengbian* stand on their own, while the *hengpi* accompany couplets.

Among the literati who sojourned in Java, was Cheng Rijie 程日炌 (1709-1747, Zhangpu 漳浦, prefecture of Zhangzhou 漳州, Fujian), who

8. This focus on pragmatic and political calligraphy does not mean that we deny its aesthetic aspect.

9. *Songshi* 宋史 "History of the Song Dynasty," 248, *Waiguo* 外國 5, "*Sanfoqi guo* 三佛齊國," Ed. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1997, Vol. 40, p. 14.088; Chau Ju-Kua, *On the Chinese and Arab Trade*, Edited and translated by Fr. Hirth dan W.W. Rockhill (First ed. 1914), Reprint, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1966, p. 60; Zhang Xie 張燮, *Dong xi yang kao* 東西洋考, "Investigations on the Eastern and Western Oceans" (preface dated 1617), Ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981, p. 48.

spent several years in Batavia before 1740, in order to earn enough money to repay the debts of his family. Impressed by Cheng's calligraphic talents, a rich Chinese merchant of the place proposed to marry his daughter to him, but Cheng declined, because he wanted to return to China, and the merchant became infuriated. [10] Other literati even resided in Batavia. Such was the case of a certain Lian Musheng 連木生 who is said to have employed his time copying books. Towards the end of the 18th century, he resided in a country house in the district of Luar Batang on the banks of the Holy grave Canal, Shengmu gang 聖墓港, where he separated himself from common pursuits. He also composed poems and was fond of flute and violin.[11] Unfortunately, none of these calligraphic works has come to us.

As regards the calligraphic talents of literati merchants, an evidence is given by Xu Guozhong (Khouw Kok Tiong) 許國忠, a merchant selling products from China who was based in Semarang.[12] Before returning to the motherland for good in 1782, he left behind a legacy of self-effacement: an undated wooden tablet that is still hung above the entrance of a small temple, the Dongbi miao 東壁廟, that was founded at his initiative. [13] There are two seal imprints, in the inferior left corner, that provide his complete name, and penname Feiren 飛人; a third imprint, in the upper right corner, reads Ebin 峨濱 that may be his place of origin. The text reads:

Liuqian 流謙 With Modesty (P. 1)

10. *Zhangzhou fuzhi* 漳州府志, Ed. of 1878, *juan* 49, 31ab.

11. Wang Dahai 王大海, *Haidao yizhi* 海島逸志, Yao Nan 姚楠, Wu Langxuan 吳琅璿 *jiaozhu* 校注, Xianggang: Xuejin shudian, 1992, p. 42.

12. A short biography of Khouw Kok Tiong is to be found in Liem Thian Joe, *Riwajat Semarang 1416-1931*, Semarang-Batavia: Boekhandel Ho Kim Yo, [1933], pp. 47-48.

13. W. Franke, in collaboration with C. Salmon & Anthony Siu 蕭國健, with the assistance of Hu Chün-yin 胡雋吟 and Teo Lee Kheng 張麗卿, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia* 印度尼西亞華文銘刻彙編, Singapore: South Seas Society, 1988-1997, II (1), p. 400. The translations of the inscriptions reproduced here are ours.

Until the last decades of the 19th century, more often than not, the heads of the various Chinese communities in Java were good hands at calligraphy. One evidence is given by an undated wooden tablet from the late 18th century written by Wang Zhusheng (Ong Soe Seeng) 王珠生, *hui* 諱 Zhiqian 志謙, style Ximing 希明, that provides a motto for his fellow administrators at the Baguo gongtang 吧國公堂, "Council of the Chinese at Batavia", a direct administrative body in charge of the civil affairs of the community.[14] Wang was successively appointed lieutenant in 1775, captain in 1790, and he remained in office until his death in 1791.[15] His two seal imprints are engraved in the inferior left corner of the tablet.[16] The text reads:

Zheng gui you heng 政貴有恆[17] (P. 2)
In terms of government, the most valuable thing is to ensure stability.

14. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 123. The panel used to hang in the Council Hall. It is presently kept in the Department of Chinese Studies, at Leiden University.

15. B. Hoetink, "Chineesche Officieren te Batavia onder de Compagnie", *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, dl. 78 (1922), pp. 81-82, 121. According to Hoetink, pp. 90, 114-115, Ong Soeseeng's father had also been appointed lieutenant, and he remained in office from 1750 to 1751; Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 116.

16. They read: Wang Zhiqian 王志謙, Ximing 希明. A third seal imprint, in the upper right corner, reads Longchuan 龍川, a Chinese name of Semarang, but also a place name in Guangdong province that may possibly be interpreted as the place of origin of Wang Zhusheng.

17. This quote is taken from the *Shujing* 書經, "Book of Documents" (also called *Shangshu* 尚書), "*Biming* 畢命," attributed to Confucius.

Uses of Calligraphic Works within Chinese Communities

It is difficult to appraise the real importance of calligraphy in the daily life during the 18th-19th centuries, because privately owned calligraphic works have not been well preserved and those still existing are not easily accessible.[18] However, one can get an insight into the taste of the Chinese living in Java for calligraphy, just by looking at the numerous exquisite inscriptions on wood, emanating from local donors, that are or were displayed in public spaces, especially in various sanctuaries and in the defunct Council of the Chinese at Batavia.[19] The interior of the richest ones is so decorated with calligraphies that the visitor feels as if he has an open book in front of him. As a matter of fact, up to the present day, Chinese visitors do not fail to read these inscriptions and even to copy them.[20]

The donor's name is usually engraved, but not necessarily that of the calligrapher. This may possibly be explained, either by the fact that the initiator of the inscription hired the service of a professional calligrapher, or because the donor and the calligrapher are one and the same person.

The three oldest engraved calligraphies still *in situ* in the Chaojue si (Tiao Kak Sie) 潮覺寺, "Flow of Enlightenment Temple," of Cirebon (mainly dedicated to Guanyin 觀音) have Buddhist meanings and date back to the two first decades of the 18th century. The first, dated from winter 1714-15, was donated by Chen Bingyuan 陳秉元 and his brother or cousin (Chen) Bingren 秉仁. It bears the name of one of the 33 forms (*nirmaṇakâya* or *huashen* 化身) assumed by Boddhisattva Guanyin to propagate Buddhism. The name of the calligrapher, possibly one of the monks attached to the sanctuary, is not stated.[21] It reads:

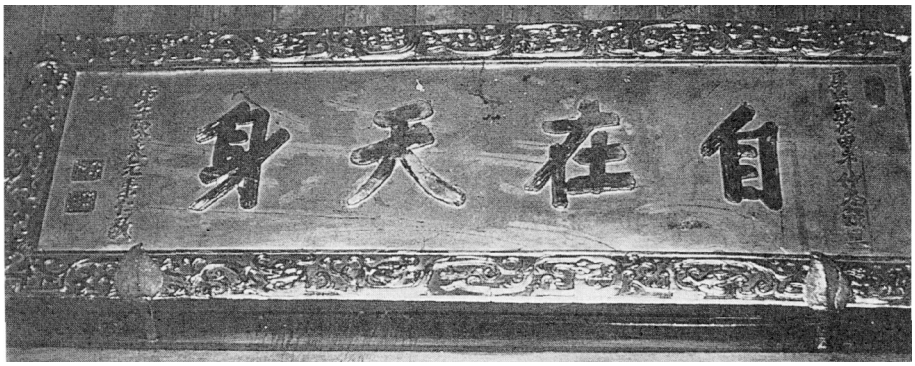
18. We have not yet encountered in Java an artist-collector of Chinese calligraphies, books and works such as Zhou Mingguang in Malaysia, http://malaysiawriting.blogspot.com/2014/02/Calligraphy-Collection.html 百"畫"齊放的書法收藏者——周民光 (retrieved on 05/12/2019).

19. Reproductions in Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia.* Cemeteries were also the receptacle of elegant calligraphies, that were engraved on rich tomb stones, the contents of which meet specific rules, and will not be considered in this article.

20. There are even corpora of the most famous couplets, classified thematically, which contain a section for couplets outside of China; such as Cheng Yuzhen 程裕禎 & Jie Bo 解 波 *bian* 編, *Zhongguo mingsheng yinglian daguan* 中國名勝楹聯大觀, Beijing: Zhongguo lüyou chubanshe, 1985, that reproduces four *duilian* from Indonesia, pp. 468-469.

21. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 313.

Zizaitian shen 自在天身 Body of the Supreme God[22] (P. 3)



They are followed by a fourth one, dated Yongzheng *ernian* 雍正二年 (1724), that was written and donated by a certain Lin Ze 林澤, whose three seal imprints are hardly decipherable. It is located to the west of Semarang, close to the former Chinese quarter (Pecinan Lama), and engraved on a stone tablet fixed above the entrance of the Sanbao dong 三寶洞 (Indonesian name: Gedung Batu). The cave, where Admiral Zheng He 鄭和 (1371-1433, also named Sanbao, or Sam Po 三寶), is said to have rested, is known to be a place where miracles take place.[23] It reads:

Xun xi liufang 尋璽流芳 (P. 4) He is Famous for his Quest of the Imperial Seal

22. *Zizaitian* is the transliteration of Is'varadêva, literaly Sovereign Dêva, a name of S'iva, and a few other Indian deities. We thank Kuo Liying for this interpretation.

23. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 192. For more details about the memory of Zheng He and his follower Wang Jinghong 王景宏 in Java, see C.S., "Sanbao taijian en Indonésie et les traductions du *Xiyang ji*," in C. Salmon / Roderich Ptak Ed., *Zheng He. Images & Perceptions Bilder & Wahrnehmungen*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005, pp. 113-135.

The text alludes to the tale according to which Zheng He had been sent on a mission to the Western Seas to search for the imperial seal, *chuanguo xi* 傳國璽, by which emperors received instructions from heaven; but this seal had been taken away by the last Mongol ruler.[24] For the visitors who may not have fully understood the allusion to Zheng He, an undated *duilian* written by another hand, and engraved on each side of the entrance, provides further clarifications, saying:

受命皇朝臨海國
留蹤石洞庇人家
By the [Ming] dynasty he was ordered to visit our maritime countries
And left behind this cave which protects the people

Generally speaking, these engraved calligraphies provide an insight into the cultural, religious, and social life of merchants, craftsmen, and notables, especially those living in Jakarta, Cirebon, Semarang, and Surabaya. Some couplets were borrowed from temples in China, or copied from various thematic compendia of *duilian*, which nowadays are reprinted, and occasionally reproduced online. Such as the couplet in praise of Wenchang 文昌, the God of Literature, which was found in numerous sanctuaries dedicated to him, and was displayed in Surabaya in the Wenchang ci 文昌祠, founded in 1884, and converted into a Wenmiao (Boen Bio) 文廟 or Temple of Literature (dedicated to Confucius) at least in 1899, as a wooden panel indicates.[25] Again the couplet donated in 1866 by members of a guild of carpenters of Batavia to advise their fellow members not to enter the sanctuary dedicated to their patron saint Lu Ban 魯班 if their heart is filled with evil thoughts.[26] Some other couplets emanate from the donator himself. The donator may express the gratitude of the whole community toward a deity; [27] he may dialogue with ancestors, and

24. See the novel by Luo Maodeng 羅懋登, *Sanbao taijian Xiyang ji* 三寶太監西洋記 "The Voyage of the eunuch Sanbao to the Western Ocean," Ed. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985, *shang, juan*. 9-10.

25. It reads :

位秉圖書開泰運 He holds the books and opens the supreme way,

德輝翰墨燦文章 His virtue illuminates calligraphy and casts light on essays.

Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (2), p. 687.

26. It reads: 惡念未除登斯堂何必拈香叩首；善心常在入此地不妨淨手躬身 or No need to enter this sanctuary, to burn incense, and to knock the head in reverence if you have not removed your evil thoughts; if your heart is filled with kindness, you may enter, provided your hands are clean, and you bend the body in obedience. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 76.

27. Such as this *duilian* of 1867 that alludes to the mercy of the Earth God, Fude zhengshen 福德正神, toward the inhabitants of Bogor 茂物, after his shrine had been moved to an auspicious place: 福奠茂邦三遷始得英靈地; 德孚物眾萬類鹹沾澤恩.

with local heroes or deities, either by asking for their protection, by expressing his gratitude, [28] or simply by praising their merits.

In brief, these inscriptions shed a light on the importance of the codified language of calligraphic works in the making of a certain Chinese cultural identity, still very masculine, although local born Chinese ladies may occasionally express their gratitude by means of calligraphy.

Worthy of note, in 1895, a Chinese lady from Makassar, Mrs. Meng, née Wen 孟文氏, presumably *peranakan*, donated a cast iron bell engraved with a long and informative inscription, written by Dai Lin 戴麟, a literatus from Quanzhou, to the Tianhou gong 天后宫.[29]

Calligraphy as a Means of Political Dialogue

For a long time, the Qing government regarded Overseas Chinese as "deserters" or "political conspirators." After the opening of the treaty ports in the 1840s, the trade of coolies compelled the Manchus to recognize the right of their subjects to emigrate, as well as the existence of Chinese communities abroad. The first consulate to be ever established for Chinese communities abroad was in Singapore in 1877. The Dutch were not in favor of opening Chinese consulates in the Indies, and the first consul was not appointed until after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912. In order to deal with his subjects in the Indies, the Qing government was compelled to dispatch successive official visitors. Moreover, since the early 1890s at least, the authorities became interested in the remittances of the Chinese merchants abroad, especially during disasters. In return, for these acts of generosity, local authorities from Guangdong and Fujian conferred tokens of gratitude taking the form of pieces of calligraphy that were engraved on wooden panels. Such as the undated one formerly displayed in the Chinese Council in Batavia that reads:

Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia*, I (1), p. 178.

28. Such as this couplet in praise of Zehai zhenren 澤海真人 "The Fairy that Favours the Seas" along the coast of Java and more especially near Pekalongan 北加浪 and Tegal 直葛:

澤海化身在葛洋光被四方 Zehai became an immortal in the sea of Tegal, casting a light into the four directions

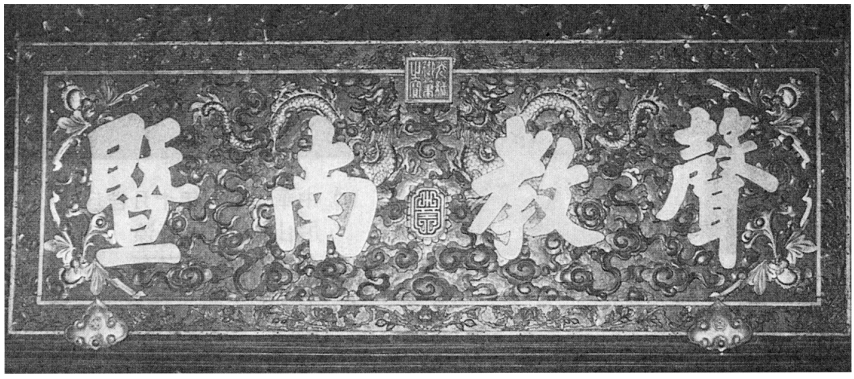
真人濟世斯浪境惠及萬方 Zhenren protects the people of Pekalongan and his favours extend everywhere.

29. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* III p. 256. The bell was destroyed during a devastating fire of the temple in 1997.

Yizhong weisang 誼重維桑
They Properly Appreciate their Native Village [30] (P. 5)

In this new context, Emperor Guangxu 光緒 (1875-1908) did not hesitate to take his brush in order to make known his contentment in seeing Chinese culture reaching the southern countries with the creation of modern Chinese schools at the beginning of the 20th century. The Wenmiao in Surabaya still shelters such an inscription conferred by the said emperor, as the seal in its centre indicates: 光緒御筆之寶 "Treasure from Guangxu's imperial brush". It reads:

Sheng jiao nan ji 聲教南暨
The Emperor's Teachings Open the South.[31] (P. 6)



30. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 123. For a similar panel displayed in Bandung in the Xietian gong 協天宮, see op. cit., p. 146. Two other panels, which now no longer exist, were to be found in Cirebon in the Chaojue si, and in Makassar in the Tianhou gong; see Franke, Salmon & Siu , *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* III, p. 26; J.L.J.E. Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-Tempel Tiao-Kak-Sie te Cheribon*, Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Populair-Wetenschappelijke Serie N° II, [1920], pp. 34-35, 40 (this one bears a slightly different inscription).

31. The panel is still displayed in the temple dedicated to Confucius. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (2), p. 698.

The text is not dated, but it must have been donated in 1906, for the commemoration of the extension of the Wenmiao and the construction of an adjoining school, the Tjong Hoo Hak Tong 中和學堂, the name of which was changed to Tiong Hoa Hak Tong 中華學堂 the following year, after it was managed by an association called Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan 中華會館. This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that in 1907, Chen Baochen 陳寶琛 (1848-1935), First Class Consulting Expert in the Ministry of Education, who was sent to the Indies, ostensibly to inspect the educational facilities of the Chinese in the colony (but also to promote the sale of shares in a Fujian railway project), donated a couplet that alludes to the emperor panel.[32] It reads:

地靈名早兆
天語祀新隆
The place is propitious, its name an early omen[33]
The Emperor's words, in this sanctuary, a new gift. (P. 7)

How this panel from the emperor's hand was passed on, and handed over to the Wenmiao officials, remains a mystery. Worthy of note, in 1904, Emperor Guangxu had already conferred a similar panel to a newly founded Chinese school in Penang at the initiative of the famous mandarin capitalist

32. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (2), p. 699.
33. One of the Chinese names of Surabaya is Sishui 泗水, which is also the name of a district in Shandong province.

Zhang Bishi 張弼士 (1840-1916, also known as Zhang Zhenxun 張振勳).[34] This form of dialogue between emperor and subjects residing abroad was, to the best of our knowledge, a novelty.

When in 1908, Emperor Guangxu passed away, soon followed by Empress Cixi 慈禧, the Chinese in Java organized various memorial ceremonies or *zhuidaohui* 追悼會. On a photo representing the staging of that held by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Semarang in 1909, one notices a framed calligraphy that reads:[35]

Ru sang kaobi 如喪考妣 [Grieved] as if One Has Lost One's Parents

This last calligraphy emanating from a Chinese Chamber of Commerce shows that many of the great merchants remained attached to the monarchy. However, the first revolutionaries had arrived in Insulindia and started their activities with the support of some local merchants and craftsmen, especially in Surabaya.

Vicissitudes of Chinese Calligraphy during the 20th Century

Usefulness of Calligraphy in Times of Political Unrest

In China, the establishment of the Republic in 1912, the modernisation of education, and the new government's struggle against both Buddhism and Taoism had indirectly a negative impact on the use of calligraphic works inside Chinese temples. In Java too, during the 1910s-1930s, compared to the last decades of the 19th century, the number of couplets and engraved panels offered by donors seemingly declined, even if worshipping activities did not seriously recede.

However, two pairs of couplets in Semarang and in Surabaya deserve our attention. The first displayed in the sanctuary preceding the cave in honour of Sanbao is a very original couplet dated 1916. It was composed and written by Zhang Bingling 章炳麟 (1869-1924), one of "the Three Elders of the Revolution," and a most prolific revolutionary writer, during a tour he made through Southeast Asia. The text reads:[36]

民國五年十月過三寶洞，此神若有之，庶其昭鑒
尋君千載後，
而我一能無

34. See Wolfgang Franke, 傅吾康 and Chen Tieh Fan 陳鐵凡 Ed., *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia* / 馬來西亞華文銘刻粹編文銘刻萃編, 3 Vol., Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1982–1987, Vol. 2, p. 923. On Zhang Bishi, see *inter alia* Michael Godley, *The Mandarin-Capitalists from Nanyang. Overseas Chinese enterprise in the modernization of China 1893-1911*, Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press.

35. Liem Thian Joe, *Riwajat Semarang 1416-1931*, p. 195.

36. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 325.

勳二位前東三省籌邊使章炳麟 (P. 8)

I passed by the Cave of Sanbao during the 10th month of 1916; in case these deities exist, [I wrote this] in view to enlighten them:

I've been looking for you for a long time,
But I can't do anything

In front of you both meritorious [Zheng He & Wang Jinghong], Zhang Binglin, Frontier Defense Commissioner of the Three Eastern Provinces.

Here, Zhang Bingling refers to his former position, a post to which he had been appointed by Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916), but which amounted to little more than nothing.

The second one is displayed in the Wenmiao in Surabaya. In 1919, the revolutionary Jiang Baoliao (Tjio Poo liauw) 蔣報料, along with two unknown merchants, Wu Yingzhou 吳瀛洲 and Li Bingyao 李炳耀, donated a pair of tablets inscribed with parallel sentences that give the impression that Tjio was still a pious Confucianist. The text reads:[37]

尼山雖謂宮牆遠
泗水依然廟宇存.(P. 9)

37. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1I), p. 699.

The sanctuary walls in Nishan[38] are said to be far away,
But the temple in the city of Sishui[39] is still there as old.

Tjio, presumably, felt the need to publicly reassert his political commitment by alluding to the supremacy of the temple dedicated to Confucius in Surabaya, in order to better obscure his revolutionary activities.[40]

Political Use of Calligraphy by the Republican Leaders

Soon after the establishment of the Republic, the new leaders, in the manner of the defunct imperial authorities, relied on calligraphy to reward the merchants of the diaspora who supported them. In Surabaya, where local revolutionaries were very active, such honorary gifts are difficult to trace, but they still exist in Makassar. The ancestral temple of the Tang 湯 family displays two wooden panels given in 1915 by the President of the Republic, *zongtong* 總統 ; the first one to Tang Heqing 湯河清 (1845-1910) Captain of Makassar since 1893, and the second one to Tang Longfei 湯龍飛 (1872-1942) who succeeded his father as Captain in 1910, and was later appointed Major. The current President of the Republic was Yuan Shikai who, in December of

38. Nishan in Sishui district, Shandong province, is the place of birth of Confucius.

39. Here, Sishui refers to Surabaya.

40. For more details, see C. Salmon, "Confucianists and Revolutionaries in Surabaya (*c*1880-*c*1906)," in Tim Lindsey, Helen Pausacker (Ed.), *Chinese Indonesians Remembering, Distorting, Forgetting*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, pp. 130-147.

the same year, proclaimed himself emperor. They read:[41]

Jigong haoyi 急公好義 Ready to stand out (up) for justice[42] (P. 10)

Jian shan yongwei 見善用為 See an opportunity for doing right and to do it. (P. 11)

Subsequent leaders continued to use calligraphy as a means of dialogue, in particular when wishing to congratulate various Chinese newspapers in the diaspora, or when exhorting Chinese abroad to help the motherland. For instance, on the occasion of the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the *Sin Po* 新報 weekly, Malay edition, various political figures of the Republic of China presented the journal with calligraphies. They were reproduced in the *Sin Po Jubileum - Nummer 1910-1935* (n. p.), along with translations in Malay, such as the one by General He Yingqin 何應欽 (1890-1987) that reads:

41. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* III, p. 296.

42. This set phrase, *chengyu* 成語, is said to originate from the late Qing novel entitled *Guanchang xianxing ji* 官場現形記, "The Bureaucrats: A Revelation," 1903-1905.

Daohua xuanhe 導化宣和
[*Sin Po*] Leads, Instructs, and Propagates Harmony (P. 12).

Similar gifts, this time emanating from Lin Sen 林森 (1868-1943) President of the Republic from 1931 to 1943, and from no less than eleven eminent political personalities – among whom two generals, Jiang Zhongzheng 蔣中正 (i.e. Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, 1887-1975), and Li Zongren 李宗仁 (1891-1969) – were presented to the weekly for New Year's Day 1940, at a time when the Republic, being at war with Japan, needed the support of the Chinese abroad. These calligraphies are reproduced in a special issue of the *Sin Po* weekly, with Malay translations.[43] Worthy of note, they are accompanied in the same issue by a long and manuscript letter by General Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 (1882-1948) urging Chinese in the Indies to continue to join forces for the war of resistance to the enemy.[44] Here we just quote the text emanating from President Lin Sen:

> 愛祖國振僑群文字宣揚光輝日著 (P. 13)
> Love the motherland, shake all the Chinese Overseas, make propaganda in Chinese characters, make the future ever more glorious.

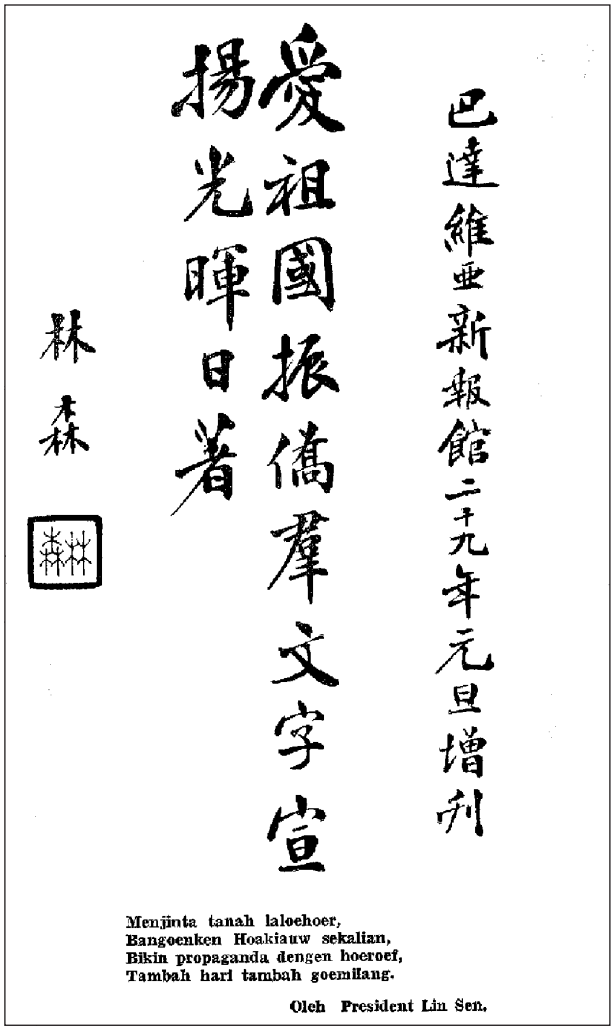
These last examples show enough the importance of calligraphy in the dialogues between Chinese rulers and their compatriots abroad, and that of the media in these very dialogues.

Reconstruction of the Social Fabric in the 1950s-60s and Calligraphy

Little is known about the calligraphers' social life before 1965. However, a Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Study Club existed in Jakarta in the

43. *Sin Po* weekly, Speciaal - Nummer N° 879, 3 Feb. 1940, n.p.

44. Feng Yu Hsiang, "Koempoel saloeroe Kiauwpao poenja tenaga goena perang perlawanan 彙集全體僑胞的力量為抗戰服務," *Sin Po* weekly, Speciaal - Nummer N° 879, 3 Feb. 1940, n.p. As a matter of fact, Overseas Chinese's remittances dropped off dramatically after 1937, see Glen Peterson, *Overseas Chinese in the People's Republic of China*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, p. 67.



1950s. It was founded by Lee Man Feng 李曼峰 (1913-1988), Liang Ie-Yen, and Ling Yunchao 凌雲超 (or Ling Nanlong 凌南龍, 1914-1985), a calligrapher and industrial born in China, who had learned calligraphy with Li Zhongqian 李仲乾 (b. in 1882), and Chinese painting with Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1889-1983).[45]

45. *Pameran Seni-lukis Lembaga Seniman Yin Hua, 7-14 Djanuari 1956*, n.p.; Leo Suryadinata, *Prominent Indonesian Chinese. Biographical Sketches*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1995, pp. 100-101; "Ling Yunchao xingshu geyan

A certain time after the end of the Second World War, with the consolidation of the Republic of Indonesia, some communities in Java renovated their temples and decorated them with new calligraphies. This was especially the case for Semarang and Cirebon where the population tried to reaffirm its links with local historical landmarks. In the Cave of Sanbao, to the west of Semarang, repairs were undertaken in the late 1950s. And in 1958, the director of the Indonesian Chinese Federation of Chambers of Commerce donated a pair of wooden tablets to commemorate the first visit by Zheng He in 1405. Its content is rather modern, in the sense that it alludes to the different perception of the Admiral, in Chinese scholarship and popular beliefs. The text reads:[46]

航海成名有容在史，古洞詆徊歌仰止
立功異域吾道其南，世人膜拜奉為神 (P. 14)

He became famous for his maritime expeditions that are recorded in history, in the old cave, it is little more than meditations and songs

He established merits in foreign countries, we praised him in the South, common people worship him as a deity.

chouming zuo jianshang 淩雲超行書格言軸名作鑒賞," http://www.gujinwenxue.com/zhuanti/37334.html (retrieved on 11/11/2019).

46. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 326.

In Cirebon, the Chaojue si, the oldest Chinese temple of Java still in existence, was repaired in the early 1960s, as a wooden inscription of 1963 indicates. Several wooden tablets were donated during this period, possibly by newcomers from Fujian who regarded Buddhist countries as enchanting lands. These calligraphers, who were learned in Buddhism, signed their works, either with their names or with pseudonyms. Among them, was a certain Zhang Houde 張厚德, native to Zhangzhou 漳州. One of his couplets, dated 1961, reads:[47]

是妙境佛境
有鐘聲潮聲

This is a wonderfully pleasing place, the domain of the Buddha
With the sound of the bell, and that of the tide. (P. 15)

The rather optimistic atmosphere of the early 1960s did not last long. As a result of the events of 1965, the Indonesian government planned a number of measures aimed at cutting off the Indonesian Chinese community from its ancient roots and speeding up its assimilation process. Chinese schools were

47. Franke, Salmon & Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia,* II (1), p. 220.

systematically suppressed, as were publications in Chinese, with the exception of one governmental newspaper in Jakarta. Moreover, Chinese characters were prohibited in public place. This put an end to the use of calligraphy in Chinese sanctuaries. Chinese characters were obliterated everywhere, panels were taken down and relegated to the storerooms, and the texts of many inscriptions covered with paper.[48] During the thirty odd years during which Chinese characters were banned, Sino-Indonesian calligraphers were compelled to work secretly in the privacy of their apartments.

Calligraphy and Sino-Indonesian Identity since the Late 1990s

After the fall of President Suharto in 1998, the prohibition of Chinese characters was released, newspapers and Chinese medium schools gradually reappeared, while the old calligraphers came out of the shadows, as if they had been forced to sleep for several decades. Judging by the rapidity with which the old calligraphers initiated collective activities, one may assume that they just resumed old habits. It is also quite possible that during the New Order, some of them did not discontinue meeting and even teaching calligraphy. Women calligraphers who quite often had been educators in Chinese schools may have played a significant part in that respect, but these facts remain difficult to establish.

We will see successively: how calligraphers tried to structure their calligraphic activities by creating diverse associations at the local, national and international levels; how they used these associations to organize various calligraphic exhibitions; finally, how they planned the calligraphic education of the young generations.

A Multitude of Calligraphic Associations

It seems that in order to consolidate their social and political position, the Sino-Indonesians renewed with their old ways of forming various kinds of associations ranging from geographically based ones to professional, and cultural ones, sometimes the three sorts overlapping. As far as one can judge, a great many of the persons interested in calligraphy were and still are of Hakka origin. The Hokkiens come in second position.

As early as 1998, a first association of calligraphy called Zuimo shufa she 醉墨書法社 or "Drunk Calligraphy Society" was founded at the

48. A few professionals excepted who continued to write epitaphs and various types of couplets used for private ceremonies: wedding, funerals, and New Year festivities. Such as Li Tju Kwet (71 years old) who owns a small shop in Glodok, Pancoran VI, N° 7 (Jakarta). See http://nationalgeographic.grid.id/read/131627263/lim-tju-kwet-kaligrafer-aksara-han-yang-tersisa-di-pecinan-glodok?fbclid=IwAR0Bwf1pa_IQfLQuZI2mGdleOL3634Im7xHhegSXU2ChNYvLmiCrVgDJh-Y (retrieved on 7/12/2018).

initiative of Li Xiuxian 李秀賢, and Huang Guonan 黃國楠. Li Xiuxian, Indonesian name Susianawati Rusli, is a talented and dynamic Hakka lady of Fengshun 豐順 (Guangdong) ancestry. She was born in 1947 in Pematang Siantar, was educated in Medan (Sumatra), and taught there for a time in a Chinese school where her mother was a teacher. She later on settled in Jakarta along with her husband. This little society soon attracted the attention of numerous calligraphers from the capital, all more than sixty. In 2003, it was expanded and renamed Yinni shuyi xiehui 印尼書藝協會, or Indonesian Calligraphy Association. It is worthy of note that these calligraphers inscribed their new association within the framework of the Indonesian nation, as if to signify that their art is an integral part of the national culture, and thus to assure its legitimacy.

Li Xiuxian presided the first three sessions. She was succeeded by two other lady calligraphers: Tao Biru 陶璧如, about whom little is known, for the two following sessions and, since 2019, by Rao Yunzhi 饒韻芝.[49] Rao Yunzhi (born in 1955), equally of Hakka ancestry, comes from a family of artists and received part of her schooling in Taiwan. Her father Rao Xiquan 饒錫全 was a painter, several of her relatives are also involved in calligraphy. The Raos are said to be related to the late historian, painter and calligrapher Jao Tsung-I (Rao Zongyi) 饒宗頤 (1917-2018) native of Chao'an 潮安, Guangdong, who was based in Hong Kong. His memory is kept in the Jao Tsung-I Academy, or Rao Zongyi wenhuaguan 饒宗頤文化館.

Equally during the same year 1998, calligraphers and painters from East Java founded an association named Dongzhuawa shuhua xiehui 東爪哇書畫協會. This initiative was followed by those calligraphers residing in other cities, such as Bandung, where the Wanlong shufa xiehui 萬隆書法家協會, or Bandung Association of Calligraphers, was founded on March 9, 2009 by Huang Dechang 黃德昌 (of Hakka ancestry, born in Bandung in 1947, who had learned calligraphy with his father),[50] and a few other personalities. Such as Li Huizhu 李惠珠 of Hakka ancestry, born in Bandung in 1941, and currently teaching calligraphy at Maranatha Christian University[51]. Similar associations were created in Semarang, and Medan. The first, called Sanbaolong shuhuajia xiehui 三寶壠書畫家協會, or Semarang Association of Calligraphers, was initiated in 2009 by Fang Fujie 方福捷; the second, called Yixinyuan shuhua xueshe 怡馨苑書畫學社, "Painting and calligraphy Study Group from the Garden of Harmony and Fragrance," was founded (date unknown) by Kuang Baocheng 鄺保

49. *Shangbao* 商報 (Jakarta), 2019.05.29, "Rao Yunzhi dang xuan yinni shuyi xiehui diliuren huizhang 饒韻芝當選印尼書藝協會第六任會長."

