Sommaire

En couverture : *Sheik Mustafa Ahmad, Inspector of Mohammedan Schools, Zamboanga, Philippine Islands, 1914*. From Lot 13365-2, No. 5, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

The 11th Euroseas' Conference At Olomouc, Czech Republic

The Palacký University at Olomouc – prononced Olomouts or Olmütz in the German language – was host to the 11th EUROSEAS' Conference in September (7th - 11th, 2021), in partnership with the European Association of Southeast Asian Studies. It should be noted that the beautiful historical town of Olomouc in Moravia, was also the 2021 Europe's capital of culture. It has a baroque look and many churches, mostly dating from the late 17th and 18th centuries. From an architectural point of view, the structure of the two communicating plazzas located at the center of the town, is exceptional. With about 23.000 students from all over the world, the town is known as the 'Czech Oxford'. At Palacký University, the Department of Asian Studies, František Kratochvíl[1] and his collegues, notably Filip Kraus and Tereza Lomaka, managed the conference in coordination with the Euroseas' board. The Department of Asian languages and cultures, the fastest growing department at the University, has over 630 members, including teaching, administrative staff and students.[2]

1. Professor František Kratochvíl, head of the Department, does research in Descriptive Linguistics, Pragmatics and Historical Linguistics. His most recent publication is 'Asia before English'. His main work in Indonesia focused on the Abui language of Alor, a Papuan language of the Timor-Alor-Pantar-Family. He has a Ph D in Linguistics from Leiden University.

2. The current dean of the Faculty of Arts, is Znedek Pechal (Slavist), and the vice-dean Pavlína Flajšarová (English-Department head). She supervises student exchanges and international relations. In all 24 languages are taught at Palacký University. The Asian languages taught are: Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese (BA and MA courses). Besides, there are elective languages courses in Arabic, Cantonese, Southern Min (Taiwanese), Malay, Uzbek,

The four days of the conference, from Tuesday 7th to Friday 10th, included Ph. D master classes[3], documentary film screening, plenary sessions and meetings, besides the panel presentations, from the 8th to the 10th – the latter being organised in 12 sessions. On the last day, a facultative day-trip to visit the Bouzov castle and Chomontov Brewery, was proposed to the conference's participants. The organisers at Palacký University and Euroseas' board should be commended for the organisation and schedule of the conference which runned on time. The staff and students of the Asian Studies Department were mobilised to get the equipment functioning, and helped as much as possible.

Because of the extraordinary conditions created by the Covid-19 Pandemic in Europe and in Asia since 2020, this Euroseas' conference was strickingly different from the last ones organised for instance in Berlin (2019), Oxford (2017) or Vienna (2015), which drew a huge number of participants. This Euroseas' was also different from the previous ones : an hybrid conference, combining online participation and physical presence on site. The actual attendance at Palacký University during the conference was about 70 persons, besides 200-300 individuals who had registered online to attend the conference. Researchers, students and university staff who attended came mostly from Western and Central Europe (The Netherlands, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Romania, Hungary). Participants from the Czech Republic, comprised members from the Oriental Institute in Prague, the foremost research institution on Asia of the country[4]. Despite the peculiar situation, the programme went smoothly and the exchanges between participants both on line and on site were rich and thoughful. The venue for the conference was pleasant and well equiped, the rooms displaying state-of-the-art multimedia facilities. Most participants missed the publishers' displays of new and recent books about Southeast Asia, absent this time, because of the pandemic.

I must add that the conference opening reception, on Wednesday 8th, was set in a large room, offering delicious and hearty food, most participants attended in a relaxed atmosphere with the help of the local Pilsner beer, a favorite drink in the Czech Republic. On the first day, a comprehensive guided town discovery tour was proposed, followed by an informal Olomouc's pub tour. The conference was particularly animated by the movie screenings taking place

Uyghur. Palacký University has eight faculties.

3. On September 7th, the master classes introduced by Sylvia Vignato (University of Milan-Biccoca) gave the opportunity to five presenters to engage with discussants from various universities and institutions of higher learning. Besides, there was also a workshop on 'Documenting Southeast Asia', coordinated at Euroseas by Professor Filip Kraus (in the frame of the Sinophone Borderlands' project).

4. The Oriental Institute (www.orient.cas.cz) founded in 1922 in Prague, is a public, non-university research institution. Since 1993, it is administrated by the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, an umbrella organisation similar to the CNRS in France. The Institute is structured in three main geographical departments. The focus of the Institute is on China, South Asia, Central Asia, the Near East and the Arab World. However, Southeast Asian studies are also represented within the South Asia Deparment, with Dr. Toma*s* Petrú, specializing on contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia.

everyday in the late afternoons (from 6.30 pm to 8.pm). Documentary films on various topics were shown (*inter alia* Vietnamese boat people's memories on Penghu Island (Taiwan), Aceh's past traumas and challenges, Malacca's redevelopment) adding a counterpoint to the sessions, they provided a forum for lively exchanges between participants. Between the sessions, coffee breaks helped much to foster a friendly climate at the conference venue. The Euroseas' book prize – actually two prizes are given for the Humanities and Social Science – was attributed at the key-note speech[5]. In Palacký University buildings, the conference rooms were located close to each other, thus easy to find. It must be stressed that the wifi connection and multi media facilities in the rooms functioned well throughout the conference. The only drawback was the lack of a programme summarizing the panels, and papers' abstracts – with the participants' contact emails. A pdf file, easy to produce, would have been most useful for participants both on site and on line. Although panels' abstracts and papers' titles were accessible on the conference website via wifi.

In line with Euroseas' themes, the core of the panels was focused on contemporary Southeast Asian studies, with insights on culture and literature, colonial history and approaches of particular fields and places in transition (*Cambodia at the Crossroads, The Long Road of Timor-Leste towards Independance, Gender issues in Indonesia, Communities in Global Philippine Art and Visual culture, the Media, Digital Text, Place Branding in Southeast Asia, Society in Myanmar*…). In brief, a very rich programme. In reason of the lack of space in this review, I can just quote a few of the panels' titles and their participants[6]. As the panels runned parallel in time, it was a challenge to follow those suited to one own interests.

5. The Humanities' prize was awarded to Jack Meng-Tat Chia (NUS) for his book : *Monks in Motion, Buddhism and Modernity Across the South China Sea*. Oxford : OUP, 2020, while Christina Schwenkel (University of California, Riverside), obtained the Social Science prize *for Building Socialism: The Afterlife of East German Architecture in Urban Vietnam.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2020.

6. The issues about natural environment in the region were adressed in several panels, e.g. : *'The Contentions Politics of Oil Palm Expansion in Southeast Asia'* (Ward Berenschot, Ahmad Dhiaulhaq, Olaf Smedal, Helena Varkkey, Darmanto, Afrizal, Michaela Haug, Daniel Peterson) ; *'Transforming Tropical Forests and Islands : Human Management of the Environment of the Philippine Archipelago in Long Term'* (David M. Findley, Grace Baretta-Tesoro, Vito Hernandez, Rebecca Jenner-Hamilton, Patrick Roberts). While others focused on social and cultural issues : *'Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Post-Colonial Southeast Asia'* (Ahmad Najib Burhani, Yew Foong Hui, Anna Mackoviak, Peter Riddel, Gorgio Scalici). I must mention a fascinating panel about individual approaches to research in the 20th century : 'Revisiting Central European 'Classics' of Southeast Asian Studies' (Tomas Petru, Martin Slama, Chiara Formichi, Jan Mrazek, Paul Rodell, Vernon Totanes). Among the diverse topics, I quote: 'Court and Grassroots Performing Arts in Yogyakarta during the Pandemic' (Ilaria Maloni, Ava Rapaport, Elisha Orcarus Allasso, Sietske Rijpkema) ; '*Image and Imagination : Maluku and the Philippines in early modern art and illustrations'* (Emilie Wellfelt, Lalaine Bangilan-Little, Tristan Mosfert, Birgit Tremmi-Werner), photography in Borneo : *'Between Heritage and Colonial Representations :Early Photography in Borneo'* (Antonio Guerreiro, Nicolas Césard, Rosalia Corpuz, Bernard Sellato) ; *'Unpacking the Asian Library: Histories of Knowledge exchange and collecting from Asia to the West across decolonization'* (Marieke Bloembergen, Keng Wen Koh, Sri Margana, Salfia Rahmawati, Ricardo Roque, Teren Sevea).

At Euroseas' General Assembly, on Friday 10th September, it was decided that the board of Euroseas was extended for one more year. Actually, it corresponds to the change from the Bi-annual conference schedule from an uneven year to an even year. Then, Olomouc 2021 was the last time Euroseas International Conference took place on an uneven year. Thus, it would not clash with the large IIAS' conference in Leiden, organised on uneven years. Now, the 12th Euroseas' will be taking place in June 2022 at EHESS-Campus Condorcet in Paris-Aubervilliers. The hybrid format of the conference is here to stay : I remark that scholars and Ph.D students from Southeast Asia can participate more easily, without the hassle and costs of travelling to Europe.

Antonio J. Guerreiro

PIERRE-YVES MANGUIN *

"A Real Seafaring People": Evocations of Sailing in Malay Literature

"Most of the inhabitants of the thousands of islands of the Archipelago are eminently maritime in their habits, a real seafaring people. The Malays are more especially so, and this character is strongly impressed on their language."
(John Crawfurd 1856, p. 291, s.v. 'Navigation')

Introduction[1]

In an essay entitled "Shipshape societies" published some decades ago, I tried to document a set of representations shared by coastal polities of Insular Southeast Asia, in which the boat and the boatload (i.e. the crew) were used as a metaphor for the social order, which largely shaped their relationship with the wider world. I could thus establish that such representations had been persistently activated over all the Austronesian speaking societies of maritime Southeast Asia, at various levels, from the village to the state, even in societies now considered as basically agrarian, with no specific maritime orientations (Manguin 1986).

A few years later, while following up on one theme I had come across in this first essay, that of the legendary shipmaster Puhawang, I showed how the

* EFEO, CASE

1. The author is most grateful to Henri Chambert-Loir who read early versions of this essay. The consequently improved version published here owes much to his critical and constructive comments. It goes without saying that any remaining omissions or misinterpretations remain my own.

foundation myth of harbour polities, which survived in widespread tales, again pointed to the major role played by maritime trade in their state formation process (Manguin 1991). I also followed up on another recurrent theme, that of the large sailing fleets sent overseas by the rulers of these same polities (as regularly described in epigraphic and literary sources), which provided the reader with full-fledged local representations of these states, with all their constituents gathered around their ruler when circumstances requested such a theatrical exhibition (for war, marital alliances, rites of passage, etc.). This allowed me to develop a political model for these "amorphous" polities, which, rather than representing themselves within a set territory, preferred to pose as a moving fleet of vessels converging towards a ruler (Manguin 2002).[2] Among all these social groups of the Austronesian speaking world, the Malay speaking polities of Sumatra, the Thai-Malay Peninsula, and Borneo loomed large in past times, and some had kept alive such sets of representations involving the sea and seafaring well into modern times, if not to the present day, as in Riau.

These tropes of the sea and of the ship, as expressed in Austronesian speaking societies, and more specifically in Malay or Javanese discursive formations, were otherwise explored from different perspectives by Denys Lombard (1980), Henk Maier (1992), I Kuntara Wiryamartana (1992), and more recently by Peter Worsley (2012), Jiří Jákl (2019), and Romain Bertrand (2019). They described and analysed the numerous representations appearing as poetic vignettes, their symbolic values, or the quasi-universal metaphor of the crossing of the sea used to reflect on the passage of man in this world, as in the often quoted 16th-17th century Sufi philosophical *Syair perahu* or "Poems of the boat" (Braginsky 1988, 2007).

Many of the texts on which these authors based their essays, however, offer another level of reading. To take one extreme example, in the Rencong version of the *Syair perahu*, the author's explicit purpose is to present, in philosophical terms, a set of Sufi doctrinal paths. However, because he does so by using the metaphor of the ship, he needs to compare these paths to more than thirty precisely designated parts of the ship or members of her crew, thus preserving one of the more complete sets of Malay nautical vocabulary (Braginsky 1988). Much of the vocabulary thus provided in a precisely dated and well understood context is shared with contemporary Malay texts belonging to various literary genres, but a few of these technical terms are found only in this version of the poem (as discussed below).

2. The recurrent and flourished accounts of Malay sailing fleets has also been noted by Vladimir Braginsky (2006), in an article defining the literary process he describes as a "chain-description".

The present essay will completely leave aside the symbolic or metaphorical level explored in all previous studies of the "theme of the sea." Based on Malay texts (written down or orally transmitted), it will explore the far more explicit and pragmatic references to sailing practices of Modern times. I will also seek complementary data in Early Modern word lists (on which see Linehan 1949) and in lexicographic glosses and annotations by pioneer authors of the 19th and early 20th centuries, compiled when pre-steam sailing practices and associated vocabulary were still vivid.

The commonplace and very tangible lexical references to the operation of sailing ships for transport, trade or fighting at sea or along navigable rivers, to the specific technologies involved in sailing in a wide variety of boats and ships, point to the day-to-day relationship some Malays entertained with seafaring activities. It is a fact that operating sophisticated sailing vessels, many of which were of considerable size and tonnage in Early Modern times, entailed the apprenticeship of specific techniques, and the mastering of an elaborate nautical vocabulary to describe the equipment in use, the actions involved when under sail, and the transmission of orders from the shipmasters and lower rank officers to the crew. In 21st century European societies, few people outside seafaring social groups familiar with sailing (now mainly yachtsmen) would be able to describe the precise configuration and function of the multiple lines and ropes that make up the complex rigging of a sailing ship, a specialised vocabulary that is usually not shared with landlubbers who barely know a stay from a halliard or a shroud. Such terms, however, we will encounter in regular Malay usage, showing that those Malays who read or listened to readings of the texts quoted below were clearly attuned to the meanings and connotations of seafaring terminology. This is a rejoinder to Barbara Andaya's remarks about the passing into the many texts produced by 16th and 17th century Malays of the sensory experiences they encountered in everyday life (B. Andaya 2011, p. 19).

This work is mainly based on Malay sources dating from 15th to 18th centuries, with a few excursions into earlier or later times. It is therefore an essay on the history of the social activities of the people who produced these sources, during this particular Age of Commerce so well described by scholars such as Denys Lombard, Anthony Reid or Barbara and Leonard Andaya (Lombard 1988, 1990; Reid 1988-93; Andaya & Andaya 2015). It is however necessary to be more specific about which Malays it is dealing with. It is based largely on sources either written in Malay or collected by a variety of scholars from Malay-speaking informants. The data thus gathered emanate from or deal with those Malay speakers that lived in mostly urban environments, in the harbour city-states that thrived along the coasts of Sumatra, the Thai-Malay Peninsula, Borneo, and Sumbawa, all places where Malay was spoken and written on a daily basis, by both ethnic Malays and people from a wide variety

of ethnic groups of Insular Southeast Asia (or further overseas) who used Malay in their daily, mostly seafaring activities.[3]

A large share of the literary corpus used as a source for this essay was produced in court circles. The economy of these coastal city-states was essentially based on maritime trade, regional or long-distance. These nautical activities would have involved, on land or at sea, most strata of their population: the merchants (the rulers themselves are known to have been major investors in maritime trade), the shipmasters and their crew, the shipbuilders or carpenters, all those city and neighbouring coastal dwellers (free men or slaves) who were employed in harbour duties, handling the merchandise and the supplying of ships, not forgetting the fishermen. The examples given below are conveyed mostly by the available literary corpus, which emanates from literate elites and are necessarily fragmentary, leaving aside representations that would have been those of the petty traders, the lower-class crews (free men or slaves) and the fishermen. The characters of the tales told in these texts are constantly on the move along the sea-lanes of a loosely configured Malay world, from the Strait of Melaka to *pesisir* Java, Sulawesi, Borneo and further east, all the way to the Moluccas.[4]

It is remarkable that in the earliest texts written in Malay, i.e. in three Old Malay inscriptions engraved in the 680s in South Sumatra, when the polity of Srivijaya was being founded, seafaring activities (for trade and war) were mentioned and vocabulary referring to them made its first written appearance. The Sabokingking inscription, a representation of the political structure of the Malay polity, introduces two characters who will often remain associated in later sources as the main agents of maritime trade in the region: the shipmasters (designated in Old Malay as *puhāvaṃ* [*puhawang*], a vernacular term also known in Javanese, which gave place in Islamic times to *nakhoda* (of Arabo-Persian origin), and the sea merchants (*vaṇiyāga*, a term of Sanskrit or Prakrit origin) (Casparis 1956, pp. 32, 37; Kulke 1993; Hoogervorst 2017, p. 413). Both the Kedukan Bukit and the Kota Kapur inscriptions tell us about war fleets sent to establish the authority of the newly founded polity, with the first appearance of the name of a specific boat type: the term *sampan*, under

3. Other ethnic groups speaking dialectal forms of Malay (such as, in Sumatra, the Redjang and the Besemah), occupied territories inland from these coastal city-states, with which they interacted economically, providing them with the commodities that were in high demand in maritime trade networks. These inland people had a different perception of the sea and maritime economy. For the Besemah Malays living in the higher valleys of South Sumatra (whose oral literature was recorded by William Collins), the coastal areas were the domain of the *raja* settled near the mouth of the Musi River, who controlled the complex upstream-downstream exchange network, and served as interface with the outside world (Collins 1998, pp. 55-57; Manguin 2017, pp. 100-101).

4. On this "loosely configured world", see Barnard & Maier 2004, pp. ix-x and Vickers 2004, pp. 43-47.

the Old Malay form *sāmvau*, that will be at the origin of so many cognates all along Asia-wide trade routes (Cœdès 1930, pp. 34-35, 47-49).[5]

As a rejoinder to the Srivijaya inscriptions quoted above — and confirming the central place they reserved for maritime trade —, Malay texts of Early Modern times always list the twosome of shipmasters (*nakhoda*) and sea merchants (*vaṇiyāga*, later giving place to *saudagar* or *dagang*) among the essential members of society in Melaka and other harbour-cities. They happen to be the main actors of maritime activities, and therefore prominent in such urban societies. The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* puts this in a nutshell, when its author portrays the composition of the port-city's population:

> "One sees how numerous the people are, the merchants (*saudagar*), the notables (*orang kaya*) and the shipmasters (*nakhoda*) of this city of Melaka".[6]

At the court of Aceh, in the early 17th century, the whole society of the Sultanate is repeatedly described in set phrases such as

> "all the merchants and all the shipmasters and all the envoys and all the people, thousands in numbers."[7]

The *Hikayat Banjar* similarly refers to "All the shipmasters that carry the king's trade."[8]

Melaka and her people, who considered themselves direct inheritors of the Sumatran polity of Srivijaya, played a prominent role in this 15th and early 16th century maritime cultural landscape. Tomé Pires, one of the best-informed early 16th century Portuguese actor in the region, expressed these circumstances in so many words. He first confirmed in his *Suma oriental* that

> "the merchants and sea-traders realised how much difference there was in sailing to Malacca, because they could anchor safely there in all weathers, and could buy from the others when it was convenient."[9]

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5. Terms used to designate specific boat or ship types, for trade or war, appear on a regular basis in our corpus of texts in a matter-of-fact way, practically never accompanied with technical descriptions that could be used to figure out exactly what they were. I have already dealt with this vocabulary and categories in contexts of war fleets (Manguin 2002, 2012). I will therefore not delve into these matters in this article.

6. *Demikianlah perinya kebanyakan rakyatnya dan saudagar dan orangkaya-orangkaya dan nakhoda dalam negeri Melaka itu* (*Hikayat Hang Tuah*, Kassim Ahmad, ed., 1971, p. 522).

7. *Sekalian dagang-dagang dan segala nakhoda dan segala antusan dan segala ra`yat yang beribu-ribu* or *segala nakhoda dan segala antusan dan segala dagang-dagang* (*Hikayat Aceh*, Teuku Iskandar, ed., 1958, pp. 123, 129).

8. *Segala anakhoda yang perdagang raja itu* (*Hikayat Banjar*, Ras, ed., 1968, p. 295).

9. *Suma oriental*, Cortesão ed., 1944, vol. II, p. 246.

This empirical observation is echoed in the Malay phrase used to characterise a good trading port: *Perahu bertambatan dagang bertepatan*, that is a place "where boats may safely moor and traders live secure" (as recorded in Wilkinson's dictionary, s.v. *tambat*).

In an often-quoted remark, Tomé Pires added that:

> "Men cannot estimate the worth of Malacca, on account of its greatness and profit. Malacca is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world; the end of monsoons and the beginning of others. Malacca is surrounded and lies in the middle, and the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malacca."[10]

Jorge de Albuquerque, Melaka's second Portuguese captain, pursued this very same idea when he wrote to his king in 1515, expressing this in a nutshell: "Melaka has nothing of its own and has everything of this world."[11]

The geo-political magnitude of the Melaka polity turned the harbour-city into a central place of a vast maritime network reaching the whole of Southeast Asia and further east to China and west to India and beyond. Moreover, Melaka was a harbour-city that, contrary to many others in the region, had no true hinterland of its own, and therefore depended almost exclusively on communications by sea for its survival.[12]

Considering such exceptional geographical position and historical conjuncture, it comes as no surprise that the contents of so many of the Malay texts that emanated from the court of Melaka and from neighbouring coastal polities bear testimony to the fact that seafaring was their lifeblood. Journeys that led Malay ships across the whole archipelago, not to speak of earlier crossings of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, were essential for the creation of identity and social alliances.[13]

As we will see, most of the texts that provided us with references to seafaring belong to literary genres, and rarely if ever deal specifically with the technical intricacies of daily economic life or of life aboard large ships (the various versions of the maritime laws are the only exception). They do, however, largely emanate from a mercantile milieu and their close reading, as illustrated below, does provide us, almost inadvertently, with a rich set of

10. *Suma oriental,* Cortesão ed. 1944, vol. II, p. 286; Wheatley 1959 was the first to elaborate on Pires' description of Melaka and to quote this passage.

11. Bulhão Pato 1903, p. 134 (*mallaqua nam tem nada de seu e tem todollas cousas que a no mundo*).

12. This model of a polity without a hinterland, but at the centre of a broad sphere of maritime interactions that could be qualified as an "umland" is more extensively discussed in Manguin 2002, pp. 75-77.

13. On a similar approach of seafaring as social action in the Adriatic during the Neolithic and the need to give proper consideration to studies of maritime activity, see Farr 2006.

contextual information for the vocabulary they use in passing, proving how familiar they all were with these seafaring matters.

Sailing in Malay literature

Among the texts composed in or around Melaka, the first one that comes to mind is the maritime code known as *Undang-undang laut.*[14] Its first purpose was to establish a set of rules applicable on-board large trading ships (*jong*). It was reportedly composed under Sultan Mahmud Syah (1488-1511) of Melaka, and resulted from an agreement (*muafakat*) reached between experienced shipmasters and sea merchants (*nakhoda yang tuha-tuha dengan segala saudagar*), giving all authority to the shipmaster considered "as a king once he is at sea" (*nakhoda itu upama raja ia di laut)*. This is a short text,[15] but one that has a high density of nautical vocabulary of various categories: terms for components of the ship, for crew members, for navigation, and for trade. Being a very specialised text, it provides a precious context for these terms, and more often than not the means to precisely determine their meaning at the turn of the 16th century (which is rarely the case in literary texts). Its mere existence, as a compilation that was needed to regulate shipping activities, does tell us how important these ventures were for the life of the sultanate. In the centuries that followed its inception, it inspired many comparable codes in other harbour-cities of the Malay world, along the Peninsula and all the way east to Bima (and at least one code composed in Bugis in Sulawesi, known as the *Code of Amanna Gappa*).[16] As such, these maritime laws no doubt contributed to the shaping of Malay as a language associated with shipping along Insular Southeast Asian maritime routes. However, being such a specialised text, compiled by and for seafarers, it cannot be used per se to demonstrate how common nautical vocabulary was in use in daily Malay life.

We therefore have to turn to other contemporary or later texts to determine how technical terms associated with boats, ships, navigation and life aboard sailing vessels became so familiar to Malays of Modern times that they permeated most of their literary genres. In such popular texts as the *Sejarah Melayu* (*Sulalatus Salatin)* or the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* — both written to glorify the rulers and main

14. The following remarks stem from the analysis by the various authors who published these *Undang-undang laut.* They are complemented by my own work on a scanned version of the text published in Liaw Yock Fang (2003), as analysed with a concordance programme.

15. The *Undang-undang laut* has 5 926 words (in the Liaw Yock Fang 2003 edition), a short text if compared to the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (172 332 words for the Kassim Ahmad 1975 edition) or the *Sulalatus salatin* (*Sejarah Melayu) (*94 069 words for the Samad Ahmad 1979 edition) (figures given in the MCP- Malay Concordance Project).

16. Baharuddin Lopa 1984, Tobing 1961; Logan 1855; *Bo'Sangaji Kai* (ed. Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin 1999, pp. 92-101).

actors of this major polity —, or in less political literary texts emanating from the same sphere, it does not come as a surprise that the protagonists whose actions are depicted constantly board and disembark from sailing vessels. Whichever their assigned mission, carrying letters to neighbouring rulers, leading a ship or a whole fleet overseas to another harbour-city for trade, war, diplomacy, religion, or at times to meet their beloved, the passages describing these actions almost invariably start with phrases carrying the term "sail" (*layar*). A query in the Malay Concordance Project [henceforth MCP] on this root word produces 218 hits in some 60 texts, covering all the periods considered here.[17] Most occur in verbal forms *belayar (berlayar)* or *dilayarkan*, or more rarely in nominal forms, such as *pelayaran* or in the expression "hoist the sail" (*menarik layar*). The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* — a popular text describing cultural hero, shipmaster and fleet commander (*laksamana*) Hang Tuah's multiple actions in the service of the Melaka Sultans —, has much of its rhythm given by such recurrent phrases marking the moments of departure and arrival of overseas crossings. A typical episode in the *Sejarah Melayu* or in many other contemporary or later texts would be initiated with set phrases such as "They weighed anchor and sailed away" (*Maka bongkar sauh lalu belayar)* or "he then boarded the ship and sailed away" (*lalu turun ke perahu lalu belayar*), followed by the relation of the crossing, and ending when the anchor is dropped (*berlabuh)* at the place of destination.

These are of course very common terms that do not need a specific knowledge of nautical practices to be understood. Others, however, less numerous but nevertheless recurring, have a restricted nautical usage, usually reserved for those who know how a sailing ship is operated.

The various components of the rigging of the ship are among the most common such terms. They are at times used in a matter of fact way: in the *Undang-undang laut,* the main task assigned to the petty officers (*tukang*) was to oversee "the halliards and the shrouds" (*bubutan dan temberang)*.[18] The *Misa Melayu*, an 18th-century text (queried via MCP) has one technically correct remark about a sheet that gets taut when the wind rises (*turunlah angin*

17. Except when indicated otherwise, all MCP queries referred to below are made on all Malay texts (prose, poetry and letters, but excluding newspapers and manuals) dating from 1300 to 1850 (after which date steam engines came into the scene, profoundly modifying the context). The total corpus of texts amounts to 91. Not all the occurrences of quoted terms will be given in this article, as such queries are easily replicated on the MCP web site (http://mcp.anu.edu.au/).

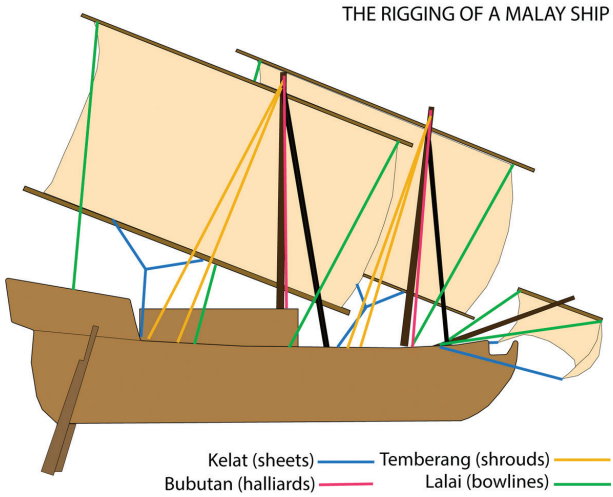
18. *Bubut(an)* designates the halliards (French: *drisse*), i.e. the cordages used to hoist or lower the sails and top yards; Haex's dictionary of 1631 glosses both *bubut* and *bubutan* as halliards (s.v. *boeboet/boeboetan*: "*tali singsing lajar"*). *Temberang* designates the shrouds, i.e. the ropes extended from the mast-heads to the right and/or left side of the ship, holding the masts upright and enabling them to carry sail (French: *hauban*); in Western ships, these are standing (fixed), but in Southeast Asian traditional sails (today or in earlier times) they can be moved when tacking, as illustrated in the next quotation, from the *Misa Melayu* (see note 20).

menegangi kelat).[19] In another passage, the same text provides a vivid and technically faultless description of a ship made ready to sail (showing also that propitiatory prayers played a role in daily activities of sailors):

> His highness ordered the sail (*layar*) to be hoisted. The oars (*dayung*) were readied in position. Prayers were said, wind was pleaded for, shrouds (*temberang*) were shifted,[20] the sail was hauled in, and they truly made their way towards Pulau Katak.[21]

In the 17th century *Hikayat Banjar*, we are told that the founder hero's mythical ship was

> adorned with marquetry of gold; her sails (*layar*) were made of the finest scarlet cloth; her halliards (*bubutan*), her shrouds (*temberang*), and her sheets (*tali klat*) of heavy silk, with tassels of pearls; her rudder (*kemudi*) of copper and gold alloy; her oars (*dayung*) in iron-wood with bands of gold; the cable of her anchor (*tali sauh*) was made of undamascened iron.[22]



19. *Klat/kelat* designates the sheets (French: *écoutes*), i.e. the ropes attached to the lower parts of the sails (with or without a yard) that are used to adjust the angle of a sail in relation to the longitudinal axis of the vessel, depending on the wind's direction.

20. *Alih/aleh* implies the shifting of position of the shroud(s). When putting to sail, the windward shroud(s) must be made taut. In simple rigs, the same shroud(s) can be moved from side to side when changing tack.

21. *Baginda pun menyuruh naikkan layar. Sekalian bersiap dayung diletak, mengucap selawat, angin dipinta, alih temberang, layar disentak, betullah menuju ke Pulau Katak.*

22. English translation adapted from J.J. Ras (*Hikayat Banjar,* Ras ed. 1968, pp. 296-297). *Dan malangbang itu bartatah amas, layarnya sakhlat `ainalbanat, tali bubutan dan tamberang dan tali klatnya mastuli, sama barumbai-rumbaikan mutiara; kamudinya timbaga suasa; dayungnya hulin bartabu-tabukan amas; tali sauhnya basi malila*.

The enumeration of the various ropes or lines of the rig provide Malay authors with a particularly rich array of images that refer to their functions, and often also to the sounds they make.

One of the older occurrences of such terms appears in the *Sejarah Melayu*, in the first half of a *pantun* sung by Tun Talanai when questioned by the Sultan about his fleet of ships (with a large measure of poetic licence, and not much technical sense, but indicating that his fleet is being prepared for sailing)[23]:

> Bowlines (*lalai-lalai*),[24] where are the halliards (*bubutan*)? / Halliards are being drawn in (*dikelati*).[25]

The famous 19th century author Abdullah Munsyi, who was not a sailor, has nevertheless constant references to sailing practices in his *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan*, a crossing made on a sailing ship skipped by a Chinese, from Singapore to Kelantan. In this travelogue, he published many *pantun*s he collected during his journey. In one of these, the rig is also given a speaking role:

> The halliards (*bubut*) asked the bowlines (*lalai*), / is the parrel (*kelendara*)[26] with us? The wind blows from west, the waves have settled, / hoist the anchor, off we sail.[27]

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23. The text is corrupt in the manuscript Winstedt transcribed (*Sejarah Melayu*, Winstedt ed. 1938, p. 98). See Brown's translation of this version (Brown ed. 1970, p. 60 and n. 302). It is corrected in Samad Ahmad's edition (1979, p. 101), from which I quote.

24. *Lalai-lalai mana bubutan? Bubutan lagi dikelati. Lalai,* as far as I could determine, only appears twice with this nautical meaning in the texts I queried via the MCP. It is found again in the following quotation from Abdullah Munsyi. It does not appear at all in Bading's nautical dictionary (1880). In Smyth's glossary (1906, p. 114), *tali lalei* is glossed as "vang, controlling the end of the yard" (vang is a term used in large square-rigged ships). Wilkinson's dictionary also translates as "vang," referring to this same passage in the *Sejarah Melayu.* These vangs, also known as bowlines or braces (French: *bouline, bras*) are fixed at the extremity of the top yard of square sails and reach downwards to the ship's side. Together with the sheets, they thus serve to trim the sails as needed. The traditional *layar tanjak* of Indonesian seas needs such a line to be drawn in, as do square sails of European vessels. Klinkert's dictionary (s.v. *lalai,* II) confirms this meaning: "*bras (scheepsterm)*; *tali lalai*, *geerde, brastouw*."

25. [*Tali kelat*] is usually a substantive designating a sheet. Wilkinson (s.v. *kelat*) also gives a verbal form: *mengelatkan layar* is "to draw in the sheet". This is possibly the etymological meaning of the term *kelat,* meaning to brace, to draw in. This is confirmed in Badings (1880), which gives Malay *kelat* for both entries "*Bras*" and "*Schoot*" (under which it is more precisely translated as *kelat bawah, kelat kaki*). Both lines serve to draw in or brace the sails.

26. Wilkinson glosses *kelendara* (and regional variations) as the "parrel or ring (round mast) to which the yard [of the sail] is attached" (French: *racage*). A query in MCP only refers to this same *pantun*, as given by Abdullah. It does not appear at all in Bading's nautical dictionary (1880), which gives instead the Laskari term *sār* (s.v. parrel).

27. *Bubut bertanya lalai, / kelendara ada pada kita / Angin barat, gelombang selesai, / bongkar sauh, berlayarlah kita* (*Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan*, Sweeney ed. 2005, p. 157).

The same Abdullah Munsyi, while sailing to Mekah on a large sailing vessel, complained that "all that could be heard was the hum of the ship's rigging."[28] The "singing of the rigging" vignette is also often found in Western sailing accounts, as when Joseph Conrad in *Mirror of the Sea* (chap. 39) recalled "the song of the wind in a ship's rigging," or in *Lord Jim* (chap. 1), the "rigging humming in a deep bass."

In the *Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang Cina,* a text from around 1800 (as queried in MCP*)*, the poet plays with similar images:

> Sails the ship day and night, carried by currents and waves, every day the sails are spread, the shrouds (*temberang*) sound as a viola.[29]

In the oral epic poem *Panglimo Awang*, as recited in Riau and transcribed in the late 1980s by Will Derks (1994), references to ships and sailing are ubiquitous. Riau is a Sumatran province which has preserved to this day many of the earlier sets of representations related to sailing and ships, as we will see below. This passage about a legendary *lancang* vessel under sail is one of the richest in nautical terms we encountered:[30]

> The anchor (*sauh*) is weighed, the sails (*laya*) are set / The rudder (*kumudi*) is turned around, then the sailing begins / When the sails are set the wind rises too / The wind pushes harder and harder / The wind strikes the cabin (*kurong*) wall / The ship's rigging (*tali-tumali*) jingles / The bowsprit (*tiang topang*)[31] touches

28. (…) *tiadalah apa yang kedengaran melainkan segala tali-tali kapal itu berdengung-dengung* (*Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Mekah*, Sweeney ed., 2005, p. 276).

29. *Berlayarlah kapal malam dan siang, dibawa arus dengan gelombang, sehari-hari layar terkembang, seperti biola bunyinya temberang.*

30. My translation is based on that by Will Derks (*Panglimo Awang* (Derks ed., 1994, pp. 44-45), with slight modifications (the transcription is in the Riau dialectal form of Malay)): *Diumbuik sauh lo tio direnyat laya / Dipaliang kumudi lo na lalu dilayakan / Laya turenyat tio angin pan tibo / Angin munulak tio na munumpukan / Angin munopuk tio ku dinding kurong / Tali-tumali lancang budonting-donting / Tiang tupang cocah-muncocah / Unuk-unuk tuanguk-anguk / Tali tumerang lo tio budongong-dongong / Tali ogung sayang budogum-dogum / Liang kumang somuo-munyomuo.*

31. I translate *tiang topang* by bowsprit [rather than Derk's "front mast"]. *Topang* is used to designate various fore masts (such as mizzen masts). These often have a slight forward rake (the literal meaning of *topang/tupang* is a spar set at an angle) but could never reach the surface of the sea. *Topang* appears to have also been used for a bowsprit, a fore mast with a very strong rake that could touch the surface of the water in heavy seas (Badings [1880], s.v. "stag" gives, among others, Malay *temberang* (…) *tiang tupang* as "shrouds (…) of the bowsprit"), thus following literally Haex's 1631 dictionary (s.v. *toepang/topang*). Large sailing boats of pre-Modern and Early Modern times all carried such a bowsprit, to which a spritsail was hanging (as in the ships depicted on the 8th century Borobudur reliefs or in 16th century *jong*s). The term appears in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* as *layar topang* (Kassim Ahmad ed. 1971, p. 112). Such bowsprits disappeared from the local scene when large ships were no longer in use.

> the water slightly / The ship's bow pitches heavily[32] / The shrouds (*tali tumerang*) are droning / The main rope (*tali ogung*)[33] sound like a gong / The scupper-holes (*liang kumang*)[34] are spouting.

The action of steering by turning the rudder (*kemudi*) appears often enough in texts (which only rarely carry further details on navigation practices):

> "[While sailing in the Red Sea, the pilot] was requested by Amir Hamzah to turn the rudder of their *bahtera* in the direction of that place."[35]

A variety of other technical terms for parts of the vessels appear here and there in the texts consulted. Two terms that specifically belong to the shipbuilders' vocabulary only appear in the *Rencong* version of the *Syair Perahu* : *pasak* and *galam* (Braginsky 1988, pp. 280, 284, 285, 290). *Pasak* designates, to this day, the treenails or dowels used in traditional shipyards to fasten planks together or to frames. *Galam* (standard Malay: [*kulit*] *gelam*) designates the inner, paper-like bark of *Melaleuca leucadendron*, which is inserted when joining two planks together, to make them watertight (a process known as "luting", practiced in traditional shipyards of Java to this day).[36]

The two terms for the stem or bows (*haluan*) and stern (*buritan*) of a sailing vessel are naturally encountered in our texts. Positions or actions aboard ship are often qualified in relation to where they take place: the stern cabins, for instance, are out of bounds to ordinary crew members. Their usage may be allegorical: in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the *laksamana* Hang Tuah explains the need for governance of his Malay followers to a Siamese harbour-master with a nautical metaphor:

> The Malays are like a vessel: if it is not properly steered (*berkemudi*), it is surely as if it has no stem (*haluan*) [i.e. no direction].[37]

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32. For this verse (*unuk-unuk tuanguk-anguk*), I have kept the substance of Derk's translation ("the ship's bow is going up and down"), following Wilkinson's gloss for *anggok* (but I could not find the term *unuk-unuk* in standard dictionaries).

33. I cannot figure out what is the precise meaning of *tali ogung*, literally the "main rope"; possibly a line (a halliard?) associated with the main mast (*tiang agung)*.

34. *Kumang* must correspond to standard Malay *kumbang* (see s.v. in Wilkinson's dictionary, who glosses *liang kumbang* as: "scupper-hole, limber-holes" [scupper-holes are water-ways pierced to carry the water off from the deck into the sea; limber-holes are carved out of the bottom part of ribs to allow bilge water to flow to the deeper part of the hull and be pumped out]). See also Smyth's glossary (1906, p. 111).

35. *Maka disuruh oleh Amir Hamzah belokkan kemudi bahtera itu ke arah tempat itu.*

36. The verse is *Galamnya habis di manakan sampai*, which Braginsky (1988, p. 290) translates as "For if the oakum is gone, where willst thou reach?" Oakum, as used in Western or Chinese shipbuilding for caulking, is made of pounded vegetal fibres, therefore a different material from *gelam*, but it serves the same purpose.

37. *Adapun akan hamba segala Melayu ini umpama perahu; adapun itu, apabila*

One other term that is often used in our texts under various allegorical guises is *timba*, with cognates found in most Austronesian languages to designate a bucket to draw water or, in verbal forms, the action of drawing water, or pumping. In such a concrete context, *timba* refers to one action that is compulsory aboard any wooden boat, which is to bail out, by hand in small boats or by mechanical means in larger vessels, the water that always accumulates at the bottom of any wooden hull (whether it comes from imperfect water-tightness of its planks or from water coming in from above, from rain or waves). It appears as *panimba* or as *timba* in the *Syair Perahu*, as an indispensable tool that provides the Sufi poet with a metaphor for prayers (Braginsky 1988, pp. 280, 294). In 18th century Perak, the court texts represent their city-state explicitly as a ship, with the ruler acting as the shipmaster, and various ministers as specific members of the crew, one of them being equated with "the person who bails the ship (*timba ruang*) if she leaks", i.e. who removes any danger threatening the country (Shellabear 1885; Andaya 1979, p. 28; Manguin 1986, p. 193). This composite expression *timba ruang* occurs for the first time in the *Undang-Undang Laut* where it always refers to a place on the ship situated midway between the bows and the stern, therefore "amidships."[38] It appears with this meaning in the *Sejarah Melayu*, in a passage where a smallish boat is described:

> "three servants [in a boat]: the one named Si Berkat paddles from the stern; Si Lamat, as is his name, sits amidships; and the one named Si Tuakal paddles from the bows."[39]

In the *Misa Melayu* (as queried in MCP) we come across another derived meaning of *timba ruang*, which again shows how such technical terms can generate a variety of expressions that appear to have passed into common language. A strong wind is said to *menimba ruang*.[40] In other occurrences, it is qualified as an *angin timba ruang*. Klinkert and Wilkinson concur in their

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tiada berkemudi, nescaya tiadalah betul haluannya (*Hikayat Hang Tuah*, Kassim Ahmad, ed., 1971, p. 417).

38. All early dictionaries of Malay confirm this meaning and explain it by the simple fact that, in large ships, bilge water collects in the deepest part of the hull, which is situated amidships; the bilge pumps, which we know existed on large 16th century *jong*s, accessed this bilge via a well, named *timba ruang*. Hence the common derived meaning of amidships. See for instance Haex's dictionary, which translates *timba ruang* into English as "under hold" or French "*fond de cale*".

39. *(...) dan budak tiga orang, Si Berkat namanya, berkayuh di buritan (...); Si Lamat seorang namanya, duduk menimba ruang (...); Si Tuakal seorang namanya, berkayuh di haluan (...)* (*Sejarah Melayu*, Samad Ahmad, ed., 1979, p. 264).

40. *Turunlah angin menimba ruang.*

dictionaries on the reasons for this usage (s.v. *angin* and *timba*): both gloss the expression as a strong (side-)wind "that empties the bailing well" by making the vessel heel over. Abdullah Munsyi uses this expression when describing his 1854 journey to Mecca:

> "On Thursday at dawn we weighed anchor and sailed off, and Allah provided us with a good *menimba ruang* wind."[41]

Another metaphoric rendering for a fresh breeze at sea calls upon the image of a "wind that tautens the sheets" (*angin kencang kelat,* or *angin tegang kelat*).[42]

This leads us to consider how this corpus of Malay texts refers to sailing conditions and haven finding, that is to navigation practices. Many of the smaller ships and boats that were used as vectors of trade in the whole of Insular Southeast Asia were propelled by both sails and oars. All the "long" vessels so often referred to in Malay or Javanese sources (*lancang, kelulus, penjajap,* etc., and the Mediterranean galley-type *ghorab* or *gali* that appeared during the 16th century) were oared ships that could be used with no wind or contrary winds, when it was needed, for trade or war (Manguin 2012). There is however no possible sailing without wind in "round" trading ships, much too heavy to be moved by manual force alone. Winds that were too strong or too feeble forced ships to remain at anchor, waiting for better conditions and favourable winds, qualified as *angin paksa*, an expression that appears in the 14th century *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and is found again in the *Sejarah Melayu*. Many narratives in our texts that entail sailing start with a set expression indicating a rising wind (*Turunlah angin*).[43] A quick look at the extensive "wind" (*angin*) notices in 19th and early 20th century Malay dictionaries shows how essential it was to have a knowledge of the various winds that propelled all these vessels. One assistant pilot aboard the 15th-16th *jong*s is thus called a *malim angin*, whose name clearly defines his function (*Undang-undang laut*, Liaw Yock Fang ed. 2003, p. 93).

It should also be remarked here that, if the regular monsoon winds provided an overall rhythm for overseas trade in the whole of "Monsoon Asia" — as noted in simplistic term by almost every single author —, there are many more kinds and directions of winds that had to be taken into consideration by seafarers. Passages referring to such sailing technicalities are rarely encountered in our texts. Navigators could sail against the general monsoon winds if good use was made of land breezes (*angin darat[an]* or *angin tanah*, in the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* and the *Bo' Sangaji Kai*).

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41. *(...) maka kepada hari Khamis awal subuh dibongkar sauh lalu berlayarlah, diberi Allah angin baik menimba ruang* (*Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Mekah*, Sweeney ed. 2005, jilid 1, p. 290).

42. Wilkinson's dictionary, s.v. *kelat.*

43. Whereas in English the wind is said "to rise" ("*le vent se lève*" in French), the Malays see their wind as "descending" (*turun*).

And, of course one could tack to move against the wind: "They weighed anchor in Topejawa and tacked against the east wind" (*berlayar gergaji*[44] *angin timur* in *Bo' Sangaji Kai*).

The *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, a text compiled in Bima between the 17th and the 19th centuries describes courses taken by ships in far more detail than others, in certain passages very much in the fashion of a ship log:

> "(…) then there was no more favourable wind, except for a feeble wind rising from the west. On Tuesday after dark they again left the harbour of Lu'u, and they rowed and set sails following a land breeze that was blowing towards southeast [?]".[45]

Or again:

> "they sailed, pushed by a soft land breeze, but they veered course a bit, so that they steered due north during the night."[46]

One also needs to take into consideration the currents, some of which were strong enough to slow down, push forward, or push off course any ship crossing large expanses of water. The *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* recalls that one ship "was carried by wind and current" on her way to Seram (*lalu belayar dibawah oleh angin dan arus*).

Navigation in pre-scientific times, particularly so when sailing close to land as was often the case in an archipelagic environment, required the regular measuring of the depth of the sea, for which a sounding stone (*batu duga*) was used, tied to a sounding line (*tali duga*). The broader meaning of *duga* is "to probe" or "conjecture"; its nautical meaning is recorded in pioneer Malay dictionaries but appears in one text only, in the mid-18th century *Syair Hemop*:

> " (…) sailing true north / sounding night and day / also sailing night and day / speeding as a flying bird / as if the mast would break / (…)"[47]

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44. The expression *berlayar gergaji* (literally "sail as a saw edge") is found twice in the *Bo' Sangaji Kai*. It must be understood as sailing right and left, i.e. tacking against a contrary wind. This meaning is confirmed in the *Syair Hemop* where the expression *angin salah digergaji* (they tacked against a contrary wind) is repeatedly found (as queried in MCP).

45. (…) *ketika itu tiada angin ketentuan datang daripada angin barat hampir turun. Maka pada malam Arbaa sudah waktu isa meninggal lagi labuan Lu'u, maka berdayung serta dilayarnya angin darat menyisir (tŋgr) laut.* There seems to be a mistake here: *tŋgr* maybe read as *tenggara,* but "tenggara laut" does not exist as a direction of the wind rose (as noted in *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, ed. Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin 1999, p. 181).

46. *Maka berlayarlah ditiup angin tanah yang lembut jua, akan tetapi uluannya jatuh sedikit hendak mengambil utara semata pada malam itu.*

47. (…) *berlayar tuju [menuju] mata utara / malam dan siang duga-duga / berlayar juga malam dan siang / lajunya sebagai burung terbang / seperti patah rupanya tiang /* (…). Shellabear (1910, p. 156) translates "heave the lead" as *buang duga*.

In marked difference with references to the sea in Old Javanese court poetry, as recently discussed by Jiří Jákl (2019), shipwrecks appear not to have become a poetic trope in the literature we examined. Dangers inherent to sailing which fed the imagination of so many writers and artists around the world are clearly acknowledged and expressed. However, even in longer passages such as in very popular 17th century *Hikayat Indraputra* and *Sejarah Melayu,* references to tempests remains strictly factual and formulaic, with set phrases that will be found repeated over and over in the same or in different texts, starting in the 14th century *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* and then in many later texts:[48]

> One night, by Allah's will, came a very strong wind, as a hurricane, and lightnings flashed, and the waves were huge. The ship broke, and fifteen other vessels broke along with Naim's ship.[49]
>
> (…) and Indraputra brought down storm, hurricane, thunder, and lightning strikes. And all the *lancang* and the *pilang* of the king's followers, which were less than forty, were shattered; some had their mast broken, and some their rudder, and some of the ships of the king's followers were wrecked.[50]
>
> Then one night, a huge storm came down, with rain, wind, thunder, and lightning. And all the ships were broken up and sent asunder. [51]

*Pantun*s and proverbs

The term *duga* discussed above directs us to two other kinds of discourses involving seafaring: poetic *pantun*s and proverbs. Both express common statements or precepts in concise, metaphorical or figurative forms, formulate a practical and banal truth of experience, or a piece of popular wisdom that may be common to an entire social group. In our Malay world, they frequently use seafaring terms or contexts, again confirming how familiar these were to Malay coastal societies.[52]

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48. A query on *ribut* and *taufan* in MCP reveals many such examples of descriptions of storms, not all of them taking place at sea.

