LUMBUNG M.:COUVERTURE 67 7/10/10 11:04 Page 1

Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien
Sous le patronage de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

TIRÉ À PART

ARCHIPEL 80



2010

Publiées avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
et de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris

LUMBUNG M.:COUVERTURE 67 7/10/10 11:04 Page 2

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ARCHIPEL 80

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ISSN 0044-8613

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Échos de la recherche : Monique Zaini-Lajoubert, *Le douzième Colloque international sur la traduction (Penang, Malaisie, 18-20 août 2009) – Novembre 2009, mois d'intenses activités académiques à Kuala Lumpur et ses environs* — **Études :** Hubert Forestier, Truman Simanjuntak, Florent Détroit, Valéry Zeitoun, *Unité et diversité préhistorique entre Java et Sumatra* – Véronique Degroot & Marijke J. Klokke, *Interrelationships Among Central Javanese Temples: The Example of Asu, Lumbung and Pendem* – Hadi Sidomulyo, *From Kuṭa Rāja to Singhasāri: Towards a Revision of the Dynastic History of 13th Century Java* – Brigitte Borell, *Glass from China and from India: Finds of Vessel Glass from Fourteenth Century Singapore* – Laure Dussubieux, *Glass Material from Singapore* – Ludvik Kalus & Claude Guillot, *Bayt al-rijâl : premier cimetière royal du sultanat d'Aceh. [Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 4]* — **Comptes rendus — Résumés - Abstracts**



22,00 €

ISBN 978-2-910513-61-0

Sommaire

ÉCHOS DE LA RECHERCHE

3 Le douzième Colloque international sur la traduction *(Penang, Malaisie, 18-20 août 2009)*

9 Novembre 2009, mois d'intenses activités académiques à Kuala Lumpur et ses environs

ÉTUDES

19 Hubert Forestier, Truman Simanjuntak, Florent Détroit, Valéry Zeitoun
Unité et diversité préhistorique entre Java et Sumatra

45 Véronique Degroot & Marijke J. Klokke
Interrelationships Among Central Javanese Temples: The Example of Asu, Lumbung and Pendem

77 Hadi Sidomulyo
From Kuṭa Rāja to Singhasāri: Towards a Revision of the Dynastic History of 13th Century Java

139 Brigitte Borell
Glass from China and from India: Finds of Vessel Glass from Fourteenth Century Singapore

197 Laure Dussubieux
Glass Material from Singapore

211 Ludvik Kalus & Claude Guillot
Bayt al-rijâl : premier cimetière royal du sultanat d'Aceh [Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 4]

COMPTES RENDUS

257 George F. Bass, Robert H. Brill, Berta Lledo and Sheila D. Matthews, *Serçe Limani, Volume II: The Glass of an Eleventh-Century Shipwreck* (Claude Guillot)

258 Marie-France Dupoizat & Naniek Harkantiningsih, *Catalogue of the Chinese Style Ceramics of Majapahit* (John N. Miksic)

262 Manuel Godhino de Erédia, *Informação da Aurea Quersoneso, ou Península, e das Ilhas Auríferas, Carbúnculas e Aromáticas*, (Roderich Ptak)

264 Leon Rubin & I Nyoman Sedana, *Performance in Bali* (Michel Picard)

267 Donald K. Emmerson (ed.), *Hard choices. Security, democracy and regionalism in Southeast Asia*, (François Raillon)

RÉSUMÉS - ABSTRACTS

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En couverture : Détail de bas-relief, temple de Lumbung, Magelang, Java Central, IXe siècle (cliché Marijke J. Klokke).

Archipel 80, Paris, 2010

ÉCHOS DE LA RECHERCHE

Le douzième Colloque international sur la traduction

(Penang, Malaisie, 18-20 août 2009)

C'est dans le grand hôtel Parkroyal de Penang, situé en bord de mer (Batu Ferringhi Beach), que s'est tenu du 18 au 20 août 2009 le douzième Colloque international sur la traduction (*Persidangan Penterjemahan Antarabangsa Ke-12 – PPA-12*)[1], auquel nous avons participé en tant que conférencière invitée. Avec pour thème « La préservation du domaine de la traduction » (*Kelestarian Bidang Penterjemahan*), il était organisé par l'Universiti Sains Malaysia (Université des Sciences de Malaisie) de Penang, en collaboration avec l'Association des Traducteurs de Malaisie (Persatuan Penterjemah Malaysia), l'Institut national malaisien de la Traduction (Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia) et l'Institut malaisien de la Langue et de la Littérature (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Malaysia). Il était parrainé par le Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et le Ministère de l'Éducation.

La centaine de communications présentées étaient regroupées en cinq catégories de sessions :

- Quatre présentations de documents d'orientation (*Kertas Dasar/Position Papers*), respectivement par Mohd Khair Ngadiron, directeur général de l'Institut national malaisien de la Traduction, le professeur Tan Sri Dzulkifli Abdul Razak, vice-président de l'Universiti Sains Malaysia, le professeur émérite Abdullah Hassan, président de l'Association des Traducteurs de Malaisie, et Dato' Termuzi Abdul Aziz, Directeur du Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. Le document d'orientation du professeur Tan Sri Dzulkifli Abdul

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1. Ce colloque est biennal depuis 1984 [sauf entre le second (1986) et le troisième (1991)]. Cf. notre compte rendu concernant le onzième colloque dans *Archipel* 75 (2008, pp. 11-14).

Razak faisait également office de discours d'ouverture de ce colloque à l'organisation sans faille.

- Trois séances plénières (*Sidang Pleno/Plenary Sessions*)
- 22 ateliers parallèles (*Sidang Selari/Parallel Sessions*)
- Une session dîner (*Sidang Makan Malam/Dinner Session*)
- Une séance poster (*Sidang Poster/Poster Session*)

Les conférenciers étaient venus majoritairement de Malaisie, mais aussi d'Afrique du Sud, d'Arabie Saoudite, de Brunei, du Canada, de Chine, de Corée, d'Espagne, de Finlande, de France, de Hong Kong, de Hongrie, d'Iran, d'Irlande, du Nigéria, d'Oman, de Slovénie, de Taïwan, de Thaïlande, de Turquie, ainsi que du Yémen[2]. Les langues de communication étaient le malais et l'anglais et un système de traduction simultanée avait été prévu. Les communications avaient été publiées en deux volumes avant le colloque, l'un regroupant les communications en malais[3], l'autre en anglais[4].

Les thèmes traités dans ces communications étaient extrêmement variés. Il fut question de théorie, de traductions de textes de types divers (littéraires, scientifiques, religieux, juridiques, publicitaires, journalistiques, enseignes commerciales, proverbes et expressions), de la traduction d'éléments grammaticaux (comme les mots-outils), de la constitution de dictionnaires et de glossaires, de l'impact des nouvelles technologies sur la traduction (traducteurs automatiques sur internet, traductions assistées par ordinateur), des rapports entre traduction, enseignement et recherche, de la place des traductions dans le monde de l'édition, de la formation et de la carrière des traducteurs, du sous-titrage des films… Les problèmes de l'interprétation (y compris la transformation de la parole en langage des signes pour les sourds) furent également discutés.

La majorité des communications ont abordé les questions de traductions impliquant le malais et des langues étrangères (anglais, surtout, mais aussi arabe, allemand, chinois, coréen, français…). D'autres ne concernaient pas

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2. Nous nous basons ici sur les pays indiqués dans le programme du colloque. Il n'est pas tenu compte des éventuelles défections dont nous n'aurions pas eu connaissance, pour ce qui est, en particulier, des sessions auxquelles nous n'avons pu assister.

3. Le terme « malais» est utilisé ici dans son sens large, à savoir aussi bien le malais régional que le malais devenu langue nationale de pays du monde malais, dans sa forme actuelle ou ancienne. Pour ce qui est de la langue de communication, il s'agit essentiellement du malais devenu langue nationale de Malaisie (le malaisien) et d'Indonésie (l'indonésien).

4. Hasuria Che Omar dan Rokiah Awang (ed.), *Persidangan Penterjemahan Antarabangsa Ke-12, 2009. Kelestarian Bidang Penterjemahan*, Kuala Lumpur, Persatuan Penterjemah Malaysia, 2009, 559 p. ; Hasuria Che Omar, Haslina Haroon dan Aniswal Abd. Ghani (ed.), *The 12th International Conference On Translation, 2009. The Sustainability of The Translation Field*, Kuala Lumpur, Persatuan Penterjemah Malaysia, 2009, 594 p.

le malais (ex. traductions de l'allemand en slovène, de l'anglais en punjabi, du chinois en néerlandais, de l'arabe en anglais et inversement, de l'anglais en turc, du soudanais en anglais, du sanskrit en anglais, ou encore de l'anglais en persan).

Parmi les traductions en malais d'œuvres étrangères étudiées, on peut citer celles du roman allemand *Siddharta* (1922) du prix Nobel de littérature Herman Hesse (1946), de *Harry Potter the Half-Blood Prince* (2005) de J. K. Rowling et de *Zuqaq al-Midaqq* (1947) de Naguib Mahfouz, prix Nobel de littérature (1988), traduite par le Sasterawan Negara[5] Abdullah Hussain sous le titre de *Lorong Midaq* (La ruelle Midaq) en 1984. Citons encore les « traductions » malaises des œuvres pour enfants d'Enid Blyton, ayant pour personnages des animaux personnifiés, plus proches, selon nous, d'adaptations que de traductions. En effet, pour des raisons religieuses, les personnages de chiens et de porcelets y sont remplacés respectivement par des chats et des chevreaux.

Pour ce qui est des traductions d'œuvres en malais dans une langue étrangère, furent analysés, entre autres, les romans malaisiens *Empangan* (Barrage, 1991) de Zakaria Ali (en espagnol), *Hari-hari Terakhir Seorang Seniman* (Les derniers jours d'un artiste, 1979) d'Anwar Ridhwan (en français), *Bedar Sukma Bisu* (Le bateau à l'âme silencieuse, 2007) de Faisal Tehrani, un jeune écrivain très prolifique (en anglais), et le roman indonésien *Saman* (1998) d'Ayu Utami (en coréen). Il fut question aussi des traductions en anglais de *Hikayat Abdullah* (Histoire d'Abdullah, 1848) d'Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi et du poème anonyme et non daté *Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang Cina* (Poème de Siti Zubaidah en guerre contre la Chine). La « traduction » de l'œuvre indonésienne *Ayat-ayat Cinta* (Les versets amoureux, 2004) de Habiburrahman El Shirazy en malaisien fut de même discutée. Dans ce cas, cependant, on ne peut pas véritablement parler de traduction, mais d'adaptation d'une forme de malais (l'indonésien) dans une autre (le malaisien).

Le colloque se termina le 20 août en fin de matinée après la lecture des résolutions et les discours de clôture, dont celui de Dato' Saifuddin Abdullah, vice-ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur. Il fut annoncé, entre autres, que le prochain colloque international sur la traduction aurait lieu en 2011, à l'Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM) de Shah Alam, et que son thème serait « La globalisation par le biais des traductions ».

Monique ZAINI-LAJOUBERT

5. La plus haute distinction littéraire malaisienne.

Liste des communications[6]

Kertas Dasar/Position Papers

Mohd Khair Ngadiron (directeur général de l'Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia), *Peranan Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia dalam Meningkatkan Taraf Bidang Penterjemahan di Malaysia*.

Tan Sri Profesor Dzulkifli Abdul Razak (vice-président de l'Universiti Sains Malaysia), *Melestarikan Bahasa dan Terjemahan: Prinsip dan Peranan Universiti Sains Malaysia.*

Professeur émérite Abdullah Hassan (président du Persatuan Penterjemah Malaysia), *Back to Malay as Medium of Instruction; and the Need for Translation of Books of Knowledge.*

Dato' Haji Termuzi Abdul Aziz (directeur du Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka), *Memperkasa Peranan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka dalam Melestarikan Bidang Penterjemahan di Malaysia.*

Sidang Pleno/Plenary Sessions

Professeur Yves Gambier (Université de Turku, Finlande), *Perception and Reception of Audiovisual Translation: Implications and Challenges.*

Ustaz Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady (International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization – ISTAC), International Islamic University Malaysia – IIUM), *Sustainability in the Translation Field: The Case for Mainstream Islamic Intellectual Discourse.*

Professeur Antony Pym (Université Rovira I Virgili, Tarragona, Espagne) ; la communication annoncée dans le programme et imprimée dans les actes s'intitulait *On Empiricism and Bad Philosophy in Translation Studies*. Le Professeur Antony Pym présenta cependant une communication sur un tout autre sujet, à savoir le nouvel outil de traduction proposé par Google.

Dato' Zawiyah Baba (ATMA, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia), *Translating a Modern Malay Novel into English – The case of* Bedar Sukma Bisu.

Marion Voers (présidente de l'International Federation of Translators – FIT)*, Accreditation – A South African Experience.*

Ainon Mohd (présidente de PTS Publications & Distributions), *Trend Pasaran Buku-buku Terjemahan Terkini*.

Dr Monique Zaini-Lajoubert (CNRS, France), Les derniers jours d'un artiste, *Terjemahan Pertama* Hari-hari Terakhir Seorang Seniman (1979) *ke dalam Bahasa Perancis*.

Sidang Makan Malam/Dinner Session

Profesor Mashudi Kader, *Translating and Interpreting Programmes at USM: Reality and Challenges*.

Dr Lalita Sinha, *Lessons in Engagement from the Malay Classics: The Translation of* Syair Siti Zubaidah Perang Cina.

Sidang Selari/Parallel Sessions

Teori Penterjemahan dan Teori interpretasi/Translation and Interpretation Theories.

Penterjemahan Berbantuan Mesin/Machine Translation.

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6. Pour établir cette liste, nous nous sommes basée sur le programme du colloque et sur les actes publiés avant le colloque. Elle ne tient pas compte des changements de dernière minute intervenus dans les sessions auxquelles nous n'avons pu assister ou de ceux qui nous auraient échappés. Vu le nombre très élevé des communications, nous ne donnons ici que les titres des documents d'orientation et des communications présentés en séance plénière, lors du dîner session et de la séance poster. Pour ce qui est des ateliers parallèles, nous n'indiquons que les thèmes de ces sessions.

Penterjemahan dan Lokalisasi dan Sosiolinguistik dan Penterjemahan/Translation and Localisation and Sosiolinguistics and Translation.

Penterjemahan dan Media/Translation and Media.

Latihan dan Kerjaya dalam Penterjemahan/Translator Training and Translation Career.

Penterjemahan untuk Golongan Istimewa/Translation for Special People.

Interpretasi dan Pengantarabangsaan/Interpreting and Internationalization.

Perterjemahan dalam Penerbitan/Translation in Publishing.

Penterjemahan Bahasa Arab/Arabic Translation.

Penterjemahan Teks Khusus dan Dokumen Rasmi/Translation of Specific Texts and Official Documents.

Glosari dan Perkamusan/Glosary and Dictionary.

Penterjemahan Teks Kesusasteraan/Translation of Literature.

Umum/General.

Unsur Budaya dalam Terjemahan/Cultural Element in Translation.

Masa Depan dan Kelestarian Bidang Penterjemahan (Perkhidmatan dan Teknologi)/Translation and Its Sustainability (Service and Technology).

Penterjemahan dan Media/Media and Translation.

Terjemahan dan Ideologi/Translation and Ideology.

Penterjemahan dalam Perniagaan/Translation in Business.

Penterjemahan dan Pendidikan/Translation and Education.

Linguistik dalam Penterjemahan/Translation in Linguistics.

Penterjemahan dan Budaya Popular/Translation and Popular Culture.

Penterjemahan Teks Kesusasteraan/Translation of Literature.

Sidang Poster/Poster Session

Ali Akhbar Zenali & Rokiah Awang, *Translation Procedure of English Medical Terms into Persian*.

Norhazlina Husin, *Terjemahan dalam Pengajaran Melayu kepada Penutur Asing di Luar Negara*.

Norwati Md Yusoff & Saadiyah Darus, *Computer-Assisted English-Malay Translation Workstation©: Sustaining a Globalised Translator*.

Novembre 2009, mois d'intenses activités académiques à Kuala Lumpur et ses environs

En novembre 2009, notre mission de recherche en Malaisie sur la littérature malaisienne coïncida avec la tenue d'un certain nombre de colloques nationaux ou internationaux se déroulant à Kuala Lumpur et ses environs, concernant surtout la littérature, mais aussi la langue, la culture et l'histoire. Nous n'avons bien sûr pas pu assister entièrement à tous ces colloques, mais leurs actes, publiés avant leur tenue, les textes des communications présentées et leurs programmes, nous permettent d'en faire ici le compte rendu, dans l'ordre chronologique.

Le Ve colloque international sur la linguistique et l'inculturation de la langue malaise (*Seminar Antarabangsa Linguistik dan Pembudayaan Bahasa Melayu Ke V)*, Kuala Lumpur, 17-18 novembre 2009

Ce colloque, qui a lieu régulièrement depuis 2005, était organisé conjointement par le Département de la langue malaise de la Faculté des Langues modernes de l'Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM), le Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Institut de la Langue et de la Littérature) et le Ministère de l'Information, de la Communication et de la Culture. Il s'est déroulé du 17 au 18 novembre 2009 au Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka à Kuala Lumpur. Il avait pour thème « donner à la langue malaise le pouvoir de former la personnalité et l'identité de l'État-nation » (*Pemerkasaan Bahasa Melayu dalam Pembinaan Sahsiah dan Jati Diri Negara Bangsa*).

La « langue malaise » en question était avant tout celle de Malaisie (parlée à Kedah, Sabah, Sarawak – en particulier Kuching –, Kelantan – en particulier Kota Bharu), mais aussi d'Indonésie (parlée à Palembang, Riau et Makassar), de Brunei et des îles Cocos (Australie). D'autres langues ont

cependant été abordées, étudiées seules (langue Bhuket et autres langues de Sarawak, Minangkabau, langues des *orang asli* de la Péninsule malaise, langue des Iban à Kalimantan et à Sarawak) ou en relation avec le malais (comparaison entre le malais [d'Indonésie, ou indonésien] et le thaï, le malais et le Mandar – l'une des langues régionales de Célèbes-Sud –, les *pantun* bilingues malais-makassar de l'ouvrage de Ang Bang Tjiong). N'ayant pu assister à ce colloque, nous donnons seulement un aperçu du contenu des soixante-cinq communications (toutes en malais) rassemblées dans des actes parus avant sa tenue [1].

La langue était envisagée autant sous sa forme orale qu'écrite et aussi bien dans son état ancien que moderne. Les textes étudiés étaient d'une grande variété. Parmi ceux-ci, citons les textes de lois anciens (*Undang-undang Pelabuhan Kedah* – Lois portuaires de Kedah), les œuvres d'Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi (1796-1854), les romans (ceux du Sasterawan Negara Shahnon Ahmad, ou encore de Siti Zainon Ismail), les poèmes (d'Arbak Othman), les pièces de théâtre (appartenant au courant du théâtre expérimental malaisien), les proverbes (du *Kamus Istimewa Peribahasa Melayu* – Dictionnaire spécial des proverbes malais), les journaux (ceux trilingues de Sabah – anglais, malais et *kadazandusun*, langue du groupe ethnique majoritaire de Sabah), les ouvrages sur la langue (*Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa: Yaitu Kamus Logat Melayu Johor Pahang Riau Lingga* – Livre de la connaissance de la langue : dictionnaire des dialectes malais de Johor, Pahang et Riau-Lingga – [1858] de Raja Ali Haji), les SMS, les publicités, les textes scientifiques, les chansons (le *bongai*, sorte de chanson populaire traditionnelle de Negeri Sembilan).

Étaient étudiés, entre autres, les aspects culturels de la langue (politesse, religion…), les questions de traduction et d'influence d'une langue étrangère sur le malais (influence de l'anglais sur le malais de Brunei, en particulier sur les termes de parenté), des éléments lexicaux ou grammaticaux spécifiques (le préfixe *me-* dans les journaux indonésiens, le mot *sayang*, les termes de l'artisanat et des vêtements malais, les termes d'injures en malaisien utilisant des noms d'animaux, le verbe *memberi* en malaisien comparé au verbe *donner* en français), la langue des produits des banques islamiques en Malaisie et, en particulier, les termes arabes malaïsés, les questions relatives à l'enseignement (d'une deuxième langue, du malaisien aux étrangers, des mathématiques et autres sciences en anglais dans les écoles en Malaisie…).

1. *Bahasa Melayu dalam Pembinaan Sahsiah dan Jati Diri Negara Bangsa*, Seminar Linguistik dan Pembudayaan Bahasa Melayu ke-V, 17-18 November 2009, Anjuran Bersama: Jabatan Bahasa Melayu, Fakulti Bahasa Moden, UPM; Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur; Kementerian Penerangan, Komunikasi, dan Kebudayaan, 551 p.

Le Xe colloque international sur la littérature malaise (*Seminar Antarabangsa Kesusasteraan Melayu* X - *SAKM X*), Bangi, 18-19 novembre 2009[2]

Ce colloque s'est déroulé à Bangi, dans les environs de Kuala Lumpur, les 18 et 19 novembre 2009, à la Faculté des Sciences sociales et humaines de l'Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). Il était organisé conjointement par l'UKM et le Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, avec la collaboration du Persatuan Penulis Nasional (Association nationale des Écrivains – PENA) et a eu pour thème « La littérature dans sa rencontre avec les savoirs » (*Kesusasteraan Melayu dalam Rentas-Ilmu*). La plupart des intervenants étaient locaux, mais certains étaient venus également d'Indonésie, de Brunei, de Singapour et de Thaïlande (Pattani). La quasi-totalité des communications étaient regroupées dans des actes parus avant le colloque[3]. La trentaine de communications (toutes en malais) furent présentées en séance plénière dans la même salle, au cours de huit sessions (y compris la présentation du document d'orientation, la *Sesi Ucap Utama*). Elles ont mis en rapport la littérature, aussi bien traditionnelle que moderne, écrite qu'orale, avec des thèmes divers comme l'islam, l'histoire, la politique, le droit, l'architecture, l'archéologie, la musique, le chant, la danse, la traduction, l'éducation, la physique ou encore la chimie[4].

L'*Ucap Utama* était présenté par la Prof. Dato' Siti Hawa Haji Salleh, spécialiste de littérature malaise traditionnelle qui, dans une longue communication, s'est livrée à un inventaire très complet de l'histoire de la littérature malaise et a notamment proposé de la considérer comme un tout, de ne pas la diviser en littérature ancienne et moderne, comme on le fait généralement. Cette intervention a été suivie par le lancement de son dernier ouvrage (*Kelopak Pemikiran Sastera Melayu* – Un tour d'horizon de la littérature malaise –, Bangi, UKM, 2009, 865 p.) riche de 37 de ses articles sur la littérature malaise traditionnelle.

Les communications mettant en rapport littérature et islam se sont intéressées aussi bien à la littérature dite sérieuse que populaire. Il fut ainsi question du concept du *qudwah hasanah* (exemplarité) chez les personnages féminins des romans contemporains malaisiens écrits par des femmes, comme *Seteguh Fikrah Saleha* (Aussi solide que la réflexion de Saleha, 2008) d'Aminah Mokhtar ou *Lentera Mustika* (La lampe de Mustika, 2009)

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2. C'est le seul colloque auquel nous avons pu assister entièrement.

3. Nurazmi Kuntum, Mawar Shafei dan Ana Suhana Zainuddin (ed.), *SAKM X Seminar Antarabangsa Kesusasteraan Melayu X. Kesusasteraan Melayu dalam Rentas-Ilmu*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2009, 375 p.

4. Nous ne donnons à la fin de ce compte rendu que la liste des communications de ce colloque qui, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, est le seul que nous avons suivi entièrement.

de Nisah Haron, des valeurs islamiques dans le roman *Imam* (1995) du Sasterawan Negara Abdullah Hussain, ou encore du concept de « *ilmu yang benar* » (le vrai savoir).

On traita aussi de la littérature islamique populaire en Indonésie, s'intéressant au style de vie des jeunes gens des grandes villes, qui connaît un développement important depuis les années 1990. Fut par exemple abordé le roman *Diorama Sepasang Albana* de Ari Nur, un best-seller publié par Mizan, qui raconte l'histoire de Rani, une jeune architecte idéaliste, humaniste, d'origine modeste et très dynamique, portant le voile (*jilbab*), qui parvient à réaliser son rêve de travailler dans une agence d'architecture célèbre de Jakarta. Elle tombe amoureuse de son patron, un ancien prédicateur, beau, riche, mais toujours pieux et connaissant parfaitement le Coran, qu'elle épouse. Il fut également question du best-seller *Ayat-ayat Cinta* (Les versets amoureux, 2004) de Habiburrahman El Shirazy, une histoire d'amour sur fond de piété musulmane. Adapté au cinéma, le film a remporté un immense succès.

Pour ce qui est du rapport entre littérature et histoire, furent abordés par exemple des romans historiques indonésiens tels que les deux récents romans de Langit Kresna Haryadi et Aan Merdeka Pernama, qui portent le même titre de *Perang Bubat* (La guerre de Bubat), mais donnent deux interprétations différentes de cette guerre qui mit à mal les relations entre Java et Sunda et, en particulier, du rôle qu'y joua Gajah Mada.

Les rapports entre littérature et politique ont été envisagés à travers plusieurs romans malaisiens des années 1970 et 1980, comme *Sutan Baginda* ou *Tunggul-tunggul Gerigis* (Souches déchiquetées) de Shahnon Ahmad, *Juara* (le champion) du Sasterawan Negara S. Othman Kelantan, *Tokoh Terpilih* (Un personnage choisi) de Rahman Shaari, ou encore *Buai Diayun Anak Dicubit* (Le berceau est balancé et l'enfant pincé) de Marwilis Haji Yusof.

L'analyse des nouvelles de Nisah Haji Haron montra les relations entre littérature et droit, celle du roman *Menara* (La tour, 2002), de l'écrivain singapourien Isa Kamari, entre littérature et architecture et celle d'œuvres malaises traditionnelles, comme *Sulalatus Salatin* (*Sejarah Melayu*) – Généalogie des rois (Histoire malaise) – et *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (Histoire de Merong Mahawangsa), entre littérature et archéologie. Quant aux rapports entre littérature, musique, chant et danse, ils furent mis en avant, par exemple, à travers l'étude d'une forme de spectacle pratiquée dans la société malaise de Sarawak, en particulier lors des fêtes de mariage, appelée *begendang* (jouer des percussions). Les rapports entre littérature et traduction furent également traités à travers l'exposé des activités de l'Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia (Institut national malaisien de la Traduction).

Pour ce qui est des rapports entre littérature et enseignement, signalons la communication de l'écrivain Rahmat Haroun Hashim qui présentait ses trois

romans *Hikayat Neogenesis* (Histoire de la nouvelle genèse, 2005), *Fitrah Kimiawi* (Don chimique, 2006) et *Panggil Aku Melaju* (Appelez-moi Melaju, 2008), où il met surtout l'accent sur les éléments de contestation du *PPSMI* (*Pembelajaran dan Pengajaran Sains dan Matematik dalam Bahasa Inggeris* – Étude et enseignement des sciences et des mathématiques en anglais), qui signe, selon lui, l'arrêt de mort du malaisien scientifique. Ces trois romans montrent aussi les rapports entre littérature et sciences exactes. Parmi les autres communications traitant de l'enseignement, il faut en signaler une sur l'éducation morale dont les jeunes Indonésiens peuvent profiter en lisant la littérature populaire, ainsi qu'une autre sur l'enseignement du malais dans le sud de la Thaïlande (Pattani).

La communication qui remporta le plus de succès et suscita le plus grand nombre de réactions fut celle de la Prof. Ungku Maimunah de ATMA (Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Institut du Monde et de la Civilisation malais) de UKM. Dans cette communication, absente des actes et non distribuée au cours du colloque, Ungku Maimunah s'est livrée à une critique virulente de la littérature malaisienne moderne. Elle a remis notamment en question les analyses et décisions des jurys, qui décernent la plus haute distinction littéraire, à savoir celle de Sasterawan Negara. Selon elle, cette littérature ne contient aucun « savoir » (*ilmu*) ou, plus exactement, aucun « vrai savoir » (*ilmu yang benar*), qui, pour elle, ne peut être basé que sur les valeurs islamiques. Notons que depuis quelques années, elle tente de promouvoir une *Persuratan Baru* (Nouvelle Littérature) tournée vers l'islam, comme il apparaît clairement dans son ouvrage rédigé en collaboration avec Mohd. Affandi Hassan et Mohd. Zariat Abdul Rani, *Gagasan Persuratan Baru. Pengenalan dan Penerapan* – Le concept de Nouvelle Littérature. Introduction et mise en pratique –, Bangi, ATMA, UKM, 2008, 478 p.

La troisième rencontre des poètes nousantariens (*Pertemuan Penyair Nusantara Ke-3 - PPN3*), Kuala lumpur, 20-22 novembre 2009[5]

Organisée conjointement par la PENA, le Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, le Département de la Culture et de l'Art nationaux du Ministère de l'Information, de la Communication et de la Culture, l'Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia et la Menara Kuala Lumpur (Tour de Kuala Lumpur), cette troisième « rencontre des poètes nousantariens » s'est déroulée à Kuala Lumpur du 20 au 22 novembre 2009. Sur le thème « La poésie, voix de l'humanité » (*Puisi Suara Kemanusiaan*), elle s'est scindée en deux manifes-

5. Le *SAKM X* et le *Pertemuan Penyair Nusantara Ke-3* étaient deux manifestations organisées à l'occasion de la *Minggu Sastera Antarabangsa PENA – Persatuan Penulis National* – (Semaine littéraire internationale de la PENA – Association nationale des Écrivains –, 18-22 novembre 2009).

tations : un colloque au Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka et des lectures de poèmes à la Rumah PENA, ainsi qu'à la Tour de Kuala Lumpur. Une anthologie de poèmes de Malaisie, d'Indonésie, de Brunei, de Singapour, de Thaïlande, intitulée *Rumpun Kita* (Notre famille), avait été publiée tout spécialement pour l'occasion par la PENA. Notons que cette « rencontre » se déroule chaque année depuis 2007, la première et la seconde ayant eu lieu en Indonésie, respectivement à Medan et à Kediri.

Le colloque était organisé en trois catégories de sessions : deux forums, une « Présentation de communications » (*Pembentangan Kertas Kerja*) et une « Conférence des poètes » (*Persidangan Penyair*). Les forums étaient intitulés respectivement « Poètes : poésie de l'étranger » (*Penyair: Puisi Mancanegara*) et « Avenir des relations entre poètes nousantariens » (*Masa Hadapan Hubungan Penyair Nusantara*). Quant au thème de la « Conférence des poètes », il s'agissait de « Collaboration des poètes pour élever la voix de l'humanité » (*Kerjasama Penyair dalam Mengataskan Suara Kemanusiaan*).

La session de « Présentation de communications » n'avait pas de thème particulier. Son document d'orientation (*Ucap Utama*) fut présenté par le Sasterawan Negara Prof. Muhammad Haji Salleh sous le titre « Menulis Puisi pada Alaf Kedua » (Écrire de la poésie pendant le deuxième millénaire). Les communications que nous avons pu obtenir (toutes en malais) [6] concernent la poésie, à l'exception de celle de l'écrivain indonésien Viddy AD Daery, qui se concentre sur les développements littéraires indonésiens depuis la *Reformasi*, se livrant notamment à une critique virulente de la « *sastrawangi* » (littérature parfumée) et de la Komunitas Utan Kayu.

Le Colloque sur la civilisation malaise (*Seminar Peradaban Melayu*), Kuala Lumpur, 23-24 novembre 2009

Ce premier « colloque sur la civilisation malaise » s'est tenu les 24 et 25 novembre 2009 à Kuala Lumpur, au Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. Organisé conjointement par l'Institut Peradaban Melayu (Institut de la Civilisation Malaise) de l'Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris (Université pédagogique Sultan Idris) de Tanjung Malim (Perak) et le Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, il a réuni une dizaine de communications (toutes en malais) présentées par des intervenants malaisiens appartenant pour la plupart à des universités locales : Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Universiti Malaya, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia (Université de la Défense nationale malaisienne).

6. Elles n'ont pas été regroupées préalablement dans des actes, mais imprimées individuellement.

Dato' Dr Hassan Ahmad[7], directeur général du Yayasan Karyawan (Fondation des Auteurs), qui publie en édition de luxe les « grandes œuvres » (*Karya Agung*) de la littérature malaise traditionnelle, comme *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, *Sulalatus Salatin (Sejarah Melayu)*, a lancé le colloque. Sa communication titrée « Karya Agung Melayu : Cerminan Keunggulan Akal Budi Bangsa Melayu Sepanjang Zaman » (les grandes œuvres malaises : reflet de l'excellence de la pensée du peuple malais au cours du temps) a porté en fait sur ces *Karya Agung*. Les autres communications ont considéré la culture malaise sous divers aspects (historique, linguistique, sociologique), dans la diachronie et la synchronie. Il fut ainsi question de textes anciens de lois (*undang-undang*), en particulier de *Undang-undang Sembilan Puluh Sembilan Perak* (Les quatre-vingt-dix-neuf lois de Perak) et de la structure des villes-États maritimes de la Péninsule malaise du IIe au XIIIe siècles. Les communications ont porté également sur des intellectuels, tels Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi, Syed Sheikh Ahmad al-Hadi, Za'ba, Abdul Rahim Kajai, ou encore Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin. Ont également été abordées les caractéristiques spécifiques d'une langue (qualifiées de ADN), la perception actuelle de la langue malaisienne, les changements actuels dans la société malaise et la perte du sens de l'identité des Malais, les valeurs « glorieuses » de la société malaise, ou encore le costume traditionnel malais.

Le Colloque international sur les manuscrits malais de 2009 (*Persidangan Antarabangsa Manuskrip Melayu 2009*), Kuala Lumpur, 23-25 novembre 2009

Ce colloque, qui a lieu régulièrement depuis 2007, s'est tenu à Kuala Lumpur du 23 au 25 novembre, à la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences sociales de l'Universiti Malaya. Organisé conjointement par le Département d'Histoire de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences sociales et le Département de Littérature de l'Akademi Pengajian Melayu (Académie des Études malaises) de l'Universiti Malaya, avec la collaboration du Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia (Association d'Histoire de Malaisie), il avait pour thème « Les manuscrits malais, héritage national » (*Manuskrip Melayu Warisan Negara*). Les actes, publiés avant le colloque[8], regroupaient 31 articles, soit la quasi-totalité des communications. Celles-ci ont été présentées en deux catégories de sessions :

7. Ancien directeur du Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka et Délégué permanent de la Malaisie auprès de l'UNESCO.

8. Arba'iyah Binti Mohd Noor, Ahmad Kamal Ariffin Bin Mohd Rus, Muhaineh Binti Jahi (ed.), *Prosiding Persidangan Antarabangsa Manuskrip Melayu 2009. Manuskrip Melayu Warisan Negara*, Kuala Lumpur, Jabatan Sejarah, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial dan Jabatan Kesusasteraan, Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya, 2009, 438 p.

- Quatre présentations de documents d'orientation (*Ucap Utama*), respectivement par Prof. Datuk Zainal Kling, Prof. Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, Prof. Datuk Abu Hassan Sham et Prof. Nurhayati Rahman.

- Quatorze ateliers parallèles (*Sidang Selari*).

Aux côtés des intervenants, en majorité malaisiens, se trouvaient des Indonésiens, des Brunéiens et une Russe. Ces communications peuvent être regroupées en six catégories principales :

- Celles analysant une œuvre (*Syair Perang Mengkasar* - Poème de la guerre de Makassar), *Hikayat Johor dan Tawarikh Almarhum Sultan Abu Bakar* (Histoire de Johor et du défunt sultan Abu Bakar), *Salasilah Raja-raja Brunei* (Généalogie des rois de Brunei), *Syair Mekah dan Madinah* (Poème de La Mecque et de Médine)*, Tarikh Patani* (Histoire de Patani)*, Adat Raja-raja Melayu* (Les coutumes des rois malais), *Bayan al-Asma* (Guide des noms).

- Une personnalité, comme le Major Dato' Haji Mohd Said bin Haji Sulaiman (1876-1955), qui joua un rôle important dans l'histoire de Johor, non seulement en tant que bras droit de Sultan Ibrahim, mais aussi en tant qu'auteur prolifique d'œuvres à caractère historique, ou encore Tok Ku Paluh, un *mujaddid* (rénovateur de l'islam) de Terengganu au XIVe s.

- Une écriture : celle appelée *serang*, à savoir les langues bugis et makassar de Sulawesi Sud notées en caractères arabes.

- Des traditions régionales de copie de manuscrits, comme à Palembang, Buton, Perak et Kerinci.

- Les représentations : images de la femme, images de Java dans les textes malais traditionnels, celles de la vie artistique de Riau au XIXe s., à travers des textes comme le *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (Don précieux), le *Syair Perkahwinan Anak Kapitan Cina* (Poème sur le mariage de l'enfant du capitaine chinois) ou encore le *Syair Perkahwinan Raja Muhammad Yusuf dengan Raja Zaleha* (Poème du mariage de Raja Muhammad Yusuf avec Raja Zaleha).

- Études d'éléments particuliers des manuscrits malais : style, éléments utilisés pour désigner la métrologie.

Une grande majorité de ces communications ont mis l'accent sur l'intérêt des textes en tant que sources historiques.

Monique ZAINI-LAJOUBERT

LISTE DES COMMUNICATIONS PRÉSENTÉES AU X^E COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL SUR LA LITTÉRATURE MALAISE (*SEMINAR ANTARABANGSA KESUSASTERAAN MELAYU* X - *SAKM X.* BANGI, 18-19 NOVEMBRE 2009)

Sesi Ucap Utama (*Session de présentation du document d'orientation*)

Prof. Dato' Siti Hawa Haji Salleh, *Liku-liku Perjalanan Kesusasteraan Melayu Sepanjang Zaman.*

Sesi 1: Sastera-Agama (*Session 1: Littérature-Religion*)

Prof. Sahlan Mohd Saman (Jabatan Kesusasteraan Melayu, Universiti Brunei Darussalam), *Sastera Islam: Genre Terbaharu dalam Kajian Kesusasteraan Institusi Pengajian Tinggi Nusantara.*

Cahyaningrum Dewojati (Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia), *Sastra Islam dan Perkembangan Sastra Populer di Indonesia*.

Dr. Kamariah Kamarudin & Dr. Pabiyah Hajimaming (Fakulti Bahasa Moden dan Komunikasi, Universiti Putra Malaysia), *Konsep Qudwah Hasanah Wanita Islam dalam Pemerkasaan Ummah: Suatu Analisis terhadap Beberapa Buah Novel Melayu Mutakhir*.

Sesi 2: Sastera-Sejarah (*Session 2 : Littérature-Histoire*)

Prof. Dato' Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd Rahman (Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia), *Arkeologi dan Sastera Melayu Klasik: Mencungkil Data Sejarah*.

Sudibyo (Jurusan Sastra Indonesia, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia), *Novel Perang Bubat sebagai Novel Etno-Historis: Interpretasi atas Tragedi Perang Bubat Berdasarkan Perspektif Jawa dan Sunda*.

Dr. Ahyar Anwar (Indonesia), *"Syair Perang Mengkasar": Peran Kesusasteraan Melayu dalam Eksistensi Sejarah Kerajaan*.

Sesi 3: Sastera-Kreativiti (*Session 3 : Littérature-Créativité*)

Prof. Noriah Mohamed (Malaysia), *Selarik Warna Cerita Rakyat Melayu di Jepun*.

Shamsudin Othman (Jabatan Pendidikan Bahasa dan Kemanusiaan, Fakulti Pengajian Pendidikan, Universiti Putra Malaysia)*, Hala Tuju Budaya Kreatif dan Kreativiti dalam Sistem Pendidikan Negara.*

Prof. Madya Ampuan Haji Brahim (Universiti Brunei Darussalam), *Ilmu Kepustakaan Tradisional dalam Kesusasteraan Melayu*.

Nizal Mohammad (Malaysia), *Sastera Melayu: Pelestariannya dalam Dunia Penyiaran*.

Sesi 4: Sastera-Pendidikan (*Session 4 : Littérature-Éducation*)

Dr. Novi Siti Kussuji (Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia), *Pendidikan Moral Remaja dalam Sastra Pop Indonesia: Kajian Sosio-Pragmatik*.

Hara Shintaro (Fakulti Kemanusiaan dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Prince of Songkla, Kampus Pattani, Thailand), *Peranan Sastera dalam Pendidikan Bahasa Melayu di Selatan Thailand*.

Naffi Mat (Fakulti Pengajian Pendidikan, Universiti Putra Malaysia), *Kurikulum Pendidikan Kesusasteraan Melayu: Antara Falsafah, Pengisian dan Harapan*.

Siti Aisah Murad (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka), *Novel* Imam*: Nilai Agama dan Pengamalan*.

Sesi 5: Sastera-Sains Sosial (*Session 5 : Littérature-Sciences sociales*)

Isa Kamari (Singapour), *Menara: Dekonstruksi Merentas Senibina dan Psikologi*.

Siti Rafiah binti Sulaiman (Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia Berhad), *Penterjemahan Karya Sastera Kebangsaan ke dalam Bahasa Asing*.

Nisah Haji Haron (Malaysia), *Memudahkan Undang-undang dalam Cerpen: Sebuah Pengalaman*.

Prof. Ungku Maimunah Mohd Tahir (Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia Ilmu), *Kehadiran, Tafsiran & Terjemahannya dalam Sastera Melayu*.

Sesi 6: Sastera-Sains (*Session 6 : Littérature-Sciences*)

Prof. Wan Ahmad Tajuddin Wan Abdullah (Jabatan Fizik, Universiti Malaya), *Kata, Ungkapan, Citra, metafora dan Penjiwaan Fizik: Suatu Jalan Rambang dalam Alam Puisi Melayu*.

Dr. Rahmat Haroun Hashim, *Trilogi Novel* Hikayat Neogenesis, Fitrah Kimiawi *dan* Panggil Aku Melaju: *Manifestasi Bantahan Susastera terhadap PPSMI (2002-2009)*.

Sharkawi Che Din (Jabatan Pengajian Siswazah, Fakulti Seni Lukis dan Seni Reka, Universiti Teknologi MARA Shah Alam), *Mampukah Permainan Berkomputer dan Blog Menjadi Pemangkin Memartabatkan Sastera Malayu?*

Sesi 7: Sastera-Seni Persembahan (*Session 7 : Littérature-Arts du spectacle*)

Abang Pardeli Abang Muhi (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Cawangan Sarawak), Begendang *dan* Bemukun: *Suatu Bentuk Pemugaran Sastera Lisan dalam Masyarakat Melayu Sarawak*.

Rahimidin Zahari, *Mantera Ucap Tetap dalam Teater Tradisi Wayang Kulit.*

Ahmad Fedtri Yahya, *Pengalaman Peribadi: Sastera dalam Senikata Lagu dan Dunia Pengacaraan*.

ÉTUDES

H. Forestier[a], T. Simanjuntak[b], F. Détroit[c], V. Zeitoun[d]

Unité et diversité préhistorique entre Java et Sumatra

Introduction

Vaste entité géographique, l'Indonésie est composée d'une diversité de cultures qui depuis les plus anciennes périodes de l'histoire a marqué hommes et paysages. Si les changements de sa physiographie au cours des vingt derniers millénaires ont largement contribué à modeler les cultures de ce monde alternativement péninsulaire et insulaire avec différentes modalités d'adaptation des hommes à leurs environnements au cours du temps, il apparaît aujourd'hui que deux entités majeures, Sumatra et Java, sont marquées par une histoire de la recherche archéologique très différente. Dans le domaine de la paléoanthropologie née dans cette aire géographique, cette dichotomie est perceptible dès les premières recherches de terrain d'Eugène Dubois (1893, 1894), peu fertiles à Sumatra, révolutionnaires à Java.

Dans le seul espace-temps de l'homme moderne et entre les vingtième et cinquième derniers millénaires en particulier, Java et Sumatra restent très contrastées. D'une part, les données archéoanthropologiques sont quasiment inexistantes à Sumatra par rapport à Java pour cette période et d'autre part, les données culturelles (préhistoriques en particulier) montrent une affinité entre Sumatra et l'Asie du Sud-Est continentale. Java, en revanche, a enregistré les empreintes de cultures originales et innovantes très différentes de celles présentes à Sumatra.

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Le sujet traité ici est ainsi celui de l'homme moderne (objet biologique) au travers de ses techniques (phénomènes culturels). Faute de données suffisantes et de recherches suffisamment abouties, nous ne pourrons cependant faire ici que l'esquisse d'une problématique qu'il s'agit avant tout de cerner. Notre but est de susciter l'intérêt et l'engouement de jeunes chercheurs pour un territoire riche de promesses scientifiques.

En effet, avant même de pouvoir décrire ce qui peut caractériser l'ensemble des marges et des foyers culturels indonésiens par une étude des techniques, suivant en cela le principe de Braudel (1949, 1979) préconisant que l'espace se définit davantage par des échanges, nous restreindrons notre propos au bilan que l'on peut dresser dans la comparaison des deux îles majeures les plus peuplées de l'archipel indonésien.

Du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours, la question de l'origine des langues a été tour à tour mise en avant, puis considérée comme non pertinente avec les travaux de Saussure (1913 cf. 1995) puis l'avènement du cognitivisme ou de la linguistique générative. En archéologie, Bellwood (1985, 1997) reconstruit l'histoire des populations austronésiennes sur des présupposés de nature linguistique. Cela conduit à une impasse méthodologique d'une part parce que, par essence, une langue n'a pas d'âge et que, par ailleurs, les termes archéologiquement empruntés, en l'occurrence « Austronésiens », ne s'articulent nullement aux données de la génétique ou de l'archéologie. La dimension anthropophysique, qui pourrait éventuellement relier entre eux les facteurs biologiques et culturels, est absente des recherches dans la région qui nous intéresse. Quand bien même, il existe une limite pratique importante pour que fonctionne cette liaison. La génétique ne peut répondre à la technique que si l'acteur de la technique est identifié et s'il se prête matériellement (comme support ostéologique) à l'analyse de son ADN. Qu'en est-il de la linguistique utilisée par les archéologues ? Elle n'est au mieux qu'un indicateur éloigné de la génétique largement galvaudée dans les études sur les origines. Faire témérairement « parler » la céramique ne relève en définitive que d'une forme d'adossement interdisciplinaire. Il est donc indispensable de replacer l'homme au centre du débat comme l'a tenté Bulbeck (2001), même si ses « célèbes » conclusions ne sont déjà plus généralisables aujourd'hui. Un bilan préliminaire est utile pour définir les moyens à mettre en œuvre à l'avenir afin de répondre scientifiquement à la question de l'origine et de la diffusion des Austronésiens.

Avant d'entreprendre une recherche qui aborde l'homme au travers de l'évolution de ses techniques, il convient d'avoir à l'esprit les enseignements des études sur le Paléolithique. Ainsi, les travaux anatomiques de Vandermeersch (1981, 1982, 1989) et surtout les apports archéométriques de Mercier (1992 ; Mercier *et al*., 1993) au Proche-Orient ont permis de démontrer que l'équation biologique = culture était infondée. Le Paléolithique supé-

rieur proche-oriental, européen ou africain, montre une diversification des cultures sans liaison avec l'appartenance à une catégorie biologique particulière. Or, la diversité des cultures se poursuit et s'amplifie au Néolithique et aux Âges des métaux chez le seul homme moderne.

L'hétérogénéité culturelle relative qui existe entre les différentes îles indonésiennes, avec le contraste particulier qui distingue Sumatra de Java, sera ainsi abordée pour les seuls hommes modernes entre 20 000 BP et l'orée du Néolithique (5 000 BP). Nous ne traiterons pas ici du cas de Flores, où une humanité différente (Brown *et al.*, 2004 ; Zeitoun *et al.*, 2007) semble contemporaine de l'homme moderne jusqu'à 17 000 BP (Morwood *et al.*, 2004).

Éléments de géographie physique : un semis d'îles

Considéré comme le plus grand archipel du monde, l'Indonésie compte près de 13 600 îles et îlots qui se répartissent sur près de 5 000 km d'ouest en est. Compte tenu de la diversité et de l'étendue de ce semis, nous serions tentés de dire que l'Indonésie compte presque autant de préhistoires que d'îles. Ces isolats sont le fruit géographique de l'histoire géologique globale à laquelle il convient d'ajouter les aléas de l'histoire chaotique des migrations humaines.

La particularité des deux îles qui nous intéressent ici, Java et Sumatra, est qu'elles sont à la fois sœurs et rivales dans l'histoire comme dans la distribution géographique. Si la première est la plus petite en taille avec 127 000 km^2, elle fut très tôt considérée comme la plaque centrale de l'archipel, jouant un rôle de creuset fort avec des flux centrifuges et centripètes : le « carrefour javanais » décrit par Lombard (1990).