50. *Guoji ribao* 國際日報 *International Daily News* (Jakarta, Jawa Pos Group), 2017.04.20, "黃德昌生平事蹟."

51. Private communication from Li Huizhu.

成, presumably of Cantonese ancestry, as chairperson, and Chen Daorong 陳道容 of Hainanese ancestry, as vice chair. All these associations live on membership fees as well as donations.

Given the success of these different societies, some of their members decided to create a national association that would facilitate dialogue with foreign calligraphy counterparts. After a meeting of the main officials, the Yinni shufajia xiehui 印尼書法家協會, Perkumpulan Kaligrafer Indonesia or Indonesia Calligraphers Association, was founded in Bandung on February 27, 2011.[52] Li Xiuxian was appointed chair of the first session, Huang Dechang deputy executive chair, and Ruan Yuanchun 阮淵椿 acting chairman. Ruan Yuanchun, Indonesian name Steve Yenadhira, of Hokkien ancestry, was born in Jakarta in 1948, and he has practised calligraphy and Chinese painting since the time he was a child. He is a well-known book artist in Indonesian art world, who has worked in the vanguard of advertising for visual arts for more than twenty years.[53] The association is hosted at the headquarters of Yongding huiguan 永定會館.

This pyramid structure was further reinforced with the creation in Jakarta of two international associations: the first, called Dongmeng – Zhongguo shuhuajia lianhe zonghui 東盟–中國書畫家聯合總會 or ASEAN-China Federation of Calligraphers and Painters,[54] was founded, on November 11, 2013, under the leadership of Ruan Yuanchun;[55] the second, called Shijie haiwai huaren shufajia xiehui 世界海外華人書法家協會 or Overseas Chinese Calligraphers Association (OCCA), bringing together calligraphers from around the world was founded on December 19, 2015. At that time, the OCCA regrouped calligraphers belonging to 33

52. "亚细安书法：印度尼西亚书法家协会", http://icalligraphy.blogspot.com/2016/05 (retrieved on 04/02/2020).

53. In 1995, Ruan Yuanchun and his wife founded Phoenix which is a wide format digital printing company, that specializes in off-set, digital and screen printing. In 2006, they launched the Divine Art Gallery known in Chinese as Siyuan meishuguan 思源美術館 (The H Tower Kav.20, Jl. H. R. Rasuna Said, RT.1/RW.5, Karet Kuningan, Kecamatan Setiabudi, Kota Jakarta Selatan). In 2013, Phoenix was merged with Innova (a creative media division of Voxa that was founded in 2001) to form Innophoenix. It specializes in innovative advertising. See Innophoenix profile 2013/01/30: https://innopheonix.wordpress.com (retrieved on 04/02/2020).

54. The Dongmeng shufajia xiehui 東盟書法家協會 or South East Asia Calligraphers' Association (SEACA) had been founded in Malacca on September 9, 2016. http://blog.sina.cn/s/blog_16e22c1580102x4z1.htlm (retrieved on 10/02/2020).

55. *Guoji ribao International Daily News,* 24/06/2016, "Ruan Yuanchun cujin yinni shufa wenhua pengbo fazhan de jiaojiaozhe, Hu Sudan heli goujian yinni zai haiwai shufajie de mengwhu diwei 阮淵椿 促進印尼書法文化蓬勃發展的佼佼者, 胡素丹合力構建印尼在海外書法界的盟主地位. "

countries.[56] Hu Sudan 胡素丹 has been appointed Counseling chairperson, Ruan yuanchun Chair, and Li Xiuxian Vice chair. Worthy of note, Hu Sudan, the youngest of the three, was born in Jakarta, where she received her Chinese education from her Hakka mother.[57]

Calligraphic Activities and Identity Shaping

Calligraphy and painting exhibitions took place in Java even before the foundation of the Indonesia Calligraphers Association. This very fact shows enough the importance of calligraphy as a means to renew social links. For instance, the Perhimpunan Pengusaha Indonesia Tionghoa or Chinese Indonesian Entrepreneurs Association and the 中國書畫國際交流中心 or China Calligraphy and Painting International Center – founded the previous year in Shenzhen 深圳 – initiated an exhibition presenting 120 pieces of art (70 from China and 50 from Indonesia) that took place in VOC Galangan (Jakarta) from 20 to 24 September 2008. According to a report published in *Kompas*[58] among the Indonesian calligraphers who exposed works were "Steve Yenadhira [Ruan Yuanchun], Abidin Tane, Darwin H., Pai Cien Nan [白建南], and Chaeng Sui Lung." Three other exhibitions were held in 2009, 2010, and 2011, at the initiative of Fang Fujie, and with the financial support of the Sino-Indonesian community; they were aimed at presenting calligraphic works from Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung and Medan.

Since the foundation of the Indonesia Calligraphers Association, cultural activities related to calligraphy have continued to develop in a spectacular way, strengthening among Sino-Indonesians the feeling of belonging to a cosmopolitan cultural world, while being an integral part of Indonesian society. In order to give the reader an idea of this development, we present below a non-exhaustive chronological list of these meetings around calligraphy.

– 2011, shortly after the establishment of Yinni shufajia xiehui, several members of the association went to Guangzhou in order to participate in the creation by 100 artists from the whole world of a long calligraphic scroll, 100 meters long, to commemorate the centenary of the 1911 Revolution.

56. Among which: France, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Korea, Japan, Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Laos, Myanmar, Canada, United States of America, Brazil, Peru, Australia, New Zealand, Tanzania.

57. Hu Sudan's husband, You Jizhi 游繼志 (Indonesian name Budi Yuwono), of Yongding ancestry, is the owner of the PT Sinde Budi Sentosa which produces a wide range of pharmaceutical products and famous health drinks marketed through Indonesia and abroad, and the chairman of the Yongding huiguan.

58. https://regional.kompas.com/read/2008/09/17/17314278/voc.galangan.selenggarakan.pameran.kaligrafi.cina. "VOC Galangan Selenggarakan Pameran Kaligrafi Cina" (accessed on 15.12.2019).

The scroll entitled "Jinian xinhai geming bainian haineiwai bairen baimi shufa changjuan 紀念辛亥革命百年海內外百人百米書法長卷" is kept in the Memorial Hall of the Revolution of 1911 or Guangzhou huanghuagang jinianguan 廣州黃花崗紀念館.[59]

– 2012, several Indonesian calligraphers went to Guangzhou again in order to take part in the 2012 Dragon Year International Dragon Painting and Calligraphy Exhibition or Longnian guoji shuhua dazhan 龍年國際書畫大展, organized at the initiative of the Zhongguo wenhua yishu yanjiu zhongxin 中國文化藝術研究中心 or Chinese Culture and Art Research Center and the Guangdongsheng qiaolian 廣東省僑聯, or Guangdong Overseas Chinese Federation. The same year the Indonesia Calligraphers Association in conjunction with the Divine Art Gallery and the Chinese Culture and Art Research Center organized a similar exhibition in Jakarta.[60]

– 2014, the Zhongguo – dongmeng wenhua jiaoliunian shuhua dazhan 中國–東盟文化交流年書畫大展 or China-ASEAN Cultural Exchange Year Calligraphy and Painting Exhibition took place successively in Jakarta on December 6, 2014, and in Guangzhou on December 17, 2014.[61]
More than 300 pieces coming from mainland China, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Philippines, Burma, and Laos were exhibited.

– 2015, a special calligraphy exhibition took place in Jakarta to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Bandung Conference. It exhibited a hundred pieces of works emanating from 80 calligraphers coming from Indonesia, China, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines.[62]

– 2016, the Indonesia Calligraphers Association along with Shanghai shufa xiehui laonian weiyuanhui 上海書法家協會老年委員會, or Shanghai Calligraphers Association Senior Committee, organized in Jakarta an exhibition entitled "Hanmo qiandao qing 翰墨千島情 or Affectionate Calligraphic Expression for the Thousand Islands."[63]

– 2017 the first OCCA Calligraphy exhibition, that was entitled "Yidai

59. http://www.xhgmw.com/html/huodong/2014/0811/17760.html (retrieved on 06.02.2020).

60. http://ecul-web.wsbgt.com/Culture/Detail?newId=50665; https://indonesia.sinchew.com.my/node/29360 (retrieved on 07/02/2020).

61. Richard Ren, 12/22/2014, "2014 Zhongguo-dongmeng wenhua jiaoliunian shuhua dazhan zai yajiada he guangzhou juxing 2014 中國-東盟文化交流年書畫大展在雅加達和廣州舉行,"http://aacyf.org/?p=487 (retrieved on 06/02/2020).

62. http://world.people.com.cn/n/2015/0418/c157278-26866472.html (retrieved on 07/02/2020).

63. "谢锋大使出席 '翰墨千岛' 中印尼书法交流展 2016/02/26," id.china-embassy.org/ (retrieved on 07/02/2020).

yilu 一帶一路 or One Belt One Road" took place in Jakarta. It exhibited calligraphic works from 39 countries.[64]

– 2019 the Indonesia Calligraphy Association organized the 3rd Indonesian-Malaysian Calligraphy Exchange Exhibition entitled Yefeng moyun 椰風墨韻 that may be understood as "Wind in the Coconut Palms and Calligraphic Rhymes" or "Atmosphere of Coconut Palms and Calligraphy." The exhibition was held on 18/01/2019, for the inauguration of the "Yun" Artified Community Art Center or "Yun" Meishuguan 《韻》美術館[65] newly founded by Rao Yunzhi[66] at Jl. Katamaran 3, N° 33-35, Kapuk Muara, Kec. Penjaringan.[67]

– Six months later (from 12 to 14 July 2019), with the assistance of the Qi Gong shuyuan 啟功書院, or Qi Gong Academy,[68] from Beijing Shifan daxue 北京師範大學 or Beijing Normal University, Rao Yunzhi organized a second exhibition entitled Sichou hanfeng 絲綢翰風 or Silk Road Calligraphy, aimed at presenting 130 master pieces emanating from 100 professors of calligraphy coming from the PRC. After the inauguration speeches, the participants were requested to compose one calligraphic piece each, which they presented to the Art Center. And to close the exhibition, the director of the Qi Gong shuyuan, Wang Ke 汪珂, and several other professors gave lectures on the art of calligraphy and its history.[69] It was certainly an unprecedented event. For Indonesian calligraphers, it was a rare occasion to make up for the time lost during these thirty odd years during which the use of Chinese writing had been prohibited; for their Chinese counterparts, it was an opportunity to reinforce the cultural dialogue with calligraphers abroad.[70]

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64. "印尼舉辦紀念亞非會議60周年全國書畫作品"; http://world.people.com.cn/n/2015/0418/c157278-26866472.html (retrieved on 07/02/2019).
http://usa.fjsen.com/2017-05/12/content_19510790.htm "一帶一路"首屆海外華人書法家協會大展筆會在雅加達舉行" (retrieved on 07/02/2020).

65. "Yun 韻" means rhyme, harmony, refined…

66. The "Yun" Artified Community Art Center was inaugurated on 18/01/2019. "The opening Yun Artified's official opening was marked with the opening exhibit by Yince Djuwija herself and Beijing-based artist Zheng Lu whose work was on display in Jakarta for the first time. A total of 60 artworks are on the display - featuring Chinese Calligraphy, naturalist paintings and a few sculptures - curated by Jim Supangat." Source: Yun Artified Community Art Center Officially Opens | NOW! JAKARTA (retrieved on 2019/01/23).

67. https://kknews.cc/culture/8pze46l.html (retrieved on 07/11/2019).

68. Qi Gong or Qigong (1912-2005) was born in Beijing into a Manchu family. His father and grandfather were literati. Qigong himself was a renowned calligrapher, painter and scholar. He taught as professor in the Department of Chinese language of Beijing Normal University. The Qi Gong Academy was founded in 2012.

69. https://news.sina.cn/2019-07-19/detail-ihytcitm3078302.d.html (retrieved 15/11/2019); https://news.sina.cn/2019-07-19/detail-ihytcitm3078302.d.htlm (retrieved on 17/12/2019).

70. http://www.guojiribao.com/shtml/gjrb/20190703/1487691.shtml (retrieved on

All these activities show that the practice of calligraphy has entered a new path. In addition to self-expression, it has become a means to develop social relations both regionally and internationally. In doing so, the calligraphers participate in several cultural worlds at the same time, which consolidates their social status in their own society. We have yet to see how the Indonesian calligraphers intervene in an attempt to sustain their new cultural identity within their own society.

How to Sustain the Place of Calligraphy within Indonesian Society?

Interested parties do not elaborate much on the subject, but some hints may be found by investigating the various measures that have been taken at different levels, ranging from the development of calligraphy teaching (mainly with tuition fees), to specific actions for its political acceptance.

A great number of private calligraphy academies have been initiated, or perhaps revived, in the main cities of Java, and in Medan. One of the oldest, if not the oldest, is certainly the Indonesia Calligraphy and Painting Institute, Yinni shuhua xueyuan 印尼書畫學院, that was founded in Jakarta in 1998 by Li Xiuxian and Hu Sudan. It is hosted on the fourth floor of the Yongding huiguan, and provides collective courses every Saturday morning. When I visited this institute in January 2019, there were four or five teachers for about thirty students whose age ranged from about 7 to more than 70. At the end of the course, teachers and students shared a lunch together. It is difficult to figure the real number of these academies in Jakarta alone, because they do not seem to advertise in the press.[71] However, journalists occasionally allude to such institutions in relation with calligraphy exhibitions, such as for the one organized in 2011 by the Yujiazhuang yishu buluo 漁家莊藝術部落, or Group of Artists of the Fisher Village, headed by Yang Meng 楊猛;[72] they also make presentations of these institutes when they open, such as the Wenyuan shuhuayuan 文遠書畫苑[73] when it was created in 2012, and the "Yun" Artified Community Art Center in 2019. Some fifty people attended the inauguration ceremony of the Wenyuan shuhuayuan newly founded by Ouyang Wenzhi 歐陽文植 at Jl. Merpati 1, N° 80, Kav. Polri Jelambar. Among them were the chairs of various calligraphy and painting associations, such as Li Xiuxian,

07/12/2019).

71. In this study we do not include the calligraphy institutes founded by foreign agencies.

72. 漁家莊藝術部落書畫展開幕, http://old.shangbaoindonesia.com/?p=5085 (retrieved on12/12/2019).

73. The name of this academy refers to the Chinese set phrase *yanwen xing yuan*言文行遠, that may be rendered as "Elegant words can spread far away".

Ruan Yuanchun, and the late Hu Yuanjing 胡原菁, the latter being the chair of another association named Zhonghua shuhua xiehui中華書畫協會 or Association of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting.[74] As for the inauguration ceremony of the Yun Artified Community Art Center, a non-profit institution, initiated by Rao Yunzhi (who is also the founder of the non-profit organization Indonesia-China Art Association or ICAA),[75] it was attended by more than one hundred guests coming from any corner of Indonesia and from China, Malaysia and Singapore. This last institution is composed of a museum that hosts various exhibitions of painting and calligraphy, and of a non-commercial art center that holds regular workshops for the public, varying from oil painting, Chinese calligraphy to Chinese ink painting, and sculptures.[76]

The calligraphers have also worked very hard to ensure that the meaning of calligraphy may be understood by the non-Chinese Indonesians. Some of them give once a week courses free of charge, like Li Huizhu in Bandung, who teaches in the Yayasan Dana Sosial Priyangan, or Boliangan fuli jijinhui 渤良安富利基金會, for any Indonesian interested in this form of art, even if he or she has not yet learned Chinese.[77] Moreover they do their best to make Chinese calligraphy enter public celebrations, as the two following examples show.

At the occasion of the Festival Pecinan that took place in Pancoran (Jakarta) on March 3, 2018, Ruan Yuanchun presented Governor DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan, and Vice-Governor Sandiaga Uno with a pair of scrolls containing a special message dedicated to them, in the shape of an old adage, that reads:[78]

> 風調雨順
> 國泰民安
>
> [May] the wind and rain come in their time
> [May] the country be prosperous and the people at peace (P. 16)

74. http://old.shangbaoindonesia.com/?p=33226 (retrieved on 11/11/2019).

75. The first exhibition organized by ICAA was held at the National Museum Indonesia (18-25 October 2014), see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5GM-COGAVfo (retrieved on 10/12/2019).

76. https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2019/02/08/nonprofit-yun-artified-community-art-center-aims-to-connect-chinese-indonesian-artists.html (retrieved on 23/01/2019).

77. http://dy.163.com/v2/article/detail/EDAC86150520GBCO.html (retrieved on 07/12/2019).

78. https://www.tribunnews.com/metropolitan/2018/03/03/hadiah-kaligrafi-tionghoa-mengandung-arti-untuk-anies-baswedan-dan-sandiaga-uno (retrieved on 20/11/2019).

In the same way, but at the national level, they managed to introduce calligraphy for the commemoration of the 2018 National Day on August 17, and the 18th session of Asian Games that took place the following day. For this purpose, on August 16, they held in Jakarta at the Nelayan International Exhibition Hall, an international exhibition called in Indonesian Pameran Kaligrafi Merayakan HUT RI dan Asian Games Jakarta, or Calligraphy Exhibition Celebrating Republic of Indonesia Anniversary, and Jakarta Asian Games, and in Chinese: Mohai hongfan 墨海紅帆, or Red Sails on a Sea of Ink.[79] This Chinese title was conceived by Hu Sudan and is reproduced on the official invitation card (P. 17). She also contributed a piece of calligraphy that reads *zhenxing yinni* 振興印尼, or To Achieve Prosperity to Indonesia, that expressed the wishes of the whole Indonesian community. Ruan Yuanchun, on his side, wrote a calligraphy in four characters that reads *shutu tonggui* 殊途同歸 or To Reach the same Goal by Different Routes, which is an old Chinese adage. [80] Here it alludes to the Indonesian device *Bhinneka Tunggal*

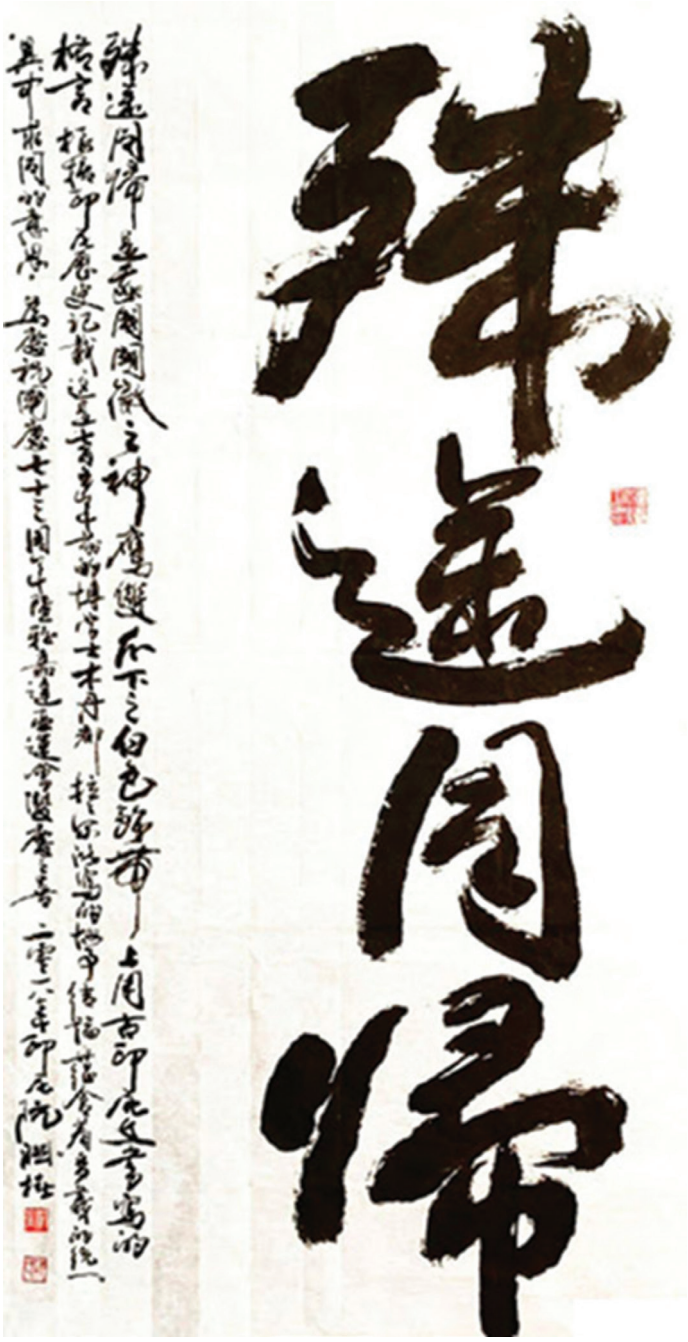
79. http://icalligraphy.blogspot.com/2018/08/2018_22.html (retrieved on 20/11/2019). The red color having here a double meaning: symbolizing the Indonesian flag "Merah Putih" and the Chinese tradition according to which the red color is used to celebrate big events.

80. http://icalligraphy.blogspot.com/2018/08/2018_22.html (retrieved on20/11/2019). It takes its origin from a commentary to the *Yijing* 易經, or Book of Changes (one of the Five Classics) named *Xici xiazhuan*繫辭下傳 (diwu zhang 第五章), The complete

Ika, or Unity in Diversity (inscribed on the scroll gripped by the Garuda's claws), that takes its origin from a 14th century poem in old Javanese written by Mpu Tantular, as Ruan Yuanchun explains in his commentary.[81] (P. 18)

sentence reads:"易曰:「憧憧往來，朋從爾思。」子曰：「天下何思何慮？天下同歸而殊塗，一致而百慮，天下何思何慮？"The *Yijing* says: If one is irresolute, only our friends follow us in our thoughts. The Master said: In this world, how to think, how to ponder? By different roads we reach the same goal, by different ways of thinking we reach unity. In this world, how to think, how to ponder?"

81. The commentary reads: 殊途同歸 是我國國徽之神鷹雙爪下之白色飾帶上，用古印尼文書寫的格言。根據印尼歷史記載，這是七百多年前的博學士　木丹都拉爾所寫的故事，結論蘊含著多義的統一，"異中求同"的意思"　。為慶祝國慶七十三周年暨雅嘉達亞運會雙慶之喜。二零一八年 印尼 阮淵椿. Our thanks to Leo Suryadinata who helped us decipher a few characters.



The exhibition was organized by the Indonesia Calligraphers Association in conjunction with the ASEAN-China Federation of Calligraphers and Painters. It displayed about 200 calligraphies that all expressed in one way or another their wishes for a flourishing Indonesia and successful Asian Games.

This study focuses almost entirely on the use of pragmatic and political calligraphy among Chinese communities of Java over a little more than three centuries. It leads us to the conclusion that, as in China, calligraphy has been the most influential popular form of culture, and the most common means of social, religious, and political dialogue. This raises the question of the literacy of the migrants and their descendants. If we consider that, at least since the late 17th century, the various heads ruling local Chinese communities issued regulations on placards written in Chinese,[82] one may assume that a sufficient number of the urban male population was composed of medium-literates. The calligraphic inscriptions from 18th century-merchants discussed here, show that calligraphy was part of the curriculum of many merchants, even those born locally such Wang Zhusheng (Ong Soe Seeng). Since the end of the 19th century, and even more after the establishment of the Republic, serious efforts were made to develop education by the creation of modern Chinese schools for boys as well as for girls.

From the 20th century onward, amateur calligraphers have come from the business world and from the teaching profession. We know almost nothing about the first female calligraphers who were possibly teachers born in China. We only perceive those of the second or third generation, born in Indonesia, like Li Xiuxian. Due to the twists and turns of the 20th century, we more or less lose track of calligraphers and their role in society. The abrupt stop being brought on with the prohibition of the use of Chinese characters during all the period of the New Order. In 1998, the rehabilitation of Chinese characters in public spaces, the reappearance of a press and schools in Chinese revived the public use of calligraphy. The old generation of calligraphers, for the most part born in Indonesia, resurfaced, all older than 60. As in other Asian countries, these calligraphers started to form calligraphy and calligrapher associations. The first calligraphers to structure themselves were those of Singapore in 1968; they were followed by their counterparts in China (1981), Malaysia (1985), Philippines (1989), Indonesia (1998), and Thailand (2012). All these associations focus on promoting research, exchange, innovation, education, as well as gathering of artists, and calligraphy exhibitions. In the case of Indonesia, these associations also aim at shaping a new cultural identity within Indonesian society, that may be summed up with the motto: *Saya Tionghoa Seratus percent Indonesia*, or "I am Chinese One Hundred Percent Indonesian."

82. Some of these placards dating from the 17th and 18th centuries still exist.

Jack Meng-Tat Chia [1]

Singing to Buddha: The Case of a Buddhist Rock Band in Contemporary Indonesia [2]

Introduction

In the spring of 2016, when I was conducting research in Jakarta, I met with a Singaporean friend (and informant) who was there on vacation for a few days. That evening over dinner, he enthusiastically shared with me about an upcoming Buddhist Vesak Day concert in Singapore, called "Sadhu for the Music," that he was helping to organize. "Sadhu for the Music," as he told me, would be the first collaborative music concert featuring Buddhist organizations from Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore.[3] My friend, knowing that I am working on the history of Buddhism in Indonesia, asked me if I have heard of an Indonesian Buddhist band known as "True Direction." "They perform Buddhist rock music that resembles those Christian praise

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2. Earlier versions of this article were presented at the 2018 Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, the Multiplicity of Asian Buddhist Modernities Conference, and the Oldenborg Luncheon Colloquium at Pomona College. I am grateful to James Benn, Penny Edwards, Ming-yen Lee, Scott Mitchell, Zhiru Ng, Robert Sharf, Erick White, and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments. I would also like to thank Tan Guan Fan, Ardy Wong, and Irvyn Wongso for their time and assistance. This work was supported by an Overseas Postdoctoral Fellowship and a Start-Up Grant from the National University of Singapore.

3. For more information on the "Sadhu for the Music" Concert, see Sadhu for the Music (2016).

and worship songs, you know?" he said excitedly. He went on to share with me about True Direction's latest song, "Dhamma Is My Way," and their "cool" music videos on YouTube. This made me really curious about the Buddhist band. When I returned home that night, I immediately looked up True Direction's YouTube channel and Facebook page, and was intrigued by their seemingly "Christianized" songs and religious activities. Given my research on Indonesian Buddhism and my interest in Buddhist music, I began to consider the possibility of investigating the history and activities of True Direction. Subsequently, with the assistance of a few friends, I was in touch with the organization's founder, Irvyn Wongso, and learnt more about the Buddhist group from various online and printed sources.

Buddhism is one of the six officially recognized religions in present-day Indonesia. A broad range of Buddhist traditions are present in the country, including Theravāda, Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, as well as the localized Buddhayāna movement. According to the 2010 Indonesian national census, Buddhists make up approximately 0.7% (around 1.7 million) of the total population in the world's largest Muslim country (Sensus Penduduk 2010). Previous studies on Buddhism in modern Indonesia have attempted to examine the Buddhist "revival" by offering a broad historical overview of the development of Buddhism in the twentieth century (Barker 1976; Ishii 1980; Kimura 2003; Linder 2017; Steenbrink 2013; Suryadinata 2005). A number of scholars have focused their attention on Ashin Jinarakkhita, whom Indonesians consider to be the first Indonesian-born Buddhist monk, and his controversial monotheistic concept of "Sang Hyang Ādi-Buddha" during Indonesia's New Order period (1966–1998) (Bechert 1981; Brown 1987; Chia 2017; Chia 2018; Ekowati 2012). Some recent studies have observed the resurgence of Chinese culture, language, and religion in the post-New Order era, highlighting the growth of Buddhism in many parts of Indonesia (Suprajitno 2011; Suprajitno 2013; Syukur 2010). Despite this so-called Buddhist "revival" and the burgeoning scholarship on Indonesian Buddhism, there is no study thus far that examines the production and performance of Buddhist music in contemporary Indonesia.[4] This article, therefore, aims to shed some light on Indonesia's Buddhist music through the case of a Buddhist music organization in Jakarta.

Buddhologists and ethnomusicologists have paid much attention to the role of music in Buddhist traditions.[5] Francesca Tarocco (2001) in her review essay points out that Buddhist music associated with diverse traditions and practices can be seen in South, Southeast and East Asia, as well as in Western Buddhist

4. Several previous studies examine the relationship between Buddhism and music in Indonesia during the Hindu-Buddhist period. See, for instance, Becker (1971); Harnish (1993/94).

5. For a bibliography of Buddhism and Music, see Szczepanski (2014).

communities. She suggests that scholarly research on Buddhist music can be broadly divided into three categories, namely, 1) liturgical practices involving choral chanting and instruments; 2) para-liturgical and ritual practices; and 3) contemporary new Buddhist music. Comparatively, scholars of Chinese and American Buddhist music traditions have also classified Buddhist music into three categories. While Pi-yen Chen (2005) suggests that the "three mainstream genres" of Chinese Buddhist music are Buddhist chant, devotional song, and commercial music, Scott Mitchell (2013) notes that the three forms of Buddhist music that are prevalent in America are Buddhist chants, devotional and liturgical music, and popular musical expressions. A review of previous literature reveals that liturgical and ritual music are the types of Buddhist music that have received the most scholarly attention (see Chen 2001; Qing 1994; Szczepanski 2014). Responding to these gaps, a handful of scholars have started to pay closer attention to varied forms of "new" Buddhist music, such as "rock music," "hymn," and "popular music" in contemporary society (Cupchik 2016; Lin 2012; Mitchell 2014; Steen 1998). To this end, this study attempts to explore why and how Indonesian Buddhists compose and perform what scholars would consider "contemporary new Buddhist music" or "popular music" (Mitchell 2013; Tarocco 2001) in present-day Indonesia.

This article uses the case of True Direction to explore the development and performance of Buddhist music in contemporary Indonesia. I argue that although True Direction's music in many ways resembles contemporary Christian music, the organization does not produce contemporary Buddhist songs—or "Buddhist rock" as I call this form of religious music—to replace Buddhist devotional practices with Christian-style worship service. By Buddhist rock, I refer to rock music with lyrics focusing on the tenets of Buddhist faith and teachings. While Irvyn Wongso and his colleagues, like their Christian counterparts, rely on religious rock music as an evangelical tool to attract a younger audience, they consider contemporary Buddhist music as complementary, rather than alternative, to existing Buddhist devotional practices.[6] Instead of mimicking Christian worship, True Direction functions as a music school for training Buddhist musicians and promotes rock songs alongside common Buddhist devotional practices. Thus, this study reveals that Indonesian Buddhists are "local geniuses" in the selective adaptation of popular music to repackage Buddhist doctrine and attract young followers in contemporary Indonesian society.[7]

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6. Christian churches have used contemporary rock music known as praise and worship music in their religious services. For studies on Christian rock songs, see for instance, Bacchiocchi (2000); Goh (2008); Howard and Streck (1999); Reid Jr (1993).

7. H. G. Quaritch Wales coins the term "local genius" to describe local Southeast Asians that fused local elements and Indian influences in the development of Southeast Asian cultures during the Hindu-Buddhist period of the region's history. See, for instance, Wales (1951); Wolters (1999).

The present study is based on fieldwork, interviews, and online research conducted between 2015 and 2018. It draws on a wide range of materials, including interviews with True Direction's founder, Irvyn Wongso, and the group's former vocalist, Ardy Wong; newspaper and magazine articles; online videos and photo albums; and social media postings. This article is divided into four sections. The first section offers a brief background to the history of Buddhism in modern Indonesia. The second presents a biography of Irvyn Wongso, and discusses the establishment and evolution of True Direction. The third examines the production and performance of contemporary Buddhist songs by True Direction. The final section investigates True Direction's activities, revealing that the organization produces Buddhist rock songs to complement, not replace, Buddhist devotional practices in present-day Indonesia.

A Brief History of Buddhism in Modern Indonesia

Buddhism in present-day Indonesia has little, if not nothing, to do with the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of Srivijaya and Majapahit. Most Buddhists in Indonesia today are ethnic Chinese who migrated to the Dutch East Indies during the colonial period or descended from immigrant ancestors. In 1619, the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) founded Batavia (present-day Jakarta) and encouraged Chinese merchants, who had long been engaging in the spices trade at the neighboring port kingdom of Banten, to migrate to Batavia. The Chinese served the Dutch as contractors and tax farmers, recruited laborers and craftsmen from China, and supplied bricks and timber for buildings and city walls in the Dutch colonial port settlement over the next two centuries (Kuhn 2008). The arrival and settlement of Chinese immigrants contributed to the spread of Chinese Buddhism into the Dutch East Indies from as early as the seventeenth century. Kim Tek Ie (Jinde yuan 金德院, also known as Vihāra Dharma Bhakti), the oldest Buddhist temple in Indonesia, was established in 1650 in Glodok, a Chinese district in the southwest of Batavia. It was a popular place of worship among the overseas Chinese community and served as a residence for Chinese migrant monks. However, little is known about the identity of these monks and their religious activities in Batavia (Franke et al. 1997: xliv–5; Salmon and Lombard 1980: xviii). From the temple inscriptions, it appears that the *kapitan* and his Chinese community leaders were behind the management and funding of the temple, while monks were mainly ritual specialists serving the overseas Chinese community (Franke et al. 1997: 11–13).

Subsequent large-scale Chinese migration to the East Indies began in the mid-nineteenth century and lasted through the 1930s (Kuhn 2008). Indonesian Buddhists have generally considered Venerable Pen Ching (Benqing 本清, 1878–1962, also known as Mahasthavira Aryamula) as the first Chinese monk to actively propagate the Dhamma in the Dutch East Indies (Lembaga Litbang

Majelis Buddhayana Indonesia 2005). Pen Ching was born in 1878 in Fujian, China. At the age of 19, he became a novice at Guanghua Monastery (Guanghua si 廣化寺) under the tutelage of Venerable Thung Chan (Tongzhan 通湛). In 1901, Pen Ching traveled south to Dutch Java for the first time to propagate the Dhamma. He resided at the Tay Kak Sie (Dajue si 大覺寺), an eighteenth century Chinese temple located in Semarang, Central Java, where he taught the Dhamma for three years before returning to China. After his return, Pen Ching was nominated as abbot of the Guanghua Monastery, but he declined the invitation, and went back to the East Indies in the following year. In 1926, Pen Ching went to Jakarta and resided in a hut in the yard of a small Buddhist shrine, known as the Jade Lotus Hall (Yulian tang 玉蓮堂), in Petak Sinkian. When the shrine was relocated in 1949, the ownership of the land was transferred to Pen Ching. By then, the Chinese Civil War (1946–1949) with the impending Communist victory meant that Pen Ching could not return to China. Thus, he decided to settle in Indonesia and expanded the shrine into a monastery. In 1951, Pen Ching established the Kong Hoa Sie (Guanghua si 廣化寺), named after the Guanghua Monastery in China, which became an important Chinese Buddhist temple in postcolonial Indonesia (Chia 2018; Juangari 1995; Majelis Buddhayāna Indonesia 1990; Salmon and Lombard 1980).