49. *Syahdan, kepada suatu malam, dengan takdir Allah, maka datanglah angin ribut taufan yang amat keras, serta kilat petir sabung-menyabung, ombak pun teramatlah besarnya. Maka kapal itu pun pecahlah, lima belas kapal yang pecah bersama-sama kapal Naim* (*Hikayat Bayan Budiman,* quoted from MCP, query on *taufan*).

50. *Maka datanglah angin ribut, taufan, guruh, dan petir kilat sabung-menyabung. Maka segala lancang dan pilang anak raja-raja yang kurang esa empat puluh itu rusak, ada yang patah tiang, ada yang patah kemudi, ada yang carak-larak berharu-birulah segala perahu anak raja-raja itu.* (*Hikayat Indraputra,* Muliadi ed. 1983, pp. 179-180).

51. *Maka pada suatu malam, turun taufan terlalu besar, dengan hujan, ribut, guruh, petir. Maka segala kapal itu pun habislah pecah cerai-berai ke sana sini* (*Sejarah Melayu,* Samad Ahmad ed. 1979, p. 17).

52. Salleh in his 2011 article "Sailing the Archipelago in a boat of rhymes: Pantun

Duga, with its nautical meaning, appears in such an aphorism in the *Hikayat Kalilah dan Daminah*: "The deepest sea can be sounded; who can fathom the depths of the heart?"[53]

Sailing conditions being what they were in earlier times, and hygiene on board probably far from modern standards, it is not surprising to find in Klinkert's dictionary (*s.v. baoe* [*bau*]) the expression: "He stinks as if he sailed for a full year" (*Baunya satahun pelayaran*).

One proverb collected by Klinkert (s.v. *kemoedi* [*kemudi*], "rudder") is ushered when all hope is lost:

> The rudder is broken, and so is its crossbeam (*Patah kemudi dengan ebamnya*)

In the same vein, a saying collected by Collings and Swettenham in their dictionary (s.v. *ajong*) describes a "sorry case", which is "as a junk [broken] on a reef" (*Laksana ajong di-atas karang*).

One other proverb collected in this same dictionary (s.v. *ajong*), also refers to such disasters, this time with a humorous twist, signifying that the misfortunes of the great are often the sources of profit to the poor:

> "When a junk breaks, the sharks get a belly full" (*Jung pecah, hiu juga yang kenyang*)

More politically minded aphorisms are given in Perak, where the "ship of state" theme is so relevant; the dangerous situation brought about by the existence of two rulers in one single kingdom is discouraged, by reference to a comparable situation at sea:

> "You know how it is in a ship with two shipmasters and in a country with two kings"[54]

To conclude this brief presentation of seafaring terms and motifs appearing in literature and in daily sayings, it is fit to recall how *pantun*s, being a reflection of Malay social life, often refer to such situations. A few were already quoted as we went.[55]

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in the Malay world" says nothing about nautical vocabulary, insisting only on the possible role of Orang Laut in the diffusion of *pantun*s to the whole Malay world, as if Malays themselves could not have mastered such a maritime culture.

53. *Laut yang dalam dapat diduga; hati orang siapa tahu* (as quoted in Wilkinson's dictionary, s.v. *duga).*

54. *Lebih-lebih maklumlah satu perahu nakhoda dua dan satu negeri beraja dua* (*Tuhfat al-Nafis,* Matheson & Andaya eds., 1982, pp. 203-204).

55. In his *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah ke Kelantan*, Abdullah Munsyi found it fit to publish some forty *pantun*s he collected at Kelantan and among those he refers to as "sea people" (*orang-orang laut*). Many of these refer to trading in port, sailing, winds and waves, ships, shipmasters and pilots.

As a follow up of the preceding aphorism, we can quote the famous *pantun* from Riau, which warns that, in times of danger, an unenlightened ruler may bring about the collapse of his polity:

The Lancang Kuning sails at night
Her bows towards high seas
If her shipmaster is ignorant
She is bound to be wrecked

Lancang Kuning berlayar malam
Haluan menuju kelautan dalam
Kalau nakhoda kurang paham
Alamat kapal akan tenggelam[56]

One last *pantun* may be considered to sum up the contents of this article. It is often quoted today in Indonesia, now that the archipelagic situation of Indonesia is finally recognized by its government. For long, it remained written on a wall of the then derelict Museum Bahari in Jakarta, obviously failing to convince local authorities of its contents:

My ancestors were seafarers
They enjoyed sailing in open seas
No shaking, no fear
They used to endure storms

Nenek moyangku orang pelaut
Gemar mengarungi lautan luas
Tiada gentar tiada takut
Menempuh badai sudah biasa

Discussion

All these written or oral examples show how seafaring terminology and practices were commonplace in pre-19th century Malay society. As John Crawfurd observed when he lived in the region in the first quarter of the 19th century, seafaring was still then "strongly impressed" in the Malay language of those times, as it was during the three or four preceding centuries of literary production by Malays and Malay speakers. The resonance of water transport was still confirmed in places in the 1850s, when Alfred Russel Wallace, spent time for his botanical survey in Palembang and South Sumatra:

> "The natives [of Palembang] are true Malays, never building a house on dry land if they can find water to set it in, and never going anywhere on foot if they can reach the place in a boat." (Wallace 1898, p. 94)

56. The "yellow *lancang*" represented the Riau polity in Sultanate times and remains to this day the symbol of the Riau province. On the still very lively references to seafaring in Riau, see Tenas Effendy 1969, 1972, or various local websites (querying on *lancang kuning*). A recent sung version of this *pantun* can be found at: https://soundcloud.com/user195318125/lagu-melayu-lancang-kuning (accessed February 2021).

The total number of terms attached to accessories and parts of a sailing vessel that are commonly employed in the texts quoted above may however appear to be rather small. Only some 20 such terms were quoted in context. One may explain this small amount by noting, for instance, that the four different ropes of a relatively simple traditional Malay rigging (compared to later European square rigs) are in fact all accounted for in our texts (see the illustration). One should also take into account, as noted above, the very frequent occurrences of a few verbal forms describing operations of the various parts of the sails and other components of a sailing vessel, or the navigation itself (such as *bongkar sauh, berlabuh, belayar*, etc.).

I also have not dealt in this essay with names for boat types, but it is worth noting at this point that the generic term for a boat or a ship (*perahu*) occurs some 900 times in the 91 texts used as our corpus, an exceptionally high figure for any non-grammatical word. To this term one may add the less frequent occurrences of many other vessel types (*jong, sampan, ghali, ghurab, lancang, lancaran, kelulus, penjajap,* etc., on which see Manguin 2012). Their ubiquity does constantly remind the reader (or listener) of the seafaring undertakings of the protagonists in these accounts. So does the recurrent titles carried by these protagonists, many of which are related to shipping: shipmaster (*nakhoda*), commander of the fleet (*laksamana*), sea pilot and all its metaphorical meanings (*mualim*). Sea merchants (*saudagar*, *dagang)* are also often mentioned aboard sailing vessels. Names for lowly members of the crew rarely appear except in generic terms such as *kelasi* or *awak perahu* (the only texts that provide detailed context for crew duties and activities is, for obvious reasons, the Melaka *Undang-undang laut*, and its partial transcription in the *Bo' Sangaji Kai* of Bima). It is therefore the frequency of references to the crossing of maritime expanses that provides the seafaring scenery and overall context of many of the episodes recounted in our texts, more so than just occurrences of specific vocabulary.[57]

One may evoke another reason for not finding a larger variety of technical terms used in shipbuilding or while sailing in the texts considered: such textual references to nautical practices were clearly not aimed at preserving or transmitting a technical knowledge, which would rather be learned in traditional Malay and neighbouring societies by demonstration and imitation.[58]

57. One may verify this by querying the MCP on a combination of *layar* (and its compounds) and *perahu* or *jong* in proximity (within 9 words on both sides) resulting in 296 hits in 38 texts (out of the 91 queried texts); or in combination with *sauh* or *angin*, both queries resulting in 60 to 70 hits, in more than 20 texts. A query on *layar* alone results in hits in 63 different texts, thus two thirds of the 91 queried texts.

58. A comparison of Malay and other nautical vocabularies of Insular Southeast Asia would possibly tell us more about the matter of this essay. However, as only South Sulawesi languages have been studied with a similar approach, this would need considerably more research and it therefore falls outside the scope of this article (Liebner 1992).

The intimate association that these observations induce between the Malays and the sea — their everyday maritime environment and their cultural behaviours, practices and representations —, is treated in most texts examined above as if it was so predictable that no author made an effort to enrich these expressions with either technical or dramatic extensions. This no frills relationship with the material world of sea and shipping is in contrast with the ideal relations that these populations maintain with their marine environment and with the rich set of symbolic processes alluded to in the introduction to this essay, which no doubt also provided a vibrant expression of the maritime identity of most cultures of Insular Southeast Asia.

Then, more surprisingly, we cannot fail to notice the total absence of the kind of dramatic usage of such motifs that is frequent in literary corpora elsewhere in Southeast Asia or in the wider world. The Malays hardly marvelled at the sea: it remained incidental, as if it was not an element worth associating with pathos or emotions. It was simply the framework of the stories told in the texts, the stage where the heroes could exhibit their feats and prowess. The fiction was clearly not about the sea.

One possible explanation of this total absence of tragic or emotional features, as proposed by Amin Sweeney, may stem from the fact that all the texts considered above — including those that were written down — were meant to be read to audiences and thus preserved many of the formulary features of oral expression (stereotypes, stock situations and clichés).[59]

This is in marked difference with Javanese texts presented in Peter Worsley's (2012) or Jiří Jákl's (2019) essays, which were composed in court circles ruling over a largely agrarian society and economy, where seafaring was not consubstantial or present in the collective imagination. Different forms of sensitivity appear to have blossomed among the inland Javanese, leading to the poetic valorisation of the waves, the admiration of storm scenes or the spectacle of ships with their sails unfurled, of the abandoned wrecks along the shores.[60] One may also note, following Simon Leys (2018, p. xxviii), that neighbouring societies whose maritime ventures were no less considerable, as England in France, maintained the memories of seafaring into their languages and civilisations in strikingly different ways.[61]

59. Sweeney (1987, pp. 19-20, 37-38) also sees romanticism and its own set of clichés as a reaction against earlier, formulary literary modes.

60. One may remark here, without trying to push such comparisons between widely different worlds too far, that much of the Romantic fad for marine lyricism is more often than not the work of authors who have little or no experience of the sea (with notable exceptions such as Joseph Conrad or Herman Melville). Simon Leys (2018, p. xxxiv) goes as far as stating that "the awkward loquaciousness of the improvised sailors is matched by the silence of the real men of the sea."

61. With the exception of the *Sejarah Banten*, no texts emanating from pre-colonial Javanese coastal, *pesisir* environments have however been preserved to allow for a

I do not mean in this essay to enter into the long-drawn debate about a contested Malay identity.[62] It has often been said that Malay identity, as perceived in the past two centuries, is largely a product of colonial times, when mobility was considerably reduced, when land-based, rural features were brought forward, and surprisingly little references to the earlier maritime orientations and mobilities were retained.

This essay has simply concentrated on one facet of this multiple identity, which illustrates the clear maritime inclinations of *pesisir* Malays when their identity was largely formed at sea, an awareness which delivered a constant invitation to travel, the opening to the world and the development possibilities it offered. The common usage of a nautical lexical register thus provides another way of defining or just understanding this facet of Malay identity, which predates those new identities that were forged in colonial times.

All this vocabulary and sets of expression belong, for obvious reasons, to a supra-local register which is common to most *pesisir* societies of the times. Many technical terms appear to have belonged to the Malay lexicon, but speakers could well have been of a variety of ethnic origins.[63] One concrete example of such cosmopolitan usage of Malay lexicon is given in the Portuguese book-keeping documents kept after the purchase of two *jong*s in Pegu in 1516, in a joint venture by the Melaka based Indian merchant Nina Chatu and the Portuguese crown. This commercial venture was pursued following Malay commercial practices, where the Portuguese captain of Melaka simply took the entrepreneurial place of the former Sultan. The Portuguese accountant (the well-known Tomé Pires, author of the *Suma Oriental*) used common Malay terms (known from numerous other sources) to designate various parts of the ship or members of the crew. The latter, however, were not all Malays but mostly Javanese, with others originating from Pegu and a few only from Melaka (Thomaz 1966). This nautical lexicon again points to the role of seafaring people of various ethnic origins in forging this pre-colonial "Malay" identity.

During the 19th century profound social changes in the Malay World and the local shipping scene transformed the earlier relationship between the Malays and the sea. In colonial times, Europe's expanding trading fleets in the Indian Ocean and further east employed a multi-ethnic work force of sailors (now called *laskar*) with East African, Indian, Chinese, Southern Europeans,

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balanced comparison between Malay and Javanese speakers.

62. Malay identities have been discussed at length by many authors, among which see Sweeney 1987, Maier 1992, Reid 2001, Sutherland 2004, Barnard & Maier 2004, Milner 2004, Vickers 2004, Leonard Andaya 2010.

63. See, for instance, the discussion on the identity of the "Makassar Malays" of the 18th century by Heather Sutherland (2004): those seafarers that were considered as "Malays" might be Minangkabau or Moor (Indian Muslims), from Johor, Patani or Banjarmasin, all specific origins that could be subsumed into Malayness.

and some Malay origins, always commanded by European officers. Seafarers adopted a creolized language known as *Laskari*, where Malay vernacular words got lost in a sea of words of Indic, Arabic and European origin (Ghosh 2008; Amrith 2013; Hoogervorst 2018). The 1880 lexicon by Badings entitled *Woordenboek voor de Zeevaart in het Hollandsch-Maleisch-Fransch-Engelsch met verklarenden Hollandschen tekst, ten dienste van zeevarenden, die de Indische wateren bezoeken,* despite its title*,* illustrates the fading of Malay nautical terminology into this much more cosmopolitan lingua franca now used aboard ships (Hoogervorst 2018).[64] By then the "real seafaring" Malays so admired by John Crawfurd were marginalized and largely cut off from those activities that had essentially participated into the earlier forging of their identity, when their shipping abilities and practices were prominent.

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64. See Roebuck's (1811) *Laskari Dictionary.* The famous *Hobson-Jobson* glossary by Yule and Burnell (1903) also provides a large array of such *laskari* terms.

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Roderich Ptak *

Cassowary, Ostrich, Rhea: Questions and Suggestions Related to the ema in Portuguese and Chinese Texts of the 16th and 17th Centuries

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The present article links to several of my earlier studies dealing with traditional Chinese sources that contain names for birds imported from other countries.[1] Among the names discussed in these works are some combinations with the element "camel", namely *tuoji* 駝雞 (lit. "camel fowl"), *tuoniao* 駝鳥, *luotuoniao* 駱駝鳥 ("camel bird"), *luotuohe* 駱駝鶴 ("camel crane"), etc. In these terms the character 駝 often appears with the bird radical as 鴕. They usually designate the ostrich, also called *dajue* 大爵, *da*(*ma*)*que* 大(馬) 雀 etc. in early Chinese sources, but some ancient descriptions of that bird carry fictitious elements and are zoologically distorted. A further term, *huoji* 火雞 (lit. "fire fowl"), is likely to stand for a "related" bird under the *Palaeognathae*, namely one of the cassowaries. Yet, in some cases *huoji* points to a very different "fowl" with an unclear identity. Moreover, today *huoji* is a common name for the turkey. A third term, *ema* 厄蓞(馬) / *nima* 尼蓞(馬), raises further problems. One finds it in Jesuit sources. It may remind readers of the Australian emu, but it also served as a name for the cassowary, and one can even link it to the American rhea, as we shall see below. The present note mostly deals with the term *ema* and its derivates, i.e., with the cassowary option; in that sense its scope is very limited. A thorough analysis of all traditional Chinese terms standing for cassowaries, ostriches and rheas

* Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich. My thanks go to Claudine Salmon for commenting on my article prior to its publication.

1. See Ptak 2010: 127-131, 135-138; Ptak 2011: 124-126; Ptak 2012a: 201-207.

would easily fill a major monograph. Moreover, there is a time frame: the focus will be on sources of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and especially on Chinese and some early Portuguese texts, which also carry the name *ema* (and similar forms). The principal idea is to add a few observations to the ongoing discussion in the broad field of cultural zoology.

There are, as a matter of fact, many studies and internet entries on the cultural history of and names used for all these birds. This includes a number of excellent articles in Chinese. For the present note I selected only some material from a multitude of modern sources. A careful reading of this material reveals that scholars still hold divergent views regarding certain details. The most vexatious issue remains the question of names. Indeed, until today, the origin of the Chinese forms *ema* / *nima* is an open point and it still seems impossible to solve that question in a satisfactory way. Put differently, all I can offer here is a few suggestions concerning the possible circulation of these names. This involves some guesswork and also raising additional questions. In that sense the present note provides nothing that one may consider as being truly definite.

II

To begin with, we may turn to a different term: *fanji* 番雞 (literally "foreign fowl"). Zhou Yunzhong cites a poem by Liu Xia 劉夏 (1314–1370), which describes that bird. From the descriptive elements in the poem Zhou concludes that this was an imported cassowary belonging to the *Casuaridae* family. Such birds now bear the name *hetuo* 鶴鴕(駝).[2] Zhou also quotes various Ming records which mention the *huoji*, underlining that most of these references would point to the *Casuaridae* as well. However, it remains difficult to determine which species they really meant.

Liu Xia's poem puts us at the period of transition from Yuan to Ming. We do not know the details surrounding the acquisition of the *fanji*, but if this really was a cassowary, it probably came directly from one of the islands in what is now eastern Indonesia, or it reached China through some intermediary specialized in buying and selling "exotic" birds via the ports of Java and / or other locations.

Presumably, in those days (as in our own times) the habitat of cassowaries included Ceram, New Guinea and several nearby islands, as well as some sections of northeastern Australia. It is rather unlikely, but perhaps not completely impossible, that cassowaries also belonged to the fauna of locations

2. Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 379-381. – The combination *hetuo* should not be confused with the *tuohe* 駝鶴, which, according to the *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, stands for the pelican, or *tihu* 鵜鶘. See Li Shizhen 1990, II, j. 47: 2562; Read 1977: 10 no. 251.

farther to the west. Regarding trade routes, we may safely assume that during the fourteenth century Chinese merchants regularly visited the coastal regions of Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and also, albeit less frequently, the Moluccan Islands and Timor. So, there are many options for an interpretation of the *fanji* story. Quite strangely, however, later sources rarely use that term.

Much has been written on the many known references to imported *huoji* birds and ostriches.[3] One famous description of that animal comes from the chapter on Jiugang 舊港 ("Old Port", i.e. Palembang) in Ma Huan's 馬歡 *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 (1433). Several scholars believe this text refers to *Casuarius casuarius*, the southern cassowary. Other sources link the *huoji* to Melaka.[4] In a number of cases they tell us that *huoji* birds would eat burning coal and iron. Hence the alternative name *shihuoji* 食火雞 (literally "fire-eating fowl"). These narrative elements remind of old descriptions related to the ostrich (and, in fact, of this bird's capacity to ingest stones needed to crush food in its stomach). They appear in many early texts all across Eurasia and, for some reason, have found their way into Chinese descriptions of the "fire fowl".[5] Indeed, perhaps the name *huoji* derives from the ostrich lore, but it is no longer possible to reconstruct all the details.

Here one could also quote the *Ming shilu* 明實錄, which tells us that several tribute missions brought *huoji* birds to China during the Ming period. There is no need to repeat all the details.[6] One may just wonder why the Chinese would

3. Among the more recent Chinese contributions are: Wang Ting 2005, esp. 43-46; Zhou Yunzhong 2011, 308-311; Zou Zhenhuan 2016: 156-157; Zou Zhenhuan 2019: 60-61. Several additional works are mentioned in the notes below. Wang's article, one may add, is an authoritative study, which mainly deals with the ostrich. It quotes many traditional sources and discusses various old names.

4. See Ma Huan / Wan Ming 2018: main text, 28-29 and notes; Mills 1970: 101 and notes. See also, for example, Wang Ting 2005: 46-47; Zhang Zhijie 2006: 8 (254); Ptak 2012a: 203-204. – Interestingly, Guo Fu et al. 1999: 431, thought that Ma Huan would refer to turkeys, believing these animals had arrived to Southeast Asia already in the fifteenth century (Guo Fu's book forms part of the Needham series). However, Ma Huan belongs to the pre-Columbian era, and modern scholarship usually assumes that the first turkeys reached the old world *after* the 'discovery' of the Americas.

5. Herodot knew the ostrich. Plinius provides a long description. Much later, in the sixteenth century, Conrad Gesner, Olaus Magnus and others also offer details on this bird. There are hundreds of studies on all that. For an early summary of relevant references, see Keller 1913: 166-175. A more recent example: Lunczer 2009: esp. p. 119. For the ostrich in the bible, another field of study, see the recent survey by Robert 2020: esp. 69-70. – For the presentation of "exotic" animals in early Portuguese material, see, for example, Costa 2009: esp. 70. For a more comprehensive view, see the collection Ferronha et al. 1993. For suggestions regarding the ostrich in medieval sources, especially in the Islamic world, see, for example, Masseti and Veracini 2016: esp. 45-46.

6. Java, Melaka and Srivijaya sent *huoji*. For details, see *Ming shilu*, Taizu: 1274 (j. 68, 2b), 1879 (j. 114, 4a); Yingzong: 2770 (j. 140, 1b), 5008 (j. 229, 5b); Xianzong: 2624-2625 (j. 141, 2b-3a); Wade 1994, II: 28, 59-60; V: 1430, 1542; VI: 1670.

import these creatures. Was it because of their legendary capacity to swallow fiery things or simply because these were fierce animals? Were people in the Imperial Court eager to witness the "strange behaviour" of the "fire fowl"? Probably we shall never know.

However, one small aspect deserves a brief comment. There are several editions of the *Yingya shenglan*. According to Wan Ming, the earliest extant *chaoben* 鈔本 of that book, the so-called Yi hai hui han 藝海彙函 version, says the appearance of the *huoji* would be like that of a *shanji* 山鷄, literally "mountain fowl", or perhaps in a broader sense "wild fowl". Furthermore: "By its [very] nature it is fond of [things being] burned and cauterized" (其性好烘灸).[7] However, the text does not say that the *huoji* would swallow fiery matter. This element only appears in later versions of the *Yingya shenglan.* These versions also leave out the term *shanji*.[8] That term, one may add, is unclear and perhaps it was for this reason that later editors decided to ignore it. All this leads to a curious question: How close is the Yi hai hui han version to the original text written by Ma Huan? Could it be that Ma Huan had described a bird similar to a *shanji*, and that most or all the other narrative elements were added later? If so, then Ma Huan may not have referred to a huge southern cassowary, but to another, unknown creature, or perhaps, as will be suggested later, to the smallest kind of all cassowaries, namely Bennett's cassowary (*C. bennetti*).

Several authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also mention the *huoji*. Essentially, they mix up things and in some cases they even associate that bird with Melaka, claiming it would come from there. Examples are found in *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* 西洋朝貢典錄 (1520), *Hai yu* 海語 (1536), *Shuyu zhou zi lu* 殊域周咨錄 (1574), and other sources. Usually, these texts do not mention the terms *shanji* and *ema* / *nima*, while they "confirm" the *huoji's* monstrous appetite for iron and burning coal. Most scholars have accepted these descriptions as further references to imported cassowaries, brought via Melaka or other locations to China. Nevertheless, the question remains, whether, originally, the term *huoji* really stood for the cassowary.[9]

Some later sources repeat earlier information on tribute missions. One example is in Guangdong *xinyu* 廣東新語. See Qu Dajun 1975, j. 15: 430. That source also contains a description of the *huoji*, but this description cannot refer to a cassowary; see j. 20, p. 523.

7. Ma Huan / Wan Ming 2018: introduction, esp. 32, 50 (about the Yi hai hui han version), main text 195 (quotation).

8. See references in note 4, above.

9. See, for example, Wang Ting 2005: esp. 43-44; Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 382-385. The last work repeats some information contained in Zhou 2011. For the *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* also see: Sonnendecker 2005: 54 and n. 247; Huang Xingzeng / Xie Fang 1982, j. *shang*: 35. For the *Hai yu* and its many editions: Papelitzky 2019. For that text: Huang Zhong, j. *zhong*: 7b (p. 594-125). For the *Shuyu zhou zi lu*: several sections in Papelitzky 2020. For the text: Yan Congjian / Yu Sili 2000, j. 8: 289. For other uses of

III

The name *ema* leads to a different set of questions. First, it also occurs in several early European sources. Dutch, German and other texts of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contain it in different orthographic forms, and we can be certain that it referred to the cassowary. There even is pictorial evidence, because the Dutch brought one live bird to Europe, where this unknown creature aroused much curiosity and inspired others to depict it in the form of engravings. Some of these illustrations are not very correct, mainly because they do not show the bird's bony crest, but the Flemish natural historian Carolus Clusius (1526–1609) provided all the relevant details and this allows us to say that he had drawn a so-called southern cassowary, also called double-wattled cassowary in English (*C. casuarius*).[10]

When the Dutch acquired their *emeu* (a frequently encountered spelling) in Banten, people told them this bird had come from Banda. The Banda Islands are small and do not provide the kind of natural environment suitable for cassowaries. Therefore, scholars have assumed that the "Dutch" specimen had originally travelled from another island to Banda, then to Java, and finally to Europe. All this relates to the final years of the sixteenth century and the first few years of the seventeenth century.[11] Wild cassowaries, one may add, can live up to twenty years; in captivity they can live even longer.

Much earlier than the Dutch, the Portuguese had reached the Malay world. They also used the term *ema*, but whether they picked it up in the Moluccan world or in a different location, remains an open point. According to Sebastião Dalgado the name derives from the Moluccan *emeu* / *eme*, but he gives no further specifications. One may add, *emas* means "gold" / "golden" in several languages of Indonesia, and *C. casuarius* is locally known as the *Kasuari leher emas*, or "golden neck cassowary". However, whether such a complex name was already current in the sixteenth century and whether there is some kind of relation between the Portuguese *ema* and *emas* (gold) is not clear.[12]

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the name *huoji*, i.e., not for cassowaries, see Ptak and Hu 2015, especially entry 30.

10. For the details, see Lai Yuzhi 2011. Here I used the English translation. See Lai Yuzhi 2013: esp. 32 et seq. (on Clusius; the relevant image appears on p. 36). Generally, Lai quotes from many old sources and reproduces much pictorial evidence. – Phonetic and other factors determined the emergence of different forms for the term *ema* inside Europe, but that is of no concern here.

11. Several studies in English address the origin of such names as *ema*, *emeu*, *emu*, etc. Usually they pay no attention to Portuguese and Chinese sources. An old work is McClymont 1920: the chapter called "The Etymology of the Name 'Emu'". A modern note, written for a broader audience, is on https://steemit.com/cassowary/@tropictopics/the-southern-cassowary-what-s-in-a-name (accessed 15 August 2021). Its title is: "The Southern Cassowary. What's in a Name?"

12. Walter Rothschild, whose study on cassowaries is among the first "modern"

Nor can we tell how the Moluccans really handled things in those days and why the Europeans decided to use the term *ema* for that bird. Whichever applies, Dalgado also argued that other scholars wrongly suggested an Arabic source for the Portuguese name *ema*. Besides that, he cites several texts which contain words like *ema* / *hema* / *emeu*, etc. Here we must look at one or two of these works.

One key text is the *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509? – 1583).[13] Pinto, we all know, travelled through many parts of East and Southeast Asia. His book is a curious mixture of real and imagined elements related to the geography, history, social and other aspects of these regions. The tricky part is that he wrote his account in the 1570s, while it only went to press in 1614. Therefore, one cannot tell to what extent the editor changed the original manuscript.

The matter deserves brief explanations, because it involves further questions. To begin with, chapter 97 of Pinto's account contains a list of animals, which includes the term *ema*s, in the plural form. The chapter begins by mentioning a large city called Junqinilau, a name that, until now, has resisted a satisfactory identification.[14] Proceeding from that city, along a long waterway, one sees hundreds of ships and all kinds of impressive buildings, huge herds of cattle, and so on. Later on, the text turns to the segment that connects Nanjing to Beijing, evidently the Great Canal. Here again, along the route, one encounters many interesting things and especially all kinds of warehouses. Throughout that chapter, as indeed in so many other parts of his book, Pinto intentionally inflates the details of what he claims to have seen. Among other things he tells readers that many places were preparing meat taken from all kinds of animals. The list of animals includes such birds as the *ema*. Most remarkably, translators have dealt with that term in different ways. Usually they took it as a reference to the "ostrich", but occasionally one also finds the version "cassowary".[15] Without

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zoological works on these birds, records the name *suwari*, saying, "it is not certain if this is a local name on Ceram, or, what is more likely, a word used for all Cassowaries… and of Papuan origin". See Rothschild 1900: 114. – There are some modern studies on Portuguese words of Malay origin, for example by Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, but they were of little help for the present article; so, I do not list them here. – For doubts regarding a possible relation between *ema* and *ema*s, see also note 35 below.

13. Dalgado 1988, I: 376-377. Among those scholars who saw a link between the name *ema* and an Arabic form is Fr. João de Sousa. See Sousa 1789: 96-97 (there: *neâma,* نعامة , now transcribed *naʿāma*).

14. For the text, see Alves 2010: II (text volume), 317. For Junqilinau, see Jin Guoping 1999, I: 284 n. 1. Jin reminds us of the fact that some scholars read the name Junqinilau as *yunchuan nei lu* 運船內路 (roughly: "domestic shipping route"), while others thought it would stand for the large city called Tianjin. Additional explanations in Médard 1935: 232-233.

15. Jin Guoping 1999, I: 283; Catz 1989: 192; Cogan 1891: 200 (ostrich); Viale 1991: 364 (cassowary). An old German translation, to mention one further example,

doubt, ostriches provide fine meat, and several countries are now involved in "ostrich farming", but to my knowledge there is no historical source of the Ming period that confirms the consumption of such meat in China. The same applies to cassowaries. There is evidence for the consumption of cassowary meat in New Guinea, but not in Ming-China.[16]

Moreover, it is impossible to decide whether Pinto's *ema* refers to the ostrich or the cassowary. The reason is very simple: The terms *ema*, *emeu*, etc. must have circulated to Portugal in the course of the sixteenth century, probably even much before Pinto's times. Portuguese authors then began using them for the ostrich. One famous example, quoted by Dalgado, is the account of eastern Ethiopia by the Dominican João dos Santos. This book, dated 1609, contains a long paragraph on the African *ema*s, or ostriches. The details sound familiar: Among other things, we read, the *ema*s had hot stomachs, which enabled them to devour stones, iron, etc.[17]

Although the term *ema* was around in sixteenth-century Portugal, we can no longer tell when exactly and under which circumstances the Portuguese had imported it. The fact that it surfaced before the printing of Pinto's book could imply that the editor of the *Peregrinação* had added the term to the original manuscript, believing the *ema* would be an ostrich and readers would know the exotic nature of this creature. Alternatively, it could also mean that Pinto himself had first heard of the *ema* in Lisbon, after his return from Asia. The third possibility is that he had indeed seen a cassowary in Asia, or had heard of it during his voyages. Hence, the translation "cassowary" could be correct as well.

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has "Straußen". The segmentation of that text differs from the segmentation of the Portuguese version. See *Wunderliche und Merckwürdige Reysen* 1671: ch. 27, p. 171.

16. Many modern works refer to the role of cassowaries in the cultures and legends of New Guinea and to local consumption of cassowary meat. Probably traditional cuisines included the meat of these birds from early times onwards. Scattered references to cassowaries in the cultures of Melanesia and New Guinea may already be found in Clarke 1971 and Winslow 1977: esp. 22-24, 289-291, 293-302. An interesting, more recent case study is Coffier 2007: 258 et seq. (also note the term *amia* on p. 262). – Regarding Ming-China, Li Shizhen quotes several pre-Ming sources, but he does not refer to the regular consumption of ostriches / cassowaries in his times; he only says that eating *tuoniao* (meat) would help humans to digest iron and stones in case they had erroneously swallowed these. Apparently, this idea goes back to Tang times. Chen Zangqi's 陳藏器 reconstructed *bencao* 本草 text has a related entry on that. See Li Shizhen 1990, II, j. 49: 2669-2670; Read 1977: 79-80, no. 310; Chen Zangqi / Na Qi et al. 1988: 192 (*qin bu* 禽部, no. 630). One may add: Li Shizhen also quotes from the work by Zheng Xiao 鄭曉 (dated 1564). See there, j. *shang*, 30b (p. 703). For modern comments on this, see Zhou Yunzhong 2011: 310; Zhou Yunzhong 2013: 385.

17. Santos 1609, Liv. 4, Cap. VIIII: 134; Liv. 5, Cap. XVI: 134. The relevant part reads: "*Neste deserto se crião grandissimas aues, a q̃ chamão Emas, as quaes tem um estomago tão calido, que gastão, & esmoem pedras, & e ferro…*"

IV

I was unable to find earlier references to the *ema* / *emeu* in Portuguese accounts related to Southeast or East Asia, or in other early documents, but I am almost certain that a thorough search should lead to some positive result.[18] As mentioned above, the further sources listed by Dalgado are all of the seventeenth century; they do not help us to solve the issue. However, at this point another aspect comes in: Some scholars tell us the name *ema* was also used for the American rhea, a "cousin" of both the ostrich and the Australian emu. We may leave aside the emu because in the early sixteenth century Australia was still a *terra* (quasi) *incognita* (although early Portuguese and other sailors certainly went to some coastal segments of that continent).[19]

The rhea is a very different matter. Zoologists distinguish several subspecies. Their habitat extends from Argentina and Uruguay into many parts of Brazil. This includes some of the coastal zones. Hence, the Portuguese must have sighted these birds during their first voyages to the American continent. The interesting thing is that they called them *ema*. Until today that name is still current in Brazil. Modern dictionaries say the name comes from the Moluccan Islands.[20] Other names for the rhea – for example, *nandu*, *guaripé*, *xuri*, etc. – derive from local languages such as Tupi.

Again, it is not clear when and how the name *ema* (or its derivatives) had reached Brazil, or started to be used for the rhea, more generally. One early source is the *História da Província Santa Cruz* by Pero de Magalhães Gândavo (c. 1540 – c. 1580). This famous book, published in 1576, uses the version *héma* for the rhea.[21] However, in the course of time scholars in the Portuguese

18. My thanks go to Rui M. Loureiro for having informed me about a brief reference to the cassowary in Galvão's *Tratado dos descobrimentos* (See Galvão 1987: 153 and n. 7 there). The original edition of that text is dated 1563. This is a little earlier than Pinto's account. However, the *Tratado* does not mention the name *ema*. Here is the Portuguese text of the relevant segment in the version of 1987, which refers to the Papua region and / or the Moluccan Islands: "*Ha aq̃ hũa ave do tamanho dhũ grou, nã voa nẽ tẽ penas pa isso, corre a pé como hũ veado, das penas delles fazẽ cabellos pa seus ydolos…*" Also see Loureiro 2008a: 55.

19. There is much literature on such early contacts. See, for example, Thomaz 2013.

20. One example is in Ferreira 1986: 628.

21. See Gandauo 1576: 27: "*Chamanſe Hémas, as quaes teram tanta carne co- | mo hũ grande carneiro, & tem as pernas tam grandes q̃ | ſam quaſi ate os encõtros das aſas da altura de hũ homẽ. | O pescoço he muy comprido em extremo, & tem a ca- | beça nem mais nẽ menos como de pata: ſam pardas, brã | cas & pretas, & variadas pelo corpo de hũas pennas mui | fermoſas que cá entre nós coſtumão ſeruir nas gorras & | chapeos de peſſoas galantes & que profeſſam a arte mi | litar. Eſtas aues paſcem heruas como qualquer outro a | nimal do campo, & nunqua ſe leuantam da terra, nem | voão como as outras, ſomente abrem as aſas & cõ ellas | vão ferindo o ar ao longo da mesma terra: & aſsi nũqua | andam ſenam em campinas onde ſe achem deſempedi*

speaking world began looking at the matter more carefully. They concluded that it would be wrong to identify the rhea with the *ema*, or the ostrich. There is, for example, a long discussion by Raphael Bluteau (1638–1734), who deals with that question. His *Vocabulario*, quoting earlier work, including Clusius, makes a clear distinction between the *nhanduguaco* (rhea) and the *ema*. It also criticizes Ulysses (Ulisse) Aldrovandi (1522–1605) for wrongly stating that the Spanish and Portuguese would identify the *ema* with the crane (Port. *grou;* Span. *grulla*, *gruz*).[22] According to Bluteau such an identification was never made.[23]

Here we should return to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Among the very early travelers to South America was Fernão Magalhães (1480–1521), a Portuguese, but at that time serving the Spanish. Pigafetta (ca. 1492–1524), his chronicler, reports the crew sighted "ostriches" in Patagonia. The Milan version of Pigafetta's account uses the term *struzzi* for these rheas.[24] However, perhaps Magalhães himself called them *ema*s. There is a "biographical" reason for this vague possibility: Before working for the Spanish side, Magalhães had been in Asia, for the Portuguese. In 1511 he participated in the conquest of Melaka. Among his friends was a certain Francisco Serrão, who later went to the Moluccan Islands and married an Ambonese wife, while Magalhães returned to Europe, accompanied by a servant from Sumatra. One may thus ask: Did he pick up the term *ema* in Melaka or some other Southeast Asian location, directly or through one of his friends, before sailing to the Americas and through the Pacific Ocean? Was he among the ones who, using it for both the ostrich and the rhea, contributed to the later circulation of that term in the Iberian world, especially in Brazilian contexts? Finally, did Pigafetta, accustomed to different traditions, decide to use the Italian *struzzo* in lieu of *ema*?

Probably there will be no answers to all these questions and they may even sound superfluous and somewhat far-fetched. Nevertheless, it is not totally impossible that there is some kind of "linguistic bridge" between the *ema* / cassowary and the rhea via Magalhães, based on the assumption that early observers and authors often were unable to make clear distinctions between different species and their characteristics.

| *das de matos & aruoredos, pera juntamente poderem* | *correr & voar da maneira que digo.*"

22. Bluteau 1713: 34-35; Aldrovandi 1599–1603, III, Lib. XX: 327.

23. However, quite strangely, some early authors mention the *grou* together with the *ema* when listing different birds in one and the same sentence. Examples are in the works by Pinto (see above) and Santos 1609, p. 113. Another vague reference appears in the work by António Galvão (see note 18 above). Occasionally, Chinese texts also compare the crane with the cassowary. Indeed, perhaps cranes and cassowaries / ostriches look similar at first sight, but is that the only reason for listing them together?

24. Amoretti 1800: 34; Alderley 1964: 56, 63. Also, see, for example, Asúa and French 2005: 23 and n. 88. Pigafetta's account contains an early vocabulary, which has been the object of some research. It is among a series of similar linguistic documents. Recently, for the Malay / Southeast Asian context, see, for example, Salmon 2019: esp. 21.

V

Following these "speculative" excursions, we should again focus on Southeast Asia and the Chinese terms. As mentioned above, many authors think the "Portuguese" name *(h)ema* (and its equivalents in other languages: *eme*, *emeu*, *emoe*, etc.) comes from the Moluccan world. Some scholars even believe that it derives from the sounds uttered by the cassowaries. Li Zhaoliang (Lee Siu Leung) provides a somewhat far-fetched and complicated suggestion for that: His starting point is the character *ma* 蟇 in the combination *ema* 厄蟇 (*nima* 尼蟇) found on the world map of Matteo Ricci (Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610), to which I shall get back farther below. Quoting the *Kangxi cidian* 康熙字典, Li Zhaoliang says, one can replace the character 蟇 by the homophonous 蟆. However, in Cantonese, this second *ma* would give *mo*, and the combination 厄蟆 should then read *akmo*. Both these syllables would imitate the cassowaries' voices, while the Mandarin reading *ema* would be much less apt for such an explanation. Li's conclusion is that the Portuguese form *ema* derives from the northern reading, and not from the Cantonese version. He also claims that those authors who called the cassowries *ema* had never seen or heard these creatures; otherwise they would have called them differently.[25]

This courageous thesis suggests that the Chinese name came first, while the Portuguese *ema* only emerged later, based on a Chinese version.[26] However, there are some weak points. First, it seems difficult to relate the rumbling sounds made by cassowaries to the combinations *ema* / *nima*, etc. Second, according to some dictionaries, the character 蟆 also reads *ma* in Cantonese, and not only *mo*. Third, regarding 蟇, most vocabularies offer no Cantonese pronunciation for that character.[27] Fourth, in Hokkien, the combination 厄蟇 gives *iakma* and the alternative form 厄馬, mentioned in the introduction to the present article, is phonetically very similar to that. So, then, if the Chinese names really derived from the birds' voices, as suggested by Li, one may also think of the Hokkien option, all the more so because the merchants and sailors of South Fujian were probably much more active in Southeast Asia than those from Guangdong.

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25. Li Zhaoliang 2012, 74-77. Recently also Zou Zhenhuan 2015: 315.

26. Li Zhaoliang, one should perhaps add, is among those who think that China discovered Australia and other parts of the world in early times. He published several studies on that and also subjected Ricci's world map to unusual interpretations. See especially Li Zhaoliang 2021. This is not the place to comment on such ideas, some of which remind of Gavin Mencies' absurd theories. – Another work dealing with early China and Australia is Liao Dake 1999. Although this is a serious study, many details addressed by Liao remain debatable. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that Chinese geographers had heard about the existence of a major land beyond Timor.

27. See, for example, Cowles 1965: 207 蛤蟆 (*ha-ma* [*mo*]), part II; 210 蟆 (only *ma*). The character 蟇 and the combinations *akma/mo* do not appear in that work.

Regarding the Portuguese names – yes, the initial vowel is not followed by a *-k* sound. That could point to some phonetic relation between "Mandarin" *ema* and the Portuguese term. However, Li Zhaoliang does not seem to be interested in Dalgado's findings and quotations. In fact, the "Portuguese" name *ema* (plus derivatives) seems to appear earlier than the Chinese combinations, at least in textual sources.[28] Also, Li does not say why and when the Chinese began using the term *ema* – if that name really became an alternative form for the older combinations *huoji* and *shihuoji* (provided, of course, that both stood for cassowaries).

There are many more question one may raise in that context: Could it be that Ming-scholars continued to prefer the familiar combination *huoji*? Was *ema* some kind of popular name or a local term mainly used by Hokkien and / or Cantonese speakers? May we argue that with the rise of trans-Pacific traffic Chinese literati became increasingly aware of the turkey, which they started calling *huoji*? In other words, can one relate the emergence of a new Chinese term – *ema* – to a semantic shift behind the old term *huoji*?

At present, it seems difficult to find appropriate answers to all these questions. The same may be said in regard to another invention: At some point in time, when people found out that Australia had its own "ostriches" and that these birds were different from cassowaries, a proper Chinese name had to be invented for the former. This led to the creation of a new combination, namely *ermiao* 鴯鶓, for the emu. However, I shall leave that aside, because the focus of the present note is on the term *ema* in textual sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and not on the emus and later names for this bird.

So, then, we may now take a closer look at Ricci and his world map, i.e., the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖, briefly mentioned above. Ricci entered China in the late sixteenth century. He prepared his map with the assistance of Chinese friends and colleagues, using European and Chinese material. This work started before 1600, i.e., at a time when the term *ema* had already become current in the Iberian world, while it just began entering Northwest Europe via the Dutch. In other words, when Ricci was working on his map, trying to identify and locate toponyms, he mostly relied on material originating from southern Europe and various Chinese sources.

The matter may not be unimportant because his world map bears a colophon, which shows the Chinese "equivalent" for the Portuguese *ema*. This could be the earliest Chinese text recording that name. The colophon appears near the east side of the Malayan Peninsula, close to the modern border between Thailand and Malaysia. Here is the description it contains:[29]

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28. Indirectly this is confirmed through Reis 2020, who does not list *ema* in his lexicon. This recent study discusses Portuguese terms derived from Chinese found in Dalgado's *Glossário*.

29. See, for example, Huang Shijian and Gong Yingyan 2004: appendix, plate 29, F3;

> From Dani comes a very large bird called *nima*. It has wings, [but] cannot fly. Its feet are like [those of] horses, [and when] running at full speed, horses cannot follow it. One can use its feathers [to adorn] helmets. Its eggs are also thick and large; one can use them as cups. Bolu has especially many [of such birds]. 大泥出極大之鳥，名爲尼蠃。有翅不能飛。其足如馬，行最速，馬不能及。羽可爲盔纓。？亦厚大，可爲杯。孛露國尤多。

There is one tricky point regarding this quotation. Some authors, when citing Ricci's text, give *ema* 厄蠃 in lieu of *nima* 尼蠃 (first character *nei* in Cantonese, hence presumably *neima* in that idiom). Graphically both *e* and *ni* are very similar and usually scholars consider the character *ni* as an error for *e*, especially as the coloured version of the Ricci map in the Tōhoku Daigaku 東北大学 has *e*.[30] Regarding the toponym Dani, this normally stands for Patani (in Portuguese texts: Patane) on the Malayan east coast, but there are also some exceptions, as we shall see below. *Kuiying* can mean "helmet and tassel" (or throat-band / silken adornment); here I simply used the version "helmet". One character in the text, represented by a question mark, is not clearly legible. Other versions of the map have *dan* 膽, but some scholars think this should be replaced by 蛋, "eggs", which seems more suitable. Bolu is Peru. On the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* this name also appears on the west side of South America.

What then does the colophon tell us? First, the description of the *nima* / *ema* is similar to descriptions of the ostrich in later Sino-Jesuit works and also in texts current in sixteenth-century Europe.[31] No doubt, Ricci had access to some of these sources. That certainly included works with references to the American rhea, then frequently called *(h)ema*, as we know from Pero de Magalhães Gândavo, quoted above.[32] However, there is one problem: Most rheas are found on the east side of South America. Their distribution across Peru seems restricted to a few remote highland regions. Moreover, the natural habitat of these birds is very different from the hot and humid tropical forest zones in the Patani region. Therefore, Ricci's association of *ema* / *nima* birds with Peru is not optimal.

Next, some scholars have argued Ricci referred to cassowaries, but confused them with rheas and ostriches. Of course, that is possible. Contemporary

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D'Elia 1938: tavola XV and tavola XVI, sections B / h + i.

30. A related explanation is in Ai Rulüe / Xie Fang 1996, j. 4: 125-126 n. 5. Ai Rulüe 艾儒略 is the Chinese name of Giulio Aleni (1582–1649). For the coloured Ricci map, see, for example, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Matteo_Ricci_Far_East_1602_Larger.jpg (accessed 29.08.2021). Several other versions of the Ricci map are electronically accessible.

31. An early study is Walravens 1972: 230.

32. Giulio Aleni also mentions the *ema*, written 厄馬, in the context of Peru (see Ai Rulüe / Xie Fang 1996, j. 4: 123, 125-126 n. 5; Guilio Aleni / Paulo De Troia 2009: 155), which could be an argument in favour of the suggestion that *ema* 厄蠃 (and not *nima*) should be the correct reading for the term on Ricci's map.

European accounts make no clear distinction between these species and Ricci certainly had no possibility to find out the relevant details when he used European material for his map.

However, what motivated him to associate the *nima* / *ema* with Patani? Could there be a link between the name Bolu (Peru) and the old Chinese toponym Poluo 婆羅 usually thought to stand for Borneo / Brunei? Bolu and Poluo are phonetically similar. Moreover, scholars repeatedly pointed out that there is some confusion in Ming texts between Dani and Boni 勃(淳)泥(尼) / Foni 佛泥(坭), another name for Borneo / Kalimantan.[33] Was Ricci confused about the issue? He transcribes the name Borneo as Boernihe 波尔匿何, but mentions the traditional Chinese name 淳泥 in another colophon. Moreover, he distorted the shape of Borneo, moved it somewhat to the north, and placed the description of the *ema* almost halfway between the northwestern section of that island and continental Dani. Hence, we may ask: Did the geographical ambiguities and "proximity" of both areas encourage him – or perhaps his Chinese friends – to choose such an unusual arrangement?