Aux petites vallées javanaises enclavées dans des reliefs marqués par l'enchaînement de plusieurs cônes volcaniques, contraste l'espace aéré de Sumatra, « la grande île », dont l'espace est segmenté par de grands fleuves d'orientation ouest-est, avec d'importantes pénéplaines et des hautes terres dont les piémonts sont le plus souvent karstiques. Excentrée à l'extrême ouest de l'archipel, Sumatra est une masse de terre de 473 000 km^2 qui prolonge au sud le continent asiatique. Cette situation lui confère une place stratégique : à la fois transition continentale et début d'archipel. Délimitée par l'équateur, la moitié septentrionale de Sumatra est l'exacte symétrie de la côte ouest de l'actuelle Malaisie, alors que la pointe de sa moitié méridionale plonge dans le détroit de la Sonde. Ces deux îles aux destins géographiques différents pour l'homme moderne ont joué un rôle important, séparément ou associées, pour l'histoire et la préhistoire de l'Indonésie. D'après la paléocartographie fondée sur plusieurs recoupements de données paléogéographiques de différentes natures (Sathiamrthy & Voris, 2006), elles n'ont été séparées physiquement par le détroit de la Sonde qu'à partir de 9 530 BP (Figure 1).

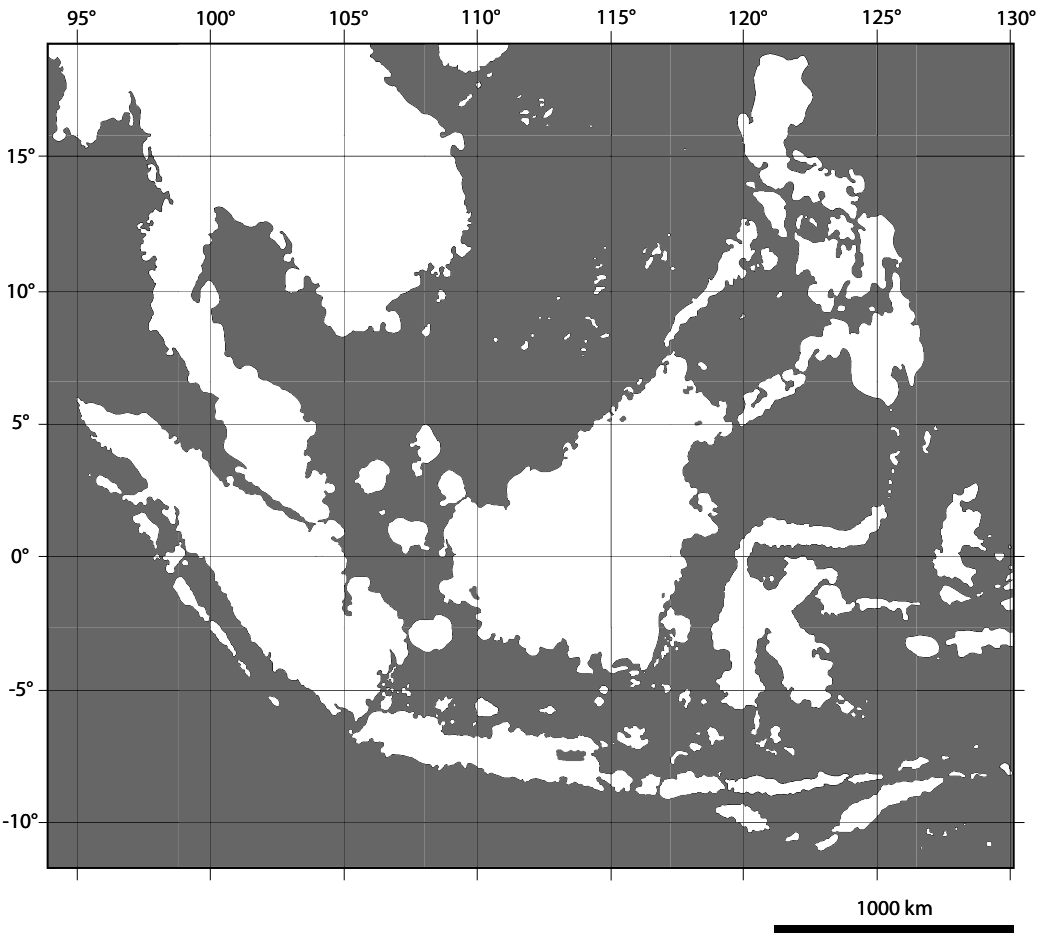

Figure 1. Lignes de côte de la plate-forme de la Sonde avec premier détroit maritime entre Java et Sumatra à 9 530 BP (d'après Sathiamrthy & Voris, 2006, modifié)

Les données de la pierre : homogénéité sumatranaise *versus* hétérogénéité javanaise

Le regard porté au travers du prisme des industries préhistoriques entre 20 000 BP et les confins du Néolithique (5 000 BP) permet de différencier et d'opposer radicalement les deux îles. Java et Sumatra affichent deux préhistoires distinctes dans deux environnements éco-zoo-géographiques différents. La première, javanaise, semble s'émanciper d'une influence continentale et fait preuve d'une véritable identité, alors que la seconde, sumatranaise, perpétue la tradition de taille hoabinhienne héritée du continent. Cet héritage continental plongerait ses racines techniques dans les modes de façonnage sur galet rencontrés à l'époque des chasseurs-cueilleurs sur les sites vietnamiens, thaïlandais, cambodgiens, laotiens et malaisiens (environ 35 000 BP) (Zeitoun *et al.*, 2008).

Sumatra est fortement marquée par une homogénéité des productions humaines sur galet, tant sur ses sites côtiers, que sur ses sites en grotte de l'intérieur. Java, en revanche, témoigne d'une diversité de son matériel lithique qui n'est pas réalisé sur galet mais sur éclat.

Nos récents terrains à Sumatra (Figure 2) ont permis de confirmer l'homogénéité culturelle et la standardisation des outils sur galet qui, indéniablement, appartiennent au phénomène hoabinhien (Forestier, 2007b ; Forestier *et al.*, 2006). Par ailleurs, les données lithiques ont été enrichies par les prospections réalisées le long de la côte nord-est, entre Medan et Aceh, par les fouilles entreprises sur l'île de Nias (Figure 3) qui ont permis de dater les niveaux les plus anciens jusqu'à 12 000 BP (Forestier *et al.*, 2005), ou encore par les fouilles de la grotte de Gua Pandan, près de Baturaja dans la province de Sumatra-Sud, dont les niveaux d'occupation s'échelonnent entre 9 000 et 6 000 BP.

À la fois tous parents et tous différents par l'affûtage et le nombre de leurs tranchants, les outils sumatranais sur galet de quartz, de calcaire ou d'andésite, comptent majoritairement des unifaces sur galet oblong (également nommés *sumatralithes*), des *choppers*, des *chopping-tools* et de rares outils sur éclat comme nous avons pu l'observer dans le matériel de Gua Pandan (Figure 4). Les industries lithiques de Sumatra informent sur le choix crucial des préhistoriques porté sur l'activité de façonnage sur galet jusqu'à des périodes tardives, à l'origine des temps néolithiques. Cette singularité contraste avec les industries préhistoriques contemporaines sur l'île de Java.

Même si l'on compte de nombreux sites dans l'ouest de l'île, comme ceux de surface du plateau de Bandung connus pour un faciès microlithique sur obsidienne, on peut dire que les grands sites préhistoriques qui ont fait la préhistoire de Java et la réputation de celle de l'Indonésie, sont concentrés principalement dans sa partie orientale dont la géologie est fortement calcaire. Les nombreuses cavités qui ponctuent les pointements calcaires de la

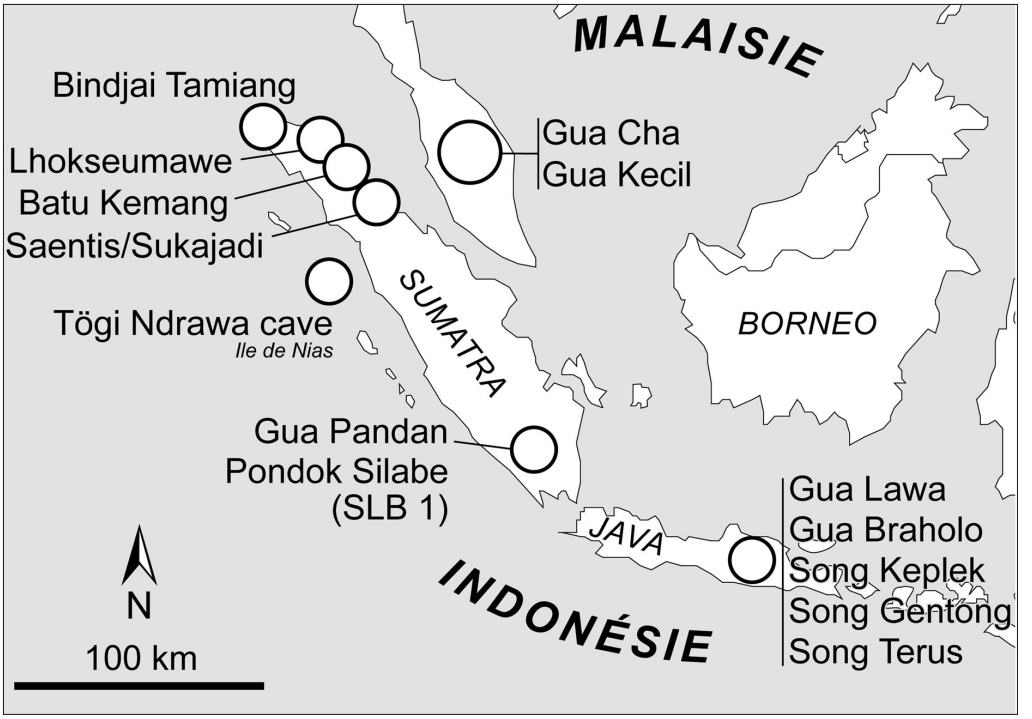

Figure 2. Localisation des sites archéologiques mentionnés dans le texte

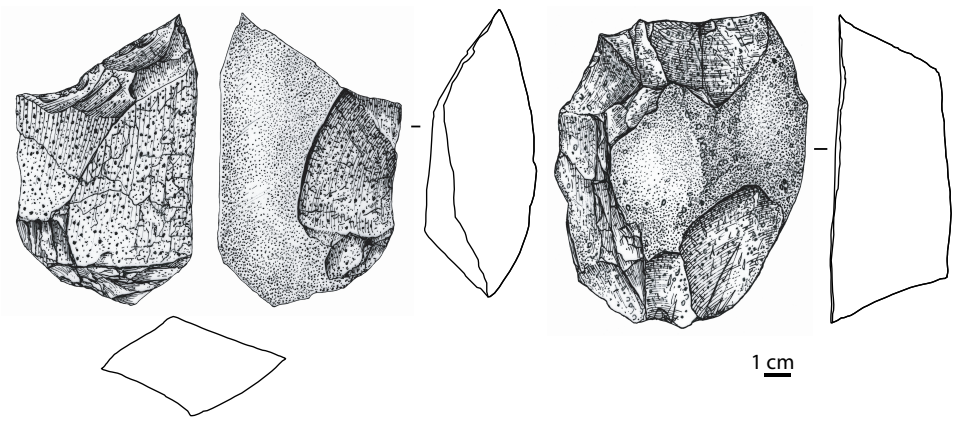

Figure 3. Matériel lithique du site de Tögi Ndrawa, Nias

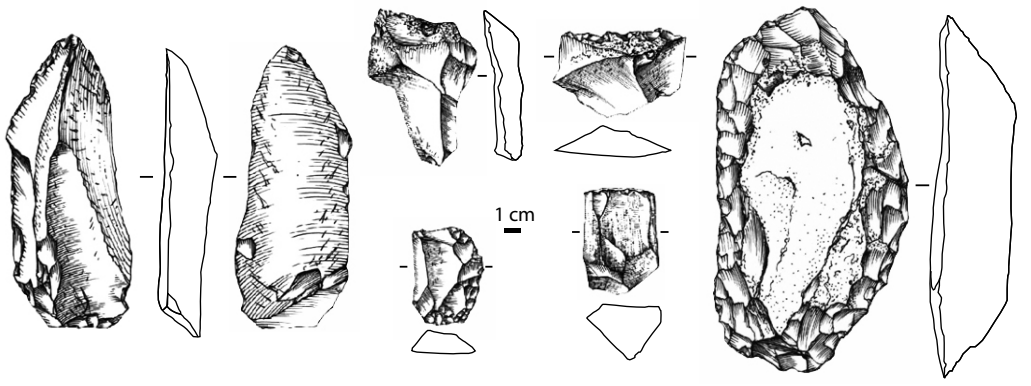

Figure 4. Matériel lithique du site de Gua Pandan, Sumatra

partie centrale et orientale de Java regorgent de sites dont les plus connus et les plus spectaculaires par leur superficie de fouille sont les quatre grottes de Gua Lawa (Figure 5), Song Keplek (Figure 6), Song Terus (Figure 7) et Goa Braholo (Figure 8) (Simanjuntak *et al.*, 2004). Ces sites ont chacun leur originalité et attestent d'une diversité dans les modes de production d'outils, non plus sur galet comme à Sumatra, mais sur éclat, voire parfois sur éclat allongé en roche siliceuse locale, une chaille nommée *rijang* en indonésien. Ces outils sur éclat relèvent de modes de production non-Levallois que l'on peut rattacher à la famille des débitages de « type C » ou algorithmiques (une simple opposition entre surface de débitage et surface de plan de frappe), voire discoïdes pour ce qui est des modes centripètes (Forestier, 1999 ; 2000 ; 2007a). La première méthode, dite de « type C », produit des supports plutôt quadrangulaires et corticaux alors que la seconde livre des supports d'une grande variété à tendance triangulaire, mais aussi des éclats plus larges que longs, quadrangulaires, etc. Sur chaque type de support est ensuite confectionné l'outil voulu et recherché par les tailleurs, à savoir un racloir, une coche, un bec, un perçoir, un denticulé, ou simplement utilisé brut de taille comme couteau à dos naturel. Ces deux façons d'exploiter et de gérer la matière première conduisent à la production d'outils sur supports quadrangulaires ou triangulaires.

Contrairement à Sumatra, ces supports-outils lithiques sont généralement associés à une riche industrie osseuse faite de pointes, de spatules et d'alènes. Les espèces prélevées sont le plus souvent des cervidés ou des bovidés, ainsi que des singes. Dans les montagnes du sud de Java, la grotte de Braholo est située dans une région assez pauvre en bon silex. Cette particularité permet d'expliquer un choix technique de la part des hommes préhistoriques qui se sont tournés préférentiellement vers le travail de la matière organique (Figure 9). Les assemblages préhistoriques en Pays javanais reflètent une propension vers un équilibre dans le choix de transformer la matière organique ou minérale : les supports à couper, racler et percer, ont été confectionnés sur des supports lithiques, alors que les outils apicaux, tels que les pointes, l'ont été sur de la matière animale.

Si la préhistoire de Java-Est est connue pour la diversité de ces modes de débitage et d'outils tranchants sur éclat, elle est également l'objet d'une controverse concernant l'existence ou non d'un faciès à pointe durant la période de transition entre la fin des chasseurs-cueilleurs et les premiers néolithiques (Figure 10). Cette question reste en suspens depuis près d'un demi-siècle, car les vestiges lithiques de très belle facture n'ont été retrouvés qu'en surface ou bien proviennent de très anciennes fouilles néerlandaises (Erdbrink, 1954 ; Allchin, 1966 ; Hooijer, 1969 ; Heekeren, 1972 ; Soejono, 1984 ; Simanjuntak, 1995). Associées à un riche outillage osseux et parfois à des restes humains, ces pointes de flèches auraient été mises en évidence

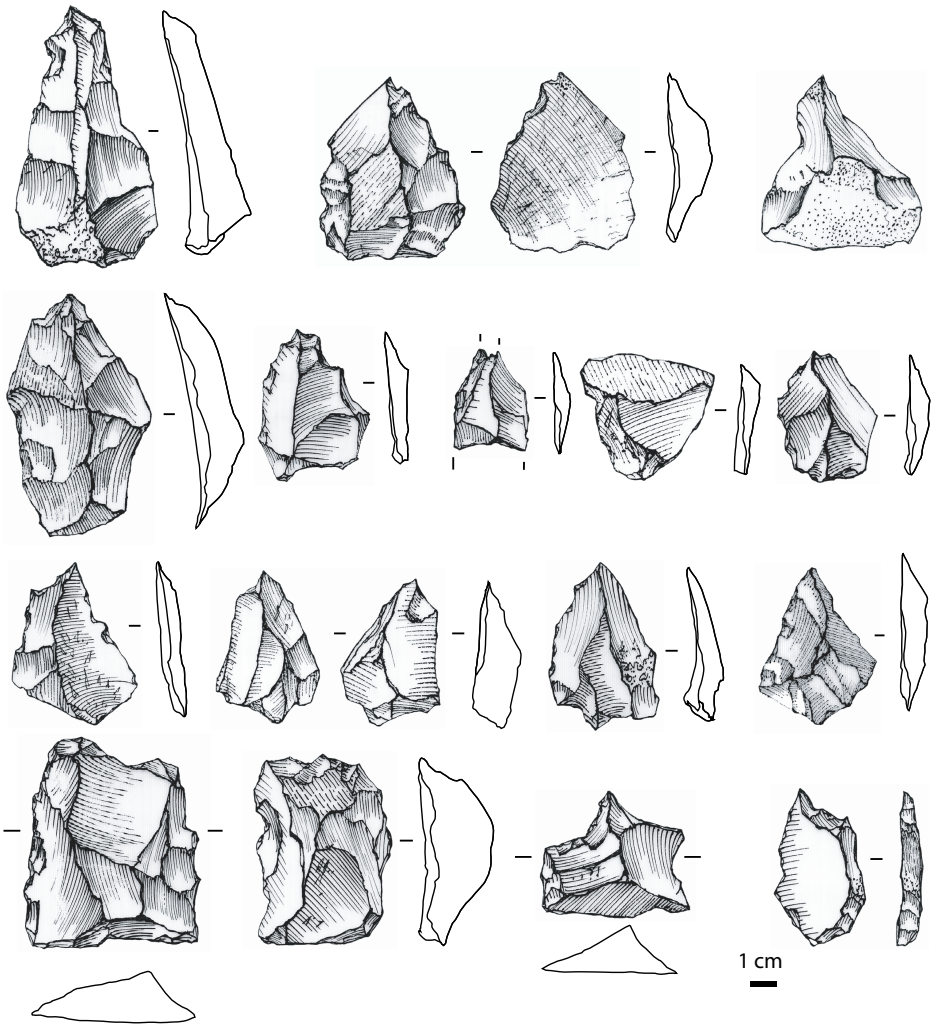

Figure 5. Matériel lithique du site de Gua Lawa, Java

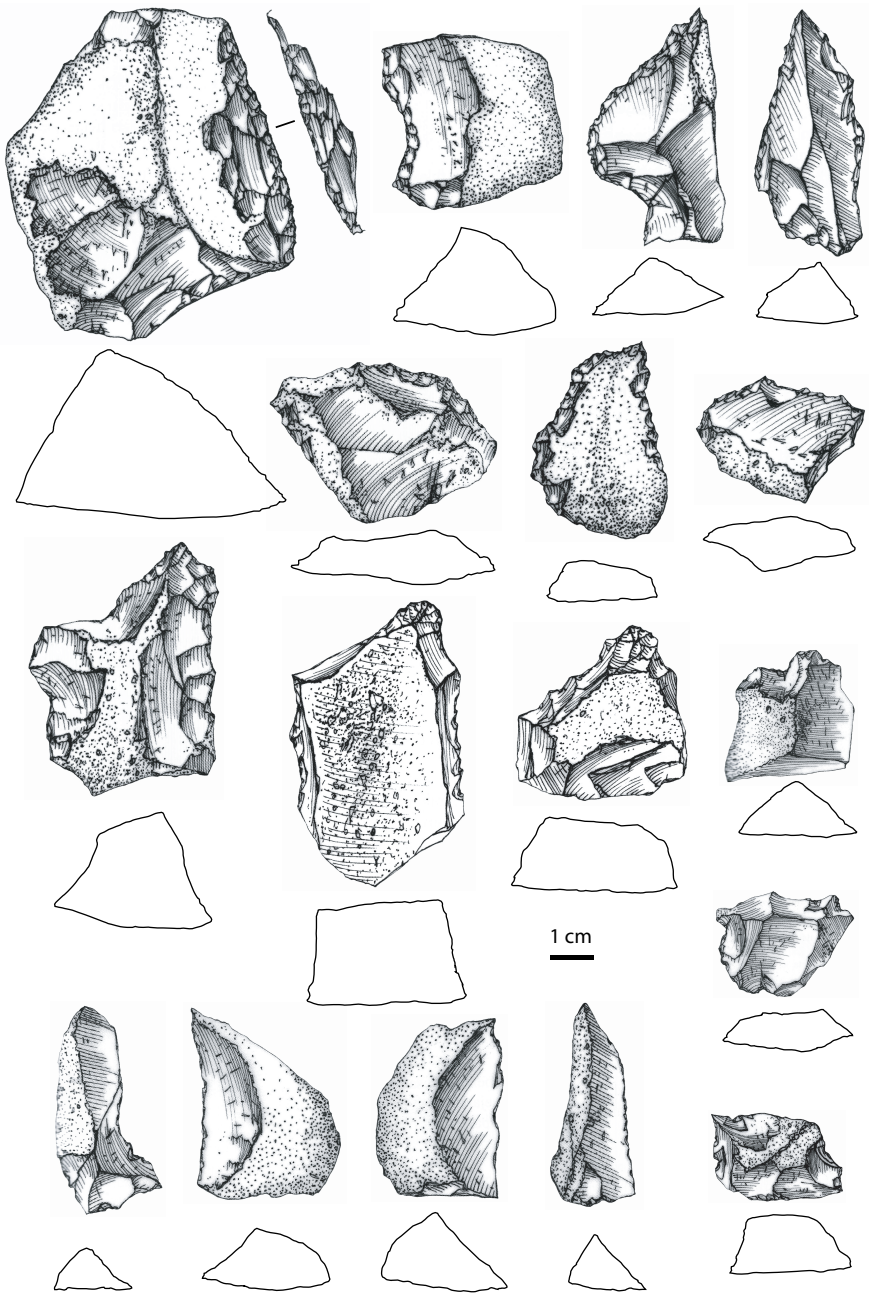

Figure 6. Matériel lithique du site de Song Keplek, Java

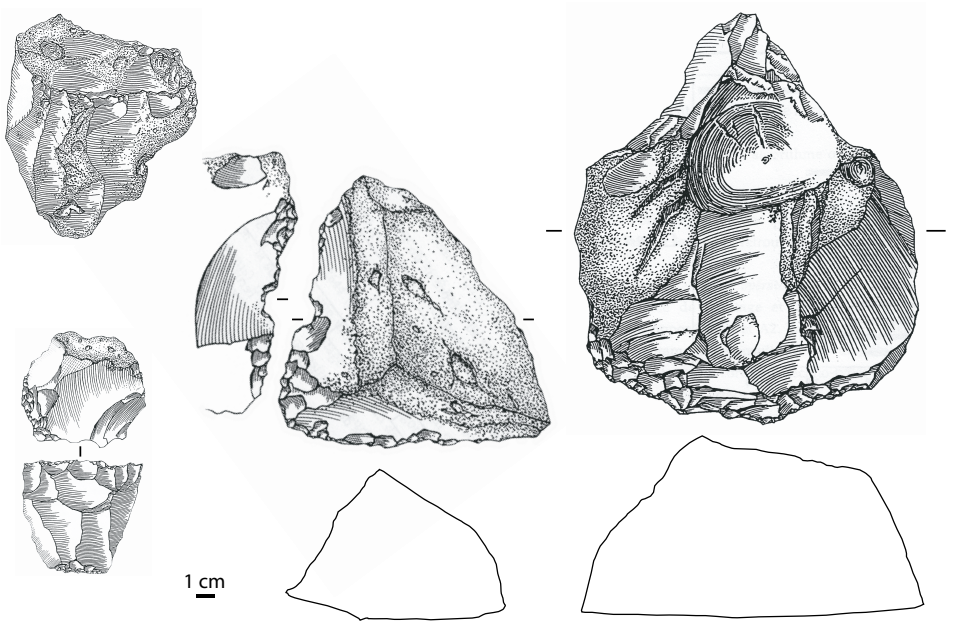

Figure 7. Matériel lithique du site de Song Terus, Java

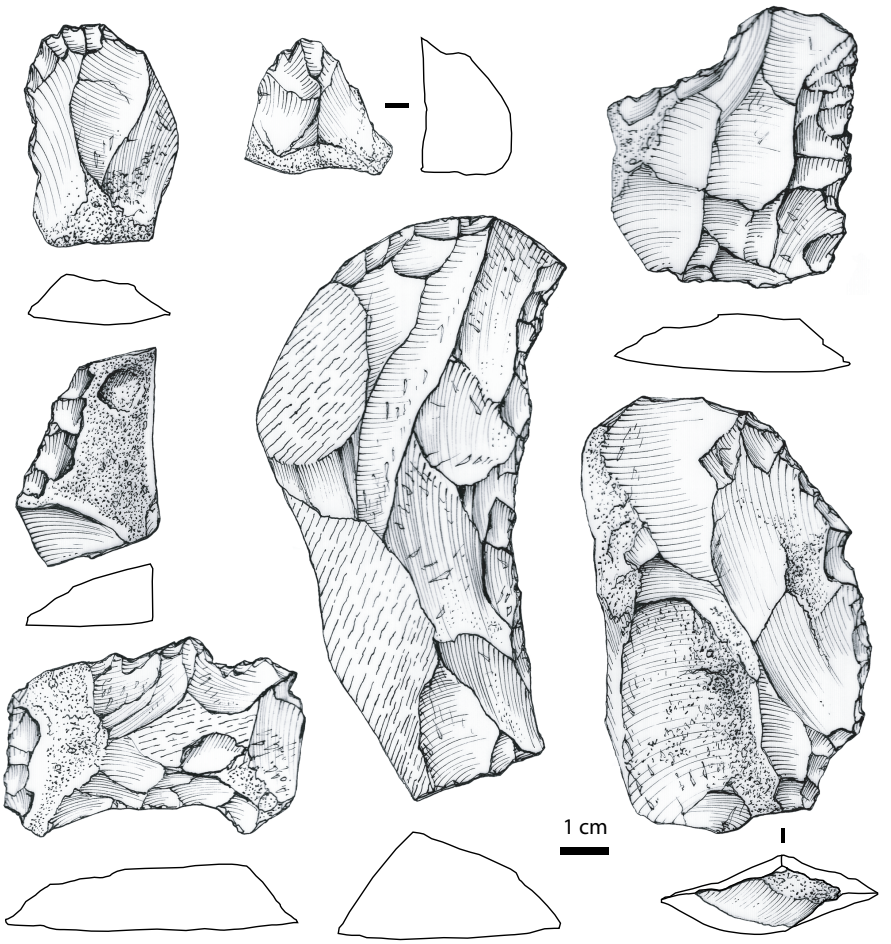

Figure 8. Matériel lithique du site de Goa Braholo, Java

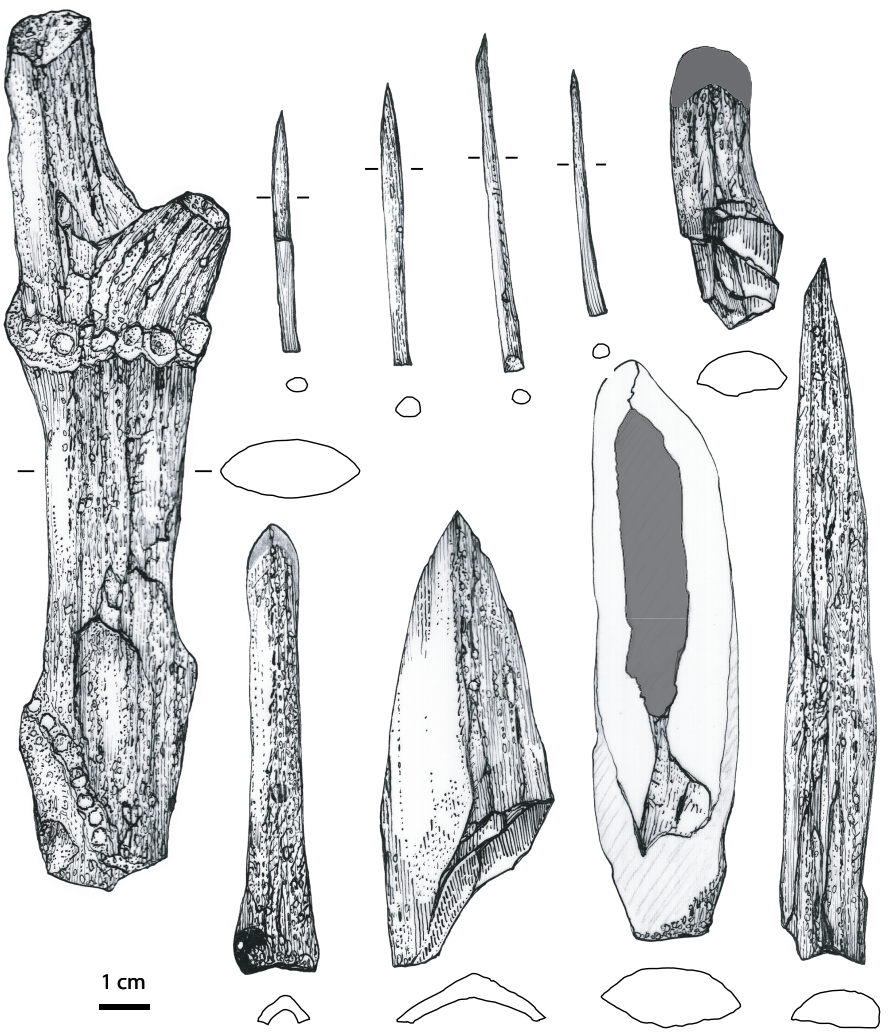

Figure 9. Matériel confectionné sur os, site de Goa Braholo, Java

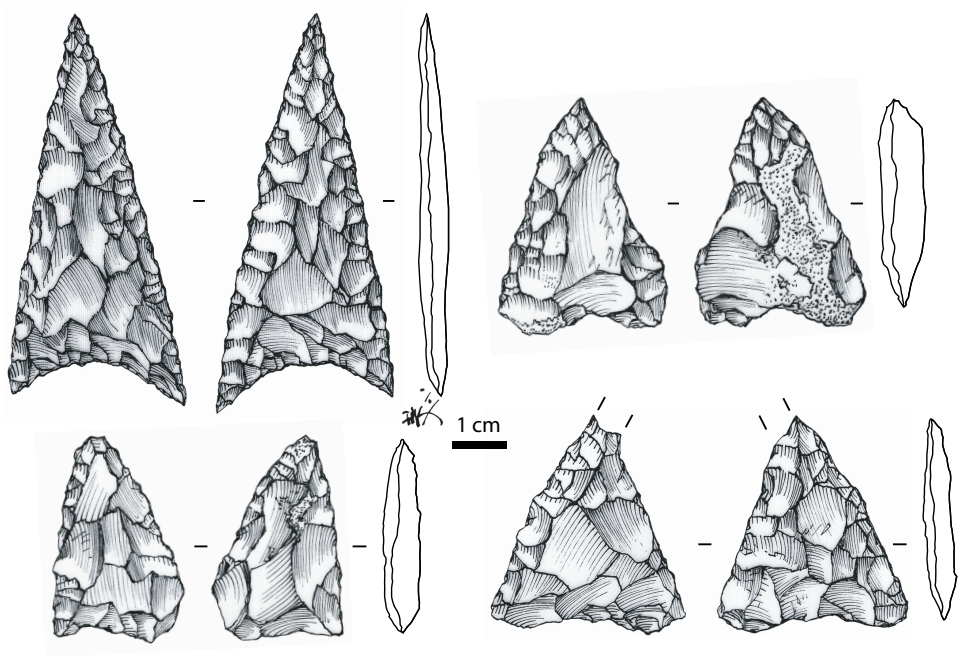

Figure 10. Pointes dites de « Sampung », site de Punung, Java

pour la première fois dans les années 1930 sur le site de Gua Lawa situé non loin du village éponyme de Sampung, dans la région de Ponorogo (Stein Callenfels, 1932 ; Heekeren, 1972). Souvent comparé à un faciès similaire à pointes à base concave de Sulawesi, le Toalien (Glover 1977), ce faciès javanais, dit « Sampungien » ou Mésolithique indonésien, est un marqueur culturel et technique fort, car on ne le retrouve nulle part ailleurs dans l'archipel.

En dépit de sa position chrono-stratigraphique encore imprécise (jusqu'à maintenant, aucun objet n'a été retrouvé en contexte stratigraphique), ce faciès à pointes finement retouchées est un marqueur technique inégalé qui témoigne d'un degré de technicité élevé de groupes qui ont partagé le même territoire, les mêmes ressources et le même savoir-faire. Ce faciès interroge le comportement technique et les capacités cognitives mis en œuvre tout en ajoutant un jalon supplémentaire à la diversité javanaise des industries holocènes de l'archipel.

Si l'on constate une différence notable dans le domaine des techniques, que disent les données anthropologiques de Java et Sumatra ?

Éléments d'anthropologie physique : des amas de coquilles vides de Sumatra aux danses macabres de Java.

L'Asie du Sud-est dans son ensemble, et l'Indonésie en particulier, abritent une mosaïque de populations dont le brassage trouve sa source dès le Pléistocène et se poursuit jusqu'aux périodes historiques (Endicott, 1999). L'homme moderne est physiquement présent dans les îles voisines (Tabon ou Niah) de l'archipel indonésien, respectivement vers 47 000 BP (Dizon *et al.*, 2002 ; Détroit *et al*., 2004) et 40 000 BP (Harrisson, 1970 ; Bellwood, 1997 ; Barker *et al*., 2007). Des dates de l'ordre de 67 000 BP sont même avancées à propos des découvertes de Callao Cave à Luzon (Mijares *et al*., 2010).

Comme en témoignent les recherches pionnières dans cette région du monde, à l'instar de l'histoire des découvertes ostéologiques, Sumatra semble livrer moins d'indices de présence humaine directe que Java. Arrivé à Sumatra en décembre 1887 à la recherche du « chaînon manquant », Eugène Dubois n'y trouvera que des fossiles de primates et de grands mammifères scellés dans des brèches karstiques, alors que, dès octobre 1888, Van Rietschoten découvre un crâne humain dans la région de Tulungagung (côte méridionale de Java), à l'occasion de prospections géologiques en vue de l'extraction de marbre. Atteint de malaria, Eugène Dubois quitte Sumatra pour Java où il met au jour des pièces anatomiques humaines supplémentaires sur le site de Wajak. Ce matériel ostéologique appartient à l'homme moderne – *Homo sapiens sapiens* – (Pinkley, 1936 ; Jacob, 1967 ; Storm, 1995). Il recueille ensuite, en novembre 1890, une mandibule d'homme moderne à Kebung Brudus, dans le centre-est de Java.

Notre propos se limite aux hommes modernes couramment admis comme appartenant au monde des chasseurs-cueilleurs et présents entre 20 000 BP et

l'avènement du Néolithique (5 000 BP). Le bilan proposé ci-après n'est qu'une étape préliminaire à toute recherche approfondie permettant de répondre à la problématique de l'existence d'une diffusion différentielle des populations et des techniques en Indonésie. À la différence de la linguistique, que certains font parler depuis des temps sans parole ni écriture (Bellwood, 1985 ; 2010), l'anthropologie physique est encore quasiment muette. C'est ainsi l'un des domaines qu'il conviendra de développer à l'avenir afin, notamment, d'effectuer la nécessaire liaison entre données paléogénétiques et archéologiques.

S'il est reconnu que les amas coquilliers (*shell midden* ou *kjökkenmödding*) sumatranais sont des lieux d'inhumation, l'absence de datation ne permet pas d'avancer que les restes humains qui s'y trouvent sont contemporains de ceux mis au jour à Java. Par ailleurs, il n'existe pas de publication livrant une description précise des faits funéraires liés à ces structures. Il n'y a donc pas de comparaison possible des pratiques sépulcrales sumatranaises et javanaises. Tout un pan de recherche archéoanthropologique reste à mettre en œuvre dans ce domaine.

Les rares restes humains javanais décrits (Détroit, 2002), mis au jour par des techniques de fouilles modernes, pour la période antérieure à l'avènement d'un Néolithique local (5 000 BP) et jusque vers 20 000 BP, relèvent pour la plupart de contextes funéraires. Les descriptions des inhumations provenant des grottes de Java-Est (région des Gunung Sewu) sont les seules qui permettent d'apporter quelques éléments tangibles (Détroit, 2006), alors que Sumatra n'a encore livré aucun reste ostéologique humain pour cette période.

Dès 1888, le site de Wajak (Tulungagung) a livré le premier *Homo sapiens sapiens* mis au jour à Java. Toutefois, d'après Dubois (1920a, b), aucune trace de sépulture, ni même d'activité humaine, n'a été reconnue lors de la découverte du site. Storm (1995) mentionne cependant des traces de décarnisation et la présence d'un outillage microlithique dans les collections associées à ce premier crâne. Des restes osseux animaux porteraient des marques de découpe ou de crémation. Considéré initialement comme contemporain de la « Quatrième glaciation » (De Terra, 1943), l'environnement du site a récemment été daté de l'ordre de 11 000 BP (Shuttler *et al.*, 2004).

Le site de Song Gentong est situé à proximité du site de Wajak. Une sépulture primaire avec inhumation d'un corps en position fléchie y a été identifiée. Une utilisation de colorant rouge sur l'individu inhumé est suspectée. L'environnement de la tombe a été daté de l'ordre de 7 090 $^{\pm}$70 BP.

La reprise de la fouille du site de Gua Lawa, initiée à la fin des années 1920, a permis d'établir une séquence archéologique dont les niveaux inférieurs cendreux sont datés de 18 100 $^{\pm}$1 200 BP. Une fosse sépulcrale renfer-

mait des restes humains associés à des os d'animaux. Une seconde sépulture consiste en une petite structure circulaire contenant des os humains et non humains ayant subi une incinération. Compte tenu de leur position, les deux sépultures sont attribuées à la période holocène.

Objet de fouilles depuis 1990 (Simanjuntak, 2002), Song Keplek est une grotte située à proximité du village de Punung. Les restes cranio-dentaires isolés de trois individus ont été retrouvés avec un individu complet inhumé en position primaire fléchie sur son côté droit. Les vestiges lithiques et les restes animaux associés au défunt ne semblent pas avoir été l'objet d'un dépôt intentionnel. Cette sépulture appartient au niveau archéologique compris entre 5 900 ± 180 BP et 6 466 ±142 BP. Un cinquième individu a été inhumé sur le dos avec les bras repliés sur le thorax. La position du corps montre un effet de paroi et la tête de l'individu a été calée intentionnellement ; signes d'une attention particulière dans la confection de la tombe. Des éléments fauniques, dont une face de macaque, sont associés au défunt. L'environnement de la sépulture est daté de 7 020 ±120 BP.

Une séquence archéologique de plus de 230 000 ans a été dégagée dans la grotte de Song Terus (Sémah *et al.*, 2004). Les niveaux supérieurs holocènes ont livré plusieurs os humains isolés et une sépulture primaire dont l'environnement a été daté 9 330 ±90 BP. De nombreux déchets culinaires et lithiques sont associés à cette inhumation. Le corps a été déposé en position fléchie sur le côté droit dans une alcôve naturelle. Les membres inférieurs sont en hyperflexion. De nombreux crânes de cercopithécinés (*Macaca* et *Trachypithecus*) ont été placés autour du défunt. Un foyer est également associé au corps qui a été partiellement incinéré.

Les très nombreux restes humains mis au jour dans la cavité de Braholo (région de Wonosari) donnent, en pointillé, un aperçu de la variabilité et de l'évolution des pratiques funéraires sur un même site. La majorité des ossements humains ont été découverts sous forme de restes isolés, certains portant des marques très claires de décarnisation et de fractures sur os frais, mais la grotte a également livré plusieurs structures funéraires nettes.

L'individu Braholo 1 provient d'un contexte daté 9 780 ±230 BP. Il s'agit d'une sépulture primaire pour laquelle le corps du défunt a été placé allongé sur le dos, les membres inférieurs remontés fléchis vers l'abdomen. De rares éléments fauniques ont été déposés sur son corps. L'individu Braholo 2 est issu d'un contexte daté 8 760 ±170 BP. La sépulture secondaire associe des éléments fauniques et des charbons aux restes ostéologiques du défunt dont les ossements secs ont été l'objet d'une incinération partielle. L'individu Braholo 3 provient d'un contexte moins précis estimé de l'Holocène récent, compte tenu de sa position par rapport aux individus précédents. La sépulture primaire pourrait avoir été l'objet d'un prélèvement intentionnel du crâne. L'individu Braholo 4 montre une inhumation primaire en position fléchie du

défunt dans un contexte estimé entre 6 000 et 8 000 BP. L'individu Braholo 5 appartient à une sépulture secondaire dont le contexte est estimé entre 8 000 et 10 000 BP. Les sépultures 7 et 8 de Braholo ont été complètement remaniées dans le même environnement archéologique. L'individu Braholo 6 a en revanche été inhumé dans une position primaire du corps fléchi sur le côté droit. De rares restes fauniques lui sont associés dans un contexte dont certains éléments ont été datés 13 400 ±400 BP.

Ces données anthropologiques récentes indiquent une variabilité des pratiques funéraires dans le temps avec la présence à la fois de sépultures primaires, secondaires, des cas de crémation partielle ou bien encore des modes de dépôt des corps différents comme à Gua Lawa, Song Keplek et Goa Braholo. Distantes de plusieurs millénaires, les positions fléchies des corps observées à Song Terus et à Song Keplek sont différentes. Sur un même site, tel que celui de Braholo, les sépultures ne sont pas uniformes. Toutefois, dans l'état actuel des recherches – qui restent très incomplètes – les données de terrain montrent qu'il n'est pas possible d'établir une chronotypologie des pratiques funéraires. Les études morphométriques (Détroit, 2002) ne montrent pas non plus qu'un type de sépulture appartienne à un groupe humain plutôt qu'à un autre.

Discussion : Tentative d'explication embryonnaire sur ce qui distingue Java de Sumatra

Si les pratiques funéraires, les périodes chronologiques ou les différents groupes humains ne peuvent pas encore être agencés entre eux ni comparés entre Java et Sumatra, le fond faunique d'affinité asiatique, qui est inféodé au milieu forestier tropical depuis 70 000 BP (Van den Bergh *et al.*, 2001), voit l'appauvrissement des espèces caractéristiques de la forêt tropicale humide (assèchement ?) durant l'Holocène.

Les données culturelles présentées ici, et notamment celles illustrées par l'analyse technologique du matériel lithique, montrent une occupation humaine très différenciée. Des environnements différents conduisent-ils à des réponses différentes de l'homme dans sa façon de l'exploiter et de le gérer ? Y aurait-il des déterminismes géographiques et des choix culturels renforcés par le facteur d'isolement propre à l'insularité ?

Les choix des méthodes de taille de la pierre associées aux particularités du bagage technique sont de bons indicateurs cognitifs pour parler d'identité et d'adaptation humaine : un schéma opératoire de façonnage pour Sumatra et un schéma opératoire de débitage pour Java à la même période. Deux stratégies différentes de tailler la matière inorganisée opposent clairement Java et Sumatra en termes de traditions/cultures/savoir-faire préhistoriques, mais aussi d'objectifs et de besoins.

Java est davantage marquée par une hétérogénéité technique et une diversité de l'outillage en respectant un certain équilibre minéral/végétal dans le

système technique (Simanjuntak, 1995), alors qu'à Sumatra, la réponse est à la fois plus binaire vis-à-vis du milieu et plus homogène dans le choix technique avec un façonnage de galet de type uniface hoabinhien.

Affinité continentale forte pour Sumatra avec une facture de tradition continentale hoabinhienne et diversité de l'outillage et des matériaux pour Java ; ces deux systèmes techniques ont été des réponses contrastées et efficaces à l'adaptation humaine aux espaces insulaires côtiers et intérieurs. Témoins matériels d'une adaptation réussie, ces choix techniques ont garanti la survie de groupes de migrants en route pour une longue marche qui conduira leurs descendants à la sédentarité et à la domestication du vivant au seuil du Néolithique. Commence alors une autre histoire : celle de l'homme, de la mer et des îles, qui humanise non plus des espaces mais des territoires.

Le déterminisme géographique, s'il existe dans le découpage des aires culturelles insulaires ne permet cependant pas d'apporter une explication définitive. La ségrégation géographique observée pour des données culturelles hétérogènes du côté javanais et homogènes à Sumatra n'est peut-être qu'une impression du moment. La résolution des données chronologiques et les données encore largement lacunaires concernant les cultures matérielles, et plus encore les données archéoanthropologiques, peuvent ne rendre compte que d'une vue biaisée. Ce manque de données demande d'entreprendre des recherches également dans le domaine de la géographie et de la géologie afin de parfaire des réponses d'ordre environnemental à cette dichotomie. Une première tentative d'explication peut cependant être proposée.

L'existence d'un point triple tectonique rend la synthèse de l'histoire géologique de cette région incomplète et sujette à débats (Hutchison, 1989 ; Meyerhoff, 1995 ; Wilson & Moss, 1999), mais des données fondamentales permettent de dresser une trame. L'évolution physiographique de l'Indonésie est marquée par deux phénomènes géologiques majeurs : la tectonique des plaques et le volcanisme qui lui est associé régionalement. Par ailleurs, à l'échelle globale, les variations eustatiques ont segmenté le continent sondaïque en plusieurs milliers d'îles. Une vision ancienne portée par Molengraaf et Weber (1921), reprise dans les travaux de Hopkins (1967) puis ceux de Van der Kaars (1990), indiquait le grand rôle des fluctuations du niveau eustatique dans la colonisation des différents territoires et biotopes indo-pacifiques. Diverses oscillations ont été décrites par les auteurs, mais ceux-ci proposaient une vision en définitive statique avec des phénomènes de sas.

Le scénario paléogéographique était le suivant : vers 14 000 BP, le niveau marin se serait élevé jusqu'à l'isobathe -38 m, une baisse jusqu'à -50 m se produisant ensuite vers 13 000 BP. Vers 12 000 BP, une remontée du niveau aux isobathes -38 m à -25 m a lieu, puis une nouvelle baisse à -50 m vers 11 000 BP, suivie d'une autre remontée à l'isobathe -15 m vers 10 000 BP. Enfin diverses oscillations s'opèrent vers 5 000 BP pour atteindre le niveau actuel.

La lecture des données géographiques de Voris (2000) rénove largement les considérations classiques de barrières géographiques souvent utilisées en paléontologie, et plus généralement en biologie, pour expliquer l'existence de passage d'assemblages fauniques, dont l'homme, à telle ou telle période. En effet, la paléocartographie qui est proposée par cet auteur indique la présence d'entités géographiques insulaires ou continentales selon une approche probabiliste. Ainsi, à telle ou telle fenêtre chronologique correspond une plus ou moins grande possibilité de connexion terrestre entre telles ou telles îles. Sur les vingt derniers millénaires, Sathiamrthy et Voris (2006) reconnaissent ainsi quatre épisodes majeurs : de la période actuelle à 9 000 BP, de 9 000 à 12 000 BP, de 12 000 à 14 500 BP et de 14 500 à 20 000 BP. Des épisodes qui laissent la possibilité théorique de traverser à pied sec au cours de pratiquement toutes les périodes, voire de pratiquer une navigation de proximité par cabotage comme on peut aisément en prêter les capacités à *Homo sapiens sapiens*.

Si l'on ajoute à cette vision géographique probabiliste la prise en compte des deux phénomènes qui contribuent à surélever les reliefs de l'arc insulaire indonésien, d'une part avec la surrection de la marge passive en bordure de front de plaque et d'autre part avec un apport de matériel crustal chargé en eau vers le manteau terrestre, qui favorise ensuite un accroissement de la production volcanique, on conviendra que plusieurs connexions ont pu exister sporadiquement, y compris lors d'épisodes de transgression marine. Dans ce genre de schèma explicatif, Keys (2000, pp. 239-272) raccorde des changements historiques drastiques à une phase explosive du proto-Krakatau vers 535 AD. Une date à laquelle Wohletz (2000) considère que la caldeira du volcan permettait même un comblement total du détroit de la Sonde. S'ajoute encore à ces phénomènes le fait qu'une élévation des reliefs produit davantage d'éléments terrigènes qui, par érosion, combleront des fosses marines plus ou moins importantes ou proches des côtes, favorisant encore d'éphémères connexions terrestres.

Ainsi les 150 mètres sous le niveau marin actuel, proposés comme limite eustatique par Prentice & Denton (1988), peuvent largement être compensés ou amplifiés. À l'inverse, le tsunami de juillet 1998 en Nouvelle-Guinée, ou celui de décembre 2005 en Indonésie, attestent de la possible modification instantanée des lignes de côtes à l'échelle des temps géologiques.

Si les fluctuations de températures actuelles de la zone considérée sont faibles, un autre paramètre de nature géographique marquant une hétérogénéité est celui des précipitations avec une zonation latitudinale (de Koninck, 1994 ; Whitten *et al.*, 1996). Les conséquences en sont des variations de condition d'habitat et de gestion des ressources naturelles.