Pen Ching's disciple, Ashin Jinarakkhita (1923–2002), also known as Ti Chen Lao He Sang (Tizheng Laoheshang 體正老和尚), is widely regarded as the first Indonesian-born Buddhist monk (*biksu pertama putra Indonesia*).[8] Born in 1923 to a Chinese immigrant family in Bogor, a city in West Java, Ashin Jinarakkhita developed interest in Buddhism from his visits to Chinese temples (*klenteng*) at a young age. During his studies in the Netherlands, Ashin Jinarakkhita became an active member of the Theosophical Society, where he began to study the teachings of major world religions and became particularly interested in Buddhism. His growing interest in Buddhism led him to the decision of fully devoting himself to the study and propagation of the faith. In 1953, Ashin Jinarakkhita organized the first national Vesak celebration at the ancient Buddhist site of Borobudur, restoring the monument into a place of worship. Later that year, he was ordained as a novice under Pen Ching at Kong Hoa Sie. A year later, he received his higher ordination and studied insight meditation (*vipassanā*) in Burma under the tutelage of Mahāsi Sayādaw (1904–1982). In 1955, Ashin Jinarakkhita returned to Indonesia and started his Buddhayāna movement, which had a profound impact in Indonesia during the second half of the twentieth century. He crafted an inclusive and non-sectarian vision of Indonesian Buddhism, which combined the doctrines and practices of Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna, as a diverse, yet unified religion in line with the motto of "Unity in Diversity" (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) of the postcolonial Indonesian nation (Chia 2018; Juangari 1995).

8. For a biography of Ashin Jinarakkhita, see Chia (2018); Juangari (1995).

During the New Order era (1966–1998), the Suharto regime was suspicious of Chinese Indonesians' ties to communist China and introduced a repressive ethnic policy to assimilate the Chinese Indonesian population. The Indonesian government promulgated a series of laws and presidential orders to assimilation (*pribumization*) aimed at Chinese Indonesians (Suryadinata 2007: 266). Furthermore, following a ban on all Chinese events in public, Buddhist temples were not allowed to organize religious ceremonies for Chinese festivals, such as the Lunar New Year, the Hungry Ghost Festival, and the Mid-Autumn Festival. Consequently, Buddhists could no longer use Chinese languages and characters in their liturgy and scriptures (Chia 2018: 52–53). As told to me by my informants, Mahāyāna scriptures and *mantra*s in Chinese had to be transliterated into Roman alphabet during the New Order period. Therefore, the Buddhayāna organizations turned to Pāli-language texts together with a selection of transliterated Chinese Buddhist texts for their liturgical and ritual practices (Ananda 2015; Dharmavimala Thera 2015). In addition, Ashin Jinarakkhita introduced the controversial concept of "Sang Hyang Ādi-Buddha" to make Buddhism compatible with the first principle of the Pancasila, the five philosophical pillars of Indonesia (see Brown 1987; Chia 2018; Ekowati 2012; Kimura 2003). Although Ashin Jinarakkhita's concept of Sang Hyang Ādi-Buddha was accepted by Suharto's government, thus ensuring the survival of Buddhism during the New Order era, he faced opposition from his Theravādin disciples and colleagues who claimed that he was deviating from "pure" Buddhist teachings. Consequently, five of his disciples left the Buddhayāna Sangha and founded a new Theravāda organization in Indonesia (Chia 2018: 58–59).

Despite numerous restrictions on Chinese religious institutions and practices during the New Order period, there was a burgeoning of Buddhist organizations in Indonesia during the 1970s. For this reason, the Suharto government recognized a need to unify the various Buddhist organizations under a national umbrella association. In May 1978, a Buddhist congress was held in Yogyakarta to form the Representatives of Indonesian Buddhists (Perwalian Umat Buddha Indonesia, hereafter WALUBI). At its establishment, WALUBI became the umbrella federation of three Sangha organizations, namely, Sangha Theravāda Indonesia, Sangha Mahāyāna Indonesia, and Sangha Agung Indonesia (SAGIN), and seven lay Buddhist organizations, namely, Majelis Agama Buddha Nichiren Shōshū Indonesia, Majelis Buddha Mahāyāna Indonesia, Majelis Dharma Duta Kasogatan, Majelis Pandita Buddha Dhamma Indonesia, Majelis Pandita Buddha Maitreya Indonesia, Majelis Rohaniawan Tridharma Seluruh Indonesia, and Majelis Buddhayāna Indonesia (MBI) (Chia 2018; Lembaga Litbang Majelis Buddhayana Indonesia 2005; Syukur 2010).[9]

9. In 1995, WALUBI expelled Ashin Jinarakkhita's SAGIN and MBI from the national Buddhist association. See Chia (2018); Suryadinata (1997).

Following the fall of Suharto and the anti-Chinese riots in May 1998, Indonesia went through a process of democratization and reformation (*reformasi*). The post-Suharto era saw the lifting of Chinese assimilation legislations and an increase in democratic space. This gave rise to the revival of Chinese culture, language, media, and religious practices (Hoon 2008; Setijadi 2016; Stenberg 2019). Concomitantly, there was a resurgence of Chinese festival celebrations and religious rites at Buddhist temples in various parts of Indonesia (Suprajitno 2011; Suprajitno 2013; Syukur 2010). In the course of my fieldwork in Indonesia over the last few years, I have noticed that the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians born during the New Order identify themselves as Buddhists. Although many of them can neither read nor speak Chinese, they are now learning to recite Chinese-language Buddhist scriptures using texts in *pinyin* romanization. But more interestingly, I have observed that a number of Indonesian Buddhist organizations have begun to rely on popular music to reach out to this younger generation of Chinese Indonesian Buddhists. While some temples have rearranged Buddhist chants with new instrumentation, other groups have produced and performed Buddhist popular and rock music. The establishment of True Direction and the development of its contemporary Buddhist music can therefore be understood in the context of growth and evolution of Buddhist institutions in post-New Order Indonesia.

Irvyn Wongso and the Founding of True Direction

To understand the founding of True Direction, one needs to first know its founder, Irvyn Wongso (Huang Junzhong 黃俊中, b. in 1978). True direction, as I would argue, both as a band and as an organization, is so closely intertwined with Irvyn Wongso, such that it is not possible to speak of it in either sense without referencing Wongso's ideals, values, and activities. Irvyn Wongso was born in 1978 to a middle-class Chinese Indonesian family in Medan, the capital of North Sumatra province. He indicated that both his parents are Buddhists, and his devout Buddhist mother often prayed and dedicated merits to him at temples during her pregnancy. Wongso claimed that he became interested in Buddhism at a young age, and wanted to become a monk when he was seven years old. However, Wongso's parents did not want their son to leave the household, and instead, sent him to study in a Christian missionary school, hoping that he would change his mind. At the Christian school, Wongso took bible classes and sang in a church choir. As Wongso shared with me, his churchgoing experience was the first time he realized that popular music could be used for religious activities (Wongso 2017a).

Despite his education at a Christian school, Irvyn Wongso did not convert to Christianity. On the contrary, Wongso's interest in Buddhism developed without his parents' knowledge as he learned more about Buddhist teachings from the Internet. During that time, Wongso studied the Dhamma from various

Buddhist websites and Internet chat groups. As his knowledge of Buddhism grew, Wongso enjoyed engaging in virtual debates with other Buddhists. As Wongso candidly shared with me, he thought that he was becoming a "bad" and "quarrelsome" person by intentionally using Buddhist teachings to argue with and criticize others. Wongso subsequently turned to learning the meditation practices of Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna Buddhist traditions, hoping to make himself a better person. He also traveled to various places to further his knowledge of the Buddhist teachings, claiming that he studied with lamas in Bhutan and in the Himalayas as well as forest monks in Thailand. According to Wongso, he is open to and respects the different Buddhist sects, but he identifies himself as a Theravāda Buddhist. He also said that his meditation training, coupled with his encounters with various Buddhist teachers and friends during his religious travels, inspired many of the songs he wrote and composed for True Direction, which I will discuss later (Wongso 2017a).

Just like his Buddhist belief, Irvyn Wongso became interested in music at a young age. He started learning to play the piano from his mother who was a music teacher. And to my surprise, although Wongso can play the piano quite well, he cannot read music notes and has learned everything, as he puts it, "by ear and by heart" (Wongso 2017a). After completing his middle school education, he left for high school in Western Australia, and continued his college education majoring in computer systems engineering at Curtin University in Perth, where he met his wife and they now have three sons. Wongso jokingly pointed out to me that his college degree has absolutely nothing to do with his interests in Buddhism and music, and especially, his current career in the music industry. In a strange twist of fate, Wongso returned to Indonesia after college and joined Nuansa Musik, the largest Yamaha music instrument dealer and music school in Indonesia, and had risen through the ranks to become the Chief Executive Officer and President Director of the company with some 850 employees under his charge (Wongso 2016a; Wongso 2017a).

Given his interest in Buddhism and music, Irvyn Wongso considered the possibility of using music to propagate the Buddhist teachings. In an online autobiographical interview, he highlights the intertwining relationship between Buddhism and music, explaining how music can be used as a tool to propagate the Dhamma and unite Buddhist communities around the world:

> For as long as I can remember, music and Buddhism is [sic] almost like water and oil. But we need both in our life. Don't you think? For many years, I've been a Buddhist. I've learned the Dhamma from all three different traditions. My bed sides are full of Dhamma books. I even hiked the Himalayan Mountains. Stayed in cave somewhere in the Thai forest to practice meditation. I never thought that I need music for my spiritual progress. Until one day, I noticed that many of my friends are turning their backs away from the Dhamma. And my children, they are listening to music which are not even suitable for them far from the Dhamma. And my Mum, she told me when she die [sic], she doesn't need all those rituals, just play her my song. So maybe I don't need music, but we all need the Dhamma.

> Don't you think? And music can open the door to Dhamma, just a little bit wider. Music also unites, not only people but also nations. Now we have come together as one, joining hands, to walk together in the path of the Dhamma, and to share the Dhamma through music (Wongso 2016b).

As the reference to his views on Buddhism and music suggests, Irvyn Wongso believes that music can bring his family and friends to study the Buddha's teachings. More importantly, he considers music as an ecumenical platform to unite Buddhists not only to learn the Dhamma, but also to share it with others. In my interview with Wongso, I probed more into his interest in Buddhist music and his motivations behind the establishment of True Direction. He candidly revealed his observation of the Buddhist scene in present-day Indonesia and highlighted the need for a Buddhist youth organization:

> In Indonesia, people only go to vihara or temple on special days. Many people come just to pray and get blessings from the monks. But on normal days, they don't come. And those who come are usually the [elderly] aunties and uncles who have nothing to do at home. And another group of temple-goers are the young kids—the Sunday school children. They are there because their parents just need some sort of cheap childcare when they go out on Sundays. So that is why they put their kids there. But I notice that there is a missing link between the young kids and the older generation. And it's the youths! There are obviously many reasons why they don't go to temples willingly. One thing is because we haven't been able to communicate the Dhamma through their language properly… You know, Dhamma is very deep and beautiful but if you don't speak to youths in their language, it means nothing to them. We need to attract more youths to come and learn the Dhamma. In my [music] industry, the curriculum for music classes is changing every year and we learn to teach music better… but we don't have this in Buddhism. So [Buddhists] assume that everyone loves to meditate and read the *Abhidhamma*.[10] One thing I feel that is crucial in our society not just today, but forever, is music… But we don't have many of this in Buddhism. So True Direction aims to [spread the] Dhamma through music (Wongso 2017a).

On June 16, 2015, Irvyn Wongso founded True Direction to achieve his aspiration of spreading Buddhism with the use of popular music that appeals to the young. According to him, the organization had its origins in the auditorium of his music company in Jakarta, which looks just like a Christian church auditorium (see Figure 1). Irvyn Wongso points out that the vision of True Direction is to become an "International Buddhist Musicians Fellowship" that "practices the Buddha Dhamma, gives positive contribution to the community and active in sharing the Dhamma especially through music" (True Direction 2018; Wongso 2017a). True Direction has five objectives: 1) to improve the

10. The *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is one of the three *piṭakas* (Pāli for "baskets") constituting the Pāli Canon, the standard collection of scriptures in the Theravāda Buddhist tradition. The *Abhidhamma* contains scholastic and philosophical analysis of the Buddha's teachings in the *Sutta Piṭaka* (Pāli for "Basket of Discourse"). See, for instance, Bodhi (2000).

Fig. 1 – True Direction's "Menuju Puncak" (Towards the Peak) Monthly Gathering. Photo courtesy of True Direction.

quality and competency of Buddhist musicians through workshops and training to meet the needs of the changing world; 2) to create high quality and distinctive Dhamma music that would be accepted by the community to inspire positive transformation; 3) to create a space for Buddhist musicians to grow, receive support in music composition, and to feel appreciated for their effort; 4) to serve as a venue for Buddhist musicians to deepen their understanding and practice of the Dhamma in their daily lives; and 5) to share the Dhamma and happiness with the society, and direct them to the noble path (True Direction 2018). The organization has been quite successful in recruiting young members since its establishment. According to Wongso, True Direction has approximately 120 musicians and most of its members are Chinese Indonesians between the ages of 15 and 40. The organization has grown quickly, and it currently has several hundred members and over 4,000 likes on Facebook (True Direction 2018; Wongso 2017a). My engagement with the followers indicates that most of them are Chinese Indonesians from middle-class backgrounds. Many of them are either college students or graduates in various professional fields.

It is significant to note that True Direction operates quite differently from the majority of the Buddhist organizations in Indonesia. First, Irvyn Wongso mentions that he has yet to formally register True Direction as a religious organization with the Indonesian government and does not intend to make

his organization a typical Buddhist temple. Rather, he wants True Direction to function as a music school that produces contemporary Buddhist songs and trains Buddhist musicians in western instruments, such as guitar, piano, drum, and keyboard. Therefore, the organization focuses on running music workshops, composing Buddhist songs, and spreading Buddhist music on various social media platforms. Second, Wongso encourages open membership in his organization. Although Wongso identifies himself as a Theravādin, he wants True Direction to remain non-denominational and welcomes Buddhists from all traditions to join his organization. Furthermore, True Direction also conducts music workshops for Buddhists from other temples, hoping that they will form their own bands and use contemporary Buddhist songs for Dhamma propagation in their respective organizations in the long run (Wongso 2017a). For instance, Ardy Wong, whom I will discuss later, was one of the key vocalists for True Direction's band before leaving to set up another Buddhist rock band in Indonesia (Wong 2017).

True Direction serves as an intriguing case study to understand the development of contemporary Buddhist music, demonstrating how rock songs are used as a tool for evangelizing the younger generation. To quote Wongso's (2017a) own words, the attempt to "share the Dhamma through music" with youths involves the production of contemporary Buddhist songs as well as the training of Buddhist musicians in western instruments and popular music. The transformation of Buddhist music, from liturgical chant to religious rock, formed the basis for the production of True Direction's first music album, which I will examine in the following section.

The Making of Buddhist Rock

A few months after its establishment, True Direction released its first music album *Dhamma is My Way* (see Figure 2), which contains nine contemporary Buddhist songs in English and Indonesian languages: 1) "Mari Melangkah" (Let's Go); 2) "Yang Patut Dimuliakan" (The Honored One); 3) "Akhir Dari Semua Dukkha" (End of All Suffering); 4) "Dhamma Is My Way"; 5) "Sang Tiratana" (The Triple Gems); 6) "Tiada Badai" (No Storms); 7) "Malam Suci Waisak" (The Holy Night of Vesak); 8) "Beautiful Heart, Peaceful Mind"; and 9) "Semoga Semua Hidup Berbahagia" (May All Beings Be Happy).[11] These songs have combined rock and popular music with lyrics presenting the tenets of Buddhist faith and doctrine. The song album is available for purchase in Indonesia and for paid online downloads (iTunes 2015).

11. The album also contains the instrumental versions of the songs "Dhamma Is My Way" and "Semoga Semua Hidup Berbahagia." See Musixmatch (2015).

Fig. 2 – *Dhamma Is My Way* Music Album. Photo courtesy of True Direction.

The lead song "Dhamma Is My Way," which is the only English song in the album, closely resembles a Christian praise and worship song (True Direction 2016). However, it is clear that Irvyn Wongso, who wrote the music and lyrics, was quick to point out to me that contrary to what many people had thought, he did not receive the inspiration to write the song from Christian rock music, but from practicing meditation in a cave in northern Thailand. He claimed that his meditation experiences helped him understand the "truth" that the Buddha taught and made him realize that "the Dhamma is [his] way to happiness and salvation" (Wongso 2017a). Regardless of whether Wongso's meditation experiences are meant to be taken literally or have been stylized to fit the expectations of his Buddhist colleagues and members, it is clear that Wongso recognizes that music serves as an effective tool for him to share his faith with the younger generation.

"Dhamma Is My Way"[12]

I've been looking for so long,
Through the darkest path of all.
Climbing up only to fall, again,
To find the one eternal light.

In the darkest time of night,
I see the beautiful moonlight.
Through the darkest time of life,
I finally see the truth.

12. See Musixmatch (2015).

The truth that blows away,
The dark clouds in my mind,
Now I have found the way.

Chorus:

Only Dhamma is my way,
From now and forever.
No other way is mine,
Until the end of time.

Another popular song from the album, "Semoga Semua Hidup Berbahagia" (May All Beings Be Happy), is based on the Pāli phrase, "Sabbe sattā sukhi hontu." The lyrics, which are based on teachings from the *Mettā Sutta* (Discourse on Loving-Kindness), are translated in the table below. According to Irvyn Wongso, he wrote this Indonesian-language song as a prayer for all sentient beings, hoping that they will always be well and happy.

"Semoga Semua Hidup Berbahagia"[13]
(May All Beings Be Happy [translation mine])

Semua yang disini, Wahai saudaraku, Mari satukan hati, Pancarkan cinta kasih.	Everything here, O, my brother, Let's unite our hearts, [And] Radiate loving kindness.
Bebaskan diri dari dengki, Yang mencengkram hati, Kembali disini, Hanya di saat ini.	Free yourself from envy, That grips the heart, Come back here, Only in this moment.
Dengan penuh ketulusan, Dan kelembutan, Kepada semua, Di segenap alam.	With full sincerity, And tenderness, To all, In all of nature.
Reff: Semoga semua hidup berbahagia, Aman dan selamat, Sehat sejahtera.	Chorus: May all beings be happy, Safe and trouble-free, Healthy [and] well.
Selamanya...	Forever...

13. See Musixmatch (2015).

In her study of Chinese Buddhist music, Pei-yen Chen (2005) considers Buddhist devotional song (*fojiao gequ* 佛教歌曲) as songs "rather than commercial in intent, have been meant to promote Buddhism" (Chen 2005: 272) and Buddhist commercial music (*shangpin fojiao yinyue* 商品佛教音樂) as "fashionable" Buddhist music that "does not necessarily emphasize evangelism," "follows the form of western art songs," and "produced by record companies" (Chen 2005: 277). However, in the case of the *Dhamma Is My Way* album, we see an interesting fusion of Buddhist devotional song and commercial music. True Direction produces contemporary Buddhist songs in the form of rock music for devotion and evangelism, and at the same time, aims to sell their music albums in the commercial music markets in Indonesia and on the Internet.

Following the release of *Dhamma Is My Way* music album, True Direction organized several "Dhamma sharing" tours to promote the album in various parts of Indonesia, including Jakarta, Medan, Tangerang, and Yogyakarta. The organization also produced several music videos for the songs in the album and made them freely available on the Internet (True Direction 2016; Wongso 2017a). A number of recent studies have pointed out that Buddhist organizations began to rely more heavily on the Internet and various social media platforms for Dhamma propagation and to connect with their young members (see Cheong et al. 2011; Huang 2017). True Direction is also quick to jump on this bandwagon and has utilized YouTube and social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter to promote the music videos of their songs. As Irvyn Wongso explains, many young people in Indonesia are not interested in visiting temples or reading the Buddhist scriptures. Since many of them spend their leisure time surfing the web and swiping their smartphones, Wongso believes that posting Buddhist songs and messages on social media sites that young people regularly visit is an effective strategy to reach out to them (Wongso 2017a). The songs in album became a hit among young Buddhists in Indonesia and among Buddhist youth groups in the region. From my online research, I observed that some of the Buddhist youths in Indonesia, who are unaffiliated with True Direction, performed these songs and had them recorded and uploaded online (see, for instance, Citta Obhasa 2018; Harijanto 2017; The ALPADH 2016). Therefore, building on the vision of "Dhamma through music," Irvyn Wongso reveals that his long-term plan for True Direction is to propagate the "Dhamma through films," such as short films and feature animations (Wongso 2017a).

Since most of the songs in the album are in Bahasa Indonesia, True Direction's primary audiences are Indonesian teenagers and young adults between the ages of 15 and 40 years old. However, Irvyn Wongso was surprised that the songs were also well-received by Buddhists in Malaysia and Singapore. For example, when the Singaporean Buddhist community organized the "Sadhu for the Music," a joint music concert featuring Buddhist musicians from Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore in 2016, True Direction was among one of the organizations invited

to perform at the event (Sadhu for the Music 2016). Notably, the Singaporean organizers gave Irvyn Wongso the honor of performing a duet with renowned Malaysian Buddhist composer and singer, Imee Ooi (Huang Huiyin 黄慧音), who is known for performing new arrangements and compositions of Buddhist chants in a "calming and relaxing" manner (Loo et al. 2012: 7072). For the final piece of the concert, a duet entitled "The Metta Moment," Irvyn Wongso sang Imee Ooi's "Chant of Metta," while Ooi performed Wongso's "Semoga Semua Hidup Berbahagia" (Wongso 2016c).

Subsequently, True Direction was invited to perform at various Buddhist organizations in Malaysia and Singapore, such as the Bodhi Buddhist Fellowship Malaysia (Puti Gongzuofang 菩提工作坊) in Kuala Lumpur, the Buddhist Gem Fellowship in Malacca, and the Buddhist Fellowship in Singapore (Anonymous Video 2017; BGF Youth Connection 2016; Wongso 2016d). Bodhi Buddhist Fellowship's youth band recorded a rearranged version of "Semoga Semua Hidup Berbahagia," which added a new rap in English (Bodhi Buddhist Fellowship Malaysia 2016).

Several conclusions can be drawn from True Direction's Buddhist rock and their religious activities. First, True Direction's contemporary Buddhist songs and its modern auditorium, at least on the surface, resemble more of a Christian church than a Buddhist temple. In fact, the album cover of *Dhamma Is My Way* looks uncannily similar to Hillsong Church's former worship pastor, Darlene Zschech's album cover, *Change Your World* (see Zschech 2015).[14] This probably explains why some Indonesian Buddhists are critical of and disagree with True Direction's music and activities, which I will discuss in the next section. Second, True Direction has relied on various forms of new media to market Buddhist rock to a younger audience. The organization utilizes the Internet and social media platforms to reach out to the younger generation of Indonesians with little or no interest in Buddhism, hoping that "fashionable" contemporary Buddhist music will entice them to find out more about the Buddhist teachings, and eventually convert to Buddhism. More importantly, True Direction has worked closely with regional Buddhist organizations to exchange information and knowledge on Buddhist music. The increase in religious networking among so-called "reformist" Buddhist organizations at various levels—local, regional, national, and international—allows likeminded groups to exchange ideas, share resources, collaborate on activities, and build "a sense of *communitas*" in the region (Kuah-Pearce 2003: 291).

14. Hillsong Church is a charismatic Christian megachurch in the western suburbs of Sydney, Australia. The church is known for its production and performance of Christian worship songs with their music groups such as Hillsong United, Hillsong Worship, and Hillsong Young & Free. See Connell (2005); Goh (2008).

From Buddhist Rock to Meditation Retreat

Despite its success in the local and regional Buddhist scene, True Direction and its contemporary music are not spared criticism from a number of Indonesian Buddhists. In an interview with Buddhist magazine, *Buddhazine*, Irvyn Wongso laments that some Indonesian Buddhists are "conservative" and frown upon the use of contemporary Buddhist music in Dhamma propagation. He also reveals that the "unappreciative" attitude of the Buddhist community affected the sales of True Direction's music albums. Wongso emphasizes that, on the contrary, Indonesian Christians and Muslims who knew about him and his music, gave him a "thumbs up" for his innovative methods to teach and share his faith with others (Tanuwidjaja 2015).

From my fieldwork and research, I found that it is true that a number of Indonesian Buddhists are critical of Wongso and his organization. While some believed that Wongso is trying to replace existing Buddhist devotional practices with Christian-style praise and worship, others expressed concern that True Direction is promoting "unorthodox" Buddhist teachings to corrupt the minds of the younger generation. However, it is hard to gauge the proportion of Indonesian Buddhists disagreeing with True Direction's music. Interestingly, Wongso (2017a) candidly remarked that because of these "fake news" about him, as he put it, he had been "blacklisted and banned" from speaking at several Buddhist temples in Indonesia. What Wongso shared with me, nonetheless, reveals the competition between Indonesian Buddhists who adhere to familiar Buddhist devotional practices, considering themselves as "orthodox" Buddhism, and those who drastically innovate and repackage the faith to appeal to a younger audience. This tension, I argue, stems from, first, a competition for young membership among Buddhist organizations in Indonesia, and second, differences in the interpretation of what constitutes "correct" Buddhist devotional practices.

More significantly, contrary to the critics' assumption, I observed that True Direction produces contemporary Buddhist songs to complement, not replace, common Buddhist devotional practices. Although the music and image of True Direction closely resemble a modern Christian church, Irvyn Wongso emphasizes that his organization will not become a Buddhist church and introduce Christian-style worship into its activities (Wongso 2017a). In his interview with *Buddhazine*, Wongso discloses that he actually prefers meditation over singing and producing music albums (Tanuwidjaja 2015). Therefore, it came as no surprise when Wongso (2017a) repeatedly reminded me during our interview that it was meditation rather than Christian rock music that inspired his Buddhist songwriting endeavor.

Wongso recognizes that True Direction is successful in using Buddhist rock music as a tool to attract young people to Buddhism, but stresses that it should not be the only focus of his organization. According to him, True Direction

organizes regular gatherings for its members to recite the Buddhist scriptures and practice meditation. This is because Wongso wants to introduce Buddhist devotional practices to young Buddhists to "deepen their understanding of the Buddha's teachings and apply the Dhamma to their daily lives" (Wongso 2017a). For this reason, common devotional practices such as scripture reading and meditation retreat are among the list of activities promoted at True Direction. For instance, Wongso organized a three-day Dhamma and Meditation Retreat for True Direction's members in December 2017 (see Figure 3). The participants followed the eight precepts, practiced sitting and walking meditation, and observed mindfulness eating during the retreat (see True Direction 2017a; True Direction 2017b; True Direction 2017c; True Direction 2017d). Some of the participants shared their meditation experiences, which were recorded and posted online (see Wongso 2017b; Wongso 2017c; Wongso 2017d).

Fig. 3 – True Direction Members at a Three-day Dhamma and Meditation Retreat, December 24, 2017. Photo courtesy of True Direction.

However, some members of True Direction have recognized the potential of contemporary Buddhist songs in evangelizing youths and young adults, and considered using rock and pop music to launch Buddhist praise and worship services. For example, Ardy Wong, who was one of the vocalists for the song "Dhamma Is My Way," left True Direction to set up a Buddhist worship band called Sadhu United in April 2016 (Wong 2017). It is no coincidence that the name of the band uncannily resembles that of Hillsong United, which is a Christian worship band that started as a part of the well-known Hillsong charismatic Christian megachurch in Australia (see Connell 2005; Goh 2008).

Sadhu United, as told to me by Ardy Wong, plans to compose and perform Buddhist rock songs, and eventually, develop into a Buddhist youth church. The band held its first Buddhist worship concert in March 2018, which attracted several hundred youths from Jakarta and its neighboring cities (SADHU 2018; Sadhu United 2018; Wong 2017). More research would be needed to shed more light on the development and performance of contemporary Buddhist music in present-day Indonesia.

Conclusion

Music has long been developed for use in liturgical and ritual practices across Buddhist traditions in Asia and beyond. In recent times, Buddhists have composed and performed new forms of Buddhist music, such as hymn, pop music, and rock and roll, to interest and attract a younger audience. This article has examined the development and performance of a form of contemporary Buddhist music, which I coin "Buddhist rock," by focusing on the case of True Direction in Indonesia. I have presented the ideals and visions of the organization's founder, Irvyn Wongso, and discussed his motivations behind the establishment of an organization that seeks to propagate the "Dhamma through music." As the study of True Direction has shown, Indonesian Buddhists are "local geniuses" in the selective adaptation of popular music to propagate the Dhamma in contemporary Indonesian society. True Direction sets Buddhist lyrics to rock and popular music to attract and evangelize a younger audience without interest in Buddhism, hoping that these new forms of religious songs will interest them to learn more about the Buddha's teachings and convert to Buddhism.

The production and performance of Buddhist rock music appears to be a double-edged sword for Irvyn Wongso and his True Direction movement. On the one hand, True Direction's innovative activities and music have successfully contributed to the growth of the organization domestically, and allowed it to receive recognition regionally. On the other hand, some Indonesian Buddhists have criticized True Direction's attempt to use "unorthodox" music to propagate the Dhamma, and are concerned that Wongso's Christian-style worship would corrupt young Buddhist minds. I have contended that although True Direction in some ways resembles a Christian church, a closer look at the organization's activities reveals that contemporary Buddhist songs have not displaced devotional observances that are commonly practiced by Buddhists in contemporary Indonesia. Contrary to the critics' claims, Wongso uses contemporary Buddhist songs as a means to complement, not replace, meditation practice and scripture reading.

This study has added a perspective that complements the rich literature on Buddhist music. Specifically, it has considered how new forms of Buddhist music have been adopted as a platform for expressing devotion and

spreading the faith in the world's largest Muslim nation. Given the increasing popularization of contemporary Buddhist music in present-day Indonesia, it is hoped that future research will delve into the details of this religious phenomenon, including the variations across Buddhist organizations and bands, and the reasons for differences between the experiences of different founders, musicians, and followers.

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Lecture critique et état de la question

Andrea Acri[1]

Theory vs. Philology in the Study of Balinese Culture, Religion, and Ritual

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More than Words: Transforming Script, Agency, and Collective Life in Bali.
Richard Fox
Cornell University Press, 2018. xviii + 239 pp., ISBN13/ 9781501725357, ISBN10/ 1501725351

This review essay is devoted to the latest book by Richard Fox on the fascinating and little-investigated subject of non-textual uses of letters (*aksara*) in contemporary Bali.[2] It takes this wide-ranging publication as a point of departure for contributing to the ongoing debate between the "theorists" and the "philologists" in the wider disciplinary framework of Area Studies. This debate, in fact, hardly exists in the field of (Old) Javanese and Balinese studies, notably because no philologist has hitherto replied to the critique of the discipline that has been advanced over the past decade or so by theorists—Fox being the most prolific and representative of them. Taking up this desideratum, my critique inevitably reflects my own scholarly background and methodology, namely the study of the religious history of Java and Bali from a textual and comparative perspective.

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2. I wish to thank the editorial board of *Archipel* for having accepted this review article in spite of the fact that a review of the same publication (van der Meij 2020) has already appeared in the previous issue of this journal.

As its evocative title suggests, the book explores "through a study of Balinese script as employed in rites of healing, sorcery, and self-defense […] the aims and desires embodied in the production and use of palm-leaf manuscripts, amulets, and other inscribed objects" (p. 2). Containing research carried out in the framework of the collaborative research project "Material Text Cultures" at Heidelberg University,[3] the book under review alternates ethnographic case studies (mostly drawn from the anonymous Balinese village community fictively referred to as "Batan Nangka") with theoretical reflections. It is, therefore, much more than a book on *aksara*s from the perspective of anthropology, reflecting as it does the author's longstanding interest in the study of religion, media, and philosophy in the context of contemporary Bali and Indonesia.[4]

The book consists in eight chapters, earlier versions of two of which (chapters two and three) were previously published elsewhere. As the author remarks, each chapter "may be approached as a (more or less) self-contained exploration of script and writing, as taken in from a particular vantage" (p. 23). The first chapter sets the stage by providing a concise introduction and voicing some key points and questions, intermixed with ethnographic cases—for instance, Prof. I Gusti Ngurah Bagus' inaugural lecture in Anthropology at Udayana University in 1980 on the letters of the Balinese syllabary as a point of departure to unravel local understandings of *aksara*s alongside the imperatives of state bureaucracy. Chapter two revolves around the themes of religious and cultural complexity, presenting *aksara*s and Balinese "ways of life." Chapter three, having discussed what "life" means in the Balinese context, presents some immanent examples of usages of *aksara*s. Chapter four focuses on theories of practice generally and the *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa* ritual specifically; according to Fox, this ritual reflects not only a degree of complexity, but also a wide array of seemingly contradictory purposes. Chapter five continues the discussion of the idea of practice, closely reviewing the theories of Bourdieu and MacIntyre and applying them to the Balinese context, as well as proposing to approach the *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa* as one of the regular activities "that make up the practice of maintaining a houseyard." Chapter six critiques the idea of "tradition" as set forward by both Western and Balinese scholarly (and non-scholarly) circles, presenting the case study of Ida Wayan Oka Granoka's *Grebeg Aksara* ceremony and his wider project of re-orienting Balinese tradition. Chapter seven deals with translation (for instance, of such polysemic Sanskritic Balinese terms as *atma* or *suci*) and the inevitable reification entailed by the terminology used in scientific writing. Chapter eight recapitulates each preceding chapter, elaborates on a critique

3. A thematically linked edited volume stemming from the same project is Hornbacher and Fox 2016.

4. See Fox 2011.

of Sheldon Pollock's Sanskrit Cosmopolis[5] and his definition of philology as "making sense of texts," and concludes with "a few unresolved issues."