Whichever applies, it is quite certain that in Ricci's times, and even before that, ostriches and cassowaries did not belong to the fauna of Kalimantan and Patani or, more generally, to the fauna of the Malayan Peninsula. Therefore, Li Zhaoliang is wrong in stating that cassowaries were at home on the peninsula, in areas much to the west of Wallace line.[34]

VI

Here one may turn to a set of different questions. As addressed above, in chapter III, the term *kasuari* (*kesuari*) appears in texts from the seventeenth century onwards. Probably it was already current at the time when the combination *ema* / *emeu* etc. began entering Portuguese texts. Why, then, had the Portuguese not chosen the form *kasuari* for these birds? When they first reached Ternate, Tidore, Halmahera, Ceram, Ambon and the Banda Islands in the early sixteenth century, they probably heard of cassowaries through local informants. Perhaps they even saw some live birds offered for trade, or in the dense forests of Ceram, known for its population of *C. casuarius*. We may thus ask: Is it possible that the early Portuguese reduced a rather complex local name for that animal to the form *ema(*s*)* because they were familiar with the word for "gold", while the term *kasuari* was alien to them? Did such a reduction, if it really took place, show appreciation for the appearance

33. See, for example, Chen Jiarong et al. 1986: 135, 732, 917-918. For studies on Borneo (and Brunei) in Chinese texts, see, for example, Wade 1986, esp. 29; Kurz 2014a: esp. 12, 21-24. Further articles by the same author: Kurz 2011, 2013 and 2014b.

34. Li Zhaoliang 2012: 74.

of cassowaries? Should we even search for some link between the bird and the legend of Pulau Mas / Pulau Emas / Suvarṅadvīpa, the "Island of Gold", which appears in many sources? Had all this led to the name 厄嚢, via some intermediary step?[35]

Chinese texts of the fifteenth century, when referring to imported *huoji*, associate these animals with Java, Palembang and locations far away from the Moluccan world. The early Portuguese were in constant touch with Java and Sumatra as well, but probably they were more interested in the clove growing islands of the North Moluccas. Also, there is evidence for some Portuguese navigators sailing "beyond" the Moluccan world, through the Pacific waters near New Guinea. Finally, when Portuguese ships would return from Ternate and Tidore to Melaka, they would use the route by way of Ambon. Due to the pattern of seasonal winds in those regions, they had to stay on that island for some time before being able to continue their voyage.[36] Ambon, we know, has been brought into connection with cassowaries. May we consider all that as a set of arguments in support of the hypothesis that the Portuguese had seen these birds at an early point in time, and that the word *ema* came "directly" from some part of "Eastern Indonesia"?

The matter must be treated carefully, for at this point one could even revive the old, but disputed idea that the name *ema* originated from an Arabic term, quite in contrast to what Dalgado had suggested. Several parts of what is now Indonesia, including the Moluccan Islands, were in touch with the Islamic world before the arrival of the Portuguese. In fact, the Islamic network(s) extended from Morocco in the "Far West" to the Philippines in the Far East. This makes it possible, at least in theory, that merchants using the Arabic language picked up the name in question somewhere in Southeast Asia or elsewhere and then passed it on to the Portuguese, who changed it to *ema*.

Of course, in that context one could formulate several other hypotheses: For instance, while Fernão Mendes Pinto used the term *ema* (or *emas*, related to gold?), Ricci preferred the form *nima* (Cantonese *neima*) which is close to the version *neâma* (and similar transcriptions) used by Portuguese authors for the Arabic name. Earlier we had mentioned João de Sousa's work as an example. If that assumption would be correct, there would be no need to replace the combination *nima* on Ricci's map by the term *ema*. In fact, one might then

35. Here one may think of Manuel Godinho de Erédia (1563–1623) and his work on the Golden Khersonese (originally 1598–1600). See, for example, Loureiro (ed.), 2008b: 89-91, 115-116. Also see Thomaz 2013: 68 et seq., 120 et seq.; Pessanha 2018: esp. 174-179. On the other hand, the current pronunciation of *emas* (gold) [*əmas*] is somewhat different from the Portuguese reading of the sequence *emas*. This could be an argument against a possible relation between *ema* and *emas*.

36. Several scholars have discussed all this and, more importantly, early Portuguese sailing to the coasts of Australia. See Thomaz 2013. Regarding Ambon, see for example, Gabriel Rebelo's account (1561), published in Sá 1954-1958, III: 288-289.

even argue, Ricci deliberately wanted to distinguish the bird in question from the *ema*, i.e., the American rhea. However, if so, on what source did Ricci rely when creating the version *nima*? Another possibility relates to the early Spanish voyages across the Pacific, mentioned above: Could it be that Fernão Magalhães and his crew became involved in the dissemination of the expression *ema* or had something to do with the use of the Arabic version? Although one can not totally exclude all these options, they seem unlikely to me.

Therefore, to continue our discussion, we should better return to the version *ema*, assuming that Ricci had in mind to use that name. Here, then, we must still consider the issue of species. Should we simply treat the word *ema* as a generic term for various ratites and brush aside all the complicated questions raised above? Or should we argue that, in Southeast and East Asia, it stood for just one type of cassowary, especially for *C. casuarius*? Without doubt, it was easier to obtain this bird than the other two species under the same group, i.e., the northern or single-wattled cassowary (*C. unappendiculatus*) and Bennett's cassowary (*C. bennetti*). The reason for such an assumption lies in the geographic distribution of these three species. The habitat of *C. casuarius* extends from southern New Guinea to Ceram. In historical times Ceram was in touch with major ports. The northern cassowary is mostly at home in the northern sections of New Guinea and several nearby islands, i.e., in areas not very well connected to the islands in the Arafura and Banda Seas. Bennett's cassowary comes from the highlands of Central New Guinea and parts of the Bird's Head Peninsula (Kepala Burung). These areas are also at some distance from major trading sites and less easy to access. Nevertheless, perhaps one should not totally exclude the possibility that on rare occasions both the northern and Bennett's cassowary were caught and offered for sale.

In spite of the above assumptions one could come up with very different suggestions. Bennett's cassowary, the smallest amongst his "cousins", also bears the names dwarf cassowary, mountain cassowary and mooruk.[37] Hence, is there some kind of relation between the concept of a "mountain bird" and the Chinese term *shanji* (in the sense of "mountain fowl"), which we had encountered above, in the *Yingya shenglan*? Secondly, could the Cantonese form *akmo* (*akma*) and / or the Hokkien version *iakma* represent an inversion of the local name *mooruk*? – As expected, there are no clear answers to all these tantalizing questions, but we should keep them in mind for the next chapter.

37. Several old studies on cassowaries record the name mooruk. For instance, Rothschild 1900: 111. Clearly, the zoological categories presented in this old study are no longer acceptable today. However, on pp. 113-114, Rothschild presents an interesting list with earlier references to cassowaries, starting with the text by Clusius.

VII

Patani, the toponym mentioned on Ricci's *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, is the focus of this chapter. That forces us to look at some geographical issues. After their conquest of Melaka, the Portuguese began trading to Patani and from there to China. This port on the east side of the Malayan Peninsula also served Chinese merchants as a bridge to different locations in Southeast Asia. One of the most important goods offered for sale in Patani was pepper, which both the Chinese and Portuguese obtained in large quantities. Furthermore, occasionally Patani was in touch with the Ryukyu Islands, and probably some commodities went from Patani, either via Fujian or Naha, to Japan and even Korea.[38]

It is quite likely that Patani hosted a resident community of merchants from Fujian and / or Guangdong already prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Presumably, the Portuguese were in regular touch with these Chinese merchants. It would also seem that they cooperated with some of them, namely with those coming from Guangdong, while the ones from Fujian probably considered the Lusitanians as competitors. This assumption takes us to the Macau Peninsula, where the Portuguese began building houses in the 1550s.

One section along the west side of that peninsula bears the name Patane. The Chinese name of that area is Shalitou 沙梨頭.[39] In the olden days the waters near Shalitou / Patane were deeper than today. Therefore, it is highly possible that Portuguese and other ships often stayed in that area, which forms part of the so-called "Inner Harbour" (Neigang 內港 / Porto Interior) of Macau. No doubt, at that time the Inner Harbour was an ideal place for loading and unloading ships and it also provided shelter during the typhoon season.

The name Patane reminds of Patani (in fact, early modern Portuguese works spell the name of the Malayan location "Patane"). This raises a further question: Who were the founders of Patane / Shalitou? What was the relation between them and the port called Patani? Did that relation involve migrants of Chinese, especially of Fujianese, descent and perhaps even some Ryukyuans coming from and going to the Macau Peninsula, which formed part of Xiangshan 香山? In the fifteenth century both were cooperating with each other and there is evidence for the occasional presence of the latter on Xiangshan prior to the foundation of Macau by the Portuguese. Regarding migrants of Fujianese background, several authors believe, these people began settling on Xiangshan in early times, especially during the period of transition

38. For Patani in Chinese texts and the Chinese in that place, see, for example, the relevant parts in Wade 2004 and 2013. An early account is Xu Yunqiao 1946. For the Portuguese in Patani, see, for example, Loureiro 1997: esp. 70, 71; Loureiro 2000: pp. 201-202, 319-321, 369, etc.; Alves 2022 (and documents in the associated Hors-Série work). For Patani and Ryukyu, see, for example, Ptak 2012b: 470, 473, 475

39. Recently on Patane: Wu Hongqi 2014: esp. 188-199.

from Song to Yuan. In those days, Xiangshan was still an island and many of its settlers had to make a living in the agricultural sector, as fishermen, or in the salt "industry."[40] Other settlers, it is possible, became involved in trade between Xiangshan and the Malayan Peninsula.

The third group possibly settling in the Patane area of Macau were the Portuguese. Here one may consider further aspects. For instance, scholars have argued that the consorts of the first Portuguese men staying on the peninsula came from India and the Malay world. The old patois language of Macau, an idiom combining Portuguese and Asian elements, contains many words of Malay origin; this seems to supports the idea of such an early Luso-Malay "ethnic symbiosis."[41] If indeed so, then one may perhaps argue the Portuguese brought their wives from or via Patani to Patane and other parts of Macau. Possibly some of these women were of Fujianese or Cantonese descent, but had grown up in Patani. In all likelihood, they would converse in Malay with their Portuguese husbands, because the latter certainly found it easier to learn that language than acquainting themselves with one of the many Chinese dialects. However, whether such a picture is really correct, remains an open point.

Recently Wu Hongqi has drawn attention to several related questions surrounding the history of Patane / Shalitou and other locations on the Macau Peninsula.[42] In sum, it does seem that there was an early bond between Patani and Patane. Here one may also recall the fact that the famous Gruta de Camões (the Camões Grotto) is not too far from the Shalitou region. The conclusion could be that Portugal's most famous poet disembarked in that area when he first came to the Macau Peninsula.[43]

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40. See, for example, Ptak 2021: 21-22 (Fujianese settlers in Xiangshan), 28 (Ryukyuans).

41. An early study on Malay elements in Macau's patois language is Batalha 1965–1966. A brief description is in Batalha 1974: esp. 29-30. Recently also: Dias 2014: 192; Dias 2016: 34. Furthermore Ptak 2019: 25-26.

42. Wu Hongqi 2014: esp. 188-199.

43. Of course, the issue is controversial. – For the Camões Grotto and some modern works related to this poet's assumed presence in Macau, see, for example: Teixeira 1977; Ribeiro 2012a: part III; Ribeiro 2012b. – Camões mentions Patani in Canto X-125 of the *Lusíadas*: "*Mas, na ponta da terra, Cingapura / Verás, onde o caminho às naus se estreita; / Daqui tornando a costa à Cinosura, / Se encurva e pera a Aurora se endireita. / Vês Pam, Patane, reinos, e a longura / De Sião, que estes e outros mais sujeita; / Olha o rio Menão, que se derrama / Do grande lago que Chiamai se chama.*" – But one has to be careful. It was also suggested that the name "Patane" derives from the name Beiwan 北灣 (Cantonese: Pakwan), mentioned in many sources, as for example the *Aomen jilüe*. See, for example, "Cronicas macaenses" (Blog-foto-magazine by Rogério P.D. Luz), on https://cronicasmacaenses.com/2017/07/29/conheca-melhor-patane-onde-camoes-teria-escrito-versos-em-macau/ (accessed 12-09-2019).

At this point we may return to the issue of languages and the term *ema*. Portuguese geographers made use of Malay toponyms to identify certain locations along the sailing route from Patani via the coast of Vietnam and Hainan to the Macau area. Malay and / or Chinese pilots taught the Portuguese how to use these names. It is possible that Patani was a key site for such "linguistic exchange" and thus a place where the Portuguese picked up Malay terms. Probably the word *ema* was one such term, which "changed hands" in those early days, either that the Portuguese passed it on to the Chinese, or that speakers of Malay and / or Hokkien / Cantonese passed it on to the Portuguese as a loanword, in "Mandarin" pronunciation. The latter sounds somewhat unlikely, but if it happened, then Li Zhaoliang would be partially correct (see above, chapter V).[44]

One interesting aspect surrounding the history of the name *ema* is that, indirectly, it also entered the patois language of Macau. This concerns the words *emar* and *emada*. The essential semantic components of both terms – "to eat excessively" / "voracious" – remind of the ostrich's / *ema*'s enormous appetite recorded in many traditional texts.[45] However, as far as I was able to find out, in the Macanese patois the earliest extant reference to all that comes rather late. It dates from the late nineteenth century and is found in Marques Pereira's *Ta-Si-Yang-Kuo*. Similar expressions were recorded for the Melaka Creole language, usually called Kristang.[46]

Pinto and Ricci belong to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Thus, there is a gap between them and the reference in *Ta-Si-Yang-Kuo*. Nevertheless, perhaps the first few migrants coming from Patani and / or other ports (such as Melaka) to Macau's Inner Harbor, where they began settling in the area called Shalitou / Patane, took with them the notion of a greedy bird. Clearly, probably we shall never know the details, nor can we determine Patani's role in shaping the early linguistic panorama of Macau right after its foundation, but completely rejecting the idea of the term *ema* travelling northbound in those remote days makes no sense either.

The long centuries between Ricci and Pereira are not completely void of references to the *ema* in Chinese texts. We had already mentioned Giulio Aleni. Another author telling us something about ostriches is Ferdinand Verbiest (Nan Huairen 南懷仁, 1623–1688). Research on the animals presented in his

44. Fernão Mendes Pinto, we should not forget, also came through that port. See Alves 2022: esp. 49-50. – For "working languages" on board of ships sailing in "Malaysian" waters, see, for example, Salmon 2019: esp. 29 et seq.

45. Batalha 1988: 167-168 (431-432).

46. "Subsidios para o estudo dos dialectos crioulos do Extremo Oriente. Textos e notas sobre o dialecto de Macau", in Pereira 1899–1900, I: 127 n. 195. There is an explicit reference to the ostrich / cassowary. For the Kristang language: Baxter and Silva 2004: 75, and Baxter 2005: 25. Earlier on Kristang: Rego 1998.

Kunyu tushuo 坤輿圖說 and on his world map, the *Kunyu quantu* 坤輿全圖, both from the early 1670s, abounds. There is no need to repeat all that.[47] Another source with short descriptions of the "ostrich family" and directly related to Macau is the *Aomen jilüe* (1751). This work also provides a short entry on the *ema*, which I have discussed elsewhere. Suffice it to say, the authors of the *Aomen jilüe* probably never saw the birds in questions, nor were these creatures "at home" in Macau. The description of animals in that source mainly follows Aleni's account and other early works.[48]

The *Aomen jilüe* takes us far beyond the time frame of the present note. As is well known, during the Qianlong era (1736-1796) the Manchu court became interested in exotic plants and animals. The cassowary featured among the many "rare" birds which attracted the emperor's attention. Written sources of that period often call it *emo*(*niao*) 額摩(鳥). Lai Yuzhi investigated the relevant material, showing that information drawn from European records was crucial for the study of this creature at the Qing court.[49] However, all that has very little or nothing to do with Macau – with the exception, of course, that most European books and illustrations reached Beijing via the Portuguese port.

In concluding these remarks, we may add that another term comes from the *Haidao yizhi* 海島逸誌 (1791). This book describes a bird much higher than the crane (or stork), with a short tail, no wings, three toes, "no spur behind", and a good appetite. The Chinese name of that bird is *luniao* 鹿鳥, possibly derived from its "coat, [which] resembles a dear's skin" (毛如鹿皮), to put it in the words of Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857), who translated the text in the mid-nineteenth century. Both he and the modern editors of Wang's book identified the *luniao*, found in the mountains of Anwen 安汶 (Ambon; we had already mentioned that island), as *C. casuarius*. Although this reference adds to the flavour of our story, there seems to be no relation between the name *luniao* and the terms *ema* / *eme* / *emeu*, etc. Moreover, similar to the name *ermiao*, for the Australian *emu*, the combination *luniao* belongs to later periods, and not to the Ming context.[50]

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47. See, for example, some of the articles mentioned in notes 3 and 25 above.

48. See esp. Ptak 2010: ch. XI.

49. Lai Yuzhi 2013: esp. 10 et seq., 18 et seq. An earlier article by the same author, related to the same topic, is Lai Yuzhi 2007.

50. Wang Dahai / Yao Nan and Wu Langxuan 1992: 104 and notes. For Medhurst's translation, see Ong-Tae-Hae / Medhurst 1849: 47. Several modern scholars made use of that translation. For a representative study of the Chinese original, see Salmon 1994: esp. 222 n. 7. Also see Salmon 2019: esp. 23. – Regarding the name *ermiao* (Cantonese *jimiu*), some say this name is an adaption from "English" sources, but Sun Xiliang defines it as a Portuguese loanword in the Yue 粵 dialect / language of Macau. See Sun Xiliang 2002: 18.

VIII

What, then, may we say in conclusion? In spite of various references to the name *ema* in early Portuguese texts, the precise origin of that term remains unknown. A systematic search through dictionaries and other linguistic material related to the early idioms of the Moluccan world, New Guinea and its adjacent islands, as well as to the Arabic sphere and perhaps even to other areas might lead to fresh results. Furthermore, we cannot really tell when and how the term became known in China. Was it through the Jesuits? Had that term entered a southern Chinese language in Pinto's times, or much earlier? Could it be that it travelled from Patani to Macau in the mid-sixteenth century? What was the link between the *ema* and the *huoji*? Again, we are faced with many questions. Precise answers, I am afraid, will never be found. There are just too many options…

Yet, it is clear that cassowaries were among the birds shipped from the eastern rim of Southeast Asia to various destinations of the Malay world and occasionally to China. It is also clear that there is some relation between the Portuguese word *ema* (plus similar forms) and the Chinese term *ema*. By contrast, the supposed "Indonesian" origin of the Portuguese *ema* (*eme*, etc.) remains an open point. *Ema* could have something to do with *emas* (gold), but that rests on weak grounds.

Although there may be no answers to many of the questions raised in this brief note, we can safely state that the term *ema* travelled to China, via or from Southeast Asia, directly or through some intermediaries. That also means we are looking at another remarkable element of (quasi) "Southeast Asian" influence on China's linguistic and zoological panorama. Claudine Salmon, Chen Guodong and others have dealt with various Malay loanwords in the Chinese world.[51] As was mentioned, many terms from the Malay sphere also entered the Macanese patois. Perhaps the *ema* should be added to the long list of such linguistic "transfer". Nevertheless, further research will be necessary to verify this.

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51. Just two examples: Salmon 2009 and 2019. The last article in particular cites many earlier works, including several of Chen Guodong's 陳國棟 studies, not listed here.

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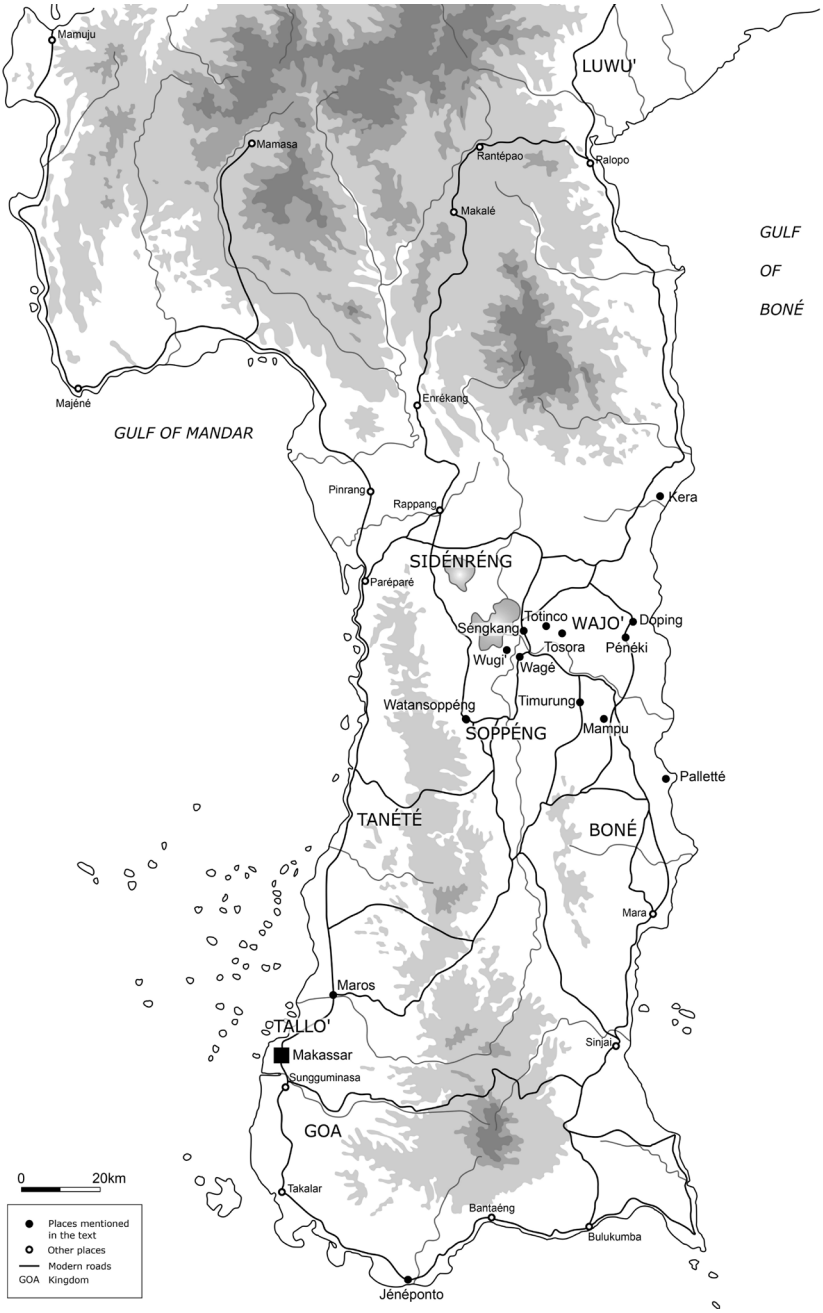
*Kathryn Wellen**

Exhuming Buried Stones: The Treaty of Timurung (1582) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

The Treaty of Timurung is one of the most significant agreements in the history of the Bugis, an ethnic group from South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Concluded in 1582, it joined the countries of Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng together in an alliance known as the Tellumpocco or "The Three Peaks." Ceremonially sworn to and eternally binding, this treaty was referred to repeatedly throughout the centuries. The alliance was, however, viewed differently at various times as political circumstances changed radically. This article looks at the Treaty of Timurung, the manner in which it was concluded, and the ways in which it was remembered at different historical junctures spanning more than two centuries. In so doing, it offers diachronic and cross-cultural insights into treaties as a legal tool. This article does not purport to answer all the cross-cultural questions surrounding treaties but rather to contribute a detailed example of a single treaty from a lesser-known society to this discourse by pulling together a wide variety of published and unpublished sources to examine the Treaty of Timurung and its uses in Bugis politics.

Numerous scholars have considered treaties as a variety of Bugis historical literature. In a foundational article published in 1931, Cense classifies treaties as one of seven different categories of historical writing. His other categories are diaries, notes pertaining to customary law, correspondence, historical episodes, chronicles and poetry (Cense, 1931). In his own article on Bugis historical sources, Zainal Abidin accords special attention to chronicles.

* KITLV



Main toponyms mentioned in the text. (Map: V. Degroot)

Treaties are categorized as non-chronicle sources along with the other five remaining genres listed by Cense (Zainal Abidin, 1971: 167-70). Chambert-Loir, whose main focus is the historiography of Bima, is less specific regarding the historiographical traditions of South Sulawesi and groups treaties into the same category as letters, genealogies, notes and lists (Chambert-Loir, 2000: 230). Also relying on Cense, Resink touches briefly upon treaties in his chapter "The Law of Nations in Early Macassar" but, like Feddersen a half century later (Feddersen, 2017), his emphasis is on treaties concluded with the Dutch (Resink, 1968: 41-44).

The most detailed examination of Bugis treaties to date is Leonard Andaya's 1978 article "Treaty Conceptions and Misconceptions." This is a comparison between South Sulawesi and European ideas of treaties. The bulk of the article deals with Bugis treaties in particular. Andaya describes the manner in which treaties were concluded and preserved in South Sulawesi, the relationships they sought to establish, their intended political role and their characteristics including their sacrosanct nature. Of particular interest for the purposes of the present study is his observation regarding the longevity of Bugis treaties. He writes "Once a treaty had been agreed upon, it remained a permanent agreement which could be resurrected and renewed or allowed to recede into the background in face of other superior political and spiritual forces. These enduring sacred documents were made but once." (Andaya, 1978: 284)

Sacrosanct in nature, Bugis treaties were sworn to in a ceremony that, in the case of the Treaty of Timurung, involved the burial of stones. The present study shows specifically how the renewal and recession that Andaya mentions worked in practice. Providing specific examples of how leaders invoked the Treaty of Timurung, how they metaphorically exhumed the stones when it was favorable to do so, the present study is the first detailed diachronic examination of an individual Bugis treaty. It looks at changing political circumstances and other treaties to document how the importance of the Treaty of Timurung waxed and waned over the course of two centuries. Through its examination of the second trial of La Maddukelleng, this article also contributes a very rare example of how Indonesian legal documents were actually used during the eighteenth century on the basis of an as of yet unpublished Bugis manuscript. Focusing on a treaty between three Bugis lands, the article explicitly omits the study of treaties between Europeans and Asians.

Understanding the relationship of the Treaty of Timurung to other treaties and the role of these treaties in political events requires a lot of historical background which is provided at the start of each section. The article also begins with a description of the Bugis and their historical records.

The Bugis and their unusual historical records

Numbering roughly 6,400,000 people, the Bugis constitute one of more than 300 different ethnicities in Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous

country. Their homeland is on Sulawesi, the spidery-shaped island between Borneo and the Moluccas. Their language is Austronesian and their society shares certain cultural characteristics, such as founder-focused ideologies and social concerns for the birth order of siblings, with other Austronesian societies spread across half of the globe (Bellwood, Fox and Tryon, 2006:3). Historically the Bugis have mostly been farmers in the fertile rice lands of the southwestern peninsula but a highly-visible minority has emigrated and worked in a variety of capacities across the archipelago. Bugis lands were divided into kingdoms (or locally organized states) such as Tanété, Luwu', Soppéng, Wajo' and Boné, the boundaries of which, in many instances, have been remarkably consistent over the past four centuries (Caldwell, 1995: 395). The Bugis population of South Sulawesi is now spread across seven regencies and form a significant minority in the provincial capital of Makassar.

The Bugis are remarkable for their historiographic traditions which extend back more than half a millennium. Historical record-keeping began around 1400 using an Indic-based writing system (Caldwell, 1988: 169-71) but in the absence of strong Indic or Islamic influences. For two centuries prior to converting to Islam, the Bugis and their neighbors the Makassars and Mandars recorded matters important to them and their own societies as opposed to matters that a world religion deemed important. Including genealogies, treaties and myths, the early writings of the Bugis, Makassars and Mandars provide a rare window into the history of Austronesian societies. This is because very few Austronesian societies began writing without adopting a world religion around the same time. Two of many cases in counterpoint are the Javanese whose society was profoundly influenced by Indic thought and the Hawaiians who adopted writing from Christian missionaries.

One of the main incentives for the Bugis to adopt writing may have been the desire to document status. As has long been noted, the societies of South Sulawesi are especially status conscious (Chabot, 1950). An individual's status is ascribed, meaning it is determined on the basis of birth. Documenting one's ancestry is therefore very useful for securing and maintaining high status and its concomitant advantages for existing elites and their descendants (Macknight, 1993: 7; Caldwell and Wellen, 2016: 121). A similar dynamic existed among polities. Just as individuals and high-ranking families sought to document their position in society, so did communities known as *wanua* seek to secure their position within the political hierarchy. Precedence was significant but other factors, such as size, wealth, military prowess and diplomatic capabilities, also influenced a state's position in the hierarchy. Once determined, committing political arrangements to writing enabled elites to record the status of their communities. It also resulted in the development of documents that correspond roughly to the western notion of a treaty in so far as they are (ostensibly) binding agreements between two or more sovereign nations detailing the relationship between each party. Thus, for

both individuals and states, writing offered a means of recording comparative advantages and, ideally, securing them for future generations.

While advantageous for some, when the Bugis first began writing it was not easy because the ideal materials for writing, namely pen and paper, were not readily available. Therefore, early Bugis manuscripts were inscribed on thin strips of lightly-colored palm leaves which were then smeared with dark paint. The paint on the surface could be easily rubbed off whereas paint remained in the inscribed fissures. The leaves were then sewn together to make a long strip which was rolled up into a scroll and fitted onto a reader with two spools. The manuscript was then read scrolling it from one spool to another, in a manner similar to a movie or a cassette tape (Macknight, 2016: 58-59).

With the advent of writing, Bugis historical record-keeping began its evolution from an oral cannon to a highly varied and unique written tradition within the Southeast Asian archipelago. This occurred over time and as a result of varied influences. Paper may have become available as early as the sixteenth century (Pelras, 2016: 20: Caldwell, 1988: 14) but it was not easy to obtain. Therefore, information was sometimes recorded on whatever paper was available. In many instances, a variety of Bugis texts were recorded in a single notebook of European paper. Such codices often had a theme (Macknight, 1984: 106) but they might also contain whatever information that the owner wanted to remember or convey to future generations. Thus, a notebook might contain not only a military technological treatise but also riddles and poems; and a diary might contain not only daily events but also the details of negotiations between community leaders. Writing with reference to diaries written during the late eighteenth century, Rahilah Omar notes that rulers' diaries serve almost as state archives, presenting to, and preserving for, posterity the image that the ruler wished to convey (Rahilah Omar, 2003: 275-76). As case in point is the correspondence about the Treaty of Timurung described in the penultimate section of the present article.

Despite the rich written tradition among the Bugis, the oral sphere retained its paramountcy into the modern era. In a groundbreaking article about the imbrication of the written and oral spheres, Pelras has shown the boundary between the two spheres to be very fluid among the Bugis. The two modes of expression share many features which facilitate crossing back and forth between them. Furthermore, the Bugis consider the content of written texts to be more important than their materiality. While there are sacred exceptions, even manuscripts held with tremendous esteem are sometimes allowed to physically deteriorate in conditions that are disadvantageous to conservation (Pelras, 2016: 19, 21). Writing was an important means of conserving information, but it was used in tandem with the spoken word which, in some instances, served as a more effective manner of conserving information than writing (Wellen, 2021). Committing political arrangements to writing helped preserve them for posterity but, for political efficacy, political arrangements

did not have to be written; they needed to be agreed upon. As will be shown below, buy-in was necessary not only when a treaty concluded but also when it was used. However, this did not preclude texts from being consulted nor preserved with sacred objects nor stored in an apparently haphazard manner. Pelras warns against judging this seemingly paradoxical situation with Western bias (Pelras, 2016: 21).

Like any historiography, Bugis historiography is continuously developing. It was not the same when the Treaty of Timurung was concluded in 1582 as it was at the time of Sangkilang's rebellion during the 1770s at which point this article concludes. Bugis diaries, for example, are likely to have been a result of Portuguese influence arriving via Makassar. Similarly, Bugis tributary and domain lists appear originally to have been a response to Dutch demands (Druce, 2014: 154). Both of these developments occurred after the Treaty of Timurung was concluded. The writing of chronicles in Bugis lands also appears to have started and ceased during the period covered by this study, with the exception of Wajo' where the tradition of writing chronicles was continued into recent times (Druce, 2009: 67). In Wajo' there was also an attempt to write an all-inclusive history the likes of which are not known in other Bugis lands. This is the *Lontara' Sukkuna Wajo'* or the *Complete Chronicles of Wajo'* ostensibly written by Ranreng Béttémpola La Sangaji Puanna Sengngeng during the 1760s (Wellen, 2014: 13).

Bugis treaties

Political arrangements among the Bugis pre-date the advent of writing. Some information about these arrangements was recorded on the basis of memory when writing was adapted. In turn, some of this information was incorporated into new historical genres when they developed. Written in the late seventeenth century, the Chronicle of Boné explicitly mentions that "the earlier kings who went back to (La) Galigo had already organised (the conduct of) negotiations" (Macknight, Mukhlis, Muhlis, 2020: 84). Furthermore, the Chronicle of Wajo' is replete with descriptions of political arrangements such as the foundation of Wajo's constituent polities (Noorduyn, 1955: 156-67). Written treaties, the tangible documents enabled by the advent of writing, were not a political novelty. Rather they were an extension of the verbal and ceremonial arrangements.

The etymology of Bugis words corresponding with the word for treaty reflect the manner in which written treaties were an extension of pre-existing practices (Andaya, 1978: 278). *Asitellereng*, comes from *sitelli* meaning "to swear mutual oaths" (Matthes, 1874: 366). *Makkuluada* means "to give one's word of honor" and *mattaroada,* meaning "to agree" has a similar connotation (Matthes, 1874: 351, 875). Another Bugis word for "alliance" or "treaty" is *ceppa* which literally means "to participate in" or "to be part of something." *Ceppa* is the word used in reference to the Treaty of Bongaya between Goa and the Netherlands East India

Company in 1667, a treaty which had wide-ranging repercussions across the peninsula (Matthes, 1874: 423-24: Andaya, 1978: 279).[1] Another word referring to treaties is *mallamumpatu* meaning "the burying of the stone" (Matthes, 1874: 558). "The burying of the stone" refers to a ceremony in which the Bugis called upon supernatural powers to witness and sanctify treaties. Each ruler threw a stone at an egg on the ground, smashing it as a metaphor for the devastation that would befall anyone who breaks the treaty. They then buried the stone, or stones, with which they had smashed the eggs. The verbal and ceremonial aspects of these arrangements were extremely important, especially in so far as they are supernaturally sanctioned. Indeed, God[2] is sometimes called upon to witness treaties and may be asked to punish those who break treaties. An oft used curse is "May you be swept away like rubbish by the One God if you break your word" (Andaya, 1978: 279).

The forces ceremoniously imbued into treaties when they were concluded and the parties' consent to the political arrangements contained within gave strength and weight to treaties. The existence of a written document was of lesser importance. Even so, the written treaties were sometimes accorded respect. Copies of treaties appear to have been preserved by state officials in a sort of archive that could be referred to as needed (Cense, 1951:48). In some instances, treaties were also kept with the state regalia and rulers would use them as a means of obtaining guidance from the ancestors regarding just behavior or ways to safeguard the state (Andaya, 1978: 283). As described below, treaties are likely to have been among the documents the Bugis consulted during times of political crises.

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1. Studied extensively by Stapel (1922), Andaya (1981) and Feddersen (2017), the Treaty of Bongaya accorded extensive rights in Goa's former spheres of influence to the Dutch.

2. With reference to God, a word must be said about the religion of the Bugis. The Bugis converted to Islam in the early seventeenth century, well after the conclusion of the Treaty of Timurung in 1582. By 1582 the Bugis had been exposed to world religions, including Catholicism on the west coast of Sulawesi, but they still maintained their own beliefs. Arguably some Bugis still do (Maeda, 1984). The text of the Treaty of Timurung, provided below, refers to *Dewata Séuaé*. The word "dewata" is of Sanskrit origin and can be translated as "God," "guardian angel" or "guardian spirit" (Matthes, 1874: 403). This and other Sanskrit words presumably arrived third or fourth hand via other Austronesian languages, such as Javanese and Malay (Gonda, 1952:38), and persisted in South Sulawesi in the absence of Indianization (as defined in Coedès, 1968: 15-16). *Séuwa* means "one" and é is the definite article therefore *seuwaé* means "the one." Maeda argues that Dewata Seuwae is "the traditional Bugis God" and has various manifestations (Maeda, 1984: 117). Surviving copies of the Treaty of Timurung refer to *Dewa Seuwaé* or "the one God" but it is impossible to know if these were actually the words used in 1582. The words "*dewa*" and "*dewa séuwaé*" would have meant something different to the animist Bugis who concluded the Treaty of Timurung in 1582 and to the Muslim Bugis who recopied it for preservation. The latter may have altered the text to conform to later religious norms.

Bugis treaties generally have a tri-partite structure consisting of a preamble, the terms of the treaty and a concluding proclamation. The preamble establishes the relationship between the parties, generally in metaphoric terms. An unequal relationship in which one party is clearly the superior can be expressed as master and slave. Alternatively, such a relationship may be expressed in more poetic terms such as wind and leaves, the allusion being to the wind determines the direction that the leaves blow. Parties are often conceived of as family members. For example, mother and child denotes a close but unequal relationship. Conceiving of relationships in terms of siblings is also common and in such cases the birth order is significant; the relationship is considered almost equal but not quite. This is very important within the Austronesian context.

The main body of the text contains the terms of the treaty. In addition to any terms specific to the political situation at hand, this section also includes assurances of mutual respect and mutual assistance. This is often expressed metaphorically as well, using terms such as "I consider you fat, not skinny" or "good, not evil" (Andaya, 1978: 281). Promises of mutual assistance might be made in practical terms such as returning each other's runaway slaves or they might be made in metaphorical terms such as bringing a drowning party to shore.

The concluding proclamation specifies that the treaty is binding upon future generations, or even eternally binding. This too is often expressed metaphorically. For example, the treaty is said to endure fires or survive the descent of heaven. Curses upon those who break the treaty are often included in this section. Because of their sacred nature, treaties could not simply be discarded when political circumstances changed. Instead they were allowed to recede into the background, to be called up again when appropriate. Their waxing and waning importance reflects changes in the political landscape and shifts in the balance of power among states.

Another very important characteristic of Bugis treaties is that they guarantee the sovereignty of the concluding parties. Because sovereignty is a highly contested concept in the West and because Western epistemes are not universally applicable anyway, it is more useful to describe the sense in which the term is used in the present study rather than to debate the interchangeability of Austronesian and Latin concepts or to venture into what James Bryce in his essay entitled "The Nature of Sovereignty" referred to as "that dusty desert of abstractions through which successive generations of political philosophers have thought it necessary to lead their disciples" (Bryce, 1901: II, 50). For purposes of this study the word is used to describe the freedom that all parties concluding a treaty maintained to live according to their own laws and customs. Tangentially it also refers to the respect which the concluding parties had for each other. To describe this situation, "sovereignty" is preferable to "freedom" because it pertains not to individual freedoms but rather to the freedom of the realms involved.

This guarantee of sovereignty is apparent in various specific provisions found in Bugis treaties such as respecting each other's laws and in not interfering in each other's internal affairs. The concomitant respect is apparent in provisions like believing in each other's words and considering the other to be fat and not thin. Regardless of the political arrangements contained in the treaty, all of the concluding parties maintained their immutable right to exist. Furthermore, even in the event of an unequal treaty such as an agreement between overlord and vassal, subordinates maintained their right to rule themselves according to their own customs. As described below, judicial discussions between Bugis states reflect the seriousness with which such provisions were taken. This respect for sovereignty is likely to have facilitated the maintenance of even quite small kingdoms in South Sulawesi until the twentieth century.

The Burying of Stones at Timurung

Named for one of the oldest Bugis settlements,[3] the Treaty of Timurung is perhaps the most famous treaty in Bugis history. Concluded in 1582, it established an alliance known as the Tellumpocco or "the Three Peaks." This was essentially a defensive alliance between Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng against the Makassar power of Goa on the southwestern extreme of the peninsula. Such a defensive alliance was necessitated by the rapid rise of Goa in the field of international commerce in the eastern archipelago and its eclipse of Luwu' as the most powerful kingdom on the peninsula during the sixteenth century. As important as it was, the Treaty of Timurung did not eradicate earlier treaties. Instead, the earlier treaties were allowed to recede into the background, to be forgotten, remembered or changed as circumstances mandated.

One such treaty was the Treaty of Topaceddo.[4] For much of its early history Wajo' was vassal of Luwu'. When Wajo' grew important and powerful enough to provide Luwu' with military assistance against Sidénréng, Luwu' offered to elevate the status of Wajo' to that of a younger brother. This arrangement was sanctified with the Treaty of Topaceddo. When it was concluded, the gods were called upon to witness the respective rulers throwing stones at eggs and burying the stones. The population also witnessed this ceremony and the Wajorese chronicle records that they cheered (Noorduyn, 1955: 68-69, 192-93). However, when circumstances changed, specifically after Luwu' lost its paramouncy to Goa, the treaty changed as well. At the suggestion of Boné, which at the time was allied with Goa, Goa took over the Treaty of Topaceddo. Wajo' pledged to follow Goa as it had followed Luwu', to consider Goa's enemies as its own and

3. Timurung's antiquity is presumed from the frequency with which it appears in very early genealogical records (Personal communication, Ian Caldwell, 2021).

4. Topaceddo is thought to have been located in southern Wajo' on the Cenrana River (Noorduyn, 1955: 68).

to provide military assistance in the event of war (Noorduyn, 1955: 75, 220-30). As is discussed below, Wajo' took this pledge seriously. This pledge did not, however, preclude Wajo' from joining other alliances such as the Tellumpocco.

The Tellumpocco was formed when the three main Bugis lands in the Cenrana valley, Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng, found themselves in need of protection against Goa. Prior to the establishment of the Tellumpocco, there was concern about Wajo' being Goa's vassal, or slave, according to the Treaty of Topaceddo. According to the Chronicle of Wajo', when the ruler of Boné suggested the tripartite alliance, the ruler of Wajo' countered "How is that possible, Arumponé, for our three lands to be allies when Wajo' is a slave of Goa and Boné and Goa are also allies?" The ruler of Boné dismissed his concern, saying "Your words are true, Arungmatoa. But let we three be allies. And Boné will help withstand Goa if it wants to keep Wajo' in slavery. Let the three of us as allies stand against Goa." (Noorduyn, 1955:250-51) This exemplifies the manner in which previous arrangements were sometimes allowed to recede into the background to accommodate new political priorities. In 1582 Wajo' no longer needed Goa's help to defend itself from Luwu'. Instead it needed Boné and Soppéng's help to defend itself from Goa.

The burying of stones at Timurung or *lamumpatuwé ri Timurung* formalized the creation of the Tellumpocco. The text of the treaty is preserved as separate texts and as parts of other texts. The collection of the Dutch Bible Society (*Nederlands Bijbelgenootshap* or NBG) housed in the Leiden University library contains five separate copies of the treaty. One of these, Leid NBG 111 pages 3-6, serves as the base of the version Matthes published in his Bugis Chrestomathy (Matthes, 1864: I, 532-36). Other copies are found in Leid NBG 99, pages 7-9; Leid NBG 100, pages 108-110; Leid NBG 101, pages 108-110; Leid NBG 101, pages 57-59; and Leid NBG 208, pages 170-172 Noorduyn, 1955: 27-28). There are also copies in private collections in South Sulawesi.[5] The versions differ slightly in matters such as the ending being shorter or longer, or the list of ministers and rulers who concluded it, but they largely concur. The Chronicle of Boné describes the treaty (Macknight, Mukhlis and Muhlis, 2020: 95-96) and the Chronicle of Wajo' (Noorduyn, 1955: 250-53) includes information about its conclusion and the manner in which people rejoiced. The Chronicle of Wajo' also includes the text of the treaty itself. Loosely translated, this text reads as follows:

5. On privately held manuscripts in South Sulawesi, see the catalog of the Ford Foundation's manuscript project. This project also produced microfilms which are available at the National Archives in Makassar, the Leiden University Library, and the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago. The catalogue is available at https://oxis.org/resources-3/catalogues/catalogus-proyek-naskah-2.pdf

> *Our lands are united as the strings of a ploughing rope in which one string does not break but supports the others, we do not threaten each other and we do not deceive each other, we believe each other's words, in case of mistakes, we warn each other, we accept each other's warnings and we do not sit waiting for each other's mistakes, we do not snatch each other's seedlings, nor plant on each other's lands, nor weed each other's gardens, nor exploit each other's forests, we do not hold on to each other's refugees and debtors, we fold the unbendable for each other, we castrate each other's bulls, we do not hit each other's slaves, we do not undermine each other's customs, we do not hinder each other's proclamations, we do not destroy each other's regalia, we plant our rice outside [the lands of the Tellumpocco] and not inside [on each other's lands], we do not plot war against each other, no fool brings us in conflict with each other, no idiot causes fights between us, nobody from outside decides over us, we do not break each other's support, we do not hide each other's goods in our houses, we watch out for each other's wayward property, we do not divide children, we do not bring each other where we do not want to go, we do not buy each other's slaves, we do not believe each other's messages unless it is conveyed by an official messenger and he who does believe it shall be kicked to death by a buffalo even if it is the son of a ruler, we do not bring each other's dead chickens back to life, we reach out to each other swimming, we help each other in case of potential drowning, in the event of floating away we bring each other to shore, we share prosperity and adversity, we share death and life, and fire does not burn it, adversity in the land does not annul it, no death takes it away, the alliance between our lands, even if the heavens fall and the underworld sinks away, still the alliance between our lands does not unravel. If anyone violates this treaty, the ground where he lives will break into shards as porcelain and in pieces as an egg, and the one God bears witness* (Noorduyn, 1955: 250-53).

The Chronicle of Boné, the Chronicle of Wajo' as well as the version of the treaty contained in Matthes' chrestomathy specify the relationship between Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng as one of full brothers, meaning from the same father and the same mother. Boné was the eldest, Wajo' was the middle and Soppéng was the youngest brother. This hierarchy reflects not only the size but the respective ages of the three lands: Boné can be dated to approximately 1450, Wajo' to approximately 1500 and Soppéng to approximately 1550.[6] This is important because the birth order of siblings is significant across the Austronesian world. It is reflected in Austronesian languages as well as in the customs according various privileges and responsibilities to the respective siblings. The importance accorded to birth order is part of a larger complex of respect for precedence.[7]

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6. These dates reflect not the very beginning of the settlements but rather their consolidation into larger polities under La Saliu, La Tadampara' and La Mataesso respectively. See Ian Caldwell, The Oxis Group Chronologies https://oxis.org/resources-3/pre-islamic-chronologies/ accessed 17 June 2021.

7. With regards to precedence in the Austronesia world, see Michael P. Vischer (ed.), *Precedence: Social Differentiation in the Austronesian World*, Canberra: ANU Press, 2009. With regards to precedence in South Sulawesi, see Stephen C. Druce, *The Lands West of the Lakes: A history of the Ajattappareng kingdoms of South Sulawesi 1200 to*

In the specific case of the Treaty of Timurung, the importance of siblingship is reflected in different ways. According to the Chronicle of Wajo', Soppéng suggested that it be considered as the child of the other two lands but the ruler of Wajo' argued that such a relationship might result in (unspecified) corruption. The ruler of Boné agreed and suggested that both Boné and Wajo' give lands to Soppéng so that the relationship would be more equal. This practice of giving lands upon concluding a treaty was not without precedent among the Bugis; indeed, such a transfer was also made in conjunction with the Treaty of Topaceddo (Noorduyn, 1955: 68). In conjunction with the Treaty of Timurung, Boné gave Goagoa to Soppéng and Wajo' transferred Baringeng. As a result, Soppéng could be considered a brother rather than a child (Noorduyn, 1955: 250-51).

The Treaty of Timurung served its defensive function in the short term. The allies were able to repulse Goa's attacks on Boné is 1585 and 1588 and on Wajo' in 1582 and 1590 (Andaya, 1981: 31). In the long term, however, the three lands did not always function as one rope. Less than a century later during the Makassar War (1666-1669), Wajo' fought on the opposite side of Boné and Soppéng.

The Treaty of Timurung and the Makassar War

Less than a century later, the power balance had shifted again and the Treaty of Timurung waned accordingly. The Netherlands United East India Company (VOC) sought a monopoly on the spice trade in eastern Indonesia but Goa steadfastly refused to grant the trading concessions it desired. Eventually they reached an impasse. In the event, two ambitious individuals, the Dutchman Admiral Cornelis Janszoon Speelman (1628-1684) and Arung Palakka La Tenritatta (ca. 1635-1696) of Boné joined forces to subdue Goa and its twin kingdom Tallo' in what became known as the Makassar War.