Cependant, même si plusieurs indicateurs indirects sont utilisés pour décrire des événements globaux majeurs (Linsley, 1996 ; Bird & Hunt, 2005)

et leurs impacts sur le milieu tropical (Sun *et al.*, 2000 ; van der Kaars *et al.*, 2000), l'enregistrement direct de variations écologiques de faible résolution dans les zones tropicale et équatoriale reste peu documentée à ce jour (Wang *et al.*, 2001 ; Stott *et al.*, 2002 ; Zeitoun *et al.*, 2010). Les données biologiques (paléontologiques) qui servent de support explicatif à certains événements géologiques (Van den Bergh, 1999) ne sont pas toujours conformes d'un ensemble taxonomique à l'autre (Heaney, 1985). La ligne de Wallace est ainsi une zone fluctuante aux frontières vives et aux limites floues. Elle sépare différemment la plate-forme de la Sonde de celle de Sahul selon qu'il s'agisse d'insectes, d'oiseaux, de mammifères ou encore de végétaux. Sans doute, une recherche d'avenir consistera-t-elle à tester s'il existe une adéquation entre différences paléoclimatiques et culturelles.

En l'occurrence, il est tout à fait légitime de s'interroger sur le fait de savoir si les différences culturelles ont un lien, plus ou moins direct, avec des différences locales d'ordre bioclimatique, qu'il s'agisse d'une évolution sur place ou de l'introduction de technique issue de groupes originaires d'autres environnements. La question de la navigation des premiers hommes est alors une piste incontournable.

Conclusion

Seuls quelques éléments épars, tant dans le domaine de la culture matérielle que dans celui de l'anthropologie funéraire, permettent de faire d'inégales et incomplètes comparaisons entre Java et Sumatra du début de l'Holocène à l'orée du Néolithique.

Cette vision parcellaire tend cependant à faire émerger une différence avec, d'un côté, une préhistoire sumatranaise monolithique dont les restes humains font défaut et de l'autre côté, Java avec une diversité de comportements à la fois techniques et sépulcraux (symboliques ?).

Cette trame indonésienne, dont les référentiels restent à construire, ne peut que susciter critiques et interrogations. Il s'agit, dès lors, de proposer de construire des programmes de recherches focalisés sur cette apparente diversité. Une diversité qui ne prend sens que dans l'altérité, c'est-à-dire qui n'apparaît que par le jeu de comparaisons inter-îles. L'altérité est-elle le reflet de données biaisées car incomplètes ou bien une réalité que, déjà, nous avons suggéré d'expliquer par la nature des environnements concernés ?
Tout un champ de recherches nouvelles, ou plus exactement renouvelées, s'ouvre au travers de ces questionnements qui, en intégrant à la fois préhistoire et archéoanthropologie, pourront certainement fournir des bases d'interrogations mieux fondées à la linguistique ou aux études génomiques dans cette région du monde.

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Véronique Degroot and Marijke J. Klokke

Interrelationships Among Central Javanese Temples: The Example of Asu, Lumbung, and Pendem

Introduction

Central Javanese temples have received much attention since the early nineteenth century onwards.[1] This was primarily within the context of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences),[2] and then more systematically during the first half of the twentieth century under the aegis of the *Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera* (Committee in the Netherlands Indies for Archaeological Research on Java and Madura) and its successor, the *Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Archaeological Service in the Netherlands Indies). During this period documentation, description, conservation, and restoration received most attention. Temples were usually described individually, but rarely in relation to each other or to their natural surroundings.[3]

1. We wish to thank William Southworth for correcting our English.

2. The colonial government even established a Committee for Antiquities within the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1822. Its task was to make an inventory of all antiquities in Java, to propose measures for their preservation, and to indicate which movable pieces would deserve a place in a Cabinet of Antiquities to be established within the buildings of the Batavian Society. This committee could not fulfil its ambitious plans, mainly, according to the Society itself, because of a lack of funds (Groot 2006: 127, 142-143, 172).

3. One important exception being the generally accepted relationship between Borobudur, Pawon and Mendut (see for instance Van Erp 1911: 582; Moens 1951); and the relationship,

The *Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia* (The Archaeological Service of Indonesia) continued the work of its colonial forerunner from 1950 onwards. In 1975 it split up into the *Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional* (National Research Centre of Archaeology) and the *Direktorat Perlindungan dan Pembinaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala* (Directorate for the Protection and Restoration of Historical and Archaeological Remains).[4]

Indonesian archaeologists working from these institutes have given considerable attention to renewed documentation, new excavations and restoration. As a result, we now know of temples like Sambisari, Gampingan, and Kedulan that were formerly buried under volcanic ash and other debris. It is also thanks to this effort that Borobudur received international attention when its second restoration took place between 1975 and 1983, and major temple complexes, such as Loro Jonggrang, Sewu and Plaosan Lor, have been largely reconstructed.[5] Indonesian archaeologists have also begun to use new archaeological methods. Mundardjito's dissertation (1993, published 2002), for instance, is a study of spatial archaeology, and attempts to understand the ecological considerations operative in the location of Hindu and Buddhist temple remains in the area of Yogyakarta.

Linking up with this type of research that takes a broader comparative perspective, we have been working since October 2000 on a project that focuses on the interrelationships between Central Javanese temples rather than on each temple in isolation. This project has two research components: an archaeological component (Degroot 2009, 2010) and an art historical one (Klokke 2006, 2008, 2009, in progress). Degroot has documented 226 temple remains in the Province of Yogyakarta (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta) and in the regions of Klaten, Magelang, Boyolali, and Semarang. For each site she has documented: all names under which the site is or has been known; administrative location; geographic location (coordinates and altitude); a brief description of the surroundings; religious affiliation; main features; state of preservation; description; sculptures, inscriptions and other miscellaneous artefacts found at the site. Her analysis focuses however on the distribution, orientation and spatial organization of these temple remains. Among the important conclusions that emerge from her analysis are: 1. A correlation exists between temples and locations with an economic and/or

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less often referred to, of Sewu and Loro Jonggrang that was reported by Bosch (1928: 49-56) and more recently revived by Jordaan (1993: 23-31).

4. Its name has recently been shortened to the *Direktorat Peninggalan Purbakala* (Directorate of Archaeological Remains). The name of the *Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional* has been changed to the *Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional* (National Centre for Research and Promotion of Archaeology).

5. Sadly, some of these reconstructions were damaged by a severe earthquake on 27 May 2006.

strategic interest (zones particularly well-suited for wet-rice cultivation, commercial roads, crossroads etc.); 2. The integration of the temples into the landscape, the orientation of the temples, and their spatial organization were all subject to a process of localization; while inspired by Indian religious concepts they were adapted to local beliefs.

Klokke has made an inventory of the ornamental motifs and designs (*c.* 3000) found at 83 of the sites documented by Degroot. In her analysis of this material she has focused on the location and the form of the motifs in order to establish relationships between Central Javanese temples and to arrive at a relative chronology. She also attempts to relate this relative chronology to dates in inscriptions and, on the basis of these dates and their interpretation, to propose an absolute chronology for the Central Javanese temples. The final stages of this work are still in progress. In this article however we wish to demonstrate how our two individual studies provide complementary information and a better insight into the relationships between temples. We take three relatively unknown temples, Asu, Lumbung, and Pendem, as examples.

Asu, Lumbung, and Pendem

The three temples known as Asu (fig. 1), Lumbung (fig. 3) and Pendem (fig. 2), are located in the village of Candi Pos (Sengi, Dukun, Magelang, Jawa Tengah), to the east of the modern-day city of Magelang (Degroot 2009: 274-276). The temples are situated on the western slope of the Merbabu-Merapi massif (3145m), at an altitude of *c.* 660m above sea-level, and overlook the plain of Kedu (fig. 4). The shrines are clustered closely together (fig. 5). Asu and Pendem are located south of the Pabelan river, less than 200m from one another. Lumbung was built slightly further to the southwest, about 300m from Asu and Pendem, on the northern bank of the river – indeed almost in the river bed. A *lingga* with an inscription dated 796 Śaka (AD 874) has been found in the neighbourhood of the temples, but its exact provenance is unfortunately unknown.

Because the temples are located close to each other, they are always discussed together. The first report, by J. Munnich, dates from 1845. It informs us that the temples had at that time only just been discovered and were still being excavated, which, according to the author, was not an easy task because of the hard volcanic layers covering them. He noted that many blocks of stones were crushed during this process. He called Asu by the name of Anjing, a Malay synonym of the Javanese Asu, meaning dog (Munnich 1845: 174-178).

Another early description, by N.W. Hoepermans, dates from around 1865 (see Hoepermans 1913: 144-147). Hoepermans observed that the three temples differ from other temples, specifically because of their high bases, and he suggested that they belonged to a specific sect.



Fig. 1 Asu



Fig. 2 Pendem



Fig. 3 Lumbung

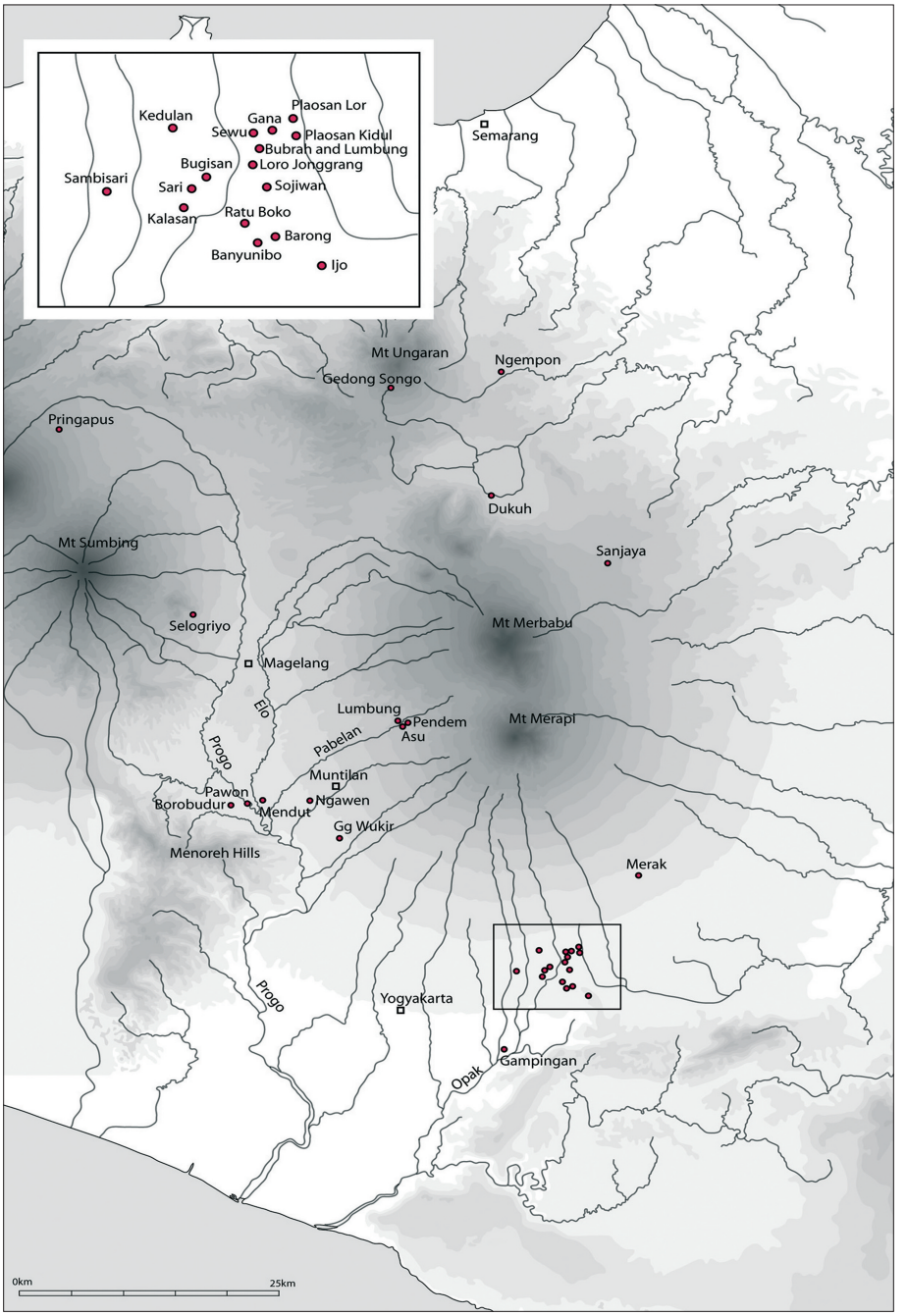

Fig. 4 Map of Central Java

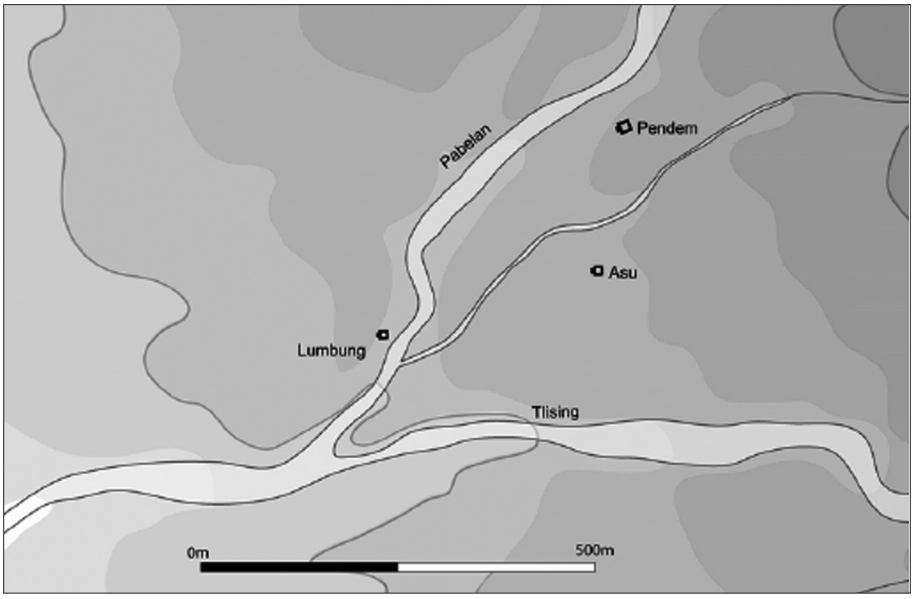

Fig. 5 Location of Asu, Pendem and Lumbung

In 1903, the three temples were also briefly mentioned by J.L.A. Brandes. He described the bad condition of Pendem (most of the stones had been carried away by people from Surakarta) and Lumbung (partly covered by earth because of a recent landslide), but was impressed by the beauty of Asu.

Another brief description is found in the Reports of the Archaeological Committee in the Netherlands Indies of 1911 (Rapporten 1911: 221-223). It notes the westward orientation of all three temples, gives measurements for basic elements (for example, the ground plans of bases and temple bodies, heights of the bases, depth of temple pits and width of entrances), but does not describe any of the ornamental designs.

The most elaborate description, including information on the ornamentation of the temples, is found in N.J. Krom's *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst* (1923, I: 417-425). Krom observed a number of similar stylistic characteristics. He found that Asu and Pendem have similar profiles and a similar division of the base into panels alternating with pilasters; he noted that Asu and Lumbung have similar high bases; and that the panels on the bases of Pendem and Lumbung have a similar decoration. He also observed that Asu and Pendem have a torus (semi-circular moulding) as part of their base, but Lumbung does not.[6] He thought that Candi Asu was one of the latest Central

6. He admitted however that his description of Pendem might not be entirely accurate as few

Javanese temples, a little earlier than the Loro Jonggrang complex at Prambanan which he dated to the early 10th century, but later than the inscription of AD 874 found in the neighbourhood of the temples.

This dating changed however in 1956, when J.G. de Casparis suggested that the Śaivite temple complex described in the Śiwagṛha inscription of unknown origin and dating from AD 856, may be identified as the Loro Jonggrang complex at Prambanan (De Casparis 1956: 309-311). Although he presented this identification with much reservation, subsequent scholars have accepted it and have therefore adopted an earlier ninth century dating for Loro Jonggrang. Notwithstanding this earlier date, Loro Jonggrang is still considered to be one of the last temples of the Central Javanese period. New information makes clear that the late ninth century was a period of political turbulence (Christie 2001: 45-47), which might explain why temple building seems to have stopped around that time. In consequence, the date of Asu has also been pushed back, as is clear from the latest information on Asu, Lumbung and Pendem published in 1993 by J. Dumarçay. Dumarçay dated Asu, together with Lumbung and Pendem, somewhere between AD 835 and 860 (Dumarçay 1993: 19, 79, 287). He called the three temples Candi Kuning, which could suggest that they were part of a single complex, although Dumarçay noted that they were separate temples. He further informed us that they have a simple square cella and, on the outside, three niches for the usual images (of Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Agastya). [7]

Three ideas in particular can be drawn from previous scholarship: 1. Asu, Pendem, and Lumbung date from the same period; 2. they link up with the style of Loro Jonggrang; and 3. they belonged to the same denomination, "a specific sect" (Hoepermans) or Śaivism (as suggested by the images mentioned by Dumarçay). We are left with the impression that the three temples formed an isolated group built at the end of the Central Javanese period as the result of a single, sudden development of this peripheral mountain area.

We wish to question these ideas by focusing on a number of the salient characteristics of these three temples: their orientation, the form of their temple plans, the composition of the profiles of their bases and temple bodies, and the location and form of their ornamentation. It will appear from this analysis that significant differences exist between Asu and Lumbung on the one hand and Pendem on the other that cannot be explained by the ideas expressed above.

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previous reports existed at that time and he himself had only visited the temple when it was flooded and completely overgrown by vegetation.

7. It should be noted that the temple body of Pendem has since disappeared, but that former descriptions mention the presence of the lower part of these niches. However, it is not known whether it had three niches on the outside and, as far as we know, no Hindu or Buddhist images have ever been found on the site of these three temples.

Orientation

As noted in earlier descriptions, all three temples face west;[8] they overlook the Progo valley and turn their back to the volcanic peaks of Mt Merbabu (3145m) and Merapi (2968m). However, while the deviation from due west is kept to a minimum at Asu (0° 47') and Lumbung (2° 51'), Candi Pendem deviates more than 20° from due west and actually faces west-southwest. Such a wide deviation is noticeable with the naked eye, especially at Candi Pos, where the volcanoes, clearly visible to the east, offer a natural and easy reference point.

This difference in orientation cannot be accidental: there was clearly no intention to coordinate the orientation of the temples or to align their axes. However, in almost all Central Javanese temple complexes (Loro Jonggrang, Plaosan Lor, Sambisari, Sewu, for instance), the orientation of the various buildings is standardized. The few sites where this is not the case (such as Dieng, Gedong Songo or Ratu Boko) are in fact the result of several periods of building activity and are composed of buildings from different dates.

There is thus strong reason to believe that Asu, Pendem and Lumbung belong to this latter group of sites that were not built at only one period of time. If we take a closer look at the orientation of Central Javanese temples, we notice that the variation from due east/west varies from *c.* 1° to *c.* 30°. In the table below (Table 1), we have divided the temples into three groups

0-3 °	*4-7°*	*11° and more*
Asu	Arjuna	Bima
Banyunibo	Dwarawati	Gebang
Barong	Gatotkaca	Gunung Wukir
Borobudur	Gedong Songo II	Gedong Songo III
Bubrah	Kalasan	Gedong Songo IV
Gedong Songo I	Lumbung, Prambanan	Gedong Songo VI
Ijo	PLAOSAN LOR	MENDUT
LORO JONGGRANG	Selogriyo	Merak
Lumbung, Magelang		Ngawen
Ngempon		Pawon
Plaosan Kidul		**Pendem**
Sambisari		Retno
Sari		
Sewu		
Sojiwan		

Table 1. Orientation of Central Javanese temples:
deviation from due east or west (adapted from Degroot 2010: 142)

8. Of all Central Javanese temples for which this information is known, about 60% face west.

according to the deviation of their axis from true east or west. What we notice is that Asu and Lumbung fall into the same group as Loro Jonggrang, while Pendem fits into a group dominated by somewhat earlier temples (such as Gedong Songo, Mendut and Pawon). From these data, it is clear that Central Javanese architects were technically able to orientate temples almost perfectly to either due east or west quite early in their history (Borobudur has a deviation of less than 2°). Nevertheless, it is also apparent that the standardization of such an orientation only occurred later on. For many ancient temples, such as Gunung Wukir, Mendut or Pawon, precise orientation around the cardinal points was not a major concern.

Temple plans

Orientation is not the only element that distinguishes Pendem from the two other temples. Indeed, while Asu and Lumbung share a simple, square plan (figs 10 and 11), the temple body of Pendem is built according to a staggered square plan (fig. 9): the central section of each side is projected outwards.

In Central Javanese architecture, these two types of plan – square and staggered square – have a parallel history: square plans are tightly associated with Hindu architecture,[9] while staggered square plans were favoured by Buddhists and adopted for some Hindu buildings only at a later stage. Asu and Lumbung share another feature: their dimensions. The two temples are indeed almost identical in size, as far as the cella and temple body are concerned. The cella of Asu is 2.80-2.90m square and its temple body 5.60-5.70m, while for Lumbung these measurements are *c.* 2.65m and 5.70m respectively.[10] This similarity in their dimensions suggests that both temples were planned using a similar module.[11] This module (approximately 1.40 x 1.40 for Asu and 1.30 x 1.30 for Lumbung) represents ¼ of the surface area of the cella. It is used to determine the width of the temple body and that of the platform. Candi Pendem, on the other hand, is a much larger structure (the base is *c.* 12.80 x 12.80m, the body 7.15 x 7.15m), and the module used to determine its main lines is not so tightly bound to the dimensions of the cella.

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9. Square plans are sometimes used in Buddhist monuments, but exclusively for the secondary shrines. See Degroot 2010.

10. The three temples are badly damaged and their present state of preservation does not allow an exact restitution of their original measurements, especially as far as the cella is concerned.

11. The use of modules – systems of proportional measurement – is well attested in Central Javanese architecture, especially to determine the dimensions of the cella and the temple body. In the large majority of cases, the outer width of the temple body is equivalent to two times the width of the cella. In some cases (for example at Merak and Sojiwan), the module – equivalent to one fourth of the surface area of the *cella* – also determines the dimensions of the temple body.

Profiles

If we now examine the profiles of Asu (fig. 6), Lumbung (fig. 7) and Pendem (fig. 8), we notice that each of them has a unique profile, with its own specificities, as is often the case in Central Java.

The base of Asu shows, from bottom to top, two superimposed plinths, a cyma, a torus (an element derived from Buddhist architecture but common in later Hindu temples in Central Java, see Degroot 2010), a stringcourse, a wall divided into panels, a stringcourse, a frieze, a cornice and a cyma. The profile of the secondary foot is limited to a succession of squared elements, while the foot of the temple body counts a plinth, cyma, torus and a stringcourse.

The base of Lumbung equally starts with a series of plinths. Then one finds a cyma, the usual stringcourse–wall–stringcourse composition and, above, a frieze and a cornice. The intermediary foot starts vertically from the base. Both its position and its profile (plinths, wall, cornice, cyma) are reminiscent of the parapets so commonly found around Central Javanese temples. The profile of the temple foot is decorated with two plinths, a cyma, a torus and a stringcourse.

As for Pendem, the profile of its base is composed of two plinths, a cyma, a stringcourse, the wall, again a stringcourse, and a cyma reversa. It was most probably topped by a cornice. The intermediary foot is limited to a high plinth. On what remains of the foot of the temple body, one can see two plinths and a cyma.

Even at first sight, the differences between these three profiles are striking: Asu is the only one of the three temples to have a base adorned with a torus (fig. 6), Lumbung has a parapet-like intermediary foot (fig. 7) that is found neither at Pendem nor at Asu, and all have different profiles.

A closer examination nevertheless shows that Asu and Lumbung have many features in common, while Pendem clearly stands out. This is particularly true in the general composition and proportions of the profile. While Pendem is by far the largest structure, its base (fig. 8) is strikingly low (only *c.* 1.60m). As a result, Pendem appears as a rather stocky structure, while Asu and Lumbung, the bases of which are narrower but taller (*c.* 2.50m), have a more vertical outline.

This general impression is strengthened by the relative proportions of the base and the temple body. At Pendem, the base is much wider than the temple body; the space between the ridge of the terrace and the temple body is wide enough to allow one to walk around it comfortably. At Asu and Lumbung, this space is reduced to a minimum; the base, intermediary foot and temple body are connected directly with each other. The cyma reversa, present at Pendem but replaced by a frieze on Asu and Lumbung, may also be a significant clue in understanding the relation between the three temples.

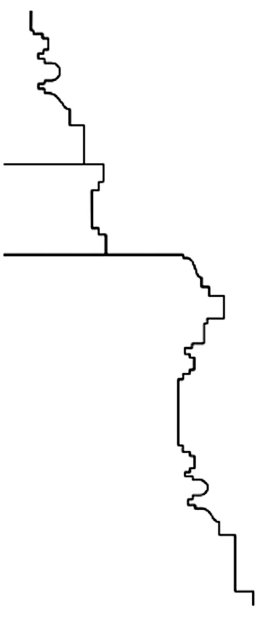


Fig. 6 Profile of Asu

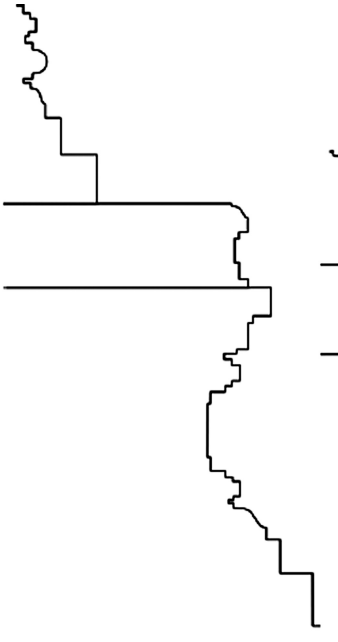


Fig. 7 Profile of Lumbung

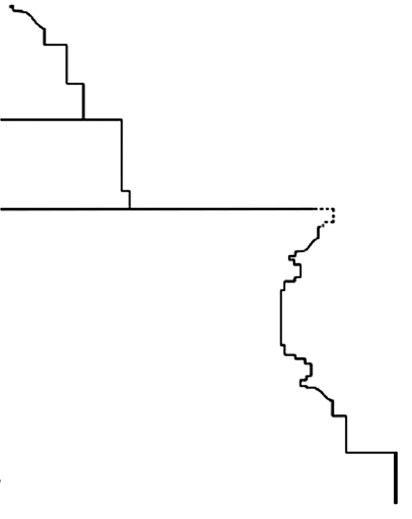
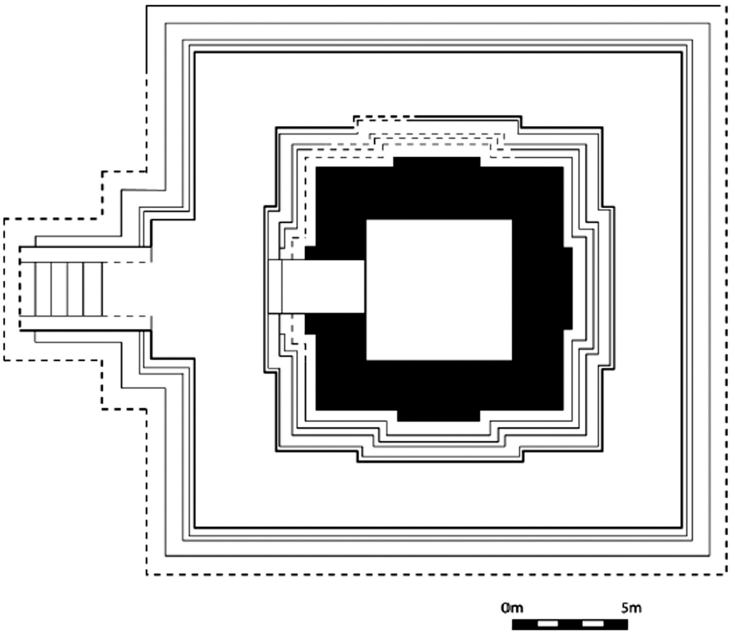


Fig. 8 Profile of Pendem

Fig. 9 Groundplan of Pendem



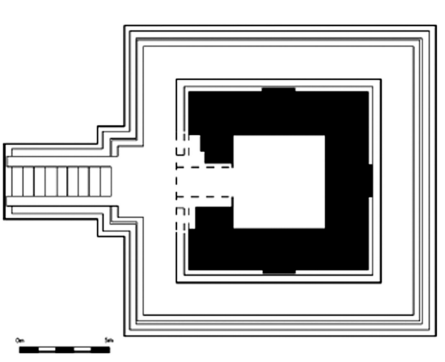


Fig. 10 Groundplan of Lumbung

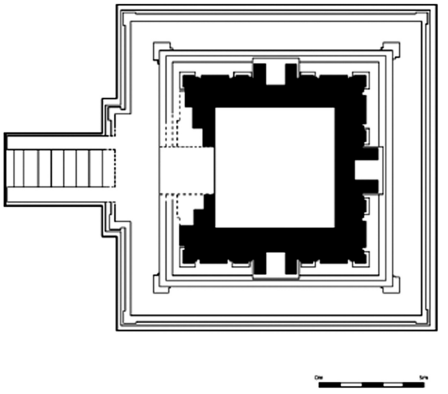


Fig. 11 Groundplan of Asu

If we classify Central Javanese temples according to their profile (with cyma reversa or with frieze), we can observe that Pendem falls into a group where older temples – such as Mendut – dominate (Table 2). As for Asu and Lumbung, they fall into the same group as Loro Jonggrang.

Ornamentation

A similar division can be observed when analysing the ornamentation on the three temples: Candi Asu and Lumbung show similar forms, while Candi Pendem follows a different pattern. In Klokke's research on Central Javanese ornament, she distinguishes between two main stylistic groups: an early style group, and a late style group (Klokke 2006: 51).

The ornamentation of Asu, Lumbung and Pendem belongs to that of the late style group. Within this group, two sub-style groups can be distinguished. The main exponents of the first (earlier) sub-style within this late style group are Ijo and Plaosan Lor; the main exponent of the second (later) sub-style is Loro Jonggrang. These sub-styles are therefore called the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style and the Loro Jonggrang style. It appears that the ornaments of Asu and Lumbung correspond to the late sub-style, that of Loro Jonggrang, while the ornamentation of Pendem corresponds to the earlier Ijo-Plaosan Lor style. This will be demonstrated by comparing the Pendem ornaments with those of Asu and Lumbung. Pendem shares most of its ornaments with both these temples, but shows significant formal differences.

Antefixes

A number of antefixes are found on Asu and Lumbung; only one decorated antefix is still present at the site of Pendem. While Asu and Lumbung have antefixes with accolade-shaped outlines (figs 12 and 14), the antefix of Pendem had three sharp points (fig. 13).

Antefixes with three sharp points are characteristic of the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style (Table 3). They remain prominent within the Loro Jonggrang style, but within that style the form with accolade-shaped outlines also begins to appear (fig. 16). On the basis of this outline, the antefixes of Asu and Lumbung can be grouped within the Loro Jonggrang style.

Since antefixes with three sharp points occur both within the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style and within the Loro Jonggrang style, it is, on the basis of this characteristic alone, impossible to tell whether the antefix of Pendem belongs to the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style or to the Loro Jonggrang style. However, the arch-shaped central motif is characteristic of the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style (fig. 15, Klokke 2008: fig. 10) as is the foliate *cum* floral motif within the arch (fig. 17; Klokke 2008: fig. 10), and this supposition is supported by the fact that the base of the Pendem antefix is decorated with a band ornament (compare fig. 13 and 15).

With cyma reversa	*With frieze*
Arjuna	**Asu**
Gana	Barong
Banyunibo	Bubrah
Gebang	Gampingan
Gedong Songo I, II, III, IV, VI	Gedong Songo III *
Kalasan	Kedulan
MENDUT	Lawang
Merak	LORO JONGGRANG
Ngawen	**Lumbung**, Magelang
Ngempon	Lumbung, Prambanan
Pendem	**Ngawen ***
	Pawon
	PLAOSAN LOR
	Semar *
	Sewu
	Sojiwan

* Secondary building

Table 2. Composition of the mouldings

Outlines with three sharp points	*Ogee-curved outlines*	*Accolade-shaped outlines*
Barong	**Asu**	**Asu**
Dieng Candi A	Dieng Candi A	Barong
Dukuh	LORO JONGGRANG	Bugisan
IJO	Morangan	Dieng Candi A
Kedulan	Ratuboko	LORO JONGGRANG
LORO JONGGRANG	(enclosure wall)	**Lumbung**, Magelang
Morangan	Sanjaya	Morangan
Ngawen	Sojiwan	Pringapus
Pendem		Ratuboko (bathing place)
Plaosan Kidul		
PLAOSAN LOR		
Pringapus		
Ratuboko (five-doors gateway)		
Sambisari		
Sanjaya		
Sojiwan		

Table 3. Antefix outlines



Fig. 12 Asu



Fig. 13 Pendem



Fig. 14 Lumbung Magelang



Fig. 15 Plaosan Lor



Fig. 16 Loro Jonggrang



Fig. 17 ljo

Asu also has antefixes with ogee-curved outlines (fig. 18), which alternate with those of accolade shape and has miniature antefixes on stringcourses in the lower and upper mouldings of the temple. The antefixes with ogee-curved outlines again have an ornamentation that is characteristic for the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style (compare figs. 18 and 19); the smaller antefixes (fig. 20) are similar to the small antefixes found on stringcourses at Loro Jonggrang (fig. 21). Both are found in sets of three (a whole antefix between two halves) in stringcourses and both have ogee-curved outlines.

Band ornaments

Band ornaments occur on all three temples. Asu has three types, one on the first base framing a panel, one on the second base in a similar position, also framing a panel, and one on the temple body as a moulding of the niche base. The first (fig. 22) is composed of alternating constricted circles and flowers with a round heart and four triple-lobed petals; the second (fig. 26) is composed of foliate scrolls alternating with a foliate motif consisting of two rows of three horizontally placed leaves; while the third is a dentil moulding.

Lumbung has two types of band ornament, the first (fig. 23), framing the wing of the stairway and the decorative panels on the base, is similar to the first-mentioned type at Asu (fig. 22); the second (fig. 28), on a frieze over the cornice of the base, has a baluster with foliate ends alternating with constricted circles or four-lobed motifs. Finally, Pendem has only one type (fig. 30), on the base of the antefix described above (fig. 13). It is composed of a four-lobed motif alternating with a foliate motif consisting of two rows of three vertically placed leaves.

There are marked differences between Asu and Lumbung on the one hand and Pendem on the other regarding the location of the band ornaments (Table 4). Both Asu and Lumbung have band ornaments that frame ornamental panels (as in fig. 46).

Although Pendem has similar decorative panels (fig. 44) these are not framed by a band ornament. Instead, the band ornament at Pendem is found at the base of an antefix. As mentioned above, this is characteristic for the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style. The framing of an ornamental rectangular panel with a band ornament is, on the other hand, characteristic of the Loro Jonggrang style (compare fig. 47).

Band ornament on antefix	*Band ornament as panel frame*
Kedulan	**Asu**
Pendem	LORO JONGGRANG
Plaosan Kidul	**Lumbung**, Magelang
PLAOSAN LOR	Sojiwan (late addition)
Sanjaya	

Table 4. Location of band ornaments



Fig. 18 Asu



Fig. 19 ljo



Fig. 20 Asu



Fig. 21 Loro Jonggrang

The band ornament that both Asu and Lumbung share (figs 22 and 23) is in fact common to both the Ijo-Plaosan and Loro Jonggrang styles (figs 24, 25). The foliate additions on the constricted circle seem to be a late characteristic occasionally found in the Loro Jonggrang style (fig. 25). The composition of the band ornament on the second base of Asu (fig. 26) is unique, but both the foliate scroll and the six-leafed foliate motif can, in other combinations, be found in band ornaments in the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style (for instance on Gedong Songo I, Ijo and Lawang, see fig. 27). The band ornament (fig. 28) that is found on a frieze over the cornice of the base of Lumbung however is of a type only found in the Loro Jonggrang style, for instance at Dieng Candi A and Loro Jonggrang (fig. 29).

In contrast, the band ornament at Pendem (fig. 30) has an uncommon composition. Only one other similar example is known to exist, at Ijo (fig. 31), which seems to confirm Pendem's relationship with the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style group.

Dwarf-like figures

Another ornamental motif that all three temples share is that of a dwarf-like figure. Only one such figure can still be found on Asu (fig. 32), on the second base between rectangular panels. Pendem shows dwarf-like figures (fig. 33) in a similar position, between rectangular panels on the base, while Lumbung has these figures (fig. 34) in the centre of a foliate spiral-shaped ornament.

Although the dwarf-like figure at Asu is badly weathered, one can still see that it was depicted frontally in a symmetrical way. The same holds true for the dwarf-like figures at Lumbung, but not for those on Pendem.

The figures at Pendem are depicted *en trois quarts* with both hands pointing backwards (to the left in fig. 33), and with the feet pointing in the opposite direction (to the right in fig. 33). While a symmetrical presentation of dwarf-like figures can be found in both sub-style groups (Table 5), an asymmetrical presentation is characteristic of the Ijo-Plaosan Lor sub-style, as for instance at Kedulan (fig. 35).

Asymmetrical dwarf-like figures in the late style group	*Symmetrical dwarf-like figures in the late style group*
Gedong Songo I	**Asu**
Kedulan	Barong
Morangan	Dieng Candi A
Ngawen	LORO JONGGRANG
Pendem	**Lumbung**, Magelang
PLAOSAN LOR	Morangan
Sojiwan	Ngawen
	PLOASAN LOR
	Sambisari

Table 5. Position of dwarf-like figures



Fig. 22 Band at Asu



Fig. 23 Band at Lumbung Magelang



Fig. 24 Band at Plaosan Lor



Fig. 25 Band at Loro Jonggrang



Fig. 26 Band at Asu, second base



Fig. 27 Band at ljo



Fig. 28 Band at Lumbung Magelang



Fig. 29 Band at Loro Jonggrang



Fig. 30 Band at Pendem



Fig. 31 Band at ljo



Fig. 32 Asu



Fig. 33 Pendem



Fig. 34 Lumbung Magelang



Fig. 35 Kedulan

Pilaster

All three temples have pilasters, and all three of them are different. Those of Asu (fig. 36) are of a type that is most common within the Loro Jonggrang style (fig. 37). It has a pot-shaped moulding at the base and a plain torus-like moulding in the corresponding position at the top of the pilaster.

The pilasters at Lumbung (figs. 38 and 40) are of two types. Both are symmetrical and are also found in the Loro Jonggrang style, although they are less common. One (fig. 38) has band-like mouldings at the top and on the base (compare with fig. 39). The other (fig. 40) has two pot-like mouldings at the top and at the base (compare with fig. 41).

Those at Pendem (fig. 42) are less easy to assign to a specific style group: they are symmetrical; there is no central moulding; and the two mouldings at the top and base that characterize this type are ogee-shaped. They resemble the pot-like mouldings that appear at Lumbung at the top and base of one of its pilasters (fig. 40), but they are flatter and the corresponding wide and narrow parts of the pot-like moulding have been interchanged. Pilasters resembling this type are found at Plaosan Lor (fig. 43). The Plaosan Lor examples, however, are not symmetrical; the ogee-shaped top moulding is foliate; and the lower moulding is a plain torus-like moulding. Like the Pendem examples, those at Plaosan Lor do not have a central moulding.

Foliate spiral ornament

An ornament found at Pendem and Lumbung but not at Asu is a foliate scroll ornament with foliage growing from a vase or pot. The scrolls at Pendem (fig. 44), with abundant and naturally displayed foliage, can be compared to similar foliate scrolls at Plaosan Lor (fig. 45) and other temples of the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style. In the Lumbung example (fig. 46) the foliage is more formalized and the spirals are the predominant feature; they appear as roundels to contain the flowers and birds. The more formalized style corresponds to examples found at Loro Jonggrang, for instance on some of the secondary shrines (fig. 47).

Other ornaments

Both Asu and Lumbung have additional ornamental designs. Asu has a garland with birds, a diaper pattern consisting of flowers and leaves, and a foliate ornament with a water lily. Lumbung has a garland with flowers, a *makara* and *kāla* (monster head) as part of the railing of the staircase, and diaper ornaments consisting of diamond-shaped flowers. In general, these ornaments correspond to the Loro Jonggrang style. However, a few elements in the ornamentation, such as the central motif of one of the Asu antefixes (fig. 18), the composition of the floral diaper pattern at Asu, the diamond-



Fig. 36 Asu



Fig. 37 Loro Jonggrang



Fig. 38 Lumbung



Fig 39 Loro Jonggrang



Fig. 40 Lumbung



Fig. 41 Loro Jonggrang



Fig. 42 Pendem



Fig. 43 Plaosan Lor



Fig. 44 Pendem



Fig. 45 Plaosan Lor



Fig. 46 Lumbung Magelang



Fig. 47 Loro Jonggrang

shaped floral diaper pattern at Lumbung, and the leaf-like elements on the garland at Lumbung rather point back to the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style.

One significant example that demonstrates the special relationship between Lumbung and Loro Jonggrang concerns the decoration of the panels on the staircase. It consists of a spiral scroll ornament originating from a standing lion (fig. 48), as is also found on the stairway panels of the southern and northern Apit temples at Loro Jonggrang (fig. 49). The resemblance is striking. It is one of the few examples in Central Javanese ornamental art that suggests a true or direct copy. [12]

Conclusion

It is clear that in all aspects presented in the tables and figures, Asu and Lumbung are similar, while Pendem is different. On their own, none of the elements described above – the orientation, plan, profile and ornamentation – are sufficient to draw a conclusion. However, in combination and contrast they strongly suggest that Pendem was built first and that Lumbung and Asu were added later.

The approximate orientation of Pendem seems to suggest that it was built at a time when an orientation towards due east/west was not yet systematically applied. Moreover, at Asu and Lumbung, the association of a profile with frieze and torus with a square ground plan recalls Loro Jonggrang and points towards a late date. Furthermore, the profile of Lumbung is almost exactly identical to that of the Apit temples at Loro Jonggrang.

These observations are confirmed by the analysis of the ornamentation: while Asu and Lumbung correspond to the latest Central Javanese sub-style, that of Loro Jonggrang, Pendem is linked to the slightly earlier sub-style of Ijo-Plaosan Lor. The fact that the ornamental design on the staircase panel at Lumbung is strikingly similar to that found on the staircase panels of the two Apit temples at Loro Jonggrang – the ornamentation of which appears to represent the latest phase at Loro Jonggrang – suggests that Lumbung postdates these temples, and may have been one of the last Central Javanese temples. Some clear references to the Ijo-Plaosan Lor style at Asu suggest that it predates Lumbung, while postdating Pendem. The ornamentation in particular seems to indicate that the temples were built at different time periods. Hence, the period of occupation of the area directly around the temples extended (at least) from *c.* 830 to around the end of the 9th century.

No Buddhist temples are known from the latest phase of temple building, which would suggest that Asu and Lumbung, from this latest period, are indeed not Buddhist, but Śaivite. As mentioned by Dumarçay they indicate

12. Merak presents another example. Many of its ornaments are close copies of ornaments found at Candi Sewu (Klokke 2008: 159, figs 6 & 7 and figs 8 & 9).



Fig. 48 Lumbung Magelang



Fig. 49 Loro Jonggrang, southern candi Apit

the former presence of three niches that could have contained images of Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Agastya [13]; furthermore they have the square type of temple plan that seems to have been specifically characteristic for Hindu temples in Java.

Pendem, on the other hand, might have been Hindu or Buddhist. It dates from a period that saw both Buddhist and Hindu temple projects being carried out. Its staggered square plan might, at this period, suggest a Buddhist rather than a Hindu affiliation (see the paragraph on Temple plans, above). Remains of a central niche are visible in the profile of the foot of the temple body that still survives, which would suggest three niches, as at Asu and Lumbung. However, side niches, as for instance on Candi II of the Buddhist Ngawen complex dating from about the same time, do not cut through the profile of the foot of the temple body and could therefore also have been present.

These conclusions and discussions are interesting enough and we could close our case study here. However, it seems important to add a few lines on how these temples are embedded into the historical landscape. Asu, Lumbung and Pendem are actually not isolated structures; they are certainly not shelters for hermits high up on the mountain.

Over the last two centuries, several other remains have been reported in the surrounding area and, although many of them have since disappeared without a trace, the data from older inventories are often sufficient to plot their location on a map (fig. 50). At Seketi, Mungkidan, Gunung Gono, Sumber, Gedungan and Wates – all places within a 10 km radius of Asu, Lumbung and Pendem – architectural remains of the Central Javanese period have been found. These sites clearly link the three temples with the plain of Kedu, the rice granary and core region of the Central Javanese civilization. Nevertheless, the importance of the area of Asu, Lumbung and Pendem only becomes obvious when looking at the eastern side of Mt Merapi.

As the area around Loro Jonggrang at Prambanan became transformed into an economic – and possibly political – centre and the kingdom extended to the east, a land route was developed along the eastern slope of the Merbabu-Merapi massif (fig. 50). This route, linking Prambanan to the northern coast, followed more or less the same course as the modern road linking Klaten to Salatiga and Semarang via Jatinom and Boyolali (see Degroot 2010).

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13. The *lingga* with an inscription, found in the neighbourhood of the temples, is the only sculpture indicating the Śaivite denomination. Asu also seems to have the remains of two front niches (presumably for images of Nandiśvara and Mahākāla). It is clear that Asu did not have additional niches on either side of the central niches, but plain panels; since the outer parts of the walls of Lumbung are missing this is not very clear for Lumbung.

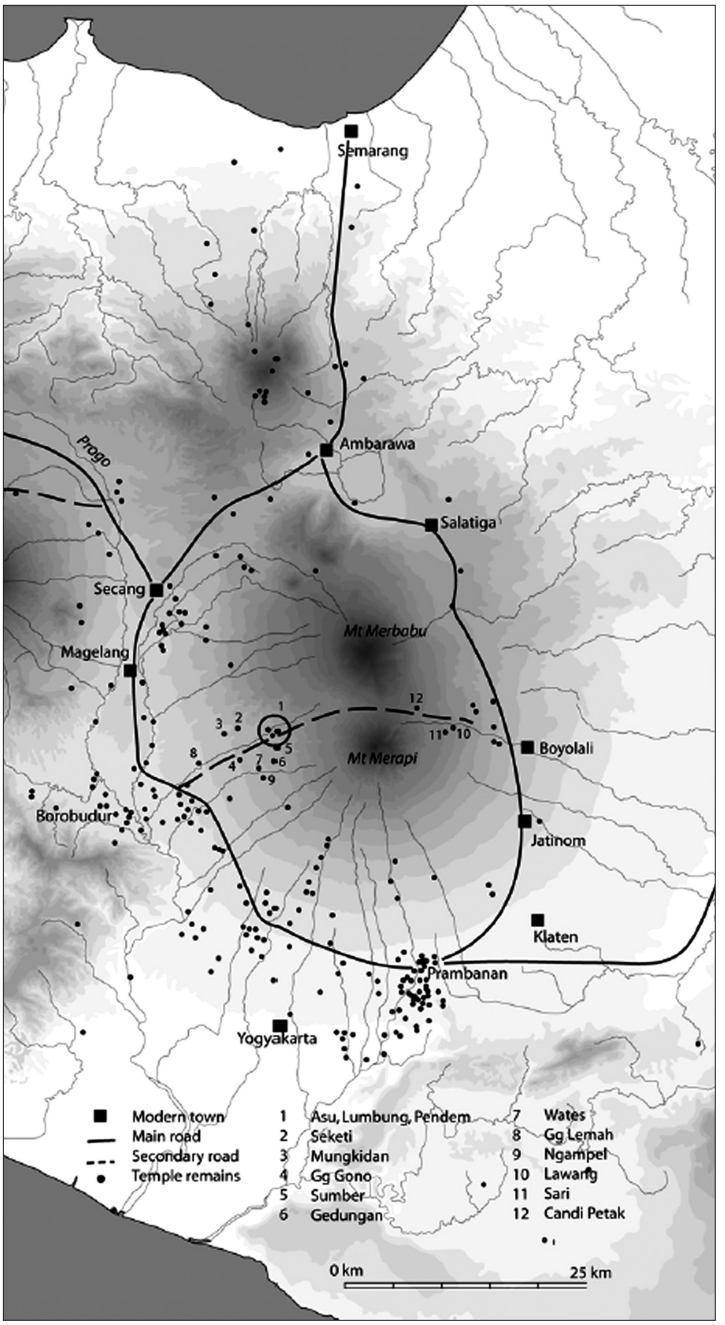

Fig. 50 Map proposing ancient roads

To the west of Boyolali – and thus west of the ancient road – a series of temples has been reported (Lawang, Sari and Candi Petak) that stands roughly at the same level as Asu, Lumbung and Pendem, but on the other side of Mt Merapi. As a matter of fact, Candi Petak, which was destroyed by a landslide in the 19th century, was located at an altitude of *c*. 1300m above sea level, on the pass between the summits of Mts Merapi and Merbabu.

It thus appears that Asu, Lumbung and Pendem did not form an isolated religious complex – quite the contrary. They were located at a strategic point in the landscape, at the western end of a route linking the plain of Kedu to the area of Boyolali (fig. 50). It is quite possible that one of the main objectives behind their construction was to reinforce human settlement in the area and develop cultivation to secure the pass. The successive construction of Pendem, Asu and finally Lumbung would then reflect the increasing importance, towards the end of the Central Javanese period, of the Eastern regions and of the Klaten-Salatiga-Semarang road, to the detriment of the route passing through Magelang and the Kedu plain.