The author captivates the reader with his elegant (yet at times rather abstruse) prose, and puts forward several fascinating questions. He must be credited with an excellent command of Balinese language and its nuances (which is a rare quality among ethnographers of Bali), an expert first-hand knowledge of the island's culture and society, as well as an impressive intellectual prowess coupled with a solid grounding in modern Western philosophical theory. Containing a mix of evocative ethnographic accounts and sophisticated theoretical analyses, the book constitutes a well-crafted piece of scholarly work dealing with a fascinating and little studied subject, and certainly qualifies as a valuable resource for students of Bali and Southeast Asianists in general.

Having duly acknowledged the book's merits and the author's qualifications, I will devote the remainder of this review essay to a critical discussion of some aspects of the book that I have found to be problematic.

First, as an academic practicing a more "traditional" type of scholarship, I have found the dominance of theory over empirical data to be a distracting factor, as well as the markedly deconstructivist approach to be at times extreme.[6] My reading of the book has left me with the impression that *aksara*s have been virtually taken by Fox as a pretext to embark on theoretical discussions. Thus, the book primarily reflects the author's concern to push his deconstructivist theoretical agenda, and only secondarily makes "a positive contribution to the scholarship on religious uses of script in Indonesia and the wider Malay region" (p. 2). As Fox admits, while the "argument is presented with detailed attention to the materials from Bali," the "examples have been chosen for their pertinence to problems of broader import" (*ibid*.), his ethnographic approach to Balinese uses of script being mainly "directed by a set of broader theoretical questions around the nature of communication, agency and practice" (p. 7). This may be a reasonable compromise, but some readers might find it to be a deterrent.

Undeniably, the ways in which *aksara*s are (and were) used in Bali constitute an extensive subject; recognizing that the vastness and complexity of the material is such that it is impossible to provide an exhaustive account of the subject, Fox "picks up where […] others have left off, to reflect further on Balinese uses of script and writing" (p. 7). While this is a fair description of the essence of the book, Fox appears not to have always meaningfully (and, sometimes, fairly) engaged with the work of his predecessors—especially

5. Pollock 2006.

6. A case in point is Fox's critical remark that to understand "practice" as "what people do" would entail "ethnocentric presuppositions smuggled in under cover of common sense," unduly naturalizing "people" as "agents," and opposing "practice" to "theory" (n1, p. 197; cf. p. 81)—as if those concepts did not exist in the Balinese intellectual framework, both historically and nowadays (which they actually do).

philologists. For instance, Fox occasionally refers to a handful of pertinent secondary sources,[7] but draws hardly any data from them, in spite of claiming to apply anthropological thinking to philology and codicology in order to "unsettle received understandings of textuality and writing as they pertain to the religious traditions of Southeast Asia" (p. 2). This body of work on *aksara*s discusses relevant primary sources that could have been brought into a fruitful conversation with the ethnographic research carried out by the author.

The lack of real engagement with philology, as well as Old Javanese texts, constitutes one of the most problematic aspects of the book indeed. Fox rarely misses the chance to offer critical remarks towards philology in general, and Old Javanese philology in particular; yet, he often presents a caricatural characterization of them. For example, Fox affirms that, with some notable exceptions, scholars have tended to devalue the material, nonliterary aspects of writing in favor of a "more conventional model of 'the text' understood as a medium for the transmission of religious ideals and ideas" (p. 1); yet, while admitting that Balinese apotropaic writing not only *challenges* but also *coexists* with the notion of script as a neutral medium for the transmission of textual meanings (p. 2), he neither acknowledges the existence, nor makes use, of relevant textual material and social contexts that do not conform to his analysis—that is, Old Javanese texts that transmit abstract metaphysical ideas, and social contexts showing little if any concerns with the ritual or "magical" dimensions of texts/artifacts. This is a pity, as Fox's fresh perspective to apply anthropological thinking to philology could have offered a much needed corrective to the general disregard paid by most (Western) anthropologists to texts and literacy in Bali, to the extent that Balinese civilization has been treated as if it were pre-literate in spite of the fact that written texts (whether or not transmitted through traditional media, i.e. *lontar* palm-leaf manuscripts) are perceived as ultimately authoritative sources of knowledge, and still form an important dimension of the life of Balinese agents in various social contexts.

By emphasizing the non-textual dimension and failing to engage with other complementary aspects, Fox ends up reinforcing the stereotype that what he calls "philological readings" or a "focus on textuality" is an Euro-Western phenomenon, as opposed to a Balinese natural propensity, as it were, for non-textual uses of writing and inscribed media. This contrast between Western philological and Balinese sensibilities seems artificial, ignoring as it does that many Balinese practices in fact derive from Indic precedents: as Fox himself admits, drawing on the work of Pollock, there is a "happy congruence between modern philology and many of the South Asian commentarial practices that it has taken as its object" (p. 181). Since the same can be said of the India-derived Balinese practices, it is quite ironic that Fox unreflectively applies a Western theoretical paradigm inspired by the critique of sexuality by Foucault

7. For instance, Rubinstein 2000; Hunter 2016; Acri 2016.

when, intending to do away with a foundational conception of textuality in Bali, he asks whether the (Western) "idea of 'the text' and 'its manuscript' obfuscates the very practices that generated these inscribed objects in the first place" (p. 19). But one could point at the similarities existing between philology and Balinese textual practices, in the spirit of the (de-Orientalizing) "global philology" intellectual project undertaken by Pollock and others. I for one think that philology—and not Western theoretical analysis or the deconstructionist agenda—forms the "middle ground" in which the encounter between the Western and Balinese paradigms can happen.

Fox embarks on a critique of Pollock's Sanskrit Cosmopolis on the ground that, philology being understood as "the discipline of making sense of texts, there is some question as to whether this approach is suitable for thinking about nonliterary uses of writing" (p. 9). Fox's application of the "language ecology" framework in chapter two seems promising indeed; however, his denial of the role of philology, as well as of the transregional interplay between Sanskrit language and culture and their vernacular counterparts in the premodern Indic world, to understand non-textual uses of writing in Bali can be countered by pointing out that the religious (as well as material) cultures of many Southeast Asian societies have been influenced by the textual funds of transregional Indic religious traditions. When approaching the "magical," non-textual uses of script, we cannot avoid confronting ourselves with the constellation of ideas and practices derived from prescriptive texts that set an historical precedent.[8] Fox's prejudice against a narrowly conceived philology hardly does justice to the complex dynamics that have contributed to shape Balinese ideas and practices both historically and at present, and leaves us with many unanswered questions. Asking one such questions, namely "whether these 'texts' were always meant to be read—that is, whether it was their textuality, so construed, that mattered the most in the assemblage and use of these inscribed objects," Fox attributes to Pollock and his followers a propensity for "naturalizing a philological orientation to writing," glossing over "philologically noncompliant uses of script and writing," and obscuring "a range of equally important uses of writing on the subcontinent and beyond" (p. 181), such as amulets and other forms of script magic throughout Southeast Asia. Fox may be blamed in his turn for glossing over the textual material and related practices that are not strictly compliant with his views, thus unduly naturalizing non-textual usages of script.

As stressed by Fox, Balinese script undeniably has many lives beyond the purely "textual" dimension. However, the author's lack of historical analysis has seemingly prevented him from asking, and elaborating on, the relevant question as to whether these lives are continuities or rather revivals. Fox thinks that recent conceptions of writing as a neutral medium for the transmission of

8. See Acri 2016.

textual meaning are linked to academic philology, reformed Hinduism, and local politics, as opposed to "traditional" practices of apotropaic writing and other non-textual uses of script. While this is often the case, there is room to hypothesize that, in some cases, the other way around may be true. Recent research, as well as my own observations in the field over the past twenty years, suggest that the ritualization of literacy linked to manuscripts, as well as the focus on textual performance that we can witness in contemporary Bali,[9] reflect a recent trend associated with the rise of movements affirming Balinese identity and the widespread introduction of new media—an emblematic case of "invented tradition." Furthermore, in both Java and Bali, it is in the contexts where book-manuscripts are no longer used as "books" or textual media, that is, when their scripts and languages are no longer understood and actively used by a community of readers, that these objects become more prone to being sacralized and associated with magical or ritual uses. This is the case, for example, of pre-18th century Indic palm-leaf manuscripts in contemporary Java, even in Islamic contexts. Similar dynamics are at play in contemporary Bali—where, one should keep it in mind, very few people can read *kawi* script, let alone understand the language, and where a divide at the elite level between "traditionalists" and "modernists" appears to exist. Many specialists of Balinese manuscripts, including competent Śaiva priests (*pedanda siwa*), but also lay intellectuals and men of letters trained in both "traditional" and academic settings, regard palm-leaf manuscripts as media primarily intended to be read and reproduced for the knowledge they contain rather than ritual objects to be worshiped or used for magical purposes—not the least because many texts have little to do with religion, ritual, or magic, being rather appreciated mainly for their poetic, literary, or narrative qualities, or as sources of legal or otherwise practical knowledge. These objects are often handled, stored, and guarded with great care, but not necessarily used as talismans or ritual paraphernalia, let alone considered "living entities." Thus, to see magic and efficacy everywhere would be unwarranted. Furthermore, pace Fox (p. 5), *aksara*s are not powerful and sacred per se, but only when they are written or pronounced as mantras in particular sequences or configurations, e.g. provided with nasalizations and manipulated mentally or visually during meditative practices. Regrettably, taking for granted the (still limited) work by previous scholars on the subject, as well as the reader's previous knowledge, the book remains silent about the "inner workings" of the science of *aksara*s in connection with psychophysical practices, and provides hardly any concrete examples of configurations of scripts, diagrams, etc.[10]

9. On which see, for example, Creese 2014; Darma Putra 2014.

10. For instance, in table 4.1 (p. 87) the Śaiva syllables Sa Ba Ta A I, which are central in Balinese speculation and ritual practice, are neither explained nor contextualized.

An aspect of Fox's book that I find somewhat baffling is the author's general characterization of Balinese culture and ritual praxis as a chaotic, incoherent, and often-contradictory complexity that cannot be reduced to any underlying system.[11] Whenever he has a chance, Fox offers a critique of the notion that contemporary ideas and practices would be informed by a (more or less coherent) cultural system carried forward by the Old Javanese and Balinese literature that has been preserved and produced on the island since the premodern period. For instance, he questions "the idea that day-to-day practices are simply an instantiation of an underlying philosophy (e.g., as explicated in one or another *tutur* manuscript)" (n7, p. 184); having expressed his puzzlement at the *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa*'s ritual "seemingly incongruous juxtaposition of battle, exchange, transformation, and cleansing," he elaborates his idea of Balinese ritual representing a set of "multiple incongruities," and further speculates that "one might be inclined to think that Balinese were similarly adrift when it came to the purposes animating their religious rites" (pp. 119–20). He goes so far as to affirm that, although it would not be impossible to "formulate a consistent interpretation […], doing so would introduce a form of coherence recognized neither by the ritual manuals nor by those performing the rites" (p. 101); and that "one can certainly imagine an overarching conceptual framework that would render these ideals compatible with one another. And yet, as we saw, this would introduce a degree of coherence that was not only absent from the commentaries themselves but also resisted by many of those who followed them" (p. 103). The above statements reveal the fallacy of confusing expert and non-expert views: taking his informants at face value and avoiding to dig deeper when they direct him to those who know the doctrines written in the texts,[12] Fox seemingly ignores or downplays the specialization of work

11. Witness, for instance, the idea that "the common translation of *atma*—as 'soul,' 'spirit,' or 'self'—and the way that it has been attributed to Balinese as part of a 'cultural schema' or 'religious worldview' obscure both the complexity and potential for ambiguity that are characteristic of day-to-day life on the island" (p. 165); the statement that "Balinese tradition probably never had the sort of 'coherence' that is presupposed in prevailing accounts of translation—though I would be quick to add that I doubt if any other tradition ever did either" (p. 169); the existence of "[p]luralities of conflicting anthropologies within what is ostensibly a single cultural milieu," which would argue against the "stability and systematicity of the 'cultural schemes' that are presupposed in prevailing accounts of translation" (pp. 170–71).

12. The explanation given by the informants, i.e. "that's just how it is," is particularly telling in this respect. The agents' self-admitted ignorance of the purpose of the offerings is not surprising, for they are not the ones in charge of, and entitled to, knowing the meaning—only the high priests, the recipients of the esoteric doctrines, are. Further, I do not agree with Fox's idea that the understanding of offerings (*caru*) as *nyomya* (from *somya*, "benign") or "cleansing" "appears to be a relatively recent conception" in Bali (p. 94), for, as Fox himself concedes, "it plays on an older notion of transforming coarse and often malevolent forces into their more refined counterparts"

characterizing Balinese ritual, which involves multiple agents, from the "workforce" to those who "know the meaning." Furthermore, having failed to grasp the underlying coherence of the system of Balinese ritual, he concludes that it has little if any coherence on the one hand, and unwarrantedly takes for granted the non-systematic, non-intellectual, and fragmentary character of the texts on the other, accepting the received idea that they constitute place-and-person-specific documents.[13] While Fox blames philology for unreflectively imposing Western categories on the Balinese, to give up the very possibility to understand the "others" by depriving them of a coherent and resilient cultural heritage providing the mental framework through which the world is organized strikes me as a no less subliminally ethnocentric and exoticizing perspective. The abandonment of the endeavor of actually reading and interpreting the texts (something that many Balinese have luckily continued to do for the past several hundred years) on the one hand, and the rejection of historical investigation on the ideological grounds of the postmodernist/deconstructivist theoretical paradigm on the other, carries the inevitable disadvantage, as David White aptly puts it, of inhibiting "any opening to the other whatsoever."[14] My conviction is that no amount of critical self-reflectivity can resolve this fundamental impasse.

Throughout the book, Fox portrays Balinese religious culture as being dominated by a distinction between state-bureaucratic representations of "Hindu religion" (*Agama Hindu*), "characterized by a moralizing monotheism that aspires to the universal status of world religion," and "the innumerable rites and related activities that permeate day-to-day life on the island […] often inextricably tied to a particular locale, incorporating aims and ideals that anthropologists and other regional specialists have more commonly associated with the less rigorously institutionalized activities of healing, sorcery, and self-fortification" (p. xiii). While this characterization is per se not incorrect, this strictly dichotomous order does not take into account other textual genres and social milieus that could make the picture more complex and multifarious—for instance, the genre of philosophical and theological texts called *tattva*s, or the most esoteric-minded among the *pedanda siwa*. Fox questions the

(*ibid*.). Calling this "a series of tropes that were not self-evidently compatible," Fox asks whether there is "a narrative account that might pull them together into a cohesive whole" (p. 96); then, having reported the results of his interview with a *pedanda*, struggles to find a plausible explanation for "the ideals of cleanliness and purification, […] which do not seem so readily assimilable to the aims of buy-off and protection" (p. 99). The ideals of purification, transformation into a benevolent form, and chasing away, are actually quite clearly reflected in the Old Javanese texts: see Acri and Stephen 2018.

13. For a critique of this idea, elaborated in previous anthropological literature, see Acri 2011.

14. See White 2005: 3.

historical existence of a canon, and attributes the idea of a "text" transcending the bounds of matter and its physical presence to the advent of the modern (i.e. Western-influenced), reformed version of Balinese Hinduism, which would stand in contrast with older ideas of script and writing (p. 48). This does not seem to be the case, for there are reasons to believe that premodern authors and scribes could differentiate between a text as an abstract entity and a text in its immanent instantiation (i.e. a given manuscript);[15] furthermore, as I have argued in previous publications, there existed a shared, transregional body of systematic texts expounding both India-derived Śaiva doctrine and internalized yogic practice in Java and Bali.[16] This body of texts took a life of its own in Bali from the Majapahit period onwards. I can see very little if anything in them in terms of expressing local contingencies or referring to realia, ritual practices, or social agents. In fact, they come perilously close to the Western "philological" conceptions of textuality critiqued by Fox.

A concrete example of the perspective critiqued above is provided by Fox's discussion of the ritual of the *Caru Ṛṣi Gaṇa*. Having advanced a few questions relating to the explanation of various actions and stages of the ritual, such as the final noise-making, Fox notes that an answer could be attempted by looking at the Balinese palm leaf manuscripts containing texts with ties to Javanese and South Asian Indic heritage, as well as the "evidence of Indic precedent in the form of rites employing similar paraphernalia, procedures, and terminology," and that "[s]uch recourse to textual precedent has figured prominently in the scholarship on Balinese religion and culture, as this often appears to provide a degree of certainty and order that has otherwise proven elusive" (p. 93). After a digression on a conversation with a Balinese priest that highlighted tropes that are not self evidently compatible, Fox returns to the issue by examining the text *Bama Kertih* (pp. 99–100), which according to him "offers neither theological interpretation nor additional information," and can be read as notes for a performance, which are relevant only for the ritual utility and specific circumstances (p. 100). While these eminently practical texts do exist, and form a not insignificant portion of the extant corpus, one cannot ignore the existence of other texts specializing in theology, i.e. *tattva*s (and, to a lesser extent, *tutur*s). To look for theological interpretations in the former genre of texts would be like looking for theological discussions in a Holy Mass guide, then, having found none, concluding that Catholicism possesses neither theological texts nor a proper theology. We should not

15. This distinction corresponds to what Tanselle (1989: 69–70) called "text of work" and "text of document"—the former implying something pre-existing. The very act of extracting and recopying a text from a manuscript, or creating compilations out of different parts of different texts, as it often happened in Bali, presupposes an understanding of the difference between the "text of work" and the "text of document."

16. Acri 2011.

forget that Balinese religion—and especially its theological and philosophical foundational core—was until the mid-50s an initiatory, highly esoteric tradition (and still remains so among the traditionalist *pedanda*s), possessing a fragmentary textual canon as well as a body of knowledge and practices transmitted orally. Very few encyclopedic works have survived to the present, and what we have is a vast array of texts specialized in various domains, so one has to read a significant sample of the whole corpus to get an idea of the system informing its theology and ritual life. Similarly, different agents (viz. *pedanda*s, *pemangku*s, *resi bhujangga*s, *balian*s, commoners, etc.), using different genres of texts, reflect various know-hows and specializations. As a philologist, I feel that rather than regarding Balinese ritual as "a multiplicity of apparently incongruous aims and ideals" (pp. 101, 103) to be approached in terms of "practice" or "practice theory," an outstanding desideratum to fulfill would be the documentation (through philology) of this body of material and its interpretation in the light of the premodern religious paradigm reconstructed from relevant texts from Bali, Java, and their Indian prototypes. The texts would then be studied by anthropologists to see how they are read and performed in various contemporary Balinese social milieus, or if they reflect any living Balinese realities.[17] Rather, Fox's main concern is to demolish "philological" notions of textuality, in spite of the fact that, he admits,

> philological analysis is well suited to answering certain kinds of questions. Its findings are historical in their own way; and, when it comes to accounting for events on the contemporary scene, the textual record may have much to contribute to our understanding of the emergence and relative stability of certain ideas and styles of reasoning. […] there are important literary parallels for many of the uses and acts of *aksara* that I found in Batang Nangka, but the question of how contemporary practices are related to accounts found in palm-leaf manuscripts is just that—a question. (p. 78)

Without taking upon himself the onus of supporting his claim, Fox simply affirms that texts do not bear much relevance to everyday life, and also that, there being no unified "scriptural culture" or literary community, any regularity in opinion must be attributed to the sedimentation of practices of social organization and collective labour (p. 57). It is quite true that in Bali there are competing ideals of agency, community, and the common good, but there also exists a mosaic of scriptural cultures and communities, and several categories of expert/literate agents. It seems to me that the specialized know-how of (competent and Old Javanese-literate) *pedanda*s is engaged to an insufficient extent in the book—unless when the priests' statements serve the purpose of confirming Fox's (pre)conceptions about a supposed incoherence of Balinese ritual, not to mention the texts themselves—except one or two fragmentary manuals or

17. A preliminary attempt, focusing on the Balinese offerings called *bhūtayadnya*s, is Acri and Stephen 2018.

practical aide-memoires intended to provide guidance for low-level temple ritualists. If anything, philology can still be useful to understand "how and why we got here." Texts do not represent "fixed points" (pp. 124–25), unchanged and immutable; the task of philology is not to isolate them (which would amount to a sterile antiquarianism), but rather to provide relevant material for scholars, including anthropologists, who could investigate how the community has related itself to, and reused, these media from the past. The romanticized and essentialized vision of Balinese past as static, which Fox rightly problematizes, does not warrant us to abandon a text-historical endeavor, for Old Javanese literature has survived for hundreds of years at the hands of elite and non-elite specialists who have translated it into a significant aspect of Balinese life—in ways that are *both textual and non-textual.*

The reduction of the analysis to two parallel sets of relations, i.e. a local/embedded and materially immanent theory of writing and power on the one hand, and a "displaced and dematerializing theory of writing linked to translocal forms of solidarity associated with the postcolonial nation-state" (p. 48) on the other, misses an important historical and translocal dimension, namely the filiation of Balinese religion and ritual culture from Śaiva religiosity and ritual praxis—Bali being a piece in the mosaic of vernacular cultures that were in conversation with Indic cultural elements across the Sanskrit Cosmopolis. This transregional and comparative historical perspective is missing in the book. To be fair, the author devotes one and a half pages to "regional resonance" (pp. 8–9), admitting that there is reasonable scope for comparison with the wider scholarship on religion in Southeast Asia and beyond, yet concomitantly criticizing Pollock's philological approach within the framework of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis as being not suitable for thinking about nonliterary uses of writing. But this gesture is not enough to bring the non-Balinese materials into a meaningful conversation with the "textual" and ethnographic cases discussed in the book, in order to detect possible historical filiations and local variations.

This lack of historical and comparative perspective is not surprising given Fox's programmatic refusal to accept such reified and totalizing concepts as "tradition" (such as the "unifying" translocal Indic religious traditions, "tantric traditions," and "Hindu-Buddhist traditions," p. 124), textual or historical precedent, as well as his anti-cosmopolitan stance. The last is perhaps the logical corollary to Fox's conception of heterogeneity, incoherence, and chaos as essential features of Balinese culture and religion, which reinforces the perception of the same as exotic and unique phenomena—reflecting some sort of Balinese "exceptionalism"—that can only be studied in their own terms rather than as a part of wider cultural flows of ideas and practices across southern Asia. In his deconstructivist endeavour, Fox affirms that [s]-tudents [ou: Students, [s]tu-dents] of Southeast Asia have long recognized that such unifying terms such as *Hinduism, Buddhism, Tantrism*, and *animism* do not adequately

reflect the heterogeneity of the region's history and culture" (p. 79). Without naming these students, Fox labels these terms uncritical and oversimplifying; concomitantly, he does not acknowledge or unpack the indebtedness of these Balinese ideas and practices about language and script to Indian prototypes, in spite of the fact that most of the usages of *aksara*s that he describes are apparently derived from the medieval South Asian religious traditions, more specifically notions and practices of purity and power current in Śaiva and Buddhist tantric paradigms across medieval South and Southeast Asia, as well as parts of Central and East Asia. Fox briefly mentions only the comparative potential of Mainland Southeast Asia in the Pāli Buddhist milieus of Thailand, Cambodia and Myanmar,[18] or the affinities with Southeast Asian's Islamic traditions, or again Indic, Persian, and middle eastern contexts, overlooking what are to my mind more directly pertinent prototypical instances from Indic tantric traditions. A discussion of the literature on *yantra*s, or the Buddhist (i.e. Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna) and Śaiva "cult of the book,"[19] or again the Śaiva script-mysticism from India and Bali[20] would have contributed important elements to the discussion.

This programmatic erasure of historical and textual precedents, based on the critique of "a certain commonsensical understanding of the-past-in-the-present that is grounded in essentializing metaphors of *cultural influence* and the *transmission of ideas*" (p. 122), as well as of the concept of "tradition,"[21] makes it difficult to do justice to Balinese complexity. It is quite clear that the phenomenon of script in Bali was shaped by historical dynamics that cannot be adequately appreciated uniquely from the perspective of Balinese ethnography, which has often limited the documentation and analysis to the level of interviews, and accepted at face value the (non-expert) informants' reports to build a theory of Balinese culture without investigating both Old Javanese texts and the specialized human custodians of the esoteric traditions they carry as the ultimate sources of knowledge. Fox's book is no exception—a case in point is the vague explanation of the ritual of inscribing

18. Where the magical usages of scripts are, according to him, treated as non-Buddhist cultural accretions or popular superstition (but contrast the studies by Bizot, ascribing them to a tantric fund: see Crosby 2000). More pertinent, insofar that they are indebted to translocal Tantra (which Fox does not mention), are the comparisons that Fox admits may be drawn with Buddhist *yantra*s used by *weizzā* practitioners (n36, pp. 195–96).

19. On which see De Simini 2016.

20. Hunter 2016; Acri 2016.

21. And yet, contrast what seems to be an apt defense of such a laden word: "we need tradition, or something like it, if we hope to render other people's practices intelligible as reasonable human action. For novel utterances and actions can only be said to 'make sense' insofar as they may be interpreted with reference to the precedent set by one or more prior acts" (pp. 122–23).

letters onto the body provided by the invitees to a wedding as having "something to do with purifying (B. *nyuciang*) the newlywed" (p. 36). Pace his claim that "establishing provenance for a given practice may prove more problematic than it appears, and this for reasons that are at once evidentiary and theoretical" (p. 9), a comparison with Indian traditions (both premodern/textual and living) would reveal close parallels with the tantric notions and praxis of purifying the body through *akṣara*s called *bhūtaśuddhi*.[22] The same could be said with respect to the "holy numbers" (recurring in Balinese ritual, architecture, etc.) that amount to a "sacred geometry" found also in India and in other Indic contexts (for instance, ancient Javanese sacred architecture), which rests on the edifice of Śaiva ontology and cosmology revolving around a set of correspondences between micro- and macro-cosmos. Similarly, the Balinese concept of "a life force in buildings" (p. 45), suggested to Fox by the fact that one of the functions of amulets is to "animate" (*ngidupang*), and that the expression *maurip* "alive" is associated with some elements of the ritual offerings (p. 43),[23] may reflect not just a form of "new animism" (n41, p. 196) but older (both Indian and Javanese-Balinese) Śaiva concepts of micro-macrocosmos, emanation of the universe from the paramount deity, and the concept of an universal consciousness (*cetana*) abiding in every living and non-living entity, trapped in materiality (*acetana*) and prone to disaggregation. Fox, noting how *aksara*s are related to every level of reality, claims that scholarly literature has reproduced lists of links among letters and colours, directions, deities, etc. in broadly Indic traditions of South and Southeast Asia, yet "it has offered comparatively little insight into the rationale for elaborating such complex systems of associations" (n28, p. 195). This is not the case, for the systematics of such associations can be easily traced back to tantric Śaiva ontology, cosmology, and subtle physiology. Yet Fox approaches the matter by looking "at the procedures in which these series are employed and the purposes they are meant to serve" (*ibid*.), thus stopping at the first level of analysis and the immanent aspect of the phenomenon without undertaking any comparative and historical endeavor, and thereby remaining comfortably within the boundaries of Western theory—namely, which Western thinker could provide us with the key to "make sense" of these ideas and acts. Along similar lines, the "typically Balinese" way of thinking and argumentation through associations, neologism, and homophony that is embodied in reading

22. Acri 2016.

23. Fox translates the expression *winangun urip* (referred to a duck or chicken at the center of the offering) as "splayed out as if alive" (p. 86). This is an appropriate translation, however it does not take into account the rather obvious play of words, *urip* being a reference to the "mystical numbers" recurring in Balinese architecture, ritual, and theology, and the alternative meaning of the passive verb *winangun* "to be built" (see n21, p. 199, where he refers in the same context to offerings "laid out in accordance with the *urip* (life[?]) numbers associated with the compass directions").

clubs (*mabasan*), among many other instances of Balinese cultural life, does not represent the virtuosity of one brilliant yet highly idiosyncratic thinker (i.e. Granoka) whose rhetoric style overflows with "terminological superfluity," but a central and resilient feature of Balinese culture, which apparently has much in common with the Sanskritic practice of *nirvacana* or semantic analysis (sometimes depreciatively referred to as "folk etymology"). Fox's (p. 150) invocation of Sweeney's theory of "residual orality" in the Malay cultural context to explain this Balinese cultural feature does not hit the mark, failing as it does to do justice to Balinese hermeneutical practices and their indebtedness to Old Javanese textuality.[24] Even worse, it seems to me that it subliminally falls into the trap of exoticism, assuming as it does a quintessential opposition between Western (and Indic) literacy vs. Southeast Asian orality—whereas Bali has, in fact, one of the highest number of manuscripts per capita in the Indic world. To resume: the above examples illustrate that the obliteration of the importance of Indic religious and textual traditions, and (Śaiva) Tantra in particular, in Bali as the driving force that has shaped much of the premodern and modern paradigm, may be regarded as "the elephant in the room."

A final point of criticism I would like to raise is that the author often seems to take a sort of "higher moral ground" when criticizing philology. For instance, he denounces a disjuncture between philological enquiry and the practices of composition, copying, and performing that generated its object of study (p. 78), but in spite of his efforts to practice a self-reflecting and dialogic anthropology he does not sufficiently stress that ethnography, Euro-American academic writing, or any discipline based on the Western scientific paradigm indeed (including postmodern theory/deconstructivism itself) carry the same disjuncture.[25] Fox, subscribing to Rubinstein's view that "*kekawin* philology as practiced to date undermines the religious beliefs and values upon which *kekawin* composition has been based," states that "[i]f this were really so, it may be worth reflecting a little more carefully on the foundations of our work and its consequences—both intended and otherwise" (p. 78). This call for self-reflectivity is certainly legitimate, however it remains a gesture as no concrete steps are taken to follow it through.[26] I cannot agree more on the statement

24. This is, in fact, implied in Fox's brief characterization of the "totalizing amalgamation" reflected by the ritual-performance of the *Grebeg Aksara* staged by Granoka as featuring "various forms of repetition, word play, and other elements characteristic of older practices of 'text-building' in Java and Bali" (p. 149).

25. As McGrane put it, "[a]nthropology lives by seeing and interpreting everything as culture-bound [...] everything but itself" (quoted in Hobart 1996: 4).

26. For instance, Fox asks whether Balinese ideas of power and efficacy are "additive to an underlying textual essence that may be extracted for purposes of philological analysis and translation," and whether "this reductive presumption to scientificity [would] obscure ontological and epistemological commitments that are no less contingent, and historically peculiar, than their Balinese counterparts" (p. 23), to which I would reply

that "despite protestations to the contrary, it seems the day-to-day practices of critical enquiry all too often exempt themselves from the 'theory of practice' they intend to foist on Others" (p. 52)—Fox's own work is no exception. Similar considerations apply to his statement—intended to critique such entrenched Western assumptions as an instrumentalized conception of writing, the nature of language and text, etc.—that "indeed it is only by virtue of an unexamined presumption to superior comprehension that these analytical procedures may continue to be 'applied' transitively to other people's practices, as if from a place apart" (p. 182).[27]

Perhaps the answer to Fox's question as to whether cultural analysis is "ultimately incapable of escaping the strictures of an objectifying scientism" (p. 122) is bound to be a "no." Unless we gave up the Western pretension to a "higher" scientific truth and enact a "cognitive shift" so as to embrace the metaphysics, cosmology, and conceptions of magical efficacy that give meaning to the Balinese worldview and agency, any call for self-reflectivity amount to mere (and ultimately useless) gestures. Unless this is done (assuming it can be done indeed, which is a huge question mark), no claims can be made of any scholarly methodology or theoretical approach—including those aiming at deconstructing and problematizing Western intellectual and disciplinary paradigms—to being less removed from Balinese sensibilities. An ethnographic account, based on observation and interviews, of the practices of living subjects relating to the universe of Balinese "magic" in an academic book, as well as the theorizing about them, is no less an act of "epistemic violence" than a critical edition of a text. Similarly, to approach Balinese complexity (at the micro- and macro-ethnographic level) uniquely in the light of its social and cognitive dimensions shaped by dynamics of power, i.e. through an "analysis of rival *styles of practical reasoning*" drawn from MacIntyre (p. 79), seems reductionist to me, and quite removed from the Balinese sensibilities that the author tries to defend from the epistemic violence of philology.[28] I for one think that instead of interpreting Balinese

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that the author's work is no less prone to falling into the same trap.

27. On the other hand, I have appreciated Fox's honest formulation (by way of a "thought experiment") of what is there to learn by "inverting the model," i.e. "what sorts of relations sustain the 'life' of scholarly writing;" "what forms of solidarity are cultivated through its networks of loosely calculated debt and repayment;" "the self-fortification achieved through peer-reviewed publication;" "the harm often deliberately effected by means of published review;" or the "apotropaic purposes served by preemptory self-criticism" (p. 182).

28. This negative stance towards philology is apparent in Fox's characterization of my contribution (Acri 2016) as "a more traditionally philological approach to the yogic 'imposition of the syllabary'," as opposed to Hornbacher's study on the "esoteric *tutur* literature for contemporary practices of healing and sorcery [… m]ore closely attentive to Balinese sensibilities, and the philosophical problems engendered by

ritual in the light of the ideas of this or that Western theoretician, or worse still dismissing it as a congeries of contradictory aims, it would be more useful to approach it in the light of the emic religious paradigm, first of all the emanationist theory of the Śaiva ontic levels (*tattva*) and the concept of *somya*.[29] These concepts are either directly explained in the doctrinal texts (also, perhaps not coincidentally, referred to as *tattva*), or indirectly provide, and enable in the background, the philosophical frameworks on which the ritual and mythological texts rest. These cosmological and philosophical notions provide the rationale of many aspects of Balinese life, for instance the island's ritual calendar, and are also reflected in mythology and folklore, as well as the visual and performative arts. This approach might actually do justice to the Balinese way of doing things—probably more so than Fox's invocation of Collingwood to explain the five stages of Balinese rituals (p. 84). If we are open enough to actually pay attention to these emic paradigms we would realize that Balinese habits of thought and action, far from being unsystematic, chaotic, incoherent, heterogeneous, and non-classificatory[30] in nature, reflect quite a different kind of order and complexity, i.e. a "totalizing amalgamation" (p. 149)[31]—or dynamic taxonomic system of classification, indeed—that has been shaped by the "fractal," "mandalic," or "cabalistic" (rather than Cartesian) mechanics characterizing many Indic cultural systems, and especially Tantra.[32]

Frankly speaking, I find it quite surprising that Fox does not seem to realize (or take trouble with) how theoretically-driven Western scholarship has ended up not only feeling so far removed from the realities it describes, but also perpetuating the asymmetrical "relationship between the Euro-American

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traditional philology" (p. 8).

29. This concept is related to the ritual performances of *mūrwa kāla* and *ruwatan* in Java, and both stem from an Indic/tantric religious and ritual fund that has survived to the present in Java through partial Islamization.