This conflict forced Wajo' to choose between its alliance with Goa according to the Treaty of Topaceddo and its alliance with Boné (and Soppéng) according to the Treaty of Timurung. Wajo' chose Goa. One Wajorese source, *Lontarak Akkarungan Wajoq*, indicates that the Wajorese were very scared of allying with the Dutch. It further specifies that "For this reason, they [the Wajorese] opted to remember their treaty with Goa and felt very ashamed to let it [the Treaty of Topaceddo] go" (Anonymous, 1985: 84). In choosing to side with Goa, Wajo' allowed the Treaty of Topaceddo to wax and the Treaty of Timurung to wane. Thereby Wajo' aligned itself with the power with which it perceived its best interests to lay during the mid-seventeenth century. While various groups of Europeans had visited South Sulawesi since the Portuguese in the 1540s, a military alliance with a western power, such as Boné's with

1600 CE, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009, pp. 160-66.

the Dutch, was unprecedented in the history of South Sulawesi. Furthermore, during the mid-seventeenth century Wajo''s recent experiences with Goa were more positive than its recent experiences with Boné. Wajo' was wary of Boné because Boné's ruler La Maddaremmeng (1626-1634) both tried to force a stricter version of Islam onto neighboring kingdoms and attacked Pénéki in Wajo'. For these reasons Wajo' opted to emphasize its position as Goa's vassal as opposed to its position as Boné's younger brother.

Soppéng also had a previous arrangement with Goa. The Treaty of Lamogo guaranteed the sovereignty and independence of Soppéng, a provision that Goa had respected. In the early 1660s, however, Soppéng reconsidered. Boné invited the Datu Soppéng and other important officials to discuss the possibility of an alliance between Boné and Soppéng. At this meeting Arung Palakka and his associate Arung Bila stressed the importance of honoring the Treaty of Timurung. Their attempts to persuade Soppéng exemplify the importance of buy-in. They also emphasized the importance of "tying our sarong up to our knees" in order to defeat Goa. This is a metaphor for hard work because one ties one's sarong up high when one wishes to labor without hindrance. Soppéng hesitated. In particular Soppéng was concerned about the possibilities that they would fail, or that they would succeed in liberating their lands but that Boné would then become so powerful that it disregarded Soppéng's sovereignty. Soppéng nevertheless agreed to what became known as the Treaty of the Raft at Atappang (Andaya, 1981: 52-53).[8] Thereafter Soppéng and Boné were newly allied against Goa leaving Wajo', the third brother of the Tellumpocco, on the losing side of the war.

Attempts to encourage buy-in did not always succeed. An especially long version of the Wajorese Chronicles relates Boné's attempt to convince Wajo' to adhere to the Treaty of Timurung. Arung Palakka, referred to here as Malampé'é Gemme'na,[9] sent the following message to the Wajorese:

> "*I bring a message from your family Malampé'é Gemme'na, Wajo' and Soppéng can only prosper if we adhere to the Tellumpocco, with each of us administering our own laws and each of us minding our own business.*"

8. This section about the Treaty of Lamogo is based entirely on Andaya, 1981 who bases it on an unpublished Wajorese manuscript. The agreement may be the same oath mentioned in the Makssarese Chronicles in the section about Tunipalangga, the ruler of Gowa from 1546 until 1565. It states "He then had the one from Soppéng named Puang ri Jammaq swear an oath". This text provides very little detail but does mention that Boné was the only area he did not conquer (Cummings, 2007: 33-35).

9. "Malampé'é Gemme'na" means "the Long-Haired One." It is a reference to the vow Arung Palakka La Tenritatta took not to cut his hair until countrymen were liberated from Goa's overlordship.

To this Wajo' replied:

> *"You are exactly right, but you Boné, are the one who strays, to the point of going together with Soppéng and calling the Dutch here. Wajo' greatly fears God. Wajo' is very ashamed to abandon its agreement with the Karaéng, ashamed to turn its back on its agreement with Karaéng Goa. The death of Goa is my death, the life of Goa is the life of Wajo'."*

The emissary of Boné replied:

> *"Your family holds fast without slipping, as is witnessed by God and known by God, the death of Goa is your death, Goa's life is your life. Your family is only trying to guide you to goodness and brightness, but you do not want [to listen], because Goa's death is your death. Go then to your death and we will go to our life, holding fast to God Almighty. There is also the treaty that was concluded with stones in Timurung saying that if we forget, we will remind each other; if we fall down, we will help each other up; we will not covet each other's pure gold [but rather] continually replace each other's great wealth, each of us big externally and big internally, without breaking the thread, otherwise we break it together. Even if the sky falls and the earth is buried, it will not open the Tellumpocco Treaty of Timurung."* (Anonymous, 1985: 83-84)

In this passage, the Bonéan emissary evokes the Treaty of Timurung to try to persuade Wajo'. He mentions very specific elements of the Treaty of Timurung, such as reminding each other in case of forgetfulness and helping each other up in case of falling. He also refers to the manner in which the Treaty of Timurung is supposed to endure even if the heavens fall and the earth is swallowed up. As previously explained, however, Wajo' opted to emphasize the Treaty of Topaceddo and deemphasize the Treaty of Timurung. The possibility of making such a choice is facilitated by a basic principle of Bugis treaties, specifically mutual respect for the sovereignty of all parties.

For its steadfast loyalty to Goa, Wajo' would pay a high price. Boné and the Dutch emerged victorious from the Makassar War and the ruler of Boné Arung Palakka La Tenritatta became the effective overlord of the peninsula. Boné and the VOC sent forces to subdue various communities in Wajo' which they accomplished with relative expediency. Many of Wajo's vassals also switched allegiances, especially after the untimely death of the Wajorese leader To Sengngeng (r. 1658-1670). Under his successor the Wajorese capital of Tosora held out for a long time. The combined forces of the VOC and Boné laid siege to it for four months and Wajorese resistance earned Dutch admiration. Ultimately, however, the Wajorese surrendered and were forced to agree to harsh terms of surrender. These included submission to the VOC as a vassal, Dutch mediation in internal Wajorese affairs, destruction of all fortifications in Wajo', trading restrictions and a war indemnity of 52,000 *rijksdaalder*s. Concluded in 1670, the treaty between the VOC and the Wajorese was to apply not only to the signatories but also to future generations of Wajorese. It was sworn to on the

Qur'an and with the drinking of weapon water (Heeres 1931:426-30), which can be considered as a Dutch concession to Bugis custom.

As harsh as these conditions were, the actual treatment of the Wajorese following the Makassar War was worse. Perhaps angered by Wajorese refusal to uphold the Treaty of Timurung, Arung Palakka La Tenritatta was especially cruel towards Wajo'. Wajorese people were kidnapped, harassed, slapped and killed. They were also prohibited from possessing metal. This prevented them from wearing krisses which was a point of honor and therefore very humiliating. It also prevented them from using metal farm implements and thereby obstructed agriculture. In 1671 the Wajorese were desperate enough to request Dutch intervention. In turn the Dutch asked Arung Palakka La Tenritatta to show restraint, but this had little effect (Andaya, 1981: 142).

The situation in Wajo' grew dire. In 1678 the ruler of Wajo' and numerous Wajorese nobles came to Makassar to complain about Boné's cruelty. They also complained about Arung Palakka La Tenritatta's seizure of the Wajorese lands of Wagé, Wugi', Totinco, Pammana, Timurung and half of Singkang. Ostensibly Arung Palakka La Tenritatta did this in accordance with the peace treaty of 1670 but this treaty made no such provision.[10] Indeed, the Dutch president Jacob Cops actually consulted the treaty of 1670 during the Wajorese delegation's visit to Makassar to verify this fact (Andaya, 1981: 190). Whether intentionally incorrect or not, it appears that Arung Palakka La Tenritatta made a faulty reference to the treaty in order to justify his acts. When the Wajorese complained in Makassar, the Dutch governor confirmed that surrender of these lands was not part of the agreement. He further assured the Wajorese that he would attempt to resolve their grievances. Tellingly he also urged them to negotiate with Arung Palakka La Tenritatta themselves (Andaya, 1981: 190-91). A year later the situation had further deteriorated. Arung Palakka La Tenritatta took to enslaving Wajorese people he encountered outside of Wajo'. Skilled laborers were also forcibly relocated from Wajo' to Boné, and Wajorese property including buffaloes and goods were confiscated. The Wajorese delegation returned to Makassar, but dared not complain vociferously. Instead, when the Governor General asked about conditions in Wajo', the Arung Matoa put one hand on his mouth and drew the other hand across his throat indicating that his throat would be slit if he were

10. While the 1670 treaty between the VOC and the Wajorese did not specify the surrender of these lands, it did specify that Wajo' would be subordinate to the Company. The Dutch version of the treaty uses the word *leen* or fief, whereas the Bugis version of the treaty uses the word "toinreng" with reference to the people and not the word "palili" which is more commonly translated as "vassal." Leonard Andaya suggests that the Dutch gave the Wajorese a literal translation of the treaty devoid of sensitivity to local conventions (Andaya, 1981: 320 n. 2). The imposition of European-style treaties was a widespread practice in the history of European expansion but falls beyond the scope of this article.

to speak (Andaya, 1981: 191). A century later the Wajorese still remembered how difficult Arung Palakka La Tenritatta's overlordship was. As will be seen in the following description of meetings held during the 1760s, the Wajorese also remembered the impossibility of persuading Arung Palakka La Tenritatta to adhere to the Treaty of Timurung after they themselves had not.

In fairness, Arung Palakka La Tenritatta's harsh treatment of the Wajorese was probably incited not only by the refusal of Wajo' to adhere to the Treaty of Timurung but also by his own personality, specifically a strong desire for power, and perhaps also by his feelings of betrayal.[11] La Maddukelleng (c. 1700-1765) is another example of a very strong personality influencing politics and, as with Arung Palakka La Tenritatta, his story offers window on uses of the Treaty of Timurung.

The Treaty of Timurung and the Trials of La Maddukelleng

La Maddukelleng is the most well-known figure in the history of Wajo'. Modern Indonesian historiography regards him as a national hero for his efforts to expel the Dutch from Sulawesi (Nur Asiah, 2009: 65). Bugis historiography, on the other hand, has a more nuanced view, detailing both his acts of bravery and the havoc he wreaked (Noorduyn, 1955: 125-41 and Hadrawi, Wellen and Macknight, forthcoming). This section uses both published and unpublished Bugis and Dutch sources to describe the influence La Maddukelleng had on the Tellumpocco which is the alliance set up by the Treaty of Timurung and how this alliance functioned and was regarded by the three powers almost two centuries after the Treaty of Timurung was concluded.

La Maddukelleng was born to a noble Wajorese family around 1700. While still a young man, he offended the ruler of Boné. Either he was exiled or he had to flee because, in the very early eighteenth century, Boné was still an important power on the peninsula. After the death of Arung Palakka La Tenritatta's nephew and successor La Patau (1696-1714), however, Boné entered an especially tumultuous period.[12] Meanwhile Wajo' not only recovered from the aftermath of the Makassar War but also transformed itself into a

11. Arung Palakka La Tenritatta was among the people of Boné whom Goa forced to dig ditches under harsh and abusive conditions in 1660. By siding with Goa, Wajo' was not only betraying the Tellumpocco but also siding with Arung Palakka La Tenritatta's enemy.

12. La Patau's daughter Batari Toja ruled from 1714 to 1715, briefly in 1720, and for a third time from 1724-1749. In 1715 and 1720 she abdicated to her half-brothers and during her third reign she attempted to rule jointly with her husband who tried to usurp her and consequently had to flee. Meanwhile there were two other contenders for the throne of Boné, specifically Arung Tanete La Oddang and the Goan princess I Denra Datu. Eventually Batari Toja herself had to flee to Makassar where she had pockets of supporters. In part because of this political instability, Boné lost its favored position with the Netherlands East India Company (Sautijn, 1737: 183).

powerful trading nation.[13] While Wajo' reconstructed itself, La Maddukelleng sought his own fortunes in East Kalimantan. He married into the royal family of Pasir and eventually assumed the title Sultan Pasir.

La Maddukelleng gained a widespread reputation for the use of violence, particularly at sea (Matthes, 1869: 25). His influence was also feared on land. A song recorded in the *Complete Chronicles of Wajo'* emphasizes his potential impact on the Tellumpocco. The words are "The buffalo eats at sea. Its tail is so heavy that it does not move. Its horns don't butt. If it moves its tail just once, Wajo' will be troubled, Soppéng will be made to sit lost in thought and Boné will lose perspective." While perhaps composed at a later date, this functions in the text as a prediction that La Maddukelleng's return would be a burden to Wajo', paralyze Soppéng and marginalize Boné (La Sangaji Puanna La Sengngeng, n.d.: 241).

The Tellumpocco does indeed appear to have feared La Maddukelleng. They proclaimed him an evil-doer and declared that he had a blood debt towards the three allied countries (Noorduyn, 1972:66). When La Maddukelleng appeared on the coast of Palletté during the mid-1730s, the Tellumpocco forbade him from going on land. He then proceeded to the estuary near Doping where the combined forces of the Tellumpocco surrounded him. Eventually, the Tellumpocco agreed to allow him to disembark on the condition that he be tried according to *adat* or customary law (Noorduyn, 1955: 280-81). At a meeting in Tosora La Maddukelleng was accused of seven crimes: the murder of a Bonéan noble named To Pasarai; the murder of a Bonéan messenger; intimidating the ruler of Mandar, a Bonéan ally; setting fire to Balanglompo, an island off the coast of Makassar; firing upon Fort Rotterdam despite the Dutch being a friend of Boné; entering the Cenrana river and frightening the ruler of Boné; and ordering the assassination of La Selleq and five other people in Kera (Noorduyn, 1972: 65-66). La Maddukelleng's arguments in self-defence were not impressive; by one account they even angered the Tellumpocco (Zainal Abidin and Alam, 1968:1, 12:27). Nevertheless, he was acquitted, perhaps because of the influence he had acquired. Presumably the Tellumpocco feared reprisal by La Maddukelleng's followers who had grown in number during each phase of his journey from Doping to Tosora. Another factor that likely facilitated La Maddukelleng's acquittal was the reversal in the balance of power between Boné and Wajo' during the second through fourth decades of the eighteenth century.

13. Successive Wajorese leaders deliberately sought to expand international commerce and harness the power of overseas Wajorese communities to refortify the state. The Wajorese deliberately designed taxes, institutions and laws to expand their commercial potential and protect their trade. Ultimately, they succeeded not only in establishing a flourishing international trade but also in undermining the trade of the Netherlands United East India Company, which tried hard to hinder them (Wellen, 2014:67-87).

After his first trial, La Maddukelleng proceeded to Pénéki where he was inaugurated as Arung Pénéki or ruler of Pénéki. Then in 1736 he assumed the position of Arung Matoa or paramount ruler.[14] As Arung Matoa he vowed to free Wajo' from all oppressors and he sought restitution for the money, goods and people seized by Boné and Soppéng after the Makassar War. Boné and Soppéng complied and Wajo' increased in strength (Wellen, 2014: 143-45). La Maddukelleng then tried to rally the Tellumpocco to expel the Dutch from Makassar. He was especially keen to gain Boné's support because he held Boné responsible for bringing the Dutch to Sulawesi. In 1737 at a meeting of the Tellumpocco in Timurung, La Maddukelleng explicitly declared "Wajo' wants Boné to force the Dutch to leave, for as long as they're here, the Tellumpocco will be in decline." (Anonymous, n.d.: 24; Noorduyn, 1955: 130). In this instance, La Maddukelleng evoked the brotherhood established by the Treaty of Timurung.

When the Dutch heard rumors of this, they invited La Maddukelleng to Makassar in hopes of negotiating a lasting peace. The Wajorese messenger said that La Maddukelleng would almost certainly come to Makassar if Dutch emissaries personally delivered the invitation to him in Tosora. The Dutch complied and sent emissaries to Wajo'. The diary of this expedition offers fascinating insights into how La Maddukelleng had positioned himself and Wajo' within the Tellumpocco.

In Tosora the Dutch emissaries met with La Maddukelleng in his palace. His throne was in the center with the Datu of Soppéng and Bonéan nobles on the right and the other members of the Wajorese ruling council known as the Forty Lords on the left.[15] This seating arrangement does not suggest that La Maddukelleng considered Wajo' to be inferior in rank to Boné, as a younger brother would be. Rather, it suggests that he considered himself to be of paramount importance within the Tellumpocco. The Dutch occupied a place in front of him on mats while the letter from the Dutch Governor was read repeatedly.[16] La Maddukelleng then said that he understood the letter, told the emissaries that they may retire to their house and that he would send a messenger if he wished to discuss matters further with them. The next day Bonéan officials made their excuses to the Dutch for not having talked to them during the meeting, and explained that this was out of fear without specifying fear of what. This fear constitutes a sharp contrast to when the

14. There are conflicting reports as to whether Arung Matoa La Salewangeng resigned voluntarily or was usurped by La Maddukelleng (Wellen, 2014:145).

15. The Dutch text is ambiguous as to whose right and left.

16. The Dutch had also brought a copy of the contract between Wajo' and the VOC, but this was not read. Interestingly, the next day a Wajorese official told the Dutch that the 40 Lords of Wajo' were unaware of the existence of such a contract. This unverifiable statement, however, does not mean that they did not have a copy of it.

Wajorese delegation visited Makassar in 1671 and refused to speak out of fear for Bonéan reprisal.

The following day, the Dutch had another audience with La Maddukelleng. At this meeting the Tellumpocco was mentioned. La Maddukelleng told the Dutch that if they wanted to know "what the three united lands of Wajo', Soppéng and Boné had decided, that each would speak for itself." He reiterated that each of the three lands would have "say over its own" a few days later when the Dutch departed Tosora (Figera and Vol, 1738:28-45). Recorded in Dutch translation, it is difficult to know exactly what La Maddukelleng meant. It may have been that La Maddukelleng no longer considered Wajo' to be Boné's younger sibling, as his throne above the other seats suggested. La Maddukelleng might also have meant to emphasize the sovereignty of each of the three lands within the Tellumpocco alliance. At any rate, Wajo' was prepared to act on its own. The Wajorese messenger La Usi encouraged the Dutch to end their friendship with Boné and conclude a new alliance with Wajo'. From unofficial sources the Dutch envoys also learned that La Maddukelleng wanted to restore the ruler of Goa to his former glory. There is no reference in the Dutch emissaries' account to the Treaty of Topaceddo which had made Wajo' vassal of Goa, and it is difficult to know if La Maddukelleng was motivated by loyalty to Goa, hatred of Boné, or both.

Whatever his motivation, La Maddukelleng's forces launched an attack on Makassar in 1739. They succeeded in invading Goa but failed in expelling the Dutch in part because he was unable to secure the complete loyalty of the Bonéans and Goans. La Maddukelleng retreated to Wajo', wreaking havoc along the way. Attacking Tanété on this trip was but one of La Maddukelleng's many violent acts as Arung Matoa.

As might be expected, the Dutch launched a retaliatory attack which departed from Makassar in late 1740 under the command of Adriaan Smout (governor 1737-1744). It was not especially successful and the Dutch retreated from Tosora on March 29, 1741. Thereafter La Maddukelleng promptly launched punitive attacks against vassals that had sided with the Dutch. La Maddukelleng also became embroiled in conflicts with Sidénréng and Pammana, and he enraged the populace by making unilateral decisions, thereby disregarding the cherished custom of deliberation. As a result of his arbitrary and violent actions, he gradually lost the support of the Wajorese populace. La Maddukelleng was replaced by La Maddanaca as paramount ruler of Wajo' in 1754. La Maddukelleng did, however, maintain his position of Arung Pénéki and used his power base in Pénéki to terrorize the region, instilling such fear in the populations that, according to a letter from the ruler of Boné, traders and fishermen did not even dare to go out on the water (Arumponé, 1766: unpaginated).

In the early 1760s representatives of the Tellumpocco held a series of meetings to discuss how to deal with La Maddukelleng. A Bugis manuscript

in the Leiden University library, "La Maddukelleng's Second Trial" which is one of numerous texts in the codex NBG Boeg 125, details the proceedings of seven of these meetings. While La Maddukelleng is the main topic of discussion, there is no indication that he is physically present at any of these meetings. Instead representatives from Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng discuss their respective laws, the history of their alliance, who should bear responsibility for La Maddukelleng's misdeeds, and the legality of punishing a former head of state. It is an extremely rare text because it describes the manner in which the Bugis consulted written laws during the mid-eighteenth century. It also provides insights into how the Tellumpocco viewed their alliance and the Treaty of Timurung almost two centuries after it was concluded.

As previously described, the Treaty of Timurung established an alliance between Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng. The treaty itself describes the alliance as one between three parts of a rope, but historical texts from both Wajo' and Boné relate that the alliance was also conceived of as a brotherhood. "The Second Trial of La Maddukelleng" begins almost immediately with a reference to the allies being like a family and contains repeated references to this familial relationship. At one point the text curiously refers to Soppéng and Wajo' as being children of Boné. There is also a reference to Boné and Wajo' as two mothers while Soppéng is a child. Most of the references, however, are either to the family in general or to Boné as the eldest brother. The words of the Makkedang Tana of Boné exemplify a familial reference: "May this deliberation between the three of us as a family seek eternal virtue. In a meeting of the three family members, we are looking for the eternal good." References to the brotherhood, including their respective ages, are often made in passing such as when Wajo' says Soppéng "Our older brother asks a question, Soppéng." (Hadrawi, Wellen and Macknight, forthcoming).

The discussions also repeatedly refer to the importance of adhering to the ways of the ancestors and to unspecified past treaties. At one point a Bonéan representative Arung Ta' To Aléwowa urges "We should look in order to find the root of the problem. If we still don't find it, at least we can still relate it to the customs (stipulations) of our alliance." The implication here is that they should return to their respective villages to consult the Treaty of Timurung. Arung Ta' To Aléwowa continues, "I ask all three of my rulers: do you want to follow all of the statutes of our rulers of yore? It would be good if we follow our ancestors." The Pilla of Wajo' also suggests "Let us think back and recall our agreements." (Hadrawi, Wellen and Macknight, forthcoming).

As Arung Ta' suggests, just thinking back to recall the agreements is considered insufficient. During the fourth meeting, Puwanna Lékke' expresses his frustration with the process. He says "The meetings still wallow forwards, and I still do not see a result. Maybe it would be good if we all speak to our three respective rulers, and that they come together for deliberations and not us. Maybe they will see the light." Various reasons for discord, including lack of unity,

are then suggested. The Makkedang Tana of Boné suggests that the problem may be difference in their writings. The debate continues and it is suggested that the root of the Tellumpocco's problems lay with La Maddukelleng's refusal to deliberate.[17] Eventually the Sullé Datu of Soppéng suggests "Your younger brother asks you both: maybe it would be good if we opened all of the writings about the agreements of our rulers of yore, and then each of us clarified their meanings; so that our interpretations do not differ." They then adjourn the fourth meeting. (Hadrawi, Wellen and Macknight, forthcoming).

"La Maddukelleng's Second Trial" then relates how the representatives convene again a week later to discuss their texts. The Makkedang Tana of Boné explicitly asks if all of the texts are present and their presence is confirmed. They then read their respective texts. "La Maddukelleng's Second Trial" does not specify what these texts are. It does, however, relate that Boné and Soppéng's texts are identical whereas that of Wajo' is very long. This difference in length indicates that they are not consulting identical copies of the Treaty of Timurung. They then discuss the texts and the Pilla of Wajo' contends that the meaning of the Wajorese text is nevertheless the same. The Pollipu of Soppéng then says: "Our explanation is short. 'Whether the transgressor comes from inside or comes from outside, he should be crushed by stones according to mutual agreement.'" The Pollipu's statement may or may not be a reference to the ceremony held when the Treaty of Timurung was concluded in which eggs were crushed with stones.

The text then relates how the following meeting is held less than a week later. This time the references to the Treaty of Timurung are clear. The Makkedang Tana not only referred to La Maddukelleng's crimes but also issued a reprimand for damaging the Tellumpocco and ignoring warnings. He further states that the reason Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng "came together in Timurung was so as to really look after the well-being of our lands." The Pollipu interjects that the Tellumpocco unites in the case of external threats, and agrees to stoning the offenders to death in the case of internal menaces. In this instance the Pollipu's mention of stoning appears to be a reference to the Treaty of Timurung, the implication being that they should stone La Maddukelleng to death. However, punishing a former head of state is not so easy because, according to the discussion in "The Second Trial of La Maddukelleng," the customs of all three countries indicate that a ruler is infallible. Historically speaking, Bugis rulers were in fact contradicted and even deposed;[18] during

17. This is generously put, but very plausible because other sources also attest to La Maddukelleng's unwillingness to deliberate. Deliberation is a very important aspect of Bugis governance. The Treaty of Timurung explicitly mandates believing each other, warning each other and listening to each other's warnings, thus deliberation may be implied.

18. See chapter 8 of the Chronicle of Boné on the fallibility and deposition of a Bugis

this meeting, however, they are accorded tremendous respect. The Makkedang Tana states "If our ruler says something, he cannot be contradicted. Even if he declares that white is black, then it is black." Apparently at a loss as to how to proceed, the representatives adjourn the sixth meeting. They meet a seventh time at which meeting the Makkedang Tana stresses the value of the words of judges. They also agree that the rulers of their respective countries should meet (Hadrawi, Wellen and Macknight, forthcoming).

"La Maddukelleng's Second Trial" meeting-by-meeting account of legal deliberations is unusual. While numerous legal texts have survived, "La Maddukelleng's Second Trial" provides information about how they are used. It provides a description as to how government officials referred to texts as well as an actual discussion by political actors. It is very interesting to note that high-ranking officials consulting the texts was not enough. It was still considered desirable for the rulers of the respective states to meet and deliberate. This suggests that, even in legal situations where written laws are present, the verbal sphere remained very important. Furthermore, "La Maddukelleng's Second Trial" documents that legal texts were subject to interpretation.

"La Maddukelleng's Second Trial" is also illuminating with regards to the Treaty of Timurung. Between 1582 and 1763, the political scene in South Sulawesi had altered dramatically and repeatedly. Nevertheless, the Tellumpocco alliance established by the Treaty of Timurung was still relevant; indeed, it seems to have loomed large in the minds of the delegates. Furthermore, the mutual respect for sovereignty which is repeatedly and poetically emphasized in the text of the Treaty of Timurung remains important. Even in such an extreme case as La Maddukelleng's pillaging, there is hesitancy to violate the sovereignty of Wajo'. There is also emphasis on consensus. Even the Pollipu who advocates stoning indicates that this must be agreed upon. The importance of previous agreements resonates clearly. In their deliberations, the representatives repeatedly mention reminding each other. Reminding, remembering and interpreting retained importance in a subsequent political crisis during the following decade.

Crisis in Goa and the Treaty of Timurung

Shortly after the Second Trial of La Maddukelleng, there was a rebellion elsewhere on the peninsula in Makassar. This rebellion is sometimes known as "Perang Batara Gowa I-Sangkilang" or the war of the Goan ruler I-Sangkilang (Abdul Razak, 1969: 88). For various reasons explained below, Boné became involved in this conflict. When Boné assisted the VOC, this raised questions about Boné's loyalty to the Tellumpocco alliance established by the Treaty of Timurung. Letters between the rulers of Wajo' and Boné recorded in the diary

ruler. (Macknight, Paeni and Hadrawi, 2020: 96-99.)

of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin (r. 1775-1812) show how Bugis rulers referred to the Treaty of Timurung in official correspondence. It also clearly demonstrates that the Treaty of Timurung was still considered relevant more than two centuries after it was concluded.

The rebellion related to the throne of Goa. Following the exile of the 26th ruler of Goa, Karaéng Amas Madina (r. 1766-67), in 1767, and the abdication of his brother Mallisujawa Daéng Riboko a.k.a. Arung Mampu (1767-69), the Goa state council known as the Baté Salapang, chose their great grandfather Karaéng Tamasongo as the next ruler of Goa in 1770. Then, in 1776 he was challenged by the pretender Sangkilang, resulting in a rebellion which reverberated across the peninsula.

Who exactly Sangkilang was, his birthplace and parentage, are impossible to ascertain. He may have been a runaway slave of the Bonéan prince Patimbing, but this is not certain (Friedericy, 1933: 494). Presumably his epithet derives from the Makassarese word for rudder beam (Matthes, 1885: 721) because he claimed to have survived a shipwreck by hanging on to the rudder beam and finding his way back to Makassar thereafter. He claimed to be the exiled ruler of Goa Amas Madina and declared this at a public feast on November 11, 1776. There were serious doubts as to the authenticity of this claim. Nevertheless, he succeeded in attracting a large following quickly, suggesting both that he had a charismatic personality and that he appeared at a moment of political and cultural instability in Goa (Rahilah Omar, 2003: 68). Sangkilang's attempt to claim the throne was one of very few messianic movements in South Sulawesi.

With his supporters, Sangkilang ambushed the Dutch a few short days later on November 14, 1776. The following year he temporarily took control of Maros, Tallo' and Goa. The VOC tried to suppress the rebellion but could not muster sufficient military support. Sangkilang and his forces seized Goa on June 15, 1777, presumably with help from within (Rahilah Omar, 2003: 71). He also seized the regalia and deposed Goa's ruler, claiming the throne for himself. Crucially, Sangkilang was able to convince Karaéng Paramparang that he was her grandson. Also known as Mangiratu Arung Palakka, Karaéng Paramparang was the highest-ranking noble in South Sulawesi and she was said to have the purest blood (Roessingh, 1986: 155). She was the daughter of the twentieth Karaéng Goa who was also the nineteenth Arumponé; and she was the wife of the ruler of Tallo'. Sangkilang's popularity seems to have depended upon her support which he was able to secure against the odds. When she noticed he did not have certain scars, she became distrustful but he swayed her (Rahilah Omar, 2003: 72-75). In this instance as well, the importance of buy-in is apparent.

Boné became embroiled in this rebellion. Not only had Sangkilang taken shelter in Jénéponto which was under Boné's jurisdiction but also there were

family connections between the royal courts of Boné and Goa (Roessingh, 1986: 160, 168). Furthermore, the head of Boné's military, Datu Baringeng, duplicitously claimed to support the VOC while actually secretly assisting Sangkilang. Indeed, many native troops were reluctant to take up arms against Sangkilang and offered the Dutch a variety of excuses for their lackluster performance and collaboration (Rahilah Omar, 2003: 69-71). Thus it was with some reluctance that the ruler of Boné Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh acquiesced to help the VOC in Makassar and command his own troops in an offensive against Sangkilang in late 1777. In his diary he wrote that "Boné and the Company are like brothers and must never separate." He also warned his allies and nobles against supporting the rebels, threatening to punish disobedient soldiers with the enslavement of their wives and children (Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin or DAS: f. 32v as cited in Rahilah Omar, 2003: 76-77).

With the ruler of Boné making such proclamations and offering to personally lead his troops alongside the Dutch against Sangkilang and his supporters, questions of loyalty arose within the Tellumpocco. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's mention of the brotherhood between Boné and the Company was a reference to the close relationship established during and after the Makassar War. The other brotherhood between Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng, established by the Treaty of Timurung, twenty years before the VOC even came into existence, was also called to mind.

When Sangkilang claimed the throne of Goa, more than a century had passed since Wajo' allied with Goa against the combined forces of the Dutch and Boné during the Makassar War. Once again Wajo' took issue with Boné's alliance with the Dutch. Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh recorded in his diary that the Arung Matoa of Wajo'

> *"was shocked to hear that the Arumponé and the royal standard had set off [to Makassar] without informing him earlier. The pact of Timurung is still strong in our minds. Whenever any one of us has to face the enemy, we do not hesitate to assist. Whenever any one of us wants to launch an attack on those outside the pact, first of all a meeting must take place to give it consideration and to avoid any action which is not agreeable . . . Because your brother is furious to hear about the killing and slashing of the children and grandchildren of Matinroé ri Nagauleng."* (DAS: f.33r as cited in Rahilah Omar, 2003: 76).

In this case, Wajo' is making an appeal to the shared history among the three countries of the Tellumpocco, a shared history dating back almost two centuries. Boné, too, remembered this covenant but emphasized that it remembered the Treaty of Timurung differently. When Wajo' sent two more letters expressing concern, Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh replied as follows:

> *"with regard to your messenger's outrage at Arumponé having commanded the Samparadja and at Arumponé's departure [to war] without informing you earlier, and with refererence to you reminding us of the law [agreement] that was set*

> *at Mallampatu [Tellumpocco] in Timurung, we had not forgotten about it. But, our understanding of the agreement differs to yours. So, you asked us to take no [military] action and then you [Wajo'] try to portray yourselves as abiding by the agreement. We cannot stand by, because they [the enemy] had done as they wished, in going against the regulations that were agreed with the Company. You are upset to see our children killing each other. I am very grateful for your good words [. . .] neither do we want [our people] to kill each other, because this violates our ancestors' agreement. On the contrary, this does not apply to those who have done ill to us. Therefore, I propose that you stay out of it, and we will strive for sincerity between us [Boné and Wajo'], because with regards to the Tellumpocco [agreement], you have no place in our hearts."* (DAS: f. 29v as cited in Rahilah Omar, 2003:77)

It is not completely clear in the first citation from Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's diary where the Arung Matoa's sentiments end and where Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh's own begin. What is clear, however, is that both memories of the Treaty of Timurung are flawed. The Treaty of Timurung does not stipulate the holding of a meeting before attacking a party outside the alliance; nor does it grant an exclusion to kill members of the alliance if they have done ill. While perhaps in the same spirit, neither action falls clearly under the stipulations that "no fool brings us in conflict with each other, no idiot causes fights between us" nor any other stipulation of the treaty. Both Wajo' and Boné are interpreting the treaty in accordance to the political situation and their own ideas of what is beneficial to the three allied powers. Buying-in to the conceptual brotherhood established by the Treaty of Timurung is thus more important than the details of the treaty itself.

Exhuming Buried Stones

The Treaty of Timurung is foundational in that it formed the Tellumpocco alliance that endured for centuries. Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng, were not always of the same side of various conflicts but the concept of their brotherhood remained strong. They convened meetings of representatives from their three countries and even jointly tried criminals for crimes against the Tellumpocco. They also held strong, albeit differing, beliefs about what was best for their collective well-being.

Because the Treaty of Timurung is foundational, it is referred to time and time again over the centuries. How often copies of the Treaty of Timurung were actually consulted is impossible to ascertain. In some instances, memories of the treaty's details were accurately recalled; while in other instances they appear to be less clearly remembered. It may be that the text recorded in the Wajorese chronicles, relied upon for this article, varies from texts that were held in other Bugis lands. Alternatively, it may be that the concept of the alliance was more important than its details. Another possibility is that details were cited selectively in accordance with the political situation at hand. Given

that the entire treaty was sometimes disregarded, selective use seems likely.

The details of the alliance do not appear to be a question of memory; or, not *always* a question of memory. On more than one occasion, politicians remembered earlier agreements and intentionally opted to disregard them. For example, prior to concluding the Treaty of Timurung, it was remembered that Wajo' was Goa's "slave" in accordance to an earlier treaty, namely the Treaty of Topaceddo. While considered as a possible deterrent, ultimately this earlier agreement did not prevent Wajo' from joining an alliance against its "master." Furthermore, while the Treaty of Timurung explicitly specifies that the three allies should remind each other in case of forgetfulness, this was not always possible. In the light of Arung Palakka La Tenritatta's torment of Wajo', for example, the Wajorese declined to remind him of the treaty for fear of their lives.

Nevertheless, it is certain that the Bugis consulted their texts for legal purposes. During the second trial of La Maddukelleng, texts were consulted in between meetings, brought to meetings, read aloud, compared and discussed. This process, however, was insufficient to resolve the issue at hand. The representatives went back to their respective lands to consult with their rulers, and eventually it was deemed appropriate for the rulers to meet in person. This importance of deliberation is in line with the importance of the oral sphere in Bugis society (Pelras, 2016).

The endurance of the Treaty of Timurung is remarkable. Even though the treaty was broken during the Makassar War, it retained relevance. Indeed, the Treaty of Timurung was still considered relevant during the rebellion of Sangkilang almost two centuries after it was concluded. Comparison to concepts and uses of treaties in other cultures must be the subject of further study, yet the ways in which the Bugis continued to remember the treaty, remind each other of it, disregard it and interpret it new insights about how legal documents were used in early modern Indonesia, a field about which very little is known (Hoogervorst, 2022: 41, 43 and 54).

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Peter Carey *

Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (circa 1811-1880) and the Java War (1825-30): A Dissident Family History

Introduction[1]

For biographers of the pioneer of Indonesian modern painting, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (ca.1811-1880) (Plate 9), the years (ca. 1812-19, 1824-25) he passed under the care of his uncle (Appendix II) and guardian (foster

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1. The present article is based on the information available to me at the present time (7 March 2022), much of it provided by the Raden Saleh scholar, Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet. Given the misinformation which continues to circulate about Suroadimenggolo V and his family, which originated in part with his Dutch obituarists (Appendix Ia and Ib), and was echoed soon afterwards by General de Kock's military adjutant and son-in-law, Major François de Stuers (1792-1881), who refers (De Stuers 1833:48) to Suroadimenggolo and "a son [? Sukur]'s" "exile to the Moluccas [Maluku]", it is certain that it will need to be updated in due course. For example, Raden Mas Saleh's (Ario Notodiningrat, ca. 1800-72) biographer, Raden Soekanto (1904-61), an Indonesian historian who served as Indonesian State Archivist (1951-57), alleges (Soekanto 1951:55-56) that the Kiai and his eldest son, were interned as exiles from the second (1826) to the last year (1830) of the Java War in Ambon, and were eventually allowed to be moved to Sumenep following the end of the war as a result of Diponegoro's arrest on 28 March 1830, arriving there on 24 April 1830. Furthermore, according to this same source, Suroadimenggolo is supposed to have lived seven years (1830-37) under the benign protection of his son-in-law, the Sultan of Sumenep, Pakunataningrat (Sultan Abdurrahman, r. 1811-54), dying in the east Madura court town on 20 July 1837. This sequence of events has been accepted by Suroadimenggolo's

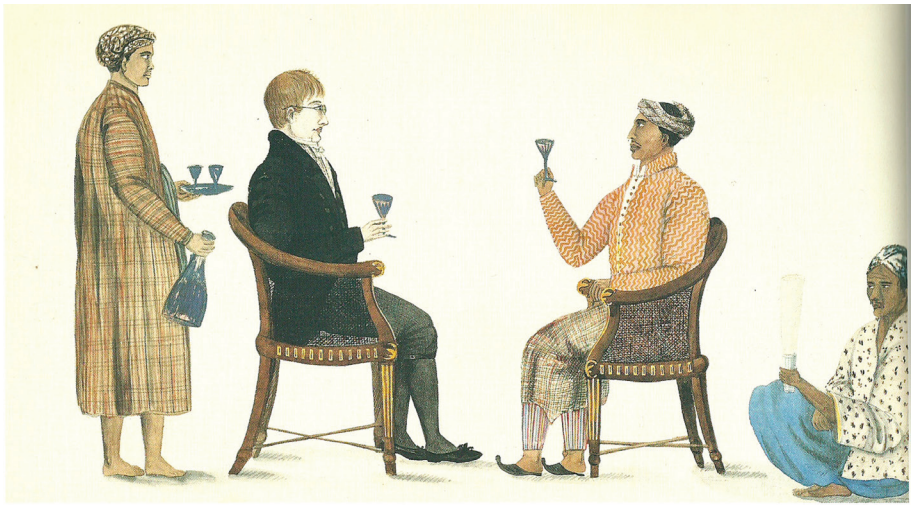

Plate 1 – John Newman (ca.1795-1818), "A Javanese grandee and a European, 1811-1812," perhaps depicting a meeting between the British Resident of Semarang, Hugh Hope (1782-1822; in office, 1811-1812), and the local *bupati*, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V (in office 1809-22). Watercolour on paper, 18.3 x 32.7 cm. Photograph courtesy of the British Library, London.

father), Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V, the *bupati* of Semarang (ca.1765-1826; in office, 1809-1822), in Terboyo (Semarang), were formative ones. As Werner Kraus has put it:[2]

> 'Saleh […] had conflicting childhood experiences. On the one hand, there was the glamour of his exposure in Semarang [in his guardian's house in Terboyo] to enlightened men who imbued him with a yearning for "*Europe's happy countries, luminous in the diamond jewels of art, science and high[er] education*". While, on the other hand, he also experienced the humiliating excesses which the colonial rulers claimed for themselves. Both this desire for and suffering as a result of the "accomplishments" of Europe were to shape Saleh's life […]."

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surviving family in Jakarta (Pak Muhammad Mansoer Werdisastro) and in Bogor by Annie Soedasmo, sixth and seventh generation descendants respectively of the early 19th-century Semarang *bupati,* M. Mansur Werdisastro letter, 15 July 2019; Annie Soedasmo, electronic communication, 18 March 2018. But sadly, this is a fairy tale and Soekanto, as Head of the Indonesian National Archives, should have done his research better. The only association between the Kiai and the Sultanate of Sumenep is his final resting place in the Asta Tinggi royal graveyard (see footnote 29 and Plates 4-6). De Graaf 1979:270, also reports the fiction that Suroadimenggolo and Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) were exiled to Ambon in the period 1826-27, before the first was transferred to Sumenep where he died on 20 July 1827 (see Resident Hardy's concocted obituary in Appendix Ib). At the same time, he wrongly refers to the *Pollux* rather than the *Maria Reigersbergen* as the warship which brought the pair to Surabaya from Semarang in early February 1826.

2. Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:31-33**.**

Given the importance of these years in shaping Saleh's view of the world and his artistic *oeuvre,* it is remarkable that there are still so many unknowns about this early period of his life. Unfortunately, the legacy of previous studies of Raden Saleh's family by Soekanto (1951), Baharudin Marasutan (1973), Bachtiar (1976) and De Graaf (1979) have perpetuated a number of myths (footnote 1), some, but not all, of which have since been corrected by Saleh's modern biographers, Marie-Odette Scalliet (1995, 2005, 2007, 2008) and Werner Kraus (2012). The research for the present article, which focusses on Saleh's Semarang years, rests heavily on the work of these two present-day biographers.

The Early 19th Century Historical Context

What then of the historical context of early-nineteenth-century Java where Raden Saleh was born and grew up? The Leiden lawyer, Willem van Hogendorp (1795-1838), who served as legal adviser to the Belgian Commissioner-General L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies (in office, 1826-30), had a ringside seat from which to observe the after-effects of the political "tsunami" which had just ravaged the Indies a decade and a half earlier. Within the space of four and a half years between the coming of Marshal Herman Willem Daendels on 6 January 1808 as Governor-General designate up to the British-Indian invasion of 4 August 1811 and Raffles' attack on Yogyakarta the following year (20 June 1812), Javanese society was turned on its head. Van Hogendorp would later sum it up in a series of pithy letters to his father Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp (1762-1834), one of the architects of the post-1813 modern Dutch state. Reflecting that it was not "the [Java] War as such or the number of our enemies" which constituted his greatest concern for the future of Dutch rule in the Indies, but rather what he termed "the spirit of the whole population of Java from one end to the other and I include here the spirit of [the inhabitants of] our most important outer island possessions in Borneo, Makassar and throughout Sumatra […]. They are tired of us […]." He went on to point out that "the feeling of unrest is extremely great throughout Java […]. As concerns the cause [of this] it is nothing else than that the Dutch Government […] has made itself over the past ten years most vile in the eyes of the Javanese."

Even in distant West Java under the watchful eye of his Belgian painter-mentor, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853), who himself cordially loathed Dutch colonial society,[3] the adolescent Saleh could not have been indifferent to the transition which his country had passed through as it was brutally wrenched into the modern age and a tide of European newcomers—first British (1811-16) and then—post-1816—Dutch (75 percent of whom had never set foot in the colony)—descended on the island bringing with them the values of post-Revolutionary Europe. One of the outcomes of this cultural

3. Personal communication, Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet, 22 January 2022, who referred to Payen's particular loathing for Dutch colonial society in Bogor.

shock of Java's brutal transition to the modern age was the Java War (1825-30) and the reaction of the island's indigenous political (*kraton*) and religious (Islamic) elites to the challenge of European imperialism. Diponegoro (1785-1855) would be its most famous and tragic protagonist—Java's very own Hamlet, lamenting like the Prince of Denmark that "the times were out of joint, o cursed spite, that ever I was born to set them right!"

Like Diponegoro, Saleh's family in Terboyo (Semarang) was a direct victim of this abrupt transition. They too suffered as a consequence of the Java War. Indeed, they suffered under a double suspicion in the eyes of the post-1816 Dutch regime. Not only were they highly intelligent and outspoken, but they were also very pro-British. Saleh's uncle, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V, the *bupati* of Terboyo (ca. 1765/68-1826, in office 1809-22), better known as "Kangjeng Terboyo", was one of Raffles' key informants, providing—along with other Javanese-Madurese luminaries such as Suroadimenggolo's son-in-law, the Sultan of Sumenep, Abdurrahman Paku Nataningrat (r. 1811-54),[4] and Pangeran Notokusumo (1764-1829; post-1812, Pakualam I, r. 1812-1829) of Yogyakarta, much valuable information on Java's history, law, archaeology, customs and belief systems for Raffles, which the lieutenant-governor subsequently used—unacknowledged—in his famous *History of Java,* which was published in London by Black, Parbury & Allen on 10 May 1817.

It is interesting here that the two greatest pioneers of modern Indonesian art—Affandi (1907-90) and Saleh—both stemmed from *peranakan* (mixed race) families, the first Indonesian-Chinese and the latter Arab-Javanese. In fact, Saleh's family was unusual in that the Hadhrami Arab al-Alwi family, from whom he was descended, had come to Java from western India (Surat) and not directly from the Hadhramaut (present-day South Yemen). They also had made good marriages into the Javanese aristocracy: one of Saleh's relatives—Kiai Tumenggung Danuningrat (ca.1780-1825), alias Sayyid Alwi—had married into the family of the second sultan of Yogyakarta[5] and served as *bupati* of Kedu (in office, 1813-25) from the British annexation (1 August 1812) until his capture and murder in southern Kedu by Diponegoro's supporters in the third month of the Java War.[6] They were thus culturally different from their fellow Hadhrami Arabs who had made their way to the archipelago directly from the Arabian peninsula. Indeed, it was not just the men who were prominent—the women too

4. Originally Pangeran Nata Negara, post-1812 elevated by Raffles as Panembahan Adipati Nata Kusuma; and finally appointed as Sultan by the post-1816 returned Dutch administration of G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (in office 1816-26).

5. His wife was a daughter of Pangeran Blitar I (ca. 1784-1828), a son of Sultan Mangkubumi (r. 1749-1792), the founder of Yogyakarta.

6. On Danuningrat's capture and execution following a skirmish at Kalijengking near the River Krasak on 28 September 1825, see Hageman 1856:111-2; Louw and De Klerck 1894-1909. I:419; and Carey 1992:440 note 203.

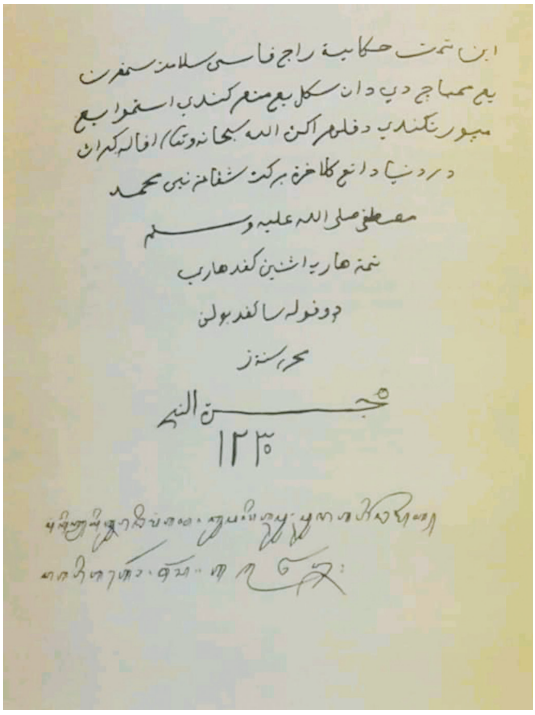

Plate 2 – Colophon of Royal Asiatic Society (RAS) Malay MS 67, entitled "Hikayat Raja Pasai," given by Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo to Raffles in A.J. 1742 (14 December 1814 – 2 December 1815), during a visit to the Lieutenant-Governor's palace in Bogor. The *aksara Jawa* (Javanese script) dedication reads: "*saking Kyai Suradimenggala, bupati sepuh pun nagari Demak, nagari Bahor* [Bogor]," *warsa [A.J.] 1742.* [From Kiai Suroadimenggolo, senior *bupati* of Demak, (dated) Bogor, A.J. 1742 (1814/15)]. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Asiatic society, London.

were highly educated—and Suroadimenggolo's wife, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (1778-1853), the daughter of Mangkunegoro I (Raden Mas Said, 1726-95; r. 1757-95) whom he had married in January 1794 (De Graaf 1979:259), and her three daughters, were singled out by the British scholar-administrator John Crawfurd (1783-1868) as intelligent and well-educated young women who spoke three languages (Arabic, Javanese and Malay).[7]

7. Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (born ca. 7 June 1778)'s education and command of Arabic and Javanese literature are mentioned in Crawfurd 1820, I: 48-49: "[…] Adimanggolo [Suroadimenggolo V], chief of the province of Samarang [Semarang], [is] a man for vigour and understanding, sagacity and intelligence far superior to all his countrymen. This respectable chieftain bestowed the most unwearied attention upon the education of his whole family. His wife [Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah], born a princess [Soemahatmaka 1973:7], whom, according to the custom of the country, he espoused [13 January 1794] while yet a girl [16 years old], he educated to make her a rational and equal companion, and both she and his three daughters made proficiency in Arabic literature and were skilled [in the literature] of their own country [Java] […]."