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Credits for illustrations

Fig. 1 Asu (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 2 Pendem (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 3 Lumbung (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 4 Map of Central Java (by Véronique Degroot)
Fig. 5 Location of Asu, Lumbung and Pendem (by Véronique Degroot)
Fig. 6 Profile of Asu (by Véronique Degroot)
Fig. 7 Profile of Lumbung (by Véronique Degroot)
Fig. 8 Profile of Pendem (by Véronique Degroot)
Fig. 9 Groundplan of Pendem (by Véronique Degroot)
Fig. 10 Groundplan of Lumbung (by Véronique Degroot)
Fig. 11 Groundplan of Asu (by Véronique Degroot)
Fig. 12 Asu, antefix (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 13 Pendem, antefix (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 14 Lumbung, antefix (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 15 Plaosan Lor, antefix (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2007)
Fig. 16 Loro Jonggrang, antefix (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 17 Ijo, antefix (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 18 Asu, antefix (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 19 Ijo, antefix (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)

Fig. 20 Asu, miniature antefixes (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 21 Loro Jonggrang, miniature antefixes (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 22 Asu, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 23 Lumbung, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 24 Plaosan Lor, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 25 Loro Jonggrang, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 26 Asu, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 27 Ijo, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 28 Lumbung, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 29 Loro Jonggrang, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 30 Pendem, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 31 Ijo, band ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 32 Asu, dwarf-like figure (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 33 Pendem, dwarf-like figure (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 34 Lumbung, dwarf-like figure (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 35 Kedulan, dwarf-like figure (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 36 Asu, pilaster (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 37 Loro Jonggrang, pilaster (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 38 Lumbung, pilaster (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 39 Loro Jonggrang, pilaster (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 40 Lumbung, pilaster (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 41 Loro Jonggrang, pilaster (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 42 Pendem, pilaster (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 43 Plaosan Lor, pilaster (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 44 Pendem, spiral scroll ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 45 Plaosan Lor, spiral scroll ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2009)
Fig. 46 Lumbung, spiral scroll ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 47 Loro Jonggrang, spiral scroll ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2004)
Fig. 48 Lumbung, lion with spiral scroll ornament (Photograph of the former Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch Indië, OD 7639. Courtesy of the Kern Institute Leiden)
Fig. 49 Loro Jonggrang, southern candi Apit, lion with spiral scroll ornament (photograph by Marijke J. Klokke 2005)
Fig. 50 Map proposing ancient roads (by Véronique Degroot)

Hadi Sidomulyo

From Kuṭa Rāja to Singhasāri

Towards a Revision of the Dynastic History of 13th Century Java

Introduction

Anyone familiar with ancient Javanese history will be well aware of the "blank spots", where contemporary documentation is almost non-existent. One of these is the first half of the 13th century, which saw the rise of the kingdom of Singhasāri in eastern Java. Until not long ago, information about this period was almost entirely confined to Prapañca's *Deśawarṇana* and the anonymous *Sĕrat Pararaton*; two works of literature composed many years after the events described in them.[1] In 1975, however, 10 copper plates displaying Old Javanese script were discovered in the regency of Kediri. It turned out that they represented the greater part of a mid-13th century royal charter, which not only provided a large amount of valuable information about the ruling dynasty of the period, but offered the chance to test the reliability of the above-mentioned literary sources.

The charter of *Mūla-Malurung*, as it has since been named, was initially transcribed by the well-known Indonesian epigraphist Boechari, who

1. We can be certain about the age of the *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakṛtāgama*), since the poet Prapañca himself informs us that he completed his *kakawin* at the time of the full moon in the month of *Asuji*, *Śaka* year 1287, equivalent to September-October 1365 (*DW* 94: 2). Dating of the Middle Javanese *Sĕrat Pararaton* is more problematic. As noted by Hunter (2007: 31), a period of 132 years separates the last event recorded in the text (1481) and the date of the earliest known surviving manuscript (1613). In referring to these two works in the present article I have used the transcription of the *Deśawarṇana (DW)* published in Pigeaud (1960-1962), quoting canto and verse, supported by Robson's translation (1995). For the *Pararaton* I refer to Brandes (1920), noting page and line number.

Archipel 80, Paris, 2010, pp. 77-138

discussed the contents in an article published in 1980.[2] Four years later the inscription was re-examined and dealt with at some length in a thesis prepared by another Indonesian scholar, A. Aris Munandar.[3] Both writers, however, were well aware that they were working with an incomplete document and admitted that some of the conclusions reached could be no more than tentative, while awaiting further data.

That data, as it turned out, surfaced in 2001 with the discovery of three of the charter's missing plates.[4] An initial examination of the contents appeared largely to confirm Boechari's original thesis, but there was additional information which raised important new questions about the period under discussion. It would be too ambitious to attempt to answer these questions at the present time, but it is hoped that the following discussion will at least serve to point out a direction for future study. What seems clear is that the new evidence provided by the *Mūla-Malurung* charter demands a re-evaluation of the accounts presented in the *Deśawarṇana* and *Pararaton*, and calls for a fresh interpretation of 13th century Javanese history based firmly on the inscriptional evidence. The arguments put forward on the following pages, then, are intended as a first step in this direction. Although no more than the result of preliminary observations, they are I believe of sufficient importance to warrant a radical revision of the history of Singhasāri as we know it.

The early rulers of Singhasāri

The reconstruction which follows is founded on a simple question, but before attempting to answer it I shall present a brief summary of the relevant section in the *Pararaton*.[5] It is said that Ken Angrok rose to power after murdering Tunggul Amětung, the local ruler of *Tumapěl* (Singhasāri), and marrying the latter's widow, who was named Ken Ḍěḍěs. Then, with the full support of the populace, Angrok had himself proclaimed king, bearing the royal title Śrī Rājasa Sang Amurwabhūmi. In the year 1222 he invaded the

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2. Boechari (1980), "The inscription of Mūla-Malurung, a new evidence on the historicity of Ken Angrok", *Majalah Arkeologi* 3, 1-2 (Sept-Nov.): 55-70. The article includes an account of the charter's discovery, as well as a detailed description of the plates, which according to Boechari (p. 55) display "a beautifully engraved script of the 13th century AD". The inscription would thus appear to be an original document.

3. Munandar (1984), "Beberapa data historis dari prasasti Mūla-Malurung", Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.

4. The discovery of the plates, numbered II, IV and VI, was announced officially by Dr. Habib Moestopo on 28 May 2001 at the opening of the *Seminar dan Kongres I Ikatan Ahli Epigrafi Indonesia (IAEI),* held in Malang. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Machi Suhadi (2001), Edhie Wurjantoro (2002) and Richadiana Kartakusuma (2002), each of whom was kind enough to supply me with an individual transcription of the plates.

5. For the text and translation, see Appendix C.

land of *Kaḍiri*, to which *Tumapĕl* had formerly been subject, and defeated its king in battle. From that time onwards the seat of power in Java shifted from *Kaḍiri* to *Tumapĕl*, and the Rājasa dynasty was founded.

The story continues by explaining that Ken Ḍĕḍĕs was already pregnant by Tunggul Amĕtung at the time of her marriage to Ken Angrok. Her firstborn child, a son named Anūṣapati, was consequently the latter's stepson. In the years following, however, Ken Ḍĕḍĕs bore her second husband four children, the eldest of whom was a son known as Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng. In addition, Ken Angrok had four more children by a junior wife. The eldest, likewise, was a son, who bore the name of Pañji Toḥ Jaya (see Appendix D, Table 2).

Problems arose when Anūṣapati learned from his mother that he was in truth the son of Tunggul Amĕtung, who had been murdered by his stepfather. By way of revenge, the young prince hired an assassin to kill Ken Angrok and subsequently took over the throne. The conspiracy, however, soon came to the attention of his stepbrother, Toḥ Jaya, who invited Anūṣapati to a cockfight and stabbed him to death while the latter was off guard. Toḥ Jaya then succeeded to the throne, becoming the third ruler of *Tumapĕl*. His reign, however, was as brief as that of his predecessor. Heeding a veiled warning from a senior minister named Prāṇarāja about the potential threat posed by Rangga Wuni and Mahiṣa Campaka, two of the king's young nephews, Toḥ Jaya attempted to have the princes quietly eliminated. The plan backfired, however, and Toḥ Jaya himself ended up losing his life in a palace uprising. The result was that Rangga Wuni succeeded to the throne of *Tumapĕl*, bearing the royal title of Wiṣṇuwardhana, while his cousin Mahiṣa Campaka was appointed to the office of *ratu angabhaya*, becoming known as Narasinghamurti. It is said that the relationship between these two rulers was extremely harmonious.[6]

Leaving aside some of the more fantastic elements, the essential chronology as presented above is acceptable, and indeed largely supported by the information contained in the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*. The general

6. The problem of the relative positions of Wiṣṇuwardhana and Narasinghamurti still needs to be explained satisfactorily. Pigeaud (1960-1963, 4: 124-125 and elsewhere) consistently uses the word 'diarchy' for this period of government (c.1250-1268), yet the term seems difficult to justify in the light of the available inscriptional evidence. The literary sources, however, certainly suggest a rather unusual arrangement. According to Prapañca (*DW* 41: 2a-b), "Lord (Hari) Wiṣṇuwardhana was his son, who succeeded him [Anūṣanātha] on the throne, and Lord Narasingha was his colleague; like Mādhawa with his elder brother they gave the world stability" (Robson 1995: 54). The *Pararaton* (24: 7-10) presents a similar picture: "Then Rangga Wuni became king. He and Mahiṣa Campaka were as two snakes in one hole [...] never separate from each other". It would be useful to understand more about the mysterious office of *ratu angabhaya*. The *Pararaton* (39: 9-11) refers to a prince who bore this same title early in the 15th century.

impression gained is that the appointment of Wiṣṇuwardhana and Narasinghamurti to the two highest offices in the kingdom represented a reconciliation between the principal branches of the royal family; the descendants of Ken Ḍěḍěs by Tunggul Amětung and Ken Angrok respectively. The *Pararaton*, after all, states clearly that Rangga Wuni and Mahiṣa Campaka were the respective sons of Anūṣapati and Mahiṣa Wong Atělěng.[7]

The background thus established, it is now time to pose the question mentioned earlier, which is this: does it not seem strange that Anūṣapati was succeeded by Toḥ Jaya, who was the son of Angrok's junior wife, when it is clear that Mahiṣa Wong Atělěng had a greater right to the succession? Regardless of who actually arranged for Anūṣapati's assassination, it is hard to accept that the eldest son of Angrok and Ken Ḍěḍěs would have willingly allowed a sibling of lower rank to ascend the throne ahead of him. Curiously, however, aside from mentioning that he was the father of Mahiṣa Campaka (Narasinghamurti), the *Pararaton* has nothing more to say about Mahiṣa Wong Atělěng.

Without comparative material the objection put forward above would of course remain within the realm of pure speculation. Now that we are equipped with the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*, however, a solution to the problem can perhaps be found. It is therefore time to turn to the inscription. Since the contents have already been clearly and systematically presented by Boechari, we can use his article of 1980 as a framework for the discussion to follow.[8]

To summarize then, the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*, dated *Śaka* 1177 (AD 1255), is an official document confirming a royal grant from the king Narāryya Smining Rāt (Wiṣṇuwardhana) of *Tumapěl* to a loyal official named Prāṇarāja, in the form of an area of land in the villages of *Mūla* and *Malurung*. The grant had received the sanction of the regional chiefs appointed by the king, headed by Narāryya Mūrddhaja (Kṛtanagara), and was preceded by the grant of a certain Bhaṭāra Parameśwara, who was honoured as supreme teacher (*naranāthādiguru*) by all of the local rulers and nobility in the land of Java. It is added that the document was to be effective retroactively from the time of Wiṣṇuwardhana's grandfather, who bore the name of Śiwa and had 'died on his golden throne'.[9]

On the third plate of the inscription is found a list of the reigning king's close relatives, three of whom were identified by Boechari as predecessors of Wiṣṇuwardhana, as follows:

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7. Appendix C (*Par.* 22: 1-5) and D (Table 2).

8. See Appendix B for a transcription of the charter.

9. The wording of plate IXa: 6-7 of the inscription reads: *maka těmbeyani bhaṭāra namaś śiwāya sira sang līna ring ḍampa kanaka* (Boechari 1985/6: 187).

1. An unnamed uncle, described as the father of one Narāryya Waning Hyun and grandfather of Śrī Kṛtanagara (IIIa: 1-2).
2. An uncle named Narāryya Guning Bhaya, who succeeded no. 1 above (IIIa: 7 – IIIb: 1).
3. Another uncle named Narāryya Toḥ Jaya, said to be the elder brother and successor of Guning Bhaya (IIIb: 1-2).

Despite the fact that the name of the first uncle is not mentioned in the charter, Boechari noted that since he was further described as Wiṣṇuwardhana's father-in-law (*rāmātuha*) it was possible to identify Narāryya Waning Hyun as the king's principal wife, the mother of Kṛtanagara. She is known from a number of other inscriptions as the queen Jayawardhanī.[10] Munandar drew the same conclusion, and it seems that this identification has until now been generally accepted by the academic community without further question.[11]

The name Guning Bhaya is not known from other sources, but the available evidence leads us to conclude that he was the younger full brother of his predecessor. This probability becomes more certain when we notice that he was succeeded by Toḥ Jaya, who of course features prominently in the *Pararaton*. In view of the fact that Toḥ Jaya is described in the inscription as the 'elder brother' (*kaka*) of Guning Bhaya, it seems safe to assume that the latter belonged to the senior branch of the family. Toḥ Jaya may have been older in years, but as the *Pararaton* informs us, he was born from a secondary wife and consequently held a lower status than his younger sibling.

We come now to the curious figure known as Bhaṭāra Parameśwara. Boechari was not prepared to form a certain opinion about his identity, mainly because in 1980 the three missing plates of the inscription had not yet been recovered. He did, however, suggest the possibility that Parameśwara should be identified with Anūṣapati, whose name was not among the royal figures listed on the third plate.

From the information above Boechari was able to draw a few interesting conclusions with regard to the early years of the kingdom founded by Śrī Rājasa. The data provided by the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* tended on the whole to support the account presented in the *Pararaton*. It even seemed that the power struggle which took place in the years preceding Wiṣṇuwardhana's accession may have been still bloodier than the *Pararaton* described. Of particular importance, of course, was the mention of Bhaṭāra

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10. Jayawardhanī is mentioned as the wife of Wiṣṇuwardhana and mother of Kṛtanagara on plate Ia: 7 of the 1275 charter of *Rāmeśwarapura* (Suhadi 2003: 19), as well as in verse 10 of the famous sanskrit inscription of *Wurare* (Jaka Dolog), issued in 1289 (Kern 1917: 191).

11. The relevant passage translates: "further, at the time of the deification ceremony of his [Wiṣṇuwardhana's] uncle, who became his father-in-law, who died at Kebon Agung, the father of Narāryya Waning Hyun, grandfather of his [Wiṣṇuwardhana's] son, Śrī Kṛtanagara […]" (cf. Boechari 1980: 56).

Śiwa as the name of Wiṣṇuwardhana's grandfather, which seemed to confirm the historicity of the figure known to tradition as Ken Angrok.[12]

Since the recovery of the missing plates numbered II, IV and VI of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription, it has become possible to sharpen the arguments put forward by both Boechari and Munandar. Plate IIb, for instance, gives us further information about Wiṣṇuwardhana's father and grandfather. Even though their names have for some reason not been recorded, the mention of their respective shrines (*dharma*) at *Kiḍal* and *Kagĕnĕngan* allows us to identify them as Anūṣapati and Śrī Rājasa.[13] Boechari's identification of the latter figure with the Bhaṭāra Śiwa mentioned on plate IXa is thereby confirmed.[14] The recovery of the missing second plate thus serves to dispel any doubts about the five kings who reigned consecutively in the land to the east of Mt Kawi prior to the accession of Wiṣṇuwardhana. They may be listed as follows, together with their relationship to the reigning sovereign in the year 1255:

1. Bhaṭāra Śiwa / Śrī Rājasa / Ken Angrok – Grandfather
2. Anūṣapati / Anūṣanātha – Father
3. The father of Narāryya Waning Hyun – Uncle and Father-in-law
4. Narāryya Guning Bhaya – Uncle
5. Narāryya Toḥ Jaya – Uncle

If we now compare the list of rulers recorded in the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* with that of the *Pararaton*, it becomes evident that numbers 3 and 4 are absent in the latter. It is just this absence which provides the solution to the simple question posed earlier, namely: does it not seem strange that Anūṣapati was succeeded by Toḥ Jaya? The answer of course is that Toḥ Jaya did not succeed Anūṣapati. The former ascended the throne upon the death of his younger half-brother, Guning Bhaya, while the latter was succeeded by the father of Narāryya Waning Hyun. In other words, following the death of Anūṣapati the kingdom was ruled in turn by three of Wiṣṇuwardhana's uncles, the last of whom was Toḥ Jaya. It is clear that the *Pararaton* has not given us the full story.

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12. Compare, for example, the well-known episode in the *Pararaton* (19: 15-20) when, in response to Kṛtajaya's arrogant claim that he might only suffer defeat if Bhaṭāra Guru (Lord Śiwa) himself descended from heaven, Ken Angrok takes up the challenge by adopting the consecration name of Bhaṭāra Guru and subsequently destroys his adversary.

13. Both the *Deśawarṇana* (40: 5-41: 1) and *Pararaton* (21: 8-9, 28-29) identify the royal shrines (*suḍarmma haji*) of *Kagĕnĕngan* and *Kiḍal* with Śrī Rājasa and Anūṣanātha/Anūṣapati respectively. On plate IIb of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription the same shrines are identified with Wiṣṇuwardhana's grandfather (*kaki*) and father (*rāma*).

14. Plate IIb: 2 refers to Wiṣṇuwardhana's grandfather with the epithet *sira saŋ līna riŋ ḍampa mās*. The wording is almost identical to that on plate IXa: 6-7. See note 9 above.

Is it possible to identify these two uncles who apparently preceded Toḥ Jaya? It has already been noted that the figure most likely to have ascended the throne upon the death of Anūṣapati was Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng. As Wiṣṇuwardhana's most senior uncle, it would make good sense to identify him with the father of Narāryya Waning Hyun in the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription. Guning Bhaya would then be identifiable with a younger brother of Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng, who was subsequently succeeded by his elder half-brother Toḥ Jaya, as was suggested earlier.[15]

If we accept the identification of Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng with the uncle and father-in-law of Wiṣṇuwardhana, it follows that he was also the grandfather of Kṛtanagara, as the inscription informs us. It was this last piece of information which led Boechari to draw the conclusion that Narāryya Waning Hyun was none other than Wiṣṇuwardhana's senior queen and the mother of Kṛtanagara, known from other inscriptional sources as Śrī Jayawardhanī. On the surface Boechari's argument seems convincing, but it should be realized that it is not the only possibility. Indeed, upon looking further we find good reason to search for an alternative solution.

There are two objections to the identification of Narāryya Waning Hyun with the queen Jayawardhanī. The first is that the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* lists a number of other individuals whose names are preceded by the title *narāryya*, all of whom are quite obviously kings or princes.[16] The likelihood that Narāryya Waning Hyun too was a male figure is further strengthened by the fact that this same name was used by the 14th century prince of *Wĕngker*, Śrī Wijayarājasa, an uncle of the king Rājasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) of Majapahit.[17] Now if we compare the case of the queen Tribhuwanottunggadewī (a contemporary of Wijayarājasa), who incorporated the name of her great-grandmother Jayawardhanī into her royal title,[18] it seems not

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15. See Appendix D (Table 2). The *Pararaton* (18: 4-6) mentions two younger full brothers of Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng, named Pañji Saprang and Agnibhaya. One of these may be identifiable with Narāryya Guning Bhaya of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription.

16. The individuals mentioned in the charter include the king Narāryya Smining Rāt (Ib: 4), his two uncles Guning Bhaya and Toḥ Jaya (IIIa: 7, IIIb: 2-3), as well as two of his sons, namely Kṛtanagara (Narāryya Mūrddhaja) and a prince ruling in *Lamajang* named Narāryya Kiraṇa (VIIa: 1-3).

17. The prince of *Wĕngker* appears with the title *Paduka Parameśwara Śrī Wijayarājasa namadewabhiseka Sang Apañji Waninghyun* on plate IIa: 1-3 of the copper plate inscription of Batur (Pura Abang C), discovered on the island of Bali and dated *Śaka* 1306 (1383). Transcription in Suhadi 1979: 197-201. See also Goris 1954 (1): 45, No. 901.

18. The name *Jayawiṣṇuwarddhanī* forms a part of the queen's royal title in the 1329 inscription of *Gĕnĕng* (Brumbung) 2 (line 3), the 1351 stele of Gajah Mada (lines 9-10), and an undated stone inscription numbered D.38 in the National Museum, Jakarta (lines 4-5 recto). See Damais 1952: 74-75 (*Gĕnĕng*) and Brandes 1920: 142 (D.38). A transcription and accompanying English translation of the stele of Gajah Mada is published in Blom 1939: 136-138.

improbable that the prince of *Wĕngker* acted likewise, for the purpose of honouring one of his own illustrious forbears. If so, however, it is hard to believe that he would have named himself after a female member of the royal family.

With regard to the identity of Narāryya Waning Hyun, the *Pararaton* can perhaps provide us with a solution. Holding to the assumption that Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng was the uncle and father-in-law of Wiṣṇuwardhana, it follows that Waning Hyun was either his son or his daughter. In view of the argument presented above I am inclined to opt for the former, and would suggest that Narāryya Waning Hyun was the figure known in the *Pararaton* as Mahiṣa Campaka (Narasinghamurti), son of Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng. He must therefore have been the brother of Jayawardhanī and brother-in-law of the king Wiṣṇuwardhana (see Appendix D, Table 1). This solution not only accords with the information provided by the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription, but further serves to explain why the 14th century prince of *Wĕngker* used the name Waning Hyun in his royal title. Prapañca, after all, informs us that a shrine to Narasinghamurti had 'recently' been established at *Kumitir* by that same prince, suggestive of a special relationship between the two figures.[19] In view of the example cited above in connection with the queen Tribhuwanottungga-dewī, the suggestion that Narāryya Waning Hyun (Narasinghamurti) may have been Wijayarājasa's great-grandfather would not seem too far-fetched.

It should be added that the picture presented above fits in well with the general idea of reconciliation between the two main branches of the royal family of *Tumapĕl*, as indicated by the *Pararaton*. Following a period of unrest and internal dissension, peace was eventually restored through the marriage of Wiṣṇuwardhana to his cousin, Jayawardhanī, while the latter's brother, Waning Hyun, was installed as 'deputy king' (*ratu angabhaya*). So it was that the two young rulers "gave the world stability", as Prapañca informs us.[20]

We have still to identify the enigmatic figure known as Bhaṭāra Parameśwara, whose name appears twice in the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*. As was mentioned earlier in this article, Boechari was inclined to connect him with Anūṣapati, but admitted that the identification was not certain. Munandar, on the other hand, considered another possibility. He suggested that there were two figures named Parameśwara; one who bestowed a grant at the beginning of the inscription (plate Ib: 6-7), and another who later on is said to have received the devotion (*pūja*) of the regional kings (plate Xb: 1-

19. *DW* 41: 4c-d.
20. *DW* 41: 2b.

2). The former may have been Narasinghamurti, who assisted Wiṣṇuwardhana in the government of the kingdom, while the latter was very probably identifiable with Ken Angrok.[21]

One cannot help feeling that Munandar's hypothesis is forced, since it is difficult to accept that the elevated title of Bhaṭāra Parameśwara should apply to two separate individuals in a single charter without sufficient explanation as to their identities. The problem would seem to lie in the interpretation of the words *maka purassārānugraha nira bhaṭāra parameśwara* (Ib: 6), understood by Munandar to mean 'under the leadership of Bhaṭāra Parameśwara', as if to suggest that this figure was still living and acted as the master of ceremonies with the consent of Narāryya Smining Rāt. Boechari, on the other hand, translated the passage as "preceded by the grant of Bhaṭāra Parameśwara".[22]

In my opinion Boechari's interpretation makes more sense in the context of the inscription as a whole, and would appear to be supported by the new data supplied by the recently recovered plates. The term *maka purassārānugraha* thus supplies the reason for the apparent backdating of the inscription to the reign of Wiṣṇuwardhana's grandfather, who was named Bhaṭāra Śiwa. In other words, the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* was the formal confirmation of a grant previously bestowed upon the official named Prāṇarāja by Bhaṭāra Parameśwara. If this interpretation is correct, the identity of the Bhaṭāra Parameśwara in the inscription is quite clear. He is none other than Śrī Rājasa/ Bhaṭāra Śiwa, the founder of the dynasty.[23]

The accession of King Wiṣṇuwardhana

The reconstruction in the preceding section presents the king Wiṣṇuwardhana and his 'deputy' Narasinghamurti as the apparent saviours of the kingdom founded by Śrī Rājasa. This picture is in accordance with the data in our possession. The new information supplied by the missing plates of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription further suggests that, following the re-unification of the realm, the recently consecrated king immediately set about founding a series of monuments (*dharma*) in honour of his forbears, as well as bestowed grants of land upon deserving subjects, among them the official named Prāṇarāja. This energetic policy may be seen partly as an attempt to strengthen the position, prestige and popularity of the new *mahārāja*, as well as an effort to erase the 'shame' accumulated during the recent power

21. Munandar 1984: 117-122.

22. Boechari 1980: 56.

23. It should be added that the name Parameśwara is a well-known appellation of the god Śiwa, thus providing further reason for an identification with the Bhaṭara Śiwa of the inscription.

struggle. All this seems clear enough, but there remains an important question which needs to be answered. If Wiṣṇuwardhana was the son of Anūṣapati, why did his right to the succession seem to have been in doubt? Why did he have to wait for three uncles to precede him in turn, and even after that apparently required the consent of the senior ministers of *Tumapĕl* before he could ascend the throne?[24]

With regard to this question neither Boechari nor Munandar was prepared to offer a solution, mainly because at the time of writing they were still uncertain about the position of Anūṣapati. Now that the recovery of the second plate of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription has cleared up any doubts about the identity of this figure, however, it is possible to put aside some of the previous speculation.[25] Even so, we are still faced with the question of Wiṣṇuwardhana's right of succession, and in order to try and answer it we must turn again to the two main literary sources.

Until now scholars have tended to place more trust in the *Deśawarṇana* than the *Pararaton* when attempting to explain the early history of the Rājasa dynasty. This is understandable, for not only did the poet Prapañca live closer in time to the events in question, but his informant was none other than the aged guardian of the royal *dharma* at Singhasāri, who was himself a royal kinsman and in his youth may well have set eyes on King Kṛtanagara. It should not be forgotten, however, that this same informant advised Prapañca to "be indulgent" when listening to his account, as if to suggest that some of the details may not have been entirely correct.[26] Furthermore, Prapañca's *kakawin* was intended as a eulogy, in praise of the king of Majapahit and his ancestors, for which reason the poet obviously took care not to record events that might disgrace or embarrass his royal patron. Caution is thus required when interpreting his report, especially when we notice that the information supplied by the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* tends to agree more closely with the *Pararaton*.

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24. See Boechari (1980: 59), who believed that the phrase *pinasaṅakĕn prajāpatya dai para śaiwaka* (plate IIIb: 3 of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription) implied "the absence of a rightful heir to the throne or/and that there were several pretenders."

25. See, for instance, Munandar (1984: 111-112), who followed Moens (1954: 21-26) and considered the possibility that Wiṣṇuwardhana was Anūṣapati's son-in-law. Since the recovery of plate II of the *Mūla-Malurung* charter, this hypothesis is no longer tenable, even though it is based on the probably correct assumption that Wiṣṇuwardhana succeeded to the throne on the strength of his marriage to Jayawardhanī.

26. *DW* 39: 3a-b, *kṣamā taḥ manaḥ saṅ kawindrān rumĕṅwā, ikaŋ wwaṅ ṛṅö sughyan akweha mityā*,…. "You should be indulgent, Prince of Poets, when you hear me, as tradition may contain much that is false….." (Robson 1995: 52). One could perhaps compare Prapañca's aged informant with the present-day caretakers of sacred sites in Java, whose job is to preserve a tradition. They are not historians in the modern sense of the word, but rather responsible guardians, who convey or withold information as they see fit.

Although both of the literary sources mentioned above state that Anūṣapati died in around the year 1248-9, there is significant disagreement concerning the length of his reign. According to the *Pararaton*, Śrī Rājasa was assassinated in 1247 by Anūṣapati, who was himself murdered two years later. Prapañca, on the other hand, records that Anūṣanātha succeeded his father in 1227 and reigned for more than two decades, during which time "the whole of Java continued to be devoted and attentive".[27] Which account are we to believe?

In my opinion the version presented in the *Deśawarṇana* is difficult to reconcile with the reconstruction of events based on the *Pararaton* and charter of *Mūla-Malurung*. If, as Prapañca tells us, Anūṣanātha reigned for such a long period, it seems almost inconceivable that the legitimacy of his son's succession would have been open to question. I am therefore inclined to doubt the accuracy of Prapañca's report and suggest that, in this case at least, the *Pararaton* is nearer to the truth. It looks as if the author of the *Deśawarṇana* has misinformed us about the date of Rājasa's death, presumably for the dual purpose of exaggerating the importance of Anūṣanātha's reign, as well as glossing over an otherwise embarrassing period in the history of the dynasty. Perhaps this is one of the inaccuracies alluded to by Prapañca's revered informant.

If the above argument is acceptable, a solution to the problem of Wiṣṇuwardhana's consecration becomes apparent. Upon the death of the founder of the dynasty there occurred a power struggle between Rājasa's descendants, among them Anūṣapati, Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng and Toḥ Jaya, each of whom ascended the throne in rapid succession. Following the latter's demise the question of who should inherit the kingdom remained a controversial issue, for which reason the senior ministers led by Sang Apañji Patipati were forced to intervene.[28] After some deliberation, it was decided that Wiṣṇuwardhana should be consecrated as king, assisted by his brother-in-law Narasinghamurti. Following their inauguration, all of the remaining members of the royal family were appointed to rule over the various regions under *Tumapĕl*, as is stated quite clearly in plates VIb and VIIa-b of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription.

Despite its hypothetical nature, the picture just presented finds support from a number of observations. Examination of several charters dating from the reigns of Wiṣṇuwardhana and his son Kṛtanagara confirms that the

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27. *DW* 41: 1b (Robson 1995: 53).

28. The mention of Sang Apañji Patipati as presiding over Wiṣṇuwardhana's consecration on plate IIIb: 4 of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription strengthens our faith in the *Pararaton* account (22: 24 – 23: 2), which describes in some detail how, faced with the threat of assassination by an agent of the king Toḥ Jaya, the two young princes Rangga Wuni and Mahiṣa Campaka seek the protection of Apañji Patipati.

founder of the Rājasa dynasty was held in the highest reverence.[29] The name of Anūṣanātha, however, who according to Prapañca reigned for over 20 years, is significantly not to be found in later inscriptional sources. Furthermore, the contents of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription leave the impression that Śrī Rājasa died not long before his grandson became king.

As was mentioned earlier, one of the first actions taken by Wiṣṇuwardhana following his accession was the establishment of a number of ancestral shrines, dedicated among others to his father and grandfather. He was assisted in this task by the recipient of the royal favour, Sang Prāṇarāja, who on two occasions in the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* (plate IIb: 4 and IIIa: 3) is described as the 'hands and feet' (*hastapāda*) of the king. Indeed, it was because of Prānarāja's long years of loyal service to the family, including Wiṣṇuwardhana's grandfather, that he had been rewarded with a grant of land.[30] Since it has already been suggested that the original bestower of the grant was Bhaṭāra Parameśwara, identifiable as Rājasa himself, it seems hard to accept that Prāṇarāja had been made to wait some 30 years before that grant was finally confirmed. This, in my view, is yet another good reason to question Prapañca's dating of Rājasa's death and to place more trust in the *Pararaton* account. We could ask further how it would be possible for the founder of the dynasty to establish the solid power base described by Prapañca in the space of just five years.[31]

To summarize, we gain the impression that the founder of the Rājasa dynasty was a charismatic leader, who established a firm rule over the land of Java and enjoyed a long reign.[32] His weakness, however, lay in his failure

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29. Lokesh Chandra (1995: 151-152) provides two examples of praise directed to the founder of the Rājasa dynasty by his descendants. The first is the 1264 copper plate of *Maribong* (Ib: 3-4), issued by King Wiṣṇuwardhana, which displays the words *swa-pitāmah-āstawan-ābhinn-āśrāntalokapālaka* ("the king never tired of ceaselessly praising his grandfather"). The second is the expression *pārthivānandanang kṛtvā* ("having pleased Pārthiva"), found in verse 8 of the 1289 Sanskrit inscription of *Wurare* (Jaka Dolog), commissioned by Kṛtanagara. According to Lokesh Chandra, Pārthiva in this instance is synonymous with Rājasa. Mention should also be made of a fragmentary undated inscription published in Van Naerssen (1941: 46-57). On side A: 5 of this single copper plate we find reference to an offering ceremony (*kapujān*) on behalf of a *bhaṭāra ring narasinghanagara*, whose identification with Śrī Rājasa is now confirmed by the recently recovered plate II of the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* (discussed below). A transcription of the *Maribong* copper plate is published in Boechari 1985/6: 117-118. For the *Wurare* inscription see Kern 1917: 188-197.

30. See plate IIb: 1-2 of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription, where it is stated that Sang Prāṇarāja had been a servant of Narāryya Smining Rāt's grandfather, who had 'died on his golden throne' […] *tiṅkah saŋ prāṇarāja. śaiwaka ri sira kaki nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. sira saŋ līna ring ḍampa mās* [...].

31. According to both the *Deśawarṇana* and the *Pararaton*, Rājasa's supremacy was only fully established after his defeat of Kṛtajaya of *Kaḍiri* in 1222.

32. Despite the arguments presented in support of this assumption, it must be admitted that the complete absence of official records from the period in question remains perplexing.

to nominate a successor, which resulted in a struggle for the supremacy among his descendants. The new light thrown on the *Pararaton* account (20: 13–24: 6) by the data supplied by the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* suggests that, in his later years, Śrī Rājasa was indeed assassinated by one of his offspring, who perhaps believed that he had rallied sufficient support to usurp the throne. The result was a short but bloody period of turmoil and fratricide in the palace of *Kuṭa Rāja* during the fourth decade of the 13th century, which came to an end with the accession of Rājasa's grandson Wiṣṇuwardhana in about the year 1250. Shortly afterwards the capital was renamed Singhasāri, to commemorate the kingdom's re-unification.[33]

The united realm of Singhasāri

In the well-known inscription of *Wurare*, issued in the year 1289, the reigning king Kṛtanagara praises his father Wiṣṇuwardhana for having re-united the lands of *Janggala* and *Kaḍiri*.[34] This documentary evidence is in keeping with the theme of dynastic reconciliation discussed earlier. But what exactly did this unity signify, and how was it achieved? The new data supplied by the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* can perhaps serve to shed some light on these questions.

A cursory examination of the charter certainly suggests that the re-unification referred to in the *Wurare* inscription was well on the way to becoming a reality in the year 1255. As at Majapahit in the following century, the 'senior' appanage lands of *Janggala*, *Kaḍiri*, *Wurawān* and *wetan ing Kawi* were in the hands of the king and his closest relatives. The charter's recently recovered fourth plate, moreover, provides further interesting information about a number of royal grants bestowed upon deserving subjects. Particularly illuminating is the description of six religious domains founded by prominent officials (*mantrimukhya*), three of which lay in the land of *Janggala*, two in *Kaḍiri,* and one in the region to the east of Mt Kawi (*wetan ing Kawi*), where the capital was situated.[35]

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33. The name Singhasāri presumably alludes to the terrific form of *narasingha* (man-lion), adopted by the god Wiṣṇu in his incarnation as the destroyer of the demon Hiraṇya Kaśipu. For an account of this episode see Gupte 1972: 30-31. The figure of *narasingha* was clearly important for the 13th century rulers of Java, since we find the name attached to no less than three royal shrines from the period (discussed below), as well as to the prince who bore the title Narasinghamurti. One might ask further whether the adoption of this symbol was perhaps inspired by the 12th century king Jayabhaya of *Kaḍiri* (r.c.1135-1157), who chose the image of *narasingha*, in combination with the words *pangjalu jayati* (*Pangjalu* is victorious) to seal his famous inscription of *Hantang* (Krom 1913, OJO 68). I hope to offer a more detailed examination of the significance of *narasingha* for Śrī Rājasa and his immediate descendants in a future publication.

34. This act of re-unification is unequivocally indicated by the words *ekikṛtya punar bhūmīṃ* in verse 9 of the inscription (Kern 1917: 190). See also Lokesh Chandra 1995: 152.

35. The six *dharma* are listed as follows: *Kṛsnapura* in the land of *Janggala,* founded by

With regard to the structure of the realm, the charter stresses that Śrī Kṛtanagara occupied the highest position among the royal figures appointed to rule over their respective domains by Narāryya Smining Rāt. Although he was probably still very young in 1255, the consecration of Kṛtanagara as ruler of *Daha* served to underline his status as crown prince. One can imagine that Wiṣṇuwardhana did not wish to repeat the mistake made by his grandfather, and appointed an heir to the throne at the very beginning of his reign. As the king's son by Śrī Jayawardhanī, moreover, Kṛtanagara was the natural successor, being the blood descendant of the two main branches of the dynasty. For that reason, presumably, he appears in the charter with the title of *Śrī Mahārāja*, groomed for a special destiny from an early age.[36]

As to Kṛtanagara's counterpart in the land of *Janggala*, the *Mūla-Malurung* charter reveals that his name was Śrī Harṣawijaya.[37] This figure undoubtedly held a very high position, since he heads the list of nine regional rulers whose names are recorded on plates VI and VII. His relationship to the king is described as *pahulunan*, which indicates a form of nephew.[38]

The name *Harṣawijaya* is the title of a well-known work of *kidung* literature, describing the events leading up to the founding of the kingdom of Majapahit at the end of the 13th century.[39] A Śrī Harṣawijaya is further mentioned in a fragmentary copper plate inscription dating from 1305, in connection with a religious domain at *Balawi*.[40] The question thus arises concerning a possible connection between these two references and the

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Sang Pamgat ing Raṇu Kabayān, Mapañji Patipati (IVa: 5-7); *Mitrapuri* in the land of *Kaḍiri,* founded by Sang Rāmapati, Mapañji Singharsa, *patih* of Śrī Śastrajaya (IVa: 7 – IVb: 1); *Surāsana* in the land of *Janggala,* founded by the *dĕmung* Sang Apañji Nirākāra, under Śrī Harṣawijaya (IVb: 1-2); *Harijaya* in the land of *Janggala,* founded by Sang Apañji Samaka, *patih* of Śrī Kṛtanagara (IVb: 3-5); *Kṛṣṇāsana* in the land of *Kaḍiri,* founded by the *patih* of *Wurawān*, Sang Apañji Singanambat, under Śrī Jayakatyĕng (IVb: 5-6); and a *dharma* named *Kṛtāsana* in the land to the east of Mt Kawi (*wetan ing Kawi*), founded by Sang Apañji Dūtarāga (IVb: 2-3).

36. In view of the probability that Kṛtanagara's official status in 1255 was no more than crown prince and heir apparent, his exalted title in the inscription's preamble supports the thesis (advanced by a number of scholars in the past) that his mother, Jayawardhanī, enjoyed a higher degree of nobility than her husband. It is, after all, rare in Old Javanese royal charters to find the title *Śrī Mahārāja* attached to anyone but the supreme ruler.

37. Plate VIb: 5-7 and IVb: 1-2. I have followed here the reading of Wurjantoro and Kartakusuma, as opposed to Suhadi, who reads Hajiwijaya.

38. Compare *Par.* 22: 4-5 where this term is used to describe the relationship between Mahiṣa Campaka (Narasinghamurti) and Toḥ Jaya. For a further explanation of *pahulunan*, see Zoetmulder 1995, 1: 368.

39. C.C. Berg (1931), Kidung Harṣa-Wijaya, *BKI* 88: 49 -238.

40. Transcriptions by Poerbatjaraka (1936: 373-384) and Boechari (1985/6: 164-168). The name Harṣawijaya occurs twice in the charter, on plates IVa: 1 and VIa: 5.

Harṣawijaya recorded in the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*. On the surface it seems not impossible, since the time span separating them is no more than half a century. Upon looking further, however, we encounter a few problems.

Both the *Kidung Harṣawijaya* and the *Pararaton* identify the figure named Harṣawijaya with the founder of Majapahit, and describe him as the son of Mahiṣa Campaka/Narasinghamurti.[41] According to the *Deśawarṇana*, however, the first king of Majapahit, Dyah Wijaya, was the son of Dyah Lĕmbu Tal and grandson of Narasinghamurti.[42] In view of the fact that Prapañca discusses Wijaya's relationship to his predecessors in some detail, and refers to Dyah Lĕmbu Tal's shrine at *Mirĕng*, there seems no good reason to question the Majapahit poet's reliability in this instance. His account is further supported by the *Kudadu* inscription of 1294, in which we find the epithet *narasinghamūrttisutātmaja* (grandson of Narasinghamurti) attached to the name of the Majapahit founder.[43] Both the charter of *Balawi* and the 1296 inscription of *Sukamṛta*, moreover, make it clear that the name of the first king of Majapahit prior to his consecration was not Harṣawijaya, but rather Narāryya Sanggrāmawijaya.[44] It thus seems likely that the *Kidung Harṣawijaya* and *Pararaton* are in error here. By skipping a generation they have apparently confused the father with the son.

The conclusion to be drawn, then, is that the historical Harṣawijaya was Prapañca's Dyah Lĕmbu Tal, who was indeed the son of Narasinghamurti. He may be identified further with the Śrī Harṣawijaya of the *Mūla-Malurung* charter, as well as with the individual bearing that name in the inscription of *Balawi*.[45] As the son of Wiṣṇuwardhana's cousin and brother-in-law, it follows that he stood in the relationship of 'nephew' (*pahulunan*) to the king, and was probably viewed as the most senior of the princes of the younger generation after Kṛtanagara. It was thus fitting for Śrī Harṣawijaya to inherit the important appanage of *Janggala*, as the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* informs us.

Having established the identity of Harṣawijaya, we begin to gain a clearer understanding of the re-unification referred to in Kṛtanagara's inscription of *Wurare*. Following their appointments in around 1250, Wiṣṇuwardhana and

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41. Berg 1931, 1: 1-10; *Par.* 24: 17 and 29: 22-23, 26.

42. *DW* 46: 2 – 47: 1 (Robson 1995: 57-58).

43. Brandes 1920: 94. The epithet is found in the preamble to the charter on plate I.

44. The name Narāryya Sanggrāmawijaya is found on plate Ib: 3 of the *Balawi* charter. For the inscription of *Sukamṛta* see plates IIa: 2-3, Va: 6 and VIa: 6 (Boechari 1985/6: 139-147).

45. The *Balawi* charter is unfortunately incomplete, with the result that the identity of Harṣawijaya cannot be established with absolute certainty here. The impression gained is that he was probably no longer living in the year 1305. A critical re-examination of the inscription would be useful, in particular the fifth line of plate VIa, where the readings provided by Poerbatjaraka and Boechari differ quite considerably.

Narasinghamurti proceeded to consolidate their positions by placing their respective sons in charge of the principal moieties of the realm of Java (*Yawadwīpa*), under the supreme authority of *Tumapĕl*. However, there still remains a fourth appanage to be discussed, namely the land of *Wurawān*, with its capital at *Gĕlang-gĕlang*. This region was better known by the name of *Wĕngker* during the age of Majapahit. It lay in the present-day regencies of Madiun and Ponorogo, between the mountains Lawu and Wilis. In 1255 the land of *Wurawān* was under the control of one Turuk Bali (a daughter of Wiṣṇuwardhana) and her consort Śrī Jayakatyĕng.[46] Since we know from other sources that this last-mentioned figure was the primary cause of the fall of Singhasāri 37 years later, it seems important to re-examine the source material pertaining to him, particularly in the light of the new information provided by the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*.

Despite some differences in detail, the accounts presented in the *Deśawarṇana*, *Pararaton* and *Kidung Harṣawijaya* agree that Jayakatyĕng was a dissatisfied vassal ruler of *Kaḍiri* during the reign of Kṛtanagara. The inscriptional record confirms that he wished to usurp the throne of Java, and at some time in the months of May-June 1292 achieved his goal after invading Singhasāri and killing the king.[47] It is only Prapañca's informant who refrains from describing this event directly, which is understandable. The death of Kṛtanagara was undoubtedly a painful memory for the old *sthāpaka*.[48]

In other details, however, Prapañca's account complements the *Pararaton* and *Kidung Harṣawijaya*, and further helps to explain Jayakatyĕng's motives. We learn, for instance, that upon the defeat of Kṛtajaya in 1222, Śrī Ranggah Rājasa placed the former kingdom of *Kaḍiri* under the control of one Jayasabha, who was succeeded by Śastrajaya in 1258. Then, in 1271, Jayakatyĕng took over and the trouble began.[49] Now if this information is placed alongside the account presented in the *Kidung Harṣawijaya*, one is led to conclude that Jayakatyĕng was a natural successor to the throne of *Kaḍiri*. The *kidung*, after all, informs us that he resolved to take revenge after being reminded by his *patih* that the throne of his illustrious ancestor

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46. Mentioned on plate VIIa: 4-7 of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription.

47. The time of Jayakatyĕng's invasion can be calculated from the 1351 inscription of Gajah Mada, which states that the death of Kṛtanagara occurred in the month of *Jyestha*, *Śaka* 1214, equivalent to May-June 1292 (Damais 1962: 413-414). For a transcription see Brandes 1909: 38-39, as well as Blom 1939: 136-138, who provides a revised English translation.

48. See *DW* 44: 1, where Ḍang Ācārya Ratnangśa simply describes Jayakatyĕng as a 'villain', who desired to replace Kṛtanagara following the latter's death.

49. *DW* 44: 2-3. According to the *Pararaton* (31: 31-32), Jayakatyĕng succeeded in *Kaḍiri in Śaka* 1198 (1276).

(Kṛtajaya) had formerly been usurped by a predecessor of Kṛtanagara.[50] A question which needs to be answered, however, concerns Jayakatyĕng's official status at the time of the invasion of Singhasāri.

It has already been noted that in 1255 Jayakatyĕng was residing with his wife, Turuk Bali, at *Gĕlang-gĕlang*. The charter of *Mūla-Malurung* suggests that he was a maternal nephew (*kapwanakan*) of the king, and hence his wife's cousin.[51] His mother was therefore quite probably Wiṣṇuwardhana's sister (see Appendix D, Table 1). That he held a status at least equal to that of Turuk Bali is implied in plate IVb: 5 of the charter, which refers to his *patih* in *Wurawān*, named Sang Apañji Singanambat. Contrary to what we would expect, however, Śrī Jayakatyĕng is identified specifically with *Gĕlang-gĕlang*, and not *Kaḍiri*, in the 1294 inscription of *Kudadu*.[52] How is this information to be reconciled with the narratives presented in the works of literature mentioned above, and particularly Prapañca, who claims that Jayakatyĕng had already succeeded Śastrajaya in *Kaḍiri* in the year 1271?

With regard to this question it is difficult to arrive at a certain conclusion. What seems clear is that Jayakatyĕng's claim to the throne of *Kaḍiri* upset the delicate balance of power established during the reign of Wiṣṇuwardhana; for had he truly succeeded Śastrajaya, as Prapañca states, he would then have had control over two of the kingdom's core appanages, thus posing a serious threat to Kṛtanagara. Exactly what happened is impossible to know at the present time, but it is likely that Kṛtanagara was indeed lulled into a false sense of security, as the text of the *Pararaton* implies.[53] The year 1271 recorded for the accession of Jayakatyĕng in *Kaḍiri* is perhaps significant, for it coincides almost precisely with the beginning of Kṛtanagara's reign as an independent sovereign.[54] At that time, presumably, the new king of Singhasāri would have relinquished his former title as ruler of *Daha*, perhaps thereby giving the hereditary vassal kings of *Kaḍiri* a chance to re-exert their influence. In this connection it is interesting

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50. Berg 1931, 2: 17-19, 35.

51. *sira turuk bali, putrī nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt, pinaka parameśwarī nira śrī jayakatyĕŋ, sakṣat kapwanakan ira narāryya smi niŋ rāt* (plate VIIa: 4-5). For the meaning of *kapwanakan*, see Zoetmulder 1995, 1: 459.

52. The relevant passage on plate IIIb of the inscription reads: [...] *śrī kṛtanagara sang līna ring śiwabuddhālaya ngūni tinekān de śrī jayakatyĕng sakeng glangglang*, [...] (Brandes 1920: 95).

53. Cf. *Par*. 25: 15-16, describing Kṛtanagara's initial reaction to the news that his capital was being invaded: "*Kadi pira sirāji Jaya Katong mongkonoa ring isun, apan sira huwus apakenak lawan isun.*" (How is it possible that Jaya Katong behaves like this towards me, for is he not already on good terms with me?).