30. "Despite the proliferation of taxonomy in formal representations of the island's religious and cultural traditions, in my experience Balinese habits of thought and action do not favor this style of classification" (n14, p. 198). This statement strikes me as inaccurate, as it grossly over-simplifies and over-generalizes the matter. Indeed, many central aspects of Balinese life can be conceived of as reflections of a classificatory cosmological system—a case in point being the (ultimately Śaiva) enumerations based on 9 (8+1) and 5 (4+1) (on which, see Basset 2010), which have also survived in present-day Java.

31. This expression is used by Fox when quoting a sentence by Clifford Geertz describing an Indonesian student's cultural framework as an "extremely complicated, almost cabalistic scheme in which the truths of physics, mathematics, politics, art, and religion are indissolubly, and to my mind indiscriminately, fused" (p. 149).

32. Insightful glimpses of this system have been offered by Basset 2010 and 2015.

intellectual and local intellectuals."[33] To put Chomsky's generative grammar on equal footing with Balinese "life of letters" is a nice gesture (p. 81), but does little to help us to take the Balinese "at their word." (pp. 23, 182). If one really wants to give the Balinese a voice, solipsistically attempting to deconstruct Western categories through a Western paradigm seems of limited usefulness, and it does not automatically lead to actually *understanding* the (epist)emic paradigm underlying Balinese conceptions and practices. Fox asks a lot of interesting questions, but provides few concrete answers. Perhaps a more transformative type of paradigm is required by Western scholars in order to think and act like the Balinese, and translate this thinking and acting into scientific prose. In the absence of that transformation, the "middle ground" I invoked above, namely reading and trying to make sense of texts in their contexts, seems to be our best bet to elicit a fruitful encounter between Bali and the West.

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Penser un islam apaisé : trois ouvrages récents sur la question

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Carool Kersten, *Islam in Indonesia. The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values*, London, Hurst & Company, 2015, XX, 373 pages ; ISBN 9781849044370 (paperback)

Carool Kersten, *Contemporary Thought in the Muslim World: Trends, Themes and Issues,* London and New York, Routledge, 2019, 218 pages ; ISBN: 9780415855075 (hardback : alk. paper), ISBN: 9780415855082 (pbk.); ISBN: 9780203740255 (electronic bk.)

Ahmad Syafi Maarif, *Islam, Humanity, and Indonesian Identity: Reflections on History*, Leiden, Leiden University Press (LUP), 2018, 286 pages ; ISBN: 9789087283018, 9789400603097 (e-pub)

Les études portant sur les aspects politiques, culturels et sociaux de l'Islam indonésien se sont multipliées depuis une vingtaine d'années à un rythme impressionnant qui s'explique par l'importance prise par la religion musulmane dans l'espace public. Très présente dans ces domaines, la recherche indonésienne a été complétée par la publication d'une trentaine d'ouvrages de référence publiés dans des langues occidentales (très majoritairement en anglais, plus rarement en français, en allemand ou en néerlandais) qui ont permis de mieux faire connaître ces évolutions en dehors des frontières de l'Archipel. Cette diffusion du savoir présente cependant un angle mort : l'analyse des ressorts théologiques et intellectuels de ce mouvement de

1. CNRS-IAO.

renouveau musulman demeure cependant bien en-deçà de ce que l'on pourrait attendre au vu de l'impressionnante production des nombreux penseurs musulmans indonésiens. Publiant dans leur immense majorité dans leur langue, leurs œuvres demeurent largement inaccessibles et il faut, à cet égard, saluer la publication de trois ouvrages récents en anglais qui viennent combler à point nommé ce vide regrettable.

Paru en 2015, le livre de Carool Kersten, *Islam in Indonesia. The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values*, constitue le premier volet d'une œuvre ambitieuse visant à replacer l'Indonésie sur la carte de la pensée islamique mondiale. S'appuyant sur une analyse très fine de plusieurs dizaines d'ouvrages publiés dans l'Archipel – à l'exception notable de ceux des représentants des tendances les plus radicales – ce premier volume propose une cartographie diachronique des différents courants de pensée de l'Islam indonésien. Il souligne, en particulier, l'estompement progressif de la dichotomie classique entre réformisme, principalement représenté par la Muhammadiyah (fondée en 1912) et traditionalisme, défendu par le Nahdlatul Ulama (né en 1926) au profit d'une opposition entre courants conservateurs et progressistes (chapitre 1).

Cette remise en cause des frontières théologiques traditionnelles remonte au début des années 1970, lorsqu'une première génération d'intellectuels musulmans formés à la fois dans des universités islamiques (Égypte, Pakistan) et des universités occidentales (McGill au Canada principalement) s'emparèrent des postes à responsabilités du ministère des Religions, habituellement réservés aux dirigeants du Nahdlatul Ulama et de la Muhammadiyah. À la suite de sa formation au Canada, l'un de ces jeunes universitaires, Harun Nasution, fut chargé par le ministre (Abdul Mukti Ali) de repenser entièrement le cursus des études supérieures islamiques en Indonésie. Étant lui-même recteur d'un Institut islamique d'État (IAIN), celui de Jakarta, il encouragea l'ouverture de ces institutions religieuses universitaires aux sciences sociales mais aussi à l'étude de courants musulmans jugés déviants par l'orthodoxie sunnite. Cette réforme permit l'éclosion de puissants courants de pensée dont les plus influents furent bientôt connus sous les noms de *Mazhab* Ciputat (du nom du quartier de l'IAIN de Jakarta) et de *Mazhab* Yogyakarta, en référence aux écoles de rites (*madhab*) du sunnisme.

Encouragé par d'autres établissements, comme l'université islamique privée Paramadina, fondée par Nurcholish Madjid, ou encore certaines *pesantren* (écoles coraniques) du Nahdlatul Ulama, ce mouvement entraîna le développement d'un islam dit *substantif* (par opposition à *normatif*) qui contribua à brouiller les frontières entre traditionalisme et réformisme musulman (chapitre 2). À la faveur de la dissémination des jeunes diplômés de ces divers établissements, porteurs d'un véritable phénomène de *crowd thinking,* plusieurs organisations furent fondées pour porter ce renouveau de la pensée musulmane en milieu néo-*santri* : le Jarigan Islam Liberal (Courant

de l'islam libéral, JIL), le Jarigan Intellectual Muhammadiyah Muda (Réseau des jeunes intellectuels de la Muhammadiyah, JIMM) ou encore les réseaux Gusdurian (influencés par la théologie audacieuse d'Abdurrahman Wahid dit Gus Dur, ancien président de la République et figure tutélaire du Nahdlatul Ulama).

Ces jeunes intellectuels établirent des liens fructueux entre post-traditionalisme et néo-modernisme selon le jargon consacré (chapitre 3). Ils bousculèrent leurs aînés en se plaçant souvent en opposition ouverte face aux conservateurs de la Muhammadiyah (Din Syamsuddin) et du Nahdlatul Ulama (Ma'aruf Amin et Sahal Mahfudh) et contribuèrent à la formation d'un front informel pour la défense du Pancasila face à l'islamisme militant (chapitre 4). L'affrontement entre approches « formalistes » et « substantivistes » de l'islam porta particulièrement autour des questions de droit.

La progression de la place de la loi islamique dans le droit positif indonésien, amorcée sous l'Ordre nouveau avec la loi sur les tribunaux religieux de 1989 puis poursuivie avec la « Compilation juridique » (*Kompilasi Hukum*) de 1991, connut une accélération aussi brouillonne que spectaculaire avec la *Reformasi* (autorisation de la charia à Aceh, règlementations régionales inspirées de la loi islamique, les fameux *perda sharia* ailleurs), suscitant de nombreux débats parmi les intellectuels musulmans (chapitre 5). Somme remarquable, ce premier ouvrage, consacré exclusivement aux penseurs de l'Archipel, ne permettait pas pour autant de les situer à l'échelle du monde musulman.

C'est à cette tâche que s'est attelé Carool Kersten dans son nouvel opus, *Contemporary Thought in the Muslim World: Trends, Themes and Issues* (2019). Tout aussi dense et érudit que le premier, ce second ouvrage met en lumière à la fois les circulations ayant nourri les penseurs indonésiens et l'originalité de la scène intellectuelle du pays s'agissant des questions religieuses. Afin de présenter de manière synthétique une carte du monde musulman contemporain, l'auteur propose, fort utilement, de réduire à trois les catégories désignant les divers courants de pensée musulmans, alors qu'on peut en compter jusqu'à plusieurs dizaines si l'on cumule l'ensemble des taxinomies utilisées dans ce domaine (chapitre 1).

La première regroupe les « musulmans traditionnels, socialement conservateurs » qui, face à la polarisation croissante de leur religion, mettent l'accent sur leur rôle d'intermédiation caractérisée par la tempérance et la tolérance. Cette première catégorie, très présente parmi les figures d'autorité des grandes institutions de l'Islam comme Al-Azhar au Caire, l'est également en Indonésie au sein du Nahdlatul Ulama avec des théologiens comme Salal Mahfudh (1937-2014), Mustofa Bisri (né en 1946), ou encore Said Aqil Siradj (né en 1953) et Masdar Farid Ma'sudi (né en 1954). Ce courant a été influencé par des penseurs comme le Palestino-Américain Ismaʿil Raji al-Faruqi (1921-1986), le Malaisien Syed Naguib al-Attas (né en 1931) et l'Iranien Seyyed

Hossein Nasr (né en 1933) qui ont été, depuis les années 1970, les précurseurs d'une « islamisation de la connaissance ».

Une seconde catégorie regroupe les « réactionnaires », dont le projet de retour à une pensée islamique souvent anhistorique est né d'une insatisfaction à l'égard du monde musulman contemporain. Principal représentant de ce courant, l'Égyptien Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) a eu une influence planétaire. Pourtant, comme dans son premier ouvrage, Carool Kersten ne s'intéresse pas à ses épigones indonésiens.

Un dernier groupe rassemble les tenants d'un « discours islamique progressiste », périphrase que l'auteur préfère au terme de « libéral », piégé, selon lui, comme le sont ceux de « modéré » ou de « fondamentaliste » pour les catégories précédentes. Quatre figures tutélaires ont posé et diffusé les jalons de ce renouveau dans l'islam sunnite : l'historien franco-algérien, Mohammed Arkoun (1928-2010), les philosophes marocain Mohammed Abed al-Jabri (1935-2010) et égyptien Hasan Hanafi (né en 1935) et, enfin, le spécialiste d'herméneutique littéraire, lui aussi égyptien, Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd (1943-2010). En milieu chiite, l'Iranien Abdolkarim Soroush (né en 1945) a eu un rôle similaire. Cet islam progressiste, fondé sur une approche croisant théologie et sciences humaines et sociales, eut un grand retentissement dans les milieux musulmans occidentaux, en Turquie et en Indonésie. Cette influence fut toutefois limitée par la nature académique des principaux écrits de ces auteurs, beaucoup plus difficilement accessibles aux croyants les moins éduqués que les œuvres des réactionnaires.

Une fois posée cette nouvelle taxinomie des différents courants religieux, Carool Kersten la passe au crible de cinq thèmes principaux montrant ainsi une relative fluidité de ces catégories, au sens où certains auteurs peuvent passer de l'une à l'autre en fonction des sujets évoqués. Consacré aux « philosophies de la connaissance », le chapitre 2 revient sur le timide retour du rationalisme au sein d'une communauté musulmane ayant consacré la primauté des connaissances transmises, depuis l'abandon du Mutazilisme au IX^{e} siècle de notre ère. La question est d'autant plus sensible s'agissant de l'exégèse coranique (chapitre 3) que le statut très particulier du Coran « incréé » la rend délicate, voire dangereuse, comme en témoigne l'exécution pour apostasie du Soudanais Mahmoud Mohamed Taha (1909-1985) ou encore les controverses ayant conduit Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd et Abdolkarim Soroush à quitter leurs pays du fait de leurs travaux.

En comparaison, le soufisme (chapitre 4 « Les dimensions spirituelles de la pensée musulmane contemporaine ») demeure un espace de liberté relative malgré les attaques des réactionnaires. L'intérêt renouvelé pour la poésie soufie médiévale (et tout particulièrement pour Ibn al-Arabi et Djalâl ad-Dîn Rûmî) s'accompagne du développement d'un « soufisme urbain », particulièrement au sein des nouvelles classes moyennes éduquées.

Consacré à la relation entre islam et politique, le chapitre 5 analyse l'évolution des différents courants de pensée musulmans dans leurs rapports à la laïcité, à la liberté et à la démocratie. En ce domaine, la question du Califat demeure, depuis sa disparition en 1924, un enjeu symbolique majeur. Dans les milieux réactionnaires, l'existence d'une figure de proue unificatrice continue de captiver de nombreux musulmans qui relisent l'histoire du siècle écoulé au prisme du traumatisme de sa perte. À l'inverse, depuis l'ouvrage pionnier d'Ali Abd al-Raziq (*Islam and the Foundations of Political Power*, 1925), dans lequel cet érudit religieux formé à al-Azhar soutenait que ni le Coran ni les Traditions du Prophète ne contenaient de soutien concret à une forme prescrite de gouvernance islamique, les tenants d'un discours islamique progressiste se sont penchés sans tabou sur la question.

Plus récemment, un autre mode de pensée sur la domination islamique s'est également développé parmi les érudits sunnites de l'Islam traditionnel et conservateur. Moins préoccupé par la forme spécifique de gouvernance et plus soucieux de veiller à ce que la substance des enseignements de l'islam soit mise en œuvre, il se désigne sous la notion coranique de *wasatiyya* ou « communauté du juste milieu » en se situant, sur ce thème, à égale distance des progressistes et des réactionnaires.

Autre sujet emblématique, celui de la charia (chapitre 6) est considéré, par les courants conservateurs et réactionnaires, comme un système juridique complet et applicable dans un État moderne. Les progressistes insistent quant à eux sur l'étymologie du terme, suggérant plutôt une ligne directrice éthique pour les croyants. Ils sont partisans d'une réinterprétation substantiviste de ce corpus de textes et dénoncent les ré-applications de la loi islamique comme de nouveaux moyens de contrôle social.

Le chapitre 7 (« Traiter de la différence et de la pluralité ») aborde les questions relatives à la liberté de religion, de conviction et d'expression et par extension, à la question des droits de l'homme. Il établit à cet égard un lien entre les attitudes musulmanes à l'égard des femmes, l'égalité des sexes, la pluralité religieuse et les droits de l'homme. Il met en lumière, dans ce domaine, l'œuvre de théologiennes musulmanes féministes comme Amina Wadud (née en 1952) et Fatima Mernissi (1940-2015) qui ont su utiliser le slogan du « retour au Coran et à la Sunna » pour combattre les courants conservateurs et réactionnaires avec leurs propres armes.

L'ouvrage se conclut par un rapide tour d'horizon des positions ou des différents courants de pensée quant aux grands « enjeux du XXI^{e} siècle » (mondialisation, crise écologique, éthique médicale et bioéthique). Le grand intérêt de ce volume, en dehors du fait qu'il livre, de manière synthétique et très lisible, une grande masse d'informations relatives à l'histoire théologique et intellectuelle récente de l'Islam dans le monde, est de nous permettre de situer, précisément et pour la première fois, l'Indonésie dans ce tableau d'ensemble.

À cet égard, la parution (2018), dans une traduction anglaise, de la seconde édition révisée d'un ouvrage fondamental de l'un des grands penseurs de l'Islam indonésien doit être également saluée. Ancien président de la Muhammadiyah (2000-2005), Ahmad Syafi Maarif, est l'un des trois Indonésiens à s'être vu décerner le titre de *guru bangsa* (professeur de la nation) par ses compatriotes musulmans. Les deux autres, Nurcholish Madjid (1939-2005) et Abdurrahaman Wahid (1940-2009), étant décédés, il en est le seul détenteur vivant ce qui rendait d'autant plus regrettable l'inaccessibilité de sa pensée à qui ne lisait pas l'indonésien. *Islam, Humanity, and Indonesian Identity: Reflections on History*, vient combler ce manque et permet de découvrir l'un des intellectuels les plus influents de ce « discours islamique progressiste » qu'analyse Carool Kersten.

Comme le rappelle Herman L. Beck dans sa longue préface, Ahmad Syafi Maarif est un éminent représentant de cette diaspora minang qui a tant apporté à l'Islam indonésien. Né en 1935 à Sumpur Kudus, hameau rural de l'ouest de Sumatra, il suit, dès son plus jeune âge, une double formation, alternant les cours à l'école publique où il reçoit une éducation primaire classique le matin et les cours de religion l'après-midi, donnés dans la petite maison de prière communautaire (*surau*) de son village. Il poursuit ensuite ses études à Yogyakarta, berceau de la Muhammadiyah dont il devient membre. Comme il l'expliquera lui-même plus tard dans son autobiographie, il appartenait alors au courant de l'organisation réformiste que l'on qualifierait aujourd'hui de fondamentaliste et était très influencé par la pensée du théologien radical pakistanais Sayyid Abul Alad Maududi (1903-1979). C'est auprès de l'un des compatriotes de ce dernier, Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988), qu'il découvre un islam ouvert et progressiste.

Après avoir rédigé, sous sa direction à l'université de Chicago, une thèse de doctorat consacrée aux débats sur la place de l'islam à la Constituante, il revient en Indonésie au milieu des années 1970 et devient un fervent défenseur de la démocratie et du Pancasila dont il était auparavant un féroce critique. Devenu président de la Muhammadiyah au lendemain de la *Reformasi*, il incarne le virage libéral de l'organisation en défendant, par exemple, le droit d'adhérer à une religion autre que l'une des six religions « officielles » d'Indonésie et même celui d'être athée. Après la fin de son mandat, son influence a quelque peu reculé au sein de l'organisation réformiste, marquée par le tournant conservateur qui touche alors l'ensemble de l'Islam indonésien. Depuis 2015 toutefois, la nouvelle direction s'est rapprochée de sa ligne progressiste et de nombreux jeunes se revendiquent de la pensée de celui qui a été l'une des rares personnalités musulmanes à prendre ouvertement la défense de Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), l'ancien gouverneur de Jakarta condamné pour blasphème.

Plus qu'une réflexion théologique, *Islam, Humanity, and Indonesian Identity* est le plaidoyer sans concession d'un croyant qui, au soir de sa vie,

entend brandir l'étendard d'un optimisme de raison face au « pessimisme et au sentiment de stagnation culturelle », dominant au sein de la communauté musulmane indonésienne et de l'Oumma. Dans son introduction Syafi Maarif se désole du faible niveau moral des politiciens de son pays depuis la disparition de la génération des pères fondateurs. Mais il affirme aussi sa conviction, forgée durant de longues années au service du Pancasila et du dialogue interreligieux, de voir « l'Indonésie être sauvée ». Ce salut par la modération et la tolérance se situe pour lui à l'exact opposé des discours d'une minorité agissante de « personnes – égoïstes et bouffies de rhétorique bon marché – qui insistent pour montrer de l'Islam un visage féroce » et qui ont donné naissance à « un monstre qui prétend parler au nom de Dieu et s'est clairement détaché de la charia au sens propre du terme ». Pour lui, c'est bien l'association entre mauvaise gouvernance et Islam de peur qui a conduit le pays dans une ornière morale et qu'il faut donc combattre par une analyse mêlant histoire indonésienne et exégèse coranique.

Très influencé dans ce dernier domaine par la pensée de son maître Fazlur Rahman, Maarif revient tout au long de son livre sur la nécessaire contextualisation de toute bonne théologie musulmane. Le discours est à cet égard stimulant, mais la principale originalité de l'ouvrage se situe sans doute plus dans ses longues analyses de l'histoire de l'Indonésie qui illustrent ces considérations religieuses. La liberté de ton de l'auteur, à l'égard d'un discours victimaire souvent dominant au sein de l'islam réformiste, est à la fois frappante et salutaire. Prenant le contre-pied d'une lecture univoque de la formation de la nation indonésienne et de son identité religieuse, Syafi Maarif consacre l'essentiel de son premier chapitre (« *Islam and Nusantara* ») à déboulonner méthodiquement quelques statues emblématiques de la martyrologie islamiste classique.

Pour lui, la longue et tardive islamisation de l'Archipel qui a peu à peu supplanté bouddhisme et hindouisme, s'est faite au nom de valeurs que trop de musulmans semblent avoir oubliées. Il prône ainsi le retour d'une certaine tolérance à l'égard de pratiques jugées aujourd'hui hétérodoxes. Cela doit conduire à une réhabilitation de ces courants musulmans locaux que l'aile conservatrice de sa propre organisation a toujours combattus. Le rapprochement, amorcé ces dernières années, entre jeunes du Nahdlatul Ulama et de la Muhammadiyah, constitue à cet égard pour Syafi Maarif le signe réjouissant d'un dépassement de l'opposition dans laquelle leurs aînés s'étaient enfermés.

Autre sujet délicat, l'histoire de la colonisation, doit être aussi revisitée. La domination coloniale, rappelle-t-il, toute cruelle et injuste qu'elle fut, a dans l'ensemble plus favorisé l'expansion de l'islam qu'elle ne l'a ralenti. Elle est surtout à l'origine – certes involontaire – de la formation de la nation puis de l'État indonésien. La naissance de l'Indonésie indépendante explique l'auteur, est indissociable d'un processus d'union dont on a aujourd'hui perdu

la dynamique. Pour faire comprendre au lecteur ce qu'elle signifiait, il rend un hommage inattendu au dirigeant marxiste Tan Malaka, exécuté en 1949, un homme dont il oppose la droiture et le dévouement à cette majorité de la classe politique (y compris certains partis musulmans) qui a perdu son âme en acceptant la démocratie dirigée de Soekarno, inaugurant ainsi une longue période de régime autoritaire dans le pays.

Plus général, le chapitre (« *Islam and Democracy* »), propose un inventaire détaillé des arguments islamiques en faveur d'un régime républicain pluraliste. Invitant croyants et athées à la tolérance mutuelle, il affirme le droit de ces derniers à participer à la communauté nationale. Il rend ensuite un hommage appuyé aux trois générations d'intellectuels musulmans qui, depuis les années 1970, se sont employés à réconcilier islam et Pancasila. Si nul ne s'étonnera de voir figurer Harun Nasution, Nurcholish Madjid, Munawir Sjadzali, Taufik Abdullah ou encore Abdurrahman Wahid parmi ces penseurs, on relèvera que la présence d'Amien Rais, devenu depuis une dizaine d'années l'une des cautions intellectuelles du radicalisme dans l'Archipel, tient sans doute plus à des considérations de diplomatie interne à la Muhammadiyah (il fut l'un des prédécesseurs de Maarif à la tête de l'organisation) qu'à une analyse objective de son parcours. Signalons également la mention d'une seule femme (Siti Musda Mulia) parmi la seconde génération de ces intellectuels, et l'espoir de Maarif de voir la génération qui émerge tout juste (une dizaine de jeunes penseurs parmi lesquels Yudi Latif, Sukidi Mulyadi, Ahmad Norma Permata, Hasibullah Satrawi, Hilman Latief, ou encore Moh. Shofan) parvenir à imposer cet islam définitivement ancré dans la démocratie qu'il appelle de ses vœux.

Mais pour cela, nous explique Syafi Maarif, il faudra que la communauté musulmane indonésienne surmonte ses faiblesses qu'il analyse au chapitre 3 (« *Indonesian Islam* »). La principale d'entre elles est la piètre qualité du système éducatif indonésien, qu'il soit religieux ou public. Tout en reconnaissant à son pays d'avoir vaincu l'illettrisme, l'auteur rappelle ses piètres performances au regard des pays ayant un niveau de développement comparable. Il regrette, en particulier, l'obsession formaliste de plus en plus prégnante dans l'enseignement religieux (sans épargner sa propre organisation) et propose de formuler une philosophie de l'éducation fondée sur un concept « d'unité de la connaissance » qu'il n'entend pas abandonner à un fondamentalisme étroit, ni même aux conservateurs promoteurs de cette « islamisation de la connaissance » évoquée plus haut. S'appuyant sur le Coran et la Sunnah, comme points de référence, cette réforme attendue devra reposer sur une réflexion collective, désignée ici sous le terme coranique d'*ijtihad jama'i*. Cette notion, dont l'auteur espère qu'elle permettra un accord autour d'un enseignement mettant l'accent sur la substance plus que sur la forme, est à nouveau convoquée au chapitre suivant consacré à l'avenir de la religion musulmane.

S'appuyant, entre autres, sur l'œuvre de Muhammad Iqbal, Syafi Maarif met en avant une exigence de transparence et de vérité devant conduire à

privilégier la qualité plutôt que la quantité dans le domaine de la foi. Illustrant son propos par un retour à sa période de prédilection, celle des deux premières décennies de l'indépendance, il remarque que celle-ci fut surtout marquée par la rigueur morale de dirigeants ayant su construire un vivre ensemble grâce à leur attachement à des principes communs plus qu'à des démonstrations de piété vide de sens. Il rend ainsi un vibrant hommage à Mohammad Hatta, souvent critiqué au sein de la communauté musulmane pour être à l'origine de l'abandon de la fameuse Charte de Jakarta qui conférait une inclinaison islamiste au Pancasila. Il invite ainsi les musulmans indonésiens à s'inspirer de la parabole du sel et du rouge à lèvre qu'aimait à invoquer l'ancien vice-président de la République : le premier bien que disparaissant dans les aliments les marque de son goût, le second n'étant là que pour être visible mais sans aucune saveur.

L'ouvrage se termine par une courte réflexion sur la relation entre Islam et identité indonésienne dans un monde global (chapitre 5 « *Islam, Humanity, and Indonesian Identity* »). Syafi Maarif y laisse poindre un certain pessimisme quant à l'état de la communauté islamique en Indonésie et ailleurs et assigne, une nouvelle fois, à cette jeune génération susceptible de dépasser les clivages entre Muhammadiyah et Nahdlatul Ulama, la tâche d'opérer un redressement moral salvateur. Ce dernier devra, selon lui, passer par un renouveau des valeurs prophétiques du Pancasila qu'il serait impossible pour les humains de concevoir seuls.

Ouvrage très engagé, volontiers sarcastique à l'égard des radicaux, *Islam, Humanity, and Indonesian Identity : Reflections on History* constitue une parfaite illustration du poids de ce « discours islamique progressiste » qu'évoque Carool Kersten et de l'extraordinaire liberté de parole, sans équivalent dans le reste du monde musulman, dont jouissent ses porte-paroles.

COMPTES RENDUS

Asie

Andrea Acri, Kashshaf Ghani, Murari Jha, and Sraman Mukherjee (eds.), *Imagining Asia(s): Networks, Actors, Sites*. Singapore: ISEAS - Yusuf Ishak Institute, 2019, 438 pages, index, illustrations. Soft cover: ISBN: 978-981-4818-85-8

This book has a lineage. Its laudable aim is to further the "rapprochement" between South and Southeast Asia, "whose deeply connected histories have been forgotten for a long time," by seeking new bases for coherent reintegration. First the 1941 collapse of the unifying British naval dominance from Aden to Hong Kong, then nationalism, notably on display in the rift between Sukarno and Nehru at the 1955 Bandung Conference, and finally the US model of Area Studies basing funding on separate South, Southeast and East Asian Centres, created a wide gulf of incomprehension in the Bay of Bengal. Whereas China remained an important factor in Southeast Asia whether as friend or foe, India seemed to be strangely absent for a half-century despite the shared ancient languages, scripts, iconography, religions and mythologies. Part of the problem was precisely the commonalities between India and the "Indianized states" of Southeast Asia in the past and the way it was interpreted. At one of our first conferences in Singapore to try to breach the gap, an Indian archaeologist explained to this Southeast Asianist, "Since you objected to our 'Greater India,' we just don't know how to talk about Southeast Asia."

The key players in this recent historical "rapprochement" have been India, notably its Nalanda University in Bihar, and Singapore, notably its Nalanda

Sriwijaya Centre at ISEAS. Nobel prize-winning economist Amartya Sen popularised the idea of ancient Buddhist Nalanda as a model for an Indian transnational university of today, and the idea was endorsed by George Yeo, the equally visionary and well-read Foreign Minister of Singapore (2004-11). The endorsement was obtained of the Indian Government and the East Asia Summit (2007) for a new international university, constituted in 2010 with Amartya Sen as first Chancellor. The vision of using the 'Buddhist cosmopolis' of the first common millennium as the symbolic base for reconciliation appealed to (Christian) Yeo and mostly non-Buddhist others at ISEAS and NUS in Singapore, in part because of the way Southeast Asia's Sriwijaya had been a Buddhist mediator and interpreter between China and India, as Singapore (and ASEAN) again aspired to be. The founding of the Nalanda Sriwijaya Centre (NSC) within ISEAS, with initial funds both from Yeo's Foreign Ministry and Singapore's wealthy Bright Hill Buddhist Monastery, celebrated Sriwijaya as a forebear of Singapore, the place where Chinese and other Buddhist pilgrims learned languages, translated scriptures, and lubricated the interaction between the two poles of Asian civilization. Its aim was and is to research "historical interactions among Asian societies and civilisations."

The founders have moved on, Nalanda University has been politicized and conflicted under Modi, but the enterprise persists. Two remarkable Indian Sinologists, Prasenjit Duara and Tansen Sen, used their positions in Singapore to promote the study of Asian cultural interactions. Numerous conferences were held, including the inspiration for this book, "Imagining Asia(s): Networks, Actors, Sites," hosted by NSC in Singapore in October 2016. It was jointly sponsored by Nalanda University, with which six of its thirteen authors were associated. One hopes these initiatives will continue, though the conference was held at a fragile time as Amartya Sen and George Yeo both turned their backs on Nalanda.

So, did this conference produce a notable advance in finding common ground? The "idea of Asia" evidently did not prove up to the task, as its ambivalent pluralising attests. Farish Noor's opening essay addresses precisely the epistemology of "Asia," but finds it doomed by its inherent development as Europe's exotic 'other'. He, indeed, pins his hopes on "the social sciences and humanities, where critical theory now holds sway" with "a healthy incredulity of meta-narratives" (p. 34). In contrast, the lead contribution of the editors by Andrea Acri welcomes what he sees as a new trend to reject "the negative perception of grand narratives" since the 1990s in favour of "connective scholarship seeing comparative coherence to periods" (p. 52). He proposes "Maritime Asia" as the most helpful concept to identify a succession of different dominant networks in the Indian Ocean, from Sanskrit cosmopolis through to Pali, Tamil and Islamic networks. This is indeed a common trend of recent decades, and will be welcomed by many scholars of Northeast and Southeast Asia who have been pursuing it for some time.

Among the papers that follow, a couple venture their own broad hypotheses about the theme. Italian art historian Frederica Broilo in "Interconnectedness and Mobility in the Middle Ages/Nowadays" argues that globalisation is "a very old story" by noting some interactions between Islamicate and East Asian cultures both in Tang/Abbasid times and recently. Tantric Buddhism specialist Iain Sinclair seeks to identify Sanskritic Buddhism as a distinct form of Buddhist universalism, a minority everywhere in contrast to both canonical Prakrit and local vernaculars. Though conceding that "living Sanskritic traditions have miniscule populations, diminishing bases of support, low profiles, and no allies or ambitions," this detached tradition nevertheless has the unique authority of the truly universal (p. 320).

Most of the remaining papers are more narrowly-focussed and marginal to the stated theme, though all have something to add about specific episodes of boundary-crossing. Historical sociologist Gopa Sabharwal, Nalanda University's first Vice-Chancellor, discusses the hopes and conflicts of India's first attempt to take the lead in defining the new post-war Asia, the Delhi 'Asian Relations' conference of 1947. Despite its outrage that Tibet was invited to send an independent delegation, nationalist China offered to host a second conference in 1949, perhaps as a way of ensuring that India did not dominate the future with its unrealized plan for an ongoing Council headed by Nehru. One of the other unrealized decisions of the conference was that each Asian country should set up an "academic institute" for the study of Asia's history and culture (p. 81). Sabharwal concludes that the idea of Asia "is a dynamic concept that will continue to be cast and recast over time" (p. 88), and ends with the more practical achievements of the Asian Games, also launched in Delhi (1951).

Two more Indian papers look how European writers used Asia to serve their preoccupations. Historian Murari Jha uses François Valentijn's depiction of Hindu societies in the Tamil area as a model of knowledge transmission and construction. English literature specialist Anjana Sharma charts the influence of Asian imaginings on the English romantics - Coleridge, Shelley, Byron and Keats.

Mahmud Kooria's empirically rich paper introduces the Islamic concept of *ribat*, a pattern of fortifications on the Malabar coast of modern Kerala for ocean-oriented Muslim communities with few friends in the hinterland. Practically, they could be seen as response and counterpoint to Portuguese coastal forts, but they formed part also of the invocation to *jihad* by Qadi Muhammad al-Kalikuti, who wrote around 1570. Although Kooria's comparative ambition is only to West Asia, his exploration of al-Kalikuti will be of interest to those working on sixteenth century Aceh, another leg in the Turkish-inspired general anti-Portuguese offensive of 1570-1.

There follow three fascinating if speculative attempts to track religious connections around the Indian Ocean. South Africa-based Brazilian Fernando Rosa takes an unusually Melaka-centred view of Islamicate sacred tombs,

which he seeks to generalize through "Monsoon Asia" from a more thorough study of the *keramat* of Melaka, analogous to South Asian *dargah*. There seems a contradiction in his seeking to combat Muslim extremism through a deeper understanding of heterodox popular practices on the one hand, and on the other insisting that we must seek the source of such practices in Tantrism and female power- hardly the most helpful argument for besieged old-style Muslims. Sraman Mukherjee explores the topical issue of the value of Buddhist relics and their reliquaries to archaeologists, to Buddhist believers, and to the Muslim owners of the archaeological sites. Colonial authority and sources allow him to trace both the discovery in 1909 of Buddhist relics at an archaeological site on Muslim land in the Northwest Frontier region, and their eventual appreciation in Mandalay. Kashshaf Ghani examines the connections formed by the pilgrimage of Bengalis to the Hejaz, drawing particularly on two Bengali newspapers of the early twentieth century with differing views around the Caliphate.

Two final empirical papers on Southeast Asia appear not to fit so well into the generally India-centric themes of the remainder. Emerging historian Vu Duc Liem offers a sophisticated analysis of Cochin China, the controversial southern Viet kingdom, as a place of mediation between East and Southeast Asia. Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz gives a report on recent ceramic finds in the Minangkabau (Sumatra) area of Tanah Datar, and proposes Bukit Gombak there as the probable site of Adityavarman's fourteenth century kingdom.