Suroadimenggolo and the British, 1811-1816

In June 1812, during an extended stay in Semarang connected to the British military operations against Yogyakarta, Raffles persuaded his friend Suroadimenggolo to send his two sons, Raden Mas Saleh (born Terboyo ca.1800-died Semarang 1872),[8] and Raden Mas Sukur (born Terboyo ca.1802–died in exile in Ternate post-March 1856), to Calcutta (present-day Kolkata) to pursue their education. The cost of £3,000 Sterling (£185,000 in present-day money) was to be borne by Suroadimenggolo.[9] The two siblings sailed for Calcutta on 16 July 1812 from Semarang on a frigate, H.M.S. *Modeste*, under command of the second son of the Governor-General of Bengal, Lord Minto (in office, 1807-1813), the Honourable George Elliot (1784-1863), who had been tasked with escorting the deposed Second Sultan of Yogyakarta into exile in Pinang (Georgetown). Part of the frigate's cargo consisted of some 68 chests containing 408,414 Spanish dollars in silver coin (£115,000 Sterling or £7,000,000 in present-day money) from the plundered Yogyakarta treasury, which was now being sent to Bengal as prize money for the credit of the officers and men of the victorious British expeditionary force.[10] In this fashion, much of the wealth extorted by the Second Sultan through his harsh fiscal policies of the first eighteen years of his reign (1792-1810) travelled with him into exile. But it would not be his to enjoy. The blood and sweat of a nameless generation of south-central Javanese peasants was now the spoil of a foreign conqueror.

As for Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) and Sukur, they represented Java's conflicted future. As members of the first cohort of the nineteenth-century Javanese elite to receive a European education, their prospects seemed bright. Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), in particular, who had won prizes in geometry,

8. Later given the title, Raden Ario Notodiningrat, when he became *bupati* of Probolinggo in Java's Eastern Salient (Oosthoek) (1817-ca.1821) and Lasem (ca. 1821-1824). After the death of the Regent of Kudus in early 1821, Suroadimenggolo had asked the influential Inspector of Finances, Hendrik Jan van de Graaff (1782-1827; in office, 1820-26), if his son, Ario Notodiningrat, could be appointed to this post, because, according to the Kiai, Probolinggo was far away, and a father liked to have his children close to him. But this did not happen and in 1823, the Resident of Semarang, H.J. Domis, wrote that Ario Notodiningrat was then serving as Regent of Lasem (ca.1821-24), see Van der Kemp (ed.) 1901-2, II:201-2, Domis (Semarang) to Van de Graaff (Batavia), 3 August 1823. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference, electronic communication, 5 July 2020.

9. See De Graaf 1979:263. All currency conversions use the historical currency conversion website "Measuring Worth" (Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1270 to [the] Present—Measuring Worth), which can be found at: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk/

10. Carey 1992:414-5 note 79, quoting British Library, India Office collection Eur. F. 148 (Raffles-Minto collection) vol. 19, Raffles (Semarang) to Lord Minto (Calcutta), 16-07-1812. See further Carey 2008:364.

algebra and drawing, at Mr Drummund's Academy in Calcutta—the so-called Durrumtollah Academy[11]—and returned to Java "a complete English gentleman"[12] was made acting *bupati* of Semarang when he was still only sixteen years old in 1816 and took his father's place for a period (1815-1816) during a dispute between Suroadimenggolo and the British Resident, William Boggie (in office, 7 May-17 August 1816).[13] Both Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat's) career and that of his brother, however, were later blighted by the Java War and their identity as Javanese Muslims.

A Changed World: Suroadimenggolo and the post-1816 Netherlands Indies Government

On 19 August 1816, the Suroadimenggolo family woke up to a changed world. At a formal ceremony in Batavia, the Union flag was lowered and the Dutch tricolour raised. Java and its dependencies had been formally handed back to the Netherlands. This followed a decision taken over a year earlier in May 1815 by the British government to evacuate Java under the terms of

11. On the location of Durromtollah Street in Calcutta, which took its name from Mr Drummond's Academy, see Pearce Carey 2008:264-5.

12. See De Graaf 1979:263, quoting Crawfurd, who wrote as Resident of Semarang (in office 23 January 1814-12 April 1814 and 18 September 1815-20 January 1816) that Saleh "read and wrote the English language with facility and propriety, and with the help of a fine ear acquired so accurate a pronunciation, that this language could not easily be discerned from that of a well-educated English youth. That this was not a mere mechanical acquirement was satisfactorily proved by the good sense and acuteness of his observations."

13. See De Haan 1935:505, "[Boggie's] period as Resident was characterized by conflict with the Regent [*bupati*] of Semarang [Suroadimenggolo V] and his [two] sons [Saleh and Sukur], foster children of Raffles, mainly as a result of forced land acquisition [by Boggie] from the regent in Bojong (Pragata [present-day Bergota]), even though this was the [site of the] tombs of the regent's family. The regent was offended because he faced repeated instances of rudeness from Boggie, and sometimes outright anger in public places [eg the *alun-alun*, great square in front of the Regent's offices]. [Among other insults], he was forced to surrender his kris and was escorted home as a prisoner to his own home [under house arrest]. One of the regent's family members was beaten repeatedly with a sabre and his official dress torn from him. Local native heads were dragged off to prison and forced labour (*corvée*) demands increased insanely."

Zijn bestuur kenmerkte zich door akelige standjes met den Regent van Samarang en diens zoons, protégés van Raffles, speciaal naar aanleiding van den afstand door dezen aan den Regent van een deel van Bodjong (Pragata), als zijnde dit een familiegraf. Met groote ruwheid, met razen en tieren, heet de Regent in het publiek door B. bejegend te zijn; op den aloen[-]aloen werd deze gedwongen zijne kris af te geven en in arrest naar huis te gaan, een familielid kreeg klappen met een sabel en de kleeren werden hem van 't lijf gerukt; hoofden werden in de gevangenis gestopt en de heerendiensten wederdanig ingescherpt.

the Treaty of Vienna and the 13 August 1814 Convention of London. Part of the British policy of rebuilding Dutch strength to counterbalance any possible threat of a resurgent France in the aftermath of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars,[14] the decision sounded the death knell for the liberal and enlightened government which Raffles had sought to encourage amongst his local collaborators. Foremost amongst these was the family of his close friend, Suroadimenggolo. The Semarang regent's public utterances left no doubt about his views on what he took to be the British Government's principles when it came to issues of political liberty.[15] Within a few short years of the Dutch return, the ageing Kiai Adipati and his sons' increasingly acerbic comments on the reactionary policies of the new Dutch administration had convinced the Netherlands Indies authorities that they should be removed from their government positions and the public life of the colony.

In quick succession between 1822 and 1824, the Kiai Adipati and his eldest son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), were drummed out of their posts as regents. Suroadimenggolo V was the first to go. His younger son, Sukur's, trenchant report on the immiseration of the Javanese peasantry in Kedu under Dutch rule (see footnote 39) and his supportive statements regarding the revolt of Diponegoro's great-uncle, Pangeran Diposono (born ca. 1778), in the same province in late January and early February 1822, were the last straw for the Dutch.[16] On 20 February 1822, the then Resident of Semarang, Willem Nicolaus Servatius (1785-1827; in office September 1820-June 1822), had written reminding Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (1778-1848, in office 1816-26), of "the [libertarian] spirit which reigns in his [Suroadimenggolo's] family which Your Excellency has […] experienced [at first hand]," possibly a reference to Van der Capellen's first official tour of Central Java in August-September 1819, when he had met the Semarang regent in person.[17] Servatius went on:

> "That he [Suroadimenggolo], as father and family head, could not be deemed innocent of this [Sukur's critical report and public statements], but must have given rise to it [..] and that he seriously admonished him to rein in his sons [and

14. Carey 2008:429.

15. See De Graaf 1979:264, citing his response to Resident Boggie, the abrasive last British Resident of Semarang, when questioned about the failure of a number of coolies to turn up for work at the Residency, "that the people of Samarang [Semarang] district had imbibed those sentiments of freedom, which he had always understood to be the wish of the British Government for him to instil in them."

16. Soekanto 1951:29; and for a description of Diposono's revolt in Kedu, eastern Bagelen and southern Yogyakarta from 27/28 January to early February 1822, see Carey 2008:495-8.

17. Soekanto 1951:28, quoting Servatius (Semarang) to Van der Capellen (Batavia/Bogor), 20-02-1822: "*[...] de geest welke in zijn familie heerscht Uwe Excellentie overtuigend is gebleven*.". On Van der Capellen's 1819 visit to Central Java, see Carey 2008:525.

> make them] show greater respect to the Government and its ordnances, instilling in them [...] the conscientious and faithful discharge of their duties [...].[18]

Amidst the deepening discontent in the Javanese countryside, Suroadimenggolo's continued presence as *bupati* of Semarang, the key regency for Dutch control in Central Java, was deemed a liability.

> "Being of advanced years, his age will no longer allow him to discharge all those duties which should be properly discharged by him, and that His Excellency will further ascribe [to this] that things have happened in Semarang which, under the good supervision of a faithful government servant, should not have taken place."[19]

The Governor-General concurred. Within a fortnight, in mid-March 1822, Suroadimenggolo received a formal letter from the Dutch government's General Secretary (*Algemeen Secretaris*), Mr. [= *Meester in de rechten* / Master of laws] Isaac Bousquet (1776-1831; in office 1822-24), informing him that his resignation was required within eight days of the receipt of the missive if he desired to keep his pension rights. And so, the dye was cast: on 20 March 1822, the Kiai Adipati resigned, all the while protesting the hurtful way his dismissal had been engineered.[20]

The sorry episode of Suroadimenggolo's departure after nearly three decades as regent in various postings around Semarang, starting with his appointment as *bupati* of Kaliwungu just to the west of the Central Java capital in 1794-1796, gives the lie to the emollient tones of the two Dutch obituary notices (Appendices Ia and Ib). The last of these speaks of how "this esteemed man went to his grave with the profound and reassuring conviction that the Dutch Government does not leave any proven loyalty and devotion personally unrewarded." Some conviction! Some reward! Sukur himself would later refer to the callous manner of his father's dismissal as one of the reasons for his decision to join Diponegoro's forces in Demak in late August/early September 1825.[21]

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18. Ibid.*, "[...] dat hij* [Suroadimenggolo] *als vader en hoofd derzelve daaraan niet onschuldig kan gehouden worden, maar daartoe aanleiding moet gegeven hebben [...] en hem ernstig te vermanen om zijn zoons in te toomen hen meerder eerbeid voor het Gouvernement en 's Gouvernements verordeningen in te bezoemen en hen hierin voor te gaan door de nauwgezette en getrouwe betrachting zijner plichten [...]."*

19. Soekanto 1951:27-8: *"[...] tot hoogen ouderdom zijnde, zijne jaren op den duur niet zullen toelaten, dat alle die pligten door hem naar behooren zullen worden vervuld en dat Zijne Excellentie dan ook daaraan wel wil toeschrijven, dat er zaken te Semarang zijn voorgevallen die onder het goed opzicht van getrouwe gouvernements dienaren geen plaats behooren te hebben*."

20. Soekanto 1951:27.

21. Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (Leiden University Libraries), BPL 616, Port. 12 no. 8, "Verklaring van den Gevangen Genomen Muiteling [...] Raden Hassan Machmood," 1-08-1829 (full citation in Bibliography).

Meanwhile, just as the Kiai Adipati was being removed, Suroadimenggolo's elder son, Saleh (Raden Ario Notodiningrat), was also coming under suspicion. His critical comments on the Second Dutch Expedition against Palembang in June-July 1821 immediately caught the attention of his Dutch superiors. Launched as a punitive operation following the failure of the colonial government's first attempt to capture the Sultan in October 1819, it ended with the fall of Palembang and the exile of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II (r. 1804-12, 1813, 1818-21) (see Appendix III). While this operation was in progress, Saleh (Notodiningrat) was supposed to have declared that "this was now a good opportunity for the Javanese to take possession again of their birthright, the Island of Java, and drive out the white men [the Dutch]."[22]

Saleh (Notodiningrat) had just then taken up his new appointment as *bupati* of Lasem. But no sooner was he in post in mid-1821 than he was reported by the Resident of Rembang, Anthonie Hendrik Smissaert (in office, 1819-23), who had responsibility for Lasem,[23] "to be showing signs of madness." So, in December 1821, Saleh was invalided back to his parents' house in Terboyo.[24] Whether this health issue was just an excuse to get rid of a troublesome Javanese official or a genuine mental illness is hard to determine. Saleh's elder brother, Sudiak Wiryowinoto (born ca.1798), is reported to have suffered an incapacitating mental disability and is referred to as "*gebrekkig* [mentally infirm]" in the Dutch records (footnote 42). Thus, mental illness might have run in the family. However, Saleh was clearly gifted, spoke multiple languages (French, English, Dutch, Malay, Javanese and Arabic) and went on to live a full and productive life dying in ripe old age (72) in his native Semarang widely mourned by his peers (footnote 36). So, there is nothing to suggest that his life was blighted by any long-term psychological illness. Instead, it is likely that the emotional stress of living under a deeply repressive colonial regime, so starkly different with the previous era of intellectual and cultural engagement under Raffles, and the targeting of his family by the Dutch authorities, tipped him into a nervous break-down.

Suroadimenggolo and the Java War: A Family Tragedy

There was, of course, a third party to the tragedy which overwhelmed the Suroadimenggolo family in these difficult years and stamped its mark most

22. Soekanto 1951:28, *"[..] dat de tweede expeditie naar Palembang [...] hier nu een goede gelegenheid voor de Javanen was om zich weder in het bezit te stellen van het Eiland Java, hun Eigendom, en om alle de blanken van het zelve te verdrijven*."

23. Lasem (later Kota Lasem, Binangun district) was one of the six districts which made up the Residency of Rembang at this time, the others being Kragan, Pamotan, Sedan, Sulang and Waru, Schoel 1931:2-8.

24. Soekanto 1951:33-34, quoting Smissaert that Saleh (Notodiningrat) "*[...] gaf teekeningen van krankzinnigheid."* See also De Graaf 1979:267.

vividly on the troubled soul of Saleh's younger brother, Sukur. Less gifted than his *wunderkind* sibling, Sukur was a wanderer who found it impossible to settle for Javanese respectability, still less enter the world of the Javanese *priyayi* bureaucracy. The Dutch authorities went through the motions, bestowing a grandiloquent name—Raden Mas Yudoatmojo (also given as 'Raden Panji Yudoatmodikoro', Payen 1988:139; and 'Raden Mas Sukur Yudoamidarmo', Soemahatmaka 1973:41)—and summoning him to Surabaya to begin training as a junior tax official with the rank of *ondercollecteur* (sub-inspector of taxes). But Sukur would have none of it. Just as earlier he had rejected a proffered royal bride, a daughter of Suroadimenggolo's son-in-law, Sultan Paku Nataningrat of Sumenep, rather than give up his beloved *gundik* (mistress, unofficial wife), a young woman originally betrothed to his younger brother, Sumadi Suryokusumo, so now "he wandered off again to the mountains like someone who was not in his right senses."[25]

Then came the *dégringolade*. Following his trenchant report on the immiseration of the Javanese peasantry in Kedu under Dutch rule in the immediate pre-war period (footnote 39), his decision to rally to Diponegoro early in the conflict in late August 1825 and his adoption of a new Muslim name—Raden Hasan Mahmud—implicated his whole immediate family, who suffered degradation, imprisonment and exile. Both Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), were arrested "for being privy to the rioting in Java [*van met de samenrottingen op Java bekend te zijn*]" (Carey 2021:25 fn.14) on 8 September 1825 by the local Dutch authorities, namely the Resident of Semarang, Hendrik Jacob Domis (1782-1842; in office 1822-27). The following day, 9 September, they were embarked on two separate warships in the roads of Semarang: Suroadimenggolo on board the frigate *Maria Reigersbergen*, and his son on the corvette-of-war *Pollux,* the same ship which would transport Diponegoro to Manado from Batavia (post-1942 Jakarta) between 3 May and 12 June 1830. Three and a half months later, on 23 December, just hours before the *Pollux* sailed

25. De Graaf 1979:268, quoting Suroadimenggolo V (Semarang) to Van de Graaff (Batavia/Bogor), 8-09-1825, "*hij dwaalde weer naar de bergen, als iemand die niet bij zinnen was*." There are problems with this reference, because the date cited by De Graaf is aberrant: by 8 September 1825, Sukur had already joined Diponegoro's forces in Demak, and the Kiai Adipati was within a day of being arrested himself (9 September 1825) along with his second son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat). It is difficult to know where De Graaf found this quote given that it is not to be traced in any of the letters published by Van der Kemp, either in the letters Suroadimenggolo sent to Van de Graaff (1821), then serving as Inspector of Finances (in office 1820-26), or the letters written by the Resident of Semarang, H.J. Domis (in office, 1822-27), to Van de Graaff, see Van der Kemp (ed.), 1901-2,II:169-71, 200-203. However, Sukur's wanderings and refusal to marry a daughter of the Sultan of Sumenep, Paku Nataningrat, are mentioned in separate places in Domis' letters to Van de Graaff, during the period 1822-25, so De Graaf may have cobbled the quote together from these sources. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for pointing out this aberrant reference.

for Surabaya with the tide early the following morning, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) was transferred to join his father on the *Maria Reigersbergen*. This would transport them on 1 February 1826 from Semarang to Surabaya where they arrived four days later. There they were held for a further three weeks until 27 February when they were transferred to a guardship (*wachtschip*), the decommissioned frigate, *Dageraad*, in Tanjung Perak harbour.[26] The Kiai and his eldest son's initial arrest was also reported in an official dispatch from Governor-General Van der Capellen to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, C.Th. Elout (1767-1841; in office, 1824-29), written on 13 September 1825 and relayed in the official government gazette, *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, on 4 February 1826.[27]

26. See *Bataviasche Courant*, 8-02-1826 and 15-02-1826, on *Maria Reigersbergen*'s departure from Semarang on 1 February and arrival in Surabaya four days later. Their embarkation on the warships on 9 September 1825 in Semarang harbour is noted in the *Pollux*'s logbook for the years 1824-27, which also refers to the reasons for their arrest: NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0121 states that "*beiden waaren als verdagt van met de samenrottingen op Java bekend te zijn* [both were suspected of having knowledge of the rioting in Java]," see further Carey 2021:25. Naval First Lieutenant (*luitenant-ter-zee-der-eerste-klasse*) Pieter Troost (1791-1846), who kept a subsequently published diary of the Dutch naval frigate *Maria Reigersbergen* and corvette-of-war *Pollux* around the world in 1824-26, confirms that Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son were kept on different warships and their transferral to the guardship (*wachtship*), *Dageraad*, in Surabaya harbour took place on 27 February 1826, see Troost 1829:314, 340, 354-55; and Carey 2021:26. Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son's movements following the transfer to the *Dageraad* are unclear. This guard vessel, a frigate, which had been in Netherlands service from 1808 to 1824, was later transferred to the Koloniale Marine (Dutch Indies navy) with the new name *Aurora*, before being broken up, Vermeulen 1966:6. It guarded the approaches to Surabaya (Tanjung Perak) harbour and the Madura Straits, but did not move from its position for the next fifteen months (it was still at anchor there in June 1827); I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this precious information, electronic communication, 1 July 2020. But by then Suroadimenggolo was long dead—his death on 15 November 1826 was announced by the Resident of Semarang, H.J. Domis, in the *Bataviasche Courant* of 6 December 1826 no.49, the death notice also being translated and printed in Malay (in Arabic characters) and Javanese (in Javanese script, *aksara Jawa*) in the same newspaper (Plate 3, Appendix Ia), see *'Uittreks uit Nederlandsche Kouranten'* in *De Curaçaosche Courant* no.24, 16-06-1827 [*Berigten uit Batavia den 6den December (1826) melden […] De resident van Samarang heeft in de nieuwspapieren aangekondigd het overlyden van den regent dier plaats, Kiai Adïpatti Soero Adimengolo, en by die gelegenheid de trouwe diensten, door denzelven aan het Nederlandsche gouvernement bewezen, geredelyk erkend.— Dit berigt is in dezelfde nieuwspapieren in het Maleitsch met Arabische, en in het Javaansch met Javaansche karakters herhaald*]; the announcement of claims from debtors and creditors on the late *bupati*'s estate (*boedel*) was twice announced in the *Bataviasche Courant* of 12-05-1827 (no.31) and 15-05-1827 (no.32).

27. *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* no.30, 04-02-1826, p.1, "*Een der zoons van den oud-regent van Samarang [Semarang], Adi Mangollo [Adimenggolo], heeft zich van Samarang verwijderd en bij de muitelingen vervoegd. Het is gebleken dat zijn vader en broeder, Saleh, niet onwetend waren van deze omstandigheid, en het is nodig*

What happened subsequently is yet to be properly researched. What we do know is that the guardship, *Dageraad*, to which they had been transferred, did not move from its fixed position for the next fifteen months (it was still there in June 1827, footnote 26). But by that date Suroadimenggolo had been dead for nearly eight months. He expired on 15 November 1826 in Semarang and news of his death "after a lengthy decline" (*naar eene langdurige sukkeling*) was announced by his nemesis, the Resident, H.J. Domis, in the local Indies press from whence it was picked up in distant Curação (Dutch West Indies) on 16 June 1827 (footnote 26, Plate 3 and Appendix Ia). Exactly when the Kiai was allowed back to his old residence in Terboyo, Semarang is still unclear. It might even be that his "lengthy decline" was hastened by his detention either in Fort Oranje in Surabaya or in the altogether less salubrious confines of the seventeenth-century Dutch fort, Benteng (citadel) Semarang, later (1835-40) renovated and renamed Fort Prins van Oranje, in the Poncol district of Semarang.[28] But it would seem not so long after his transfer to the *Dageraad* on 27 February 1826.

What then of his grave in the Asta Tinggi graveyard of the ruling Sumenep family overlooking their court city in eastern Madura, and the elaborate memorial and mausoleum erected by his son-in-law, Sultan Paku Nataningrat, alias Sultan Abdurrahman (r. 1811-54)? Was his body moved to Sumenep from Semarang following his demise?[29] The existence of a concocted "obituary" of the former Semarang *bupati* in the *Bataviasche Courant* no.72 of 18 August 1827 (Appendix Ib) by the then Resident of Madura and Sumenep, François Emanuel Hardy (1781-1828, in office, 1824-10 October 1827), would seem

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geacht, beide, ten minste tijdelijk, in verzekerde bewaring te houden, waarom zij aan boord van de Maria Reigersbergen en Pollux zijn overgebragt" [One of the sons of the former regent of Semarang, Adi Mangollo (Adimenggolo), (Raden Mas Sukur), left Semarang and joined the rebels. It was evident that both his father and his (elder brother), Saleh, were not ignorant of this fact, and it has been deemed necessary to detain both of them, at least temporarily, in safe custody and for this reason they have been brought on board (the frigate) *Maria Reigersbergen* and (the corvette) *Pollux*.']. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference, electronic communication, 5 July 2020.

28. "Semarang Kota Kenangan: Benteng Pendem," https://kenangan.blogspot.com/, Semarang, 28 February 2015.

29. Paku Nataningrat erected a special mausoleum with the inscription which reads in Malay: "*Justru Kangjeng Kiai mertua saya dikubur pada depan kubah saya agar anak keturunan cucu saya, masyarakyat [Sumenep], dan rakyat Jawa pada umumnya, menziariahi beliau terlebih dahulu sebelum sesepuh raja-raja […] di Sumenep* [Precisely why I have buried His Highness Kiai (Suroadimenggolo), my father-in-law, in front of my own mausoleum is so my children, grandchildren and their descendants, as well as the people of Sumenep and Javanese more generally, will visit his grave first before those of the ancestors of the rulers of Sumenep]" (visit to Asta Tinggi graveyard of Suroadimenggolo and his family in Sumenep, 25 October 2014).

Plate 3 – Suroadimenggolo V's obituary in the *Bataviasche Courant*, 6-12-1826, placed by Resident Hendrik Jacob Domis of Semarang (in office, 1822-27) in Dutch, Malay and Javanese. Photo delpher.nl.

to point to a Sumenep location for Suroadimenggolo's possible re-interment.[30] The date of this re-interment is even given on the Kiai's tomb/mausoleum at Asta Tinggi (Plate 4), where he was buried alongside a second wife who had predeceased him (Plate 7).[31] Although it is incorrect as the 20 July 1827 was a Friday not a Saturday. It is possible that the former Semarang *bupati*'s remains were re-interred in the late evening or night of Friday, 20 July 1827, but officially registered as having occurred the following day, namely Saturday, 21 July, because in the Javanese calendrical system the date changes at 6 p.m. not at midnight as in the Western calendar. But then one would have expected the date to read 26 Dzulhijjah (Zulhijah, Dulkangidah) not 25th as at present. Perhaps the mistake over the dating is yet another reflection of the concocted nature of Suroadimenggolo's "second death" in Sumenep and the obituary notice posted by the ever-inventive Resident Hardy. One can speculate that this re-interment was carried out at the invitation of Sultan Paku Nataningrat in the light of his father-in-law, Suroadimenggolo's, detention during the first year of the Java War and the involvement of his younger son in Diponegoro's uprising. This may well have made the existence of a Suroadimenggolo tomb in the family graveyard behind the mosque in Terboyo (Plate 8) an embarrassment to pro-Dutch family members who remained in Semarang, some of whom were subsequently appointed to high positions in the colonial administration in the post Java War period.[32]

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30. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference to Hardy's obituary notice, electronic communication, 10 July 2020.

31. Nothing is known about this wife beyond the fact that, according to the inscription on her tomb, she died in Semarang on 12 Dulkangidah A.H. 1235 (20 September 1820). It is possible that she hailed from Sumenep and her body had been returned there to be buried there after her death, and this was one of the reasons why Suroadimenggolo's remains were reinterred alongside her at Asta Tinggi. Alternatively, and more plausibly, she may have been buried initially in the Bustaman family graveyard behind the mosque in Terboyo (Plate 8) and her remains transported from Semarang along with those of her late husband, Suroadimenggolo, when he was re-interred in Sumenep on 20 July 1827.

32. One such was Raden Adipati Ario Kartadiningrat, Bupati of Majalengka (ca.1800-62; in office, 1839-62), a kinsman (first cousin) of Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman's parents and of Suroadimenggolo V, who intentionally omitted any mention of the Semarang family branch of the Bustaman, and Suroadimenggolo's name in particular, when he authored the infamous "Silsilah Bĕstaman", the Bustaman family tree/genealogy, in 1840, see Boepati Madjalengka Raden Adipati Aria Kartadiningrat, 1900:135-42; and De Graaf 1979:259-60. I am grateful to Dr Werner Kraus and to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this information, electronic communications, 3 June and 5 July 2020.

Plate 4 – Entrance gate of the Suroadimenggolo family graveyard on the road leading to the Asta Tinggi royal cemetery in Sumenep. Photograph Pak Ribut Hadi Candra, Kepala BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik), Sumenep, 2021.

Plate 5 – The graves of Suroadimenggolo (left) and his second wife who predeceased him (right) in the Suroadimenggolo burial complex at Asta Tinggi. Photograph Pak Agung Bagus, Sumenep, 2021.

Plate 6 – Suradimenggolo V's recently (post-2015) renovated grave at Asta Tinggi, Sumenep, with the Arabic inscription: "*Hādzā Qabru al-Marhūm Kanjeng Kiyayi Sura Adi Menggala min Baladi Semarang, qad tuwuffiya fī yaumi al-Sabti Khamsata wa 'Isyrīna yauman wa Dzil Hijjah Hijrat al-Nabiyyi 'alā shāhibihā Afdhalu al-Shalati wa al-Salām alayhi* [This is the grave of the late Kiai Suroadimenggolo from the town of Semarang who died on Saturday (sic, Friday), 25 Dzulhijjah (Dulkangidah) (20 July 1827) of the *hijrah* (year) [1242] of The Prophet and his principal helpers, may the prayer of honour and greetings be upon Them]. Reading courtesy of Mas Taufiq MA, UGM]." Photograph Pak Agung Bagus, Sumenep, 2021.

Plate 7 – The grave of Suradimenggolo V's second wife, name unknown, who predeceased him in 1820, at Asta Tinggi, Sumenep, with the Arabic inscription: "*Hādzā Qabru […] Itsnāya Sura Adi Menggala Baladi Semarang, qad tuwuffiya lailatas Sabti Khamsata wa 'Isyrīna Yauman wa Dzil Hijjah Wafannat Yaumal Khamis Bitārīkhi Alf wa Miatayni Khamsata wa Tsalātsīna 'Āman Wa Hijrat 1235* [This is the grave of […] second wife of Suroadimenggolo from the town of Semarang, who died on Saturday (sic, Friday), 25 Dzulhijjah (Dulkangidah, 20 July 1827), and who (herself) expired on Thursday (sic, Wednesday), 12 Dzulhijjah (Dulkangidah) in the Year Alif *hijrah* 1235 (20 September 1820)]. Reading courtesy of Mas Taufiq Hakim MA, UGM]." Photograph Pak Agung Bagus, Sumenep, 2021.

Plate 8 – Memorial plaque to Suroadimenggolo's official wife, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (ca.1778-1853), and her husband, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo, in front of the family burial site behind the mosque in Terboyo. The plaque gives the impression that both Suroadimenggolo and his principal wife are buried in the family burial pavilion, whereas it seems almost certain that, whereas Suroadimenggolo was initially buried there on 15 November 1826 (Plate 3), his remains were soon afterwards transferred to Sumenep for reburial on 20 July 1827 (Plates 4-6). Photograph Akhmad Dwi Afiyadi, Semarang, 2021.

According to Raden Mas Saleh's biographer, Raden Soekanto (1904-61), who served briefly (1951-1957) as head of the Indonesian National Archives (now Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, then Arsip Negara), the former Durrumtollah Academy-trained prize-wining student had written a letter (15 December 1825) to the Dutch colonial authorities pleading with them to allow them back onto dry land given that his father's health had steeply declined due to constant sea sickness (Soekanto 1951:23-24; Carey 2021:25). Although this request was not immediately acted upon—as we can see from the *Maria Reigersbergen*'s 1 February 1826 voyage from Semarang to Surabaya, and Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son's transfer to the *Dageraad* on 27 February—it is possible that their presence in Surabaya would have been reported to the Kiai's son-in-law. He may even have offered to arrange for his father-in-law's reburial in Sumenep on 20 July 1827 after his 15 November 1826 demise in Semarang.

It is unclear if Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) joined his father in Semarang (either back in the family home in Terboyo, which Suroadimenggolo had built in 1822-23 [Appendix III], or in detention in the Dutch fort, Fort Oranje) in the eight and a half months (27 February-15 November 1826) of life which remained to the former Semarang *bupati*. It is also possible that he was exiled further east to Ambon, or even accompanied his father's body to Sumenep in July 1827 and elected to stay there for the duration of the war. Soekanto purports to refer to a Decision (*Resolutie*) of the Commissioner-

General, L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies (in office, 1826-30), dated 10 July 1829, referring to an Ambon exile for Suroadimenggolo and Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat). This makes no sense given that the former had died on 15 November 1826 and his death had been announced publicly by the Dutch authorities (Plate 3, Appendix Ia) with subsequent notices in the *Bataviasche Courant* on 12 and 15 May 1827 regarding claims from debtors and creditors on his estate (*boedel*) (footnote 26). Soekanto's "evidence" is frankly unreliable. His *Dua Raden Saleh: Dua Nasionalis dalam Abad ke-19; Suatu halaman dari sedjarah Nasional Indonesia* [Two Raden Salehs: Two Nationalists in the 19th Century; A Page from Indonesian National History] (Djakarta: Poesaka Aseli, 1951), is full of conjectures. This is odd, given that he was serving as Head of the Indonesian National Archives (Arsip Negara; post-1959, Arsip Nasional; post-1967 Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia/ANRI) at the time (1951-57) and one might have expected greater accuracy on his part when it came to knowledge of the colonial records.

What we know for certain is that Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) was in Java shortly after the end of the Java War and was resident in Salatiga in April 1834. This can be seen from a letter which he wrote to the then Governor-General, Jean Chrétien Baud (in office, 1834-36), from Salatiga on 2 April 1834.[33] Subsequently, there is a reference in the colonial archives, by the Minister of the Colonies, Count Johannes van den Bosch (in office, 1834-40), based on information received from Baud, that Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) was "wandering about in Java [*hij dwaalde thans op Java rond*]."[34] What we know for certain is that he later moved back to his native Semarang, where he apparently had a wife[35] and lived for many

33. This letter is in the Baud private collection in the Dutch National Archives in the Hague (Baud 2.21.007.58 inv. 502) and was published in facsimile in Baharudin Marasutan's study of Raden Saleh (1973:26-27). Once again, I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference.

34. Nationaal Archief (The Hague), NL-HaNA, Staatsecretarie 2.02.01, inv. nr.5781B, 6 July 1835 *geheim*. Reference from Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet, electronic communication 1 July 2020.

35. See *Java-Bode* (25-06-1856), which mentions the arrival in Batavia by steamship/packet boat from Semarang between 21 and 24 June 1856 of "*Raden Soemodi* [Sumadi Suryokusumo, younger brother of Ario Notodiningrat, see Appendix II and footnote 42] *en Ningrat* [sic, Notodiningrat] *met echtgenoot van Samarang* (Raden Sumedi and [Notodi]ningrat with his wife from Semarang)". Saleh (Notodiningrat) had earlier (ca. 1818) married a granddaughter of Pangeran Prangwedono (post-1821, Mangkunegoro II, r. 1796-1835), Raden Ajeng Sariadi. She was the daughter of Pangeran Ario Notokusumo, a son of Raden Mas Tumenggung Ario Kusumodiningrat, a son-in-law of Pakubuwono III (r. 1749-88), by a mother who was a daughter of Prangwedono by a secondary wife, see Soemahatmaka 1973:56. But the marriage had

years in a substantial residence in Jalan Poncol in the Purwosari district of North Semarang where he died in his 72nd year on 16 February 1872.[36]

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been unhappy, and Saleh's bride had returned to Surakarta to live with her grandfather, Prangwedono (post-21 October 1821, Mangkunegoro II, r. 1796-1835), within a few years of the marriage. On 7 July 1825, when the German visitor, A.P. Büchler, visited the Mangkunegaran, she was still there, Büchler 1888:6. Thus, although Suroadimenggolo had asked his friend, the Inspector of Finances, Van de Graaff, to use his good offices with Prangwedono to effect a reconciliation during a visit by the Mangkunegaran ruler to Batavia around October 1821, it seems unlikely that anything came of this. It is more likely that the "*echtgenoot* (wife)" mentioned in the *Java-Bode* was a second wife whom Saleh (Notodiningrat) had married following the end of the Java War when he had more freedom to move around in Java again, see De Graaf 1979:266-67.

36. See *Java-Bode* (24-02-1872) which has the following report on the obituary notice which appeared in the Semarang newspaper (*De Locomotief*) for 16 February 1872: "*De Samarangsche Courant van 17* [sic, 16] *Februarij meldt nader omtrent wijlen den ex-regent Radhen Adhipatti Ario Notto di Ningrat: "Een in vele opzigten merkwaardig man is eergister middag in hoogen ouderdom aan den Pontjolschen weg overleden. Wij bedoelen den 72 jarigen ex-regent van Lassem, Radhen Adhipatti Ario Notto di Ningrat, die vele zijner laatste levensjaren in het bekende huisje aan den Pontjolschen weg doorbragt. Behalve door vele andere bijzonderheden, onderscheidde hij zich door zijne voor een Inlander verrassende kennis der Engelsche en Fransche talen en zijn ijver voor de mohamedaansche propaganda, terwijl een in vroeger jaren aan Britsch-Indië gebragt bezoek hem dikwerf aanleiding gaf, om urenlang dit onderwerp met dezen of genen belangstellenden weetgierige te bepraten. Dat hij ondanks vele eigenaardigheden tot zelfs op het laatst zijns levens bij de muselmannen bijzonder was gezien, bewees zijne gister plaats hebbende begrafenis, waarbij een zeer groot aantal mohamedaansche priesters en leeken, benevens eenige Europeanen tegenwoordig waren, 't zou ons zeer verwonderen, indien 's mans graf niet spoedig bij de Javanen in reuk van heiligheid kwam."* [The Semarang newspaper [*De Locomotief*] of 17 [sic 16] February (1872) reports further about the late ex-regent Raden Adipati Ario Ario Notodiningrat: "A truly remarkable man died of old age [at his residence] on Poncol Road yesterday [16 February 1872]. We are referring here to the 72-year-old ex-regent of Lasem, Raden Adipati Ario Notodiningrat, who spent many of his last years in his well-known house [here in Semarang] in Poncol. In addition to many other things, he was distinguished by his surprising—for a native (*inlander*)— knowledge of both the English and French languages and his zeal for Mohammedan propaganda. His stay in British India in earlier years led him to spend hours discussing this subject with curious visitors. Despite his many quirks, even until the very end of his life, he was held in high regard by Muslim men in particular. This was proven by his burial, which took place yesterday, in which a large number of Mohammedan priests [*ulama*] and lay people [300 according to the figure cited in *De Locomotief; Samarangsche Nieuws-, Handels- en Advertentieblad* no.40, 16-02-1872, p.1], as well as some Europeans, were present. We would be very surprised if this man's grave does not become a sacred place for the Javanese." Another obituary based on *De Locomotief* is carried in the *Bataviaasch handelsblad* no.43, 20-02-1872. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference.

These were difficult years for the remnants of the Suroadimenggolo's family, and even though the Kiai himself seems to have found an honourable final resting place in Sumenep and his eldest son would return to live out the majority of his post-war years in his native Semarang, winning the respect of his local community (footnote 36), the memory of what had happened during the war cut deeply. This was especially true for Raden Mas Sukur, who had allied himself directly with the Java War leader and would end his days as an exile in Ternate dying there in miserable circumstances sometime after March 1856.[37]

The Legacy: Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (ca.1811-1880)

The same iron in the soul—and torn loyalties—would be evident in the career of their first cousin, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (Plate 9), whose personal life and artistic *oeuvre* would intersect in interesting ways with that of the exiled prince during his last years in Makassar. Significantly, Prangwedono (Mangkunegoro II), when asked by a German visitor whether he might contemplate sending a couple of his own sons to study in Europe, replied that he would never do such a thing because he feared that they would return neither as Europeans nor Javanese (Büchler 1888:14). One recalls here the clever ditty which the Yogyanese coined about the Chinese *bupati* elevated by Raffles—the former Yogyakarta Captain of the Chinese *Kapitan Cina*—Tan Jin Sing (circa 1770-1831; in office, 1803-13), referred to a "*jisim"* ("corpse") in the Javanese chronicles (*babad*), who was appointed as Raden Tumenggung Secodiningrat (post-1830, Raden Tumenggung Purwo) on the Lieutenant-Governor's express order on 6 December 1813, and of whom it was said that he was a "*Cina wurung, Londa durung, Jawa tanggung*" (no longer a Chinese, not yet a Dutchman, a half-baked Javanese). In different circumstances one could say the same about Raden Saleh who returned to an utterly changed Java in February 1852—now a true *beamtenstaat* (bureaucratic state) dotted with indigo and sugar factories—and was seen by the mid-nineteenth century colonial Dutch as "no longer an Arab-Javanese and not yet a Dutchman." The process of *gelijkstelling*—acquisition of legal status with Europeans—was still in the future. Even then those who obtained it faced many difficulties and had no guarantee of social acceptance into elite colonial society.

37. Hageman: 412, who seems to refer to Sukur as still alive when he finished writing his book, *Geschiedenis van den oorlog op Java van 1825 tot 1830*, in March 1856.

Plate 9 – Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (ca.1811-1880), from a photograph by Walter Woodbury and James Page, taken in their photographic studio in Rijswijk, Batavia, in circa 1862. Photograph from KITLV-84991 by courtesy of Leiden University Libraries (UBL).

The French scholar, Marie-Odette Scalliet, has written illuminatingly about Saleh's early years with his artistic mentor, Payen, in Bogor and Bandung and their travels into the Priangan (West Java) between 1819/20 and 1824. As far as I know there is only one reference linking Saleh to the political tragedy which overwhelmed his Semarang family in September 1825 following the outbreak of the Java War. This is a short sentence in Payen's diary when the painter was caught in Yogyakarta by Diponegoro's two-month siege of the city (mid-July to mid-September 1825) at the start of the Java War. On learning that the Regent of Semarang had been arrested and his two sons [sic] had "fled" in early September 1825, he noted in his diary (16 September) that "*les lettres de Samarang sont toujours inquiétantes; […] on a arrêté le régent de Samarang, dont les deux fils se sont enfuis* (sic). *Il est peut-être question du vieux Régent Adi Mangolo [Adimenggolo]. Cela m'afflige par rapport à Saleh, mon élève, qui est son parent"* ["The letters from Semarang are still worrying […] they (the Dutch authorities) have arrested the regent (*bupati*) of Semarang, whose two sons have fled. This perhaps refers to the former regent (*bupati*) Adimenggolo. This saddens me because Saleh, my pupil, is his relative]" (Payen 1988:77). Saleh's whereabouts in that month of September 1825 are unclear.[38] He may have

38. After he was able to leave Yogyakarta on 22 September following the lifting of the siege by General de Kock's heavily armed column from Surakarta on 20 September 1825, Payen travelled to Semarang where he spent the night of 29/30 September. But he does not mention his pupil, Raden Saleh. So, this mean that the latter was

been in Bandung or he may have been still staying with his family in Terboyo with whom he had been on and off since at least February 1824 when Payen had been asked to accompany Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (1778-1848; in office, 1816-26) to eastern Indonesia (Celebes/Sulawesi and the Moluccas/Maluku) in February-September 1824. This was a critical time for Suroadimenggolo as his younger son, Sukur, had fallen under suspicion of the Dutch authorities for writing a trenchant report in Dutch on the situation of the peasantry in the Dieng Plateau area above Semarang following the years in which plagues of mice and rats had attacked the rice crop (1819, 1822) and the tobacco harvest had failed (1823). During these years, according to Sukur, the local population had been reduced to eating leaves and weeds.[39] In addition to the burden of the land tax, as Sukur pointed out, the local population had also to contend with the heavy labour demands associated with the forced coffee production imposed by the Dutch.

Conclusion

In conclusion, one can say that this pre-Java War period with his family, the intense suffering of the local peasantry, and the fate of his relatives following the outbreak of the Java War, marked Saleh for the rest of his life. These experiences—the "times that try men's souls" in Thomas Paine's famous phrase—may have informed both his subsequent feelings with regard to Diponegoro, and his own attitudes to the Dutch colonial system, feelings which were later expressed in some of his most famous paintings—such as his "Arrest of Pangeran Diponegoro" (1857) and his "Flood in Java" (*Watersnood op Java*) (1861), which was first shown in the audience chamber

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either not in Semarang at that time or for whatever reason Payen has omitted to refer to him. Once again I thank Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference, electronic communication, 2 July 2020.

39. Sukur's report, which seems to have been referring to the situation in Kedu at the time of the revolt of Diponegoro's great-uncle, Prince Diposono (ca.1778-died Ambon 1840s) in February 1822, reads: "*de beklagenswaardige toestand van den gemeenen Javaan, die thans zoo arm en ellendig was, dat hij zijnen honger met bladeren en onkruid moet stillen […]* [the pitiable state of the common Javanese, who at present is so poor and miserable that he must still his hunger with leaves and weeds […]," is cited in Soekanto 1951:29 (Soekanto seems to have modernised and upgraded Sukur's Dutch—which we know from a Dutch source was very fluent, Soekanto 1951:33, citing Domis [Semarang] to Du Bus de Gisignies [Batavia/Bogor], 6-02-1826). Sukur's clandestine journeys between Semarang and Kedu, may have a connection with this report and his knowledge of the living conditions of ordinary Javanese in the Kedu area, see Carey 2008:466, citing Resident A.H. Smissaert (in office, 1823-25) of Yogyakarta, who mentioned that the Government tracked him down to his hiding place, but the affair was not treated very seriously, which, in Smissaert's view, was a mistake given that Sukur was an "extremely dangerous" man, all the more so because of his education in Bengal (1812-14) and his fluency in English.

(*audientiezaal*) of the Governor-General's Palace in Weltevreden (Batavia) in May 1862 for a charity exhibit. It could be said that in this period post-Revolutionary Europe showed its vilest face to the non-European world. But there was also another side to Europe and to Germany in particular—the Germany of the small kingdoms (*Kleinstaaterei*) rather than Bismarck's post-Unification "Blood-and-Iron"—a side of culture and artistic sublimity which would enable Saleh to blossom during his years in Dresden (1840-45) in ways unimagined by his early mentors in Java.

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Appendix Ia

Obituary Notice of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V in Dutch, Malay and Javanese in the *Bataviasche Courant*, No.49, Semarang, 6 December 1826

Dutch:

HEDEN is alhier, na eene langdurige sukkeling, overleden de Regent van Samarang, Kiai Adi Patti Soero Adi-mengolo. Het Gouvernement verliest in hem een getrouw en ijverig ambtenaar, en het overlijden van dien Regent is des te meer te betreuren, daar zijne ziekte een gevolg was van de zware vermoeijenissen door hem geleden tijdens het uitbreken der onlusten, waarbij hij werkelijk vele diensten gepresteerd en getoond heeft 's Gouvernements vertrouwen in allen opzigte waardig te zijn.

De Resident van Samarang,

H.J. DOMIS,

Samarang, den 15den nov. 1826.

TODAY, here [in Semarang] has deceased [from this life] the [former] Regent of Semarang, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo, following a lengthy decline. The [Dutch colonial] Government has lost in him a loyal and energetic official, and the demise of the Regent is all the more to be regretted, given that his illness was a result of the heavy fatigues which he suffered during the outbreak of the [present] disturbances [ie the Java War, 1825-30], whereby he really performed many [public] services and showed himself to be in all respects worthy of the Government's trust.

The Resident of Semarang,

H[endrik] J[acob] DOMIS,

Semarang, the 15th of November 1826.

Malay:

Bahwa kita, Paduka Tuan Resident di Negeri Semarang memberitahu, maka datanglah hukum daripada Tuhan Allah melakukan qodrat iradatnya atas hamba-Nya maka ketika Paduka Tuan Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo regent di negeri Semarang itupun telah kembalilah ke Rahmat Allah Ta'ala yaitu pada

hari ini maka adalah Gupernament terlalu sayang sebab ia suatu punggawa yang amat setiawan seraya rajin perbuatannya istimewa pula kematian tuan regent itu terlalu kesayangan sebab penyakitnya itu akibat pengusahanya ketika makanya haru-biru karena disitulah beberapa kebajikan dipucuknya serta diunjukkannya pada segala hal ikhwal sekalian maka haruslah ia menerima Gupernament jua adanya tamat.

Al-Kalam

Wasalam

Khatam

Disurat di nagari Samarang pada 15 hari bulan November pada tahun 1826,

Paduka Tuwan Residen H.J. Dumis.

Javanese:

Pènget ingkang serat pertèlan saha ingkang tabé saking Kangjeng Tuwan Residhèn Dhumis, ingkang apilenggah ing negari Semawis. Mugi katura saha kapirengna, ingkang saudara-dara ing Tanah Jawi sadaya. Yèn ing tanggal puniki [15 November 1826] *Kangjeng Kiai Adipati Suraadimenggala sampun kundur dhateng ing Kramatollah, mergi saking punika Kangjeng Gupermèn kaècalan bupatos ingkang ngalangkungi peryugi budi, udakramènipun, sarta pendamelipun ingkang sampun kaunjukaké dhateng Kangjeng Gupermèn sangking peryudan ènggal puniki, saking puniku sédanipun Kiai Adipati wau.*

Sinerat ing Semawis tanggal kaping 15 sasi Nopember taun 1826.

Appendix Ib

False Obituary Notice of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V reporting his "death" in Sumenep on 20 July 1827 in the *Bataviasche Courant*, No.72, 18 August 1827

Op den 2osten juli overleed alhier, aan de gevolgen van een verval van krachten, veroorzaakt door eene voorafgaande doorgestane beroerte, de Radeen Soero Adie Mangolo, oud Kiaij Adi Pattie van Samarang, in den hoogen ouderdom van 70 jaren, diep betreurd door zijne kinderen en kindskinderen, en menigvuldige zoo europesche als inlandsche vrienden, welke laatsten zijne gehechtheid aan het Nederlandsch Gouvernement, braaf en eerbiedwaardig karakter hem verschaft hadden.