54. According to Prapañca (*DW* 41: 4a), Kṛtanagara succeeded in Singhasāri upon the death of his father and predecessor, Wiṣṇuwardhana, in 1268. His first known inscription issued independently is the *Sarwadharma* charter, dated 31 October 1269 (Damais 1952: 72-73).

to note that the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* refers to a Śrī Śastrajaya, whose *patih* Mapañji Singharsa established a religious domain in the land of *Kaḍiri* (see note 35 above). This figure is very probably identifiable with the Śastrajaya of the *Deśawarṇana*, thus confirming the reliability of Prapañca's account.[55] He must have been Jayakatyĕng's father, and a brother-in-law of Wiṣṇuwardhana.

To recapitulate, the confrontation which took place in the period immediately preceding the founding of Majapahit was a re-enactment of the age-old struggle for supremacy between the kingdoms of *Janggala* and *Kaḍiri*, represented respectively by Narāryya Sanggrāmawijaya and Śrī Jayakatyĕng. Although the available sources tend to support the former's right of succession, there is in fact no evidence to confirm that he was the official crown prince. Judging by the information provided by the *Mūla-Malurung* charter, it rather becomes clear that Jayakatyĕng held a strong claim to the throne, especially if Kṛtanagara had failed to appoint a successor. The latter apparently did not have a male heir, whereas at least one of his daughters had been given in marriage to Jayakatyĕng's son Ardharāja;[56] a fact which initially helped to turn the tide in the favour of *Kaḍiri* during the power struggle of 1292. Indeed, without the fortuitous arrival of the Mongol army a few months later it seems unlikely that the rival prince Wijaya would ever have gained supremacy, and the history books today would tell a very different story.

As it happened, however, the leadership of Java eventually returned to a scion of the family of Narasingha, as is emphasized in the preamble to the 1294 *Kudadu* inscription. This was the most noble line of the Rājasa dynasty, with apparently strong connections in the region of *Janggala* (*Kahuripan*). As was mentioned earlier, it is probable that Śrī Harṣawijaya of the *Mūla-Malurung* charter was Prapañca's Dyah Lĕmbu Tal, the son of Narasinghamurti. It can be assumed, then, that Harṣawijaya's position as ruler of *Janggala* descended to his own son, Narāryya Sanggrāmawijaya, for which reason *Kahuripan* replaced *Daha* as the most prestigious appanage of the realm following the defeat of Jayakatyĕng and the establishment of the new capital at Majapahit. This observation finds support in the subsequent appointment of Wijaya's eldest daughter, Tribhuwanottungga-dewī, as ruler of *Kahuripan*, while her younger sister held the 'junior' appanage of *Daha*.

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55. *DW* 44: 2. The fact that Prapañca records Śastrajaya's accession in 1258, three years after the *Mūla-Malurung* charter was issued, need not overly concern us here. In view of the great age of the poet's informant, said to be 'more than 1000 months' (*DW*: 38: 4a), it is acceptable that the latter may no longer have remembered precisely when Śastrajaya took over from his predecessor.

56. This marriage is recorded on plate IIIb of the *Kudadu* inscription (Brandes 1920: 95).

Tribhuwanottungga-dewī's son Hayam Wuruk, later king of Majapahit, likewise reigned in *Kahuripan* during his minority. Thus it was that the focus of power became established once again in the northern half of the realm, as it had been during the reign of Airlangga in the 11th century.

The pratiṣṭa established by King Wiṣṇuwardhana [57]

It has already been noted that, early in his reign, Wiṣṇuwardhana occupied himself with the foundation of memorial shrines (*pratiṣṭa*) for his deceased ancestors, assisted by the loyal official named Prāṇarāja. Plates II and III of the *Mūla-Malurung* charter refer to the establishment of no less than five monuments in the years preceding 1255, all of which are listed among the 27 royal shrines (*suḍarmma haji*) in Prapañca's *Deśawarṇana*. [58] They appear in the following order in the inscription:

1. A *dharma* named *Narasinghanagara*, displaying an image of the god Wiṣṇu, dedicated to the king's grandfather at *Kagĕnĕngan* (IIb: 2-3).
2. A *dharma* named *Narasinghāsana*, likewise displaying an image of Wiṣṇu, on behalf of the king's father at *Kiḍal* (IIb: 4-7).
3. An unnamed *dharma* at *Pikatan*, complete with a Wiṣṇu image, dedicated to the king's uncle and father-in-law (IIIa: 1-3).
4. An unnamed *dharma* at *Kalang Bret*, established on behalf of the king's great-grandfather (IIIa: 4-5).
5. A *dharma* named *Narasingharājya* at *Pagĕr*, dedicated to an undisclosed royal family member (IIIa: 5-6).

The first two of these shrines are easily identifiable as those of Śrī Rājasa and Anūṣanātha/Anūṣapati respectively. A monument named Candi Kidal is well-known to this day, and the approximate site of the shrine at *Kagĕnĕngan* can be estimated with some confidence. [59] The site of the third shrine at *Pikatan*, however, remains to be identified. I am not aware of a village or settlement named Pikatan in the region of Malang, and Prapañca made no mention of the place when King Rājasanagara visited Singhasāri in 1359. On the other hand, it has been noted that *Pikatan* is listed among the 27 *suḍarmma haji* in the *Deśawarṇana*, which shows that it was recognized as an important ancestral shrine in the 14th century. Was it perhaps located in

57. For the various meanings of *pratiṣṭa*, see Zoetmulder 1995, 2: 855.

58. *DW* 73: 3 – 74: 2.

59. The site of Candi Kidal, situated 10 km S.E. of Malang in the district of Tumpang, has long been identified with the *dharma* built for Anūṣanātha/Anūṣapati, as described in the *Deśawarṇana* and *Pararaton* (cf. Bernet Kempers 1959: 73-74, as well as note 13 above). With regard to *Kagĕnĕngan*, Blom (1939: 150) already located the *dharma* "at a distance of about 6 km from Malang". Field investigations in the year 2000 convinced me that Rājasa's shrine lay close to the village of Parangargo in the district of Wagir, where a settlement named Kagenengan still exists. The place is situated almost precisely 6 km SSW of the town of Malang. For further details see Sidomulyo 2007: 79-80.

another part of the country? Although such a proposal might at first raise some objections, it becomes more plausible in the light of the new perspective afforded by the *Mūla-Malurung* charter; for it now appears that all five of the monuments mentioned above were the pious work of King Wiṣṇuwardhana, established partly for the purpose of celebrating the re-unification of the kingdom founded by his grandfather, and partly to underline the legitimacy of his reign. With these aims in mind it was important to emphasize the direct male line of descent, represented by the monuments at *Kagĕnĕngan* and *Kiḍal.* In this way the 'official' order of succession became established in the land to the east of Mt. Kawi following the rebirth of *Kuṭa Rāja* as *Singhasāri* in around the year 1254, echoed a century later in Prapañca's list of *suḍarmma haji*, which begins with *Kagĕnĕngan* (Rājasa), followed by *Tumapĕl* (Kṛtanagara), *Kiḍal* (Anūṣanātha) and *Jajaghu* (Wiṣṇuwardhana).[60]

Bearing in mind what has been said above, it would thus seem acceptable that the *dharma* at *Pikatan*, dedicated to the king's father-in-law, lay at some distance from the royal capital. There are in fact two places named *Pikatan* known from early East-Javanese inscriptional sources, both of which are identifiable today. The first lies not far to the west of the town of Srengat in the regency of Blitar, an area rich in archaeological remains. This village is very probably the *Pikatan* mentioned in the 1197 inscription of *Palah* (Candi Panataran), located in the heart of the ancient realm of *Kaḍiri*.[61] Another place named *Pikatan*, however, was situated further north in the division of *Janggala*, and may be of even greater antiquity. This village is mentioned in the stone inscription of *Wulig* (Bakalan), issued in the *Śaka* year 856 (934) during the reign of Pu Sindok.[62] It was situated in the foothills of Mt. Welirang in the present district of Gondang (Mojokerto), close to the river which still bears the name of Pikatan.[63]

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60. *DW* 73: 3a-b.

61. Krom 1913, OJO 74: 21(recto). The fact that the inscription of *Palah* mentions the name *Pikatan* along with the villages of *Padlĕgan* and *Pakandangan* makes this identification a near certainty. It cannot be mere coincidence that the two inscribed stones known as *Padlĕgan* 1 and 2, dated respectively 1117 and 1159 AD, were discovered at Pikatan in the region of Srengat, not far west of a village which is still named Kandangan. For a transcription of *Padlĕgan* 1 see Krom 1913, OJO 67. *Padlĕgan* 2 remains unpublished (as far as I am aware), but a discussion of the calendrical elements can be found in Damais 1955: 72-73.

62. Krom 1913*,* OJO 44: 5 (recto).

63. This is undoubtedly the place referred to in canto 17: 4 of Prapañca's *Deśawarṇana.* The passage describes the frequent visits made by King Rājasanagara of Majapahit to *Wewe*, *Pikatan* and *Canḍi Lima*, all of which lay not far east of the capital. A village named Wewe is still to be found on the northern bank of the river Pikatan, just 2.5 km south-east of present Candilimo.

It would, of course, be hazardous to speculate any further. All that can be said at this point is that placement of the *dharma* of Wiṣṇuwardhana's uncle and father-in-law in the region of *Janggala* serves to strengthen the likelihood that the queen Jayawardhanī and her brother Narasinghamurti were the heirs to that important appanage. The dedication of a monument in the land of *Janggala* could thus be interpreted as a political gesture on the part of Wiṣṇuwardhana, in keeping with the spirit of re-unification. This, however, all remains rather conjectural until we can determine more accurately the dynastic affiliations with the regions of *Janggala* and *Kaḍiri.*

In this connection it is extremely interesting to learn of the location of the fourth *dharma* listed in the charter, dedicated to Wiṣṇuwardhana's great-grandfather. The fact that *Kalang Bret* lay in the heart of the region ruled over by King Kṛtajaya early in the 13th century points to a dynastic connection with the earlier rulers of *Kaḍiri*.[64] Without further data, however, it is difficult to determine whether the great-grandfather referred to was the father of Rājasa himself, or that of his queen. Whatever the case, bearing in mind that Rājasa and Kṛtajaya were contemporaries, one could hazard a guess that the figure enshrined at *Kalang Bret* belonged to the generation of Śrī Kāmeśwara, who is known to have been ruling in *Kaḍiri* during the 1180's.[65] Curiously, it is just at this point that the region of *Janggala* enters the historical record after a lapse of more than a century, albeit in a work of literature. The epilogue to Mpu Dharmaja's *Smaradahana* makes a clear allusion to Kāmeśwara and his queen Śrī Dewī Kirana, who hailed from *Janggala*. From this time onwards, it seems, the northern division of Airlangga's realm began once again to exert its influence on Javanese political affairs, culminating in the victory of Wijaya and the establishment of Majapahit a century later.[66]

As to the last of the shrines mentioned in the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*, it seems almost certain that the *dharma* at *Pagĕr* was situated in the region of *Janggala*.[67] For some reason the scribe has chosen to omit the name of the

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64. *Kalang Bret* is identifiable with the present village of Kalangbret, situated on the eastern foot of Mt Wilis, not far west of Tulungagung. Prapañca lists *Kalang Bret* (spelled *Kalang Brat*) among the 27 *suḍarmma haji* recorded in 1365, and the place is further mentioned by the Sundanese pilgrim Bujangga Manik, who visited both *Kagĕnĕngan* and '*Kalang Abrit'* in around the year 1500 (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006: 263-264). This suggests that the royal shrines of the Rājasa dynasty continued to be important places of pilgrimage until the closing years of Majapahit.

65. For the inscriptions issued by Kāmeśwara, see Damais 1952: 68-71.

66. Zoetmulder 1983: 374, 587-588. This is a theme which needs to be explored further. Assuming that the romance of Kāmeśwara and Śrī Kirana forms the historical background for the development of the Pañji tradition during the age of Majapahit, it becomes understandable that the palace of the hero should shift from *Daha* to *Kahuripan*.

67. Examination of a number of historical sources indicates that there were two places named

royal figure to whom the monument was dedicated, which is unfortunate. The name of the *dharma* itself, however, has been recorded. It was known as *Narasingharājya*, which implies a close connection with the monuments at *Kagĕnĕngan* and *Kiḍal*, both of whose names contain the element *Narasingha*. In view of the fact that the *dharma* at *Pagĕr* is mentioned immediately after that of Wiṣṇuwardhana's great-grandfather at *Kalang Bret*, it is tempting to identify the figure enshrined there with another early forbear, who hailed from the region of *Janggala*. This would be in keeping with the hypothesis that the senior branch of the royal family of *Tumapĕl*, represented by the queen Jayawardhanī and her brother Narasinghamurti, acknowledged descent from that moiety of the realm.

One very important piece of information found on plate IIb of the charter of 1255 concerns the images (*arca*) placed in the royal shrines at *Kagĕnĕngan* and *Kiḍal*, both of which are described as portraits of the god Wiṣṇu. This contradicts entirely the picture presented by Prapañca, who states clearly that Śrī Rājasa was provided with images of Śiwa and Buddha at *Kagĕnĕngan*, while the *dharma* dedicated to Anūṣanātha at *Kiḍal* displayed a statue of Śiwa.[68] Hunter (2007: 38) already considered these contrasting descriptions as "irrefutable evidence for a major shift in the religious orientation of the royal line of East Java some time after 1255 CE". It certainly implies that, with regard to rituals connected with the apotheosis of royalty, the early rulers of *Tumapĕl* continued to adhere to the traditions inherited from their predecessors in *Kaḍiri*, until revolutionary changes were introduced following the accession of Kṛtanagara.

When exactly these changes occurred is difficult to say, but they should probably be linked in part to the threat posed by the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan in the last quarter of the 13th century. Despite the scarcity of inscriptional data, there is at least some evidence to show that important policies were being implemented at the very beginning of Kṛtanagara's

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Pagĕr in ancient Java. One of them was situated in the district of Purwosari (Pasuruan), and lay on the route followed by King Rājasanagara in 1359 (*DW* 55: 2). The other was the site of the royal shrine mentioned in the *Mūla-Malurung* charter. The place is listed among Prapañca's 27 *suḍarmma haji* (*DW* 73: 3), and is further mentioned on plate Xb: 6 of the 1296 inscription of *Sukamṛta* (Boechari 1985/6: 146). This last mentioned document refers to a *sīma* estate in the heart of the region of *Janggala* (Sidoarjo), which was obliged to pay annual tribute to the *dharma* at *Pagĕr*, described as a royal domain (*dharma sīma de Śrī Mahārāja*). Although not entirely conclusive, I believe that this is a sufficiently strong reason to place *Pagĕr* in the same area, where a number of villages named Pager are still known. Two settlements in particular, located in the districts of Gedangan and Wonoayu, lie close to archaeological sites which remain unidentified. It can be added that the name *Pagĕr* is recorded in a number of very early inscriptions originating from this same region, among them *Kaladi* (909) and *Hara-hara* (966). For a more detailed discussion see Sidomulyo 2007: 83-84, 108.

68. *DW* 40: 5 – 41: 1.

reign, apparently for the purpose of consolidation of the realm. It is noteworthy, for instance, that the first known inscription issued by this king as an independent sovereign (the 1269 *Sarwadharma* charter) contains the earliest reference to the united lands of *Janggala* and *Kaḍiri* (*bhūmi Janggala Pangjalu*).[69] The recently discovered copper plate inscription of *Rāmeśwarapura*, moreover, lists an unprecedented number of officials, village elders and invited guests, no less than 56 in all, hailing from an unusually wide region.[70] This latter document is of further interest because it introduces the *patih* Mapañji Angragani, hitherto known only from the *Pararaton*, thus showing that Kṛtanagara's replacement of senior officials had already begun before the year 1275, when the charter of *Rāmeśwarapura* was drawn up.[71]

Despite the indications that Kṛtanagara had already implemented some changes early on, it is not until 1286, with the inscription of *Dharmāśraya* (Padang Roco), that we learn of the king's predilection for Buddhism.[72] This was followed up with the inscription of *Wurare* (1289), preserved on the base of the famous Akṣobhya statue (Jaka Dolog) from Trowulan, Mojokerto. The commissioning of the temple at *Jajawa*, where followers of both Śiwa and Buddha joined to worship together, presumably occurred at around the same time.[73] In the light of the available evidence, then, it seems reasonable to suggest that the replacement of Wiṣṇu images by those representing Śiwa and Buddha at the shrines of Kṛtanagara's ancestors was in all probability undertaken during the 1280's.[74]

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69. Mentioned on plates IIb: 6, IIIa: 5, IIIb: 7 - IVa: 1 and VIa: 3, 5. See also the discussion of the *Sarwadharma* charter in Pigeaud 1960-1963, 4: 381-390.

70. Transcription in Suhadi 2003: 10-18. This charter, unfortunately incomplete, was discovered in the region of Probolinggo in March 2002. The contents concern the confirmation of a *sīma* grant in favour of a senior religious official named Śrī Brahmarāja, Dhang Hyang Dharanidara. As far as I am aware, this inscription is the only known contemporary document containing a direct reference to the figure of Narasinghamurti, whose name appears immediately after that of the king (plate XIb: 1). The fact that he is the recipient of gifts indicates that he was still alive in 1275.

71. According to the *Pararaton* (24: 18-25), upon ascending the throne Kṛtanagara immediately set about replacing a number of senior officials who had served under his predecessor. One of these was the old *patih* Mpu Raganatha, whose position was taken by Sang Apañji A(ng)ragani.

72. Transcription in Krom 1916: 306-339. The inscription is carved on the base of a statue representing the Buddhist deity Amoghapāśa, now preserved in the National Museum, Jakarta.

73. See Prapañca's description of this monument in *DW* 56-57.

74. Unfortunately nothing remains to be seen of the *dharma* at *Kagĕnĕngan*, but the prevalence of Garuda images at Candi Kidal certainly suggests that the monument may once have housed an image of the god Wiṣṇu. In this connection it is noteworthy that Blom (1985: 15) reported the discovery of a headless statue of Wiṣṇu at the site during renovations carried out in 1952.

Conclusions

In the foregoing pages I have re-examined the commonly accepted picture of Singhasāri in the light of recently acquired inscriptional data, in particular the three missing plates of the *Mūla-Malurung* charter recovered in 2001. This new evidence comes as a welcome addition to the all too fragmentary epigraphical material available to researchers in the past, which until now has tended to serve as no more than a supplement to the accounts supplied by the *Deśawarṇana* and *Pararaton*. Of course this fresh information hardly allows us to solve all the problems surrounding the period under discussion, but I believe that it is at least sufficient to form a foundation upon which to set about constructing a revised history. Inasmuch as the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* represents an almost complete contemporary document, it is fitting that it should serve as the yardstick against which the accuracy of the above-mentioned literary sources can be measured.

One rather surprising observation upon examining the contents of the charter is its apparent correspondence with the *Pararaton* account. Aside from strengthening our faith in the latter as a work of historical value, the complementary nature of the two sources serves to underline Hunter's interesting discussion of textual perspectives.[75] Freed from what he calls the "expressive needs of the political centre", the *Pararaton* can in this case provide us with a perspective which would almost certainly have been withheld in a formal document or work of classical literature (*kakawin*). Treated with caution, then, the *Pararaton* remains indispensable for an ongoing study of Singhasāri.

The *Deśawarṇana* offers yet another perspective, being an idealised portrait of Singhasāri as it was viewed in the mid-14th century. As a devout Buddhist, clearly dedicated to serving the progeny of the renowned Rājapatni, Prapañca took the opportunity to convey the history of the Rājasa dynasty as seen through the eyes of Dhang Ācārya Ratnāngśa, the old Buddhist priest (*sthāpaka*) of *Mungguh*.[76] Partially reliable to be sure, this text nonetheless requires as much caution as the *Pararaton*, mainly on account of what is left unsaid.

Turning now to the inscriptional evidence, we learn that there were in fact seven kings who ascended the throne in the land to the east of Mt. Kawi, as opposed to five listed in the *Pararaton* and just four mentioned in the *Deśawarṇana*. According to Prapañca, the illustrious founder of the Rājasa dynasty died in 1227, to be succeeded by his son Anūṣanātha who reigned

75. Hunter 2007: 28-32.

76. *DW* 38: 3c - 49: 8b.

peacefully over the land of Java for two decades. The *Pararaton* tells quite a different story, claiming that Rājasa died in 1247 at the hand of his stepson Anūṣapati, who was subsequently murdered by Toḥ Jaya. It is the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*, however, that helps to solve the mystery by indicating that Anūṣapati was succeeded by three brothers, the last of whom was Toḥ Jaya. The tentative conclusion to be drawn is that Prapañca's dating of Rājasa's death may be incorrect, and that the latter's four immediate descendants were engaged in a brief but bloody power struggle in the decade preceding Wiṣṇuwardhana's accession.

As to the realm of Singhasāri in the year 1255, the inscriptional data indicates that the quadripartite division of the kingdom into the lands of *Janggala*, *Kaḍiri*, *Wurawān* and *wetan ing Kawi* was already a reality at that time. It is interesting, however, that this last-mentioned district was apparently known simply as the land "to the east of Mt. Kawi". In former times it had come under the authority of a number of local chieftains, notably the *rakryan* of *Hujung*, *Waharu* and *Kanuruhan*,[77] and it was apparently not until the rise of Śrī Rājasa that the region came to be recognized as a kingdom in its own right. Even then, however, it continued to be known simply as *wetan ing Kawi*, to distinguish it from the lands of *Janggala* and *Kaḍiri* over which it held power.

In this connection it should be noted that, despite the impressive archaeological remains to be found in the vicinity of present-day Singosari, the distribution of inscriptions during the 12th and 13th centuries indicates that the centre of social, political and economic activity remained in the regions of *Janggala* and *Kaḍiri*, with a marked shift to the former from about 1250 onwards (see appended maps). The remarkably dense concentration of mid to late 13th century inscribed stones from the region of present-day Mojokerto, coupled with the report in the *Pararaton* of the establishment of fortifications at the river port of *Canggu* by Wiṣṇuwardhana,[78] reflects the outward-looking policy adopted by that king and his successor. For that reason, presumably, the role of *Janggala*, with its seaports, became increasingly dominant at that time.

A further important insight gained upon examining the new inscriptional data concerns an apparent sudden change in religious orientation following the accession of Kṛtanagara. The *Mūla-Malurung* charter lists a number of royal shrines established by the king Wiṣṇuwardhana on behalf of his deceased forbears, all of which are reported to have displayed images of the god Wiṣṇu. Among the shrines listed are those at *Kagĕnĕngan* and *Kiḍal*,

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77. Cf. the inscriptional record from the reign of Pu Siṇḍok in the 10th century, in particular plate IVa: 4-5 of the charter of *Wuraṇḍungan* (Krom 1913: OJO 50).

78. *Par.* 24: 10-11.

which according to Prapañca contained statues of Śiwa and Buddha. Faced with this contradictory information, one can only conclude that the images erected by Wiṣṇuwardhana in the mid-13th century were replaced at a later date by his successor, whose identification with Śiwa-Buddha is well-known. It should be added that, if our interpretation of the data is correct, it means that we can date all of the shrines listed in the charter to around the year 1250.

On the basis of the information supplied above, it would seem that the time has come to consider a complete revision of the dynastic history of 13th century Java. One could begin by noting that the name Singhasāri has yet to be found in any inscriptional source, at least as far as I am aware. Even the official name of *Tumapĕl* occurs rarely, being mentioned in just two instances before the year 1300.[79] It is not until 1365 that the name Singhasāri is first recorded by the poet Prapañca, from whom we learn that it was synonymous with *Tumapĕl*.[80] The same poet informs us that the district formerly named *Kuṭa Rāja* only became officially known as the city (*nagara*) of Singhasāri in the year 1254.[81] In the light of the data supplied by the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*, issued just one year later, Prapañca's statement takes on a greater significance.

One should thus perhaps ask if the term Singhasāri as it is currently applied to Javanese history of the 13th century is not something of a misnomer. We have, after all, no evidence to support the assumption that the kingdom founded by Rājasa was known by that name prior to 1254. On the contrary, the statement *maka ḍapur ikang nagara Tumapĕl* on the third plate of the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* rather tends to confirm Prapañca's report of the capital's change of name, when all the village representatives (*sāmya*) of *Kaḍiri* and *Janggala* came to court to celebrate the re-unification of the kingdom, as well as to witness the consecration of the young prince Kṛtanagara.[82]

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79. The earliest reference to *Tumapĕl* occurs in plate III of the recently discovered *Mūla-Malurung* charter, where it is identified as the capital of the kingdom ruled over by Narāryya Smining Rāt (*maka ḍapur ikang nagara Tumapĕl*). The second reference is plate IIIb of the *Kudadu* inscription of 1294 (Brandes 1920: 95), which refers to *Tumapĕl* as the residence of the king Kṛtanagara.

80. In his *Deśawarṇana*, Prapañca refers to King Rājasanagara's father alternatively as the prince of Singhasāri or *Tumapĕl*; a choice presumably determined in part by demands of the metres used in the *kakawin*.

81. *DW* 41: 3d. According to Pigeaud (1960, 1: 31), the text reads: *pradeśa kuṭarāja maṅkin atiśobhitāṅaran i siṅhasāri nāgara*, which translates: "The district of *Kuṭa Rāja* became more and more splendid, and so became known as the city of Singhasāri" (Robson 1995: 54).

82. *DW* 41: 3a-c.

I would therefore propose that, as a first step towards a revision of 13th century Javanese dynastic history, the age of *Kuṭa Rāja* needs to be separated from that of Singhasāri proper. Inasmuch as the accession of Wiṣṇuwardhana marked a new age in the kingdom's history, with a new name (and location?) for the capital, the occasion can hardly be considered as less momentous than the establishment of Majapahit by Raden Wijaya. Both events should be regarded as definitive landmarks, indicating separate chapters in a single continuous narrative, thereby providing a useful framework upon which to construct a revised history of the Rājasa dynasty.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*
BKI	*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*
DW	*Deśawarṇana* (Pigeaud 1960, Vol. 1)
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
NBG	*Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*
OJO	Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden. Nagelaten Transscripties van wijlen Dr. J.L.A. Brandes
OV	*Oudheidkundig Verslag*
Par.	*Sĕrat Pararaton* (Brandes 1920)
ROC	*Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera*
ROD	*Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*
TBG	*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
VBG	*Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*

Appendix A

The Rulers of Kuṭa Rāja / Singhasāri in 13th Century Inscriptions

Mūla-Malurung	
1177 *Śaka* (1255)	Bhaṭāra namas Śiwāya, *sang līna ring ḍampa kanaka* [1] *rāmanira* Narāryya Smining Rāt [2] *pamanira* / *rāmātuha* Narāryya Smining Rāt [3] Narāryya Guning Bhaya [4] Narāryya Toḥ Jaya [5] Narāryya Smining Rāt [6] Narāryya Mūrddhaja, Śrī Kṛtanagara [7]
Maribong	
1186 *Śaka* (1264)	Śrī Jayawiṣṇuwardhana, Mapañji Smining Rāt [6]
Pakis Wetan	
1188 *Śaka* (1267)	Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Lokawijaya ……Kṛtanagara [7] *makamanggalājñā* Bhaṭāra Jaya Śrī Wiṣṇuwardhana [6]
Narasinghanagara	
(undated)	Śrī Mahārāja (Kṛtanagara) [7] *makamanggalājñā* Bhaṭāra Jaya Śrī Wiṣṇuwardhana [6] *bhaṭāra ring narasinghanagara* [1]
Sarwadharma	
1191 *Śaka* (1269)	Śrī Kṛtanagara *śrī sakalajagatnatheśa nārasingha-mūrttyaninditaparākrama* [7] Bhaṭāra Jaya Śrī Wiṣṇuwardhana [6]
Rāmeśwarapura	
1197 *Śaka* (1275)	Śrī Mahārāja rājādhirāja dyah Urddhaja…*jaya śrī wiṣṇuwardhana saha prakira nopama satputra śrimat śrī jayawardhani dewi*…….Śrī Kṛtanagara [7]
Dharmāśraya (Padang Roco)	
1208 *Śaka* (1286)	Pāduka Śrī Mahārājadhirāja Śrī Kṛtanagara [7]
Wurare (Jaka Dolog)	
1211 *Śaka* (1289)	Śrī Jñānaśiwabajra ….. *śrī hariwarddhanātmajaḥ…. śrī jayawarddhanīputraḥ* [7]
Cāmuṇḍī (Ardimulyo)	
1214 *Śaka* (1292)	Śrī Mahārāja *digwijaya ri sakalaloka* [7]

The above list provides the names of the reigning kings of *Kuṭa Rāja*/Singhasāri as they appear in the inscriptional record from AD 1255–1292. Whereas the *Deśawarṇana* and *Sĕrat Pararaton* refer respectively to four or five kings, new epigraphical data discovered in the last 35 years shows that the throne was occupied by no less than seven individual rulers, four of whom may have reigned only briefly. The fact that they are known by a variety of names and titles, depending upon the sources consulted, can prove bewildering even for those familiar with the subject. For that reason I have prepared the following appended notes, which are intended to serve as a useful guide through this maze of identities. The numbers in square brackets indicate the order of succession, and will be discussed in turn.

[1] The earliest reference to the founder of the Rājasa dynasty is the 1255 charter of *Mūla-Malurung*, which identifies him as Bhaṭāra namas Śiwāya, or Bhaṭāra Parameśwara, both appellations of the god Śiwa. The same source attaches the epithet *sang līna ring ḍampa mās/kanaka* ("who died on his golden throne") to his name. This enigmatic figure is

mentioned again in another, undated inscription, where he is referred to by the posthumous title of *bhaṭāra ring narasinghanagara* ("the lord enshrined at *Narasinghanagara*").
Turning to the literature, Prapañca's *Deśawarṇana* of 1365 describes this royal progenitor as an immaculate son of Śrī Girindraprakāśa, the "Mountain Lord", and identifies him by the name of Śrī Ranggah Rājasa. From the *Pararaton* we learn that he bore the additional title of Bhaṭāra Sang Amūrwabhūmi. In his youth he was known simply as Ken Angrok.

[2] The name of Rājasa's successor is not mentioned in a single known inscriptional source. The *Mūla-Malurung* charter, however, refers to a *dharma* built for this king at *Kiḍal*, thereby allowing an identification with the figure known to Prapañca as Anūṣanātha, and to the *Pararaton* as Anūṣapati, or Apañji Aněngah. In the above-mentioned charter he is referred to simply as *rāmanira* ("father of") Narāryya Smining Rāt.

[3] This is the first of two rulers at *Kuṭa Rāja* who are not acknowledged in the literature. We know about his reign only from the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*, and even in that source his name is not mentioned. Since, however, he is described as the uncle (*paman*) of Narāryya Smining Rāt, it is probable that he was the brother of his predecessor. He is further said to have been Smining Rāt's father-in-law (*rāmātuha*) and the grandfather (*kaki*) of Kṛtanagara, who was Smining Rāt's son. This allows us to identify him with the figure known in the *Pararaton* as Mahiṣa Wong Atělěng, Rājasa's eldest son by his principal queen. Although the *Pararaton* gives no indication that Mahiṣa Wong Atělěng ever ruled at Kuṭa Rāja, and Prapañca does not mention him at all, the identification would seem to be most likely, as has been discussed in the preceding pages.

[4] Once again, the name of the fourth ruler, Narāryya Guning Bhaya, is known only from the charter of *Mūla-Malurung*. This king is described as another of Smining Rāt's uncles, thus probably identifiable with one of the younger brothers of Mahiṣa Wong Atělěng. According to the *Pararaton*, the latter had two younger full brothers named Apañji Saprang and Agnibhaya. One of them may have been the Narāryya Guning Bhaya of the inscription.

[5] The *Mūla-Malurung* charter states that Narāryya Guning Bhaya was succeeded by his elder brother (*kaka*) Narāryya Toḥ Jaya, another of Smining Rāt's uncles. Whereas Prapañca chooses not to acknowledge him, the figure of Apañji Toḥ Jaya is well-known from the *Pararaton*, where he is reported to have succeeded to the throne after murdering his predecessor, Anūṣapati. We now know that this is not entirely correct. Toḥ Jaya did become king, but not at the expense of Anūṣapati's life. In fact he succeeded Guning Bhaya, his younger half-brother, who presumably ranked higher in the social hierarchy. The *Pararaton* supports this likelihood, since it confirms that Toḥ Jaya was Rājasa's son by a junior wife named Ken Umang.

[6] We come now to the king who was reigning at *Tumapěl* when the *Mūla-Malurung* charter was issued. His name appears frequently in inscriptions from the second half of the 13th century, as well as in those from Majapahit, where he is known alternatively as Narāryya (or Mapañji) Smining Rāt, Śrī Jaya Wiṣṇuwardhana, Bhaṭāra Jaya Śrī Wiṣṇuwardhana, or Śrī Hariwardhana. Prapañca refers to him as Bhaṭāra Wiṣṇuwardhana, or simply Bhaṭāra Wiṣṇu, while the *Pararaton* records his name as Rangga Wuni, later consecrated as Bhaṭāra Wiṣṇuwardhana.

[7] The last king of Singhasāri (*Tumapěl*) was Śrī Kṛtanagara. From the charters of *Mūla-Malurung* and *Rāmeśwarapura* we learn that he was known also as Narāryya Murddhaja, the son of King Wiṣṇuwardhana and his queen Śrī Jayawardhanī. Later in his career, following consecration as a *jina*, or "living Buddha", Kṛtanagara acquired the title of Śrī Jñanaśiwabajra (and its variants Jñaneśwarabajra and Jñanabajreśwara), which according to Lokesh Chandra (1995: 154) indicated mastery of the esoteric knowledge of the Guhyasamāja-tantra. Inscriptions from the early Majapahit era refer to Kṛtanagara as the king who was "released in the realm of Śiwa-Buddha" (*sang līna ri Śiwabuddhalaya*), and the *Pararaton* reports that Śrī Śiwa-Buddha was enshrined at *Tumapěl*.

Appendix B

The Inscription of Mūla Malurung, Śaka 1177 (AD 1255)

The following transcription of the *Mūla-Malurung* charter has kindly been made available for publication by Titi Surti Nastiti of the Archaeological Research Centre in Jakarta. It offers a revised reading of the charter published by Boechari in 1985/86, as well as a new reading of the hitherto unpublished plates II, IV and VI, recovered in 2001. The transcription as it stands thus consists of 12 consecutive plates, although the concluding line on plate 12b makes it clear that the document remains incomplete. Variant readings by Boechari (B), Machi Suhadi (MS), Edhie Wurjantoro (EW) and Richadiana Kartakusuma (RK) have been provided in the footnotes.

Diacritics:	-	long vocal	ñ	n palatal (ny)
	ś	s palatal	ṅ, ŋ	velar nasal (ng)
	ṣ	s retroflex	ṇ	n retroflex
	ĕ	*pĕpĕt*	ḍ	d retroflex
	ö	long ĕ	ṭ	t retroflex
	ṛ	rĕ/ĕr	ḥ	h *wisarga*

Plate 1b

1. // o // nama śiwaya // o // swasti śakawarṣātīta. iŋ śaka. 1177. mārggaśira māsa. tithi pañcada-
2. śi śuklapakṣa. ma. u. bu. wara juluŋ. grahacāra. nairitistha. adrā nakṣatra. śulabhṛt= dewata. baruṇa maṇḍa-
3. la. indra yoga. kuwera. parwweśa. karkkaṭa rāśi. wiswabasu muhūrtta. wawa karaṇa. irika diwaśānyājñā pādu-
4. ka śrī mahārāja. sakwaiḥ nira kṛta pratiṣṭa dai nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. riŋ sanagara sanagara. makamukhya śrī
5. mahārāja. śrī lokawijaya puruṣottama wīrāṣṭabasudewādhipāniwāryya- wiryyanindita parakrama mūrdwa-
6. ja namottuṅgadewa. kṛtānagarābhiseka[1] nāmalañcana. maka purassārānugraha nira bhaṭāra parameśwara
7. . śrī sakalayawadwīpa naranāthādiguru. sira saŋ pinaka guru dai niŋ samaptagrāma. samasta kṣatriya. makādi sa-

Plate 2a

1. kweḥ nira prabhū ṅke riŋ nūṣa jawa. mwaŋ makottuṅgānugraha nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. śrī yawadwīpa samasta rājā di
2. wiśeṣānindita saṅgrāma parakrama digwijayāniwāryyawīryya- snahanāmottuṅgadewa. prakaśita smi ning rāt nā-
3. ma lañchana. tinaḍaḥ dai nira sama kṣatriya. makādi rakryan= mahāmantrī hino. rakryan= mahāmantrī sirikan. ra-
4. kryan=mahāmantrī halu. umiṅsor para taṇḍa rakryan riŋ pakirākiran=makādi saŋ pamgat=i tirwan. puspapāta ḍ-
5. aṅ= ācāryya jayaṅga saŋ pamgat=iṅ=kaṇḍamuhi. puspāta ḍaṅ= ācāryya marmmanantha. saŋ pamgat=i maṅhūri puspāta ḍaṅ= ā-
6. cāryya graja. tlas=karuhan=saŋ rāmapati. mapañji siṅharṣa. an akibegos makasirkasir= aṅgaḥ wahas. mapa-

1. Contrary to other known inscriptions from 13th century Java, the charter of *Mūla-Malurung* consistently spells the name of the king Kṛtanagara with a long ā.

7. ñji buliṇḍaḥ. apasĕṅgahan=saŋ prāṇarāja. padamlakna saŋ hyaŋ rāja praśasti. umuṅgwe ṅupala. tambra. ripta kunaŋ. sa-

Plate 2b

1. mbhanda. gati saŋ prāṇarāja. ankadi hulun=kalilin=parṇnaḥ saŋ prāṇarāja śaiwake sira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. tiṅkah saŋ
2. prāṇarāja. śaiwaka ri sira kaki nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. sira saŋ līna riŋ ḍampa mās. sira sang pinratiṣṭa nira narāryya
3. smi niŋ rāt. makaswarūpaŋ wiṣṇwarccha. maṅkāne[2] saŋ hyaŋ dharmme kagnĕṅan. maka saṅ=ajñā narasiṅha nagara. saŋ prāṇarāja
4. pinaka hastapāda dai narāryya smi niŋ rāt. ri kāla niŋ kāryya pratiṣṭa. mahābhāra. muwah ri paŋḍiri nīra rāma nira
5. narāryya. gumantya ni paŋḍiri nira kaki nira. śaiwaka saŋ prāṇarāja. ri sira rāma nira sira pāduka saṅ=ahulun=sa-
6. ṅ=ajñā nira. sira saŋ tlas=pinratiṣṭa maka swarūpaŋ wiṣṇwarccha denira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. ṅkane saŋ hyaŋ dharmma ri kiḍal. ma-
7. ka nāmadheya narasiṅhāsana. saŋ prāṇarāja lotsāri pinaka taṅan=suku nira. ri kāla niŋ kāryya pratiṣṭa bhūmi-

Plate 3a

1. śoddhanādi. mwaŋ ri kāla ni kapratiṣṭa nira pamanirātĕhĕr pinaka rāmātuha nira. sira saŋ lineŋ kubwan agĕŋ.
2. rāma nira narāryya waniŋhyun. kaki nira rānakira. sira śrī kṛtānagara. sira maka swarupaŋ wiṣṇwarccha. ṅkāne saŋ hyaŋ
3. dharmme pikatan. saŋ prāṇarāja muwaḥ pinaka hastapāda de narāryya smi niŋ rāt. ri kāla ni bhūmiśoddhanā-
4. di. muwaḥ ri kāla ni kapratiṣṭa nira yuyut=ira. ṅkāne saŋ hyaŋ dharmma ri kalaŋ bret. saŋ prāṇarāja pinaka pura-
5. ssāra niṅ aŋhuwusakĕn samahābhāra ni kāryya. muwaḥ ri kāla nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt anusuk dharmma ṅkāne
6. pagĕr. maka nāmadheya narasiṅharājya. saŋ prāṇarāja lot hati pinaka parabwat nira. waluyana taṅ=ujar
7. . anantara saṅke līna nira pamanira pwa. aṇḍiri ta sira pamanira. sira narāryya guniŋ bhaya. śaiwaka saŋ prāṇarā-

Plate 3b

1. ja ri narāryya guniŋ bhaya. swarggastha pwa narāryya guniŋ bhaya. gumanti ta narāryya toḥ jaya. pramaṇa riŋ jagat
2. kaka sira dai narāryya guniŋ bhaya. paman muwaḥ dai narāryya smi niŋ rāt. śaiwaka muwaḥ saŋ prāṇarāja ri narāryya
3. toḥ jaya. līna pwa narāryya toḥ jaya. narāryya smi niŋ rāt ta pinasaṅakĕn prajāpatya. dai para śaiwaka
4. makādi saŋ pamgat iŋ raṇu kabayān saṅ=apañji pati pati. maka ḍapur ikaŋ nagara tumapĕl maka siṅha nira pāduka mpu-
5. ṅkwiŋ kapuluṅan sirānawasthā. sthāpaka riŋ kabhairawan. sira tānusuk saŋ hyaŋ dharmma panaiwaśikān riŋ taheĕn ma-
6. nis. dinadyakĕnira kakolikān. makāṅśa sadṛwya haji nikaŋ tahĕn manis. tinūttyan piṇḍah watĕ-
7. k wuga. maka nimitta ṛĕṇa nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. an digwijayān maka sthāpake sira. muwaḥ hana ta sira brāhmana

2. MS: *ṅkāne* ; EW, RK: *naṅkane*.

Plate 4a

1. paramartweṅajñā. sira rāghawadewa ṅaran=ira. apasĕṅgahan brahmārājaguru. sira ta wineh=anusuka dharmma
2. sīma swatantra. kakolikan. riŋ bhūmi jaṅgala. ika maṅaran=i hasĕm pañjaŋ. lāwanya ranaka nikaŋ pañjiŋ dharmma ri hu-
3. juŋ maṅaran ryy yayoddhya[3]. mwang hana ta sira madaka ṅaran=ira. parama yajurwwedajña. agamajña. paramatatwa wit
4. sira ta pinaka purohita nira rāka nira. sira śrī kṛtānagara. pinariwrttha ta sira de niṅanya brāhmana wedapāra-
5. ga. lwir nira. pragwedajñā yūwwedajñā samawedajña. sinewita ta sira de niṅ=aneka bhadamantrīmukya. makā-
6. di saŋ pamgat=iŋ raŋu kabayān=mapañji patipati. saŋ wineh= anusuka dharmma sīma swatantra. ṅkāneŋ bhūmi jaṅgala. ma-
7. kanā. māŋkṛ ṣṇapura.[4] saŋ rāma pati. mapañji siṅharsa. apatih=i sira śrī śastrajaya. śaŋ sinuṅ=anusuka dharmma sīma[5]

Plate 4b

1. tantra. ṅkāneŋ bhūmi kaḍiri. makanā mamitra puri saṅ =apañji. nirākāra.dmuŋ ring jaṅgala. sumiwī śrī harṣawijaya[6]. saŋ
2. wineh=anusuka dharmmasīma swatantra. ṅkāne bhūmi jaṅgala. maka saṅ=ajñā surāsana. saṅ=apañji dūtarāga. prahajya-
3. n. saŋ wineh=anusuka dharmma sīma swatantra. ṅkaneŋ bhūmi wetan=iŋ kawi. maka saŋ jñākṛtasana. saṅ=apañji samaka. a-
4. patih=ira narapati kṛtānagara. saŋ inanugrahan=anusuka sīma swatantra. ṅkāneŋ bhūmi jaṅgala. makanāmaŋ harija-
5. ya. saṅ=apañji siṅanambat. apatih=i=wurawan. amaṅku kaprabhū ni raji jayakatyöŋ[7]. saŋ wineh=anusuka dharmma sī -
6. ma swatantra. ṅkaneŋ bhūmi kaḍiri. ataganikaŋ wahuta rāma triṇitaṇḍa. maka saŋ jñākṛṣṇāsana. tlas=karuhan=saŋ
7. prāṇarāja. saŋ nityadhirotsahāṅalocittanayopāya riṅ=ahorātra. dumadyakĕn swāstha niŋ rāt

Plate 5a

1. ṅūni ṅūni kadigwijaya nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. samaṅkana pinakādi niŋ śaiwaka ri sira narāryya smi niŋ rā-
2. t. kapwa ta lwilwihan kabhaktin. aṅulahakĕn dharmma niŋ śaiwaka saptati. dwāra saŋ prāṇarāja tan kewĕhan aman
3. hyaṅaken sakapti ni rowan=ira śaiwaka. ri sira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. paṅawruhana yan maṅkana. paḍa kṛtānu-

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3. MS: *airyoddhya*, EW: *ryayoddhya*, RK: *ryy ayoddhya*.

4. MS: *maŋ kana hiŋ kṛṣṇapura*, EW: *maka namakṛṣṇapura*, RK: *maka nāmā kṛṣṇapura*. Despite the variant readings, there seems little doubt that the passage refers to the *dharma* named *kṛṣṇapura*, mentioned exactly half a century later in the 1305 inscription of *Balawi* (plate IXa: 6 - IXb: 1, transcr. Boechari 1985/6: 164-168). The passage runs: *rāma sang apañji patipati, sira nguni manusuk dharma ring kṛṣṇapura*.

5. In all the other readings the word *sīma* is followed by *swa,* which one would expect before the word *tantra.*

6. MS: *śri haji wijaya*, EW: *śri harṣa wijaya*, RK: *śrī harśa wijaya*.

7. MS: *jayakatyöŋ*, EW: *jayakatyeŋ*, RK: *jayakatyĕŋ*.

4. graha sakweh=iŋ pinakādi niŋ śaiwaka samaṅkanā[8] lwir nira. hatur saŋ prāṇarāja
   nimitta nikā. tuhun saŋ prāṇarāja ju-
5. ga tapwan kṛtānugraha ri kasusukan=iŋ sima. de nira saŋ prabhu saŋ tlas kapratiṣṭa
   dai narāryya smi niŋ rāt. i tan maṅka-
6. na sukha saŋ prāṇarāja. maṅkin dhirotsaha. an kanitabahu nāyaka. śaiwaka ri
   rowang niṅ=a śaiwaka. mwang śai-
7. waka ri sakweḥ nira prabhu ṅke riŋ nūṣa jawa. mwaṅ i madhura. ṅūni ṅūni
   kasuṣṭubhaktin saŋ prāṇarāja ri sira narā-

Plate 5b

1. ryya smi niŋ rāt. āpan tan hana dewa makādiŋ brahmā wiṣṇu maheśwara. an lena
   saṅke sira narāryya smi
2. niŋ rāt. wnaṅ=aṅanugrahakna sakāpti niŋ śaiwaka mahābhāra ri sira. mwaŋ wnaṅ=
   aŋrakṣa yogya rakṣan. an
3. ḍaṇḍa yogya ḍaṇḍan. rumākṣaŋ sarwwadharmma. mūnarjiwakĕn sahana niŋ
   dharmma parikṣi[r]ṇa. tan paweḥ ryyabhicaruka
4. niŋ lmaḥ bala. lāwan sahana niŋ sīma para sīma. kalaŋ. kalagyan. kamūlan.
   kakurugan. kuṭi wihāra. śā-
5. la. parhyaṅan. karṣyan. umaluyakĕn pūrwwa sthitinya juga sira. kumatuturaken
   sakramanya ṅūni riŋ muhun mala-
6. ma. maka nimitta wdi niran kacampurana pamaṅunira dharmma. apituwi praśāsti
   kadānaśūra nira. asaṅkye ya saŋ
7. brahmāṇa. kṛtadāna pratigraha saṅke sira. lumrā ta kirttyanurāga nira riŋ rāt.
   śaratkāla pūrṇnaca-

Plate 6a

1. ndrajyotsnanibha. ankaditadilaḥ niŋ pūrṇna śasāṅka ri kāla niŋ lahṛu prakāśa[9] ta
   kasūradhīra siṅha nira.
2. aniwāryyawīryya nira. aninditiparakrama nira riŋ ranāṅga. maddhyahnādityakara
   sutaikṣṇya pratima. anka-
3. dita satiśaya ni panasiteja niṅ =aditya[10] ri kāla niŋ tṅah= ṅ-wai. saŋ siptanya.
   śuraśaktitani sira riŋ ranāṅga
4. maṅkana hiḍĕp[11]=saŋ prāṇarāja riŋ swahṛdaya. dumeḥ saŋ prāṇarāja maṅkāna.
   yāwat=hana sira purusa wnaṅ=aṅanugra-
5. ha kna sakahyun=ŋ śaiwaka ri sira. sira paśarīra niŋ sarwwa dewa makadi=ŋ
   tridewa[12]. sira mātā. sira pitā. sira
6. guru. ikā ta dwāra saŋ prāṇarāja. ekacitta gumawayakĕn guru suśrusān. ana śaiwaka
   ri sira narāryya
7. smi niŋ rāt. muwaḥ tan=hana mātāpitā. guru. an lenasaṅkeŋ kaditiṅkah=ira
   sinewaka paḍa[13] lāwan=sira na-

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8. B: *samaṅkā*.