In a publishing climate increasingly difficult for conference volumes, we should be grateful to ISEAS Yusuf Ishak for publishing this significant collection. Yes, the whole in this case probably is greater than the sum of its parts, not least because of the disagreement around some big themes. Some parts, on the other hand, might have been better served as electronically accessible journal articles. One hopes the publisher can find ways to make them available in both traditional and new formats.

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Asie du Sud-Est

Nathalie Fau et Benoît de Tréglodé (sous la direction de), *Mers d'Asie du Sud-Est. Coopérations, intégration et sécurité*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2018, 394 p. ISBN : 978-2-271-11826-4

Ce passionnant ouvrage consacré aux mers d'Asie du Sud-Est vient combler un manque dans la littérature francophone sur le sujet. Le livre collectif *Mers d'Asie du Sud-Est* publié sous la direction conjointe de Nathalie Fau et de

Benoît de Tréglodé arrive en effet en complément très utile d'autres livres consacrés à la question de la mer de Chine méridionale.

Ainsi que l'indique le titre de l'ouvrage, les auteurs ont fait le choix, sans négliger la mer de Chine du Sud, située à la jonction des deux grands ensembles maritimes que sont l'océan Indien et le Pacifique-Est, de ne pas focaliser leur approche sur elle seule, mais de se pencher également sur les espaces marins de moindre taille situés à sa périphérie (tels les mers de Sulu ou de Célèbes par exemple) en abordant des problématiques qui leur sont spécifiques. Loin de brouiller l'analyse, cette approche permet au contraire de mieux saisir les enjeux maritimes globaux de la région.

Bien que traitant explicitement des mécanismes de coopération, d'intégration et de sécurité relatifs à l'Asie du Sud-Est, le livre ne fait pas pour autant l'impasse sur la Chine, acteur majeur et omniprésent dans la région. Il contourne cependant l'écueil qui aurait consisté à focaliser l'étude sur ce pays et se démarque en ceci de beaucoup d'autres publications. La Chine n'est évoquée que dans la mesure où les interactions sécuritaires, économiques ou environnementales qu'elle développe avec les autres acteurs intéressent les espaces abordés dans cet ouvrage.

Celui-ci est articulé en trois grandes parties, « Contrôler et maîtriser les mers », « S'approprier les ressources », « Protéger l'environnement », et s'attache à explorer les grands enjeux relatifs aux questions stratégiques, économiques et liées à l'environnement. Ce choix, apparaît, à la lecture, des plus pertinents car il permet d'appréhender d'une manière exhaustive le large éventail des problématiques relevant des espaces maritimes étudiés.

Contrôler la mer requiert, d'une part, d'y développer une présence navale effective et, de l'autre, d'agir afin d'y diminuer les facteurs de menace. La première partie aborde, dans ce contexte, les enjeux de la diplomatie navale telle qu'elle est menée par différents États. Une focale est mise sur la piraterie, problème qui, s'il ne fait plus la une des journaux, demeure récurrent, non seulement aux alentours du détroit de Malacca mais, surtout, dans la mer de Sulu, devenue un espace de communication essentiel entre le nord-est de la Malaisie et le sud des Philippines. La question est abordée au regard des liens de plus en plus étroits entre piraterie et terrorisme. Cette partie soulève également une question assez peu traitée et qui porte sur la coopération stratégique croissante entre le Vietnam et les Philippines à l'aune de leur rivalité commune avec la Chine, une coopération qui ne laisse pas d'être ambiguë, compte tenu des revendications opposées qu'expriment ces deux pays dans l'archipel des Spratleys.

Toujours dans la première partie, une attention particulière est portée au cas de l'île de Hainan, qui sert aujourd'hui d'avant-poste à l'action de Pékin en mer de Chine méridionale, laquelle s'exprime à travers une coopération scientifique asymétrique avec les pays voisins ou par le biais de revendications directes. Très fouillée, l'analyse des auteurs va au-delà de l'approche assez

répandue de cette problématique au prisme de la seule base navale de Sanya (Yulin) qui abrite une partie des sous-marins lanceurs d'engins de la RPC et des enjeux géostratégiques qui en découlent. Hainan est abordée dans ses autres fonctions, notamment celle de centre touristique et vitrine symbolique. Enfin, la question des milices maritimes, souvent évoquée, mais rarement creusée, fait ici l'objet d'un développement qui permet d'en mieux comprendre l'organisation ainsi que le rôle très important qu'elles jouent, en tant que bras armé officieux de Pékin, dans le maintien de la pression sur les parties rivales.

Les enjeux économiques sont fréquemment source de fortes tensions géopolitiques, une réalité à laquelle n'échappe pas la mer de Chine méridionale. Dans sa deuxième partie, l'ouvrage en isole quatre qui permettent à la fois d'en montrer la variété et d'aborder, au-delà de la mer de Chine du Sud, la situation des autres espaces maritimes périphériques. Les enjeux halieutiques sont abondamment traités à travers la coopération entre la Chine et ses différents voisins. L'ouvrage revient aussi avec précision sur le cas spécifique de la relation sino-vietnamienne dans le golfe du Tonkin, un exemple réussi de coopération bilatérale basé sur un rare accord officiel de délimitation frontalière maritime. Dans une région où se multiplient les rivalités portant sur les ressources naturelles, le modèle des zones communes de développement (ZCD) représente une approche innovante pouvant permettre la résolution de ce type de conflits, à l'exemple de la ZCD mise en place entre le Timor-Leste et l'Australie. Si les tensions bilatérales n'ont pas complètement disparu, elles ont néanmoins considérablement diminué au bénéfice d'une gestion commune des ressources naturelles, notamment énergétiques, présentes en mer de Timor. Dans un contexte général où les rivalités ne cessent de croître, la coopération bi ou multilatérale s'impose donc aux pays de la région comme le seul moyen d'éviter l'émergence d'une concurrence anarchique potentiellement très contre-productive. Les infrastructures portuaires, dont la multiplication non concertée ne peut se faire qu'au détriment de certains acteurs sont une illustration de ce risque et, dans cette logique, un chapitre entier est consacré à la question de l'intégration du transport et à la nécessaire connectivité maritime régionale.

L'une des originalités de cet ouvrage réside dans la place laissée aux questions environnementales qui font l'objet de toute la troisième partie. Des problématiques, *a priori* familières, sont abordées ici selon un angle nouveau qui fait apparaître des enjeux insoupçonnés. Il en est ainsi, par exemple, du détroit de Malacca qui, au-delà de ses fonctions géostratégiques et géoéconomiques bien connues, joue un rôle environnemental non négligeable en raison de l'important écosystème qu'il abrite et qui fait aujourd'hui l'objet d'une coopération inédite entre les trois États riverains. Il en va de même en ce qui concerne l'initiative du triangle de corail, vaste zone maritime englobant pas moins de six mers régionales (mers de Sulu, Célèbes, Banda, Timor, Bismarck et Salomon) et qui regroupe, depuis 2007, six pays dans

le cadre de la lutte contre les menaces environnementales. Par-delà ces cas précis, l'ouvrage interroge l'hypothèse et la faisabilité d'une gouvernance transnationale des espaces fragiles à travers l'exemple du grand écosystème marin Sulu-Sulawesi. Enfin, une analyse originale de la coopération maritime en mer de Chine méridionale vue de Taïwan vient compléter cette partie.

Le grand intérêt de cet ouvrage est de permettre au lecteur de réfléchir de manière transversale aux enjeux maritimes en Asie du Sud-Est. Ainsi, sur le plan géographique, le changement de niveau d'analyse permet-il de s'émanciper du seul horizon de la mer de Chine méridionale et d'élargir le champ d'étude aux espaces voisins de moindre taille. Le livre ouvre aussi d'intéressants questionnements sur le plan juridique qui dépassent le seul cadre régional. En effet, les rivalités comme les mécanismes de coopération qui se développent dans la région poussent différents auteurs à interroger les évolutions à venir du droit international de la mer au regard de ces changements sur le terrain. Un autre point positif de cet ouvrage, et non des moindres, est le choix délibéré de ne pas se limiter aux seules dimensions stratégique et économique mais d'aborder parallèlement les problématiques environnementales. Ce parti pris a permis de mettre en lumière des dynamiques de rapprochement méconnues entre les États. Les questions environnementales apparaissent ainsi susceptibles de favoriser des dynamiques de coopération sans que celles-ci soient pour autant dénuées d'arrière-pensées, les sources de rivalité étant sous-jacentes. Ajoutons enfin que, la qualité des cartes utilisées dans l'ouvrage mérite une mention spéciale. Intégrées à bon escient, souvent très précises, elles apportent un complément fort utile à la compréhension des problématiques étudiées, parfois assez complexes.

On peut toutefois regretter la place sans doute trop faible accordée à l'approche géostratégique ainsi qu'aux enjeux géopolitiques alors que ces questions dominent le débat depuis quelques années. Une analyse plus précise des implantations militaires dans l'archipel des Spratleys, notamment, aurait été bienvenue pour comprendre les tensions maritimes ainsi que l'irruption d'acteurs extrarégionaux en mer de Chine méridionale. Celle-ci aurait pu être complétée par un développement sur la bathygraphie complexe de cette mer, objet de toutes les attentions en raison des forts enjeux qui pèsent sur la dimension sous-marine. De même, une approche historique aurait été également bien venue afin de mieux comprendre comment certaines dynamiques actuelles, notamment économiques, plongent leurs racines dans un lointain passé. Enfin, la route de la soie maritime aurait sans doute mérité un développement particulier en raison de l'importance que cette initiative revêt pour la Chine.

Mais ces quelques regrets n'occultent en aucune manière l'évident intérêt que présente cet ouvrage dont on ne peut que recommander la lecture à toute personne soucieuse de mieux appréhender les problématiques et les enjeux maritimes qui se développent aujourd'hui en Asie du Sud-Est.

Laurent Gédéon

Nathalie Fau et Manuelle Franck (dir.), *L'Asie du Sud-Est. Émergence d'une région, mutation des territoires*, Paris, Armand Colin, coll. « Horizon », 2019, 448 p. ISBN : 978-2-200-62698-3

Parmi les manuels publiés à l'occasion de la mise au programme en 2020 de « l'Asie du Sud-Est » pour la question de géographie du CAPES d'histoire-géographie et de l'agrégation de géographie, l'ouvrage intitulé *L'Asie du Sud-Est. Émergence d'une région, mutation des territoires* a particulièrement retenu notre attention.

Cet ouvrage réunit autour de Nathalie Fau et Manuelle Franck une équipe de chercheurs francophones spécialistes de cette région du monde dont l'essentiel est constitué par une nouvelle génération riche d'une grande expérience de terrain, mais nous pouvons aussi remarquer la présence de quelques figures tutélaires.

L'introduction présente l'ambition de l'ouvrage qui est d'étudier la région dans sa globalité (p. 2) avec une approche transversale organisée autour de deux grandes problématiques : la délimitation géographique de la région d'une part (p. 2-3), réflexion qui porte sur la notion même de région, et d'autre part, les conséquences sociales et territoriales dues au développement économique récent (p. 4).

Les éléments pour répondre à ces problématiques sont organisés en cinq parties :

- « L'émergence d'une région » (p. 6-85) présente un rapide historique de la fluctuation du concept régional du point de vue occidental, rappelle l'histoire des espaces politiques, présente la disparité des milieux, les oppositions spatiales, et les dynamiques des « régions géographiques ».

- « Les modèles de développement » (p. 86-189), expose l'évolution économique de la région pour ensuite détailler les modèles agricoles dans une perspective historique. La question du tourisme est traitée sous un angle plus contemporain. Un chapitre sur la démographie entre 1950 et 2015, avec des projections jusqu'à l'horizon 2050 vient compléter cette partie.

- Dans la suivante, « les limites du développement » (p. 190-255) sont envisagées autour de la question environnementale, entre contraintes et risques naturels, d'une part, les empreintes et risques écologiques liés aux politiques de développement de l'autre, les interactions entre les deux étant explicitées le cas échéant. Enfin, cette partie se conclut par un chapitre traitant de la transition sociétale par le biais de l'analyse de l'évolution de l'accès au foncier, et des tensions sociales qui en découlent.

- « Les territoires de l'urbain » (p. 256-329), présente les processus d'urbanisation dans une perspective historique, en insistant sur le poids de la période coloniale, avant d'aborder les nouvelles configurations urbaines et les mécanismes qui en sont porteurs. Ainsi, les phénomènes actuels de métropolisation sont au cœur du propos, en montrant les dynamiques

transnationales et l'insertion dans le processus de la mondialisation de ces structures urbaines. Le chapitre 11 nous a paru particulièrement intéressant, en s'appuyant sur des travaux très récents et en abordant des aspects sur lesquels les études sont encore assez rares comme la question des réseaux de transport, celle de la gouvernance de ces territoires métropolitains, celle du patrimoine, ou encore celle des nouveaux déséquilibres sociaux-spatiaux.

- Enfin, dans la dernière partie, les questions de « l'intégration et ［de］ la géopolitique régionales » (p. 330-430) sont abordées de façon très complète en quatre chapitres. Là encore, cela commence par une mise en perspective historique pour présenter les stratégies économiques utilisées à partir des premiers NPI à la fin des années 1960, avant d'exposer les dynamiques spatiales de l'intégration régionale, notamment en abordant la question de l'importance des firmes multinationales et des politiques de connectivité par les infrastructures mises en place au niveau de l'ASEAN. Les flux légaux et illégaux de capitaux, de marchandises et de personnes sont analysés en explicitant le fonctionnement des espaces transfrontaliers et des corridors transnationaux, que ce soit dans leurs dimensions continentales ou maritimes. Notons que la question des migrations est abordée comme un élément du processus d'intégration régionale, partie dont la grille d'analyse fait fortement penser aux travaux de Michel Bruneau. Enfin, les deux derniers chapitres analysent les relations géopolitiques complexes qu'entretiennent les pays de l'ASEAN avec les différentes puissances de l'aire Asie-Pacifique, et en particulier la Chine.

Ce manuel est indéniablement une réussite tant sur la forme que sur le fond. Les définitions des concepts clefs, les nombreuses cartes et données récentes clairement mises en forme en font un outil pratique et précis pour préparer le concours. Quant à l'ambition initiale, il nous semble qu'elle est satisfaite. En effet, l'Asie du Sud-Est est traitée dans sa globalité en explicitant les grandes dynamiques régionales à des échelles transnationales mais avec le souci de présenter également pour chacune des thématiques abordées des exemples de cas particuliers et situés à des échelles diverses allant de la ville au pays.

Nous pouvons cependant regretter que le premier chapitre, traitant rapidement de l'historique de la construction du concept régional, soit limité à la production de savoir occidental alors même que des concepts régionaux englobant les territoires de l'actuelle Asie du Sud-Est sont pensés dans un premier temps par les Chinois puis les Japonais; surtout lorsque l'on considère l'importance de l'influence et des relations contemporaines de ces deux pays avec la région.

Les travaux du Professeur Shimizu Hajime sont tout à fait éclairants en la matière[1]. Sans remonter aux termes anciens d'avant la dynastie Ming

1. Pour une référence en langue occidentale, voir Shimizu Hajime, *Southeast Asia in Modern Japanese Thought,* Nagasaki, Nagasaki Prefectural University Press, 1997.

(1368-1644) de *hainan zhuguo* 海南诸国 (pays au Sud de la mer) ou *nanman* 南蛮 (barbares du Sud), celui de « mers du Sud » 南洋 aurait dû interpeller les auteurs. Dans sa forme chinoise (lecture *nanyang*), il apparait vers le milieu de la dynastie Ming et sert, de façon fluctuante, à désigner les territoires correspondant plus ou moins à l'actuelle région d'Asie du Sud-Est. A partir de la dynastie Qing (1644-1912), il sert pour désigner les territoires asiatiques où immigrent des populations chinoises à partir du XVIe siècle[2]. Certes, l'usage courant de *nanyang* pour désigner les territoires recouvrant l'actuelle Asie du Sud-Est n'est pas attesté avant 1938[3], avec, avant cela, des concepts régionaux concurrents qui ne correspondent pas au découpage actuel. Mais, néanmoins, la pensée d'un concept régional, du point de vue chinois, existe bel et bien, et il aurait été intéressant d'évoquer les cartes mentales de la principale puissance régionale prémoderne.

Par ailleurs, le Japon est également un acteur important des conceptualisations régionales lorsque l'on considère une période plus contemporaine. Le terme de *nanyô,* qui est la lecture japonaise de celui de *nanyang,* est d'usage dans des publications japonaises dès 1798, et sert à désigner dans un premier temps la partie insulaire de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Le concept gagne en force dans les années 1880 en relation avec les ambitions expansionnistes japonaises de l'ère Meiji et des réflexions autour de ce qui est désigné par « l'avancée vers le Sud » (*Nanshin ron* 南進論). Si les frontières de la région sont flottantes pendant près d'un siècle, elles restent encore durant l'ère Meiji essentiellement utilisées pour penser la partie insulaire de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Le concept évolue après la Guerre Russo-Japonaise de 1904-1905, et divers auteurs commencent à inclure des éléments continentaux, et une certaine diversité de termes concurrents, correspondants plus ou moins aux mêmes territoires, apparaissent (par exemple : *nampô* 南方 pays du Sud, *nampô Ajia* 南方亜細亜 Asie du Sud, *nangoku* 南国 territoires du Sud, etc.). Par ailleurs, cette région est classée parfois en Asie, parfois en dehors. Le concept continue donc d'évoluer avec la Première Guerre mondiale et l'occupation par le Japon des

2. Entre 1937-1941, le Nanyang Chinese National Salvation Movement officialise le terme pour désigner la région de l'Asie du Sud-Est. La Chine nationaliste réutilise ce concept géographique pour mobiliser les Chinois d'outre-mer dans la lutte contre le Japon. Le mouvement culmine en 1938 (le quartier général est situé à Singapour; il possède des branches dans toute l'Asie du Sud-Est). Voir Akashi Yoji, *Nanyang Chinese National Salvation Movement, 1937-1941*, University of Kansas, Center for East Asian Studies, 1970.

3. Le sens donné à *nanyang* en Chine dans les années 1930 semble être un retour du concept par le biais du Japon. Le concept circule donc, d'abord créé par les Chinois, puis développé par les Japonais et au cœur d'intenses réflexions à partir de la fin du XIXe siècle autour de la question « de l'avancée vers le Sud », il revient en Chine dans les années 1930 avec le sens que les Japonais lui ont donné à cette période et qui désigne la région actuellement dite Asie du Sud-Est. Pour la référence sur cette date de 1938, voir Shimizu Hajime, 1997, p. 188.

territoires allemands de l'aire Asie-Pacifique. À partir de là, tout au long des années 1920 et 1930, le concept régional s'affine pour se rapprocher de la définition territoriale actuelle en même temps que les intérêts économiques et militaires japonais grandissent.

Plus regrettable encore que l'oubli du concept régional de *nanyô*, celui de *tônan* Ajia 東南亜細亜[4], qui se traduit littéralement par Asie du Sud-Est, est plus surprenant. Le concept régional apparait sous cette dénomination dans les manuels scolaires japonais dans l'immédiat après Première Guerre mondiale (décembre 1919) pour désigner les territoires de l'actuelle Asie du Sud-Est. Les limites territoriales de la région ainsi désignée sont précisées au fils des ans et des nouvelles moutures de manuels scolaires. Si l'usage du terme *nanyô* est plus courant dans l'entre-deux-guerres, celui de *tônan* Ajia est néanmoins enseigné à des générations d'élèves jusqu'à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Bien que le terme et le concept régional japonais précèdent celui mis en place par les forces Alliées, ce dernier ne devient d'usage courant au Japon (et remplaçant celui de *nanyô*) que dans les années 1950, en tant que traduction du terme et du concept adopté par les Occidentaux pendant la guerre.

Notons au passage que l'Asie du Sud-Est est située au sud-ouest du Japon, et que le Japon utilise une référence européo-centrée pour désigner la région. Nous ne le développerons pas ici mais l'influence de la géographie européenne se retrouve dans la fluctuation des sens donnés aux concepts chinois et japonais, tout en s'en distinguant.

Bien qu'extrêmement simplifié ici, ce rappel d'une pensée non occidentale nous semble nécessaire et aurait pu favorablement figurer dans le chapitre introductif de ce manuel, d'autant plus que l'un des axes de l'ouvrage concerne la question de la délimitation de la région.

Au registre des critiques, nous évoquerons aussi, mais c'est un détail, la carte de la p. 345 sur les migrations internationales. Alors que la grande majorité des tableaux et cartes présentent ou mettent en forme des données très récentes, cette dernière représente une situation qui correspond plus à celle de la fin des années 1990 - début 2000 qu'à la situation des dix dernières années, notamment en ce qui concerne l'importance des flux migratoires vers les pays d'Asie de l'Est, en particulier vers le Japon et la Corée, et, au contraire, laisse apparaitre des flux qui ont disparu depuis déjà un certain temps.

Cependant, en dépit de ces quelques remarques, ce manuel sera utile au-delà du cadre du concours. Il vient combler un vide et il sera une lecture fort utile à toute personne ou étudiant commençant à s'intéresser à cette région du monde.

Frédéric Roustan

4. Idem, p. 179-232.

Indonésie

Yumi Sugahara and Willem van der Molen, *Transformation of Religions as Reflected in Javanese Texts*. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa [ILCAA Javanese Studies Series 5], 2018, ix + 179 pp., ISBN:9784863372580.

Java's literary culture and religious pluralism have long attracted academic attention and debate. The religious transformations and changes that accommodated first Indic and later Islamic models over the centuries shaped a distinctive social and cultural milieu in which religious practices and understandings came to be deeply entwined in distinctively Javanese textual formations.

The present volume brings together a group of leading Javanese textual experts to address the dynamism of religious transformation through the lens of Javanese texts. The volume comprises a brief Introduction by the editors, Yumi Sugahara and Willem van der Molen, followed by eight essays, originally presented at a workshop held in 2015 as part of a major project on the transformation of religions as reflected in Javanese texts at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. The essays are ordered more or less chronologically with the focus evenly divided between the Indic-influenced Old Javanese period (Robson, Aoyama, Yamasaki and Miyazaki) and later, modern Javanese Islamic traditions (Arps, Wieringa, Quinn and Ricci). Each contribution pays attention to textual worldmaking at a specific moment and, collectively, the resulting textual analyses offer insights into the shifting thought worlds of Javanese authors over a period of more than a thousand years.

As part of a wider project to develop a history of ideas for Old Javanese *kakawin* literature, in the first chapter, Stuart Robson sets out to explore what might have inspired literary endeavour and poetic creation. He adopts a "terminological" approach to analyse a sample of terms used by *kakawin* poets of the Kadiri period (1157-1222 CE) to describe their craft. Key terms found in the poets' personal and political statements, as well as in the didactic passages within the narratives, encapsulate concepts prominent in the minds of authors and their audiences and may thus be seen as a reflection of the broader worldview of the period.

The following three chapters also engage with a variety of Old Javanese textual genres. Toru Aoyama examines a series of *Ramayana* reliefs at Prambanan temple in Central Java that depict Javanese understandings of *moksa*, that is, liberation and transformation from earthly existence, of a number of mythological creatures. Because no specific textual sources can be identified, the reliefs must therefore be read in their own terms, revealing

characteristically Javanese interpretations of literary and iconographic currents from Indic traditions. The essentially Javanese nature of religious adaptation is also highlighted in the following chapters. First, Miho Yamasaki turns attention to the imprecations found in Old Javanese inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries to map changes between the Central and East Javanese periods in the deities named in the imprecations, but noting indigenous elements were never supplanted by Indic influences. Koji Miyazaki then describes the intricate Javanese calendrical cycles (*pawukon*) that regulate human activity and discusses the Watu Gunung myth that explains the origins of this system.

The volume then turns to Modern Javanese textual traditions, in which narrative devices and motifs from both Old Javanese and Islamic traditions are newly reimagined and reconfigured. Bernard Arps traces the recurrent narrative pattern of the quest and the individual's search for revelation in the mythological narrative of Bima's quest for enlightenment, which he obtains by entering into the ear of the deity, Dewa Ruci. The original Buddhistic Old Javanese text had been recast as the *Serat Dewa Ruci* in the late eighteenth century by the Javanese poet Yasadipura I (1729-1803), and in turn this reworking served as the source for the recording in writing of the wayang play *Bima Suci* (Bima Purified) at the early nineteenth-century Surakarta court. The same tale was expanded and included in the *Serat Purwacrita* (Stories of Antiquity), another compilation of plays from the same period. Attention to the mystical quest also manifests itself in didactic admonitory texts of the court such as the *Wulangreh* (Teachings on the Rule), a work that Arps concludes promotes Islam but in a Javanese idiom.

The *Serat Dewa Ruci* also figures in George Quinn's contemporary study of the elevation to sainthood of Adburrahman Wahid or Gus Dur, the leader of Nahdlatul Ulama and president of Indonesia from 1999 to 2001. Gus Dur is viewed as a modern day version of the Qu'ranic prophet Khadir. Quinn argues that Gus Dur's elevation as the tenth saint (*wali*) of Islam in Java is, at least in part, authenticated through links to popular stories about previous generations of Islamic saints, specifically those surrounding Khadir's disciple Sunan Kalijaga, one of the Islamic saints who brought Islam to Java. These Islamic stories directly replicate the narrative of the earlier *Serat Dewa Ruci* and mirror Bima's quest for enlightenment, with the entry of the disciple Kalijaga into the body of his teacher, Khadir, through his ear when crossing the ocean. In this way, intertextual links continue to reach back across religious boundaries to the distant past.

The window to textual worldmaking and Javanese religiosity in the nineteenth century is again thrown wide open in Edwin Wieringa's study of a singular Javanese text, the *Serat Jiljalaha* (Satan's Sermon) by Raden Riya Ranadiningrat. Here Satan extols the virtues of all the vices and major sins in the narrative style of Islamic books of wisdom and moral lessons. By creating a subversive parody that mocks the Javanese elite, and thereby inverting the

code of Muslim ethics, the text launches a scathing cultural critique narrated in familiar religious, cultural and textual terms.

Finally, Ronit Ricci uncovers fragments and traces of Javanese writing from colonial Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka), which the Dutch authorities used as a place of exile for dissidents and rebels. Ricci discusses echoes of Javanese textuality that reflect Javanese religious life in a number of works, composed mainly in Malay by descendants of the exiles, soldiers and servants of the Dutch and later British colonial era. These texts include the *Kidung rumeksa ning wengi* (Song Guarding the night), incorporated into a Malay compendium compiled between 1803-1831 and attributed to Sunan Kalijaga, talismanic *doa* texts, the *Hikayat Tuan Gusti,* a biography of Sunan Giri, another Javanese *wali* and his role in the story of the conversion of Java to Islam. The discussion then turns to the *Babad Giyanti* and its depiction of the experience of exile, and the role of Islamic teachers in easing that burden. The question of religiosity in the Javanese diaspora is left open to further research.

In their brief Introduction, the editors lament the long-standing compartmentalization of Javanese textual studies into a focus on Old Javanese texts prior to the sixteenth century, on the one hand, and later Modern Javanese Islamic-flavoured traditions on the other. Although they call attention to the need for far greater comparative, interdisciplinary engagement, they pass up the opportunity to draw together the potentially enriching insights from the chapters that follow. Nor do the authors speak directly to each other in spite of commonalities of interest and, on occasion, even of individual texts. Broader thematic overlaps and intertextual conjunctions might fruitfully have been explored further, but must await further research. In the meantime, this volume presents a rich smorgasbord of fascinating case studies of religious transformations and continuities that are reflected in the Javanese textual record. It is hardly possible to do justice to the wide range of texts and detailed analyses in this volume within the space of a brief review, but dipping in and out of this volume will certainly reward interested readers.

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Dirk Aedsge Buiskool, *Prominent Chinese During the Rise of a Colonial City: Medan 1890-1942*. Dissertation, University of Utrecht, 2019, 376 pages, illus. ISBN: 978-94-6375-447-7

A welcome addition to the literature about the colonial period in East Sumatra (roughly equivalent to today's Indonesian province of North Sumatra), this study's emphasis on the Chinese society of Medan fills a gap in the history of its interethnic relations and the role of the Chinese leadership. Its

author, Dirk Aedsge Buiskool, a longtime resident of the city, has in previous publications illuminated the history of its plantation economy and of the city itself, and he brings a variety of sources and experiences to bear on his subject. Using Dutch and Indonesian archives, the local Dutch- and Malay-language press, and interviews with family members, among other sources, he provides an overview of the commercial and social life of the Chinese in a Dutch-managed colonial city from 1890 to the Second World War.

After 1870, commercial plantations, tobacco, rubber, tea and palm oil, quickly drew European investors and a labor force of (mostly indentured) Chinese coolies to eastern Sumatra. At the same time, other Chinese entered the area, servicing the plantations and the rapidly expanding city of Medan in trade and services. Both coolies and traders—like Chinese elsewhere in Southeast Asia—were nearly all immigrants from Guangdong and Fujian provinces in southern China; nearly all were, before the 1920s, males. Buiskool shows how Medan's Chinese businessmen differed from those in Java and elsewhere, naming nine prominent figures and their interests and activities. Although the predominant sub-ethnic group were Hokkian, and Hokkian was the lingua franca of the city's Chinese, the two Hakka immigrant brothers Tjong Yong Hian (Zhang Yunan or Zhang Yongxuan, 1850-1911) and Tjong A Fie (Zhang Hongnan or Yaoxuan, 1860-1921) left the greatest imprint on the city and they also dominate Buiskool's history.

The elder Tjong, having gotten a start on Onrust, an island in the harbor of Batavia, already understood the importance of alliance with the colonial power when he moved to Sumatra around 1880. Both brothers profited from that alliance as Chinese officers and revenue farmers.

The Tjong brothers'economic careers paralleled the rise of Medan as the center of East Sumatra's plantation economy. Beginning by delivering rice, sugar and other supplies to the plantations, they both climbed the ladder of Chinese officership from Lieutenant to Major (Majoor), taking responsibility for administering the rapidly growing Chinese population of the city and also representing its interests to the colonial authorities. The lucrative side of officership, however, was the opportunity to rent revenue farms for opium, alcohol, gambling, and others, including the lucrative salt monopoly, which serviced the salt fish and shrimp paste industry of the largely Chinese settlement of Bagan Si Apiapi. As these farms were gradually abolished or taken over by the government after 1912, unlike many Chinese revenue farmers on Java, the Tjongs could use their multiple economic interests to survive and expand their fortunes. These included retailing, extensive investments in urban real estate, plantation ownership and, finally, banking.

The Tjong brothers'uncle, Thio Tiauw Siat (in the Straits Settlements usually called Cheong Fat Tze, Zhang Yunxun or Bishi, 1841-1916) had paved the way for their move to Medan, including the subsequent immigration

of Tjong A Fie to the city, in about 1890. Partly in alliance with him, they expanded their interests to Penang and the Straits Settlements. In China, they invested in the Shantou-Chaozhou railway in their home province of Guangdong, as well as other activities in the homeland.

As befitted successful businessmen, the Tjongs also engaged in philanthrophy, in no way limiting their donations to projects within the Chinese community. These included hospitals, schools, temples, and even mosques and Christian churches. Finally, they lobbied (to use a modern expression) the colonial government to improve the position of all Medan's Chinese under Dutch rule. Apart from the railroad, they donated to relief in China and elsewhere and laid great emphasis on education taking an interest in political developments and nationalism in China. The composition of the Chinese community in Medan, almost all recent immigrants, and their linguistic preferences meant that there was little interest in Dutch or Indonesian affairs. Similarly, education was in Mandarin Chinese and (because of the proximity to the Straits Settlements) English. Although their interests were cosmopolitan, and they supported schools for girls, when it came to marriage, arranged matches still prevailed.

Buiskool discusses seven other Chinese leaders, one of them also a Majoor, and others who limited their activities to business (perhaps partly for their inability to speak Dutch or even Malay well). Compared to Tjong A Fie, however, they pale: on the list of the incomes of the largest Chinese taxpayers in 1920 (Appendix 3.4, pp. 299ff.), Tjong A Fie's income is nearly equivalent to that of all the other 65 Chinese taxpayers together—and some of the others were his own sons.

The copious appendices, listing in addition to taxpayers, the major investments of Tjong A Fie, his philanthropic projects, Chinese organizations, Medan's newspapers, and much more, underline the amount of work that has gone into this study and its usefulness for anyone interested in Medan and East Sumatra, but also in histories of overseas Chinese capitalism. Buiskool emphasizes the interethnic harmony of the colonial city of Medan, as the good relations of the Tjongs not only with the Dutch, but also with the Sultan of Deli and other "Indigenous" (as he calls them) Indonesians evidence. In his final pages, he briefly contrasts this with the outbreaks of extreme interethnic violence in Medan during the Indonesian Revolution, violence that returned in the 1960s and 1990s.

There are some weaknesses in the book. Kuangtung/Guangdong is often misspelled; Hoklo did not originate in northern China but in Fujian. The English is sometimes eccentric. The two historical maps are too small to decipher. Some orthographic problems and inconsistencies simply result from the way colonial administrators and authors transliterated Chinese names from the variety of southern Chinese languages they confronted, as the

multiple names of the Tjongs show. Where possible, Mandarin equivalents for persons, places, and organizations might have helped. On the other hand, it is as the Tjong brothers, and not the Zhangs, that Medan, where Jalan Bogor has recently been renamed Jalan Tjong Yong Hian, remembers them.

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Josh Stenberg, *Minority Stages: Sino-Indonesian Performance and Public Display*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019, xvi-257 pp. ISBN: 9780824876715

In recent years, we have seen a number of studies that attempt to examine the historical and contemporary developments of the Chinese community in Indonesia. These works have contributed to the burgeoning literature and investigated a wide range of topics, including Dutch-Chinese commercial relations, the Chinese Muslim community, visual culture and representations, as well as the ethnic Chinese dimension in China-Indonesia relations.[5] Josh Stenberg's *Minority Stages: Sino-Indonesian Performance and Public Display* is a welcome addition to the field of Chinese Indonesian studies in particular and that of Chinese diaspora studies in general. Broadly, *Minority Stages* explores various forms of Sino-Indonesian public performance and display that serve as a platform for "Chineseness" to be shaped locally and nationally in Indonesia. The book has two primary goals: The first is to demonstrate how "Chineseness" is manifested in Sino-Indonesian performance, and the second, to "recover the cultural history of the Chinese-Indonesian subject" (p. 6). Drawing on archival research and fieldwork in various parts of the Indonesian archipelago, Stenberg organizes the book by genre of Sino-Indonesian performance, with chapters exploring *xiqu* (戲曲), *wayang*, Chinese-language spoken theater (*huaju* 話劇), commercial theater, voluntary associations, and religious performance. Each genre of performance is featured in turn.