Afstammeling van de Radeen Ingabehie's van Goemoelak in het Regentschap Samarang, bekwam hij die waardigheid op zijn achttiende jaar in opvolging van zijn vader, den Radeen Merto Nogoro, Broeder van den toenmaligen Adie Pattie van Samarang onder het bestuur van den Edelheer J. Greeve, Gouverneur van Java's noord-oostkust.

Onder gemelden Gouverneur vond de Damaksche opstand, aangevoerd door eenen Raden Sorio Koesomo plaats, en de jeugdige Radeen Ingabehie van Goemoelak werd met zijne onderhoorige manschappen, onder de bevelen van den majoor Dechateauvieux, ter demping dier onlusten, naar Damak gezonden. Daar had de moedige Ingabehi de gelegenheid, om zijn beleid en dapperheid aan den dag te leggen, en eenen door zijn vader beganen misstap uittewisschen; deze liet de brave jongeling niet slippen toen dezelve zich in het treffen met de opstandelingen opdeed, hij viel woedend met de zijnen op hunnen aanvoerder aan, en had het geluk om den Raden Sorio Koesoemo eigenhandig te dooden. Voor dezen uitstekenden dienst, waardoor de onlusten gedempt werden, werd hij op de vereerendste wijze beloond; hij werd door de Hooge Regering tot Radeen Tommongong en Regent van Damak benoemd en plegtig geinstalleerd.

Na dit ambt eenige jaren trouw en eerlijk bekleed te hebben, werd hij in de plaats van zijn overleden oom hiervoren gemeld, tot Adie Pattie en Regent van Samarang aangesteld, hebbende den rang boven alle de overige Regenten van het gouvernement van Java's noord-oostkust, waardoor hij in rang gelijk gesteld stond aan de rijks bestierders der beide inlandsche hoven van Soerakarta en Djocjokarta, en voerde om die reden den titel van Kiaij Adie Pattie.

Deze hooge waardigheid bekleedde bij onder verschillende Gouverneurs, nagenoeg 19 jaren. Gedurende de onlusten van Cheribon in de jaren 1805

en 1806 en begin van 1807, was hij den Edelheer N. Engelhard, gouverneur van Java's noord-oostkust, van grooten dienst, in de bemiddeling derzelve in 1808; tijdens den Gouverneur Generaal Daendels, werd hij gepensioneerd.

Deze oude grijsaard heeft na zoo eene eervolle loopbaan, het voor een ouder hart zoo groot geluk mogen genieten, om zijne oudste dochter tot wettige vrouw van den braven en achtenwaardigen Panumbahan, thans sultan van Sumanap, en voorts, twee zijner zonen achtereenvolgende tot regenten van Samarang, een neef en een schoonzoon tot Regenten Minoreh in de Residentie Kadoe, en onlangs een zoon tot Adie Pattie en rijksbestierder van Sumanap verheven, en nog kort voor zijn dood, dezen laatsten, voor zijne bewezene diensten gedurende de expeditie tegen Celebes, met eene medaille vereerd te zien.

Na eenen hoogen ouderdom onder het genot van eene bestendige gezondheid bereikt te hebben, daalt deze achtingwaardige man ten grave met de innige en geruststellende overtuiging, dat het Nederlandsch Gouvernement geene bewezene trouw en verknochtheid persoonlijk onbeloond laat, maar zich de diensten door de ouders bewezen nog bovendien in hunne kinderen en bloedverwanten herinnert.

De Resident van Madura en Sumanap,
F. E. HARDIJ,
Sumanap, den 31sten juli 1827.

On the 20th of July, Raden Suroadimenggolo, the old Kiai Adipati [*bupati*] of Semarang [in office, 1809-22], died here [in Sumenep] as a result of a decline of strength caused by a previous stroke, deeply mourned by his children, grandchildren, and many friends, both European and native [Indonesians]. His attachment to the Dutch Government had given him a good and respectable character. A descendant of the Raden Ngabehis of Gemulak [one of the *particuliere landerijen* / private estates] in the Regency of Semarang, he obtained that rank [Raden Ngabehi] at eighteen years of age in succession to his father, Raden Mertonegoro, brother of the then Adipati of Semarang under the governorship of His Excellency Jan Greeve, Governor of Java's Northeast Coast [1743/44-1793; in office, 1787-89). The Demak uprising (1789), led by a certain Raden Suryokusumo, took place under said Governor, and the youthful Raden Ngabehi of Gemulak and his subordinate troops, under command of Major [L.B.] de Chateauvieux, were sent to Demak to quell these disturbances. There the courageous Ngabehi had an opportunity to display his initiative and bravery, and to erase a transgression committed by his father; the fine young man did not let the opportunity slip when he appeared in confrontation with the insurgents: he furiously attacked their leader with his men and was lucky enough to kill Raden Suryokusumo with his own hands. For this excellent service, which [immediately] quelled the disturbances, he was most honorably

rewarded, being appointed as Raden Tumenggung and Regent of Demak by the Supreme Government [in Batavia] and was solemnly installed.

After having held this office faithfully and honestly for some years, he was elevated in the place of his late uncle above, and appointed Adipati and Regent of Semarang, having a rank above all the rest of the Regents of the Governorship of Java's Northeast Coast, which made him equal in rank to the rulers of the two native kingdoms of Surakarta and Djocjokarta, and for that reason he bore the title of "Kiai Adipati". He held this high dignity under various Governors for nearly 19 years. During the riots in Cirebon in the years 1805 and 1806 and in early 1807, he was of great service to His Excellency Nicolaus Engelhard [1761-1831], Governor of Java's North-East Coast [1801-1808], in the midst of these [events] in 1808, during the Governor Generalship of [Herman Willem] Daendels, he was retired. This old man, after such an honorable career, has been able to enjoy such great fortune for an older heart to have his eldest daughter [married off as] the lawful wife of the good and honorable [Panembahan], now sultan of Sumenep [Paku Nataningrat, r. 1811-1854], and furthermore, [to see] two of his sons [unclear who is being referred to] successively as regents of Semarang, and a nephew and a son-in-law [?Raden Ario Sumodilogo, in office, ca.1813-25] as Regents of Menoreh in the Residency of Kedu and a son recently elevated to become Adipati and prime minister (*patih*) of Sumenep,[40] and shortly before his death, to see his services rendered during the [recent] expedition against Celebes [Bone War, 1824-25], honored with a medal.

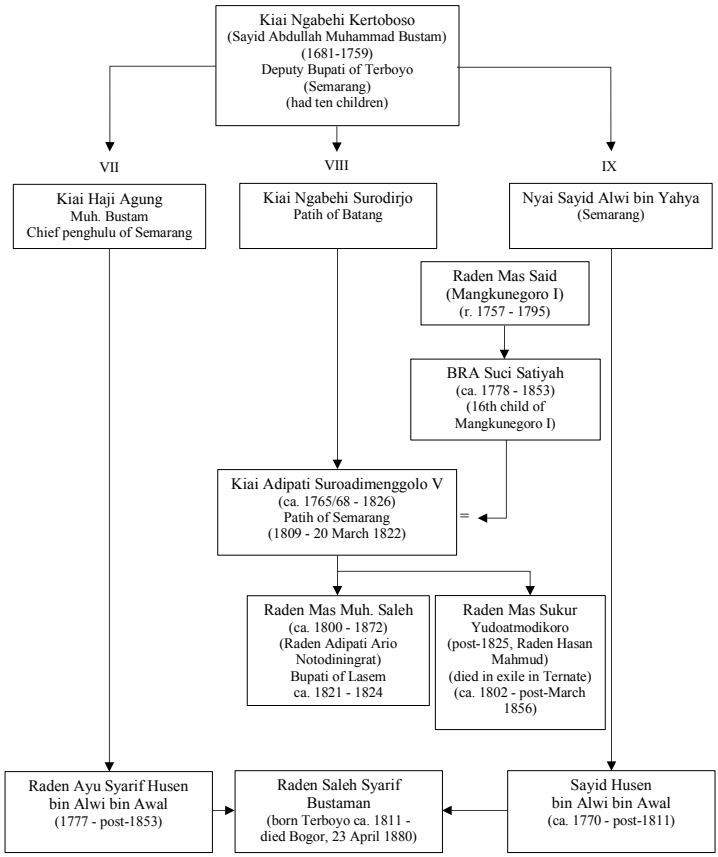
After having reached a great old age with the enjoyment of permanent health, this esteemed man went to his grave with the profound and reassuring conviction that the Dutch Government does not leave any proven loyalty and devotion personally unrewarded, but the services rendered by the parents moreover will be remembered by their children and relatives.

The Resident of Madura and Sumenep
F[rançois] E[manuel] HARDY
Sumenep, the 31st July 1827

40. A Suroadimenggolo family tradition has it that this son was Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat). He is supposed to have been elevated as *Patih* of Sumenep with the title of Raden Adipati Pringgoloyo and served in that post into the late 1830s, personal communication, Annie Soedasmo, Bogor, 18 March 2018. But this seems to be highly unlikely given that such an appointment would not have met with Dutch approval given Saleh's critical political opinions and mental health, which had both led to his recent (3-02-1824) dismissal as *bupati* of Lasem, see footnote 24. It is also the case that he was not in residence in Sumenep in the mid-1830s but reported to be moving around in Java, see footnote 34.

Appendix II

Family of Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman



Appendix III

Brief Chronology of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo and his family, ca.1765-1880[41]

ca. 1765-68 Suroadimenggolo is born in the Gedung Bustaman Alit in Terboyo into the Arab-Javanese Bustaman family which originated from Surat in Western India in the early 18th century and own substantial property in the eastern harbour area of Semarang in Terboyo and Goemoelak (Gumulak). His father, Kiai Ngabehi Surodirejo, *Patih* of Batang, is later appointed *bupati* of the same regency with the title of Raden Tumenggung Wiryoadinegoro. ST gives Suroadimenggolo's birth date as *Sabtu Kliwon* 1 *Syawal* A.J. 1693 (23 January 1768).

1794-96 following his success in killing the leader of a local uprising, Raden Suryokusumo, in ca. 1789, the young Suroadimenggolo, then Ngabehi of Goemoelak [Gumulak], a *particuliere landerij* (private estate) belonging to the Bustaman family just east of Terboyo, comes to the notice of the Dutch VOC authorities. His first appointment is as *bupati* of Kaliwungu just to the west of Semarang where, according to ST, he serves from *Rebo* 2 *Suro* A.J. 1721 (30 July 1794) to *Sabtu Paing* 6 *Ruwah* A.J. 1722 (13 February 1796), when, according to De Graaf 1979:260, he is dismissed by the Governor of Java's Northeast Coast, P.G. van Overstraten (in office, 1791-96), for "corruption and poor conduct [*knevelarijen en slegt gedrag*]".

13 Jan. 1794 marries the daughter (16th child) of Raden Mas Said (Mangkunegoro I, 1726-95; r. 1757-95), Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (born, according to ST, on *Ahad Pon* 10 *Jumadilawal* A.J. 1703, 7 June 1778), then aged around sixteen, by whom he has numerous children, including seven sons and at least three daughters (Soemahatmaka 1973:41, states four).[42] According to

41. A list of key dates and events related to Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo's life history entitled "Serat Terboyo", in the possession of the Kiai's seventh generation descendant, Annie Soedasmo, in Bogor, was made available to the present writer and is referred to here as "ST". Wherever possible the dates have been checked against De Graaf 1979:252-81. A.J. = Anno Javanico (Javanese Lunar Year of 354 days established by Sultan Agung [r. 1613-46] in 1633).

42. Van der Kemp (ed.) 1901-2, II:201-2, Domis (Semarang) to Van de Graaff (Batavia), 3-08-1823, gives the names of the six sons as: (1) Sudiak Wiryowinoto (ca.1798, referred to as "disabled and/or mentally infirm—*gebrekkig*"); (2) Saleh

ST the marriage takes place in the *Kadipaten* (*bupati*'s official residence) in Semarang on *Senen Legi* 17 *Jumadilakir* A.J. 1720 (Monday, 13 January 1794). We know from another source that the marriage takes place before Suci Satiyah's father, Raden Mas Said (MN I), died on 28 December 1795, because we have a reference to one of the wedding presents made by him for his daughter, a copper rice steamer.[43]

1794-99 following his marriage, Suroadimenggolo lives with his wife and young family (first son, Raden Mas Sudiak Wiryowinoto, born ca.1798) in the Bustaman family house in Terboyo with his first cousins,[44] Syarief Husain (ca.1770-post-1811), and his wife, Syarifah Husain (born ca. 1777-died post-1853, probably ca.1856/7), the parents of the painter Raden Saleh

(born ca.1800); (3) Sukur (born ca.1802); (4) Sumadi Suryokusumo; (5) Said (reported to be in Surabaya when the list was drawn up); and (6) Abdulrachim (referred to as 10 or 11 years old in 1823, thus born ca.1811/1812 and a direct contemporary of his cousin, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman, ca. 1811-80). Soemahatmaka 1973:41, adds the following names of sons of Suroadimenggolo by Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah: (1) Haji Muhamad Soedjoek (Sujuk) Kartowijoyo (later styled Wiryowinarso / Prawironoto), son-in-law of RT Surodirjo, *Patih* of Batang; (2) Raden Mas Abdurahman (? same as [5] above), later Tumenggung Ario Suryosaputro (post-ca.1840, Suryonegoro, *Bupati* of Grobogan, in office ca.1840-63), son-in-law of Sultan Paku Nataningrat of Sumenep; (3) Raden Mas Sangit, post-1848 Raden Ario Adipati Condroadiningrat, *Bupati* of Rembang (in office, 1848-73), son-in-law of Sultan Paku Nataningrat of Sumenep; (4) Raden Mas Suladi, post-1861, Raden Tumenggung Panji Suryokusumo, *Bupati* of Semarang (in office, 1861-77); and (5) Raden Mas Tumenggung Panji Suryomijoyo (post-1863 Surodiningrat, *Bupati* of Salatiga, in office, 1863-1885). See further Sutherland 2021:149, 163-4.

43. See Mia Bustam 2013:141: "I [...] love to keep and care for old things. Grandma gave me lots of beautiful old-fashioned items. All of these disappeared when they became the victims of the violence of the September 1965 affair. Amongst these items, I would like to mention one because it had intrinsic historical value. This item was a copper rice steamer made by Prince Sambernyawa or Mangkunegara [Mangkunegoro] I, whose hobby was working as a copper smith. When Ratu Angger [sic, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah, 1778-1853]* married the Regent of Semarang, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V [ca. 1765/68-1826; in office, 1809-22], she was given a gift of a set of kitchen ustensils made by [Pangeran Sambernyawa] himself. This copper rice steamer [which was one of these items] came down to me from [...] Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V, my fifth-generation grandfather."
* No other source, known to the present writer, refers to BRA Suci Satiyah as Ratu Angger. Indeed, the title of "*Ratu* [queen consort]" is usually only given to those female offspring of ruling families, who were born of official consorts and themselves married royalty, which was not the case here.

44. In French parlance, Kiai Suroadimenggolo was in the relationship of "*oncle à la mode de Bretagne*" with Saleh.

(ca. 1811-80) (data from ST).

1798-99 accompanies Mr. Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1762-1811), a member of the *Comité tot de zaken van den Oost-Indische handel en bezittingen* (the Batavian Republic's National Committee for the Affairs of East Indies Trade and Possessions), on his eight-month tour of Java's northeast coast and east Java, 26 May 1798-January 1799 (data from ST).

3 Jan. 1799 on his return to Semarang, according to ST, Suroadimenggolo moves from the Bustaman family home in Terboyo just to the east where he later (1822/23) builds a home for himself and his family (see below) (data from ST).

1801-1809 Suroadimenggolo is given a series of increasingly senior administrative appointments. According to De Graaf 1979:260, he becomes *bupati* successively of Kendal, Demak and Jepara, where, during his first appointment he helps the Dutch Governor of Java's Northeast Coast, Nicolaus Engelhard (in office, 1801-1808), quell the Bagus Rangin disturbances in Cirebon in 1805-6 and early 1807. According to ST, his initial appointments are more modest, starting first as *Patih* of Batang on *Senen Pon*, 14 *Ruwah*, A.J. 1727 (5 January 1801), and then, after Engelhard is appointed Governor on 6 March 1801, as *fiscaal landraad* (fiscal officer of the local council-cum-criminal court) in Terboyo and Ngabehi Terboyo.

19 Jan. 1809 Marshal Herman Willem Daendels (1808-11), appoints Suroadimenggolo as *bupati* of Terboyo (Semarang) (date from ST), with the title of Kiai Tumenggung (post-18 December 1811, Kiai Adipati), a post he holds with brief intermissions, for example June-October 1815 (when he serves in the Translator's Office in Bogor) and May-August 1816 (during a dispute with British Resident, William Boggie, see footnote 13) until 20 March 1822.

ca. May 1811 The future painter, Raden Saleh (then styled Sarib Saleh, ca. 1811-80) (Plate 9), is born in Terboyo, and, when his father dies shortly after his birth, Suroadimenggolo becomes his guardian and takes him into his household. There the young Raden Saleh grows up until aged around eight/nine years in 1819-20 when he is entrusted to the circle of Governor-General van der Capellen and Prof. C.G.C. Reinwardt in Buitenzorg (Bogor). He subsequently becomes the foster child (*anak piara*) of the Belgian painter, Antoine Auguste

Joseph Payen (1792-1853), a member of the Reinwardt Commission (1816-22), who becomes his artistic mentor, and moves to Bandung with Saleh in late 1821 or early 1822.

Sept. 1811 — Shortly after the final British victory over Governor-General Jan Willem Janssens (in office May-September 1811), at Serondhol (Jatingaleh) just above Semarang on 16 September, Suroadimenggolo begins a close friendship and scientific cooperation with the newly appointed (11 Sept.) Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles (in office, 1811-16), who appoints him as "Kiai Adipati" on 18 December 1811 (De Graaf:260).

June 1812 — Raffles persuades Suroadimenggolo to send his second and third sons, Raden Mas Saleh (born ca.1800) and Raden Mas Sukur (born ca.1802), to Mr Drummond's Academy, Kolkata, at the Semarang *bupati*'s expense, for their senior (high) school education. They will remain there for two and a half years until ca. mid-1815, with Saleh winning awards.

16 July 1812 — Saleh and Sukur sail for Calcutta from Semarang, together with the exiled Sultan of Yogyakarta and his party bound for Pinang, on board the fast frigate, H.M.S. *Modeste*, captained by Lord Minto's second son, The Honourable George Elliot (1784-1863).

June 1814 — Suroadimenggolo is brought to Bogor where he is employed in the Translator's Office at a salary of 600 Java Rupees (£63 a month or £4,760 in present-day [2021] money (De Graaf 1979:262). He helps Raffles with the identification and copying of a number of Javanese and Jawi Malay manuscripts, including the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (Plate 2), and the genealogy of Javanese rulers in the *Papakem Pawukon* (BL Add MS. 15932), f.71v-72r (Murphy *et al.* [eds.] 2019:223, 287), which Raffles would later use as source material for his *History of Java* (1817).

May 1815 — Suroadimenggolo accompanies Raffles on his tour of east Java, which includes a visit to the ruins of the former *kraton* (palace) of Majapahit in the royal court city of Trowulan (Raffles 1978, II:54; De Graaf 1979:262).

mid-1815 — Saleh and Sukur return to Terboyo from Calcutta.

3 Nov. 1815 — Saleh (later styled Raden Adipati Ario Notodiningrat) replaces his father in the Translator's Office at Bogor and works with Raffles on the translation of the Kawi version of the *Serat Bratayudha*, which he will later use in his *History of Java*

(Raffles 1817, I;410; De Graaf 1979:262).

May-Aug. 1816 Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), then ca. sixteen years old, acts as temporary *bupati* (regent) of Semarang during Suroadimenggolo's dispute with the British Resident, William Boggie, in May-August 1816 (see footnote 13).

19 Aug. 1816 The Dutch return to Java and a new and less congenial period begins for Suroadimenggolo's family, who are doubly suspected as being too pro-British and too outspoken.

1817-24 Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) becomes respectively *bupati* (regent) of Probolinggo in the Eastern Salient (Oosthoek) (1817-ca.1821); and Lasem (ca.1821-24), but later falls out of favour with the Dutch authorities because of his criticism of their policies, including a strong condemnation of their punitive Second Expedition against Palembang which resulted in the capture of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II (r. 1804-12, 1813, 1818-21) and his exile to Ternate.

1822-23 Sukur lives for a period with the local population on the slopes of Gunung Prau and the Dieng area in Northern Kedu and is witness to the terrible conditions suffered by the local population in the years of drought (1821), harvest failure (1823) and forced labour (*corvée*) services before the Java War. He writes a damning report which comes to the notice of the Dutch authorities.

20 March 1822 Suroadimenggolo is forcibly retired (aged around 57) as *bupati* of Terboyo / Semarang. He uses his enforced retirement to build a new house for his family in Terboyo, the building work taking a year from June 1822 to June 1823 (dates from ST, which states the work took place between *Sawal* A.J. 1749 and *Sawal* A.J. 1750).

3 Feb. 1824 Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) is dismissed as Regent of Lasem aged 23 as a result of his critical attitude to the Dutch government.

Febr. 1824 The ca. thirteen-year-old draughtsman/apprentice painter, Raden Saleh (then styled Sarib Saleh), comes back from Bandung/West Java to Terboyo to live for seven months (February-September 1824) with his mother and siblings, possibly in the newly built home of Kiai Suroadimenggolo, his guardian, who had become head of his family following Saleh's father's demise in ca. 1811/2. During these months, his artistic mentor, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853), accompanies Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der

	Capellen (in office, 1816-26) on his inspection voyage to eastern Indonesia (Celebes/Sulawesi and Moluccas/Maluku). Payen only returns to Java on 18 September 1824. This period is likely seminal for Saleh's future views of the character of the Dutch colonial regime in Java.
20 July 1825	Outbreak of the Java War in Yogyakarta following the Dutch attack on Prince Diponegoro's residence, Tegalrejo, and his flight to Selarong.
late Aug./ early Sept.	Sukur leaves his family home in Terboyo to join with the forces of Pangeran Serang II (ca.1794-1852), and his mother, the fearsome Raden Ayu Serang (ca.1766-1855), in Demak. He is involved with the attack on Captain Frederik Hendrik Buschkens' (1795-1869) mobile column to the southeast of Demak on the night of 3/4 September, which leaves many dead, as well as participating Pangeran Serang's subsequent failed assault on Semarang on 3-4 September. He takes the holy war (*prang sabil*) name of Raden Hasan Mahmud.
3 Sept.	General Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779-1845) arrives in Semarang to confer with General Joseph van Geen (1775-1846) about the deteriorating Dutch military position in central Java. The arrival of 3,000 *hulptroepen* (native auxiliaries)—including 350 infantry and the 1,650 pikemen from Madura (Pamekasan) and Sumenep— helps to shore up the Semarang defences.
9 Sept.	Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) are taken into custody accused of being privy to the "rioting" in Java [*beide waren als verdagt van met de samenrottingen op Java bekend te zijn*] and held separately on two Dutch warships in the harbour of Semarang, the first on the frigate *Maria Reigersbergen*, and the second on the corvette-of-war, *Pollux*, which will later take Diponegoro from Batavia to Manado in May-June 1830.
15 Dec.	Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) writes to Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) complaining about the way his father and himself have been treated as detainees on Dutch warships in the roads of Semarang during the West Monsoon with its gale force winds.
23 Dec.	Raden Mas Saleh is moved from the *Pollux* to join his father on the *Maria Reigersbergen*, which, on 1 February 1826, sets sail from Semarang for Tanjung Perak harbour, Surabaya.

4 Feb. 1826	Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh, arrive in Surabaya and are held together on the *Maria Reigersbergen* for nearly a month until 27 February when they are transferred to the guardship (*wachtschip*), the decommissioned frigate, *Dageraad*.
post- March	Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), are allowed back to Semarang, whether to their family home in Terboyo, which Suroadimenggolo had built in 1822-23 (see above), or to the Dutch fort, Fort Prins Oranje, in the Poncol area, is not clear.
15 Nov 1826	Suroadimenggolo dies in Terboyo/Semarang aged ca. 61 years "after a long decline [*na eene langdurige sukkeling*]"; he is buried initially either in the family graveyard in Pragata (Bergota) or in the smaller mausoleum behind the mosque in Terboyo built in 1821 (Plate 8). He is later (20/21 July 1827) re-interred in the Asta Tinggi royal graveyard in Sumenep. His death is announced on 6 December by the Semarang Resident, H.J. Domis, in the *Bataviasche Courant* no.49, with accompanying notices in Javanese and Malay, see Appendix Ia.
20/21 July 1827	Suroadimenggolo is re-interred in the Asta Tinggi royal graveyard in Sumenep, and a concocted obituary notice appears under the name of the Resident of Madura and Sumenep, F.E. Hardy (in office 1824-27), in the *Bataviasche Courant* no.72 of 18 August 1827, see Appendix Ib.
29 July 1829	Raden Mas Sukur (Hasan Mahmud) surrenders to the Dutch with Diponegoro's third son (and Crown Prince), Pangeran Adipati Diponingrat (ca 1808/9-died Ambon, post-March 1856), at Tangkisan (Bantul) near the Kali Progo to the south of Yogyakarta and is exiled to Ternate where he dies sometime after March 1856 (Hageman 1856:412).
3 April 1834	Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) writes from Salatiga. After moving around for some years, he eventually returns to Semarang and resides in a substantial town house in Jalan Poncol in the Purwosari district of North Semarang, where he lives with what appears to be his second wife (married post-1830).
28 Jan. 1853	Suroadimenggolo's widow, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (ca 1778-1853), dies in Terboyo on *Jumat Pon* 17 *Rabingulakir* (*Bakdamulud*) A.J. 1781 (date from ST) and is buried in the Bustaman family gravesite behind the mosque in Terboyo (Plate 8).
25 June 1856	Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) and his wife arrive

in Batavia for a visit after traveling by steamer (packet boat) from Semarang.

16 Feb 1872 Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) dies at the age of 72 in his home at Jalan Poncol and is either buried in the family graveyard at Pragata (Bergota) or behind the mosque in Terboyo (Plate 8) near the grave of his mother, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah, most likely the former which is closer to his Poncol residence. His burial ceremony is attended by over 300 mourners.

23 Apr 1880 Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (Plate 9), Raden Mas Saleh's cousin, dies and is buried in Bogor (then Buitenzorg), with a similarly large entourage of mourners, which includes leading members of the local Muslim community, high Sundanese officials, Europeans and local Bogor residents.

*Jonathan Victor Baldoza**

The *Pandita*s of the Philippines, 17th - Early 20th Centuries**

In a commentary published in 1932, Datu Gumbay Piang, a school teacher trained at the Manila Normal School, and son of the powerful Datu Piang of Cotabato, complained that despite the reforms in attitude and outlook among Muslims in Mindanao, a "conservative" segment of the community persisted in rejecting the "modern ways" of life ushered by the American colonial rule. Piang was referring here to the *pandita*s, deemed as "learned priests" of Muslim communities, who clung to their "old-time power" and resolutely maintained that "the wearing of a hat and necktie Christianizes a person."[1]

Piang belonged to an emergent generation of English-educated Filipinos cultivated within colonial public schools, which included children of prominent *datu*s who had negotiated with the Americans for autonomy and control of Islamic domains in the southern Philippines. By the 1930s, many Muslim leaders had since been drawn to national politics dominated by Manila-based Christian Filipinos, increasingly identifying themselves as Muslim-Filipinos who sought to participate in political activities and claimed representation for Muslim communities on the national stage.[2] With these young leaders, the

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1. Datu Gumbay Piang, "Educational Problems Among the Moros," *Philippine Magazine* 19, 4(September 1932): 158.

2. Patricio N. Abinales, "The 'Muslim-Filipino'and the State," *Public Policy:*

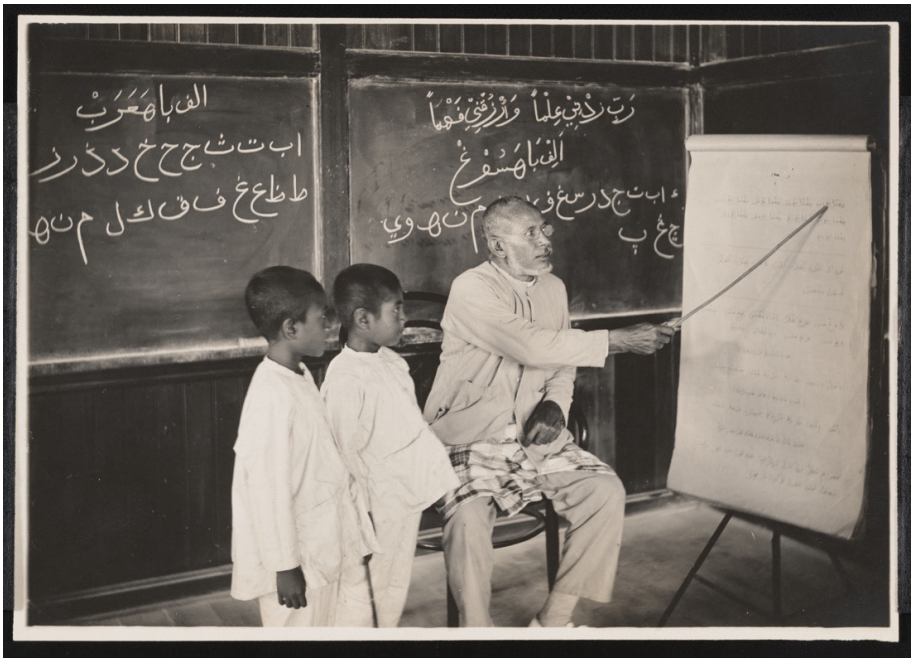

Fig. 1 – A photo with a caption at the back: *Sheik Mustafa Ahmad, Inspector of Mohammedan Schools, Zamboanga, Philippine Islands, 1914*. From Lot 13365-2, No. 5, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Muslim South seemed to enter a new age of closer ties with the Philippine colonial state under American rule. The *pandita*s were thus becoming anomalous characters who embodied traditions and practices that, to Piang, seemed arbitrary and "backward." To the likes of Piang, the 1930s was an epoch for change and progress, for young Muslims to seize more educational opportunities so that the Muslim-populated areas of the South could "catch up" with the rest of the modernizing archipelago.

Who were these *pandita*s? How had they become seen as "conservative" Islamic figures of learning and tradition in Muslim communities? This article is an entry point to a potentially broader research project that attempts to answer these questions, with the aim of placing the *pandita*s in the wider history of knowledge production and transmission in the Philippines. A Sanskrit term that

A University of the Philippines Quarterly 2.2 (1998): 48; Nobutaka Suzuki, "The Trajectories of Colonial Education and Muslim Filipinos under American Rule," *Islam and Cultural Diversity in Southeast Asia* (2015): 62. http://repository.tufs.ac.jp/bitstream/10108/93071/1/B182-03.pdf. This only piece was published by the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

means "learned teacher" or "master," now found in both English as the secular *pundit*, and even Indonesian as *pendeta*, the term probably entered the southern Philippines through Malay, the way other Sanskrit-origin terms (especially those referring to "intellectual activities") disseminated and filtered through trade routes dominated by Malay-speaking groups.[3] Tracing the etymology points to the inclusion of what is now the Philippines in a broader Malay world or *Dunia Melayu*, shaped by Austronesian roots, and sustained by commercial and socio-cultural relations facilitated by Malay as the *lingua franca*.[4] While no source exists to trace their history in the precolonial period of the Philippines, there is little doubt that the socio-cultural role of the *pandita*s began in the archipelago before the coming of Islam. Most likely the *pandita*s attached earlier beliefs and rituals with elements that they gradually acquired from Islam, absorbing them into their accommodative sphere of identity and practice, being ultimately subsumed and understood as an integral part of Islamic social organization and community.

In historicizing the *pandita*s and examining the ways in which they came to be known and understood as exclusively Muslim in the Philippines by the 19th century, I want to suggest that, as Islam spread throughout the Philippines, especially the areas of Mindanao and Sulu, it transformed into a vehicle that accommodated older beliefs and practices across disparate landscapes, its elements actively reconfigured, shaping the Islam encountered by outside observers into its own distinctive form. Rather than framing the history of Islam in terms of struggle and conflict under changing imperial regimes, and focusing instead on the *pandita* as a social category, I consider different depictions of expertise associated with their identity, and situate their perceived learnedness within particular contexts provided by available historical materials.

I also emphasize the constraints of colonial sources, produced under Spanish and then American rule, which restrict our entire understanding of the *pandita*s, their identity and practice, and the meanings and symbols they produced which afforded recognition of their knowledge and spiritual prowess. Without their testimonies and recorded voices, their presence in the historical record remain emplotted in the categories and vocabularies of observers, —Spanish Jesuit missionaries, foreign travelers, American colonial bureaucrats, and Filipino Christians. Despite these limitations, my broader intention is to understand their perceived role and function in the context of the history of Islam in the Philippines, to examine them beyond the fraught

3. See John Wolff, "Malay Borrowings in Tagalog," in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography: Essays Presented to D.G.E. Hall*, ed. C.D. Cowan and O. Wolters (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976): 360-361; Tom Hoogervorst, "Detecting Pre-modern Lexical Influence from South India in Maritime Southeast Asia." *Archipel* 89 (2015): 63-93.

4. Zeus Salazar, *The Malayan Connection: Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu* (Quezon City: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 1998): 69, 72-88.

depiction established by colonial sources—as figures of supposedly false religion, primitive civilization, ethnographic interest, occultism, and military regulation—and to point to possibilities of deeper meaning that their presence and activity brought to Muslim communities.

Islamization in the Philippines

Where do we place the *pandita*s in the historiography of Islam in the Philippines? In the 1970s, Cesar Majul, an influential historian of the Muslim Philippines, claimed that a consolidated "Moro" community first emerged against Spanish colonialism, mobilized as a unitary force under the "rallying ideology" of Islam that consequently turned Muslims against Christianized inhabitants who had become subservient to the Spanish colonial state.[5] In making this claim, Majul followed Najeeb Saleeby, the first colonial bureaucrat to study Muslims in southern Philippines under American rule, who wrote in the monograph *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, that Islam had brought "knowledge, art, and civilization" to coastal trading areas of precolonial Philippines.[6] As the "higher" civilization, Islam transformed customs and practices of pre-Islamic beliefs, imposing an overarching system, linking it to symbolic rituals and practices that made the religion even more attractive to indigenous leaders and their followers. Islam brought systematic political, social, and cultural templates that transformed political conceptions, enriched economic opportunities, and broadened spiritual realms and values. Most importantly, it opened and invited inhabitants to a wider world: the *dar al-Islam*, giving them "a sense of history [that] promoted their self-image as an historic people."[7]

Framed in teleological terms, Majul's influential histories depicted Islam in singular, closed terms, originating from an Arabic center and diffusing through the Malay trade routes, following a smooth process of conversion defined and marked by temporal boundaries.[8] For Majul, the process of "Islamization" was

5. Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1999): 1. "The Muslims in the Philippines: an historical perspective." *The Muslim Filipinos: Their History, Society and Contemporary Problems* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974): 1-12. Some nationalist histories share Majul's claims, portraying the history of Islam in the Philippines as driven by the political and religious conflict between two forces of opposing civilizations. Implicit in Majul's argument is the notion that Islam was the inevitable religion and way of life, from its nascence in the early 16th century. For example, see Samuel K. Tan, *The Filipino Muslim Armed Struggle, 1900-1972* (Manila: Filipinas Foundation, 1977).

6. Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*. *Philippine Ethnological Survey* 4 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905): 13.

7. Majul, "The Muslims in the Philippines," 5.

8. Majul furthermore argued that Islamic civilization gave a meaningful framework to the lifes of indigenous inhabitants who, with the arrival of Islam, had still been "worshipping

a successful enterprise interrupted only by the coming of Western imperialism. Had the Spaniards not arrived, the rest of Mindanao and perhaps even Luzon and Visayas, where Islamizing polities were already linked with Borneo through trade and political alliance, would have joined their regional neighbors in embracing the *dar al-Islam*.[9] Following Saleeby in the expanded *Muslims in the Philippines*, Majul argued that without the "benefits" of Islam, "[the precolonial inhabitants] would have easily been swept away by Western colonialism and relegated to the limbo of conquered peoples."[10]

But as Thomas McKenna argued, the concept of one "Morohood" ("a transcendent Philippine muslim") is a myth, for there never existed "a self-conscious collectivity of Philippine Muslims engaged in a unified, Islamic-inspired, anticolonial resistance."[11] Yet, political and commercial alliances linked ruling families of various Islamic domains, their attachment solidified by the connection to a wider Muslim world, its political and spiritual force already driving the coastal trading communities of maritime Southeast Asia to conversion.[12] While "Moro" was used by Spaniards to refer to Muslims, the same term became a collective marker under the Americanized Moro province, after being promulgated by Saleeby, whose aim, under American colonial policy, was "to prepare their eventual integration into an inevitable postcolonial Philippine nation."[13]

Certainly Majul's use of "Moro" did not acknowledge its constructedness as a concept, and glosses over the diversity of Muslim ethnic groups, cultures, and languages, and the different ways by which they dealt with multiple agents of Spanish colonialism. On the other hand, for Saleeby,

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stones and inanimate objects." See Majul, "The Muslims in the Philippines," 2.

9. On this premise, Majul constructed the history of Islam as external to the nation-state centered history of the Philippines, with its emphasis on indigenous resistance against the domination of Spanish colonialism. With Islam, the sultanates of the southern Philippines survived the relentless attempts at colonization by Spaniards. Their history was thus detached and different, if one recognized that "Muslims in the Philippines [had] an older history than any of the other Filipino groups or even of the Philippine nation itself, and that this fact [was] a vital part of their self-consciousness and [colored] all their relationships with their fellow citizens." See Majul, "The Muslims in the Philippines," 12.

10. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 84.

11. Thomas M. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998): 80-81.

12. Carmen Abubakr, "The Advent and Growth of Islam in the Philippines," in *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21st Century*, ed., K. S. Nathan and Mohammad Hashim Kamali (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005): 50-51; Isaac Donoso, "The Philippines and al-Andalus: Linking the Edges of the Classical Islamic World," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 62, 2 (2015): 256-257.

13. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*, 106.

the Muslims of the southern Philippines had rather "belonged to the native element of the country long before their conversion to Islam."[14] Even Majul, at a certain point, agreed that despite the difference in historical trajectory and eventual experience of colonialism, what eventually came to being as Filipinos were essentially Malays who shared "a common cultural matrix" before the coming of Islam.[15] Later, historians engaging both with the ideas of Majul and Saleeby would elaborate the ethnic and cultural coherence that linked pre-Islamic communities, depicted as sharing Austronesian roots, that developed distinct socio-political structures and hierarchies that varied in degrees of cohesion, and eventually transformed by the Islam increasingly offered by the commerce of the Malay-speaking world.[16]

Beyond trade, Islam likewise extended the political consciousness of elite rulers and their families, offering a formalized structure of political organization through a *sultanate* legitimized by the outside world, consolidating under its jurisdiction smaller autonomous domains headed by the *datu*s, supported by political alliances and intermarriages, and creating "the Islamic-indigenous blend" that shaped the political fabric of the Muslim south.[17] While such linkages formed the substance of power for different Muslim rulers, political unity remained elusive, obstructed by rivalries and localized wars despite the unifying consciousness of belonging to a broader Muslim world that represented each domain as a component of the *umma*.[18] In the words of Carmen Abubakr, Islamic consciousness "imbued its adherents with a sense of identity that was at once able to transcend territorial and ethnic boundaries."[19]

Islam then became a site of reinterpretation, shaped by individual and social conditions, bolstered by maritime trading activities and political alliances through intermarriages.[20] It manifested in different ways as it travelled

14. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History,* 52.

15. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 409. This point is resonant with Oliver Wolters' "cultural matrix" in describing early Southeast Asian based on a coherent regional framework shaped by linguistic and cultural similarities. See his *History, Culture, and Religion in Southeast Asian Perspectives* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1982).

16. Samuel K. Tan, *A History of the Philippines* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 1987, 2009): 36-40; Salazar, *The Malayan Connection*.

17. Tan, *A History of the Philippines*, 40-42.

18. For a discussion on the meanings of *umma* and the role of scholarly networks in the Malay-Indonesian world, see Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Winds* (Routledge, 2003), especially chapter 1. See also R. Michael Feener, "Southeast Asian Localisations of Islam and Participation within a Global Umma, c. 1500–1800," *The New Cambridge History of Islam* 3 (2010): 470–503.

19. Carmen Abubakr, "The Advent and Growth of Islam," 50.

20. Abubakr's argument mirrors the conjectures of Syed Farid Alatas which

across geographies, drawing legitimacy from the tenets disseminated by scholarly networks adhering to scriptural orthodoxy, but localizing them in the process, making the faith simultaneously universal *and* local.[21] The process of Islamization was then complex and fragmented, involving varying levels of reception, adaptation, and reconfiguration, an indefinite process that was not a homogenizing program. If we follow this line of argument, it seems that pre-Islamic inhabitants in Mindanao would have reinterpreted rather than simply, and passively, receiving a centralized, monolithic Islam. Thus, understood as a space of transformative interaction, the vehicle of Islam engineered multilevel transformations in Islamic domains of the southern Philippines.

It was in this context where the *pandita*s entered. As agents of Islamization, the *pandita*s played a major role in the way Islam was adapted, absorbed, and localized in different parts of the Muslim South, whether this process of Islamization was in Mindanao (Lanao, Maguindanao) or in the Sulu archipelago.

The *Pandita*s in the *Dunia Melayu*

In maritime Southeast Asia, according to Ronit Ricci, the term *pandita* belonged to "a wide array of terminologies for the status and skills possessed by religious teachers—guru, *'alim*, pundit, messenger, ascetic, sheikh—representing different traditions of learning and leadership."[22]

Anthony Medrano is thus far the only person who has studied the *pandita* as their own distinct historical category within the Islamizing Malay world, connecting them with travelling "teachers" from Ternate, Banten, and Patani, and arguing that European presence turned *pandita*s into figures of resistance that defended traditional and cultural consciousness, increasingly Islamic *and* distinctively Malay.[23]

In this regard we can also draw from Leonard Andaya's work on 16th century Malukan society, where he argued that "fluidity" marked religious encounters in the early modern period, that in spite of the strength of "pre-

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emphasizes vigorous conversion to Islam, proselytization by masses, outside ruling families, was Sufi activity, and the teachers and mystics. See Syed Alatas, "Notes on the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago," *The Muslim World* 75 (1985): 162-175. In Philippine historiography, studies exploring the Sufi networks as instruments of the propagation of faith are lacking.

21. Feener, "Southeast Asian Localisations of Islam and Participation within a Global Umma, c. 1500–1800," 502.

22. Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011): 242.

23. Anthony Medrano, "Education Creates Unrest: State Schooling and Muslim Society in Thailand and the Philippines" (Master's Thesis, University of Hawa'i, 2007). For a similar notion of "synthesis" embodied in developing identities, see Merle Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2006).

Islamic concepts of leadership, based on both spiritual and physical prowess" the precolonial inhabitants were open to accommodating and adapting Islamic, and/or Christian ideas and beliefs.[24] Indigenous inhabitants freely absorbed and embodied the symbols and practices they found appealing, and applied these to enhance their spiritual and ethical life.[25]

In light of polities increasingly turning Islamic in the east of the archipelagos of what is now Indonesia, the *pandita*s of what is now the Philippines probably formed cadres of the earliest local *ulama* in the process of transition, employing additional Arabic titles for their positions, like *imam* or *khatib*, just as *raja*s acquired the additional monikers of *sultan* or even the Persianate *shah*, as in the case of Aceh. With Islam then, the *pandita*s gained an additional layer of spiritual prowess, increasing the prestige of their identity and learnedness. Such flexible combination of elements, again according to Andaya, generated communities where "[both] the local priest and the Koran as vessels of spiritual power inspired fear and respect—the former by chants employing a secret but efficacious language, the latter by the written page with its lines forming incomprehensible but potent images."[26]

This linked world also included cultural networks, as studied by Ricci, who has noted how translation and conversion were intertwined in the process of Islamization in archipelagic Southeast Asia. According to Ricci, the "written texts" circulated by literary networks were crucial in producing shared meanings and beliefs that shaped Islamic identities and communities, especially Malay-Indonesian archipelago. Annabel Teh Gallop has analyzed such written materials, remarking aesthetic and textual commonalities of Islamic manuscripts (both Qur'anic and non-Qur'anic texts) from Mindanao and connecting them with those in the broader Malay world, their circulation and location shaped by different motivations of collecting and treasure-hunting by European and American scholars and administrators under colonial rule.[27] As mentioned above, it is through their belonging and involvement within the broader *dunia Melayu* that Muslim communities in southern Philippines were able to develop their own *Jawi* traditions—in local languages using the Arabic script that included Tausug, Sama, Yakan, and Maguindanaoan.[28]

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24. Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993):145.

25. Ibid., 146-147. For cases in Africa, see Rudolph T. Ware, *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

26. Ibid., 194.

27. Annabel Teh Gallop, "Qur'an Manuscripts from Mindanao: Collecting Histories, Art and Materiality," *South East Asia Research* (2021): 1-45; Isaac Donoso, "The Philippines and al-Andalus," 260-261.

28. See Carmen Abubakr, "Surat Sug: Jawi Tradition in Southern Philippines," in

Thus, within this broader Malay world, we can place the *pandita*s, in conjunction with the *babaylan*s in Visayas and *katalonan*s in Luzon, learned priests of precolonial communities, performing similar functions and duties as ritual specialists and healers.[29] Such learned priests occupied a high position in the indigenous socio-political hierarchy, which legitimized political rule and control by mediation with the divine through rituals.[30] Later studies of the *pandita*s lumped them with *babaylan-katalonan* figures, especially in connection to their role as healers, often undifferentiated, the only distinction depended on geography. But whether one was *katalonan*, *babaylan*, or *pandita*, such figures performed their social duties as "intermediaries who mediated between the deities and the diseased."[31]

The gender of the *pandita,* from what I gather, was male, which marks a contrast to the ambiguous gender and sexuality associated with precolonial *babaylan-katalonan* figures that, in Spanish accounts, were either female or effeminate men.[32] Such liminally-sexed but dominantly feminine ritual specialists, argues Carolyn Brewer, illustrate that precolonial communities regarded the sacred realm as feminized, as the domain of females but open to

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Cuaderno Internacional de Estudios Humanísticos y Literature (CIEHL), Vol. 19 (2013): 31-37. In addition, see the *jawi* materials, transliterated and translated into English, published under the direction of Samuel K. Tan, as director of the Mindanao Program of the University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies. The project included publications on the *kitab*, containing Islamic esoteric knowledge and parts of prayer books: Samuel K. Tan and Munap H Hairulla, *An annotation of the Marsada kitabs* (Diliman, Quezon City: Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines, 2002); Samuel K. Tan et al., *Tawi-Tawi Kitabs* (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 2007); Samuel K. Tan et al., *Basilan Kitabs* (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 2007).

29. Zeus Salazar, "Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas," in *Women's Role in Philippine History: Selected Essays* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Center for Women's Studies, 1996), 52-72. Translated from Filipino to English as "The *Babaylan* in Philippine History" by Proserpina Domingo Tapales, found in the same volume, 209-220.

30. This point draws from Ariel Lopez's discussion on the *walian* in Minahasa, Sulawesi with the *babaylan* in the Philippines. See Ariel C. Lopez, "Conversion and Colonialism: Islam and Christianity in North Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900" (Leiden University, 2018), 17–18.

31. Anastacia Villegas, "Early Medicine in the Philippines," *The Journal of the Philippine Islands Medical Association* 4, 1 (January 1924): 13.

32. The liminality of gender and sexual boundaries can also be observed with similar ritual specialists in the region. See for example Leonard Andaya's study of a "Third Gender in Indonesia" in *Other Pasts: Women, Gender and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed., Barbara Watson Andaya (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000): 27-46.

males if they could embody and identify with the feminine.[33] The ambiguity in gender and sexuality might have also been practiced by the earliest *pandita*s, but as they acquired and embodied a more Islamic valence, eventually denied the femininity attached to the sacred realm, part of the broader changes in early modernity when religious systems took the more orthodox, male-dominated form, reserving ritual positions only to men.[34]

As male ritual specialists and learned intermediaries, the increasingly Islamic *pandita*s, with knowledge of scriptural learning and local customs, performing similar duties of Christian priests, became objects of hostility by encroaching Spanish missionaries.[35] As we shall see below, the *pandita*s, the learned men and vessels of spiritual power who mediated between the local people and their deities were first the objects of fear and curiosity in the Spanish and then American Philippines.