9. MS: *lahṛu*, *prakāśata*, EW: *lahru*. *prakāṣa*, RK: *lahru*. *prakaśa*.

10. MS: *ni panasite jani ṅaditya*, EW: *ni panasi teja niṅaditya*, RK: *nipana sitejani ṅanitya*.

11. MS, EW, RK: *hiděp*.

12. MS: *sarwwa dewa makādiŋ tri dewa*, EW: *sarwwa dewa makādiŋ tridewa*, RK: *sarwwa mākadi ŋ tridewa*.

13. EW, RK: *pada*.

Plate 6b

1. rāryya smi niŋ rāt. paṅawruhana yan=maṅkana. katon=dai nika[ŋ][14] niṣṭa maddhyamottama. saŋ prāṇarāja nitya saŋ sa-
2. rgga mwaŋ saŋ rāmapati. anaṅkil ri sira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. aṅalocittanayopāya. mwaŋ ṅalampahakĕn bala
3. kośa wāhana. dumadyakĕn sthīratara[15] ni paluṅguḥ nira saŋ prabhu riŋ maṇikanaka siṅhāsana. mwaŋ dumadyakĕn wṛ-
4. ddhi niŋ yaśānurāga nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. prakaśita riŋ nūṣa para nūṣa. tinūt=i parāmadigwijayanira narāryya
5. smi niŋ rāt. an=mahakĕn=samalĕlö niŋ sayawadwīpa maṇḍala[16]. anūluyan=i nūṣāntara. nāŋ madhura. makawyakti sira
6. śrī harṣawijaya[17]. parṇnaḥ pahulunan dai nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. inandĕlakĕn muṅgweŋ ratnakanaka siṅhā-
7. sana. ṅkāneŋ bhūmi jaṅgala. putra nira saṅ =apañji dimūrttī[18]. rakryan kulupkuda[19]. ipe de nira narāryya smi niŋ

Plate 7a

1. rāt. inadgakĕn prahajyan ṅkāneŋ nagara madhura. ri kāla saṅ =apañjyādimūrtti mare tumapĕl. sira narā-
2. ryya kiraṇa. sakṣat= ātmaja nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. pinratiṣṭa juru lamajaŋ. pinasaṅakĕn[20] jagat=pālaka. ṅka-
3. neŋ[21] nagara lamajaŋ. sira narāryya mūrddhaja. atmaja nira muwaḥ. sira śrī kṛtānagara nāma niran=inabhiṣeka[22]. pi-
4. nasaṅakĕn[23] ṅkāneŋ maṇikanaka siṅhāsana. riŋ nagara daha. sinewita niŋ bhūmi kaḍiri. sira turuk bali. putrī
5. nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. pinaka parameśwarī nira śrī jayakatyĕŋ. sakṣat= kapwanakan=ira narāryya smi niŋ rāt
6. sira pinratiṣṭa ṅkāneŋ maṇikanaka siṅhāsana. maka nagare glaŋ glaŋ. sinewita dai nikaŋ sakala bhūmi wurawā-
7. n. sira śrī ratnarāja. parṇnah=ari wwaŋ sānak=amisan=de narāryya smi niŋ rāt. pinratiṣṭa ṅkāneŋ maṇikanaka siṅhā-

Plate 7b

1. sana. riŋ rājya i moroṇo. sira śrī narajaya. parṇnah=aryya misan=dai narāryya smi niŋ rāt. sirenandĕla-
2. kĕn riŋ maṇikanaka siṅhāsana. ṅkāneŋ nagara ri hriŋ. sira śrī sabhājaya. parṇnah=aryya misan=dai narāryya smi niŋ rā-
3. t. sira pinratiṣṭa ṅkāneŋ [maṇi]kanaka siṅhāsana. ri nagara lwa. sira saŋ prabhu samaṅkana lwir nira. kapwa ta sira tlas=kṛ-

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14. MS: *denikaŋ*, EW: *de nikaŋ*, RK: *dai nīkaŋ*.

15. MS: *swiratara*, EW: *sira tara*, RK: *sthīratāra*.

16. EW, RK: *maṇdala*.

17. MS: *sira śri haji wijaya*, EW: *sira śri harṣa wijaya*, RK: *sīra śrī harṣawijaya*.

18. MS: *apañjyadimūrttī*, EW: *apañjyadimūṛttī*, RK: *apañjyadīmūrttī*.

19. MS: *kulupkada*.

20. B: *pinasaṅaken*.

21. B: *ṅkāneŋ*.

22. B: *inabhiśeka*.

23. B: *pinasaṅaken*.

4. tābhiṣeka dai nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. ṅkāne nagara nira sowaŋ sowaŋ. saŋ prāṇarāja lot=sāri lina-
5. mpahakĕnira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. tūt=niŋ[24] senawṛnda śaiwaka. yadyan brāhmaṇa. rĕṣi. śaiwa. sogata. a-
6. tĕhĕr amrayogakĕn=sādhana. sādhana niŋ kāryya mahābhāra. rājābhiṣekādi. āpan=tan=hana śaiwaka kadi
7. saŋ prāṇarāja. śaiwaka ri sira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. tan wruh= aněṅgah[25] maṅgalya. tan wruh-aněṅgah=alapā. ta-

Plate 8a

1. n=wruh=aněṅgaḥ dūrggama[26]. yāwat=inutus=niŋ kadi sira śinewaka. lumampaḥ[27] juga tan=asuna. nimitta saŋ prāṇarā-
2. jān maṅkana. āpan=niyatāmaṅguhakĕn abhyudāya riṅ=ihātra parātra. ikaŋ wwaŋ nitya ṅūlahakĕn[28] dharmma ni śai
3. waka saptati. an=maṅkana lkas=i saŋ prāṇarāja śaiwaka. sāri saryya ṅlampahakĕn=sapaṅutus=ira narāryya smi niŋ rā
4. t. apituwyan=kaniseṣṭ asādhya[29] ni manaḥ[30] nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt.riŋwāhyadhyātmika. ikā=n maṅkana. tapwan saŋ
5. prāṇarāja inanugrahan ri kasusukaniŋ sīma. ika ta dwāra sama śaiwaka labdheṣṭa prayojana. huwus
6. kṛtānugraha. makādi saŋ rāmapati. maměm malapkna. musapa reṇucaraṇadwaya nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. aŋ
7. hyaṅa turunani warasanmata nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. aṅanugrahakna thāni sāwakanya. dadyakna sīma ma-

plate 8b

1. pakna i saŋ prāṇarāja. riŋ tad=anantara. marĕk ta sakweḥ saŋ labdhānugraha. maka paṅhulu saŋ rāmapati. riŋ śū-
2. nyadeśa. panambahi manömanöhi lmah=i talapakani kadi bhāwa nira dewamūrtti lobhāŋhyaŋ[31] tulusani wa
3. ra prāsāda lmah=i talapakan ra saṅhulun[32]=i manömanöhiŋ kadi bhāwa nira. ndya ta tulusani siḥ sanmata nire
4. manömanöhira. hilaṅakna duḥkha manastāpa ni manömanöhira. makadwāra tan=sama ni wara prasāda lmah=i tala-
5. pakanira. aṅanugrahakĕn=sukhā sama sama. makādi kasusuka niŋ sīma. ri manömanöhira makabehan. tu
6. hun manömanöhira pun prāṇarāja. tapwan=inanugrahan=sīma de lmah i talapaka nira. punikā tāṅde ci
7. ttas kālitāṅdadyakĕn duḥkha manastāpa. riŋ swahṛdaya ni manömanöhira sowaŋsowaŋ. an kadi ta manö-

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24. B: *tūttiŋ*.
25. B: *aněngah*.
26. B: *durggama*.
27. B: *lumampah*.
28. B: *ṅulahakĕn*.
29. B: *kanisestasādhya*.
30. B: *manah*.
31. B: *lobhāŋhyan*.
32. B: *saṅhulum*.

plate 9a

1. manöhira kṛtāghna. kadi tan wruh=iṅ=aguṇa. kādi tan=guṇa grahi. kādi swartha kewala. samaṅkānādi ni
2. kaŋ doṣa tumama ri manömanöhira. mwaŋ kadi paṅtibhedi lmah=i talapakan ra saṅhulun. ya tan pānulus=asiḥ
3. sanmata lmah=i talapakanire manömanöhira. saŋsipta ni panĕmbah=i manömanöhira maka śirsassnāna ra
4. rabi lmah=i caraṇadwaya niŋ kadi sira dewamūrtti. aŋhyaŋ turunani warānugraha lmah=i talapakanira. i ri pu-
5. n prāṇarāja. makanimitta yogya nipun=anugrahana thāni. sathāni rwaŋ thāni dadyakna sīma swatantra. gañja-
6. rananipun=nitya gumawayakĕn=dharmma niŋ śaiwaka saptatī. maka tĕmbeyani sira kaki nira. namaste sira bhaṭā-
7. ra namaś=śiwāya. sira saŋ līna riŋ ḍampa kanaka. makāwasāna paŋḍiri lmah=i talapakan=ra saṅhulun. an pi-

plate 9b

1. naka=ika cchātra niŋ bhūwana sayawadwīpa maṇḍala. anuluyan=i nūṣāntara. an=maṅkana panambaḥ saŋ rāmapati.
2. tan wawaŋ sirāsaṅgup. sḍaṅ=ekacitta rumasa ni parama yogya ni panambaḥ saŋ rāmapati. āpan=swabhāwa niŋ
3. kadi sira dewamūrtti wiṣṇwatāra. tan wawaṅ=asaṅgup. mwaŋ tan=dadi tan=paŋrĕṅö hatur niŋ śaiwakāṅdadyakĕn=hi
4. tāwasāna. tan=dadi tanpāṅanugraha ni śaiwakāŋlampahakĕn=kaśaiwakanuttama ri sira. riṅ=awasāna. tan=a
5. dawāsaharira. sampun=kasaŋsipta yukti ni rasa ni sirat=i madhura wacana saŋ rāmapati. atyantā parama santu
6. ṣṭi ni manah=iṅ=hulun maka nimitta patut=i buddhi niṅ=hulun. lawan=sakinaptyakĕn ra saṅhulun makabehan.
7. ndan=hana bhedannyamatra. alāmaṅhulun=ahyun=asūṅa deśa lor=iŋ nagara. maka nāmaŋ mūla. mwaṅ=i maluruŋ. da

plate 10a

1. dyakna sīmādĕg riṅgita. gañjarakna i saŋ prāṇarāja. saha kāryyana kawnawnaṅa niŋ kadaṅ=haji jaṅgala kaḍi-
2. ri. mwaŋ wṛtti sawṛtti niŋ kadaŋ haji jaṅgala kaḍiri. makādiṅ=akarmma. wālyawālya. ri hana ni saŋ prabhu mahā
3. bhāra. tūtĕn=i sasantāna pratisantāna saŋ prāṇarāja. kadaṅ=haji ri dlāha niŋ dlāha. saŋsiptanya. saha kāryya[33]
4. nugraha niŋ kakadaṅ=hajyan=dai niṅ=hulun maṅanugrahaŋa sīma ri saŋ prāṇarāja. tuhun=awdi taṅ=hulun li-
5. ṅgacchāya ri sira sama prabhu makabehan. sakweh[34] nira tlas pinratiṣṭa ṅkāneŋ maṇikanaka siṅhāsana. ma-
6. kalarapana kasāmarthyan ra saṅhulun makabehan=ta yan=maṅkana. tulusakna pamahārsuka ra saṅhulun. ri
7. yogya ra saṅhulun=makabehan=muwaḥ. aŋdulurāṅusapa lbu ni pāduka nira śrī mahārāja makabehan

33. B: *kāryyā*.

34. B: *sakwen*.

plate 10b

1. makādi sira śrī kṛtānagara. amöṅakna pasamagri nira maṅke ri kāla ni kapūjānira
2. bhaṭāra parameśwa-
3. ra. an=maṅkana rasa ni sirat=i maṇikira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. laris=ta sama
4. labdheṣṭa prayojana. makapaṅhu-
5. lu saŋ rāmapati. humaṇḍĕm=anambah=umusap lbū ni pāduka nira śrī mahārāja
6. makabehan. maka pura-
7. ssāra sira śrī kṛtānagara. kathañcana masamagrī sira sama prabhu manaṅkil=i sira
8. śrī kṛtānagara. sanyasā
9. naṅkila ri sira pāduka bhaṭāra. labdha manoratha saŋ rāmapati.
10. maṅgihakn=īṣṭasādhya. ri kapaṅgihira para
11. prabhu masamagrī kāṅkĕn=aŋhaturakna pūjā ri sira pāduka bhaṭāra. makādi sira śrī
12. kṛtānagara. humatur saŋ
13. rāmapati ri samuka nira sama prabhu. maka nāryyama sira śrī kṛtānagara. panambaḥ
14. patik=haji ri pāduka

plate 11a

1. śrī mahārāja samudāya. maka pramakai[35] pāduka śrī kṛtānagara. amuṅahakna
2. kinapatyaknira rāma
3. pāduka śrī mahārāja. ri hana ni jijñāsa nira rāma pāduka śrī jagannātha. aŋdadyakna
4. sīmāděg riṅgita.
5. ikaŋ deśa lor=iŋ nagara maka nāma mūla. mwaṅ i maluruŋ. donanya. gañjarakna ri
6. patik=haji pan[36]=prāṇa-
7. rāja. saha kāryyanatānugraha niŋ kakadaŋ hajyan. kakadaŋ hajyan=iṅ=kadaŋ haji
8. jaṅgala kaḍiri. tūt=niŋ
9. santāna prātisantāna patik haji pun=prāṇarājawaṅkakadaŋ haji. ri dlāha niŋ dlāha.
10. ndan=awalĕra wara prāsā-
11. da śrī naranātha. kadulura dai ni wara prāsāda nira para prabhu samudāya. wdi nira
12. rāma ī mahārāja liṅga-
13. cchāya riṅ=kadi bhawa pāduka śrī mahārāja jagannātha. apan=pāduka śrī narādhipa
14. sākṣāt=maka dṛwyekaŋ pṛ-

plate 11b

1. thiwi maṇḍala. liṅ=ira rāma pāduka śrī jagannātha. mwaŋ pāduka śrī mahārāja wnaŋ
2. wigrahānugraha. an=maṅka
3. na pari samāpti ni hatur saŋ rāmapati. kapwa ta sira tumulya saṅgup. sama
4. rasanyājña nira. niyatānkani sakinā
5. ptyak=nira narāryya smi niŋ rāt. kunaŋ sira śrī krtānagara juga tan wawaṅasaṅgup.
6. paṅdani kadewamūrttya nira.
7. mwaŋ paṅdainyanugraha ni dewa wiśeṣa ri sira. an=sirenahākĕn=sakala jagat=
8. pālaka. naranātha rāja. a-
9. tĕhĕr=alona lampaḥ turunyājña nira. tan=bheda rasanya lāwan rasanyājña nira sama
10. prabhu. uwa saŋ rāmapati
11. sampun=ta saŋsipta rasa ni psat psat=i madhura wacana ra saṅhulun=uwa.
12. makārasābuka ri hana ni jijñāsa nira ra
13. bapa. aŋdadyakna sīma swatantrādĕg riṅgita. irikaŋ deśa lor=iŋ nagara. maka nāma
14. riŋ mūla mwaṅ=i maluruŋ

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35. B (1985/86: 191), a scribal error. The word should read *pramukhai*.

36. B (*ibid.*), read *pun*.

plate 12a

1. mapakna gañjarakne saŋ prāṇarāja. masaha karyya kānugraha ni kakadaŋ hajyan. larapanyan waṅśa kadaŋ ha-
2. ji sasantāna pratisantāna ra uwa saŋ prāṇarāja. ri dlāha niṅ dlāha. mwaŋ tūt=niŋ kawnaŋ wnaṅa niŋ kadaŋ haji. kawnaṅa[37]
3. kna ni santāna pratisantāna ra uwa saŋ prāṇarāja. ri dlāha niŋ dlāha. yadyan=umuṅgwe sīma. umuṅgweṅ=anyadeśa
4. makādi nagara. atĕhĕr=akarmma. walya walya ri hana ni kāryya nira saŋ prabhu mahābhāra. makendhikā. pahyaŋ
5. ri suka nira sama prabhu. anugrahakna sakinaptyak nira ra bapānugrahakne ra uwa saŋ prāṇarāja. ikā ta kahyun=i
6. ra ra bapa maṅkana. alpa ri ḍĕpin=hulun. apituwi. aṅdadyakĕn kastutya nira sama prabhu. mwaŋ halĕp=iŋ kadi sira pra-
7. bhu. yadyan mahābhāra towi kaharĕp=ira ra bapa. ri sira sama prabhu makabehan. ndan yan=mapakne ra uwa

plate 12b

1. saŋ prāṇarāja. ahamsaraṅ=hulun=uwa saŋ rāmapati. ri katka ni kāpti nira ra bapa dai nira sama prabhu. āpa-
2. n=karĕṇan hinaturan sukāsama[38] sama nira makabehan dai nira ra bapa. maka sahāye ra uwa saŋ prāṇarāja.
3. mwaŋ kasāmārthyan ra saṅhulun kabeh. āpan=tan=hana kadaŋ wargga pahutaṅa niŋ kādi sira prabhu. lena saṅkeṅ=amra
4. siddhakĕn=kaprabhu nira. mwaŋ dumadyakĕn=karayastweni keśwaryya nira. sira sama prabhu. paḍāntuk=ira ra bapāmratiṣṭa.
5. ṅkāneŋ maṇikanakamaya siṅhāsana. riŋ nagara sanagara. maka sahaye ra uwa saŋ prāṇarāja. ṅūni ṅūni kapra-
6. bhu niṅ=hulun. nora śewake sira ra bapa. paḍa lāwan ra uwa saŋ prāṇarāja. lot=sari pinaka rowa
7. ṅira ra bapāṅaloccittāguṇa[39] buddhi riṅ=ahoratra. katiṅhalan=dai niṅ=hulun. an maṅkana. paran=ta tan=suka[40]

37. B: *kawwaṅa*.

38. B: *sukhāsama*.

39. B: *bapāṅaloccittāguna*.

40. B: *sukha*.

Appendix C

Sĕrat Pararaton, Text and Translation

The excerpt from the *Sĕrat Pararaton* presented below follows the text as published in Brandes (1920, 13: 15 – 25: 28), with some minor alterations to the spelling and diacritics, introduced mainly for the sake of consistency. The section reproduced begins with the rise to power of Ken Angrok, and concludes with the death of King Kṛtanagara. The accompanying free translation, prepared by the present writer, does not pretend to be definitive. It is rather intended to serve as a rough guide to the narrative, and thereby facilitate the reader's understanding of the arguments put forward on the preceding pages.

Text

p. 13

[15] Dadi hana bhujangga boddhasthāpaka ring Panawijen, lumaku mahāyāna, atapa ring setraning wong Panawijen, apuṣpata sira mpu Pūrwa. Sira ta anak-anak stri tunggal, duk derengira mahāyāna; atyanyta ring listu-hayuning putrinira, aran ken Ḍĕḍĕs. Sira ta kawĕrta yen hayu, tan hana amaḍani rupa-nira yen sawetaning Kawi kasub tĕkeng Tumapĕl. Karungu denira Tunggul
[20] amĕtung, tumuli sira Tunggul amĕtung ḍatĕng ing Panawijen, añjujug maring ḍukuhira mpu Pūrwa, kapanggih sira ken Ḍĕḍĕs, atyanta garjitanira Tunggul amĕtung tumon ing rara hayu. Katuju sira mpu Pūrwa tan hana ring pata-panira, samangka ta ken Ḍĕḍĕs sinahasa pinalayokĕn denira Tunggul amĕtung. Saulihira sira mpu Pūrwa saking paran tan katĕmu siranakira, sampun pina-
[25] layokĕn denira sang akuwu ring Tumapĕl, tan wruh ring kalinganira, ya ta sira mpu Pūrwa anibakĕn samayu tan rahaju, lingira: "Lah kang amalayokĕn anakingsun mogha tan tutuga pamuktine matia binahud angĕris; mangkana wong Panawijen asata pangangsone, mogha tan mĕtua bañune bejine iki, dosane nora

p. 14

awarah iringsun yen anakingsun den-walating wong". Mangkana lingira mpu Pūrwa. "Kalawan ta anakingsun marajakĕn karma amamaḍangi, anghing sot-mami ring anakmami mogha anĕmwa rahayu den-agung bhāgyane". Mang-kana sotira mahāyāna ring Panawijen. Satĕkanira ken Ḍĕḍĕs ring Tumapĕl rino-
[5] wang sapaturon denira Tunggul amĕtung, tan sipi sihira Tunggul amĕtung, wahu ngiḍam sira ken Ḍĕḍĕs, dadi sira Tunggul amĕtung akasukan, acangkrama soma-han maring taman Boboji, sira ken Ḍĕḍĕs anunggang gilingan. Satĕkanira ring taman sira ken Ḍĕḍĕs tumurun saking paḍati, katuwon pagawening widhi, kengis wĕtisira, kengkab tĕkeng rahasyanira, nĕhĕr katon murub denira ken
[10] Angrok, kawĕngan sira tuminghal, pituwi dening hayunira anulus, tan hanāma-ḍani ring listu-hayunira, kasmaran sira ken Angrok tan wruh ring tingkahanira. Saulihira Tunggul amĕtung saking pacangkraman, sira ken Angrok awarah ing sira ḍanghyang Lohgawe, lingira: "Bapa ḍanghyang, hana wong istri murub rahasyane, punapa lakṣaṇaning stri lamun mangkana, yen hala rika yen ayu
[15] rika lakṣaṇanipun". Sumahur sira ḍanghyang: "Sapa iku kaki". Lingira ken Angrok: "Wontĕn, bapa, wong wadon katinghalan rahasyanipun deningsun". Lingira ḍanghyang Lohgawe: "Yen hana istri mangkana, kaki, iku stri nā-riśwarī arane, adimukyaning istru iku, kaki, yadyan wong papa angalapa ring wong wadon iku, dadi ratu añakrawarti". Mĕnĕng sira ken Angrok, ri wĕkasan
[20] angling: "Bapa ḍanghyang, kang murub rahasyanipun puniku rabinira sang aku-wu ring Tumapĕl; lamun mangkana manira-bahud angĕris sirakuwu, kapaṣṭi mati de mami, lamun pakanira angadyani". Sahurira ḍanghyang: "Mati, bapa kaki, Tunggul amĕtung denira, anghing ta ingsun tan yogya yan angadyanana ring ka-harĕpira, tan ulahaning paṇḍita, ahingan sakaharĕpira". Lingira ken Angrok:

[25] “Lamun mangkana, bapa, ingsun amit ing sira”. Sumahur sang brahmaṇa: “Maring punĕndi ta sira kaki”. Sumahur ken Angrok: “Ingsun ḍatĕng ing Karuman wontĕn bobotoh angangkĕn wĕka iringsun, aran sira Bango samparan, asih iringsun;

p. 15

punika ingsun-tarinipun kadi angyogyanana”. Lingira ḍanghyang: “Rahayu yan mangkana, sampun ta, kaki, sira alawas ing Karuman”. Lingira ken Angrok: “Punapa karyaningsun alawasa”. Sah sira ken Angrok saking Tumapĕl, tĕka sireng Karuman, kapanggih sira Bango samparan. “Saking ĕndi kawĕtunira, alawas
[5] tan mareringsun, kadi ring swapna ingsun atĕtĕmu lawan sira, alawas tĕmĕn denira lungha”. Sumahur ken Angrok: “Wontĕn ing Tumapĕl ingsun bapa, amaraseba ring sirākuwu. Sangkaningsun maring sira, hana rabinirākuwu, tumurun saking paḍati, kasingkab rahasyane, katon murub deningsun. Hana ta brahmaṇa hañar angajawa, puṣpatanira ḍanghyang Lohgawe, sirāngaku wĕka ring ingsun, ingsun-
[10] takoni: punapa araning stri yen murub rahasyanipun. Lingira sang brahmaṇa: uttama dahating stri yen mangkana, arane iku kang sinangguh stri ardhanārīśwari ika, sulaksaṇa tĕmĕn, pan iku asing aděrwe rabi, katĕkan dadi rati añakrawati. Ingsun ta, bapa Bango, kapengin dadi ratu, harĕpingsun ki Tunggul amĕtung ingsun-patenana, rabine ingsun-alape, malar bapa, ranakira dadi ratu, amalaku ingsun
[15] pangadyanira bapa ḍanghyang. Ujarira ḍanghyang: kaki Angrok tan kawaśa ring brahmaṇa yan angajĕngana ring wong angalap rabining arabi, hingan sakaharĕpira piamběk. Punika karaṇaningsun maring bapa Bango, malaku adyanadyanira bapa ingsun-cidrane sirākuwu ring Tumapĕl, wyakti mati sirākuwu deningsun”. Sumahur sira Bango samparan: “Rahayu yen mangkana.
[20] Ingsun, kaki, angadyani, yen sirāharĕp ambahud angĕris ring sira Tunggul amĕtung, anghing ta sira kaki Angrok, sirākuwu tĕguh, manawi nora tĕḍas yen derasuduka ring kĕris kurang yoninya. Hana mitraningsun paṇḍe ring Lulumbang, aran pu Gandring, yoni olih agawe kĕris, norana wong atĕguh dene pagawene, tan amingroni yen sinudukakĕn, ika konĕn akarya ḍuhung. Yen huwus dadi

p. 16

kĕris, nggenirāñidra ring ki Tunggul amĕtung”. Mangkana wĕkasira Bango samparan ring ken Angrok. Lingira ken Angrok: “Amit ingsun, bapa, maring Lulumbang”. Sah sira saking Karuman, nuli maring Lulumbang, katĕmu sira Gandring anambut karya ring gusali, tĕka ken Angrok tur atakon: “Iya sira
[5] baya aran Gandring. Lah rĕko ingsun pagawekĕna kĕris, huwusa limang wulan, agatana gawene deningsun”. Lingira mpu Gandring: “Sampun limang wulan punika, lamun sira ayun den-apĕnĕd, manawi satahun huwus, enak ratĕng papalonipun”. Lingira ken Angrok: “Lah sarupane gugurindane, anghing den-huwus limang wulan”. Sah ken Angrok saking Lulumbang, maring Tumapĕl, kapang-
[10] gih sira ḍanghyang Lohgawe; atakon ing ken Angrok: “Paran sangkanira alawas ing Karuman”. Sumahur ken Angrok: “Sumĕlang manira, bapa, ring Lulumbang”. Samangka ta ken Angrok alawas apanganti ring Tumapĕl. Huwusing gĕnĕp limang wulan, engĕt ing samayanira yen aken anggawe kĕris ring sira mpu Gandring. Mara sira ring Lulumbang, katĕmu sira mpu Gandring anggugurinda,
[15] aninigasi papalampahanira ken Angrok kĕris. Lingira ken Angrok: “Ĕndi kenkenaningsun ring kaki Gandring”. Sumahur sira Gandring: “Singgih kang ingsun-gurinda puniki, kaki Angrok”. Pinalaku tininghalan punang kĕris denira ken Angrok. Lingira asĕmu bĕndu: “Ah tanpolih deningsun akonkon ring sira ki Gandring, apan durung huwus gugurindane kĕris iki, lagi asĕbel, iki kapo ru-
[20] pane kang dera-lawas limang wulan lawase”. Apanas twasira ken Angrok, dadi sinudukakĕn ing sira Gandring kĕris antukira Gandring agawe ika. Anuli piṇĕrangakĕn ing lumpang śela pambĕbĕkan gurinda, bĕlah aparo; pinĕrangakĕn ing paronira Gandring, bĕlah apalih. Samangka sira Gandring angucap: “Ki Angrok, kang amateni ring tĕmbe kĕris iku, anak-putunira mati dene kĕris iku,
[25] olih ratu pipitu tĕmbe kĕris iku amateni”. Wusira Gandring angucap mangkana, mati sira Gandring. Samangka ta arupa analahasa sira ken Angrok patinira Gan-

dring. Lingira ken Angrok: “Lamun ingsun dadi wong tumusa ring anakputune apaṇḍe ring Lulumbang”. Tĕhĕr mantuk sira ken Angrok maring Tumapĕl.

p. 17

Hana kakasihira Tunggul amĕtung, aran Kĕbo hijo, apawong sanak asihsihan lawan ken Angrok. Satinghalira Kĕbo hijo ring sira ken Angrok anungkĕlang ḍuhung hañar, adanganañ cangkring katut rinipun tanpagagala wungkul, arĕmĕn sira Kĕbo hijo mulat. Angucap ing ken Angrok: “He, kaka, sunsilihe kĕrisira iku”. Sinungakĕn denira ken Angrok, ingangge denira Kĕbo hijo tumuli, wetning rĕsĕpira tumon; alawas ingangge denira Kĕbo hijo ḍuhung saking ken Angrok punika, nora hana wong Tumapĕl tan sapekṣaha yen sira Kĕbo hijo anungkĕlang ḍuhung hañar. Mogha ta mangke ḍuhung punika minalingan denira ken Angrok, kĕna dening amalingi. Tĕhĕr ken Angrok kala ratri anuli maring dalĕm pakuwon, duwĕg sirĕping wong, katuwon denira dinuluraning widhi, anuli mareng paturonira Tunggul amĕtung, tan kawara lakunira, sinuduk sira Tunggul amĕtung denira ken Angrok, tĕrus prāṇanira Tunggul amĕtung mati kapisanan. Kĕris antukira Gandring agawe kinatutakĕn minaha. Mangke huwus rahina kawaswasan ḍuhung tumanĕm ing jajanira Tunggul amĕtung, tinĕngĕr dening wong kang wruh kĕrisira Kĕbo hijo, kang inganggo sabran dina. Pangucaping wong Tumapĕl kabeh: “Ki Kĕbo hijo kalingane kang añidra ring sira Tunggul amĕtung, apan sawyakti kĕrise katut ing jajanira sang akuwu ring Tumapĕl”. Samangka sira Kĕbo hijo sinikĕp dening kadang-wargganira Tunggul amĕtung, tinĕwĕk ing kĕris antukira Gandring akarya punika, mati ki Kĕbo hijo.

Hana ta anakira Kĕbo hijo, aran Mahiṣa raṇḍi, alara patining bapa, ya ta winilasan kinaṭik denira ken Angrok, atyanta wĕlasira ring Mahisa raṇḍi. Mogha hyang dewa sirandandani, tuhu yan kramanira ken Angrok ring sira ken Ḍĕḍĕs, alama akakarĕpan, tan hananing wong Tumapĕl wani angucapa satingkah-polahira ken Angrok, mangkana sakadang-warganira Tunggul Amĕtung mĕnĕng tan hana wĕnang angucapa, ya ta apanggih ken Angrok lawan ken Ḍĕḍĕs. Sampun ta sira abobot tigang lek katinggal denira Tunggul amĕtung,

p. 18

kaworan denira ken Angrok, atyanta denira silihasih sira ken Angrok lawan ken Ḍĕḍĕs, alawas papanggihira. Gĕnĕp leking rare mijil anakira ken Ḍĕḍĕs lanang, patutanira Tunggul amĕtung, ingaranan sang Anūṣapati, papañjinira sang apañjy Aněngah. Alama sira papanggih ken Angrok kalawan ken Ḍĕḍĕs, malih aputra ken Ḍĕḍĕs lawan ken Angrok, mijil lanang aran sira Mahiṣa wong atĕlĕng, mwah ari denira Mahiṣa wong atĕlĕng lanang aran sang apañji Saprang, arinira pañji Saprang lanang aran sira Agnibhaya, arinira Agnibhaya wadon aran sira dewi Rimbu, papat patutanira ken Angrok lawan ken Ḍĕḍĕs. Hana ta binihajinira ken Angrok anom, aran sira ken Umang, sira ta apatutan lanang aran sira pañji Toḥjaya, arinira pañji Toḥjaya lanang aran sira pañji Sudhatu, arine pañji Sudhatu lanang aran sira twan Wrĕgola, arine twan Wrĕgola istri aranira dewi Rambi. Kwehning putra 9, lanang 7 wadon 2.

Tĕlas purwa wetaning Kawi, kaputĕr sawetaning Kawi, sama awĕdi ring sira ken Angrok, mahu ariwariwa ayun angadĕga ratu, wong Tumapĕl sama suka yen ken Angrok angadĕga ratu. Katuwon panduluring widhi sang ratu ring Daha siraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis angandika ring parabhujangga sahaneng Daha, lingira: “E, ki parabhujangga śewa-sogata, paran sangkanira nora aněmbah ring ingsun, apan ingsun sakṣat bhaṭāra Guru”. Sumahur parabhujangga sakapasuking nagareng Kaḍiri: “Pukulun tan wontĕn ing kinakina bhujangga aněmbahi ratu”. Mangkana lingira bhujangga kabeh. Lingiraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis: “Lah manawa kang ring kuna nora aněmbah, kang mangko ta ingsun sĕmbahĕn denira, manawa sira tan wruh ring kaśaktiningsun mangko sun-wehi pangawyakti”. Mangke ta siraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis angadĕgakĕn tumbak, laṇḍeyanipun tinañcĕbakĕn ring lĕmah, sira ta alinggih, ring pucuking tumbak, tur angandika: “Lah pa-

rabhujangga dĕlĕngĕn kaśaktiningsun". Sira ta katon acaturbhuja, atrinayana, sakṣat bhaṭāra Guru rupanira, winidhi anĕmbaha parabhujangga sakapasuking Daha, sama tan harĕp anĕmbaha tur mĕrsah paḍa angungsi maring Tumapĕl asewaka ring ken Angrok. Samangka mulaning Tumapĕl tan ahiḍĕp ing nagareng Daha. Tumuli sira ken Angrok inastwakĕn prabhu ring Tumapĕl, araning

p. 19

nagara ring Singhasāri, abhiṣekanira śri Rājasa, bhaṭāra sang Amūrwabhūmi, ingastryan dening bhujangga śewa-sogata kang saking Daha, makadi sira ḍanghyang Lohgawe sira asangkapaṇi, kunĕng kang asih awĕlas ring sira ken Angrok ing kina duk sira sĕḍĕng kasyasih, paḍa ingundang kabeh, tinulung denira winalĕs pawilasane, makadi sira Bango samparan, tan ucapĕn siramaṇḍaleng Turyantapada, lawan anaking apaṇḍe wĕsi ring Lulumbang, aran pu Gandring, satuse apaṇḍe ring Lulumbang luputeng saarik purih, satampaking wulukune wadung-pacule. Hana anake ki Kĕbo hijo den-paḍa kawĕwĕnangane lawan anake pu Gandring. Hana anakira bapa ḍanghyang (Lohgawe) aran wangbang Saḍang, patutanira lawan wong Wiṣṇu, tĕmokĕna kalawan anakira bapa Bango kang aran Cucupuranti, mangkana rasaning andika sang Amūrwabhūmi. Atyanta krĕtaning nagaraning Singhasāri, paripūrṇa nirwighna.

Alawas karĕngö wĕrtanira ken Angrok yan huwus pangaděg ratu, kahatur ing siraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis yen sang Amūrwabhūmi harĕp amĕrĕpa maring Daha. Andikaniraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis: "Sapa ta angalahakĕna ring nagaraningsun iki, manawa kalah lamun bhaṭāra Guru tumurun saking akaśa, sugyan kalaha". Ingaturan sira ken Angrok, yan siraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis angandika mangkana. Lingira sang Amūrwabhūmi: "E parabhujangga śewa-sogata kabeh, astokĕna ingsun abhiṣeka bhaṭāra Guru". Samangka ta mulanirabhiṣeka bhaṭāra Guru, ingastwaning bhujangga brahmaṇa rĕṣi. Tur sira anuli anglurug maring Daha. Karĕngĕ deniraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis yen sang Amūrwabhūmi ring Tumapĕl anĕkani andon maring Daha. Lingiraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis: "Alah ingsun sĕḍĕnge ki Angrok winonging hyang". Samangka ta sañjata-ing Tumapĕl acucuh lawan sañjata Daha, aprang loring Gantĕr, apagut sama prawira, anglongi linongan, katitihan sañjata Daha. Ariniraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis moktah bamakrĕti ksatriya raden Mahiṣa walungan, lawan mantrinira prawira aran Gubar balĕman; moktahning arinira Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis mwah wadwa pinakatihati sira Gubar balĕman kalih karĕbat dening wado Tumapĕl, amah guṇung denipun aprang. Samangka

p. 20

ta wado Daha kapalayu, apan kang pinakadining prang sampun kawĕnang. Irika ta sañjata Daha bubar tawon, pungkur wĕḍus, dahut payung, tan hana pulih manih. Samangka ta siraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis murud saking paprangan, angungsi maring dewalaya, gumantung ing awangawang, tĕkaning undakan, pakaṭik, juru payung lawan amawa taḍah sĕḍah, taḍah toya, panglante, sama milu angawangawang. Prasiddha kalah ring Daha denira ken Angrok. Lawan sira rayinira (sang Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis) dewi Amisani, dewi Hasin, dewi Paja, mangkin sama katuran yan siraji Ḍangḍang gĕṇḍis alah aprang, karĕngö wontĕn ing dewalaya gumantung ing awangawang, mangke ta sira twan dewi katiga mukṣah lawan kaḍaton pisan. Irika ta sira ken Angrok huwus ing jayasatru, mulih maring Tumapĕl, kaputĕr bhūmi Jawa denira. Sakakala pañjĕnĕngira huwus kalah ing Daha 1144.

Alawas hana wĕrta sang Anūṣapati, anakira Tunggul amĕtung, ataken sira ring pamongmong: "Awĕdi manira dening sira rama-pakanira", aturing pamongmong: "Aron pakanira matūra ring sira ibu pakanira". Tan suddhanira Nūṣapati ataken ing sirebunira: "Ibu ingsun ataken ing sira punapa kalinganira bapa yen tuminghal ing isun, pahe tinghalira kalawan sanakingsun kabeh, tan ucapĕn lawan putranira ibu anom, mangkin pahe tinghalira bapa". Tuhu yan samasanira sang Amūrwabhūmi. Sahurira ken Ḍĕḍĕs: "Kaya dudu kang angandĕli, yen sira kaki ayun wruha, sira Tunggul amĕtung arane ramanira; kating-

gal ingsun tigang śaśih, ya ta ingsun ingalap denira sang Amūrwabhūmi". Lingira Nūṣapati: "Kalingane, ibu, dudu bapaningsun sang Amūrwabhūmi, punapa ta ibu paḍĕmira bapa". "Sang Amūrwabhūmi, kaki, amateni". Mĕnĕng sira ken Ḍĕḍĕs, arupa kaluputan dening awĕrta sajati ring siranakira. Lingira Nū-
[25] ṣapati: "Ibu, wontĕn ḍuhungira bapa antukipun Gandring akarya, ingsun-tĕḍanipun ibu". Sinungakĕn denira ken Ḍĕḍĕs. Sang Anūṣapati amit mantuk maring kamĕgĕtanira. Wontĕn ta pangalasanira ring Baṭil, inundang denira Nūṣapati kinon amatenana ken Angrok, sinung ḍuhung antukipun Gandring akarya, nggenipun amatenana ring sang Amūrwabhūmi, ingĕbang wong Baṭil

p. 21

denira Nūṣapati. Mangkat wong Baṭil maring dalĕm kaḍaton, kapanggih sang Amūrwabhūmi sĕḍĕngira anaḍah, tĕhĕr sinuduk sira dening wong Baṭil. Duk sira kacūrṇa Wĕrhaspati Pon ing Landĕp; masanira anaḍah saṇḍe jabung, sampun surup prabangkara amasang sanda. Sampuning lina sang Amūrwa-
[5] bhūmi, malayu wong Baṭil, angungsi sang Anūṣapati, matur wong Baṭil: "Sampun moktah sira rama-pakanira den-manira". Nĕhĕr sinuduk wong Baṭil denira Nūṣapati. Ujaring wong Tumapĕl: "Ah bhaṭāra sirengamuk dening pangalasaning Baṭil, sira Nūṣapati angĕmbari amuk". Ri linanira sang Amūrwabhūmi i śaka 1169. Sira dhinarmeng Kagĕnĕngan.
[10] Sampun mangkana sang Anūṣapati anggantyani añjĕnĕng ratu, duk sang Anūṣapaty angadĕg ratu i śaka 1170. Alama kawĕrta ring raden Toḥjaya, sira anakira ken Angrok saking rabi anom, nama sang apañji Toḥjaya, ya ta angrĕngö sapolahirānūṣapati angupahakĕn ing sang Amūrwabhūmi, moktah dening wong Baṭil. Sang apañji Toḥjaya tan suka moktahning sira ramanira, akirakira
[15] amet pamalĕs, margahaning kapatinira sang Anūṣapati. Wruh sang Anūṣapati yan kinire denirapañji Toḥjaya, yatna sang Anūṣapati, pagulinganira binalungbang, ring pamĕngkang wong angayĕngi, pikanděl atata. Huwus alama marĕk sang apañji Toḥjaya amawa sawung sira, mareng bhaṭārānūṣapati. Lingirāpañji Toḥjaya: "Kaka, wontĕn kĕrisira bapa, antukipun Gandring akarya,
[20] ingsun-tĕḍanipun ing sira". Tuhu yan samasanira bhaṭārānūṣapati. Sinungakĕn ḍuhung antukipun Gandring akārya denira sang Anūṣapati, tinanggapan denirāpañji Toḥjaya, sinungkĕlang, tumuli ḍuhungira kang ingangge ringuni, sinungakĕning wongira. Lingirāpañji Toḥjaya: "Duwĕg, kaka, ta-bongbong". Sumahur sang Anūṣapati: "Lah, yayi". Tumuli aken angambila sawung ring juru
[25] kurung. Lingirānūṣapati: "Lah, yayi, ta-adunipun pisan". "Singgih", lingirāpañji Toḥjaya. Sama anajeni ḍawak, sama akĕmbar, katungkul sang Anūṣapati. Tuhu yan sĕḍĕng antakanira, kempĕr pijĕr angadokĕn sawungira, sinuduk denirāpañji Toḥjaya. Lina sang Anūṣapati i śaka 1171. Dhinarma sira ring Kiḍal.

p. 22

Gumanti sirāpañji Toḥjaya añjĕnĕng ratu ring Tumapĕl. Hana ta putranira sang Anūṣapati, aran sira Rangga wuni, kapĕrnah kaponakan denirāpañji Toḥjaya. Sira Mahiṣa wong atĕlĕng, sanakirāpañji Toḥjaya tunggaling bapa saos ibu, aputra ring sira Mahiṣa campaka, kapĕrnah pahulunan deni-
[5] rāpañji Toḥjaya. Duwĕgirāpañji Toḥjaya ingastren, pinarĕking mantri samadaya, makanguni sira Praṇaraja. Marĕk sira Rangga wuni adulur lawan sira Kĕbo campaka. Lingirāpañji Toḥjaya: "E mantri samadaya, makadi Praṇaraja, dĕlĕngĕn iki kaponakaningong, kamakara rupane lawan pangadĕge. Paran rupane musuhingong ring nūṣāntara, dene wong roro iki, angapa denira, Pra-
[10] ṇaraja". Asahur sĕmbah sira Praṇaraja matur: "Singgih, pukulun, andika pāduka bhaṭāra, apĕkikpĕkik ing rupa, sama wani sira kalih, anghing pukulun, upamanira kadi wuwudun munggwing nābhi, tan wurung sira amatyani ri puhara". Mĕnĕng talampakanira bhaṭāra, sangśaya karasa aturira Praṇaraja, runtik sang apañji Toḥjaya. Tĕhĕr angundang in sira Lĕmbu ampal, kinon ang-
[15] hilangakĕna ring raden kalih. Andikanirāpañji Toḥjaya ring sira Lĕmbu am-

pal: “Mon luput denira angilangakĕn ing kṣatriya roro iku, ko ndak-ilangakĕn”. Duk sirāpañji Toḥjaya akon angilangakĕn ring raden kalih ring sira Lĕmbu ampal, wontĕn sang brahmaṇa sĕḍĕng anangkapaṇeni ring sirāpañji Toḥjaya, denira ḍanghyang angrĕngö yan raden kalih kinen ilangakĕna. Awĕlas sang
[20] brahmaṇa ring raden kalih, awarah “yan sira Lĕmbu ampal kang kinon angilangakĕna, yen luputa kalih, kaki, sira puniki denipun Lĕmbu ampal, pun Lĕmbu ampal gumanti ingilangakĕn denira śri maharaja”. Lingira rahaden kalih: “Sira ḍanghyang tambontĕn ta wontĕn dosaningsun”. Sahurira sang brahmaṇa: “Aron ta sira kaki asĕnĕtana rumuhun”. Pinariringakĕn manawi
[25] brahmaṇanira adwa, ya ta rahaden sama maring sirāpañji Patipati. Andikanira raden: “Pañji Patipati ingsun asĕnĕtan ring umahira, anĕngguh ingsun harĕp ilangakĕna bhaṭāra, yen ingsun atut harĕp ilangakĕna, nora doṣaningsun”. Pinarurungokĕn denirāpañji Patipati: “Rahaden atut, yen pakanira ingilangakĕn pun Lĕmbu ampal sinalahan”. Mangkin enak denirāsĕnĕtan kalih, rinuruh sira ra-

p. 23

haden kalih tan kapanggih. Pinarurungokĕn tan kaparungon paranira. Ya ta sinĕnggeh sira Lĕmbu ampal sakārayita lawan raden kalih denira bhaṭāra. Samangka sira Lĕmbu ampal ingilangakĕn, malayu tasĕnĕtan ing tatangganirāpañji Patipati. Angrungu sira Lĕmbu ampal yen raden kalih hana ring sirā-
[5] pañji Patipati. Ya ta sira Lĕmbu ampal marĕk ing raden kalih, aturira Lĕmbu ampal ing raden kalih: “Manira angungsi ring pakanira pukulun, doṣa-manira kinen angilangakĕna ring pakanira denira bhaṭāra. Mangkin ta manira anĕḍa cinoran manawi manira tan kanděl den pakanira, enakan manira angawula ring jĕng pakanira”. Sampune cinoran awatara kalih dina, sira Lĕmbu ampal
[10] marĕk ing raden kalih, matur ing raden: “Punapa wĕkas pakanira rahaden, tan wontĕn puharanirāsĕnĕtan, manira anuduka wong Rājasa mĕne, sĕḍĕngipun ababañu”. Tatkala sore, anuduk wong Rājasa sira Lĕmbu ampal, ingalokĕn malayu maring Sinĕlir. Ujaring wong Rājasa: “Wong Sinĕlir anuduk wong Rājasa”. Watara kalih dina wong Sinĕlir sinuduk dening Lĕmbu ampal, binuru malayu ma-
[15] ring Rājasa. Ujaring wong Sinĕlir: “Wong Rājasa anuduk ing wong Sinĕlir”. Wĕkasan atutukaran wong Rājasa lawan pangalasaning Sinĕlir, rame alolongan, sinapih saking dalĕm tan ahiḍĕp. Runtik sirāpañji Toḥjaya, ingilangakĕn kalih batur pisan. Angrungu sira Lĕmbu ampal yen wong kalih batur ingilangakĕn, mara sireng wong Rājasa sira Lĕmbu ampal. Lingira Lĕmbu ampal: “Yen sira ing-
[20] ilangakĕn angungsia ring raden kalih sira, apan sama hana rahaden”. Sangguping wong Rājasa: “Parĕkakĕna ugi, ki Lĕmbu ampal, wong batur puniki”. Bhinakta pinituhaning wong Rājasa, marĕk ing raden kalih. Aturing wong Rājasa: “Pukulun pakanira sakiṭaha kawula ing Rājasa, sahandika-pakanira, pakanira-corana, manawi tan tuhu pangawulanipun, pahea rika denipun angawula”. Mangkana
[25] wong Sinĕlir, sama ingundang pinituhanipun, tunggal sanggupipun lawan wong Rājasa, tir pinatut kalih batur sampun kacoran, winĕkas: “Mĕne sore paḍa merenea, tur amawaha sahayanira sowang sowang, paḍa ambarananga maring kaḍaton”. Sama amit mantuk wong Sinĕlir lawan wong Rājasa. Katĕkan sore masa sama rawuh kalih batur amawa sahaya, sama marĕk ing ayunira rahaden kalih, sama
[30] wano; anuli mangkat ambarananǵ mareng jĕro kaḍaton. Mogha kagyat sirā-

p. 24

pañji Toḥjaya, malajĕng kapisah, tinumbak tan kapisanan. Marining geger, rinuruh dening kawulanira, pinikul pinalayokĕn maring Katang lumbang. Kang amikul kasingse gaḍage, katon pamungkure. Lingirāpañji Toḥjaya ri kang amikul: “Bĕciki gaḍagta katon pamungkure”. Sangkaning tan awet ratu dene
[5] silit iku. Rawuhireng Lumbang katang, mokta sira. Anuli dhinarmeng Katang lumbang. Linanira i śaka 1172.

Tumuli sira Rangga wuni angadĕg ratu. Kadi naga roro saleng lawan sira Mahiṣa campaka. Sira Rangga wuni abhiṣeka Wiṣṇuwardhana karatunira, sira Mahiṣa campaka dadi ratu Angabhaya, abhiṣeka bhaṭāra Narasinga. Atyanta

patutira, tan hana wiwal. Bhaṭāra Wiṣṇuwardhana angadĕgakĕn kuṭa ring Canggu lor, i śaka 1193. Mangkat sira amĕrĕp ing Mahibit, angilangakĕn sang Lingganing pati. Sangkaning Mahibit alah, linĕbon wong aran sira Mahiṣa bungalan. Pañjĕnĕngira śrī Rangga wuni ratu tahun 14, moktanira 1194, dhinarma sira ring Jajagu. Sira Mahiṣa campaka mokta, dhinarma ring Kumĕpĕr, pamĕlĕsatanira ring Wudi kuñcir.