Chapter 1 presents a broad historical overview of *xiqu* from the Dutch colonial period to the present. Chinese migration to Southeast Asia contributed to the spread of *xiqu* from southeast China to the Indies as early as the seventeenth century. According to casual reports by Europeans, *xiqu* was a dominant form of Chinese entertainment and could often be seen at Chinese

5. See, for instance, Alexander Claver, *Dutch Commerce and Chinese Merchants in Java: Colonial Relationships in Trade and Finance, 1800-1942* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Hew Wai Weng, *Chinese Ways of being Muslim: Negotiating Ethnicity and Religiosity in Indonesia* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2018); Abidin Kusno, *Visual Cultures of the Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016); Taomo Zhou, *Migration in the Time of Revolution: China, Indonesia, and the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019).

rituals and festivals. The heavily Chinese-dominated areas frequently hosted *xiqu* performances, contributing to the genre's emergence as a "pan-Indies phenomenon" (p. 29). *Xiqu* gradually declined as a result of assimilation, loss of language, and the rising popularity of cinema, well before the suppression of Chinese culture under Suharto's New Order government. Fast forward to the 1990s, several *xiqu* troupes merged to form Tridharma Arts, becoming active in religious and ritual performances at Chinese temples and festivals. Chapter 2 explores four forms of Sino-Indonesian *wayang*, namely, *wayang potehi*, Hakka marionettes, *wayang kulit Cina-Jawa*, and *wayang klitik*. *Wayang potehi*, which can be traced to the Hokkien glove puppet theater practice, is one of the most known forms of Sino-Indonesian performance. This genre was popularly performed at major Chinese and civic festivals during the colonial period. By the 1950s, *Potehi* became a linguistic bridge for the Chinese communities and even began involving *pribumi* Indonesians. Despite New Order's anti-Chinese measures, *Potehi* has survived and remains popular in temple performances. Hakka marionettes are a common theatrical practice among the Hakka community in Singkawang. According to Stenberg, the genre, in contrast with *Potehi*, has experienced little or no hybridization or indigenization. Unlike Hakka marionettes, *Wayang kulit Cina-Jawa*, which was invented and promoted by Peranakan *dalang* Gan Thwan Sing (1885–1966), is an adaptation of *wayang kulit*. This genre disappeared before the New Order period but has been revived in the recent years to present Indonesia's multicultural image. *Wayang klitik*, the last of the four *wayang*s in the chapter, which Stenberg's respondents last thought to have been performed in 1960s or 1970s, has unfortunately vanished with little documentation.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on Sino-Indonesian staged theatrical performance. Chapter 3 examines how ethnic Chinese intellectuals in Indonesia relied on Chinese-language spoken theater as an instrument to negotiate their cultural identities between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia. In this chapter, Stenberg compares Chinese author Baren's (巴人) 1949 historical drama *Temple of the Five Ancestors* (五祖廟) with Medan Chinese journalist and author Shalihong's (沙里洪) 1959 script of the same title. While Baren's script presents a resistance against imperialism and propagates communism, Shalihong's work relies on Sino-Indonesia history to encourage Chinese nationalism. Chapter 4 discusses how Chinese stories were incorporated into Indonesian commercial theater from late colonial period to the present. During the early decades of the twentieth century, Sino-Indonesian intellectuals brought Chinese literary drama into the Indies theater scene. Subsequently, Chinese stories such as *Sampek Engtay* (三伯英台) made their way into local performance fabrics and evolved into "a national performative imaginary" (p. 99). As Stenberg points out, *Sampek Engtay* was popular in commercial theater throughout the first half of the twentieth century. After a

brief ban during the New Order period, *Sampek Engtay* has been revived and continues to be popularly performed in Indonesian commercial theater.

Chapters 5 and 6 turn our attention to Sino-Indonesian community performance. Chapter 5 investigates the activities of Sino-Indonesian voluntary associations, which can be considered as an organized display of cultural hybridity and national loyalty. The activities by these organizations, as Stenberg suggests, "strengthen ties within the Chinese community, reinforce ethnic identity, provide space for language and cultural instruction, and create avenues for the Chinese population to interact with (or perform for) Indonesian society as a unit" (p. 116). Sino-Indonesian associations, such as *tongxianghui* (同鄉會), Chinese-language school alumni clubs, and cultural societies, perform loyalty to Indonesia and Indonesian culture and display their local identities to bring home the point that Chinese Indonesians are patriotic citizens of the Indonesian nation. Chapter 6 demonstrates how Chinese religious and ritual performance is a producer of "Chineseness," serving as a platform for Sino-Indonesians to perform their identity for one another, the general Indonesian population, Indonesian political authorities, and the broader Chinese diaspora. Stenberg draws on the examples of Bandung's Vihara Dharma Ramsi (靈光寺) and Singkawang's Hakka congregants to compare Sino-Indonesian religious performances in Java and Kalimantan. The Lantern Festival, known in Indonesian as Cap Go Meh (十五暝), has been revived and widely celebrated, albeit differently, in Bandung and Singkawang during the post-Suharto era. The chapter convincingly demonstrates the diversity of Sino-Indonesian ritual performance and the complex dynamics between Sino-Indonesians, local population, and the Indonesian authorities in the presentation and execution of a Chinese festival.

As a scholar of religion, I selfishly wish the author could have offered more background and detail on Chinese religious practices in Indonesia. For instance, in chapter 1, Stenberg mentions the Tridharma, a uniquely Sino-Indonesian religious movement, and Generalissimo Tian (天都元帥), the patron deity of theater, but he offers little elaboration of the religious organization and the deity's cult in Indonesia. The author only reveals to the readers in chapter 6 that the San Kauw (三教, the Three Teachings), which combined Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, and incorporated aspects of Peranakan Chinese culture and monotheistic traits, was "later known by its Indonesian name of Tridharma" (p. 141). Yet, he offers little information on the liturgical and ritual practices of the San Kauw or Tridharma religious movement. In addition, Stenberg points out that "Buddhism" became an umbrella term for Sino-Indonesian religious practices during the New Order era and that Taiwanese Buddhist organization, Tzu Chi (慈濟), was involved in the Singkawang's Cap Go Meh celebrations. However, he provides little discussion as to whether Buddhist organizations are in any ways involved in

Sino-Indonesian performance and display.

But these minor quibbles aside, *Minority Stages* is a fine piece of scholarship that successfully advances our understanding of the diverse Sino-Indonesian performance genres from colonial times to the present. The greatest strength of this book lies in the acuity and vividness expressed through the author's descriptions of performances by the Sino-Indonesian communities. Stenberg's compelling ethnographic account dives readers straight into the lively and effervescent performance practices. After reading this book, I, for one, feel enticed to visit the Cap Go Meh festival in Singkawang. All in all, *Minority Stages* will be particularly useful to those who are interested in Indonesian studies, Chinese diaspora studies, and performance studies. Despite being a serious study on performing arts, I found the book extremely entertaining and fun to read.

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Gregory Forth, *A Dog Pissing at the Edge of a Path: Animal Metaphors in an Eastern Indonesian Society*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019, xvi + pp. 388. ISBN: 978-0-7735-5922-6 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-7735-5923-3 (paper).

Animal metaphors, the subject of this admirable book, characteristically use animals to talk about things that are not animals—most often human beings, their physical appearance, morals, or behavior. Gregory Forth, its author, has written extensively on eastern Indonesia, particularly on the Nage, a small society of subsistence cultivators in central Flores. In addition to a general account of Nage society, cosmology and religion (*Beneath the Volcano*, 1999), his recent work has focused largely on ethnobiology, including his last book before this one, *Why the Porcupine is Not a Bird* (2016, review in *Archipel* 98*,* 2019), an exhaustive study of Nage folk zoology. In introducing the present book, Forth tells us that he originally intended to include a discussion of animal metaphors in this prior book, but that their sheer number as well as the centrality of metaphors in recent anthropological debates persuaded him that they deserved a book of their own. We can be grateful for this. The present study represents not only an exemplary ethnography, thoroughly exploring the cultural significance, variety and complexity of metaphoric expressions in a single society, but also offers a timely account of the various ways in which anthropologists have defined and used the concept of metaphor.

At the heart of the book are 566 Nage animal metaphors relating to some 140 individual "categories" (almost all scientific species). The largest number corresponds to "mammals." Mammals are divided, one chapter each, between

domesticated and wild mammals. Together the two categories comprise the largest single source of metaphors, accounting for 42% of the total. Forth plausibly argues that this is because, being mammals ourselves, we share more in common with mammals generally than with other animals. Among mammals, the dog is the most common source of metaphors, followed closely by the buffalo. Both live in close proximity with humans and the latter serves as a prime measure of Nage wealth. Bird metaphors comprise a third chapter and account for a surprisingly large 31 % of all Nage metaphors, including the single most prolific source of all: the chicken. Buffaloes, dogs, and chickens also form a set of signifiers indicating the relative size or worth of things, including other animals; the word "buffalo" attached to the name of a thing indicating the largest or most eminent of its kind, "dog" those that are middling, and "chicken," the smallest or least important. A fourth chapter deals with reptiles and other non-mammalian animals and a fifth, completing the corpus, with insects and other invertebrates.

Metaphors are instances of symbolic thought that, in the case of animal metaphors, use animals as symbols, or in the terminology that Forth adopts from Lakoff and Johnson, as "sources" (or vehicles) for something else: namely, for a referent or "target." Again, following Lakoff and Johnson, Forth argues that symbolic relationships are almost always, in some measure, "motivated," that is to say, are determined by some property of the symbol that is accepted as being similar to some attribute of its target. As Forth demonstrates, drawing on this large corpus of Nage animal metaphors, over 80% are motivated by fairly straight-forward empirical observation. "A dog pissing at the edge of the path" provides an excellent example. Here, the motivation is established by observation and requires no special knowledge of Nage culture. Any dog owner will recognize at once a dog's habit of straying from one side of a path to the other in order to urinate. The Nage apply this expression to persons who are inconstant, veering from one project to another (i.e. like the English expression, "pissing around," p. 94). In addition, as here, metaphors are typically asymmetrical. Humans may share attributes with dogs, but this does not make dogs humans. Similarly, while the things dogs do may be undesirable in humans, they may be perfectly acceptable in dogs. Moreover, metaphoric relations refer to specific, typically external attributes, not of animals and humans generally, but of particular animals and of specific classes or individual persons. Most metaphors also have what Forth calls a "moral import" (p. 337). Hence, they reflect social values, usually in a negative sense, and so oftentimes serve as an indirect way of expressing criticism, censor, or even ridicule.

Metaphors are not the only way in which the Nage employ animals symbolically. Metaphoric expressions are regarded by the Nage as an instance of *pata péle*, literally, "cut-off" or "screened off" speech, a way of speaking

that conceals the speaker's true meaning. Recognition of similar forms of speech appear to be widespread in the Austronesian-speaking world. Thus, the Iban, with whom I did fieldwork, describe metaphors in a similar way as an example of *jaku' karung*, literally, "enclosed," or "concealed speech." Some animals, Forth tells us, are perceived by the Nage to be manifestations of spirits. The same is true of the Iban, except that the Iban draw a semantic connection, describing these animal manifestations as *karung*, "containers" within which particular spirits regularly conceal themselves. Similarly, both the Nage and the Iban make use of chickens as their principal sacrificial animals, and both describe themselves, in terms of their dependence upon the gods, by analogy with their tending of chickens, as the "chickens of the gods" (p. 43). While neither of these associations motives metaphors, both reveal I think the fine line that often separates metaphors from other forms of symbolic representation, an important point the author reiterates at throughout the book.

While metaphors have long been of special concern to anthropologists, in the last two decades this concern has become bound up with questions of comparative ontology, notions that different societies have different understandings regarding the sorts of things—human and non-human—that exist in the world and how these things are related to one another. In the concluding two chapters, Forth surveys these notions, particularly in the work of Tim Ingold, Viveiros de Castro and Philipe Descola, arguing that while people hold differing ideas about animals, there is no evidence that these differences reflect separate, radically different ontologies. On the contrary, the abundant evidence he presents of Nage animal metaphors suggests that the Nage, in fact, understand their metaphors in essentially the same way that Westerners do, not as expressions of differing ways of experiencing and making sense of the world, but as a form of figurative speech in which they use animals to talk about things that are not animals, most often about themselves and other human beings.

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Gabriel Facal, *La foi et la force. L'art martial* silat *de Banten en Indonésie*, Paris, Les Indes Savantes, 2018, 226 p. ISBN : 978-2-84654-467-2.

Ce livre de Gabriel Facal[6] s'inscrit dans la continuité de sa thèse de doctorat d'anthropologie sociale, soutenue en 2012 à l'Université d'Aix-Marseille. Cette

6. Il est à noter que le livre en question a donné lieu à une traduction indonésienne (financée par la Fondation O'Ong Maryono) qui est finalement sortie avant l'original français, eu égard aux délais éditoriaux (*Keyakinan dan Kekuatan. Seni Bela Diri Silat Banten*, Jakarta, Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2016).

thèse portait sur les réseaux socio-politiques de Banten, compris au travers de l'ethnographie de l'initiation rituelle *penca* du village de Rancalame – animée par un maître *jawara* régionalement référentiel des rituels initiatiques – et des ramifications urbaines des initiations *penca* liées de près ou de loin à ce maître. Les enquêtes menées à cette occasion, sur le mode de l'observation participante, ont permis à l'auteur de pénétrer les réseaux fermés des *jawara* de Banten et d'y observer aussi bien les pratiques ouvertes directement observables par le public, que celles cachées visant à maintenir le contrôle religieux, politique et économique de la région par ces mêmes réseaux *jawara*, unifiés sous la férule de Chasan Sochib et avec l'assentiment de l'Ordre Nouveau.[7] C'est ainsi que l'auteur a pu s'immiscer dans les cercles de la « dynastie » Chasan jusqu'au niveau le plus élevé, et y glaner des informations de première main auxquelles il était – sinon – impossible d'accéder.

La première partie de cet ouvrage synthétise cet aspect de la thèse en commençant par dresser un historique du développement économique et politique de Banten à la période d'islamisation et plus particulièrement à partir du XVI^e^ siècle. L'auteur montre comment la catégorie des *jawara* a émergé des réseaux intrinsèques et/ou intermédiaires à ceux des *kiai*, des ulémas, et des confréries soufies, profitant notamment de la période coloniale néerlandaise pour s'imposer comme une force de frappe (dans tous les sens du terme) associée au pouvoir et au développement des intérêts économiques, ou luttant contre eux, notamment à l'époque de l'indépendance. L'analyse montre que l'espace social ainsi occupé ne devait plus être laissé vacant par ces *jawara* qui se sont de plus en plus associés aux figures de l'islam, à tel point que l'on s'est mis à parler de *jawara-ulama* ou d'*ulama-jawara*, suivant l'orientation première ou principale des tenants en cause.

Venant se poser comme une illustration détaillée des observations de terrain, la seconde partie de l'ouvrage présente les descriptions synthétiques des cinq courants de *penca* les plus importants de Banten (non décrits dans la thèse). Cela permet notamment à l'auteur de présenter des données sur les pratiques, l'organisation, les modes de transmission, les narrations (récits de fondation des écoles, faits d'armes des maîtres), et les relations avec l'extérieur des écoles appartenant à ces courants. Les descriptions techniques donnent des informations sur les échanges de styles (sundanais, jakartanais, chinois, lampungais et bantenois, notamment). Les données organisationnelles donnent des informations sur les échanges au quotidien de la localité urbaine ou villageoise avec les différents groupes d'influence rituels, religieux, politiques ou économiques (l'aspect économique étant généralement combiné et subordonné aux trois premières catégories). Les descriptions des modes d'apprentissage

7. Voir à ce sujet, de Gabriel Facal: « Continuités et transitions de la Reformasi indonésienne : l'actualité politique de Banten à l'issue des élections provinciales de 2017 », *Archipel*, n° 93, 2017: 133-150.

donnent des informations sur la façon dont évoluent l'attractivité de ces organisations et les modes relationnels. Notons que l'ancestralité et les relations aînés-cadets (les aînés comme responsables des relations internes, les cadets des relations externes) sont particulièrement bien décrites et analysées.

La troisième partie vient systématiser la comparaison de ces différents éléments pour mieux analyser le devenir de ces écoles depuis la période de réformes post-1998, d'où il ressort que leur impact tant attractif que socio-politique tend à s'affaiblir. Suivant l'analyse développée (pp. 185-194, notamment), la corruption endémique renforce le cloisonnement lié à l'exclusivisme qui existe entre les écoles car elle limite toute possibilité de développer des infrastructures pour la pratique, le financement des écoles, la création d'événements, etc. Du coup, nombre de pratiquants rejoignent les milices et l'univers de la sécurité, délaissent la pratique pour des activités plus lucratives ou bien parce qu'ils doivent migrer pour travailler. Par contre, la concurrence des arts martiaux exogènes (tae kwondo, karate, etc.) n'est pas aussi prononcée qu'ailleurs à Java, du fait de la mainmise que les membres patronnant les écoles de *silat* exercent sur les institutions sportives.

La force de cet ouvrage est de combiner de façon équilibrée les données ethnographiques aux données socio-historiques des écoles de *penca*, lesquelles ne sont pas des écoles d'épanouissement personnel mais bel et bien des écoles d'apprentissage combiné de l'appartenance sociale et/ou communautaire, et des facultés psycho-motrices au sein d'un contexte où il ne fait généralement pas sens de distinguer ces deux éléments. L'enquête menée permet de révéler que les valeurs inculquées, soit ne distinguent pas, soit combinent les aspects locaux, rituels, extra-locaux, politiques et religieux. La teneur de la dimension initiatique de ces écoles varie contextuellement en fonction de ces combinaisons (plus rituel, plus religieux, plus sécuritaire, plus mafieux…).

C'est ce va-et-vient subtil et complexe que G. Facal nous permet d'observer grâce à une approche qui décrit l'élaboration – d'un point de vue interne – du quotidien des pratiquants et des acteurs concernés, en la mettant en perspective avec les résultats les plus aboutis des recherches historiques et sociales existant sur la région, celles notamment de Romain Bertrand, Claude Guillot, Snouck Hurgronje, Sartono Kartodirdjo, Okamoto Masaaki, Henk Schulte Nordholt, Martin Van Bruinessen. Les politiques coloniales et nationales, le Pesisir, la présence chinoise, sont aussi présents dans les impacts qu'ils occasionnent sur la région de Banten jusqu'à la période de réformes post-Suharto qui voit se présager l'éclatement ou le recouvrement des réseaux *jawara* et la mise en cause marquée de la dynastie Chasan.

Devant ce travail de longue haleine – les premières enquêtes remontent à 2004 et 2007 – et d'envergure (du fait de la littérature scientifique mobilisée et de la justesse d'analyse) il est difficile de trouver des faiblesses à cet ouvrage, à moins – comme on se trouve souvent dans l'obligation de le faire devant un

travail très abouti – de formuler des souhaits liés à des orientations thématiques que l'on aime personnellement aborder ou voir aborder.

Il me semble ainsi que l'analyse des techniques pourrait être davantage valorisée à l'aune des apports de l'Ecole française de technologie leroi-ghourancienne. La formation et la diffusion des « styles » locaux et régionaux, ainsi que celles du vocabulaire technique pourraient y gagner en consistance analytique et se présenter comme un recoupement heuristique face aux discours directs ou indirects recueillis sur le terrain ; un apport qu'il est bien sûr toujours possible de développer. L'auteur a d'ailleurs commencé à baliser cette perspective dans l'ouvrage, où il effectue une rapide mise au point terminologique en p. 13 (dans laquelle il apparaît par exemple que dans le nord de Banten on utilise majoritairement le terme *silat*, tandis que *penca* l'est plus dans l'arrière-pays où le sundanais est plus prégnant), ainsi que dans un article récent.[8]

En ce qui concerne les catégories d'analyse, il apparaît aussi que le terme « art martial » par son aspect vague et connoté, ne rend pas compte de la richesse des logiques sociales du contexte décrit. Il tend donc à banaliser celles-ci de façon réductrice. Il s'agit en fait ici d'une remarque générale qui concerne l'ensemble des travaux portant sur des sujets apparentés. La dimension sociale n'est ici heureusement pas ignorée, loin s'en faut puisqu'on comprend bien que c'est elle qui définit les techniques utilisées. L'auteur compose sans doute avec les attentes d'un lectorat diversifié en utilisant la catégorie-valise *seni beladiri* (« art d'autodéfense »), tout en montrant aussi (p. 12) l'intérêt de mettre l'accent sur la notion sociologiquement plus exacte d'initiation martiale.

Enfin, pour finir, je ne peux m'empêcher d'espérer une suite à cet ouvrage, dans laquelle l'auteur pourrait décrire et analyser le déclin des *jawara* au profit d'autres catégories sociales ayant aussi bien réussi que ce groupe qui a su profiter des espaces d'action ouverts par les logiques exogènes du commerce, de l'islam, de la colonisation et du nationalisme. Nous ne bénéficions certes pas pour ce faire d'une diachronie de 400 ans, mais la richesse de l'ethnographie des contextes micro et macro doit malgré tout permettre de tenter de conceptualiser ce mouvement cyclique d'accession des catégories sociales – notamment mis en perspective par Fernand Braudel – pour mieux le saisir aussi dans une logique synchronique.

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8. Facal, Gabriel, "Trans-regional Continuities of Fighting Techniques in Martial Ritual Initiations of the Malay World," *Martial Arts Studies*, n°4, 2017: 46-69.

Nancy J. Smith-Hefner, *Islamizing Intimacies: Youth, Sexuality, and Gender in Contemporary Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019, X +248 pp. ISBN 9780824878030

Democratization and Islamization amidst globalization are important developments shaping the socio-political features of post-Suharto Indonesia. Since the reform era (after May 1998) Islam has gradually moved to the center stage, coloring the public sphere of Indonesian society. This book was written in that context of rapid socio-political change, in which Islamization and economic globalization inevitably affected gender relations in contemporary Indonesia.

Different from most other books on Indonesian Islam and gender, which mainly focus on the expression and everyday practice of gender and Islam since the reform era, this book provides a longitudinal analysis covering over 30 years with thorough analyses that extend from before the reform era (1984 to 1999), to the reform era, from 1999 to 2015. With a strong ethnographic emphasis, this book seeks to capture changes in family, gender and interpersonal relations of Javanese Muslim youth by presenting "the everyday hopes, dreams, and experiences of Muslim youth" (p. 19). By focusing on youth, the author believes that young people often reflect deeply the intersection in their personal and public effects of globalization, democratization, the growth of middle class, and Islamic resurgence. This is an urban ethnographic study, with data gathered by observation and in-depth interviews with 125 students (in 1999) and another 125 students (from 2000-2015) mainly associated with either Gadjah Mada University (UGM) or the State Islamic University (UIN) in Yogyakarta. The criteria for choosing the respondents were college-age, Muslim, and Javanese (p. 15). Throughout the eight chapters, the author believes that "modern social change in Java has brought not social or cultural homogenization but a pluralization and contestation of ways of being Javanese and Indonesian" (p. 8). Here, the author seeks to provide a window to reflect on the shifting norms, values, and aspirational identification of previous generations and present ones (p. 10). The book beautifully captures variations among Muslim Javanese youth by presenting the broad contours of the socio-economic and religious life of the family and the students, which the author classified under two: aspects of Neo-reformist youth (experiences of students from Gadjah Mada University, UGM), and Neo-traditionalist youth (experiences of students from Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, UIN Sunan Kalijaga).

This book is recommended for students, lecturers, researchers in Indonesian studies in particular, or in Southeast Asian studies in general for two reasons: *first*, it provides detailed portraits of the changes in roles and expectations in gender, piety and social intimacy between different generations of Javanese Muslims, especially through the lens of youth. Thus, the book's findings can be a useful lesson relevant to other communities in Indonesia, as well as Southeast

Asia because Islamization and globalization are not merely an Indonesian but a Southeast Asian phenomenon (see Schroter 2013; for Malaysia see, Frisk 2009). *Second*, it provides an empirical proof that Geertz's socio-religious categorization of *santri-abangan* is now blurring. Starting from socio-religious grouping, the author founds that the different expressions and attitudes about religiosity, lives and gender expectations between older generations (parents and grandparents) and the younger generation of Javanese Muslims (male and female), "offers further evidence of the blurring of the *santri-abangan* divide in a post-New Order Indonesia" (p. 185). Although, as a political scientist, this point does not surprise me because many scholars have refuted Geertz's socio-religious' categories or, to use the Indonesian term, "*aliran*", in the politics of post-New Order Indonesia (for example Baswedan 2004, Mulkhan 2005, Pranowo 2005, and Liddle & Mujani 2007), this book confirms the earlier critics, warning us to question the validity of Geertz's socio-religious grouping when viewing Indonesia's contemporary political situation.

Despite the good points, I have a minor note. As Muslim Javanese woman who comes from and grew up in Yogyakarta, my life was surrounded by and experienced social changes as described precisely in this book. Smith-Hefner describes some shifts among the young urban generation of Javanese Muslims who often use the expression "*gaul*", something that the author believes indicates a diminishing Javanese cultural etiquette. In my opinion, this is not thoroughly accurate. I originated in the eastern part of Bantul, Yogyakarta, which borders on Sleman and Gunungkidul. Although I moved to Jakarta because of my job around 2000, I regularly return to my home town. In the community, I still regularly experience that my mother and other members of the community, men and women, the youth and myself speak in *kromo inggil* (the very polite, high level of the Javanese language). I think Javanese language etiquette is still practiced by the younger generation of Javanese youth (male and female) in this semi-urban area, on the outskirts of Yogyakarta City. Despite this minor note, this is a path-breaking work, a valuable addition to the literature in the great tradition of Javanese studies and the growing attention to gender, politics, youth, and Islam in Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

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Ross Tapsell, *Media power in Indonesia: oligarchs, citizens and the digital revolution*. London; Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield International, 2017, xxix-172 pages. ISBN: 9781786600356 (hardcover alkaline paper), ISBN: 1786600366 (paperback), ISBN: 9781786600370 (electronic)

"If the 'new' medium is digital, what is the message?" (p. 2). This question, recalling Marshall McLuhan's famous quote "the medium is the message," is at the core of Ross Tapsell's 2017 *Media power in Indonesia: oligarchs, citizens and the digital revolution*. While similar questions have been addressed in an emerging body of academic work about digital culture in predominantly Western contexts, Tapsell rightly argues the issue is particularly relevant in light of the historical connections between information and communication media and major social and historical developments in Indonesia.

In Chapter 1, Tapsell succinctly sums up the links between print culture and the emergence of the nationalist movement in the Dutch East Indies; the importance of radio broadcasting in the struggle for independence; and television's role as a medium of propaganda and economic development under President Suharto's totalitarian New Order regime (1965-1998). The links between these media and their social surroundings have always been intricate and never univocal, but the multiplicity and volatility of the digital and the social, cultural and political phenomena it is interconnected with, arguably provides the new medium with an additional layer of complexity. Tapsell's work is to be commended for its critical and insightful analysis of some of the key aspects of this complexity.

One of these aspects is the very notion of the media company in the digital age. As illuminated by the author, today's media companies are not limited to

providing news and entertainment as such, but have integrated information and communication technology and expertise in the provision of a wide array of services, ranging from banking and gaming to transport and food delivery (p. 26). Another aspect addressed in detail is the convergence of 'traditional' media such as newspapers, radio and television in a variety of digital platforms. One of Tapsell's main arguments is that this type of convergence has to be considered in direct relation to the emergence and strengthening of media oligarchies in post-Reformasi, or post-1998 democratic reform, Indonesia (p. 19).

Chapters 2 and 3 present extensive detail about the contemporary Indonesian digital conglomerates and media oligarchs, respectively. Tapsell prefers to talk in terms of a multi-oligarchy instead of oligarchy, as the Indonesian media landscape is dominated by a limited number of media owners, who 'push their own interest rather than the interests of a broader cartel' (pp. 60-61). This includes the owners' use of their media companies to pursue their own political ambitions or to explicitly support the interests of political figures or parties they are affiliated with. Several of these owners, who are among the wealthiest citizens with investments in sectors including and far beyond the media, have tried to run for the Indonesian presidency. The combination of media convergence, cost efficiency in news production, a multi-oligarchic system, and the entanglements between politics and businesses has failed to promote and even threatened the diversity of information and communication in democratic Indonesia (p. 51).

Tapsell account has been enriched and enlivened by personal interviews with media owners and other media professionals as well as his extensive first-hand experiences in media news rooms. His journalistic style of writing makes the book a joy to read and enhances its accessibility to a broader audience beyond the academic community. Moreover, he complicates existing studies and theories about the oligarchy by also analysing how digital platforms have facilitated the emergence of *counter-oligarchic* movements in Indonesia (Chapter 4). Tapsell presents the oligarchy and the counter-oligarchy not simply as opposing forces, or contrasting examples of utopia and dystopia, but also identifies mutual overlaps as well as internal contradictions. This comprehensiveness and criticality attests to the balanced and nuanced approach of the author.

The main case-study of a counter-oligarchic initiative facilitated by digital media platforms is the 2014 Kawal Pemilu ("Guard the Elections"), "an initiative of civilian internet users to crowdsource voting tabulation around the country" (pp. 114-115). This initiative contributed to safeguarding Indonesia's new and still vulnerable democracy in various ways. The digital infrastructure enabled ordinary citizens to participate in public communication and information provision. It also gave the public the opportunity to directly monitor the voting results of the elections, one of the key tools for democratic citizen participation in the political process. What is more, it countered the

disturbingly conflicting messages issued by the media of the multi-oligarchy. On the night of the presidential election, TVOne declared Prabowo Sugianto the winner, while Indonesia's other major news channel, MetroTV, announced Joko Widodo as Indonesia's new president (pp. 77-80). The campaigns of both candidates themselves relied heavily on mass mobilisation through the social media, marking the rise of a different type of political communication and politician-voter interaction. Tapsell acknowledges the grassroots participation in and coverage of Jokowi's campaign as an important factor in the victory of this relative outsider to the Jakarta-based media multi-oligarchy (p. 113).

While Tapsell's book covers the political economy of the contemporary Indonesian media in detail, the counter-oligarchic discussion is limited to one chapter and one major case-study. The author also seems to narrow down the notions of the political, political agency, power and empowerment in contemporary Indonesia to practices that are directly related to politics and business, such as the elections and the business structures and political affiliations of media organisations.

However, both mainstream and social media also play key roles in shaping, representing, strengthening or undermining other forms of agency and empowerment, such as those related to the politics of class, gender and ethnicity. This other, often more personalised type of politics is also not limited to news content, but plays out particularly in the narratives and audio-visual presentations and explorations in more artistic or entertainment-oriented genres. While studies into those other areas are necessary for further exploring and complicating answers to the question of "what is the message of the digital?," they are not to ignore Tapsell's groundbreaking work on the ever evolving and excitingly difficult-to-grasp digital realities of Indonesia and beyond.

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Singapour

Samuel Ling Wei Chan. *Aristocracy of Armed Talent. The Military Elite in Singapore.* Singapore: NUS Press, 2019, XXVII + 495 p., ISBN 978-981-3250-07-9

Rares sont les travaux académiques contemporains concernant Singapour qui ne cherchent pas à démontrer l'exceptionnalité de la Cité-État. Cela n'est guère surprenant lorsque l'on sait à quel point, depuis sa fondation en 1965 à titre de république pleinement indépendante, ses dirigeants et même

une proportion dominante de ses citoyens ont eu à cœur de faire valoir son caractère singulier. Singulier mais aussi profondément original, car, tout en étant largement autogénérées, les innovations de la petite république insulaire, qu'elles soient sociales, économiques, urbanistiques, commerciales, industrielles ou autres, s'inspirent constamment des expériences étrangères, quitte à les adapter ou à les ignorer totalement, mais pour faire mieux.

C'est un peu ce que Samuel Ling Wei Chan cherche à démonter en dressant un portrait minutieux des hauts gradés des forces armées singapouriennes : ceux-ci sont d'un calibre exceptionnel et représentent une élite particulièrement bien éduquée, alors que leur formation s'inspire de ce qui se fait de mieux sur ce plan dans le monde.

Composé de neuf chapitres, le livre qui leur est entièrement consacré est d'inégale longueur et, il faut bien l'admettre, d'inégale qualité. Le premier et le dernier chapitres tiennent lieu d'introduction et de conclusion. L'introduction et le deuxième chapitre s'avèrent les plus intéressants, du moins pour ceux qui s'intéressent aux conditions et aux étapes du développement des forces armées de la Cité-État.

Ainsi, l'ampleur de la tâche consistant à équiper une jeune et petite nation de forces armées professionnelles, dans un environnement régional perçu comme instable et dangereux, est bien évidemment souligné, même si on aurait aimé que cela soit réalisé de façon un peu mieux documentée et nuancée. Ainsi, même si le retrait des imposants effectifs militaires britanniques, effectué de 1967 à 1971, a entraîné de sérieux problèmes économiques, notamment du point de vue de l'emploi, le legs à la petite république des immenses installations, en particulier des bases aériennes et de la base navale, s'avéra crucial au développement des forces armées locales. Tout aussi important, semble-t-il, fut le rôle des conseillers israéliens.

Au cœur du dispositif de défense, le service militaire obligatoire des hommes a été instauré en 1967, deux ans après la pleine indépendance, dans un contexte où le budget national était déjà fort sollicité par les grands chantiers de développement du logement social et du réseau de l'éducation. Pendant quelques années, les investissements en nouveau matériel militaire durent donc demeurer modestes, du moins pendant les quelques années où le parapluie militaire britannique était maintenu, avec l'appui d'unités militaires australiennes et néozélandaises. Puis, dès la fin des années 1960, avec le développement fulgurant des parcs industriels et de la fonction portuaire, accueillant des investissements étrangers massifs, la disponibilité budgétaire s'est accrue de façon substantielle et l'est demeurée. Ainsi a pu être poursuivi l'objectif de mettre en place des forces armées d'élite, particulièrement bien équipées, en particulier au plan de la défense aérienne, modèle israélien oblige.

Un thème récurrent tout au long de ces deux chapitres, à vrai dire tout au long du livre, est celui de politiques sans cesse affinées de promotion

de la vocation militaire auprès d'une population réputée peu attirée par le métier des armes. Ce qui est assez facile à comprendre, l'auteur en est bien conscient : dès les années 1970, la croissance rapide de la richesse collective et son partage par un grand nombre rendaient peu attirants les salaires des militaires. Les autorités singapouriennes durent dès lors prendre des décisions budgétaires conséquentes pour en assurer la compétitivité, à tous les niveaux de la hiérarchie, en particulier bien sûr parmi les hauts gradés.