Spanish Jesuits and the *Pandita*s

Beginning in the 1640s, Jesuit missionaries consistently encountered and blamed the hostile *pandita*s, described as the native "priests and doctors" contrasted to their customs and obstacles to their missionary work.[36] An account by Jesuit historian and missionary Pedro Murillo Velarde, entitled *Historia de Philipinas,* published in Manila in 1749, tells the story of a *pandita* named Tabaco, leader of the Sameacas in Basilan, already the leader of previous incidents attacking Spaniards, with a strong following among locals that refused to pay tribute and attend Christian religious services. Velarde's account, in the context of encountering *both* Muslims and "heathens" in Basilan, referred to the Sameacas as mountain-dwellers, and not precisely Muslim. Tabaco was later caught and decapitated, his death pacifying the Christianizing settlement.[37]

Another early reference to a clearly Muslim *pandita* comes in the 1660s, amid accelerated activity in the southern islands of the archipelago,

33. Carolyn Brewer, "Baylan, Asog, Transvestism, and Sodomy: Gender, Sexuality, and the Sacred in Early Colonial Philippines," *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context* 2 (1999): 1–5. For an elaboration, see Brewer's *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521-1685* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

34. This point is suggested in the conclusion of Barbara Watson Andaya, *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

35. Salazar, "Babaylan," 216-218.

36. Pedro Murillo Velarde, "Jesuit Missions in the Seventeenth Century," in Blair, Emma Helen, James Alexander Robertson, and Edward Gaylord Bourne, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. XLIV (Cleveland, Ohio: the Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906): 62. See also Miguel Bernad, "The Beginnings of Evangelization and the First Church in Mindanao," *Kinaadman* 18 (1996).

37. Murillo Velarde, "Jesuit Missions," 90; Juan de la Concepcion, "Historia General de Philipinas," in *Blair and Robertson*: 38: 134-136.

when the Jesuit missionary Francisco Combes defined one as a Moro priest ("*sacerdote moro*") who possessed knowledge of Islamic law ("*sabio en la ley mahometana*").[38] This definition would endure as an almost *de facto* understanding of *pandita*s way into the late 19th century, with their identity and position increasingly presented as the Islamic equivalent of priestly ministry. In a later Maguindanao dictionary published in 1892, Jesuit missionary Jacinto Juanmarti still followed the exact definition of Combes, and added twenty other titles that a *pandita* might further attain and hold, including the Malay "Tuan imam", "Tuan-Kali", "Imam-Kali", "Tuan Katib" and Javanese sounding "Santri" — who was in charge of the mosque.[39] These entries suggest that in what seemed to Jesuits an "ecclesiastical hierarchy" the *pandita* occupied the entry rank and could gradually acquire and develop other responsibilities and titles.[40]

Beyond their reputation for learnedness and spirituality, there were no other markers that seemed to distinguish the *pandita*s. Indeed they need not have been local at all. Jesuits encountering different *pandita*s in their Mindanao missions described them as priests who guarded treasured books like the Qur'an, gave counsel to the *datus*, and after having gone to Mecca for pilgrimage, dressed in white turban and suit.[41] Meanwhile in Panigayan on Basilan, Jesuit Pablo Cavalleria, writing in 1882, referred to the local *pandita* as the teacher of catechism to the Muslims, remarking that while his physical presence and posturing appeared impressive, wearing "a type of hat with golden bands," his dwelling looked "very miserable."[42]

In terms of rituals, though, Islamized local terms were maintained. One such term was "*pedolungcu*" (which, in its romanized form, probably corrupted the local term) described by Juanmarti as ritual praying, involving bowing down one's head, only to be performed by a *pandita*.[43] In this regard,

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38. Francisco Combes, *Historia de Mindanao* (Madrid: 1667): 788. On the history of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, see Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1571-1768 (*Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

39. Jacinto Juanmarti, *Diccionario Moro-Maguindanao-Español* (Manila: Tipografia Amigos del Pais, 1892): 137-138, 160.

40. *Expócision General de las Islas Filipinas en Madrid* (Manila: Comision Central de Manila,1887): 193-194.

41. *Expócision General de las Islas Filipinas en Madrid* (Manila: Comision Central de Manila, 1887): 204. The information contained in this book seems to be drawn from Jesuit letters published in the *Cartas*.

42. Carta de Pablo Cavallería al R.P. Superior de la Misión, Isabela de Basilan, 19 de Noviembre de 1882, in *Cartas de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús de la Misión de Filipinas* 5 (Manila: Imprenta de los Amigos del País, 1883): 260. Hereafter referred to as *Cartas*. For an overview of the 10-volume *Cartas* written by Philippine-based Jesuits from the 1870s to the 1890s, see Frank Lynch, "The Jesuit Letters of Mindanao as a Source of Anthropological Data." *Philippine Studies* 4, 2 (1956): 247-272.

43. Juanmarti, *Diccionario Moro-Maguindanao-Español*, 170.

the *pandita*s were apparently indispensable, leading marriages, group prayers, and feasts, involving highly ceremonial traditions that might surprise even Muslims visiting from other areas.[44] One ritual involving the cutting and purification of a chicken's head seemed to be an important custom, used in ceremonies for the dead, in community prayers requesting protection from disease and calamity, and in ceremonies performed at the end of *novenas*.[45]

Sources also associated the *pandita*s with literacy, and their all-around knowledge extending from texts to the natural environment and geography of their domains.[46] In Sumulug, in 1894, Jesuit Juan Llopart reported baptizing a *pandita* who gave him "his prayerbook in Maguindanao letters or alphabet."[47] In Sirana, Saturnino Urios, another Jesuit, managed to baptize a *pandita*, and thus acquired his "sacred library" ("*biblioteca sacra*") which included "four old manuscripts, a torn Qur'an and strip of paper containing a long prayer in Arabic letters or similar" that baffled the Jesuit who could not understand what they meant.[48] The French naturalist Joseph Montano, on a mission to Sulu in 1879, referred to *pandita*s as helpful informants in collecting specimens of flora and fauna, observing that they mixed Malay and Arabic words and appeared knowledgeable of Qur'anic verses.[49]

Juanmarti's dictionary of 1892 also implied that certain people within the community might have pretended to be *pandita*s without actually being qualified, indicated by the use of the term "*pedpandita*."[50] In fact, an interesting incident was observed by Jesuits in Samal island populated by people who copied rituals from both Muslims and Christians, appointing their own *pandita*-like figure, and blending the "superstitions" of Muslims with Christians processions, using "lighted candles" ("*candelas enscendidas*") for worship.[51]

*Pandita*s as military opponents

Aside from their spiritual prowess and expertise, the *pandita*s were evidently part of the political and administrative organization, in the local

44. Carta del Domingo Bové al R.P. Superior de la Misión, Bunauan, 2 de Febrero de 1877, in *Cartas* 1 (1877): 27.

45. Carta de Pablo Pastells al R.P. Superior de la Misión, Catel, 8 de Junio de 1878, in *Noticias Históricas Sobre la Misión de Caraga*, in *Cartas* 2 (1879): 149.

46. Juan Jose Delgado, *Historia General, Sacro-Profana, Política, y Natural de Las Islas del Poniente Llamadas Filipines* (Madrid, 1892): 542.

47. Carta del Juan Llopart, Basilan, in *Cartas* 10 (1895): 259.

48. Carta del Saturnino Urios al R.P. Juan Ricart, Cristina, 2 de Noviembre de 1894, in *Cartas* 10 (1895): 252.

49. Joseph Montano, *Voyage aux Philippines et en Malaisie* (Paris : Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1886) :149, 190.

50. Juanmarti, *Diccionario Moro-Maguindanao-Español*, 268.

51. *Expocisión General,* 80-81. Jesuits produced this publication for the 1887 exposition in Madrid, where some of the content were copied from letters of earlier Jesuit missionaries, without reference.

hierarchy headed by chieftains known as *datu*s, which proliferated in different areas later assimilated into the Islamic structure of centralized *sultanate*.[52] Reynaldo Ileto, in his study of the Buayan sultanate in Mindanao from the 1860s-1880s, described *pandita*s as instigators of rebellions in the name of *sultans*, adding a religious dimension to resistance against colonial rule.[53]

Yet they were not always the direct emissaries of these rulers. A description of the *pandita* found in an 1888 compilation of reports and narratives of military campaigns in Mindanao over the previous decades, described them as a "type" of "politico-religious minister" that assisted the *imam* (who, most likely, was also a *pandita*) in religious ceremonies, including daily prayers, feast offerings, marriages, etc. But their most threatening function involved a sacred ritual said to "consecrate the fanatics or *juramentado* to die killing Christians and conserve the other sensual and eternal life."[54]

Majul places the *juramantado* in the context of the so-called Moro Wars, which he describes as the centuries-long "series of bitter wars of attrition" by the Muslims of the southern Philippines against colonial forces.[55] As part of organized *jihad,* the *juramentado* was more significant than a mere incidence of a person running *amok*, as was often associated with wider Malay societies of maritime Southeast Asia. The *pandita*s supposedly arranged and certified the passage or "ticket" to paradise, expounding to the *mujahid fi sabil Allah* (Warrior on the Path of God) that killing Christians (and Spaniards in particular) was a holy duty, and preparing them spiritually by blessing the amulet or "anting-anting" with a special prayer.[56] Sometimes the *pandita*s themselves participated in *juramentado*, as in Maimbung in Jolo in 1882.[57] And they could be instigators too, but their primary function was sanctifying the act, in the name of Islam, though some *pandita*s who refused to participate in a planned *juramentado* reported it to colonial officials.[58]

Here it is worth noting that not all *pandita*s were antagonistic to the Spanish colonial state. Some of them, upon conversion to Christianity, served as intermediaries who assisted missionaries in baptizing others. There were also those who found employment in the colonial state, using their influence in the community as credential. For instance, in an 1877 report by Colonel Fernandez

52. Tan, *A History of the Philippines*, 38.

53. Reynaldo Ileto, *Magindanao, 1860-1888: The Career of Datu Utto of Buayan* (Ithaca: Cornell University, Department of Asian Studies, Southeast Asia Program Data Paper, No. 82, 1971).

54. *Apuntes para Hacer un Libro Sobre Joló: Entresacados de lo Escrito por Barrantes, Bernaldez, Escosura, Francia, Giraudier, Gonzalez, Parrado, y Pazos y Otros Varios por Miguel A. Espina, Coronel, Teniente Coronel de Infanteria* (Manila, Imprenta y Litografia de M. Perez, Hijo, 1888): 45.

55. Majul, "The Muslims in the Philippines," 7.

56. Ibid., 459. Many thanks to Michael Francis Laffan for the translation.

57. Ibid., 472.

58. Majul, "The Institution of Juramentado," in *Muslims in the Philippines*, 419-427.

Bremon, the *pandita* Kibat of Tumantangis in Jolo and his followers not only submitted to the Spanish crown but also committed to working as reliable "auxiliaries" forming a "surveillance section useful for a multitude of services."[59]

In the above descriptions, derived from tendentious Spanish sources, the identity and function of *pandita*s were framed from a Christian perspective and mode of understanding, as an aggregate description of the exoticized "other." This might well explain the untranslatability of the term "*pandita*" that is paralleled by the case of "priests" in Cape Town in the early 20th century.[60] The untranslatability further marked the *pandita*'s character that separated them within the community, and at the same time, amplified the notion that they were not like the Christian "sacerdote" or priests, even though they had corresponding roles and obligations as religious figures.[61] The untranslated *pandita,* as the spiritual vessel of a false God, was inherently a figure of depravity, a practitioner of "evil doctrines" and "immoral practices" to be differentiated from the priests observing them.[62] Soon enough the outside observers would seldom be priests at all.

The *Pandita*s under the American regime

Once the Americans came at the turn of the 20th century, their examination of Spanish sources as those discussed above would animate the American public's orientalist fantasies about their new colonial possession. The *pandita*, inhabitant of the land of "barbaric" and "uncivilized" peoples, became a mythological character utilized by imperialist writers. Charles Skinner, for instance, copied almost verbatim the previous Jesuit descriptions, dramatizing the story of *juramentado,* noting the "passport to heaven" sanctified by the *pandita*.[63] In other "hero tales" of American conquest, the chivalrous warriors travel to Sulu and encounter Muslims among "cannibals, head hunters and unqualified terrors," highlighting the *pandita*'s mystical and evil duty of administering "the solemn oath to die killing Christians."[64]

Yet there were sober approaches. Saleeby, a Christian American originally from Lebanon, systematically studied the Muslims in Mindanao and Sulu, using his knowledge of Arabic to communicate with *datu*s,

59. *Apuntes*, Capitulo XIV, 261.

60. Shamil Jappie, "Leadership and Loyalties: the Imams of Nineteenth Century Colonial Cape Town, South Africa." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26, No. 2 (1996): 143.

61. Salazar points to this similarity in function and duty, further arguing that former *babaylan*s became either leaders of rebellions or entered into colonial society as assistants in Christian rituals. See Salazar, "Babaylan," 216-218.

62. Murillo Velarde, "Jesuit Missions," 90.

63. Charles Skinner, *Myths and Legends of Our New Possessions and Protectorate* (Philadelphia and London: JB Lippincott Company 1900): 296.

64. *Hero Tales of the American Soldier and Sailor, As told by the Heroes themselves and their Comrades: The Unwritten History of American Chivalry* (Philadelphia: Century Manufacturing Company, 1899): 262.

collecting manuscripts and sacred texts, and translating them into English for dissemination.[65] While elaborating on the functions of the *pandita*, Saleeby maintained that their primary role in the community was of "the scholar who can read and write and perform the functions of a priest."[66] Because there were many *pandita*s who performed a variety of rituals and customs, he later referred to them as the "educated class" with the authority to "minister at the mosque" and assist people with their prayers given most Muslims in the community were "unable to perform [that] duty and naturally require[d] the services of educated individuals who [could] minister the same to them."[67]

The *pandita*s were tasked to "assemble the mosque once a week only, on Friday, and pray for themselves and for the whole country."[68] As intermediaries to the spiritual realm, they were thus indispensable figures in the community, since prayers and rituals were performed in languages (Malay and Arabic) that most people did not understand. Even with the help of the *pandita*s, the most ordinary Muslims could accomplish was to "intone [their] prayers and learn their sounds by heart," though Saleeby noted that, "as a matter of fact they neither learn[ed] them nor read them."[69]

Saleeby, with his engagement with *tarsila*s (composite texts including genealogies) and interactions in Muslim communities, argued that, as the educated figures, *pandita*s could occupy other eminent positions, such as *qadi* (judge) and *khatib* (Friday preacher). Upon elevation to more politically prominent roles, the *pandita* was given an Arabic name, which was a common practice "in the case of accession to the sultanate and other high offices."[70] While the Islamic features were noticeable, Saleeby was also aware of the amorphous and ambiguously complex characteristics of the Islam he encountered, through observation of customs and practices, and especially in meeting *pandita*s who "knew little Arabic or Islamic."[71] In fact, to make this point, he recalled:

> In the Mindanao campaign of 1904, the *pandita*s invoked 'Allah' and Mohammed, but the masses looked for help from Bantugan ['hero god and the god of his forefathers'] and trusted in his power. They actually believed that he appeared to Datu Ali in human form, strengthened him, and gave him a belt to wear for his protection.[72]

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65. For a background on Saleeby, see Timothy Marr, "Diasporic Intelligences in the American Philippine Empire: The Transnational Career of Dr. Najeeb Mitry Saleeby." *Mashriq & Mahjar* 2, 1 (2014): 78-106.

66. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History*, 64.

67. Saleeby, "The Moro: A General Statement," *The Cablenews-American Yearly Review* 278 (August 28, 1911): 93.

68. Ibid., 92.

69. Ibid.

70. Najeeb Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908): 152.

71. Marr, "Diasporic Intelligences," 82.

72. This account is sourced from Saleeby's *Origin of the Malayan Filipinos* which I have not yet consulted. It is cited in quotations in Frank Laubach, *The People of the*

Belying this apparent syncretism, though, was the *Luwaran*, or Maguindanao code of laws. A sacred text in the community, it was written in the local language but contained quotations and passages from the Qur'an and Islamic treatises and books, like the *Mir'at al-Tullab*, written by Acehnese teacher Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili, part of religious texts widely circulated within Muslim Southeast Asia and linked to the scholarly ecumene in the Middle East.[73] This points to Mindanao's connection with the Malay-Indonesian world, with perhaps deeper levels of engagement and connection with Islamic intellectual networks that up to now remain unexplored.

Saleeby, as the first superintendent of schools in the American colonial "Moro" province, spearheaded social building institutions, often at odds with colonial bureaucrats in planning and coordinating their respective goals for the region.[74] As early as 1908, the so-called "pandita schools" were established, taught, in the words of one report, by "Moro scholars, supported by the communities and supplied by the department of schools with books and other equipment." A primary objective of these schools was to demonstrate American goodwill, clarify "misconceptions" and tone down the "hostility" expressed by Muslims.[75] It operated:

> under the patronage of some influential datu and conducted by the local Pandita. The building and teacher are furnished by the Moros themselves while the Province provides books, paper, blackboards, and other necessary supplies. The instruction given in these schools is necessarily limited almost entirely to the reading and writing of the native language. Limited as the instruction is, however, these simple establishments, which are maintained at an insignificant cost to the government, serve to win the sympathies and arouse the interest of the Moros.[76]

Whereas Oliver Charbonneau's work credits Saleeby for the *pandita* schools, which worked alongside institutions established to support the "civilizational imperatives" of American imperialism, he argues that many colonial

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Philippines, Their Religious Progress and Preparation for Spiritual Leadership in the Far East (New York: George Doran Company, 1925). Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that Bantugan (Bantugen) is the protagonist in the Maranao epic *Darangen*. See Mamitua Saber, "Darangen: The Epic of the Maranaws." *Philippine Sociological Review* 9, no. 1/2 (1961): 42-46.

73. Azyumardi Azra *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004): 79-80. See also Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood,* 21-24.

74. Peter Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland* (Quezon City: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, University of the Philippines, 1977).

75. *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education, July 1 1907, to June 30, 1908* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908): 85.

76. *The Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1908 By Brig. Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, US Army Governor* (Zamboanga: The Mindanao Herald Pub. Co., 1908): 13.

administrators actually criticized Saleeby for the "elastic approach" that tolerated *panditas* under his leadership.[77] But such was the power and reputation of *pandita*s that many local *datu*s offered money to support and sustain these religious schools, seen as an alternative to public schools that were viewed as evangelical vehicles with the intention of Christianizing young Muslims, appearing alongside Catholic and Protestant missions burgeoning in the region.[78]

On the other hand, some Americans believed that the *pandita* schools could be used to prepare young Muslims for eventual integration to the public school system. While plans were initially directed at eliminating the *pandita*s and subsuming them under the colonial system, there were also attempts to coordinate with the *pandita*s in planning to publish a specialized textbook for their use, borrowing similar content from regular schools.[79] There was even a suggestion in 1913 to bring *pandita*s as teachers in public schools, but this was vehemently opposed by provincial governor John Pershing, who still viewed *pandita*s as menacing antagonists, considering them instigators of distrust and hostility among Muslims.[80]

In the 1910s, the so-called Filipinization under Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison gradually reduced Americans in the colonial administration and replaced them with English-trained Filipinos. Some Muslim leaders perceived this as a process of "Christian Filipinization" because of the recruitment and employment of Christians in the colonial civil service governing Islamic domains in Mindanao.[81] Many Muslim students, however, were also recruited to the American colonial service, most notably in areas of public instruction, where certain *pandita*s were employed as part of the teaching and administrative staff.

One prominent example was Sheik Mustafa Ahmad, a *pandita* from Zamboanga depicted in the photo at the beginning of this article (see fig. 1 p. 128, also fig. 2 p. 145). A brief 1914 memorandum, written by the district chief of the Philippine Constabulary and addressed to the governor of the American Moro province, described Ahmad as "a Hadji and Pandita" who resided in Zamboanga. While he did not control any people directly, he was deemed "a religious man considered best versed in the Mohammedan faith in the province." He was then employed by Cameron, Zamboanga's Superintendent of Schools, nominated as being the best placed to provide

77. Oliver Charbonneau, *Civilizational Imperatives: Americans, Moros, and the Colonial World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020): 75-76.

78. Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, 216-217.

79. *The Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1909 By Col. Ralph W. Hoyt, 25th US Infantry* (Zamboanga, the Mindanao Herald Pub. Co., 1909): 21.

80. *The Annual Report of the Governor of the Moro Province For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1913 By Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing, US Army Governor* (Zamboanga: The Mindanao Herald Pub. Co., 1913): 13.

81. Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, 270-275.

"accurate information."[82] American administrators, like Cameron, believed that having *pandita*s in public schools might help "break down the hostility of the Moros to American schools."[83]

Peter Gowing also indicates that Mustafa Ahmad joined the American colonial staff as early as 1911, as a teacher and administrator in the colonial bureaucracy for education, and assisted editing the first colonial newspaper called *The Sulu News*, which contained bilingual pieces in English and Tausug, and lasted for six months.[84]

As members of the "indigenous intelligentsia," *pandita*s like Mustafa Ahmad still conducted traditional, tutorial style classes quite unlike the format of postwar *madrasah*s associated with nationally-integrated Muslim Filipinos who began to cultivate intellectual links with universities in the Middle East.[85] By the 1930s, the *pandita* schools declined and more Muslims were educated in public schools.[86] Still, the establishment of *pandita*-led schools, and the employment of *pandita*s in the teaching staff of colonial public schools, indicated that the Americans had to come to terms with the *pandita*'s power and influence, in order to more openly engage with Muslims in their own communities.

Even with *pandita* schools, however, American public schools continued to enroll Muslims alongside Christians, employing a mix of teachers as well, following the curriculum of the colonial Bureau of Education. For example, in an agricultural and technical school in Cotabato Valley, Muslim boys were taught vocational skills, such as methods and techniques of farming, brass work, and mat weaving. They were also given free meals, mostly cooked from *sago* palm leaf mixed with rice, sugar, and milk, but for these meals, no meat was used as the boys "[would not eat it] unless the animal [had] been killed by a *pandita*."[87]

Islamic "holy men"?

The *pandita* was thus institutionalized as an Islamic figure by the American colonial state whose *pandita* schools made them representatives of Islamic

82. "Memorandum for Governor Carpenter," dated February 8, 1914. In Box 370, Folder 5, Pershing Papers, MSS35949 Carta del Juan Llopart, Basilan, in Cartas 10 (1895): 259. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

83. *Eighth Annual Report of the Director of Education, July 1 1907, to June 30, 1908* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1908): 85.

84. Gowing, *Mandate in Moroland*, 218.

85. Jeffrey Milligan, "Philippines, Islamic education in the." In *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t343/e0012 (accessed Dec 17, 2020); It would be interesting to trace the links between *pandita* schools and the postwar *madrasah*.

86. Suzuki, "Trajectories of Colonial Education," 64.

87. James E. McCall, "The Piang Agricultural School," *The Philippine Craftsman* 3, 9 (1915): 677.

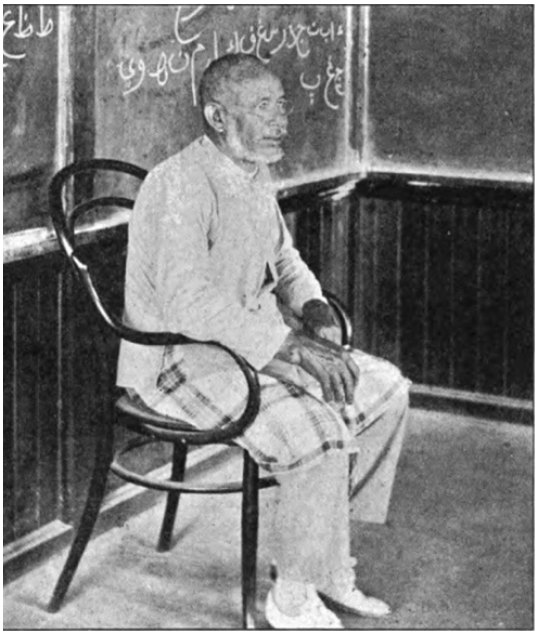

Fig. 2 – Sheik Mustapha (reproduced from Sixto Orosa, *The Sulu Archipelago and its People,* New York: World Book Company, 1923*,* 62*)*. Sheik Mustapha appears in the photograph at the beginning of the article.

learning and tradition. Majul followed this description, elaborating that the *pandita*s formed the basis of the *ulama* consisting of scribes, judges, *imam*s, and court administrators, and possessed social prestige and status, authorized to advise on community matters because of their knowledge of Islamic customs and jurisprudence.[88]

But within the context of Islamic communities under changing colonial regimes, how can a person become a *pandita*? Majul explained that, because there was no clergy or actual ecclesiastical hierarchy in Islam, anyone could be a *pandita*. In fact, it should be the "ideal" attainment for all Muslims, because its primary distinction was being recognized as "knowing more Islam than others" after a period of studying under great teachers.[89]

Looking into the *pandita*s as interpreters of the *Luwaran*, we can say that, at least part of them, must have been knowledgeable of traditional law or *adat,* the Qur'an, and the teachings by certain Islamic scholars like al-Sinkili, in order to apply and adjudicate legal and customary situations. Rather like the *Undang-*

88. Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 105-106.
89. Ibid, 114-115.

Undang Melaka, the *Luwaran* actually contained more references to local customs than Islamic laws. With this adaptation, Majul argued that there must have been a "conscious attempt to approximate principles of the *Shari'ah* or, at the very least, to accommodate as much of it as was feasible."[90] Such dichotimization reflects an older and external understanding of customary law as inimical or opposed to Islamic law, when the former was often incorporated by the latter where it was not deemed to contradict it. In any case, the level of Islamic knowledge the *pandita*s knew made its application and interpretation more deeply Islamic. This means that the way Islam was understood and practiced differed in various areas with disparate *pandita*s, depending on the kind and level of learning and engagement the individual *pandita* acquired and held.

If knowledge of Islamic texts and jurisprudence was essential to the identity and position of the *pandita*s, how and where did they train to attain this? What made *pandita*s scholars of Islam? Did they represent the *dar al-islam* as a consequence? And what kind of Islamic jurisprudence did they maintain, in matters and questions of faith and practice?

The colonial sources provide no information on whether *pandita*s required or desired an *ijazah* or license to teach, which scholarly networks they were embedded in, and what other texts and treatises they engaged with. Even if they comprised the "basic form to the local ulama" the *pandita*s possessed varying "degrees of learnedness" that often made their authority vulnerable, incomplete, and contestable.[91]

Consider for instance, the description of "Mohammedan practices" of healing by physician Liborio Gomez, who was based in Cotabato when his ethnographic "Mohammedan Medical Practice" was published in 1917. Herein Gomez described *pandita*s as community health experts who relied on the Qur'an for healing knowledge and prowess, and consulted a manuscript called *paubatan* (Malay for "treatment" and distinguished as a Muslim medical book) containing a variety of treatments, descriptions of prognosis, procedures of surgery, amulets, and prayers. Disease and any form of sickness were interpreted as omens or messages from the divine.

Alongside the *paubatan*, the Qur'an itself was essential in determining prognosis and diagnosis. The *pandita*, "with eyes closed, and accompanied by prayers," consulted the book, as each *agir* and *aual* (from the Arabic *akhir* or "end" and *awal* "beginning") corresponded to particular "offenses" and conditions.[92] A treatment was usually recommended and performed also by the *pandita*. For instance, "where disease is supposed to be due to not fulfilling an oath taken on the Koran," the *pandita* invoked a treatment called *Gatasan*:

90. Ibid., 115-116.

91. Jappie, "Leadership and Loyalties," 157.

92. Liborio Gomez, "Mohammedan Medical Practice in Cotabato Province," *Philippine Journal of Science* Vol. 12, No. 6 (November 1917): 261-278.

> A rope or bejuco is held by the pandita and the patient; on the pandita's end some chickens, clothing, or presents are tied. After a few prayers the pandita severs the rope between them and takes home whatever objects are tied to his end …
>
> On the advice of the pandita the patient may promise that should he get well he would make a pilgrimage, *panundiung*, to visit and pray over the grave of a famous person. In all these ceremonies *tutugan* may be added, which is producing smoke by placing leaves of plants or incense over burning charcoal. Dancing by men and women, *bulalacau*, also may take place.[93]

Aside from ritual leader, the *pandita* could also be accorded the title of *tabib*, the Arabic term for "doctor," usually referring to the person who supplied and concocted medicine, which consisted of herbs, plants, leaves, and amulets. There were solutions to all kinds of disruptions, from headaches to crying children, involving prayers, powerful objects, and rituals.

From this example, the Qur'an featured prominently as the Islamic element, in addition to the prayers uttered by the *pandita*. The remainder of the treatment seemed to derive from local customs that amplified the effects of the holy book, a source of potency. Beyond the use of the book to obtain spiritual authority, the *pandita*'s functions were cultivated and strengthened by his reputation in the community, implying a certain level of trust in his judgement and reverence to their social position, which can be explained not actually by knowledge of texts, but perhaps by the appearance of learnedness and spiritual power.

In this context, we might describe the *pandita*s as "holy men" understood to be practicing their own variant of Islam, sourcing legitimacy and spiritual authority in the Qur'an, but maintain their power and prestige by the virtue of the recognition of the community or "clientele" that patronized them. The *pandita*s sought to build and nourish the trust and social relations within the community, whose approval authorized and legitimized their posturing of learnedness and spiritual prowess.[94] Whether the context was the *juramentado* or a lingering disease, the *pandita*s acted as interpreters of transcendental aspects observed within their worlds, the anointing "allayer of anxiety" (Malay *penglipur lara*) that attended to their clientele, and earned the patronage and trust of the wider community mobilizing whatever learning they claimed to possess.[95]

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93. Gomez, "Mohammedan Medical Practice," 271. According to Elsa Clavé, *panundiung* should be seen as one facet of a practice shared in the Malay-speaking world and the Indian ocean: the *ziarah* or the pilgrimage to the grave of "holy" men considered as potent places.

94. Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80-101.

95. Ibid., 97.

Conclusion

From the discussion above, we see a variety of portrayals and descriptions for *pandita*s, whether as learned men with priestly functions, scholars, administrators, and even healers. Their presence as traditional figures of learning and spiritual leaders in the historical record, ranging from Spanish missionary and military accounts, to American colonial government reports, provide a wealth of possible conceptions to their function. Some were even named: Tabaco, Gubat, Kibat, Tuan Sik Mustafa, and Hadji Nuska Alim, though most simply appeared as *pandita*s of their communities.

Starting from the Spanish period, these narratives and texts repeated the untranslatable and unfamiliar mystique associated with their identity and practice, becoming oppositional figures under changing power regimes, from deviant worshippers of false gods, to anointers of *juramentado*, and, in the lens of science, representatives of primitive behavior that must be eradicated in the "struggle of science against the obstacles of mysticism, superstition, credulity, and charlatanism."[96]

Into 1932, the *pandita*'s continuing presence and influence persisted that, to a younger, Westernized generation of Muslim-Filipinos, represented by Datu Gumbay Piang, the "conservative" *pandita*s symbolized archaic notions and ways of life that threatened to slow down educational, material, and cultural progress. Yet, according to Gumbay Piang, the situation was not hopeless. In his view more "liberal" *pandita*s were beginning to open their eyes to modern beliefs, that some of them even agreed with the Americanized youth that wearing "hats and neckties... [did] not necessarily mean a revolt against Islamic traditions."[97]

If this openness was a sign of movement and negotiation, it might orient us to an understanding of Islam in the Philippines as a "historically-contingent *narrative*" that can be contested, interrogated, and remade, acquiring particular valences, allowing the entry of new symbols and practices that appealed to the community's emerging needs.[98] By the 1930s, the *pandita*s were again on the verge of change. Challenged by a younger generation in their communities, they were apparently willing to listen and adjust, which tells us that perhaps consistent adaptation and reconfiguration were part of their enduring features and capabilities, that their historical transmutation as a social category may have also paralleled changes in the ways in which Islamic communities developed and changed over time.

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96. Villegas, "Early Medicine in the Philippines," 11.

97. Piang, "Educational Problems," 158.

98. Michael Francis Laffan, "What is Indonesian Islam?" (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Occasional Papers, 2006): 27.

Many questions remain about the *pandita*'s complex religious and social function, which reflect larger issues in the history of Islam in the Philippines. Connecting it with the broader Malay world, a certain level of itinerancy was attributed to travelling *pandita*s who were probably Islamic teachers who happened to voyage to Mindanao. Additionally, visiting dignitaries ranging from Arabs and Indians to Malays were often referred to as *pandita*s, even if they probably would have rejected the appellation.[99]

Were they *pandita*s only in the eyes of colonial sources? The 1914 memorandum referencing *pandita* Sheik Mustafa Ahmad above also listed other religious figures in the region, "wandering priests" speculated to be from Borneo, who preached the Islamic faith and possessed "an influence … comparable with that of a Protestant exhorter in the States."[100] How were these Islamic missionaries, *sayyid*s, or perhaps Sufi teachers related to the *pandita*s? Were they simply lumped together under the all-encompassing category as Islamic scholars and teachers?

Isaac Donoso, in studying the history of Islam in the Philippines, refers to the sort of materials I have analyzed here as "external" sources — "descriptive texts" that were mediated by outside language and observation, that nevertheless functioned as "reproduction and explanation of actual sources internally created."[101] In order to address the questions I posed, this study must be supplemented by reading and examining more "internal" texts, like indigenous written materials like the *Jawi kitab*s, some of which have already been transliterated, translated, and published.[102] Other kinds of Islamic manuscripts have also been discovered, catalogued, and described by scholars like Midori Kawashima, Annabel Teh Gallop, Oman Fathurahman, and Donoso

99. Ileto, *Magindanao,* 42-44.

100. "Memorandum for Governor Carpenter," dated February 8, 1914. In Box 370, Folder 5, Pershing Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

101. Isaac Donoso, "Islamic Manuscripts in the National Archives of the Philippines." *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 7, 2 (2016): 195-216.

102. In this regard, Samuel K. Tan's *jawi* documentary project, already mentioned in note 32 above, provides indispensable sources. Yet, the project contains mostly correspondences, opinions, government reports, interactions of ruling families and prominent *datu*s and political elites. A cursory survey of these materials unfortunately does not yield much about other actors, including the *pandita*s. See also Tan's following publications: *Surat Maguindanaon* (UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies, Mindanao Studies Program, 1996); *Surat Sug: Letters of the Sultanate of Sulu. Kadatuan Kahadjian Kabanuwahan Kaginisan* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2005); *Surat Sug: Letters of the Sultanate of Sulu* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2005); *Filipino Muslim Perceptions of Their History and Culture as Seen Through Indigenous Written Sources* (Quezon City: SKT Publications, 2003).

himself.[103] Donoso, while researching in Philippine archival collections, has found Islamic manuscripts written in *Jawi* script valuable for their political and diplomatic information— letters, treaties, permits, invoices and bills, and remarkably, and relevant to this study, a letter by the leader of Sulu, Jamal al-Kiram, dated 1897, saying that he had to travel and go on a pilgrimage to Mecca as part of the process of becoming a *pandita*.[104] This suggests an added importance of itinerancy, and linkage to wider scholarly networks critical to furnishing Islamic practice and identity in maritime Southeast Asia.[105]

But with the expansion of available sources, more questions arise. In 1906, American traveler Florence Kimball Russel described, among her many adventures in Mindanao, meeting a one-eyed *pandita* who performed a "mock marriage" for their leisure, hearing music made by strange gongs that "nearly resemble pots for the kitchen range than musical instruments." In the account of her experience, the music was "weird noise" and "almost imperceptible to one unaccustomed to the barbarous lack of tone."[106] A similar kind of music was studied decades later by ethnomusicologist Jose Maceda, who travelled to Maguindanao and remarked that the *pandita*s trained singers in a distinctly symbolic "vocal music" where they "sing with varying proficiency in the use of Arabic texts and in the command of the melodic line."[107]

Both accounts contained perceptions of the world of the *pandita*s. One offered a dismissive reaction to the unfamiliar noise, while the other seriously considered the music and its possible intelligibility and meaning. The many external depictions above produced corresponding silences, brought by the ways in which historical sources are created, controlled and regulated by relations of power and domination, involving unequal "selective operations" that set limits and parameters to details that can be retrieved.[108] Amid the silence of the *pandita*s, one wonders: how did they understand the

103. See especially the studies published by the Institute of Asian, African and Middle Eastern Studies of Sophia University, including: Midori Kawashima and Oman Fathurahman, "Islamic Manuscripts of Southern Philippines: A Research Note with Descriptions of Three Manuscripts," *Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 29 (2011): 251-267; Kawashima, ed., *The Qur'an and Islamic Manuscripts of Mindanao* (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures, Sophia University, 2012); Annabel Teh Gallop, "Qur'an manuscripts from Mindanao in US collections." *Our own voice* (April 2011).

104. Donoso, "Islamic Manuscripts in the National Archives of the Philippines," which includes an example and reference to a *pandita* on p. 203.

105. See Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood.*

106. Florence Kimball Russel, *A Woman's Journey Through the Philippines* (Boston: Colonial Press, LC Page and Company, 1907): 228.

107. Jose Maceda, "The Setting of Magindanao Music," *Diliman Review* 7, 3 (July 1959): 314.

108. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995): 29, 52-53.

Islam they practiced? How did they acquire and develop their knowledge? What did music mean in their faith?

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COMPTES RENDUS

Tom G. Hoogervorst, *Language Ungoverned: Indonesia's Chinese Print Entrepreneurs, 1911-1949*, Ithaca [New York], Cornell University Press, 2021, 241 p., Appendix, References, Index, Map, Figures, Tables.
ISBN: 9781501758225 (hardcover), ISBN: 9781501758232 (paperback), ISBN: 9781501758249 (epub) / ISBN: 9781501758256 (pdf)

This is a study of the Sino-Malay press culture in the Dutch East Indies during the late colonial era, as developed by Chinese print entrepreneurs publishing extensively in popular Malay or Sino-Malay (also called "ungoverned Malay" by the author, p. 153) under the noses of the authorities. In so doing, this study reaffirms the importance of this voluminous cultural print production as a legitimate heritage of Indonesia. In terms of methodology, it emphasizes the close relationship between printing, vernacular language, popular culture, and colonial modernity (p. 2). One can guess here the influence of Benedict Anderson.

After an introduction briefly dealing with the Sino-Malay corpus under investigation, (including periodicals such as *Sin Po* and *Hoakiao*, Sino-Malay novels and short stories…) the book is divided into five thematic chapters which do not always follow chronological order, sometimes also extending beyond the period under consideration.

Chapter 1. "Connected Languages Histories" (pp. 28-50), reflects on the manner Malay and other Insulindian languages were acquired and used by Chinese migrants and their offspring, who created a real plurilingualism. It also alludes to the issue of the rediscovery of Chinese language (Mandarin and regional languages) by Peranakan children, the foundation of Chinese schools in the region in order to revive and sustain a relative Chinese identity.

Chapter 2. "On Good, Bad, and Ugly Malay" (pp. 51-76) deals with the various verdicts on Malay emanating from European scholars, and the steps taken by colonial

administrators to establish a hierarchy between the different Malay languages in the Dutch East Indies, by publishing grammars and dictionaries, and developing a language policy. This policy left Malay speakers in Java as well as Chinese print entrepreneurs indifferent. Since the end of the 19th century, Peranakan Chinese had published in Chinese and in Malay their own linguistic tools. Some of which are briefly presented here, such as *Kitab Vortaro* (1923) compiled by a certain K.D. Kwik in order to help the readers of *Sin Po* to understand the meaning of frequently used loanwords in this daily, and that may be the earliest Malay dictionary of foreign words (p. 62).

Chapter 3. "Printing, Pulp, and Popularity" (pp. 77-100) discusses how Chinese print entrepreneurs developed a popular culture (by means of Chinese and European translated literature, politicized fiction, martial arts stories, pulp novels, and a wide array of nonfiction including educational manuals, books on Chinese and Javanese history …) which debated national and international political issues and created links with the outside world.

Chapter 4, "Competing Expressions of Modernity" (pp. 101-124), lays the emphasis on the impact of the global rise of capitalism and colonial modernity by focusing on changes in dress and fashion, medical practices and culinary heritage, which each in its own way had an impact on the identity of individuals.

With Chapter 5, "The Humoristic and the Invective" (pp. 125-159), the author returns to "ungoverned Malay". It emphasizes the power of words by selecting examples showing how words may create ethnic and cultural differences, especially by means of pronouns, and how words may be used to create irreverent language.

In the epilogue. "An Important Monument" (pp. 150-159), the author takes up the idea that the uncontrolled Malay in which the Sino-Malay press was written is what enabled Indonesians to create a political counter-force to the dictates of colonialism and to develop a public sphere in which they gradually trained themselves to adapt to modernity, while discovering the pleasure of reading. The author places great emphasis on the fact that the journalists were writing for "all races" (*oentoek segala bangsa*); however, it goes without saying that in some cases they wrote specifically for the Chinese readers because of their peculiar situation, and problems within the Indonesian society of the time.

Finally, he insists that this corpus, if systematically digitalized, could give rise to a wide variety of studies including specific grammatical research on this extraordinary vernacular language, as well as on various facets of the history of the period, on which it provides specific documents.

We are fully convinced of the value of such research, as we ourselves have already worked in this direction, but more particularly with regard to the literary corpus. We would like to add that in the field of language studies, special attention could also be given to the evolution of political terminology. For example, by following some terms (in their foreign or/and Malay form), like nation, nationalism, democracy, revolution, communism, republic..., in newspapers of different political tendencies, in order to see how they evolved over time during the period under consideration.

Claudine Salmon

Lesley S. Pullen, *Patterned Splendour: Textiles Presented on Javanese Metal and Stone Sculptures Eighth to the Fifteenth Century*. Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2021, xx + 308 pp., ISBN: 9789814881845 (paperback); 9789814881852 (pdf).

The monograph under review, based on a doctoral thesis submitted to SOAS in 2017, investigates the detailed patterns that appear on a body of free-standing figurative sculptures from Java and Sumatra dating from the eighth to the fifteenth century. It documents the "local response to successive arrivals of textiles via trade" (p. 18), and seeks to address some unanswered questions, namely what the inspirations behind the textile patterns were, and where they originated from. The sculptural body examined in the book consists in 73 stone and metal statues, both well-known or neglected, selected on account of their particular significance, located at numerous locations both within Indonesia and across the world.

Spearheaded by a foreword by John Miksic, the volume is divided into six chapters plus an epilogue, appendices, and glossaries, and enriched by 177 full-colour illustrations and five maps. The opening chapter discusses the historical and geographical background, including trade relations, various religious and political aspects, such as the power and patronage of the ruling elites. Chapter two analyzes Javanese textiles by addressing references in literary sources and comparing them with present-day fabrics alongside the stone examples. Chapter three presents a select group of metal and stone statues from Central and East Java from the eighth to the eleventh century. Chapter four (probably the most interesting and original chapter of the book) covers the Kaḍiri and Siṅhasāri periods from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, stressing the cosmopolitan outlook of Siṅhasāri and its translocal political, commercial, and religious contacts. Chapter five focuses on Majapahit (with particular attention being devoted to "deified statues") from the mid-fourteenth to the early fifteenth century. Chapter six concludes the volume with a round-up of the corpus and advances some theories to account for the variety of textiles represented on the statues, namely the interplay between international trade and local response. The Epilogue contains a map illustrating the current locations of the statues and giving details about their acquisition histories.

The author's approach, i.e. to compare textile patterns depicted on statues with examples from both within Java and Sumatra as well as overseas—most notably the Indo-Persian region, Central Asia, and China—, is an useful addition to the limited set of tools available to scholars to reconstruct the history, provenance, and social context of the artefacts. In the absence of data on artists, patrons, time and place of manufacture, or even findspots, the classification and comparison of textile pattern may be proposed as a realistic grouping of icons (p. 65). Indeed, this original vantage point could also help us to advance more general considerations about the socio-political and economic setting of the period to which the statues are ascribed, and even to corroborate hypotheses about certain historical trends. For instance, the much wider variety of patterns attested during the Siṅhasāri period compared to the Central Javanese period suggests a flourishing of trade and increase in wealth, as well as influences from overseas, most notably from the Indo-Persian region as well as the Mongol empire (pp. 37–38). A significant find is that in the Central Javanese period, a large number of Javanese bronzes are decorated with textile patterns compared to

the relatively few Indian ones. This possibly highlights the significance and wide availability of fabrics in Java.

One of the strong points of the volume is the author's detailed analysis of the textile patterns and general iconographical features of the statues. Being no expert of textiles, I must leave a more informed assessment of such analyses to the specialists in that field; still, the comparisons suggested by the author seem sound, even though the highly mobile and resilient character of textiles and their exchange and production, as well as the popularity of some key motifs and patterns across Eurasia through the centuries, make it difficult to identify exact prototypes and elaborate precise lines of historical and geographical filiation. Despite these difficulties, and also in order to achieve a greater historical precision and depth, it seems to me that the comparative discussion and photographic documentation of some relevant non-Southeast Asian material could have been developed more in detail. Witness, for instance, the similarities between the patterns depicted of a group of Central Javanese statues with Indian block-print textiles as depicted in Jain manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which must have been in existence long before that period (p. 64); the "textile patterns seen on the Central Javanese metal statues […]", which "inspired eleventh to twelfth century Tibetan textile patterns, as is evident on bronze statues and depicted on Tibetan manuscript paintings" (p. 11; no visual examples provided); the Central and early East Javanese patterns reflected in eleventh and twelfth century statues and paintings from Kashmir and Tibet (which are especially interesting since the evidence from the archipelago seems to be earlier, suggesting the possibility of Javanese influence: cf. note 5, p. 121); or the similarity between pearl-chain jewellery on Tibetan paintings, including a Vajravārāhī from Western Xia (Khara-Khoto) of the late twelfth to thirteenth century, and early Siṅhasāri sculpture, for instance the Candi Singosari Prajñāpāramitā (p. 237). Furthermore, the author does not present an intra-archipelagic comparative analysis of textile patterns beyond Java and Sumatra, for instance with the traditions of Eastern Indonesia. She does not discuss the historiography and state-of-the-art of the field of Indonesian textiles that flourished after the 1990s either. In this respect, I find it rather surprising not to find any references to a recent PhD thesis by Sardjono (2017)[1] dealing with a similar topic, and to an older PhD thesis by Totton.[2]

Some hypotheses advanced by Pullen on the basis of her comparisons are bold and intriguing, and yet not unsound: see, for instance, the suggestion that the *balah kacang* pattern, which has disappeared from the textile tradition of Java but is nowadays still woven in the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra, might have been brought from Java to Sumatra by Ādityavarman in the fourteenth century (p. 213, n. 2; cf. 137–139). Further, her idea of a "transition style" between the end of the Siṅhasāri period and the beginning of Majapahit is interesting, but not devoid of problems due to the stylistic inhomogeneities and the relatively small number of icons belonging to this period, which makes classification and dating especially difficult. Equally debatable is the

1. Sandra Suryani Sardjono, *Tracing Patterns of Textiles in Ancient Java (8th–15th Century)*, PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2017.

2. Totton, M.-L., *Weaving flesh and blood into sacred architecture: Ornamental stories of Candi Loro Jonggrang*, PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, 2002.

argument for regarding a pair of Pārvatī and Śiva as being commissioned as part of the courtly arts produced during the Śrīvijaya period in Sumatra (ca. eight century) and being imported to Java (as opposed to a ninth century dating and Javanese provenance) on account of the similarity of the textile pattern with a modern one from Lampung (p. 114); given the prevalence of Buddhism at the royal courts of Sumatra, from which a very small number of Hindu icons has survived, it seems more reasonable to suppose that the pattern might have been imported from Java but only survived in Sumatra, as in the case of the aforementioned *balah kacang* pattern.

Another strong point of the volume is the rich photographic evidence that it presents, enhanced by detailed drawings depicting the patterns and conveniently represented in comparative diagrams at the end of each of the three central chapters. This evidence is all the more valuable since it documents statues that are endangered by erosion, theft, etc., or that are difficult if not impossible to access due to the strict accession and photographing policies applied by many institutions in Indonesia and overseas.

In the remainder of this review, I would like to focus on some problematic aspects of Pullen's work. In general, the author's prose often strikes me as unclear, and at times incoherent, with topics and/or sentences being arranged without following a strictly logical order. Parts of the conclusion would rather belong to the introduction; see also the discussion of Suvarṇadvīpa, the monsoons, and trans-Asian trade at the end of Chapter five (pp. 247–248), which could have been placed at the beginning of the book. Furthermore, there are several repetitions, especially when it comes to the discussion (flatly based on earlier scholarship) of the esoteric practices of Kṛtanagara, the (supposedly) "syncretic" Śiva-Buddha religion of East Java, and the adoption of Indian ideas (Indianization), all of which could have been subsumed under a single section in the introductory chapters. Even in such case where repetitions are unavoidable, cross-referencing would have been useful, especially because some discussions are not immediately intelligible without knowing details that are provided elsewhere in the book—cf., for instance, the reference to "the Dikpāla Nairṛti" and "the Brahmā" on p. 39, whose whereabouts are not mentioned, and which are described only on p. 194 as part of the Candi Singosari icons; or the detailed discussion of the *balah kacang* pattern on four statues of Candi Jago on pp. 137–139, which could have been cross-referenced in the description of the Jago icons on p. 178.