Śrī Rangga wuni atinggal putra lanang, aran śrī Kṛtanagara; sira Mahiṣa campaka atinggal putra lanang, araṇ raden Wijaya. Sirāji Kṛtanagara sira añjĕnĕng prabhu, abhiṣeka bhaṭāra Śiwabuddha. Hana ta wongira, babatanganira buyuting Nangka, aran Bañak wiḍe, sinungan pasĕnggahan arya Wirarāja, arupa tan kandĕl denira, dinobakĕn, kinon adhipatia ring Sungĕnĕb, anger ing Maḍura wetan. Hana ta patihira nduk mahu añjĕnĕng prabhu, puṣpapata sira mpu Raganatha, nityasa angaturi rahayuaning tuhan, tan keḍĕp denira śrī Kṛtanagara; sangkanira mpu Raganatha asalah linggih mantun apatih, ginanten denira Kĕbo tĕngah sang apañji Aragani. Sira mpu Raganatha gumanti dadi adhyaksa ri Tumapĕl. Sapañjĕnĕng śrī Kṛtanagara angilangakĕn kalana aran Bhaya. Huwusing kalana mati, angutus ing kawulanira, andona maring Malayu. Samangka akĕḍik kari wong Tumapĕl, akeh kang katuduh maring Malayu. Sirāpañjy Aragani angatĕrakĕn, mangsul ing Tuban, tĕka ring Tumapĕl sang apañjy Aragani angaturi taḍahan pratidina, akasukan sirāji Kṛtanagara. Hana ta pasawalanira lawan sirāji Jaya katong ratu ring Daha, pinakamusuhira sirāji Kṛtanagara, kempĕr pangaladeśaning śatru, tan engĕt yan doṣa-

p. 25

nira. Sira Bañak wiḍe atuwuh patang puluh tiga duk pamalayu, amitra lawan sirāji Jaya katong, asurawean akenkenan saking Maḍura sira Bañak wiḍe apasĕnggahan arya Wirarāja; mangkana sirāji Jaya katong autusan maring Maḍura. Sira Wiraraja akirim surat ḍatĕng i sirāji Jaya katong. Unining sawalan: "Pukulun, patik aji matur ing paduka aji, anĕnggeh paduka aji ayun abuburu maring tĕgal lama, mangke ta paduka aji abuburua, duwĕg kaladeśanipun tambontĕn wontĕn baya, tambontĕn macanipun, tambontĕn baṇṭengipun, muwah ulanipun, rinipun, wontĕn macanipun anging guguh". Sang apatih tuha sira mpu Raganatha kang ingaran macan guguh, apan sampun atuha. Samangka sirāji Jaya katong mangkat amĕrĕp ing Tumapĕl. Sañjata kang saka loring Tumapĕl wong Daha kang alaala, tunggul kalawan tatabuhan pĕnuh, rusak deśa saka loring Tumapĕl, akeh atawan kanin kang amamĕrangakĕn. Sañjata Daha kang amarga lor maṇḍĕg ing Mĕmĕling. Sira bhaṭāra Śiwabuddha pijĕr anaḍah sajöng, ingaturan yan pinĕrĕp saking Daha, apahido sira, lagi amijilakĕn andika: "Kadi pira sirāji Jaya katong mongkonoa ring isun, apan sira huwus apakenak lawan isun". Duk angaturakĕn kang atawan kanin, samangka sira mintuhu. Samangka raden Wijaya tinuduh amaguta sañjata kang saka loring Tumapĕl ingiring denira arya dikara sira Bañak kapuk, sira Rangga lawe, sira Pĕḍang, sira Sora, sira Dangdi, sira Gajah pagon, anakira Wirarāja aran sira Nambi, sira Pĕtĕng, sira Wirot, sañjata abĕcikbĕcik, kang anangkis sañjata Daha bubuhan lor, sama amuk, rampak, kapalayu wong Daha kang mĕtu saka lor, tinut binuru denira raden Wijaya. Dadi tumĕḍun sañjata agung saking Daha kang saking pinggir Aksa anujw ing Lawor, tan wineh humunga, tan amawa tunggul nguniweh tatabuhan, tĕka ring Siddhabhawana añjugjug ring Singhasari pisan. Patih ring Daha sira Kĕbo mundarang, sira Pudot, sira Bowong pinakadining sañjata Daha saka kidul. Sĕdĕngira bhaṭāra Śiwabuddha anaḍah sajöng lawan apatih, nduk sira kaparajaya sama sira angĕmasi, sira Kĕbo tĕngah apulih, mati ring Manguntur [...]

Translation

p. 13

There was a Buddhist priest of the Mahāyāna sect, named Mpu Pūrwa, who dwelt in a hermitage in the fields at Panawijen.[1] He had as offspring an only child, born before his consecration; a daughter blessed with extraordinary beauty, named Ken Ḍĕḍĕs. So great was her beauty, it is said, that there was none to match her in the entire region to the east of Mt Kawi, as far as Tumapĕl. This came to the attention of Tunggul Amĕtung, who straightaway travelled to Panawijen, heading for the settlement where Mpu Pūrwa resided. There he met with Ken Ḍĕḍĕs and was immediately enchanted by her beauty. As it happened, Mpu Pūrwa was not at his hermitage at the time, thus giving Tunggul Amĕtung the opportunity to abduct the girl. Finding that his daughter had disappeared upon his return home, and unable to discover what had really happened, Mpu Pūrwa was driven to utter the following curse: "Whoever has kidnapped my child, may he not enjoy her for long; may he be stabbed to death by a *kĕris* and his wife taken from him! As for the inhabitants of Panawijen, let all their wells become dry, for refusing

p. 14

to provide information about my child's abduction". Thus spoke Mpu Pūrwa. "As for my daughter, who is a source of radiance and delight, my blessings be upon her; may she remain safe and achieve great happiness". Such was the oath sworn by the Mahāyāna Buddhist priest at Panawijen. Upon arrival at Tumapĕl, Tunggul Amĕtung took Ken Ḍĕḍĕs to rest at his residence. He felt a boundless love for her. At the first signs of pregnancy, Tunggul Amĕtung took his wife on a pleasure excursion to the park of Boboji. As Ken Ḍĕḍĕs descended from the carriage, her skirts parted momentarily to reveal her calves, and much more; a sight which as fate would have it was witnessed by Ken Angrok, who stood transfixed upon catching a glimpse of her 'flaming mystery'. Such perfection of beauty was indeed incomparable and Ken Angrok fell in love instantly, not knowing what to do next. After Tunggul Amĕtung had returned home from the excursion, Ken Angrok reported his experience to Ḍang Hyang Lohgawe, saying: "Father Ḍang Hyang, what is the significance of a woman whose 'secret' is aflame; is it a good or a bad sign?" "Of whom are you speaking, my boy?", enquired Lohgawe. Ken Angrok replied: "There is a woman, father, whose 'flaming mystery' was perchance revealed to me". "Such a female", advised Lohgawe, "is none other than a *nāriśwarī*, the most superior of women. Whoever takes her for his wife will of a certainty become a king of kings, regardless of his former station". Ken Angrok was silent for a moment, and then confessed: "Father Ḍang Hyang, the woman of whom I speak is the wife of the *akuwu*[2] of Tumapĕl. If what you say is true then I intend, with your consent, to kill the *akuwu* and take his wife". Ḍang Hyang Lohgawe replied: "Tunggul Amĕtung will indeed die at your hand, but it is not appropriate for me, as a priest, to grant you permission. The decision lies with you". "If that is the case", said Ken Angrok, "I request to be excused". "Where will you go, my boy?", asked the brahmin. "I will travel to Karuman[3] and visit a gambler named Bango Samparan. He is a close friend who considers me as his own son. It is his opinion that I shall consult, and perhaps

p. 15

gain his approval", replied Ken Angrok. "So be it", said Ḍang Hyang Lohgawe, "but do not remain too long at Karuman". "As if I need to spend much time there,"

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1. Identifiable today with the *kelurahan* of Polowijen in the district of Blimbing, on the northern side of the city of Malang.

2. The head of a *kuwu* (= territorial unit). Compare *DW* 40: 2b.

3. The hamlet of Karuman can still be found in the village of Tlogomas (district Lowokwaru), to the north-west of Malang.

retorted Angrok. So it was that Ken Angrok departed from Tumapĕl and arrived at Karuman. There he met with Bango Samparan, who enquired: "Where have you been hiding yourself all this time, it is truly an age since you last visited me!" Ken Angrok explained: " I have been at Tumapĕl, working in the service of the *akuwu*. The reason for my visit here is to inform you that I caught sight of the 'flaming mystery' possessed by the *akuwu*'s wife, which was revealed to me at the moment when she descended from her carriage. There is a brahmin named Ḍang Hyang Lohgawe, recently arrived in Java, who has adopted me as his son. I asked him about the significance of what I had witnessed and he explained that a woman who displayed such qualities was no less than a *nāriśwarī*. Whoever took her as his wife was certainly destined to be a great ruler. Father Bango, I have a desire to become king and for that reason intend to murder Tunggul Amĕtung and take his wife for myself. I asked Ḍang Hyang Lohgawe for his consent, but as a brahmin he was unable to give me his sanction and left the decision to me. That is why I have come to you, father Bango, to request your permission. The murder of Tunggul Amĕtung will be carried out in secret; his death at my hand is a certainty." Bango Samparan replied: "If that is your plan then so be it, you have my consent to stab Tunggul Amĕtung to death; but be aware, young Angrok, that the magical powers of the *akuwu* are formidable, and you may not even be able to wound him without a *kĕris* of outstanding quality. I have a friend named Mpu Gandring, a metal smith at Lulumbang.[4] His weapons are endowed with such supernatural energy that none can withstand them. One stab wound is enough. I suggest you place an order with him,

p. 16

and when the *kĕris* is finished you use it to murder Tunggul Amĕtung secretly". Such was the advice from Bango Samparan to Ken Angrok, who excused himself and departed from Karuman. Upon arrival at Lulumbang he met with Mpu Gandring, who was busy in his workshop. "Are you the metal smith named Gandring?", enquired Ken Angrok. "If so I would like to order a *kĕris* for a special purpose, to be ready in five months time". Mpu Gandring replied: "Five months leaves me insufficient time to work on the blade. A weapon to suit your needs will require about a year to complete". But Angrok insisted: "How you fashion the blade is your own concern, but my condition is that it be finished in five months"; and with that Ken Angrok left Lulumbang and returned to Tumapĕl. There he met with Ḍang Hyang Lohgawe, who asked him why he had stayed so long at Karuman. Ken Angrok explained that he had made a journey to Lulumbang. For some time afterwards he remained at Tumapĕl. When five months had passed he remembered the order placed with Mpu Gandring, upon which he left once again for Lulumbang and confronted the smith, who was to be found at work, carefully honing a blade. "Where is the weapon that I commissioned?", asked Ken Angrok; to which Gandring replied: "I am busy working on it at this moment, young man". Angrok asked to look at the *kĕris*, and upon picking it up exclaimed impatiently: "Ah, it seems there is not much use in employing Gandring, this blade isn't even finished; is this all you can accomplish in five months?" In anger Ken Angrok drove the weapon into the smith's body, then withdrew it and brought it down forcefully on a stone container used for washing *kĕris* blades. The container broke in two, as did the stone anvil which was his next target. Then it was that Gandring spoke: "Young Angrok, you will later die by this same *kĕris*, as will your children and grandchildren. This weapon will cause the death of seven kings".[5] Having uttered these final words, Mpu Gandring died, upon which

4. The original location of this place is uncertain. It may be identifiable with present-day Lumbangsari in the district of Bululawang, south of the city of Malang. Local tradition, however, places the residence of Mpu Gandring further to the north-west, in the hill region of Batu.

5. This famous prophecy of Mpu Gandring becomes more credible in the light of the *Mūla-Malurung* inscription, which confirms that there were indeed seven kings who ruled in succession at the court of *Kuṭa Rāja*/Singhasāri.

Ken Angrok immediately felt regret, and was driven to swear the following oath: "Should I rise to prominence in the future, let my exalted status be shared by the descendants of the smith from Lulumbang". Angrok then returned to Tumapĕl.

p. 17

Tunggul Amĕtung had a much loved friend named Kĕbo Hijo, who was also a close associate of Ken Angrok. Upon noticing that the latter had recently acquired a new *kĕris*, still unfinished, displaying a rough handle of *cangkring* wood from which thorns protruded, Kĕbo Hijo felt attracted to it. He therefore asked Ken Angrok: "Hey, elder brother, would you allow me to borrow your *kĕris*?" Angrok happily complied, following which Kĕbo Hijo immediately started wearing it. As a consequence, it was not long before all the inhabitants of Tumapĕl had seen Kĕbo Hijo with the *kĕris* tucked in his belt. Then, shortly afterwards, Ken Angrok stole the weapon back, and on one evening silently entered the residence of the *akuwu*. The moment was well timed, for it was quiet and all were sleeping. With fortune on his side, Angrok was able to creep undisturbed into Tunggul Amĕtung's private quarters and deal the deathblow by way of a single thrust to the *akuwu*'s heart. The *kĕris* fashioned by Mpu Gandring was intentionally left at the scene, protruding from the victim's chest, to be witnessed on the following morning. All who saw the weapon recognized it as the one worn daily by Kĕbo Hijo, and exclaimed: "It is clear that Kĕbo Hijo is the culprit, for it his *kĕris* which is to be seen embedded in the chest of Tunggul Amĕtung". Without delay Kĕbo Hijo was apprehended by the *akuwu*'s relatives and immediately stabbed with the same murder weapon. Thus died Kĕbo Hijo.

Kĕbo Hijo had a son named Mahiṣa Raṇḍi, who was distraught at his father's death. Ken Angrok showered the boy with affection and was a constant companion to him. In the meantime, it was the will of the gods that Ken Angrok and Ken Ḍĕḍĕs should be united. Both had long wished for it, and by now there was not a single resident of Tumapĕl who dared criticize Angrok's behaviour. Even Tunggul Amĕtung's family was silent, and so Ken Angrok and Ken Ḍĕḍĕs were married. The latter was three months pregnant at the

p. 18

time of Tunggul Amĕtung's death and the consummation of her marriage with Ken Angrok.[6] Both she and Angrok loved each other deeply. In time Ken Ḍĕḍĕs gave birth to a son by Tunggul Amĕtung, who was given the name of Anūṣapati, known also as Apañji Anĕngah. Then, in the course of her marriage to Ken Angrok, she bore several more children, the eldest of whom was named Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng. His younger brother was Apañji Saprang; Apañji Saprang had a younger brother named Agnibhaya, and the youngest was a daughter named Dewi Rimbu. Thus Ken Angrok and Ken Ḍĕḍĕs had four children together. In addition, Ken Angrok had a junior wife named Ken Umang, who gave birth to a son called Pañji Toḥ Jaya. His younger brother was Pañji Sudhatu, and Pañji Sudhatu had a younger brother named Twan Wrĕgola. The youngest, likewise, was a daughter known as Dewi Rambi. And so there were nine children in all, seven boys and two girls. By now Ken Angrok held power over the entire region lying to the east of Mt. Kawi, and all trembled under his feet. It was then that he revealed his desire to be consecrated as king, and all the inhabitants of Tumapĕl supported him. At the same time, as fate would have it, the king of Daha named Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis

6. This statement is hard to reconcile with the preceding section, which informs us that Ken Angrok did not acquire his murder weapon until some five months after the encounter in the park of Boboji, at which time Ken Ḍĕḍĕs was already showing the first signs of pregnancy! It would thus make more sense to assume that the latter was three months pregnant at the time when Angrok made his decision to murder Tunggul Amĕtung. For that reason, presumably, he required Mpu Gandring to complete his order in five months, to ensure the death of the *akuwu* before Ken Ḍĕḍĕs gave birth.

had summoned his religious leaders, proclaiming: "Hey, you followers of Śiwa and Buddha, how is it that you do not bow down before me, for am I not clearly Bhaṭāra Guru incarnate?" The priests declared in unison: "Your Majesty, since the earliest
[20] times religious officials have never worshipped the sovereign"; to which Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis replied: "Well, that is no reason to say that it should not begin now; and for those of you who are as yet unaware of my supernatural abilities, I hereby offer you a demonstration". Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis then planted the shaft of a spear vertically in the ground and sat on its point, exclaiming: "Now, all you priests, witness my
[25] magical power!", whereupon he adopted the form of Bhaṭāra Guru, with four arms and three eyes, demanding obeisance from all the religious leaders of Daha. None acknowledged him, however, and instead sought refuge at Tumapĕl in the service of Ken Angrok. At that point Tumapĕl ceased to recognize the authority of Daha.

Not long afterwards Ken Angrok ascended the throne of Tumapĕl, with its

p. 19

capital at Singhasāri. He was consecrated as Bhaṭāra Sang Amūrwabhūmi in the presence of the Shaivite and Buddhist pundits from Daha, as well as Ḍang Hyang Lohgawe, who was appointed chief priest in the palace. As for those who had shown support for Ken Angrok during his time of suffering, all were summoned, afforded
[5] protection and recompensed for their services; among them Bango Samparan, not to mention the head of the *maṇḍala* at Turyantapada and the offspring of Mpu Gandring at Lulumbang, where 100 smiths were accorded special agricultural rights. With regard to the son of Kĕbo Hijo, he was granted the same privileges as those enjoyed by the children of Mpu Gandring. Ḍang Hyang Lohgawe's son, Wangbang Saḍang,
[10] born from a Vaishnavite woman, was married to a daughter of Bango (Samparan) named Cucupuranti. Such was the magnanimity of Sang Amūrwabhūmi; nothing obstructed the court of Singhasāri's rise to fame and prosperity.

In time, news of Ken Angrok's consecration as king came to the attention of Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis, who learned that the former was intending to invade Daha.
[15] Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis exclaimed: "Who is capable of defeating our country? If Bhaṭāra Guru himself descended from heaven, only then might we lose in battle!". This statement was conveyed to Ken Angrok, who summoned his advisors, saying: "Hey, all you Shaivite and Buddhist priests, consecrate me with the name of Bhaṭāra Guru". That is how Sang Amūrwabhūmi came to be known as Bhaṭāra Guru, with the
[20] consent of the brahmins and rishis. Then it was that he set off to invade Daha. Hearing that he was under attack from Sang Amūrwabhūmi of Tumapĕl, Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis prophesied: "We are bound to lose, for Ken Angrok is blessed with divine protection". The struggle between Tumapĕl and Daha took place to the north of Gantĕr,[7] both sides inflicting casualties as they fought with great bravery; but then
[25] the Daha force found itself hard pressed, with the younger brother of Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis, named Mahiṣa Walungan, and the courageous minister Gubar Balĕman dying heroes on the field. They were unable to withstand the onslaught directed at them by the army of Tumapĕl, which bore down with the force of a mountain. The

p. 20

source of their strength broken, the Daha ranks began to break up and scatter like a swarm of bees, the soldiers fleeing like frightened goats, pulling up their parasols and no longer returning to the fray. Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis himself retreated from the battlefied and sought refuge in the heavenly regions, accompanied by retainers
[5] in charge of his horse, state umbrella, box of *sirih*,[8] mats and water container, all floating in the air together. Daha was well and truly conquered by Ken Angrok.

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7. Possibly identifiable with Ganten, a small village at Tulungrejo in the highland district of Ngantang, near the border of the present regencies of Malang and Kediri.

8. Betel leaf, chewed together with areca nut and lime.

When the younger sisters of Ḍangḍang Gĕṇḍis, namely Dewi Amisani, Dewi Hasin and Dewi Paja, were informed of the king's defeat and his retirement to the subtle regions, the three of them straightaway followed his example, taking the palace with them. Ken Angrok in the meantime, having claimed his victory, returned to Tumapĕl. The land of Java was now under his power, the kingdom of Daha conquered in the *Śaka* year 1144 [1222].

It is reported that, after some time had passed, the son of Tunggul Amĕtung, named Anūṣapati, began to seek information about his father from his nursemaid. Frightened to discuss the matter, the latter advised him to ask his mother. Anūṣapati consequently approached his mother and enquired: "Mother, why is it that my father looks upon me differently to my other brothers and sisters; a fact which becomes even more apparent when I see him looking at the children of his junior wife?" Truly the moment had arrived for Sang Amūrwabhūmi. Ken Ḍĕḍĕs replied: "Son, I can see that you are in doubt. In truth your father was Tunggul Amĕtung. I was three months pregnant at the time of his death, before becoming the wife of Sang Amūrwabhūmi". Anūṣapati continued: "So it is clear, mother, I am not the son of Sang Amūrwabhūmi; but tell me, how did my father die?" "Sang Amūrwabhūmi murdered him, my child". Ken Ḍĕḍĕs then fell silent, feeling that she had made a mistake by revealing the truth. "Mother", said Anūṣapati, "father has *kĕris* made by Mpu Gandring, could you give it to me?" Ken Ḍĕḍĕs complied with her son's request and gave him the weapon, upon which Anūṣapati excused himself and returned to his residence. He then summoned a man who held the office of *pangalasan* at Baṭil, and instructed him to assassinate Sang Amūrwabhūmi, using the *kĕris* of Mpu Gandring. To ensure the

p. 21

man's allegiance, Anūṣapati promised to reward him. The servant from Baṭil duly entered the palace and approached Sang Amūrwabhūmi, who was enjoying his evening meal, and without hesitation stabbed him to death. This event occurred on a Thursday Pon in the *wuku* of Landĕp,[9] after sunset, at the time when the lamps had just been lit. The man from Baṭil subsequently fled from the scene and sought the protection of Anūṣapati, who immediately stabbed the assassin after learning that the mission had been accomplished. The inhabitants of Tumapĕl said: "Our king was attacked by the *pangalasan* from Baṭil, but Anūṣapati has punished him". Sang Amūrwabhūmi died in the *Śaka* year 1169 [1247], and was enshrined at Kagĕnĕngan.

Following these events Anūṣapati succeeded to the throne, being consecrated in the *Śaka* year 1170 [1248]. Time went by and news of the former conspiracy reached the ears of Apañji Toḥ Jaya, the son of Ken Angrok by a junior wife. He came to learn that the death of Sang Amūrwabhūmi at the hand of the servant from Baṭil had been masterminded by Anūṣapati himself. Apañji Toḥ Jaya was not happy about this, and thought about how he might exact revenge by killing Anūṣapati. The latter, however, was aware of his brother's discontent, and took the precaution of having a moat constructed around his bed, with guards constantly posted at the doors. After some time Apañji Toḥ Jaya paid a visit on Anūṣapati, bringing with him a fighting cock, saying: "Elder brother, our father owned a *kĕris* made by Mpu Gandring, may I borrow it?" Truly the moment had arrived for Anūṣapati. He presented the weapon to Apañji Toḥ Jaya, who tucked it in his belt and gave the *kĕris* which he had formerly been wearing to a servant. Then, by way of invitation, Toḥ Jaya said: "Brother, let us go to the cock-fighting arena and stage a contest". Anūṣapati agreed and ordered a retainer to fetch his own fighting cock. "Let us begin", he said, and the brothers forthwith tied spurs onto the legs of their respective birds. The contestants were evenly matched, to the point where Anūṣapati became so engrossed in the fight

9. Pon is the second day in the five-day week of the Old Javanese calendar, while Landĕp is the second of thirty *wuku*, or fixed seven-day weeks in a 210-day cycle. For a discussion of the Old Javanese calendrical system see Damais 1967: 133-141.

that he dropped his guard. His final moment had arrived, stabbed to death with the *kĕris* wielded by Apañji Toḥ Jaya. Anūṣapati died in the *Śaka* year 1171 [1249], and was enshrined at Kiḍal.

p. 22

Apañji Toḥ Jaya then succeeded to the throne in Tumapĕl. Anūṣapati had a son named Rangga Wuni, who was a nephew of Apañji Toḥ Jaya. Mahiṣa Wong Atĕlĕng, a half-brother of Apañji Toḥ Jaya (sharing the same father), likewise had a son, who was called Mahiṣa Campaka. He too was Apañji Toḥ Jaya's
[5] nephew. On one occasion Apañji Toḥ Jaya was sitting in state, surrounded by all of his ministers, foremost among them Praṇaraja. Also present were Rangga Wuni and Kĕbo Campaka. Apañji Toḥ Jaya exclaimed: "Hey, all you ministers, and especially you Praṇaraja, look at these two nephews of mine! Who among our enemies on neighbouring islands can boast such fine warriors as these, don't
[10] you agree Praṇaraja?" Praṇaraja bowed respectfully and gave his reply: "True My Lord, it is as Your Majesty says, they are both fine looking young men, and courageous, but they may also be compared to a malignant tumour in the stomach, which will in the end be the cause of certain death". As the implications of Praṇaraja's words sank in, the king at first fell silent, and then became angry.
[15] He summoned Lĕmbu Ampal and issued him with an order to destroy the two young princes, adding a threat: "Failure to carry out this mission successfully will result in your own death at my hand". Now it happened that Apañji Toḥ Jaya's instructions to Lĕmbu Ampal were overheard by a brahmin priest who was conducting a religious ceremony in the palace. Feeling pity for the two
[20] princes, he informed them: "Lĕmbu Ampal has been commanded to murder you both, but if you manage to evade him, then he himself will lose his life at the king's hand". The princes responded: "But surely we have committed no sin and are blameless", to which the brahmin replied: "It is probably best that you take precautions and conceal yourselves". Uncertain as to the reliability of the
[25] priest's counsel, the two princes visited Apañji Patipati and explained: "Apañji Patipati, we seek refuge with you because we suspect that the king is planning to have us murdered, even though we are not guilty of any crime". Apañji Patipati made investigations, returning with confirmation: "It is true", he said, "you are to be killed and Lĕmbu Ampal has been ordered to carry out the

p. 23

task". The princes subsequently hid themselves well and not a word of their whereabouts was leaked. As a result, Lĕmbu Ampal was accused by the king of being in league with them and found his own life in danger. To save himself he sought refuge in the house of Apañji Patipati's neighbour. There Lĕmbu Ampal
[5] learned of the princes' hiding place and went to confront them, saying: "I seek your forgiveness, for I have sinned, as a result of being commanded by the king to murder you. Now I ask that you accept my oath of loyalty, so that I can serve you in peace and tranquillity". Two days after having sworn his allegiance, Lĕmbu Ampal came before the princes and bowed in obeisance, saying: "My
[10] Lords, where will this all end if we continue to remain in hiding? It is better that I stab a Rājasa[10] to death when he goes to bathe in the river". That evening Lĕmbu Ampal stabbed a Rājasa and ostensibly sought protection from the Sinĕlir. The Rājasa thus claimed: "A Sinĕlir stabbed a Rājasa!" About two days later a Sinĕlir was stabbed by Lĕmbu Ampal, who this time fled in the direction
[15] of the Rājasa, thereby causing the Sinĕlir to make accusations: "A Rājasa has stabbed a Sinĕlir!" Eventually the two groups came to blows, killing each other

10. The terms Rājasa and Sinĕlir apparently refer here to two groups of palace guards, perhaps representing Ken Angrok's descendants from Ken Ḍĕḍĕs (Rājasa) and Ken Umang (Sinĕlir). The word *sĕlir*, after all, translates as 'concubine'. For further discussion, see Brandes 1920: 76-77.

in large numbers and forgetting their duties in the palace. Apañji Toḥjaya was furious and ordered that members of each faction be sentenced to death. Hearing that punishments were to be meted out, Lĕmbu Ampal approached the Rājasa
[20] and said: "For those of you who are awaiting death sentences, I suggest that you ally yourselves with the two princes, who are still alive". The Rājasa expressed their willingness, and a senior member was led into the presence of the princes, where he pledged his loyalty to them, stating: "Your humble servant wishes to swear his allegiance and will accept your conditions in return for protection".
[25] Likewise, an elder from the Sinĕlir was summoned before the princes and professed his loyalty. Then, after the oaths had been taken and peace restored between the two parties, the following instructions were given: "Come back later with your followers and incite a rebellion in the palace". That evening, after receiving a welcome from the princes, the Rājasa and Sinĕlir together invaded
[30] the royal residence. Apañji Toḥ Jaya was trapped, found himself separated and

p. 24

tried to flee on his own, but was struck by a spear. When the commotion had died down he was found by his retainers, who carried him to Katang Lumbang. On the way the loincloth of one of his bearers came loose, exposing the man's buttocks. "Adjust your loincloth", said Apañji Toḥ Jaya, "your buttocks are exposed". For
[5] that reason he did not remain king for long, dying upon arrival at Lumbang Katang. He died in *Śaka* 1172 [1250] and was enshrined at Katang Lumbang.

Śri Rangga Wuni then ascended the throne. He and Mahiṣa Campaka were as two snakes in one hole. Rangga Wuni's consecration name was Wiṣṇuwardhana, and Mahiṣa Campaka served as Ratu Angabhaya, known as Bhaṭāra Narasingha.
[10] They ruled in harmony and were never apart. Bhaṭāra Wiṣṇuwardhana established a fort at Canggu Lor[11] in Śaka 1193 [1271]. Then he attacked Mahibit[12] and destroyed Sang Lingganing Pati. The defeat was ensured through the infiltration of a man named Mahiṣa Bungalan. Śri Rangga Wuni reigned for 14 years, after which he died in *Śaka* 1194 [1272][13] and was enshrined at Jajaghu. Mahiṣa Campaka died and
[15] was enshrined at Kumĕpĕr,[14] while his soul was released at Wudi Kuñcir.[15] Śri Rangga Wuni left a son named Kṛtanagara, and Mahiṣa Campaka left a son named Raden Wijaya. Kṛtanagara was consecrated king, bearing the royal title of Bhaṭāra Śiwa-Buddha. There was a man in his service named Bañak Wiḍe, known also as Arya Wirarāja, a scion of the leading family of Nangka. It
[20] seems that the king did not trust him and removed him from office, placing him in charge of the region of Sungĕnĕb in eastern Madura. The *patih* at the time was named Mpu Raganatha. He was constantly concerned for the king's welfare, but his counsel was ignored, with the result that he resigned his post and was replaced by Kĕbo Tĕngah, Sang Apañji Aragani. Mpu Raganatha subsequently
[25] took up the office of chief justice in Tumapĕl. During his reign Kṛtanagara annihilated a rebel named Bhaya. Following the latter's death the king ordered his officers to mobilize an expedition against Malayu. Sang Apañji Aragani

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11. Undoubtedly identifiable with the river port of Canggu on the river Brantas, not far from Mojokerto.

12. Probably the present village of Maibit in the district of Rengel, Tuban Regency.

13. Compare Prapañca (*DW* 41: 4a), who records the death of Wiṣṇuwardhana in Śaka 1190 [1268].

14. Clearly the shrine known to Prapañca as Kumitir (*DW* 41: 4d), quite possibly identifiable with the present village of Kumitir at Jatirejo, east of the site of Majapahit at Trowulan, Mojokerto.

15. The precise meaning of the word *pamĕlĕsatan* in this context is not clear to me. Should it be interpreted to mean that Wudi Kuñcir was Mahiṣa Campaka's place of death, or rather the site of a second monument, perhaps connected in some way with a *śrāddha* ceremony conducted on his behalf? In support of the second possibility, I note that Buddhi Kuñcir is listed among the 27 *suḍarmma haji* in Prapañca's *Deśawarṇana* (74: 2b).

escorted the force as far as Tuban, before returning to Tumapĕl where he attended to King Kṛtanagara's well-being, providing food for him every day.
[30] There occurred a falling out with Jaya Katong, the king of Daha, but Kṛtanagara failed to heed his own shortcomings, vacillating as his enemy awaited

p. 25

the right opportunity. Bañak Wiḍe was aged 43 years at the time of the Malayu expedition. He who bore the title of Arya Wirarāja was a friend of Jaya Katong and sent envoys to him from Madura; an act which was reciprocated. A letter from Wirarāja to Jaya Katong contained the following message: " My Lord,
[5] your humble servant offers obeisance. Should Your Majesty intend to return to the old hunting ground, then the right moment has arrived. No danger threatens. There are no tigers, bulls, snakes or thorns to confront. There is one tiger but it has no teeth". By the toothless tiger was meant the former *patih* Raganatha, who was by now already old. So it was that Jaya Katong set off to attack Tumapĕl. A
[10] part of the invading force from Daha took the northern route. Forming a clamorous mob, flags and banners streaming, they laid waste to the region north of Tumapĕl, inflicting heavy losses on those who opposed them, before coming to a halt at Mĕmĕling.[16] Bhaṭāra Śiwa-Buddha, who had been drinking quantities of tuak,[17] was informed of the invasion, but he refused to believe it and
[15] repeatedly exclaimed: "How is it possible that Jaya Katong behaves like this towards me, for are we not already on good terms?" It was not until wounded victims were brought before him that he was finally convinced. The task of engaging the enemy to the north of Tumapĕl was now given to Raden Wijaya, who was accompanied by the warriors Bañak Kapok, Rangga Lawe, Pĕḍang, Sora,
[20] Dangdi, Gajah Pagon, Pĕtĕng, Wirot, and the son of Wirarāja named Nambi, all seasoned fighters. Together they succeeded in forcing the invaders to retreat. Then it was that the main army from Daha made its move from the banks of the river Aksa,[18] heading for Lawor.[19] The soldiers bore no flags or banners, and were forbidden to invite confrontation as they advanced silently towards Singhasāri
[25] by way of Siddhabhawana. This southern force was led by the *paṭih* of Daha, Kĕbo Mundarang, accompanied by Pudot and Bowong. Bhaṭāra Śiwa-Buddha was killed as he sat drinking *tuak* with his *patih*. None survived the attack. The *patih* Kĕbo Tĕngah attempted to resist, but he fell to his death in the palace courtyard […]

16. Identifiable with the present hamlet of Meling in the village of Bedali (district of Lawang), to the north of Singosari.

17. Palm beer.

18. Now the river Leksa in the district of Wlingi, Blitar Regency.

19. Probably located in the vicinity of Ngebruk (Sumberpucung), south of Malang, where a river Luor is still known.

Appendix D. Maps and Tables

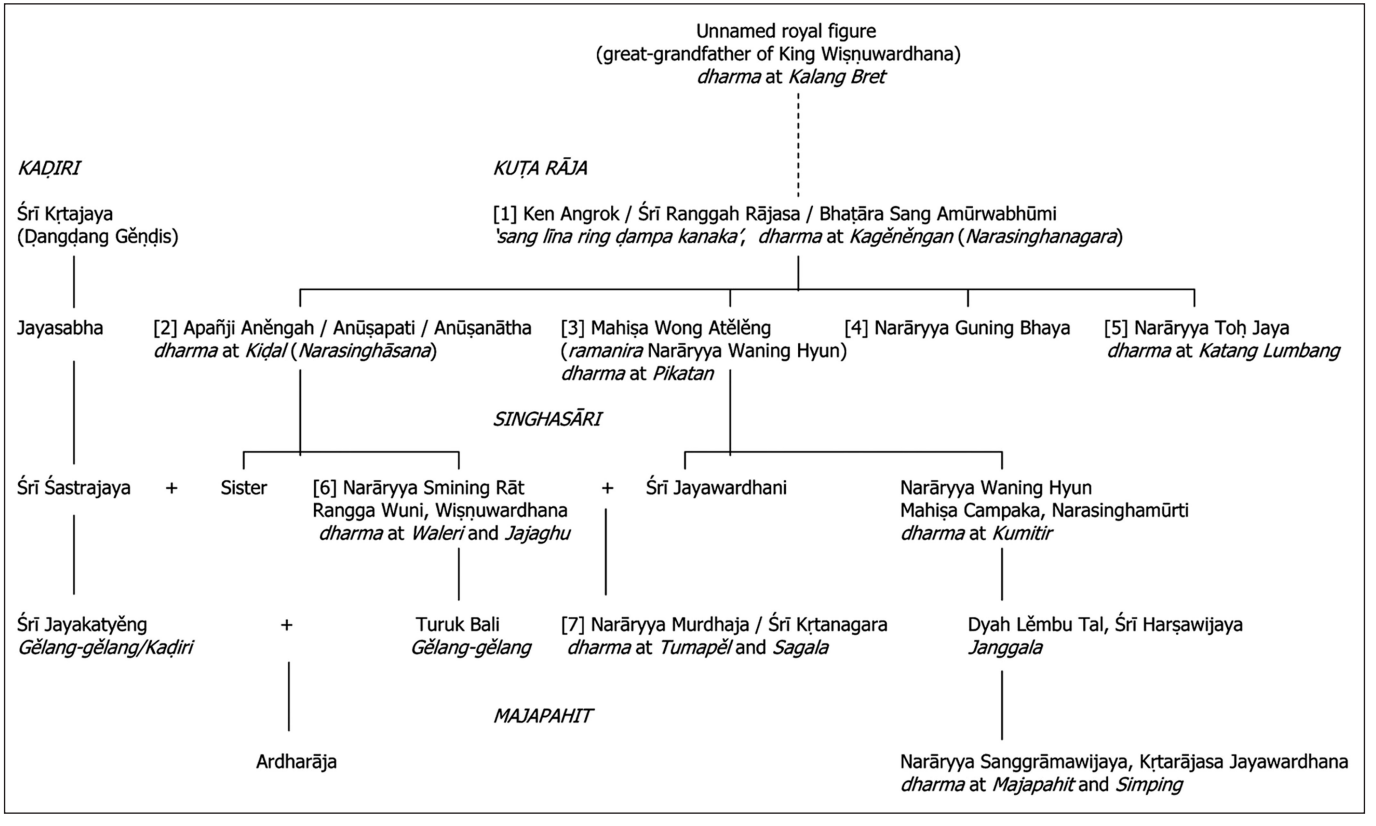


Table 1. The Rājasa Dynasty (according to data provided by the *Deśawarṇana*, *Pararaton*, and charter of *Mūla-Malurung*)

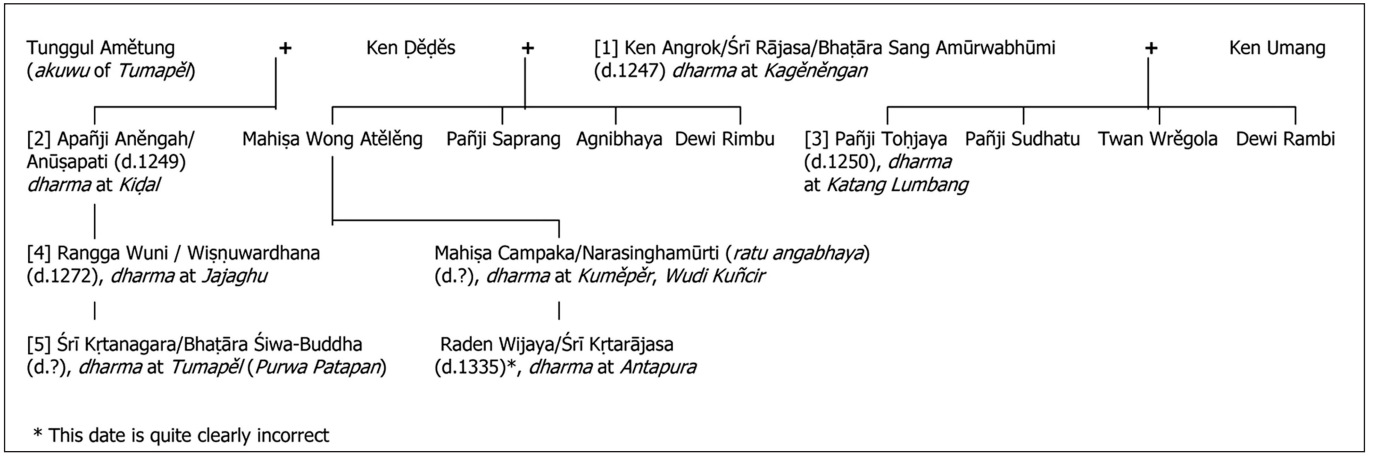


Table 2. The Descendants of Ken Angrok (according to the *Pararaton*)

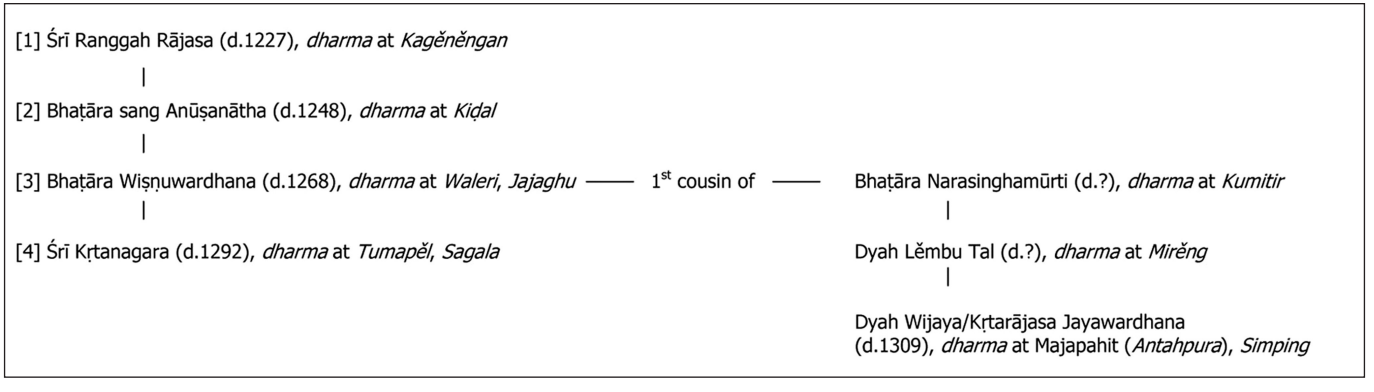
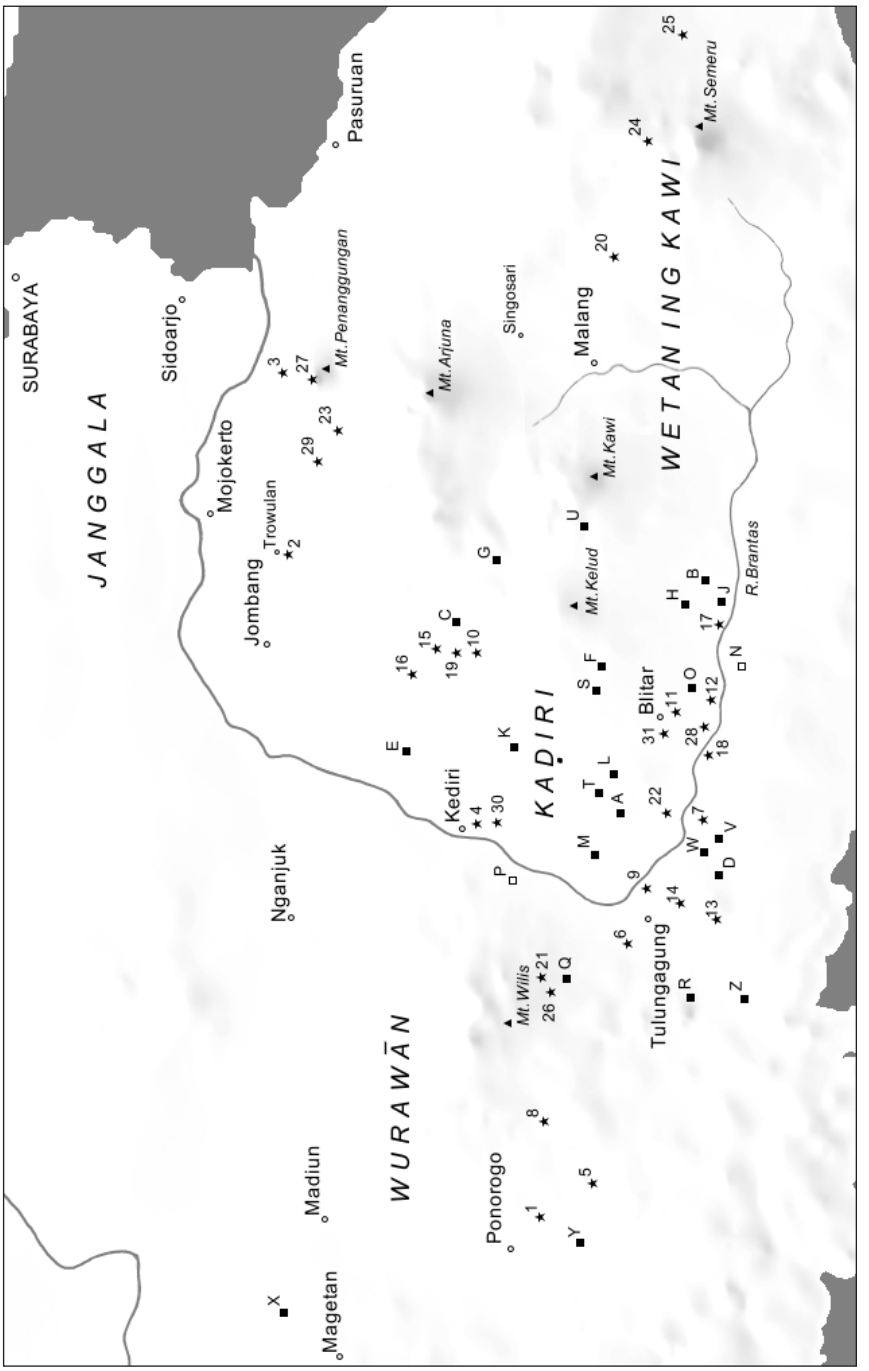


Table 3. The Descendants of Ranggah Rājasa (according to the *Deśawarṇana*)

Inscription		*Present Location*	*Date*
1.	Stone image of Wis)n)u	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. D.194	1153 *Śaka* (1231-32)
2.	Ganeśa of Jimbe	Bara, Blitar	1161 *Śaka* (1239-40) ?
3.	Stone from Singosari	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. D.112	1176 *Śaka* (1254-55)
4.	*Mūla-Malurung*	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. E.90	1177 *Śaka* (1255)
5.	Kranggan	Ngajum, Malang	1178 *Śaka* (1256)
6.	*Maribong*	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. E.55	1186 *Śaka* (1264)
7.	Pakis Wetan	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. E.47	1188 *Śaka* (1267)
8.	*Narasinghanagara*	Völkermuseum Frankfurt	undated
9.	*Sarwadharma* (Penampihan III)	Unknown	1191 *Śaka* (1269)
10.	Petungamba	Blitar Museum (?)	1191 *Śaka* (1269-70)
11.	*Air Asih*	Völkermuseum Frankfurt	undated
12.	*Parablyan*	Völkermuseum Frankfurt	undated
13.	*Rameśwarapura*	Mus. Mpu Tantular, Surabaya	1197 *Śaka* (1275)
14.	Jatireja (Ganeśa statue)	Mus. Mojokerto, No. 474	1203 *Śaka* (1281-82)
15.	Inscribed stone, Trowulan	*in situ*	1203 *Śaka* (1281-82)
16.	Padang Arca (Amoghapāśa)	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. D.198	1208 *Śaka* (1286)
17.	Gunung Rangga (bronze bell)	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. B.958b	1208 *Śaka* (1286)
18.	Slumbung II (*kala* head)	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. B.5970	1209 *Śaka* (1287)
19.	Bayalangu I (pillar base)	*in situ*	1211 *Śaka* (1289-90)
20.	*Wurare* (Aksobhya)	Simpang, Surabaya	1211 *Śaka* (1289)
21.	Ngreja, Kalangbret (bronze bell)	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. B.958i	1211 *Śaka* (1289-90)
22.	Ardimulyo (Cāmund)ī)	Trowulan Museum	1214 *Śaka* (1292)
23.	Gajah Mada B.	Nat. Mus. Jakarta, No. D.111	1273 *Śaka* (1351)

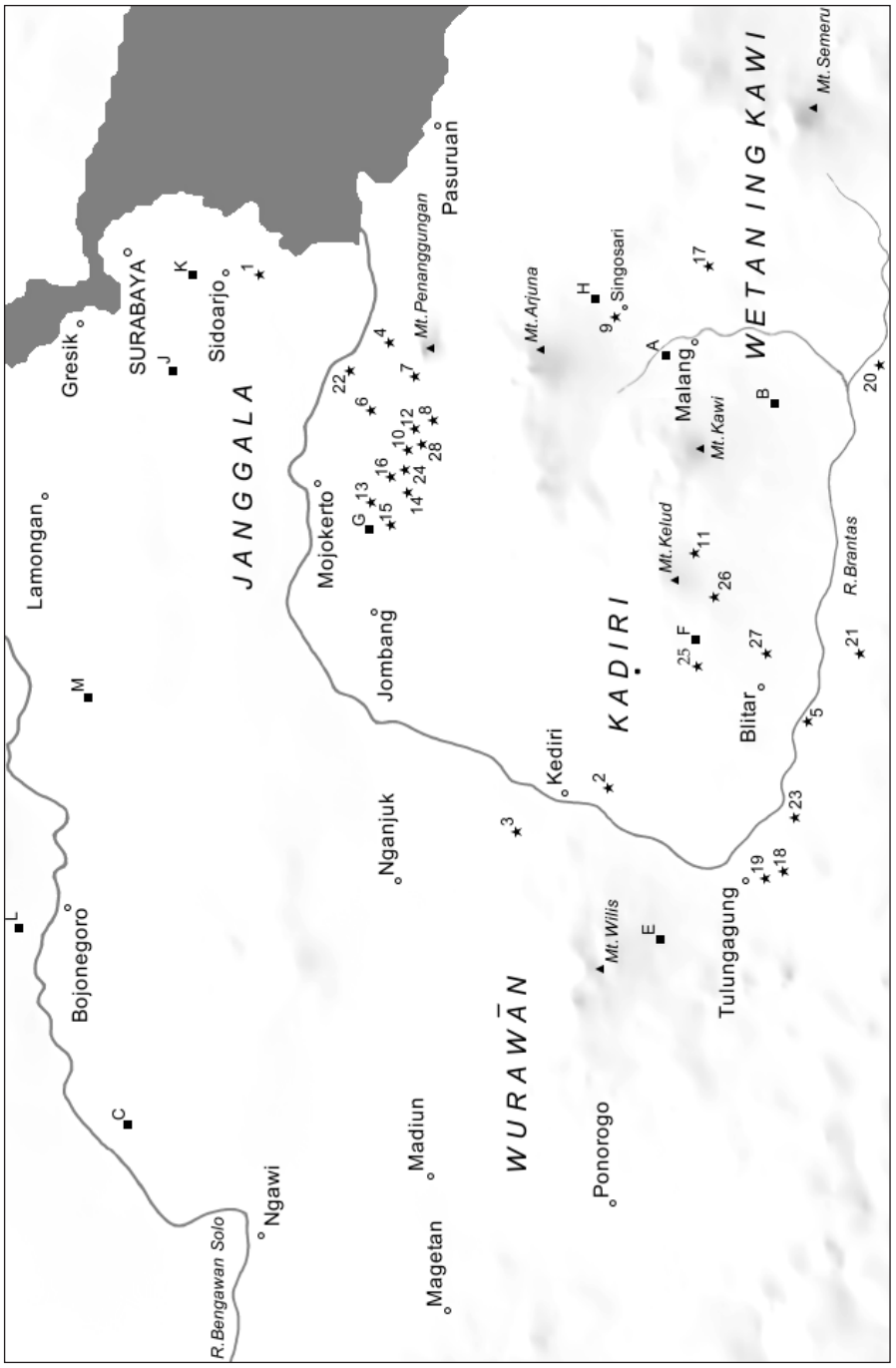
Table 4. Singhasāri: List of principal inscriptions



Map 1. East Java: Distribution of inscriptions (AD 1109-1209)

Key to Map 1

Charters ■	A	*Padlĕgan I*	1117 A.D.	*Short Inscriptions* ★	1	Tegalsari I	1109 A.D.
		Padlĕgan II	1159		2	Majapahit II	1115
	B	*Panumbangan*	1120		3	Jedong IV	1119
	C	*Gĕnĕng I*	1128		4	Kediri I	1119
	D	Candi Tuban	1129		5	Ketra	1133
	E	Tangkilan	1130		6	Patikreja	1138
	F	Karangreja	1134		7	Tenggur	1138
	G	*Hantang*	1135		8	Karangpatihan	1139 (49?)
	H	*Talan*	1136		9	Tapan	1139
	J	Jepun	1144		10	Karangdinaya	1140
	K	*Kahyunan*	1161		11	Kepanjen Kidul	1141
	L	Meleri	1169		12	Sawahan	1152
	M	*Angin*	1171		13	Gua Tritis	1160
	N	*Jaring*	1181		14	Wajak Lor	1160
	O	Semanding	1182		15	Reja Agung	1164
	P	*Cĕkĕr*	1185		16	Candi Surawana I	1164
	Q	Sapu Angin	1190		17	Jabon	1172
	R	Kemulan	1194		18	Jimbe I	1173
	S	*Palah*	1197		19	Kepung	1175
	T	*Subhasitā*	1198		20	Tumpang	1179
	U	Ukirnegara II	1198		21	Nglurup	1179
	V	*Galunggung*	1200		22	Manggar	1180
	W	Sumberringin Kidul	1204		23	Kembang Sore	1185
	X	Taji	1204		24	Ranu Kumbala	?
	Y	Sirah Keting	1204		25	Tesireja	1191
	Z	*Lawadan*	1205		26	Penampihan II	1194
					27	Penanggungan II	1195
Inscriptions of uncertain origin:					28	Tuliskriya	1202
		D.190 (Surabaya?)	1160		29	Ketanen II	1205
		Biri (Tulungagung?)	1202		30	Kediri II	1207
		Majakerta II	1203		31	Blitar IV	1209



Map 2. East Java: Distribution of inscriptions (AD 1216-1309)

Key to Map 2

Charters ■	A	Merjasari II	1216 A.D.	*Short Inscriptions* ★	1	Sepande	1223 A.D.
	B	Kranggan	1256		2	Purwokerta	1226
	C	*Maribong*	1264		3	Kedungdawa	1238
	D	Pakis Wetan [1]	1267		4	Jedong	1239, 1267, 1276
	E	*Sarwadharma*	1269		5	Jimbe II (Ganeśa)	1239 (?)
	F	Petungamba	1269		6	Keputran	1245
	G	*Wurare*	1289		7	Biting I	1246
	H	Ardimulya (Cāmuṇḍī)	1292		8	Kemlaten	1252
	J	*Kudadu*	1294		9	Candi Singasari	1254
	K	*Sukaṃrta*	1296		10	Pandan I	1257
	L	*Adan-Adan* [2]	1301		11	Slumbung I	1263
	M	*Balawi*	1305		12	Sumberjejer	1278
					13	Trowulan XII	1281
					14	Jatireja (Ganeśa)	1281
					15	Tralaya	1282 (?)
					16	Dlanggu	1286
					17	G. Rangga	1286
					18	Bayalangu I	1289
					19	Ngreca	1289
					20	Rejasari	1290
					21	Lodaya	1291
					22	Kembangringgit	1291
					23	Sambidoplang	1292
						Candi Gambar 1	1292
					24	Simping	1294
					25	Candi Panataran	1298, 1299
					26	Candi Kotes I	1300, 1301
					27	Semanding	1301
					28	Pugeran	1305

[1] This fragmentary copper plate inscription (not displayed on the map) was discovered in the regency of Magelang, Central Java.
[2] According to Sukarto K. Atmodjo (1994: 1-5), this charter refers to the present-day village of Adan-Adan in the regency of Kediri. The hypothesis needs to be tested further.