C'est au recrutement de ceux-ci et à leurs motifs de carrière que sont consacrés les troisième et quatrième chapitres. Ceux-ci portent sur la compilation et l'analyse d'une série de très longs entretiens menés par l'auteur, en 2016-2017 semble-t-il, auprès de 28 généraux et amiraux à la retraite. Ceux-ci ont été choisis parmi les 170 officiers supérieurs, ou « flag officers », ayant porté au moins une étoile de général ou d'amiral entre les années 1965 et 2018. C'est de cette élite militaire qu'il est question dans le titre et tout au long de l'ouvrage.

Cent-soixante-neuf de ces hauts gradés sont des hommes, les 28 ayant agi comme répondants semblent l'être aussi, les femmes étant très peu présentes au sein des forces armées. Les hauts gradés militaires sont aussi très majoritairement chinois, à 95%, alors que la population chinoise compte pour quelque 75% de l'ensemble des citoyens singapouriens, les Malais et les Indiens pour 14% et 9% respectivement. Autre caractéristique essentielle, la quasi-totalité des hauts gradés et des répondants ont poursuivi des études universitaires ou professionnelles avancées, grâce à des bourses pour la plupart attribuées par le gouvernement singapourien. D'où la distinction au sein des forces armées du pays entre les « scholars » ou lettrés, et les « farmers » ou paysans. Peu flatteuse, cette distinction est en droite ligne avec l'élitisme éducatif et la méritocratie singapourienne. Ainsi Lee Hsieng Loong, depuis 2004 premier ministre, troisième depuis la fondation moderne de la Cité-État, est le fils du premier ministre Lee Kuan Yew (1965-1990). Ancien général de brigade, il est diplômé comme son père de l'Université de Cambridge en Angleterre! Quant à Goh Chok Tong, celui qui a servi comme premier ministre intérimaire (1990-2004), il était diplômé de l'université Harvard.

Consacrés aux mécanismes de promotion au sein de la hiérarchie militaire singapourienne, ainsi qu'à la structure organisationnelle qui en résulte, le cinquième et le sixième chapitres sont eux aussi largement fondés sur le résultat des entretiens avec ces 28 répondants. Le cinquième est sans doute le moins rigoureux du livre alors que l'on y a droit aux opinions des répondants sur une foule de sujets dont on se demande ce qu'ils font dans un livre pareil. Encore que, s'agissant d'élite, les potins sont sans doute révélateurs. Mais le problème que ce chapitre fait ressortir, d'ailleurs présent à travers tout le livre, est celui de la rigueur et de la clarté des analyses. Afin de réaliser celles-ci, l'auteur passe souvent et de façon pas toujours claire, d'une méthode à l'autre, soit le recours à d'abondantes sources écrites, soit celui aux déclarations de

ses répondants. Si cela peut être acceptable en soi, il aurait au moins fallu que cela soit mieux expliqué. Le septième chapitre porte à la fois sur le volet formation de ces militaires d'élite, en particulier sur l'imposant programme de bourses d'étude et sur la durée, souvent assez courte, des carrières militaires ; aussi sur le fait que bon nombre de ces haut gradés reviennent à la vie civile, discrètement semble-t-il et en coupant tous les liens avec l'establishment militaire. Sur cette question, cruciale quant à la séparation entre le pouvoir militaire et le pouvoir politique, Chan est très clair et convaincant : il n'y a pas ou que très peu de jeu d'influences, pas de magouilles, pas de double-rôle, pas de corruption, méritocratie oblige !

Le huitième chapitre ainsi que la conclusion ont le mérite de repasser en revue, de façon limpide et utile, quelques-uns des grands enjeux auxquels le pays a été confronté. Ceux-ci comprennent les difficiles décisions prises pour établir le service militaire obligatoire, toujours en vigueur aujourd'hui, et la construction de forces armées dissuasives, à la présence étonnamment discrète, bien que très réelle, dans le petit territoire national de quelque 720 km^2. Des décisions généralement judicieuses, il a fallu en prendre pour s'adapter à l'évolution des tensions et des alliances militaires dans la région et à l'enrichissement et l'embourgeoisement tout à fait exceptionnels, dès les années 1970, d'une majorité des citoyens singapouriens, généralement peu attirés par la carrière militaire. Sur ce plan, notamment par l'appel à la fierté nationale et au patriotisme, tout comme aux investissements appropriés, le vice premier-ministre Goh Keng Swee a été l'un des décideurs-clés dans cette affaire. Compagnon de la première heure (1959) de Lee Kuan Yew, il a agi comme vice-premier ministre (1973-84) de la République insulaire et rempli plusieurs postes ministériels, dont ceux des Finances (1967-70), de l'Éducation (1979-80 et 1981-84) et, surtout, de la Défense (1965 à 1979).

Il s'avère que, à défaut d'avoir connu le feu de la guerre, les diverses unités singapouriennes d'infanterie, de marine et d'aviation ont acquis et continuent à acquérir une large expérience de formation outre-mer, y compris en France pour les aviateurs, et d'interventions humanitaires aux quatre coins du globe, dont aux États-Unis lorsque l'ouragan Katrina frappa dans le delta du Mississippi à la fin septembre 2005.

Il apparaît évident que l'ouvrage de Chan a certes quelques défauts, dont celui de ne pas être d'une lecture facile. L'une des principales raisons derrière ce problème est le recours tout à fait excessif de l'auteur aux abréviations. Le lexique, d'une longueur de 12 pages, en dresse une liste de quelque 360, par ailleurs abondamment utilisées à travers tout l'ouvrage. On en trouve en moyenne une bonne quinzaine par page, souvent jusqu'à 30 !

Celui qui parvient tout de même à lire l'ouvrage en entier ne peut que reconnaître l'exceptionnelle richesse, même la candeur, des données compilées et analysées mais aussi de la documentation consultée et présentée, y compris dans la centaine de pages consacrées aux annexes et la vingtaine à la

bibliographie. Surtout, le lecteur doit admettre qu'en publiant pareille étude sur un sujet pourtant sensible, politiquement explosif, concernant une république réputée très portée sur la censure et le contrôle de l'opinion publique, l'auteur et son éditeur ont réussi un coup de maître. Plusieurs devront revoir leurs opinions sur la nature de l'autocratie et de la méritocratie singapouriennes.

Rodolphe De Koninck

Malais de Sri Lanka

Ronit Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging. Exile and Diaspora in Sarandib, Lanka and Ceylon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 282 pages, ISBN: 978-1-108-72724-2 Paperback, ISBN: 978-1-108-48027-7 Hardback.

In her prize-winning *Islam Translated* (2011) Ronit Ricci treats versions in different languages of a single text, the *Book of One Thousand Questions*, as "lenses" through which she examines "the intricate relationships between Islamization and literary and linguistic transformation" (4) across languages and cultures in the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia over several centuries. In her new book, texts, translations, and movement of people and ideas through time and space are still central to what interests her, but all three elements are now conceived of as expressions of a single "place" and group of people, known today as Sri Lankan "Malays," who have come to call that place "home." The scare quotes are important since all three words have complex, fluid meanings in this prodigious study of the "exilic experience" (14).

The community of Malays formed out of the exiles, convicts, slaves and soldiers the Dutch began bringing to Ceylon in the late seventeenth century consisted of people of many ethnicities who adapted culturally and linguistically to their new home but never forgot the many different parts of Indonesia from whence they had come. The exiles became a diaspora. Ricci calls the people who interest her "a diasporic Malay community" that "maintained its culture through the preservation of language, the transmission of literary and religious texts, and the maintenance of genres and of a script" (23). The approach Ricci takes to understanding Malay experience in Sri Lanka is a "slow reading" (Nietzsche's phrase for what a good philologist does) of texts in Dutch, Arabic, Malay and Javanese that she found in colonial archives and manuscript collections in the Netherlands, Indonesia, Malaysia, the UK and Sri Lanka as well as in the homes of Sri Lankan families she visited during her years of research. With the assistance of funds from the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme, Ricci filmed and assembled an archive of the privately held texts, letters, and personal diaries she discovered, making

them available for viewing online at the British Library's website https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP450.

Starting in Chapter 2, Ricci slowly and insightfully reads her way toward an understanding of Malay experience in Ceylon, also known as Sarandib and Lanka, two other names for the island that contribute crucial meanings to its 'simultaneity of stories-so-far', an inspired definition Ricci borrows from the geographer Doreen Massey to describe the physical/imaginary "space" in which Sri Lankan Malays have lived since the late seventeenth century (149). In Chapter 2 a miscellaneous collection of mainly Arabic and Malay-language texts called the *Malay Compendium*, dating from the nineteenth century and belonging to the Saldin family, yields insights into connections between the Malay community and the Arab world. Ricci's most serendipitous (more about this word in a moment) discovery in the *Compendium* was an entire poem in Javanese, the well-known *Kidung Rumeksa ing Wengi*, used, like the many *doas* and *wasilans* she discusses later in the book, as a personal protective amulet to ward off danger.

In Chapters 3-5 Ricci explores diasporic memories of Java from various perspectives. In Chapter 3, she examines personal expressions of loss and longing in correspondence, found in archival Dutch translations, between exiled Javanese royalty in the 1720s, then discusses two religious texts in Malay, a fragmentary biography of Sunan Bonang and the much longer *Hikayat Tuan Gusti* (1897) about Sunan Giri, to derive a sense of collective Sri Lankan Malay anxiety about their Muslim identity. In Chapter 4 Ricci assembles "fleeting ... concise and laconic" (80) accounts in Javanese *babad*s from Surakarta of the exile and posthumous return of Amangkurat III (*diselongake* in 1708; his body, accompanied by his relatives-in-exile and the sacred *pusaka* he had taken with him, returned to Kartasura in 1737) and Pangeran Arya Mangkunagara, father of the Mangkunagara I, who was exiled in 1728, his body returned to Java in 1753. As brief as they are, Ricci's "slow reading" of these *babad* passages reveals how they transformed Javanese disempowerment into supernatural superiority over the Dutch, a posthumous victory still remembered in oral histories about "Tuan Pangeran" and his vacant tomb, which is located in the Peer Saib Mosque and was visited by Mangkunagara VII and his wife in 1936, circulating in Colombo today. In the next chapter Yasadipura I's fuller and more nuanced *Babad Giyanti* account of the return of Pangeran Natakusuma (renamed Pangeran Juru) and his wife to the court of Hamangkubuwana I in 1758 enables Ricci to say something about women's voices and exilic experiences. In Yasadipura's description of Raden Ayu Juru's visit to the court of Pakubuwana III after her return to Java, the "female voice speaking is personal, emphasizing small moments of sadness and resilience, relationships, and the power of the unseen" (106). The same poetic passage also makes mention of charismatic Islamic teachers who offered Raden Ayu Juru and her family religious inspiration during the years of painful exile

as well as comfort in the form of favorite Javanese fruit and dishes magically transported to Ceylon every Friday (107). *Babad* accounts of the return of another exiled aristocratic woman, called "Putri Selong," offer a second example of an eighteenth-century Javanese woman who endured the tribulations of her life while remaining "beautiful, graceful and resourceful" (117).

In Chapters 6 and 7 Ricci offers penetrating analyses of two interrelated stories of exile: Nabi Adam's fall from Paradise to a mountain, known today in English as Adam's Peak, on the island of Sarandib, the Arabic name for Ceylon, and the *Ramayana*, a story of successive exiles and sorrowful separations. The story of Adam's fall to Sarandib derives from early Arab traditions, surveyed by Ricci, and is also recalled in Arabic and Arab-Tamil stories about the prophets written in Sri Lanka; the *Malay Compendium*, mentioned above, offers a particularly striking version of the tale (130-131). Ricci answers the question of whether or not exiles to Ceylon identified themselves with Adam's "paradigmatic human and Muslim banishment" (133) by turning to the religious writings of Yusuf al-Makassari who was exiled to Ceylon in 1684, spending a decade there before being sent even further into exile to the Cape Settlement in Africa. One text in particular, the *al-Nafḥat al-Sailāniyyah fi manḥat al-raḥmāniyyah*, "The Whiff/Fragrance of Ceylon Concerning the Setting Out of Mystical Topics," makes the connection between Adam's fate and that of exiled Malays explicit (134). Ceylon and Sarandib were not just places of "wretched exile," however. The island was also a paradisiacal place of "fragrance," filled with fruit trees, pearls, emeralds, rubies, and sapphires, particularly in the neighborhood of Adam's Peak, that made the island famous from the beginning of the Common Era (135). Adam's story and it's invitation to exilic readers to "see beyond present realities into other temporal and spiritual realms" (136) are found in many other Malay manuscripts written in nineteenth-century Ceylon, while in late eighteenth-century Java, Yasadipura I placed one of the adventures of Amir Hamzah, or Menak Amir Ambyah in Javanese, on the island of Selan/Serandil in his *Serat Menak Serandil*, where in a dream, among other allusions to Ceylon's fabled wealth, Adam promises Menak's companion Umarmaya "a pouch out of which anything he desired would emerge" (143). Pure "serendipity," one might say, using the English word that was coined in 1754 by a near contemporary of Yasadipura I, Horace Walpole (1717-1797), who thought it up after reading a Persian tale, "Three Princes of Serendip," about good fortune obtained entirely by accident (145). Ricci argues that Adam's imaginary presence in Sarandib/Ceylon potentially transformed the unfortunate accident of exile into the good fortune of returning "home" to Sarandib, at least in the imaginations of the descendants of those who had been banished there. Even a "heartrending" letter written in *pegon* and sent by an eighteenth-century Javanese exile, Tumenggung Surapati, to his wife in Java expresses the consolation the writer found in comparing his

fate to that of Adam, who was eventually, " '... through the mercy of Exalted God ... restored to his wife's side ...' " (146).

No less formative for the Sri Lankan "Malay exilic imagination" was the *Ramayana* story, as Ricci argues beautifully in Chapter 7. A key text in South and Southeast Asia (popular in eighteenth-century Java, it is repeatedly alluded to, Ricci shows, in Yasadipura's *Serat Menak Serandil*) as well as in diasporic Indian communities around the world, the *Ramayana* story is found in two incomplete Sri Lankan manuscripts of the *Hikayat Seri Rama* dating from the late nineteenth century. What makes the Sri Lankan Malay-language versions of the *Ramayana* story a fascinating expression of "the intertwining of Ceylon's exilic traditions and their place in the literary and religious imagination" (160) is the fact that the exilic Adam and Sarandib Mountain are central to its telling of the story. Ricci examines other references to the *Ramayana* in the Sri Lankan Malay imaginary: the name of the first Malay newspaper, the *Alamat Langkapuri*, founded in Colombo in 1869 by Baba Ounus Saldin; a long *pantun* published in the July 11, 1869 issue of the paper; a *wasilan*, called the *garisan Laksmana*, for protection against approaching enemy soldiers on the battlefield, alluding to the magical line Laksmana draws around Sita to protect her when he rushes off to find Rama who has been tricked into chasing a demon ally of Rawana, Marica, disguised as a golden deer. In a brilliant insight, Ricci sees a connection between Adam and Sita, both of whose names refer to the "earth," as "paradigmatic exiles." In the *Hikayat Seri Rama*, Ricci writes, Sita's "life, which even after her return from captivity in Rawana's Langkapuri continued as a form of exile in the forest hermitage due to Rama's distrust, suggests that there is no possibility of a true, complete, unblemished return" (176).

In her final two chapters Ricci examines paratextual elements in a wide variety of texts – literary manuscripts; family diaries, genealogies and notes; letters – to bring the literary and cultural life of Sri Lankan Malay members of the British colonial Ceylon Rifle Regiment (or Malay Regiment, formed in 1795 and disbanded in 1873) and their descendants into full view. She examines personal details of authors' lives; discusses how literary works were copied back and forth between Ceylon and Singapore; and shows how *syair*s about Malay military exploits reveal the core Islamic values of the Sri Lankan Malay community: "We are Allah's slaves, / Kept far from any affliction. / If willing [to] commit no wrong / The path shall be flawless" (195). The inner world of the Malay community, as revealed by their literary tastes and the paratextual details of their literary activities, is full of ambivalences, struggles and insights into life under colonial rule. Ricci concludes her book with an examination of the biography and writings of Baba Ounus Saldin (1832-1906), mentioned above. Ricci's Saldin, whose grandfather left Sumenep, Madura in 1800 as a recruit in the British colonial army, is a fascinating pioneer on the

shifting "frontiers of a Malay-Muslim presence on the stage of contemporary world events" (229).

Ronit Ricci's *Banishment and Belonging* is a huge scholarly accomplishment on many levels. It assembles a new archive of texts for others to explore. It brings Malays "back into" the history of Sri Lanka. It connects Sri Lanka, through her "slow reading" of what must be hundreds of texts, to the wider world of Islam and across the Indian Ocean to Southeast Asia, where Islamic tales, as she points out in a serendipitous gem of a footnote (165, n. 41), have undergone "Ramayanization," a fact with particular salience for the study of the Sri Lankan "exilic experience." Her deft and modest use of key insights drawn from theoretical writings is exemplary. Her situated interpretations of texts allow the "place," Ceylon/Sarandib/Lanka, where her primary sources were written, copied, read and heard, to acquire rich new meanings and for the texts themselves to mean something new because of that multidimensional, multitemporal place. Has she also managed, in this beautifully written and masterfully researched book, to "liberate philology" and make a major contribution toward allowing philology to "realize its full potential as a unified transregional and transhistorical academic discipline" (Pollock 2015, 18)? My answer would be "yes."

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Résumés – Abstracts

Daniel Perret , Heddy Surachman, Repelita Wahyu Oetomo

Recent Archaeological Surveys in the Northern Half of Sumatra

This article presents observations collected during two fieldtrips conducted in 2019 on old settlement and associated sites dated prior to the sixteenth century CE in the North Sumatra Province, and in the adjacent areas of West Sumatra and Riau provinces. The Barus area on the west coast recently yielded numerous old Islamic inscribed tombstones, including one bearing an inscription in Indic script. This tombstone is stylistically similar to a tombstone we found in 2003 in the same graveyard. As both bear a very close date in 1350 CE, we suggest that they belong to the same grave, and that the deceased may have connections with the Minangkabau area and Pasai. Several places were visited along the west coast down to Natal and the Candi Simangambat area. Further south, the surveys led us to several sites in the Pasaman district which shelters a number of little known Hindu-Buddhist remains. Muara Takus and Tapak Mahligai in Riau, as well as several sites in the Medan area were also visited to collect information and observe their present state of preservation.

Récentes prospections archéologiques dans la moitié nord de Sumatra

Cet article présente les observations recueillies lors de deux visites sur le terrain effectuées en 2019 sur des sites d'habitat anciens et des sites associés datés d'avant le XVI^{e} siècle de notre ère dans la province de Sumatra Nord, et dans les régions adjacentes des provinces de Sumatra Ouest et de Riau. La région de Barus, sur la côte ouest, a récemment livré de nombreuses stèles funéraires islamiques inscrites, dont l'une porte une inscription en écriture d'origine indienne. Cette stèle est stylistiquement similaire à une stèle que nous avions trouvée dans le même cimetière en 2003. Portant toutes deux une date très proche au cours de l'année 1350 de notre ère, nous suggérons qu'elles appartiennent à la même tombe et que le défunt pourrait avoir des liens avec le pays Minangkabau et Pasai. Plusieurs localités ont été visitées le long de la côte ouest jusqu'à Natal et la région de Candi Simangambat. Plus au sud, ces prospections nous ont conduit sur plusieurs sites du district de Pasaman, qui abritent des vestiges hindo-bouddhiques peu connus. Muara Takus et Tapak Mahligai à Riau, ainsi que plusieurs sites de la région de Medan ont également été visités afin de recueillir des informations et d'observer leur état de conservation actuel.

Arlo Griffiths

Inscriptions of Sumatra, IV: An Epitaph from Pananggahan (Barus, North Sumatra) and a Poem from Lubuk Layang (Pasaman, West Sumatra)

This contribution presents two 14th-century inscriptions from the northwestern quadrant of Sumatra. Both are engraved on stone and in Indic script. Although both are composed largely of vocabulary borrowed from the Sanskrit language, presence of some specifically Malay words or forms makes it possible to classify them as being formulated in Old Malay. The first text, whose Śaka date is precisely convertible to 29 June 1350 CE, is engraved on a tombstone recovered from a graveyard in Barus, and may well mark the death of a Muslim. If this hypothesis is correct, it will make this epitaph the earliest Islamic inscription in Indic script from Sumatra. The second text comes from a Buddhist cultural context in the very northern extremity of what is today West Sumatra province, and has the particularity of being composed in Sanskrit verse form.

Inscriptions de Sumatra, IV : une épitaphe de Pananggahan (Barus, Sumatra-Nord) et un poème de Lubuk Layang (Pasaman, Sumatra-Ouest)

Cette contribution présente deux inscriptions du XIVe siècle originaires du nord-ouest de Sumatra. Toutes deux sont gravées sur pierre dans une écriture de type indien. Bien que composées largement dans un vocabulaire emprunté à la langue sanskrite, la présence de certains mots ou formes spécifiquement malais permet de classer ces deux textes comme étant rédigés en vieux malais. Le premier, dont la date Śaka est convertible avec précision du 29 juin 1350 de notre ère, est inscrit sur une pierre tombale trouvée dans un cimetière de Barus et pourrait bien marquer le décès d'un musulman. Si cette hypothèse peut être confirmée, cette épitaphe serait la plus ancienne inscription islamique de Sumatra en écriture de type indien. Le second texte relève d'un contexte culturel bouddhique dans l'extrémité nord de l'actuelle province de Sumatra Ouest, et présente la particularité d'être rédigé en vers de la tradition sanskrite.

Jiří Jákl

The Sea and Seacoast in Old Javanese Court Poetry: Fishermen, Ports, Ships, and Shipwrecks in the Literary Imagination

This article analyses some of the less well-known passages in Old Javanese *kakawin* court poems, in which the sea and seacoast are represented. Unlike classical Malay literature, Old Javanese texts show little interest in the socio-cultural environment of the seacoast, and even less information is provided about the maritime environment of the open seas that enclose the island of Java. Yet, the seascape as a natural environment of substantial aesthetic beauty is often marked by Javanese poets, and represented as one of the targets of the so-called royal "pleasure trips," and locus where *kawi* poets can immerse in a sort of aesthetic rapture, called *lañö* in Old Javanese. In four sections, I discuss the literary motifs that develop the theme of the sea and seacoast: the activity of fishermen, a unique description of a harbour, and often metaphorical depictions of ships and shipwrecks.

La mer et la côte dans la poésie de cour en vieux-javanais : pêcheurs, ports, navires et naufrages dans l'imagination littéraire

Cet article analyse certains des passages les moins connus des poèmes de cour *kakawin* du vieux Javanais, dans lesquels la mer et le littoral sont représentés. Contrairement à la littérature malaise classique, les textes en vieux-javanais s'intéressent peu à l'environnement socioculturel du littoral et

fournissent encore moins d'informations sur l'environnement maritime de la haute mer qui entoure l'île de Java. Pourtant, le paysage marin, en tant qu'environnement naturel d'une grande beauté esthétique, est souvent évoqué par les poètes javanais, représenté comme l'un des buts des "voyages d'agrément" royaux, et comme un lieu où les poètes *kawi* peuvent se plonger dans une sorte de ravissement esthétique, appelé *lañö* en vieux javanais. En quatre sections, j'aborde les motifs littéraires qui traitent du thème de la mer et du littoral : l'activité des pêcheurs, une description unique de port, et des représentations souvent métaphoriques de navires et de naufrages.

W.A. Sindhu Gitananda, I Wayan Cika, I Nyoman Suarka & Ida Bagus Jelantik Sutanegara Pidada

Śaivistic* Sāṁkhya-Yoga*: Revisiting the Eclectic Behaviour of the Balinese Hindu Textual Tradition

The form of Śaivism found in modern Bali faithfully follows doctrines expounded in Old Javanese texts, and is in harmony with the Indian dualistic philosophy found in a Balinese booklet entitled *Aji Sangkya*. This article elaborates on the eclecticism of this text. On the basis of textual comparison, the authors show that there has been a dialogue of philosophical tenets between Old Javanese Śaivism and Indian dualism. Therefore, the *Aji Sangkya* is to be regarded as a new type of construction that is the best formulation of the dualistic-monistic nature of Śaivism in Bali as a result of the author's eclecticism. The text may be regarded as reflecting dynamics in the historical development of Śaivism in the Indonesian archipelago.

Sāṁkhya Yoga *sivaïte : revisiter le comportement éclectique de la tradition textuelle hindoue de Bali*

La forme de sivaïsme présente dans le Bali moderne suit fidèlement les doctrines exposées dans les textes en vieux javanais, et se trouve en harmonie avec la philosophie dualiste indienne contenue dans un petit ouvrage balinais intitulé *Aji Sangkya*. Cet article s'interroge sur l'éclectisme de ce texte. Sur la base d'une comparaison textuelle, les auteurs montrent qu'il y a eu un dialogue de principes philosophiques entre le sivaïsme vieux javanais et le dualisme indien. Par conséquent, l'*Aji Sangkya* doit être appréhendé comme un nouveau type de construction qui est la meilleure formulation de la nature dualiste-moniste du sivaïsme à Bali, en raison de l'éclectisme de l'auteur. Ce texte peut être considéré comme reflétant la dynamique du développement historique du sivaïsme dans l'archipel indonésien.

Stefan Danerek & Magnus Danerek

Palu'e Ikat: Nomenclature and Iconography

This paper provides a comprehensive documentation of customary Palu'e ikat textiles and investigates the extent to which the design nomenclature and local interpretations constitute an iconography. A multivalent approach is used, starting from linguistic-ethnographic fieldwork and engaging critically with scholarly ikat research and the anthropological methods often applied in studies of traditional textiles, including the underlying assumptions about meaning, symbolism, and mythology. The Palu'e design nomenclature is not embedded in the recorded oral literature, or vice versa. Rather than being repositories for mythology, the cloths signify transmissibility; the act of transmitting them, along with the required craftsmanship skills, from generation to generation assigns them meaning and sacrality. This accounts for the discrepancy observed with compartmentalized or linguistically-inclined inquiries. For weavers, the nomenclature serves as a mnemonic device for memorizing designs, and enables discourse about them.

Palu'e ikat : nomenclature et iconographie

Cet article documente les textiles ikat coutumiers de Palu'e et examine dans quelle mesure la nomenclature des dessins et les interprétations locales constituent une iconographie. Une approche multivalente est utilisée, en partant de travaux de terrain linguistiques et ethnographiques, et en examinant de manière critique la recherche scientifique sur l'ikat et les méthodes anthropologiques souvent appliquées dans les études des textiles traditionnels, y compris les hypothèses sous-jacentes sur la signification, le symbolisme et la mythologie. La nomenclature des motifs de Palu'e ne fait pas partie de la littérature orale connue, ou vice versa. Plutôt que d'être les dépositaires de la mythologie, les vêtements signifient transmissibilité ; l'acte de les transmettre, ainsi que les compétences artisanales requises, de génération en génération, leur confèrant un sens et une sacralité. C'est ce qui explique le décalage observé dans les enquêtes compartimentées ou à orientation linguistique. Pour les tisserands, la nomenclature sert de dispositif mnémonique pour mémoriser les dessins et permet le discours qui s'y rapporte.

Claudine Salmon

Of the Use of Calligraphy in Sino-Javanese Communities (18th - Early 21st Centuries)

Calligraphic art was conceived by the Chinese as a technique allowing the acquisition of certain virtues, and the mastery of this art as a proof of eminent qualities. This art dates back to the ancient times. Calligraphy has also been practiced by artists, either amateurs or professionals, who had practical and economic motivations, such as some Ming loyalists who having refused to serve the new dynasty were compelled to rely on this art for negotiating everyday life.
Here, we intend to explore the part played by calligraphy in a diasporic milieu, and more especially in Java where Chinese communities have a rather long, but quite eventful history. We will successively review the development of calligraphy during the Qing times, its ups and downs during the 20th century, and its revival during this century in relation with the new political conjuncture.

De l'usage de la calligraphie dans les communautés Sino-Javanaises (XVIIIe – début XXIe siècles)

L'art calligraphique a été conçu par les Chinois comme une technique permettant d'acquérir certaines vertus, et la maîtrise de cet art comme une preuve de qualités exceptionnelles. Cet art remonte à la haute antiquité. Il a aussi été pratiqué par des artistes amateurs et professionnels dont les motivations étaient économiques, tels certains loyalistes Ming ayant refusé de servir la nouvelle dynastie, qui furent amenés à pratiquer la calligraphie comme moyen d'existence.
Ici, nous entendons explorer le rôle de la calligraphie dans la diaspora et plus particulièrement à Java où les communautés chinoises ont une longue histoire passablement mouvementée. Nous étudierons successivement le développement de la calligraphie sous les Qing, ses hauts et bas pendant le XXe siècle, et son renouveau au début du XXIe siècle en rapport avec la nouvelle conjoncture politique.

Jack Meng-Tat Chia

Singing to Buddha: The Case of a Buddhist Rock Band in Contemporary Indonesia

This article uses the case of True Direction to explore the development and performance of Buddhist music in contemporary Indonesia. I argue that although True Direction's music in many ways resembles contemporary Christian music, the organization does not produce contemporary

Buddhist songs—or "Buddhist rock" as I call this form of religious music—to replace Buddhist devotional practices with Christian-style worship service. While Irvyn Wongso and his colleagues, like their Christian counterparts, rely on religious rock music as an evangelical tool to attract a younger audience, they consider contemporary Buddhist music as complementary, rather than alternative, to existing Buddhist devotional practices. This study reveals that Indonesian Buddhists are "local geniuses" in the selective adaptation of popular music to present Buddhist doctrine and attract young followers in contemporary Indonesian society.

Chanter pour Bouddha : le cas d'un groupe de rock bouddhique dans l'Indonésie contemporaine

C'est à travers True Direction que cet article explore le développement et les spectacles de musique bouddhique dans l'Indonésie contemporaine. Mon analyse suggère que si la musique de True Direction ressemble à bien des égards à la musique chrétienne contemporaine, le groupe ne produit pas de chansons bouddhiques contemporaines – ou de « rock bouddhique », comme j'appelle cette forme de musique religieuse – pour remplacer les pratiques de dévotion bouddhiques par un service de culte de style chrétien. Si Irvyn Wongso et ses collègues, comme leurs homologues chrétiens, s'appuient sur la musique rock religieuse comme outil évangélique pour attirer un public plus jeune, ils considèrent la musique bouddhique contemporaine comme un complément, plutôt qu'une alternative, aux pratiques de dévotion bouddhiques existantes. Cette étude révèle que les bouddhistes indonésiens sont des « génies locaux » en ce qui concerne l'adaptation sélective de la musique populaire pour présenter la doctrine bouddhique et attirer de jeunes adeptes dans la société indonésienne contemporaine.

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Loyalis Dinasti Ming di Asia Tenggara

Menurut Berbagai Sumber Asia dan Eropa

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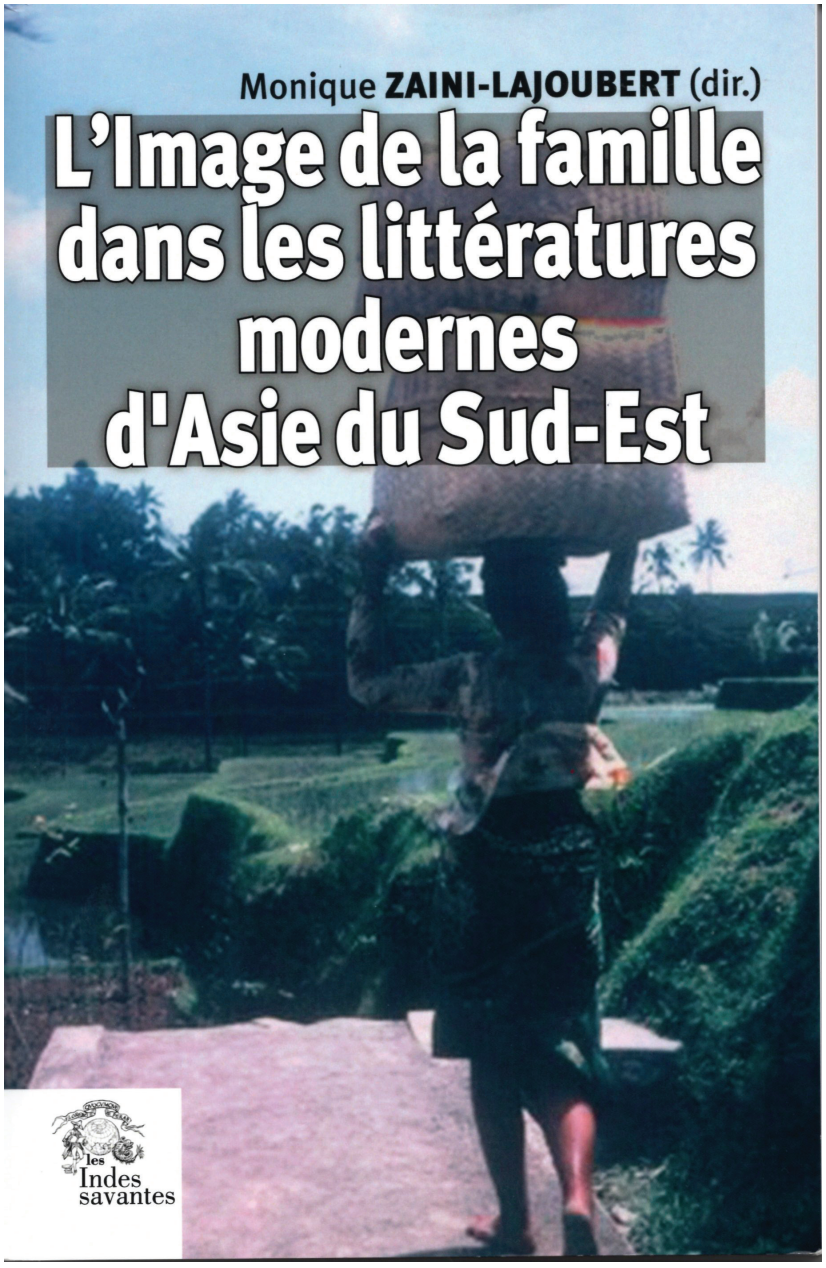

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