While the volume is handsomely typeset and printed, and lavishly illustrated, some editorial aspects leave much to be desired. Typos, mistakes, and inconsistencies are virtually unavoidable in any book, and yet this volume is marred by an unusually high quantity of them. Such mistakes and inconsistencies encompass grammatical errors and poorly constructed sentences (including logical inconsistencies and *non sequitur*s),[3] orthographical mistakes/incorrect transliterations of Sanskrit and Old

3. [1] "Described as the peaceful coexistence of Buddhism and Śaivism, different paths were taken; however, the same peak was reached in the end, so avoiding the term *syncretism*" (p. 7): poorly constructed sentence; [2] "perhaps as an indigenous …" instead of "perhaps an indigenous …" (p. 9); [2] "but that Indonesia did not derive …" instead of "but Indonesia did not derive …" (p. 9); [3] "the ancient Javanese literature kalangwan, such as kidung and kakawin poems" (p. 32): instead of "literature *kalangwan*", read "belletristic literature"; [4] "The figures associated with the Amoghapāśa, however, have all been allocated positions on the upper levels of Caṇḍi Jago, so this information helps us

Javanese terms,[4] incorrect or imprecise bibliographical references[5] and, perhaps more egregiously, unacknowledged paraphrases of secondary sources.[6] There are also a

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to determine the original location for Mañjuśrī Arapacana as he is a man with an unusual manner of tying his hair" (p. 141): read: "… as a man…" (the clause seems irrelevant to the point made in the sentence); [5] "control of the Singhasāri" should be either "… control of Siṅhasāri" or "control of the Siṅhasāri Kingdom" (p. 207); etc.

4. Kṛtanāgara > Kṛtanagara (throughout the book); Estoteric > Esoteric (p. 7); Navagraha/Nawagrah [?] (p. 59); Pavarti > Parvati/Pārvatī (map 3, p. 62); Katakaamudrā > Kaṭakamudrā (pp. 93, 299); Mahapratīśara (p. 98), Mahapratīśarā (p. 120) > Mahāpratisarā; Ronggoworsito > Ronggowarsito (p. 111); Aṣṭasāharsrikā > Aṣṭasāhasrikā (p. 119); Kozok and reign > Kozok and Rijn (p. 141); Lorong Jongorrang > Loro Jonggrang (p. 145); Keṛtarājasa > Kertarājasa/Kṛtarājasa (p. 182); Gaṇcakra > Gaṇacakra (p. 211); Mūla-mulurung > Mūla-malurung (p. 215); Arci > Acri (p. 247); Korawacrama Kakwin > Korawāśrama Kakawin (p. 270); etc.

5. [1] "As Andrea Acri has stated, the [which ones?] Newar artists were situated at Caṇḍi Jago" (p. 207): the relevant 'statement' in Acri 2016: 21 (not mentioned in the volume's bibliography) actually refers to previous scholarship by O'Brien, Schoterman, Lunsingh Scheurleer, Lokesh Chandra, etc. [2] "Lunsingh Scheurleer has suggested that a skull is a 'tantric attribute', and that Gaṇeśa was integrated into Javanese esoteric practices at the time of King Kṛtanāgara" (p. 16): that interpretation goes back to Pott, while Lunsingh Scheurleer has actually stressed the influence of indigenous elements (rather than, or besides, Tantra) on Siṅhasāri statuary: cf. p. 173, where Pullen refers to "Juni 1998 pp. 15–16" (not in bibliography, and which is apparently a mistake for Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998a) as the source of the association between skulls and headhunting, ancestors, fertility etc. Compare Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998b in the volume's bibliography (which should rather be Lunsingh Scheurleer 2000, on the basis of the actual year of publication); [3] "Old Javanese dictionary translated [?] by Petrus Zoetmulder in 1972" (p. 174): the actual publication year is 1982; [4] Pullen refers to a lecture delivered by Bautze-Picron at SOAS in 2018 as the source for the identification of the colossal Padang Roco statue as a Mahākāla rather than a Bhairava (p. 177), but the same identification was already advanced by the same scholar in a 2014 publication, which is listed in the bibliography as Bautze-Picron 2014b; [5] "Hadi Sidomulyo 'describes irrefutable evidence for a major shift in the religious orientation of the royal line of East Java sometime after 1255 (Sidomulyo 2010, p. 22)'" (p. 164): the clause from "irrefutable" to "1255" is actually from Hunter 2007: 38, cited in Hadi Sidomulyo 2010, p. 98 (the correct page numbers in the bibliographical entry Sidomulyo 2010 are not 1–62 but 77–138); [6] "Acri has argued 'for treating Indonesia and India as an integral unit well into the ninth century' and has suggested that Borobudur Buddhism had an influence on India" (note 5 p. 121): the bibliographical reference to Acri is not given by Pullen (Acri 2016: 11), and I cannot be attributed the paternity of the arguments quoted in the above clause, as I was actually citing Woodward (2004: 353: Woodward, H., "Review article: Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35/2, pp. 329–354); [8] correct "Fontein 1990, p. 50; 1998, p. 8" to "Fontein 1990, p. 50; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998a, p. 8"; "(Brown, pp. 42–44)" to "(Brown 1999, pp. 42–44)" (p. 105); "Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998: 4–5" to "Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998a: 4–5" (p. 164); "Krom 1926b" to "Krom 1926" (p. 12); "Tarling 1992, pp. 225–26" to "Hall 1992, pp. 225–26" (Hall's chapter in Tarling's *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*) (p. 131); "O'Brien and Mpu 2008" (listed in the bibliography as "O'Brien, K., and T. Mpu") to "O'Brien and Mpu Tantular 2008" (p. 164).

6. The examples provided here concern my own work (Acri 2016, not included in the

number of problematic or factually wrong statements about various aspects of the literary, cultural, and religious history of the premodern Indonesian Archipelago, which it seems useful to rectify here. I offer a selection of significant examples below.

Unclear, imprecise, inconsistent, or otherwise problematic statements:

[1] "The icons produced in these now Indianized kingdoms may have been Indian in appearance as a direct consequence of Indian commercial exploitation. The content, however, was entirely local, as the Indonesians decided what to appropriate from India" (p. 3): I am unable to grasp the meaning of the word "content", as opposed to "appearance," referred to a (Hindu or Buddhist) statue.

[2] "The idea of the practice of Buddhism in the context of East Java is particularly misleading—it might be better to term it Estoteric [*sic*] Buddhism; however, esoteric practice is as much Śaivite as it is Buddhist. The term Esoteric Buddhism is therefore perhaps a better way of describing this merging or cohesion of Hinduism and Buddhism. [Why would it be so?] […] But the evidence of Esoteric Buddhism in the Indonesian Archipelago is also profoundly syncretic, containing both Hindu and Buddhist elements whose separate identity was further offset by the local Javanese and Balinese genius"—contrast the statement on p. 7: "Another definition, that of syncretism, the 'fusion' of elements or beliefs, might be proposed. But it would appear that Śaivism and Buddhism did not undergo merger or synthesis of religious doctrine or praxis but rather they maintained their independence as two discrete systems with their separate religious structures (Acri 2015, p. 269)" (pp. 7–9).

[3] A similar contradictory statement is found on p. 164 where, having quoted the sentence "in terms of religious praxis we are not looking at a merger of religious establishments […]" (Hunter 2007, p. 33),[7] in the sentence following thereupon the author states: "this merger of religious establishments was evident in the period."

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volume's bibliography): [1] "There appeared to be a mobile network of human agents who carried texts and icons through which Esoteric Buddhist discourses and practices spread far across Asia and into Sumatra and Java" (p. 6)—compare Acri 2016, p. 1: "mobile networks of human agents […] and artefacts ('Icons') through which Esoteric Buddhist discourses and practices spread far and wide across Asia." [2] "Esoteric Buddhism appears to have shared significant common elements with Tantric Śaivism to such an extent that the two religions participated in the interdependence of discourse in such [sic] disparate domains [which domains?], evident in both ritual and iconography (pp. 6–7)—compare the first sentence with the following Acri 2016, p. 4: "Esoteric Buddhism shared significant common elements with Tantric Saivism, to the extent that the two religions participated in an interdependence of discourse in such disparate domains as philosophy, soteriology, ritual, and iconography." [3] "The temples at Pagan from the eleventh and twelfth centuries display Tantric features as a result of relations and marital links between the rulers of Pagan and those of Bengal" (p. 147): compare Acri 2016, p. 20: "The temple of Abeyadana (late 11th century) at Bagan displays Tantric features, arguably as the result of contemporary religious links and marital relations between the rulers of Bagan and those of Paṭṭikerā in Bengal."

7. Hunter, T.M., "The Body of the King: Reappraising Singhasari Period Syncretism," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 38/1, 2007, pp. 27–53.

[4] "… [in the eleventh century] there was also an increase of Esoteric Buddhism, at which point in time 'classical' Buddhism had virtually disappeared" (p. 12): what is "'classical' Buddhism"?

[5] "The Kālacakra cult appeared to have gained a powerful following during the Singhasāri period" (p. 16): this statement is not necessarily incorrect, yet it is largely unsubstantiated (mainly based on early scholarship by Moens).

[6] "The reliefs [of Borobudur] are based on six Buddhist texts: *Mahakarmavibhangga, Jatakas, Avadanas, Lalitavistara, Gandavyuha* and *Bhadracari*" (p. 29): Jātakas and Avadānas are not texts but rather genres, while the *Bhadracarī* is part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (although, admittedly, it achieved the status of an independent text in the course of transmission).

[7] "The *kawung* pattern in the Hindu-Buddhist period is synonymous with Java" (p. 57): does the expression "synonymous with Java" mean that this pattern was especially popular in Hindu-Buddhist Java?

[8] The section on the icons of Central Java Group 1 ("overall repeated textile patterns") starts with the clause "Many examples of this simple pattern exist in Central Java" (p. 65), but the following sentence is about an Avalokiteśvara from Sambas in Kalimantan, which according to Pullen might have been made in Sumatra in the seventh to ninth century, as it displays a "Śrīvijayan style" (cf. p. 121, note 2); contrast the caption of the icon's photograph, reading "probably made in Java" (p. 66; compare the tenth-century Padmapāṇi from Sambas, p. 67).

[9] "Pārvatī of Singosari" (pp. 147–148): this is the "legacy" identification, advanced by earlier scholarship, yet a reference to Lunsingh Scheurleer's (2008)[8] recent proposal to identify the group as an Ardhanarīśvara would seem to have been in order.

[10] "the idea of a syncretic fusion of religions in the Singhasāri period is apparent in the image of Kṛtanāgara undertaking initiations as Akṣobhya and as Bhairava" (p. 164): does the word 'image' refer to a statue, or to an abstract idea? No details are provided about these initiations and the textual and visual evidence justifying this statement.

Factually wrong statements:

[1] "north of Kedah on the Malay east coast" (p. 34): Kedah is on the west coast of Malaysia.

[2] "Change from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna Buddhism in Central Java" (p. 3): to the best of my knowledge, hardly any evidence of so-called Hīnayāna or Theravāda Buddhist is found in Central Java, most of which relates to Sanskritic Buddhism (from Sarvāstivāda and other early Sanskritic schools to Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna).

[3] "The *Sutasoma* tells us that King Kṛtanāgara in his last years fervently embraced the Javanese form of Mahāyāna Buddhism" (p. 7): the *Sutasoma* does not contain this information, as no explicit reference is made to Kṛtanagara; at most, one could say that, as argued by O'Brien, the poem may represent an allegory of Kṛtanagara vs Kublai Khan.[9] Apparently, the author here has the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* in mind.

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8. Lunsingh Scheurleer, P. "The well-known Javanese Statue in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, and its Place in Javanese Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae* 68/2, 2008, pp. 287–332.

9. O'Brien, K. *Sutasoma, The Ancient Tale of a Buddha-Prince from 14th Century Java by the Poet Mpu Tantular*. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2008, pp. 229, 236.

[4] "Kublai Khan in China would be an incarnation of Viṣṇu, along with Jayavarman VII" (p. 7): to the best of my knowledge, Kublai Khan, a follower of Buddhism, did not conceive himself as an incarnation of the Hindu god Viṣṇu, but rather of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

[5] "The evidence of Esoteric Buddhism is apparent in the details of the textile patterns on the sculpture of the Siṅhasāri period" (p. 9): later in Chapter four, the author discusses the *candrakapāla* motif, which strikes me as Śaiva rather than (Esoteric) Buddhist, as being typical of the textiles carved on Siṅhasāri statuary; contrast the eminently Buddhist *vajra* or *viśvavajra* motif, which does not seem to be found on Siṅhasāri statues.

[6] "The influences of Buddhism certainly reached the island of Java through centres of Buddhist art in Eastern India, and Hinduism arrived from contacts with the Chola in South and Western India" (pp. 9–11): Hinduism reached Java at least three hundred years before the early Cholas, which rose to power in Tamil Nadu only in the mid-ninth century.

[7] Pullen maintains that the literal translation of the Old Javanese phrase *atyanta riṅ śobhita* is "bright, beautiful, extraordinary" (p. 206), while its actual translation would be "exceptionally beautiful."

[8] "*Bhaṭāra* in Old Javanese means 'divine ancestor'" (p. 214 n. 16): while it is not impossible that in some contexts this word may have carried that meaning, the expression "divine ancestor" is not included among the glosses given by OJED (p. 224); the commonest meaning of the word is "god, the deity; (often before the name of a god) the lord... highest god (Śiwa)." A better word for "divine ancestor" would be *dewatā* (OJED p. 398: "god, deity; having entered the divine state, deceased").

[10] "Atīśa spent twelve years at the Buddhist site of Muara Jambi" (p. x120): the exact location of Atiśa's stay in "Suvarṇadvīpa" remains hypothetical: while Inandiak (2013, p. 120)[10] speculates that it was Muara Jambi, Sinclair (2021)[11] argues that it was Kedah in the Malay Peninsula.

[11] "A Nepalese manuscript written circa 1015 CE contains drawings of well-known Buddhist images. The drawings are thought to be of Lokanātha" (p. 243): Lokanātha is by no means the only deity represented in the drawings of said manuscript.

[12] "The temples at Padang Lawas reveal they were occupied by priests who followed Esoteric Tantric Buddhism [*sic*], of Śiva and Buddha together" (p. 244): to the best of my knowledge, no hard evidence of a syncretic Śiva-Buddha cult can be found at Padang Lawas.

[13] "The Majapahit rulers were powerful and wealthy. They had control over most of the Indonesian archipelago to as far as the Philippines Islands and New Guinea" (p. 245): this statement, not supported by any evidence except (and only partially so) a passage in the *Deśavarṇana*—which can hardly be taken as providing an accurate historical account in this respect—, seems to be based on modern nationalistic

10. Inandiak, E., "Atiśa: Voice of the Ashes," in *Atiśa Śrī-Dīpaṅkara-jñāna and Cultural Renaissance. Proceedings of the International Conference 16th–23rd January 2013*, edited by Shashibala, pp. 109–122. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2013.

11. Sinclair, I., "Dharmakīrti of Kedah: His Life, Work and Troubled Times," *Temasek Working Paper* No. 2, 2021.

historical reconstructions superimposing an imagined "Indonesian" (intended as the modern nation state) past on Majapahit.

The problematic passages, in terms of both contents and form, discussed to above seem to reflect a not entirely ripe PhD manuscript rather than a rigorously peer-reviewed and copyedited publication. While these defects negatively impact the overall quality and credibility of this publication, I should stress that there is no need to "throw the baby out with the bathwater"; rather, I would advise to read the book critically, and profit from the wealth of iconographic data as well as the comparative analysis provided by the author. The material presented in the volume will no doubt prove to be useful for scholars to support historical scenarios of intra-Archipelagic and intra-Asian contacts, to fine-tune our still imperfect knowledge of major stylistic trends in the arts of ancient Java, or to get new insights on the (too often) obscure histories and social contexts of ancient Javanese statues.

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Friederike Trotier, *Nation, City, Arena: Sports Events, Nation Building and City Politics in Indonesia*. Copenhagen, NIAS Press, 2021, 329 p., numerous maps, tables and figures, ISBN 978-87-7694-293-9

For long, Indonesia exemplified the prototype of a centralized state. Under authoritarian presidents Sukarno and Suharto, the capital Jakarta monopolized political, economic, social and religious power and resources, distributing them only in a tightly controlled manner to other cities, regions, and islands beyond Java. This Jakarta-centrism was broken down during the democratization process that started in 1998 and that demanded a thorough decentralization of the country, combined with a revaluation of the outer regions, their cultures, languages, and religions. While the implementation of this decentralization process has been relatively successful and even culminated in the large-scale project to move the capital to Kalimantan in 2024, renaming it 'Nusantara' ('archipelago', thus giving symbolic credit to the whole of Indonesia), several ambiguities in the power relationships between the different regions and questions of autonomy and the appreciation of local cultures remain. The most obvious case is the continued unsettled status of West Papua and its people as controlled by the national government. Furthermore, Indonesia's religious policy of promoting a moderate Nahdlatul Ulama-linked 'Islam Nusantara' ('Islam of the archipelago' − Islam Berkemajuan and Islam Wasathiyah constituting additional concepts) has been criticized as being culturally too Java-centric and thus not suitable for the entire nation. Most recently, in early 2022, the Ministry of Religious Affairs launched a new national halal-logo whose design is inspired by traditional Javanese cultural elements such as wayang forms and batik patterns. Hence, it seems that despite ongoing concrete measures of power sharing, decision makers located in Jakarta regularly engage in reproducing Java's and its cities' dominant position within the country.

Friederike Trotier's book "Nation, City, Arena: Sports Events, Nation Building and City Politics in Indonesia" speaks to this important topic of Indonesia's contested decentralization process, its chances, successes, problems, and challenges. Trotiers takes an exciting perspective on the issue as she looks at it through the understudied lens of Indonesian sports events, which constitute "cultural and symbolic capital" (p. 12) and "symbolic power" (p. 45) as they reflect political aspirations and power structures. The analysis is based on a chronological and spatial-geographical approach which engages with a manifold of issues such as urbanity, development, nation branding and city-marketing strategies. By doing so, Trotier not only elegantly switches between different geographical and political scales that range from international to national and local, but she also moves between historical accounts and more contemporary developments of Indonesian sports politics, shedding light on the phenomenon in a holistic manner. The book engages with the changes of how the Indonesian state manages sports events since independence and demonstrates by zooming in on Sumatra's Palembang, which has been turned into a marketable 'sports city', the transformation from a highly centralized to a decentralized state as well as a 'turn to the civic' and local agency in post-Suharto Indonesia. Despite the observed increased agency and power of the regions and their cities and the unfolding of an energetic inter-city competition, Trotier acknowledges that notions of city hierarchies do persist in today's Indonesia. Due to the book's innovative sportive perspective on politics, even the politically well-informed reader gains a lot of new insights on the Indonesian sports-politics nexus and its implications for national and local identity politics. In essence, this is an enriching book which illustrates how Area Studies, with its focus on detailed empirics, can meaningfully contribute to our understanding of politics.

This extremely rich and well-researched book is structured by an introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion, and contains several maps and colored pictures of logos and sports events promotion material. Chapter one (Ever Onward Indonesia: Sports Events and Nation-Building under Sukarno) and two (Transition and Affirmation: The Southeast Asian Games in Suharto's Indonesia) provide a historical backdrop on the politicization of sports in Indonesia. Sukarno had a "socialist vision of sports" (p. 27) and actively used sports for identity politics and nation building. As seen by the construction project of the gigantic Senayan sports stadium that started in 1960, modernization and urbanization formed crucial elements in sports policy, but stayed confined to Jakarta. Furthermore, Indonesia's hosting of the 1962 Asian Games and the 1963 Games of the New Emerging Forces afforded Sukarno the opportunity to promote Indonesia internationally as a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement and newly independent countries. Sports policy under the New Order marked a break with Sukarno's sports policy during Guided Democracy as it clearly was made a tool of the *pembangunan* (modernization) agenda. Also, a shift from a global to a Southeast Asian regional orientation was introduced by Indonesia's hosting of the Southeast Asian Games in 1979, 1987, and 1997.

Chapter 3 (Ruptures: Post-Suharto City Politics) engages with the 'turn to the civic' after 1998 and the shift of power from the national to the city level and from the capital to more peripheral cities. New forms of "city agency" (p. 85) have emerged, resulting in fierce competition between local politicians and places, strategic city marketing, practices of re-mapping, re-positioning, and urban inter-referencing, and

the use of sports for economic development. Chapter 4 (Into the Arena: Palembang's 'Sport's City Strategy') builds on these observations and illustrates them by focusing on Palembang. A city which long suffered from a bad reputation as underdeveloped, unattractive and boring, Palembang has shown efforts to reinvent itself as Indonesia's new sports center. Chapter 5 (Re-mapping a City: Palembang's Policy-makers and Positioning) then looks at the actors behind the new city policy and finds that there is increasing involvement of local actors and personalized politics, which also includes critical aspects such as corruption, mismanagement, and environmental exploitation. Chapter 6 (Negotiating the National Sports Centre: Sports Events in Post-Suharto Indonesia) discusses several international multi-sports events, for instance the 2013 Islamic Solidarity Games, and concludes that Palembang has moved up the city ranking in inter-city competition. Chapter 7 (The 2018 Asian Games: A Tale of Two Host Cities) focuses on the 2018 Asian Games which took place as jointly hosted by Jakarta and Palembang and shows that the latter's strategy to become a co-host was marked by a deep entanglement of local politics, business, tourism, and sport.

In sum, this is a rich book with a pioneering spirit that will inspire future works on less apparent dimensions of politics. Two minor remarks remain. Implicitly, Trotier's book strongly speaks to existing research on soft power and the concept is mentioned four times (pp. 54; 72; 246; 247), however, the references to soft power remain on a superficial level. Trotier could have given more emphasis on the soft power concept and critically discuss the role of sports, its position, success or failure, within Indonesia's broader soft power approach. On the other hand, a central term of Indonesia's foreign policy, '*bebas-aktif*' (independent and active), which was implemented under Sukarno, is not mentioned in the book, which is surprising. It would have been interesting to read how Trotier situates her analysis on sports events within the *bebas-aktif* narrative. Notwithstanding these remarks, the book will be of great intellectual value for readers interested in Indonesia's sports events management, decentralization process, local politics, development, urbanization, and the country's repositioning within the world from a long-term perspective.

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Jean-Luc Maurer, *Indonésie* : *l'envol mouvementé du Garuda*. *Développement, dictature et démocratie,* Genève, Graduate Institute Publications, elivres de l'Institut, 2021, 459 p., ill., Map, tables, ISBN: 9782940600212, DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/books.iheid.7876.

Professeur honoraire en études du développement à l'Institut de Hautes Études Internationales et du Développement (IHEID) de Genève, Jean-Luc Maurer livre, avec *L'envol contrarié du Garuda*, un livre testament venant clore une longue carrière de politologue spécialisé sur les questions de développement. Le défi était ambitieux : combler un vide important pour les lecteurs francophones en proposant une synthèse à la fois détaillée et accessible de l'histoire de l'Indonésie. Après quatre décennies de recherches sur l'Archipel (1972-2012), la longue genèse de l'ouvrage (près de huit

années ponctuées de nombreuse rencontres) a sans doute permis à l'auteur de réussir son pari et d'éviter les deux écueils – un encyclopédisme pointilleux et une histoire téléologique – qui menacent souvent ce genre de projet.

Le jeune retraité n'a rien perdu de sa verve : le style est enlevé et l'ouvrage se lit aisément malgré son volume imposant. La ligne directrice – une lecture historique de la construction de l'État-nation dans ses aspects économiques, sociaux et politiques – est fermement tenue. Les débats théoriques qui agitent les spécialistes du développement et des transitions démocratiques sont mentionnés mais l'auteur, et on lui en sera gré, préfère, le plus souvent, s'en tenir aux faits en s'appuyant, pour chaque période, sur une lecture exhaustive des ouvrages de référence dont témoigne l'ampleur de la bibliographie. De même, ses solides convictions ne l'empêchent pas de développer une pensée complexe et pleine de nuances tout à fait stimulante pour le lecteur.

Les deux premiers chapitres plantent le décor, de manière classique et rigoureuse : géographie et histoire précoloniale sont envisagées à travers leurs legs à l'Indonésie indépendante : une économie « très fortement extravertie », dépendante de l'exploitation et de l'exportation des ressources naturelles ; des modèles d'organisation politiques qui, au-delà de leurs formes sensiblement différentes (l'auteur reprend ici l'opposition entre États hydrauliques et thalassocraties de Denys Lombard), dessinent des formations étatiques « développementalistes ». La période coloniale est abordée sous l'angle d'un bilan qui ne se veut pas que comptable : discutant les analyses des historiens quantitativistes, sans pour autant remettre en cause la légitimité de leur démarche, l'auteur dresse un portrait nuancé des conséquences de la domination néerlandaise dans l'Archipel. Décrite comme une « intrusion précoce et différentielle », elle a, sur le plan économique, entravé un processus de développement prometteur, en particulier en isolant Java du reste du monde malais. À l'exception d'une brève période, lors du sursaut éthiciste du début du XX^{e} siècle, elle fut « globalement négative », la subordination des intérêts de la colonie à ceux de la métropole ayant entraîné une paupérisation de la population et l'exacerbation des inégalités sociales. Surtout, l'exploitation très rationnelle des Indes néerlandaises a légué au futur État-nation indonésien cette « malédiction des ressources naturelles » dont il peine, aujourd'hui encore, à se départir. Enfin, comme le souligne fort justement Jean-Luc Maurer, la situation quasi « monocoloniale » des Pays-Bas a rendu la transition vers l'indépendance très douloureuse, avec une tentative de reconquête hollandaise destructrice pour les infrastructures du pays mais aussi le choix, inadapté, d'un État centralisé au détriment d'une solution fédérale.

Comme le démontre clairement le chapitre trois, cette indépendance chèrement consentie – les Hollandais parvenant à imposer à la jeune république, « au nom d'une interprétation surréaliste de la continuité étatique », la colossale dette extérieure des Indes Néerlandaises envers les Pays-Bas – greva lourdement la reconstruction économique mais aussi politique du pays. Lorsque l'Indonésie retrouve son niveau de développement d'avant-guerre, au milieu des années cinquante, les forces centrifuges qui saperont, quelques années plus tard, les fondements de la jeune démocratie sont déjà à l'œuvre. La croissance démographique, incontrôlée dans un cadre de ressources contraintes, entraîne une paupérisation de la population. Les tensions sociales et politiques qui en résultent obèrent toute tentative de redressement et plongent le pays, au début des années 1960, dans une crise globale qui fait de l'Indonésie un modèle en termes d'échec parmi les pays en développement ! Longuement analysé, le « coup » du 30 septembre scelle pour trente ans le destin de la démocratie indonésienne et inaugure

un régime, l'Ordre nouveau, objet de l'un des chapitres (le 4e) les plus convaincants de l'ouvrage. Jean-Luc Maurer y analyse avec rigueur la disjonction mortifère qui s'opère alors entre développement et démocratie. En sortant l'Indonésie de son sous-développement chronique et en la plaçant dans le groupe des pays dits « émergents », le régime autoritaire de Suharto et sa stabilité répressive, nourrit le terreau d'une nostalgie qui, plus de vingt ans après sa chute, produit encore ses effets délétères. Pour une large partie de la population, peu importe finalement que l'Ordre nouveau soit logiquement mort de ses succès : l'ultra-libéralisme incontrôlé et corrupteur, à l'origine d'une nouvelle oligarchie richissime, est identifié au développement qui profita au plus grand nombre. La « crise totale » qui emporta le régime est, quant à elle, assimilée non à ses excès mais aux débuts chaotiques d'une démocratie qui mit pas moins de six années avant de trouver un semblant d'équilibre.

Consacrés à ce processus hésitant que l'on continue de désigner, faute de mieux, sous le vocable indonésien de *Reformasi*, les trois derniers chapitres proposent une analyse fort détaillée de la vie politique du pays. Par manque de recul et du fait des déficiences de l'appareil statistique indonésien, il demeure en effet, pour l'heure, fort délicat de relier les évolutions sociales et économiques aux hésitations erratiques de cette jeune démocratie. Globalement, comme le montre l'auteur, cette dernière a plutôt été favorable au développement, une fois la transition assurée. Mais, reposant essentiellement sur la perpétuation d'une classe politique héritière de certains des *habitus* de l'Ordre nouveau, l'ouverture politique semble avoir atteint ses limites. La « stagnation démocratique », voire la « dérive illibérale », que l'on attribue souvent au président Jokowi à partir de la fin de son premier mandat ne semble pas peser pour l'heure sur une croissance toujours vigoureuse et sur d'indéniables progrès sociaux. Faut-il y voir l'esquisse d'un nouveau découplage entre prospérité et liberté ou une simple pause face aux nombreuses menaces politiques et religieuses qui pèsent sur l'Indonésie ? L'auteur se garde de trancher trop vite cette délicate question et propose, à l'image de l'ensemble de cet ouvrage, des réflexions stimulantes et solidement documentées.

Rémy Madinier
Institut d'Asie Orientale, CNRS

Résumés – Abstracts

Pierre-Yves Manguin (EFEO, CASE)

"A Real Seafaring People": Evocations of Sailing in Malay Literature

The people in the city-states of the pre-colonial Malay-speaking world of Southeast Asia are often described as seafaring and maritime in their habits. This was often remarked by Western observers, until sails gave way to steam in maritime transport. Many such terms were glossed in early Malay dictionaries and lists of Malay nautical terms were often appended to more general works. No study of this specialized vocabulary was however produced so far. This essay is a first attempt at understanding its meaning, usage and context in so-called classical Malay literature, as well as in *pantun*s and proverbs. It explores the explicit references to sailing practices, showing the pragmatic, matter-of-fact relationship the Malays entertained with seafaring activities, and how these left a strong impression in their language. The essay also notes the absence in Malay literature of pathos or of any form of romanticism that is at the basis of most Western maritime literature when the dramatic confrontation of men with the seas is at stake. It also remarks upon the changes in Malay identity that occurred when maritime orientations were forsaken in colonial times.

« Un vrai peuple de marins » : évocations de la navigation dans la littérature malaise

Les habitants des cités-État du monde malayophone précolonial d'Asie du Sud-Est sont souvent décrits comme des marins, dont le quotidien est celui des gens de mer. Cela a souvent été remarqué par les observateurs occidentaux, jusqu'à ce que les voiles cèdent la place à la vapeur dans le transport maritime. Nombre de ces termes étaient glosés dans les premiers dictionnaires malais et dans les listes de termes nautiques malais qui étaient souvent annexées à des ouvrages plus généraux. Aucune étude de ce vocabulaire spécialisé n'a cependant été produite jusqu'à présent. Cet essai est une première tentative pour comprendre sa signification, son usage et son contexte dans la

littérature malaise dite classique, ainsi que dans les *pantun* et les proverbes. Il explore les références explicites aux pratiques de navigation, montrant la relation pragmatique et concrète que les Malais entretenaient avec leurs activités maritimes, et la manière dont celles-ci ont laissé une forte impression dans leur langue. L'essai note également l'absence, dans la littérature malaise, de pathos ou des formes de romantisme qui fondent l'essentiel de la littérature maritime en Occident lorsque la confrontation dramatique des hommes avec la mer est en jeu. Il note aussi les transformations de l'identité malaise qui se sont produites lorsque ces orientations maritimes ont été abandonnées à l'époque coloniale.

Roderich Ptak (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich)

Cassowary, Ostrich, Rhea: Questions and Suggestions Related to the* ema *in Portuguese and Chinese Texts of the 16th and 17th Centuries.

China imported various kinds of exotic birds from Southeast Asia. Among the names for such birds one finds the combinations *huoji* and *ema* / *nima*. Most scholars think they stand for cassowaries. The name *ema* (plus similar forms) also appears in early Portuguese texts where it sometimes refers to the ostrich and the rhea. The present article discusses several references to the *ema* in these sources, as well as in the Sino-Jesuit context. It offers some suggestions concerning the circulation of that term from or via Southeast to China and Macau. This may have involved the port of Patani on the Malayan Peninsula. However, the precise origin of the term and many other points remain open issues.

Casoar, autruche, nandou : questions et suggestions relatives à l'*ema *dans les textes portugais et chinois des XVIe et XVIIe siècles

La Chine a importé divers types d'oiseaux exotiques d'Asie du Sud-Est. Parmi les noms de ces oiseaux, on trouve les binômes *huoji* et *ema* / *nima*. La plupart des sinologues pensent qu'ils représentent des casoars. Le nom *ema* (ainsi que des formes similaires) apparaît également dans les quelques textes portugais où il fait parfois référence à l'autruche et au nandou. Le présent article discute plusieurs références à l'*ema* dans ces sources, ainsi que dans le contexte sino-jésuite. Il propose quelques suggestions concernant la circulation de ce terme depuis ou via l'Asie du Sud-Est vers la Chine et Macau. Cela peut avoir impliqué le port de Patani sur la péninsule malaise. Cependant, l'origine précise du terme et de nombreux autres points restent ouverts.

Kathryn Wellen (KITLV, Leiden)

Exhuming Buried Stones: The Treaty of Timurung (1582) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

This article examines the Treaty of Timurung concluded in 1582 between the Bugis lands of Boné, Wajo' and Soppéng in South Sulawesi, Indonesia; and of the manners in which this treaty was referred to during the two centuries following its conclusion. It looks first at the nature of Bugis treaties generally and then at the ways the Treaty of Timurung was used in a variety of political situations. These include the Makassar War (1666-69), the trials of La Maddukelleng in the 1760s, and a succession crisis in Gowa during the late 1770s. Based on both published and unpublished sources, this article includes not only the text of the Treaty of Timurung but also comments about this treaty attributed to numerous early modern Bugis state officials. Through its diachronic examination of a single treaty from a lesser-known society, this article offers cross-cultural insights into the use of treaties as a legal tool.

Exhumer les pierres enfouies : Le traité de Timurung (1582) aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles

Cet article examine le traité de Timurung conclu en 1582 entre les terres bugis de Boné, Wajo' et Soppéng dans le sud de Sulawesi, Indonésie, ainsi que la manière dont ce traité a été évoqué au cours des deux siècles qui ont suivi sa conclusion. Il examine d'abord la nature des traités bugis en général, puis la manière dont le traité de Timurung a été utilisé dans diverses situations politiques. Celles-ci comprennent la guerre de Makassar (1666-69), les procès de La Maddukelleng dans les années 1760 et une crise de succession à Gowa à la fin des années 1770. Basé sur des sources publiées et non publiées, cet article comprend non seulement le texte du traité de Timurung, mais aussi des commentaires sur ce traité attribués à de nombreux fonctionnaires de l'État Bugis du début de l'ère moderne. Grâce à l'examen diachronique d'un seul traité d'une société peu connue, cet article offre un aperçu interculturel de l'utilisation des traités comme outil juridique.

Peter Carey (Adjunct Professor, FIB-UI, & Fellow Emeritus, Trinity College, Oxford)

Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (circa 1811-1880) and the Java War (1825-30): A Dissident Family History

The childhood years of the famous Arab-Javanese painter, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (ca. 1811-80), in Semarang from his birth in ca. May 1811 up to the Java War (1825-30) are crucial for understanding his subsequent attitudes towards the Dutch and their colonial rule in Java as expressed through his art. Growing up in the

household of his uncle, the enlightened Semarang regent (*bupati*), Suroadimenggolo V (1765/8-1826; in office 1809-22), and his Calcutta-educated cousins, Raden Mas Saleh and Raden Mas Sukur, the young painter was a direct witness to the tragedy which overwhelmed his close family in the lead up to Diponegoro's great rebellion. From a position of trust and cooperation with Raffles and other senior members of the British interim administration (1811-16), within a short decade (1816-26) Suroadimenggolo's world was destroyed. Both his and his sons' outspokenness and pro-British sentiments became a liability following the Dutch return in August 1816. This led to their dismissal from their posts in Semarang (1822) and Lasem (1824) respectively, and worse happened following the outbreak of the Java War, when both he and his elder son, Raden Mas Saleh, suffered arrest (8 September 1825) and lengthy detention on Dutch naval vessels when the regent's younger son, Sukur, joined Diponegoro's forces. Even after his early death on 15 November 1826, the aged Semarang *bupati*'s body found no peace in the Terboyo (Semarang) family graveyard. Sent east to distant Madura, it was later (20 July 1827) reinterred in the royal burial ground of his son-in-law, the Sultan of Sumenep, Paku Nataningrat (r. 1811-54), while the Dutch authorities sought to cover their tracks with misleading obituary notices (Appendices Ia and Ib). The present article, using a range of published and archival sources, illustrates this tragic family history, and speculates on the likely effects such events may have had on the young painter, Saleh, as he began his career under the aegis of his Belgian mentor, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853). Two further appendices provide a Bustaman family tree (Appendix II) and a Brief Chronology of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo and his family, 1865-1880 (Appendix III).

Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (vers 1811-1880) et la guerre de Java (1825-1830) : une histoire de famille dissidente

Les années d'enfance du célèbre peintre arabo-javanais, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (ca. 1811-80), à Semarang depuis sa naissance en ca. mai 1811 jusqu'à la guerre de Java (1825-1830) sont cruciaux pour comprendre ses attitudes ultérieures envers les Néerlandais et leur domination coloniale à Java, telles qu'elles s'expriment à travers son art. Ayant grandi dans la maison de son oncle, le régent éclairé de Semarang (*bupati*), Suroadimenggolo V (1765/8-1826 ; en poste de 1809 à 1822), et ses cousins éduqués à Calcutta, Raden Mas Saleh et Raden Mas Sukur, le jeune peintre a été un témoin direct de la tragédie qui a submergé sa famille proche à l'approche de la grande rébellion de Diponegoro. D'une position de confiance et de coopération avec Raffles et d'autres hauts responsables de l'administration intérimaire britannique (1811-1816), en une courte décennie (1816-1826), le monde de Suroadimenggolo a été détruit. Les franc-parler et sentiments pro-britanniques de lui-même et de ses fils sont devenus un handicap après le retour des Pays-Bas en août 1816. Cela a conduit à leur renvoi de leurs postes à Semarang (1822) et Lasem (1824), et le pire s'est produit après le déclenchement de la guerre de Java, lorsque lui et son fils aîné, Raden Mas Saleh, furent arrêtés (8 septembre 1825) et longuement détenus sur des navires de la

marine néerlandaise, après que le fils cadet du régent, Sukur, eut rejoint les forces de Diponegoro. Même après sa mort prématurée le 15 novembre 1826, le corps du vieux *bupati* ne trouva pas la paix dans le cimetière de la famille à Terboyo (Semarang). Envoyé vers l'est dans la lointaine Madura, il fut plus tard (20 juillet 1827) réinhumé dans le cimetière royal de son gendre, le sultan de Sumenep, Paku Nataningrat (r. 1811-54), tandis que les autorités néerlandaises cherchaient à couvrir leurs traces avec des notices nécrologiques trompeuses (Annexes Ia et Ib). Le présent article, utilisant une série de sources publiées et d'archives, illustre cette histoire familiale tragique et spécule sur les effets probables que de tels événements ont pu avoir sur le jeune peintre Saleh, alors qu'il commençait sa carrière sous l'égide de son mentor belge, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853). Deux autres annexes fournissent un arbre généalogique de la famille Bustaman (Annexe II) et une brève chronologie de Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo et de sa famille, 1865-1880 (Annexe III).

Jonathan Victor Baldoza (Princeton University)

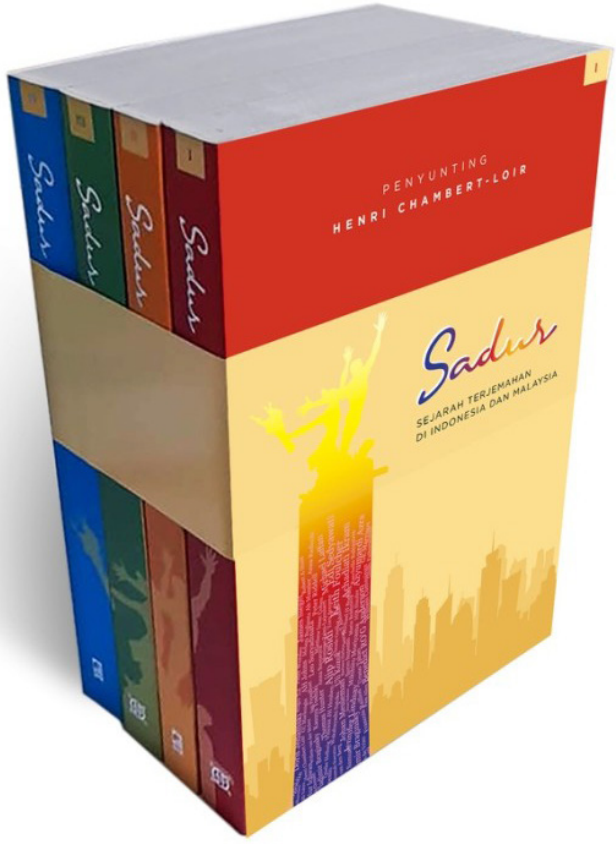
The* Panditas *of the Philippines, 17th- Early 20th Centuries

The article explores the *pandita*s and their role and function in Philippine history, examining selected depictions in Spanish and English sources from 17th century until the early 20th centuries. As precolonial figures that illustrate the link of the Philippines to the broader Malay world, the *pandita*s gradually acquired and embodied Islamic elements into their amorphous identity and practice, ultimately becoming figures of knowledge, spirituality, and culture in Muslim communities. By examining representations of the *pandita*s, the article aims to problematize their place in the historical record, as figures of supposedly false religion, primitive civilization, ethnographic interest, occultism, and military regulation, and point to a dynamic history of Islamic communities that adapted, absorbed, and localized religious tenets in varying degrees, so that pre-Islamic figures like the *pandita*s would have a place in new contexts and be understood as Islamic in their own distinctive way.

Les* Panditas *des Philippines, XVIIe- début XXe siècles

Cet article s'intéresse aux *pandita*, leur rôle et leur fonction dans l'histoire des Philippines, à travers une sélection de descriptions tirées de sources espagnoles et américaines du XVIIe siècle au début du XXe siècle. En tant que figures précoloniales illustrant le lien entre les Philippines et le monde malais au sens large, les *pandita* ont progressivement acquis et incorporé des éléments islamiques dans leur identité et leur pratique mouvantes, devenant finalement des figures de la connaissance, de la spiritualité et de la culture dans les communautés musulmanes. Par l'examen des sources, l'article vise à problématiser la place des *pandita* dans les archives historiques,

en tant que figures d'une supposée fausse religion, d'une civilisation primitive, d'intérêt ethnographique, de l'occultisme et de la réglementation militaire. Il vise aussi à mettre en évidence une histoire dynamique des communautés musulmanes qui ont adapté, absorbé et enraciné des principes religieux à des degrés divers, de sorte que les figures préislamiques comme les *pandita* aient une place dans de nouveaux contextes et soient comprises comme islamiques à leur manière.



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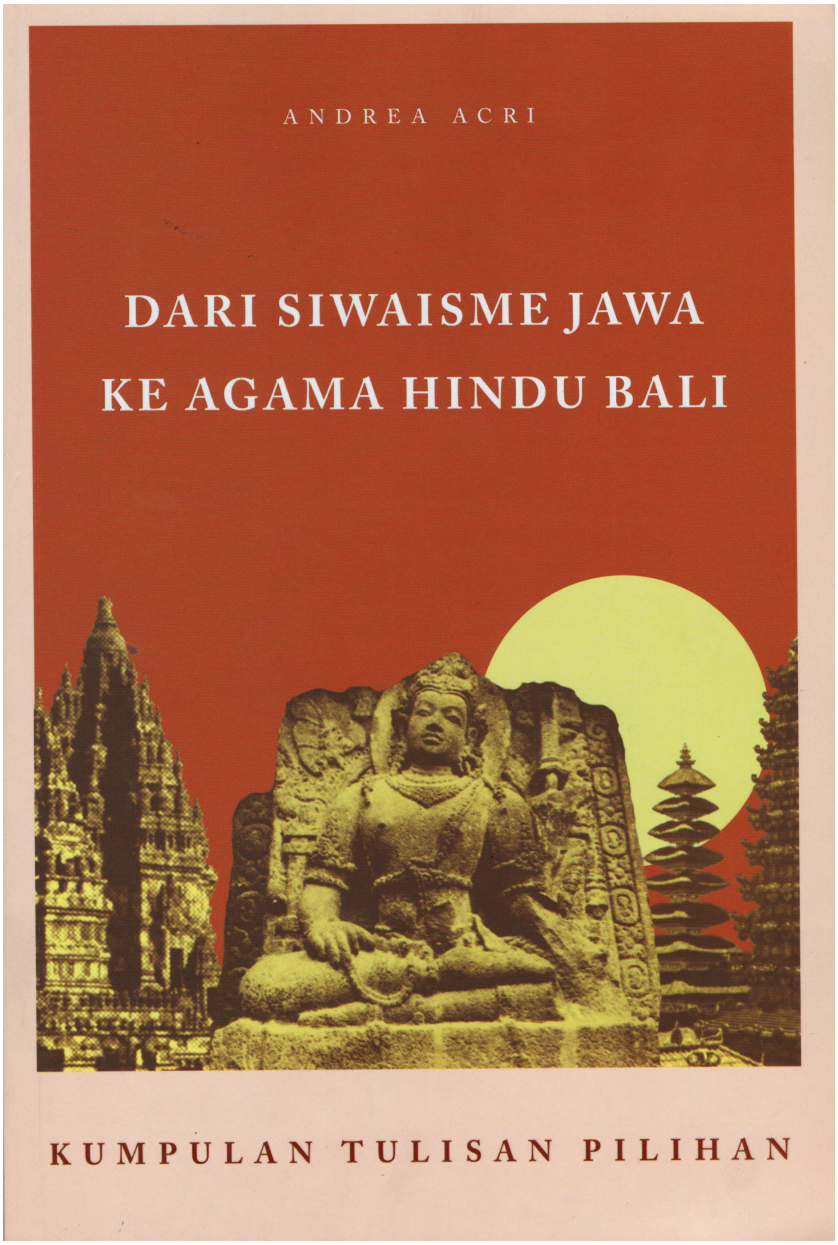

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Ge SONG

Indes néerlandaises et culture chinoise

Deux traductions malaises du Roman des Trois Royaumes (1910-1913)

Archipel Hors-Série n° 1

Ge Song, 2021, *Indes néerlandaises et culture chinoise – Deux traductions malaises du Roman des Trois Royaumes (1910-1913), Archipel* Hors-Série n°1, xxii + 344 p. ISBN : 978-2-910513-86-3

Aux Indes néerlandaises, l'existence d'une importante communauté de descendants de Chinois ne lisant plus ou peu le chinois entraîna un courant tout à fait exceptionnel de traduction et de diffusion de romans chinois traditionnels en malais sous forme imprimée, lequel dura pendant une soixantaine d'années (1880-1942). Chose plus remarquable encore, il donna lieu à la publication simultanée de deux traductions intégrales du fameux « Roman des Trois Royaumes » ou *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (1910-1913). Ce livre, *Indes néerlandaises et culture chinoise*, vise à étudier ces deux traductions sous les angles littéraire, philologique, historique et sociologique, afin de montrer quel rôle elles ont joué à un moment où la communauté sino-indonésienne essayait de repenser son identité culturelle et politique.

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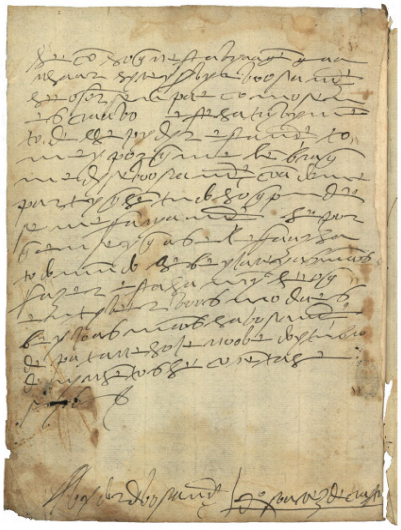
Patani Through Foreign Eyes:
Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries



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Daniel Perret & Jorge Santos Alves (ed.), *Patani Through Foreign Eyes: Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries*, *Archipel* Hors-Série n°1, 318 p. ISBN : 978-2-910513-88-7

The history of the kingdom of Patani, on the eastern coast of the Thai peninsula along the South China Sea, has attracted scholarly interest since early nineteenth century. While the timing and circumstances surrounding its emergence remain unclear, the important economic role played by this kingdom in Asian trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to the production of contemporary foreign written sources that unfortunately remain difficult to access.

The first objective of this book is therefore to bring together the original texts (in full or partial) of thirty one Iberian and Dutch sources dated from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, texts related to the history of Patani, with an original translation into English. A number of archival Iberian documents presented here are published for the first time.The second objective is to provide an overview of research on these two centuries of the Patani kingdom since Thomas John Newbold published the first lineaments of this history in London in 1839.

The third objective is to offer the first essay on Patani's place in the Luso-Asian networks during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The fourth objective is to use the various corpora of foreign and indigenous sources published to date to try to shed new light on Patani's political, social and cultural history during that period.

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