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Brigitte Borell

Glass from China and from India: Finds of Vessel Glass from Fourteenth Century Singapore

Introduction

According to Malay tradition, Singapore (Temasek) played an important role as the Malay capital prior to about 1400, when Melaka was founded and took over as the new seat of the Malay ruler. In the *Sejarah Melayu*, the dynasty of the five kings of Singapore is portrayed as the direct and genealogically connected forerunner to the dynasty of Melaka. As regards the genealogy and the events in the last phase of Singapore, the version related in the Portuguese records of the sixteenth century differs in some significant aspects; nevertheless, Singapore is likewise represented as a flourishing port and centre of power before the foundation of Melaka, its decline being directly connected with the rise of Melaka.

* The author's sincere thanks are due to John N. Miksic (Singapore) for his permission to study the glass finds and his assistance over many years to carry out this study. For chemical analyses of the glass and the iron wire the author thanks Heinz-Jürgen Bernhardt (Bochum), Laure Dussubieux (Chicago), Radegund Hoffbauer (Bonn), and Beate Spiering (Bonn). The fruitful discussions about manufacturing techniques with Anna-Barbara Follmann-Schulz (Bonn), Rosemarie Lierke (Bad Schwalbach), and Marianne Stern (Hilversum) are gratefully acknowledged. For assistance in obtaining photographs, permission to use technical facilities and help in other matters the author is indebted to Gerd Albrecht (Tübingen), Robert Avila (Ladenburg), Karsten Brabänder (Bochum), Robert H. Brill (Corning, New York), Margarita R. Cembrano (Butuan), Andrew Cowan (Seattle, previously in Singapore), Eusebio Dizon (Manila), Edmund Edwards McKinnon (Bogor), Susanne Greiff (Mainz), Sonngard Hartmann (Mainz), Cecilia Y. Locsin (Manila), Pierre-Yves Manguin (Paris), Daniel Perret (Jakarta), Thomas Reddy, S.J. (Rome), Andreas Reinecke (Bonn), Antje Seidel (Munich), Rita C. Tan (Manila), Shana L. Wilson (Corning).

When the British arrived in 1819, some remains of ancient Singapore could still be located.[1] However, it was not until 1984 that archaeological research of pre-colonial Singapore began, when John Miksic started his first excavations on Fort Canning Hill. For the first time then, archaeological material of ancient Singapore was excavated in a well-defined cultural layer, dated to the fourteenth century on the basis of the recovered Chinese ceramics. Over more than two decades, John Miksic continued to conduct archaeological investigations in the area of ancient Singapore, that is the area between the left bank of the river and the earthen rampart including the hill – an area of about 85 hectares, now beneath the old colonial centre and still in the heart of the modern city. Seven archaeological sites within this area were explored, yielding fourteenth century material. Significantly, the finds from the hill had a higher proportion of Chinese fine ceramics, in line with the high prestige value attributed to such wares, which were apparently owned by the elite on the hill. Evidence for industrial activities has been found, for metal working in the plain near to the river and for glass working on the hill.[2]

Sites yielding fragments of glass vessels

So far, vessel glass fragments were found only in three of the excavated fourteenth century sites. Almost all were discovered on Fort Canning Hill (FTC), for the first time in the excavations in 1987, and more in the following years. They were found in a limited area on the northeast slope of the hill, which yielded concentrations of various finds of glass.[3] This area is a short distance northeast and downhill of the Keramat Iskandar Syah, near to the shelter protecting the present on-site archaeological display. The datable Chinese ceramics, assigned to the middle and late Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), point to a time span of less than one hundred years within the fourteenth century. A few vessel glass fragments were recovered downtown at the Parliament House Complex (PHC) site near the river, excavated in 1994-1995, and at the Singapore Cricket Club site (SCC). The finds from these two sites indicate a use for habitation and industrial activity, in particular copper working. Besides the few vessel glass fragments, only a small number of glass finds – some beads and bracelet fragments – were recovered. The datable ceramics from the PHC site encompass a slightly longer time span from the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth century.

The abundant glass finds from Fort Canning Hill can be subdivided into four categories.

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1. Borell 2001: 32-40, 54-57; Miksic 2006a.

2. Miksic 2006a: 340-341.

3. Miksic 1995, Miksic 2006a: 337-342.

1. Beads. More than eight thousand tiny monochrome beads were found, made by the winding technique. They come in a range of different colours: mainly white, yellow, blue, green, red (see also samples below). Among the larger beads of different shapes, one is exceptional, it is a fragment of a large opaque white bead with polychrome decoration (plate 4, cat. no. I 18, see below, Part I).

2. Bracelet fragments. The second category comprises more than thirty bracelet fragments, usually plain monochrome with semicircular or triangular cross section. Most of them are blue, but other colours also occur. A unique piece is the fragment of an elaborate polychrome bracelet.[4]

3. Spillings and droplets. In numbers, over one thousand pieces were counted, they constitute the second largest category. The droplets, sometimes adhering on ceramic shards,[5] and glass spillings of irregular shape appear to be debris characteristic of glass working.

4. Vessel glass fragments. The fourth category comprises near to four hundred fragments of glass vessels. These may be divided into two groups: the fragments of blown glass vessels, by far the vast majority, and those of non-blown glass vessels, which amount to less than 10% of the total. The fragments of blown glass vessels are made of translucent blue, green, purple or clear glass, often decorated with glass threads in contrasting colours either in relief on the surface, or sometimes sunken in and tooled into a pattern. Several fragments are distorted by heat and have remolten edges pointing to their use in a recycling process (plate 6 cat. nos. II 2 and II 3).[6] Only few fragments preserve significant details of their shape. One notable exception are some fragments characterised by the peculiar shape of their rim with an interior flange (see below, Part II). The second – small – group of vessel glass fragments consists of comparatively thick-walled pieces of smaller vessels with polychrome decoration. They are not made by the blowing technique, but probably formed around a core (see below, Part I).

The diversity of the glass objects in appearance and techniques suggests different origins of the glass artefacts. Whereas apparently glass working took place to some extent at the site, as indicated by the droplets and spillings, as well as by the partly remolten vessel fragments, it is unlikely that primary glass making took place in Singapore. Therefore, all the glass is assumed to have been brought from elsewhere. To determine the possible

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4. Borell 2001: 49 fig. 17, Borell 2005: 201. See also Miksic, Yap, and Vijiyakumar 1996: 188; Low 2004 (in: Miksic and Low): 18 plate 4 suggests an Indian origin.

5. Miksic 1989: 51, 54 photos 18-19; Miksic, Yap, and Vijiyakumar 1996: 200 fig. 2A.

6. Miksic 1989: 51 photo 20; Miksic, Yap, and Vijiyakumar 1996: 200-201 fig. 2B and 3; Low 2004: 18-19 plate 5 (centre).

origin of the glass, chemical analysis of its composition is indispensable. In Southeast Asia at that time, glass is generally to be regarded as a precious commodity. In addition, further detailed studies of the different groups of glass artefacts are needed regarding their shape, distribution and possible function to ascertain their place in the historical context.

Previous research

Previous research focused on the issue of the relation between the four categories of glass finds. Two series of chemical analyses, performed by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), were carried out for selected glass fragments from the Fort Canning site. Three different groups could be distinguished. One important result was that samples of the plain monochrome bracelets, the blown vessel glass and the droplets were in the same group leading to the interpretation that the glass vessel fragments were recycled to make the bracelets.[7] Alternatively, it might only point to a common origin for glass vessels and bracelets. However, the evidence of the spillings and the partly remolten fragments indicate that the vessel fragments, at least in the context in which they were recovered, were brought there as cullet to be recycled. The evidence of such small-scale glassworking activities on the hill is thought to have been associated with the seat of the ruler, whose palace was presumably situated on the hill. The other large group comprised the beads characterised by a high lead content, pointing together with the winding technique to a Chinese origin. According to the analyses, they were not involved in the recycling and glass working processes at the site. Apparently, they had been brought here as finished objects and intended for some other use.

For the present paper, two distinct groups of the glass vessel fragments found in Singapore are selected. Part I presents the fragments of non-blown glass vessels with polychrome decoration, which constitute the small second group of the vessel fragments. They are studied here in their morphological appearance and manufacturing technique as well as in terms of the chemical composition of their glass. In Part II the focus is on selected fragments of the blown vessels, related by their similar shape.

Part I: Core-formed glass vessels with polychrome decoration

With one exception, all fragments of the non-blown glass vessels (plates 1-4, cat. nos. I 1 - I 4, I 6 - I 17) were excavated at the site on Fort Canning

7. Miksic, Yap, and Hua 1994: 37 table 2 subgroup I; Miksic, Yap, and Vijiyakumar 1996: 190. The polychrome bracelet fragment constituted a group of its own; its origin is still unresolved. See also note 4 above.

Hill which yielded a concentration of glass finds. The one exception, a base fragment (plate 2, cat. no. I 5), was discovered downtown at the Parliament House Complex site. One of the FTC fragments of this group was included in the second series of the previous XRF analyses,[8] which revealed a high lead content comparable to the high lead content of the beads. For this reason, a selection of monochrome beads of different colours was subjected to further chemical analyses (see below and list of samples). The objective was to look more closely into the relation between the coloured glass of the beads and the coloured glass used for decorating the glass vessels.

Description of the vessel fragments

From their dimensions, it is clear that the fragments come from very small vessels. Estimated diameters of rims range from 4.0 to 4.5 cm, those for bases are even smaller, about 3.0 cm. The maximum diameters of wall fragments range from 5.0 to 5.5 cm. Despite their generally small size, the walls are rather thick, on average about 0.3 cm, sometimes even more.

The body is always made of an opaque white glass – or, to be more precise, of a semi-opaque whitish glass, as it is not completely opaque in transmitted light (Plate 2, cat. no. I 7). It often has a granular texture, particularly visible in the break, and appears to be not thoroughly fused (Plate 1, I 2 centre; Plate 2, I 5 and I 8, see below).

One of their most unusual features, visible in the break on many fragments, are hollow channels within the wall and parallel to it (Plate 1, cat. nos. I 1 right, I 2 top right, I 4 right; Plate 2, cat. no. I 8 right). Sometimes these channels still contain some brownish-blackish remains, suggesting that these were the leftovers of corroded iron wires. Two fragments (Plate 2, cat. no. I 9 and Plate 3, cat. no. I 10) with substantial remains of the brownish material were subjected to XRF-analyses. In both cases, the material was identified as iron.[9] In fact, in fragment cat. no. I 10 (Plate 3), a piece of iron wire with a diameter of 0.08 cm is well-preserved over a length of almost 1 cm. It is generally striking how often the course of the breaks corresponds to the course of the hollow channels indicating the place of the internal wire, which is now missing. Presumably, different thermal expansion, in addition to corrosion of the iron wire within the walls, caused by dampness infiltrating through fine tension cracks, might be responsible for the fragile state and resulting breakage.

The preserved rims (Figure 1 and Plate 1, cat. nos. I 1 and I 2) are made of a thick trail of blue glass, about 0.5 cm in diameter, coiled on top of the

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8. Miksic, Yap, and Hua 1994: 34, 37 subgroup II Ag1.

9. These XRF analyses were conducted in 2006 by Radegund Hoffbauer, Steinmann Institute, University of Bonn. The author gratefully acknowledges her efforts and assistance.

neck. One of the two rim fragments (cat. no. I 2) preserves the overlap with one end of the blue trail applied anticlockwise (Plate 1). All three bottom fragments (Figure 1 and Plates 1-2, cat. nos. I 3 to I 5), which are definitely from three different vessels, have flat bases; in one example, the base is up to 0.7 cm thick. Shoulder fragments (Figure 1 and Plate 1-2, cat. nos. I 1. I 6. I 7) show a thickening of the wall toward the neck, noticeable on the interior in the area at the transition from shoulder to neck.

The exterior is decorated with trails of opaque red and yellow, translucent dark blue and dark green, and, in one case, brown glass. These trails were allowed to sink into the surface and were drawn out into different patterns.

The interior surface is not smooth, but uneven and often dimpled, its appearance best compared to orange peel. This is quite in contrast to the smooth outer surface, and unlike any other glass vessels contemporary to the fourteenth century date of the cultural layer in which it was found. In that period, glass vessels are usually made by inflation with a blowpipe.

Technique of core-forming

In their technical details, the fragments described recall a method of making glass vessels by forming them over a removable core. This technique antedates the invention of glassblowing. Such core-formed glass vessels were manufactured in ancient Egypt and the Near East since the middle of the second millenium BCE and, later, in the Mediterranean area in the first millenium BCE. Their technique has been studied in depth, and current research suggests mainly two different methods of core-forming.[10] In both methods, a prefabricated core in the shape of the intended interior of the vessel would be mounted on a rod. The core might be made of a mixture of mud or clay, mixed with some sand and organic materials. It had to be sufficiently resilient to withstand the temperatures of the hot and cooling glass, and it had to be soft and brittle enough to be removed by scraping after cooling. This core could be coated in different ways. In one of the methods suggested for this ancient technique, apparently the older one, the core would be covered with crushed glass powder, which is then fused over a forced fire. This process could be repeated several times, until the wall of the vessel was thick enough. Apparently, this method was used for the ancient Egyptian glass vessels. In the other method, the wall of the vessel is built up by winding a hot trail of glass around the core, similar to the procedure used in making beads, where a trail of hot glass is wound around a metal rod.

10. Schlick-Nolte and Lierke 2002: 24-29; Borell 2003: 214 n. 7 (with further references); Lierke 2009: 17-24.

The decoration is then similarly applied by winding. Either prefabricated rods of glass, softened by heat, or alternatively, a thread of glass, drawn out from a heated chunk of glass, would be wound around the body. The applied glass threads in contrasting colours were then dragged up and down with a pointed tool to create garland and chevron patterns. Repeated reheating during this process would let the threads sink in and smooth out the surface. A characteristic of core-formed vessels is their smooth exterior surface, which was exposed to heat during the manufacturing process, whereas their interior surface is usually rough from the imprint of the grainy core, and may even preserve some adhering remains of the core.

Visual examination of the polychrome vessel fragments from Singapore suggests that they were made in such a core-forming technique. The first observation is the rough interior surface recalling the appearance of orange peel with its tiny dimples. On fragment cat. no. I 5, traces of a greyish-brownish substance adhering to its interior surface may be remains of the core.

The incompletely fused, 'granular' texture of the white glass body, visible in the break on some fragments, may originate from a manufacturing process using crushed glass, applied on the core and fused over a forced fire. Maybe temperatures not high enough for a thorough fusing account for the 'granular' structure. This coating of the core might have been repeated several times to build up a sufficiently thick wall. In the break of fragment cat. no. I 8 (Plate 2 left), three separate layers seem to be discernible.

Assuming a building up of the wall from several layers of crushed glass would make it easier to explain the presence of the wires within the walls. As it seems, the glassworker for some reason felt a need to reinforce the wall with iron wire during manufacture. After the glass coat around the core had attained a certain thickness, the wire would be applied, then more glass would be added and again fused, and in this way the wire would be sealed inside the wall. The use of metal wires as reinforcement for handles and other exposed parts is already known from ancient Egyptian glassworking and, in more recent periods, from glass figurines and other objects. [11]

However, striations characteristic of the drawing of a trail or thread of glass are visible on the inside of the neck of cat. no. I 1 (Plate 1), and seem to indicate that, at least for this part of the vessel wall, the winding technique had been applied. In addition, a lump of white glass on the exterior of fragment cat. no. I 17a (Plate 4), added after the decoration had been finished, shows similar striations, and had apparently been formed from a trail of white glass.

Without doubt, the winding technique had been employed for the rim and for decoration. Though only small fragments are preserved, some tentative

11. Borell 2003: 214 n. 8; Lierke 1993: 40-42.

conclusions may be drawn. Apparently, each of the coloured trails for the decoration was individually applied as they always alternate in colour; at least the surviving fragments preserve no evidence of glass trails spiralling around the vessel in multiple windings. After applying the different trails and probably reheating to let them sink into the wall, a pointed tool was used to draw the trails in garland or chevron patterns. Sometimes, the tool went so deep into the glass that the coloured glass was dragged deep into the white body, as may be seen in some of the breaks (Plate 4, cat. no. I 17a). On fragment cat. no. I 17a, the blue glass of the exterior decoration is visible even in places on the interior.

Repeated reheating of the vessel over a forced fire would allow the trails to sink in and smooth out the surface after the dragging process. Quite often, some of the coloured trails are now lost, leaving a deep groove in the white glass of the vessel's wall. These losses are probably caused by different thermal expansions of the various glasses; the apparently overall low temperatures used in making these vessels might have contributed to this effect. The backscattered electrons photos (BSE by EPMA) of sample 8 (Plate 4), a tiny wall fragment, show on the left the striated surface of the yellow glass trail, and the different texture of the white glass on the right; in the centre, within the area of the white glass, is clearly visible the empty groove.

A peculiar decoration detail is found on all three base fragments (Figure 1, Plates 1-2 cat. nos. I 3 to I 5). After the trails were drawn into a pattern, one more horizontal trail of glass was applied, crossing and overlaying the lowest part of the finished decoration pattern just a short distance above the base. In all three cases, this trail of glass is now lost, and only the shallow depression where it had sunk into the wall is left.

The bases were flattened, certainly already during the forming process of the white glass body. On cat. no. I 3 (Figure 1 and Plate 1), the base was again flattened after the trail of green glass had been applied, as infers from its sharp angle between wall and base. Whereas on cat. no. I 5 (Figure 1 and Plate 2), a corresponding trail of green glass was made flush with the wall only – probably with the help of a plane tool or a wet wooden paddle – but not with the base, where it protrudes in its solidified irregular form.

In principle, the core-forming technique is related to the technique of rod-forming used in the making of beads. Interestingly, the fragment of a large bead, made in a similar way, was also found on Fort Canning Hill (Plate 4, cat. no. I 18). It, too, is made of semi-opaque white glass and decorated with threads of green, red, and yellow glass drawn into a pattern, probably a wave pattern like that on a similar bead said to come from Sarawak.[12] Not only in

12. Borell 2000a: 3; Francis 2002: 59, 78-79 colour plate 14. See also note 34 below.

appearance and technique is this bead (cat. no. I 18) related to the polychrome vessel fragments, but the previous XRF-analyses revealed that it is also made of a glass with high lead content, assigned to the same subgroup as the one polychrome vessel fragment. [13]

Chemical composition

Five fragments of the polychrome glass vessels were analysed by laser ablation-inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS), which allows measuring not only the main glass of the body, that is the semi-opaque white glass, but also separately each of the different coloured glasses used for decoration, that is blue, green, yellow, and red (see report by Laure Dussubieux, same volume). As most of the beads from the site on Fort Canning Hill show a similar range of colours, it seemed expedient to include some bead samples into the investigation, to test whether the compositions of the differently coloured glasses used for the beads and those used for the polychrome jarlets are also similar. Of particular interest was the question whether the beads and the core-formed jarlets might have the same origin, and whether there might be a relation between beads and vessels in such a way that the beads, in particular the coloured beads, were remolten to be used in making the decoration of the jarlets. Twelve beads from the site on Fort Canning Hill were selected (see below, list of samples) and analysed by LA-ICP-MS (see report by Laure Dussubieux, same volume). Previously, six of the beads and one of the vessel fragments had been analysed by electron probe microanalysis (EPMA) (Table 1).

Both groups, beads and vessel fragments, are very similar in composition; they are made of potash glass with a high content of lead, which suggests a Chinese origin for the glass of beads and vessel fragments. [14]

With regard to the white glass of beads as well as of vessel fragments, the analyses show neither antimony nor tin compounds known to act as an opacifier. The microscope photograph of bead sample 2 shows that the turbid or semi-opaque appearance of the white glass is rather due to inclusions of undissolved siliceous material like quartz (SiO_2) and fluorite (CaF_2) (Plate 4). [15] The formation of dendrites indicates a beginning devitrification, also

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13. Miksic, Yap and Hua 1994: 37 table 1 sample Ag6 (bead) and Ag1 (vessel fragment), 42. Apparently, the fragment analysed is cat. no. I 12, pers. comm. J.N. Miksic.

14. Shi *et al.* 1991: 28, 30 table 1; Gan 2009: 8, 33-34 fig. 1.6, a composition characteristic of Chinese glass from the Tang to the Yuan Dynasties; lead isotope analyses also point to inner Chinese lead ores as the source for the lead in the the potash-lead-silica glass.

15. The CaF_2 crystals in the bead from Singapore were detected by Beate Spiering, Steinmann Institute, University of Bonn, who carried out the microprobe analyses of the beads and of one vessel fragment (Spiering 2006: 2). For these and the microscope photographs illustrated here, the author is greatly indebted to her.

	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4/2	Sample 5/2	Sample 6/2	Sample 8	Sample 8
	green	white	blue	red	yellow	blue	white	yellow
Na2O	0.78	0.08	0.69	0.43	0.17	0.13	0.21	0.18
MgO	0.04	0.01	0.06	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.60
Al2O3	1.22	0.81	0.82	0.71	0.59	0.92	1.63	1.54
SiO2	39.07	47.28	51.18	41.93	38.00	56.73	58.39	61.33
Cl	0.65	0.23	0.58	0.54	0.32	0.59	n.m.	n.m.
K2O	4.11	7.13	10.10	6.66	5.14	10.76	1.83	2.76
CaO	3.97	2.68	1.78	2.37	0.33	1.77	4.28	0.09
TiO2	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.05	0.03
MnO	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.05
FeO	0.37	0.29	1.76	0.47	0.41	1.34	0.75	0.67
CoO	0.01	0.02	0.07	0.03	0.04	0.17	0.01	0.02
NiO	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.06	0.01	0.01
CuO	0.44	0.10	0.12	0.35	0.16	0.09	n.m.	n.m.
ZnO	0.07	0.03	0.01	0.10	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.05
SnO2	0.13	0.05	0.02	0.19	1.88	0.03	0.06	0.94
BaO	0.04	0.05	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.02
PbO	48.66	41.31	32.10	46.44	53.30	26.83	27.45	32.40
Total	99.45	100.10	99.31	100.16	99.38	99.45	94.79	100.69

Table 1. Chemical analyses (wt%) of six monochrome beads and one vessel fragment (sample 8) by electron microprobe analysis (EPMA), University of Bonn, Beate Spiering 2006 and 2008.
Mean values were calculated from between nine and sixteen analyses per sample. Sample 2 and sample 3 were polished, all other were measured unpolished.

contributing to the opacifying effect. Calcium fluoride is known as an opacifier in Chinese white glasses apparently since the Tang dynasty.[16]

Despite the general similarity in their compositions and colouring techniques, slight differences exist between the chemical composition of the beads and the vessel fragments (see report by Laure Dussubieux, same volume). In particular, this applies to the translucent dark blue glass (see report by Laure Dussubieux, same volume, fig. 3). Obviously, differences also exist between the translucent red bead[17] and the opaque red glass of the vessel decoration.

Notwithstanding the limited number of samples, it seems unlikely that the beads were remolten for the manufacture of the vessels or their decoration. In general, the two groups, beads and vessel fragments, are similar in their chemical composition, and belong to the same compositional family of potash-lead-silica glass, which points to an origin of their glasses in the Chinese sphere; however, some differences between the two groups exist (see report by Laure Dussubieux, same volume). As it is unlikely that either the beads or the core-formed glass vessels were manufactured at the site where they were found, and the evidence for glassworking from the site indicates only a recycling of blown vessels with a different chemical composition, we may suppose that both groups, the beads and the core-formed vessels, were made elsewhere and brought to Singapore as finished objects. Archaeological evidence for the shipment of large amounts of glass beads is provided by the Pandanan shipwreck discovered south of Palawan in the Philippines, and dating from the early fifteenth century. Thousands of glass beads inside stoneware jars were found in its cargo.[18]

The site at Fort Canning Hill, where glass was found in such concentration, has been explained as the remains from a workshop in association with the palace, which is assumed to have stood on the hill. The beads might have been collected for some decorative or ornamental use, which would be consistent with the interpretation of the site as a palace workshop. The small core-

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16. Werner and Bimson 1963. Calcium fluoride (fluorite or fluorspar) as an opacifier has been found in an opaque white glass bracelet from Kota Cina, an important port site on the northeastern coast of Sumatra, dating from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century (Brill, Barnes, and Joel 1991: 72-73, 83 sample Pb-2076 = Brill 1999 vol. 1: 165 sample 2926; vol. 2: 378); because of the high lead content of its glass and the lead isotope analyses, it is thought to be of Chinese origin. See also Brill 1999 vol. 1: 154 sample 5872 (a Chinese Bodhisattva head of uncertain date) opacified with CaF_2 and NaF (but of a different glass composition). Calcium fluoride was also used in 16th-century Chinese enamel, and caused the opaque white colour (Henderson 2000: 38 figure 3.11; Kerr and Wood 2004: 689).

17. The translucent red glass, coloured with copper, is regarded as a speciality of Chinese glassmaking at the time (Francis 2002: 75-76; 80-81).

18. Bacus 2004: 268.

formed glass vessels might already have been broken and collected as valuable glass waste, its intended further use not determinable.

Shape

Though the surviving fragments from Singapore provide some clues as to the shape of base, shoulder, and rim of the vessels, those alone would not allow a reconstruction of the vessel type. However, a few complete glass vessels of this kind, similar in dimensions and decoration, have been found in the Philippines, for instance, in Mindoro and Mindanao (Plate 5, *comp.* I B – *comp.* I D). These are small jarlets with a bulbous body and a short neck. Judging from the evidence still discernible on the Singapore fragments, they all might be from jarlets of such shape.

Furthermore, many particular details of the Singapore fragments correlate with the jarlets found in the Philippines. The three jarlets from the Philippines likewise consist of semi-opaque white glass with a rim made of a thick trail of blue glass. Their exterior is decorated with trails of blue, green, red, and yellow, dragged into a chevron or zigzag pattern. In particular, the two jarlets *comp.* I B and *comp.* I C (Plate 5) are strikingly similar to the neck– and shoulder fragment cat. no. I 1 from Singapore (Figure 1 and Plate 1).

In addition, the three Singapore base fragments (Plate 1-2, cat. nos. I 3 to I 5) share a remarkable detail, which is also found on the jarlet in the Locsin collection (Plate 5, *comp.* I B). Near the base of this jarlet, a horizontal thread of red glass was applied after the chevron pattern was finished, as was the case on the base fragments from Singapore, where only the depression of the now missing glass trail of unknown colour is left. Remains of a corresponding trail of red glass are preserved on the fragments of cat. no. I 17 (Plate 4). Considering all similarities in appearance and workmanship to the point of such details, this certainly suggests a common origin for the fragments from Singapore and the jarlets from the Philippines, possibly even an identical workshop.

One more detail deserves attention. Two jarlets from the Philippines have ring handles on the shoulder formed like cylindrical beads and made of semi-opaque white glass (Plate 5, *comp.* I B and *comp.* I C). Interestingly, among the glass from Fort Canning Hill is a fragment, here sample 6, resembling a cylindrical bead of corresponding size, strangely flattened on one side. The analogy to the cylindrical ring handles allows the suggestion that this beadlike cylinder originally might also have been a handle, with its flattened side attached to the wall of a jarlet. Its chemical composition is very close to the white glass of the vessel fragments; in the range of trace elements small differences exist,[19] however.

19. L. Dussubieux, pers. comm., 2010. See also her report below.

In total, the fragments from Fort Canning Hill represent at least three, possibly four or more different vessels. The two base fragments (Plate 1, cat. nos. I 3 and I 4) come definitely from two different vessels. The thin-walled fragments (Plate 4, cat. no. I 17), apparently also from the lower part of the wall near the base, certainly represent a third vessel. The other fragments with thicker walls (Plate 2-3, cat. nos. I 6 to I 16) look too diversified in colour schemes and patterns to come from only two vessels, corresponding to the two bases. Therefore, an estimate of at least three, but probably four or more individual pieces seems justified for the FTC fragments. To be added is the base fragment found downtown at the Parliament House Complex site (Plate 2, cat. no. I 5), raising the estimate to at least four, but probably five or more vessels.

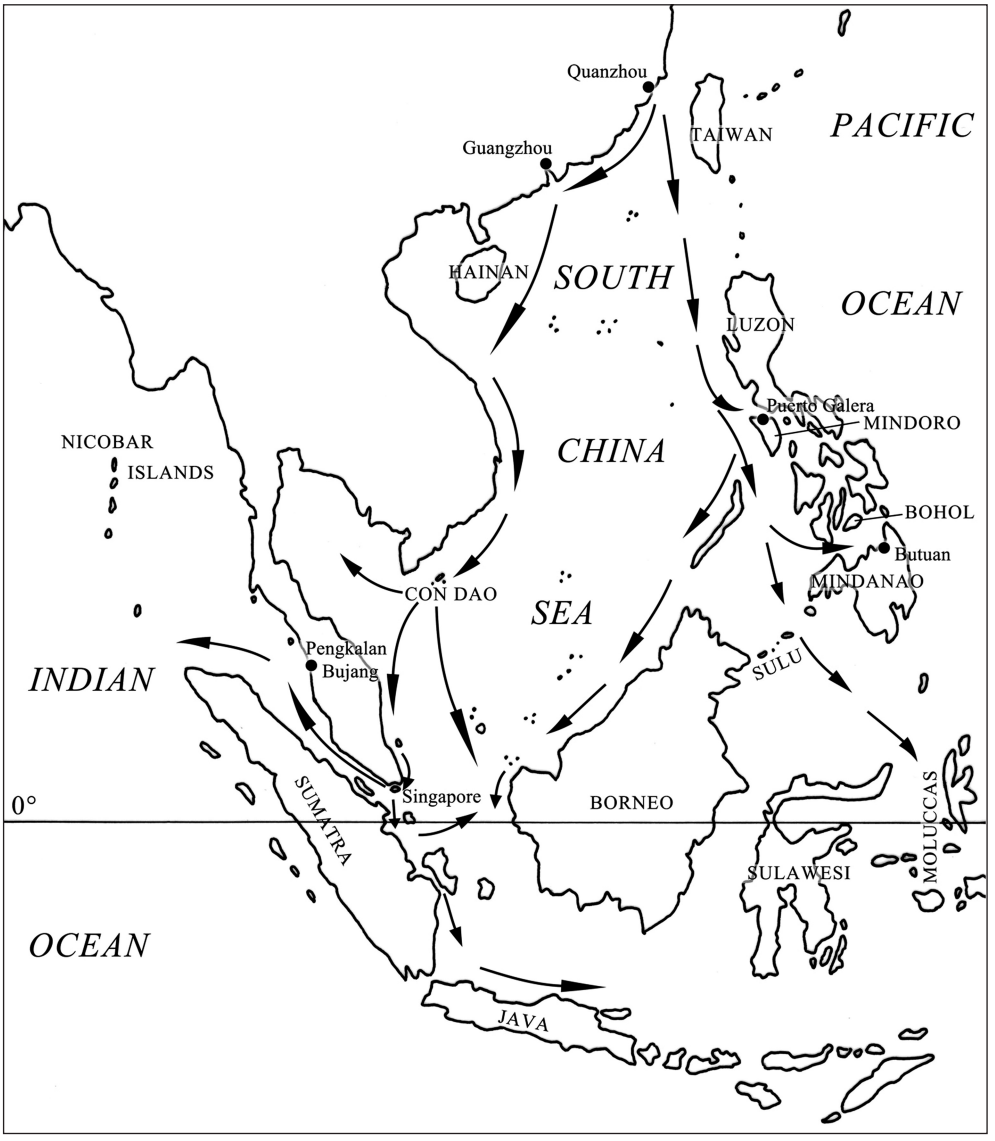
The shape of the glass jarlets closely compares – even in dimensions – to Chinese ceramic jarlets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries found in large numbers as trade wares in Southeast Asia. In burial sites in the Philippines, such jarlets, with or without ring handles on the shoulder, are the most frequent type among the imported celadon and early blue-and-white wares.[20] Most of these ceramic jarlets have been attributed to kilns in Zhejiang and dated to the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368).

Distribution and date

Although, to the present, finds of polychrome core-formed vessels of this group are rare and reported from only a limited number of sites, they are distributed over a large geographical area in Southeast Asia (Map 1). In addition to the fragments from Singapore and the complete jarlets found in the Philippines, three more fragments, alike in technique and appearance, were discovered at the site of Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah, on the northwest coast of Malaysia (Plate 5, *comp.* I A). The only difference is that the body consists of dark green glass, instead of the usual opaque white glass of the other vessels. The exterior decoration is made in an identical way, trails of red, yellow and blue glass are drawn into a chevron pattern. As the excavator explicitly states in his description, the "undecorated side of each of these fragments has a somewhat rough surface".[21] From this and the other similarities, we may conclude that these fragments also come from a similar glass vessel made in the core-forming technique. They were found at Pengkalan Bujang in deposits B and C, situated on the east and west bank of a tidal stream, the Sungai Bujang. The site was a major entrepôt port of southern Kedah; the large deposits B and C were interpreted as the debris of

20. Locsin and Locsin 1967: 81; Addis 1967-69: 22; Borell 2003: 216 n. 16. A fragmentary ceramic jarlet with two ring handles, of slightly larger size, but apparently of similar shape, was found on Fort Canning (Miksic 1989: 46, figs. 5-6).

21. Lamb 1961: 27 plate 80 figure caption.



Map 1. Sites with polychrome glass finds similar to group I in relation to the eastern and western sea routes from Quanzhou

an entrepôt trade with commodities arriving from China, India, and the Middle East. Based on the datable Chinese ceramics, the period of main activity at Pengkalan Bujang has been assigned a date from the twelfth to the early fourteenth century.[22]

No details about the find contexts are recorded for the jarlets from the Philippines, as they do not come from controlled archaeological excavations. For two of them (Plate 5, *comp.* I B and *comp.* I C), a provenance from burial sites is reported; their excellent state of preservation is certainly due to this find situation in a burial context. The jarlet in the Locsin Collection (Plate 5, *comp.* I B) was found at a burial site in Mindoro, apparently one of the Puerto Galera sites on the north coast.[23] The time range of the Chinese ceramics from the Puerto Galera sites covers a period roughly from the tenth to fifteenth centuries. It is thought that the polity Mayi, frequently mentioned in Chinese sources of the Song and Yuan dynasties, was located in northern Mindoro. Mayi was an important polity, and apparently dominated the maritime trade with China during the Song period.[24] The other jarlet (Plate 5, *comp.* I D), said to be one of two identical jarlets, was found in 1976 by pothunters in a burial site at Ambago near Butuan on the north coast of Mindanao.[25] Butuan, probably the Puduan in Chinese sources, whose ruler had sent several tributary missions to China already in the early eleventh century, was a flourishing trade-oriented polity.[26] In general, the imported Chinese ceramics from Butuan range in date from the tenth to fifteenth centuries.[27] Considering the well-preserved and intact state of the jarlet in the Marcos Foundation Museum (Plate 5, *comp.* I C), it may be inferred that it also comes from a burial site. At first glance, the Butuan jarlet appears slightly different, because of its ribbed surface. However, these ribs and furrows result from the dragging process of making the chevron or zigzag pattern without subsequent reheating to smooth the surface. In all other details, it is very similar to the other jarlets.

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22. Lamb 1961: 29-30, Lamb 1965: 35-36, Lamb 1966: 76; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992: 205-210, Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002: 193-197, 443-451; Yasuhiro 2008: 83, 87.

23. As it appears, this glass jarlet was among the items acquired for the Locsin Collection in 1962 from the diggings at the Puerto Galera site (Locsin and Locsin 1967: 127-128). On the situation of the Puerto Galera sites, see Evangelista 1989: 17-18.

24. Ptak 1998b: 277; Wang 2008.

25. M.R. Cembrano, pers. comm., 2002; it was on loan at the Butuan Museum from 1978-1988. The photograph by P.-Y.Manguin was taken while it was on loan in the Butuan Museum in 1983 (P.-Y. Manguin, pers. comm., 2002).

26. Ptak 1998b: 275, 277; Bacus 2004: 270.

27. Cembrano 1998: 37. Interestingly, archaeological excavations at one of the Satuan sites, Barrio Ambago, uncovered four undisturbed burials with their grave goods in situ (Burton 1977: 96; Bacus 2004: 270). The ceramics from these burials were dated to the Yuan Dynasty. The period contemporaneous to the Singapore find context is therefore well-represented at the site.

Together, the fragments and the complete jarlets, constitute a closely related group – some even point to an origin in the same workshop – which suggests a similar time span for their manufacture. At present, the finds from Singapore provide the best evidence for narrowing down the date for this glass group. The archaeological layer on Fort Canning Hill is dated to a rather limited time span, mainly the first three quarters of the fourteenth century, which is well within the general time range of the sites in Kedah and the Philippines. The time span assigned to the deposits from Pengkalan Bujang might even indicate a date early in the fourteenth century. In any case, a date corresponding to the middle or late Yuan Dynasty would be consistent with that of the closest parallels for the shape of the jarlets, namely the ceramic jarlets of Yuan Dynasty date, which are ubiquitous among the Chinese trade wares found in Southeast Asia.

Origin

When he presented the fragments from Pengkalan Bujang and the jarlet from Mindoro, Alastair Lamb tentatively suggested that they were western imports of Middle Eastern or Egyptian origin.[28] This suggestion might have been influenced by the presence of large amounts of undoubtedly Middle Eastern glassware among the finds from Pengkalan Bujang. At the time of his writing, further, those two finds from Malaysia and the Philippines were the only examples of our particular group known, being rather isolated and unique specimens without other parallels.[29] Now, this situation has changed, and an increased number of such glass vessels, respectively fragments of them, has been recovered from Southeast Asian sites.

However, the decisive factor is the chemical composition of the glass. Whereas the ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean glasses, as well as the medieval Middle Eastern glasses, have compositions of the soda lime system, the polychrome fragments from Singapore are made of a potash-lead-silica glass, a characteristic glass composition in China from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries.

Besides the glass composition, the shape of the jarlets also points to a Chinese connection. It clearly copies the small ceramic jarlets – according to

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28. Lamb 1965a: 39 n. 4 "of Middle Eastern or Mediterranean origin", and fig. 10, figure caption "perhaps of Egyptian origin and of earlier date". Accordingly, in later publications, the other glass jarlets of this kind found in the Philippines were assigned a Middle Eastern origin. Cf. also Guillot 2004: 171 with n. 43. Whitcomb 1983: 105, mentioning "marvered wares" from Pengkalan Bujang, seems to refer to the polychrome fragments, here *comp.* I A plate 5.

29. An expert on Middle Eastern glass already dismissed a connection to the blown glass of the so-called "marvered" group, Allan 1995: 29 n. 53. Likewise, they differ in shape, decoration style, and craftsmanship from the core-formed ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean glass vessels.

their find distribution, one of the most popular types of Chinese ceramics traded to Southeast Asia. A large proportion of these trade wares, produced in the kilns of the southern provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian,[30] were exported through the port of Quanzhou, China's most prominent overseas port during the late Song and the Yuan Dynasties. In recent research, Quanzhou with its thriving port has been addressed as the "emporium of the world".[31] Basically, two different sea routes were used from Quanzhou to Southeast Asia, a western and an eastern sea route, as arbitrary crossings of the South China Sea were risky and dangerous, due to the numerous shoals and atolls. Scholars researched these sea routes in great depth. Their descriptions in the Chinese written sources are supplemented by archaeological findings, in particular the distribution of Chinese ceramics in Southeast Asia (Map 1).[32] Textual and archaeological evidence point to an increasing importance of the eastern sea route in Yuan times.

All of the sites where vessels of the group under discussion were discovered are coastal sites well-connected to this system of sea routes. Mindoro and Butuan would have been reached by the eastern sea route, whereas Singapore/Temasek, the Danmaxi of Chinese sources, and Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah, would be reached by the western sea routes. As it is unlikely that the glass jarlets of this particular group were produced in a number of geographically distant places, their geographical distribution reflects in all likelihood the pattern of a distribution by trade along these sea routes.

In addition to glass composition and shape, the distribution along the great sea routes from Quanzhou is in accordance with a Chinese origin of the glass vessels. The technique applied in the manufacture of the jarlets, unusual for glass vessels at that time,[33] might have been derived from the manufacture of beads, and it is conceivable that the glass jarlets were produced in a specialised bead workshop. The findings of the cylindrical bead from Singapore (Plate 4, cat. no. I 18), related in glass composition as well as in technique and manner of decoration, support this suggestion.[34] Of

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30. A large proportion of the trade wares found in Southeast Asia was produced in the kilns in the hinterland of Quanzhou specifically for export (Pearson, Li and Li 2001: 190-194; Ho 2001).

31. Schottenhammer 2001; Chaffe 2008: 126-128.

32. Ptak 1998a, Ptak 1998b, Ptak 2001: 414-419, Ptak 2007: 148-182. In Map 1 the suggested course of these sea routes is given as starting from China. Of course, we have to bear in mind that ships sailed along these routes in both directions, and that the role of Southeast Asian ships in the maritime trade should in no way be underestimated.

33. The technique of glassblowing was introduced to China in the fifth century (An 2004: 62, An 2009).

34. Another cylindrical bead, similarly made of opaque white glass, decorated with a wave pattern of blue, red, and yellow threads, is said to come from Sarawak in northern Borneo

course, raw glass was traded, and a workshop making beads and small core-formed vessels could have been set up anywhere in southern China or Southeast Asia, in particular because the making of such core-formed glass vessels would not involve very high temperatures, and could be done with rather simple equipment.[35] From the evidence presently available, the area of Quanzhou seems to be a likely candidate for the location of such a workshop.[36] However, it might be wise to keep one's mind open for other possibilities.

Function of the glass jarlets

In general, glass was in Southeast Asia in this period still regarded as a valuable material,[37] ranking in the class of prestige goods for the elites like other luxury goods obtained in trade. To judge from the small number of such glass vessels found, and the laborious method of their manufacture they were certainly not mass-produced, but were rare and precious objects.

At the present state of knowlegde, only surmises regarding the function of the glass jarlets are possible. As indicated by the archaeological contexts at the Fort Canning site, as well as at Pengkalan Bujang, the glass vessels had been brought there as waste, in the case of the glass recycling workshop in Singapore, probably as scrap still valued for possible reuse. The jarlets found in the Philippines functioned as grave goods in – presumably wealthy – burials, however contextual details regarding their position within the grave and their relation to the other grave goods are lacking.[38] In their role as grave goods, the glass jarlets might have been of similar or – because of their material – even higher prestige than the Chinese celadon or blue-and-white jarlets. Chinese glazed ceramics in general are considered to have had

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(Francis 2002: 59, 78-79 colour plate 14). Other finds of related white opaque beads with wave patterns are reported from the Philippines attributed to the period of the burial sites from about 1200 to 1450. According to their specific gravity, they were made of a glass with a high lead content, again pointing to a Chinese origin (Francis 2002: 59, 78-80, colour plate 14 – top left – and 17). More detailed analyses of their chemical compositions might clarify the relation of these different glass finds.

35. Giberson 1996; Stern 1998: 187-188, fig. 19.

36. Comparable to the export-oriented ceramic kilns in the hinterland of Quanzhou (see note 30; Stargardt 2001: 346, 356, 368, 376).

37. In 1521, Antonio Pigafetta, in his account of Magellan's expedition, frequently mentions presents of glass as a commoditiy highly valued by the peoples in the Philippines, Borneo and the Moluccas; in particular, drinking vessels of glass like the glass goblets with gilding, which the Spanish presented to the king of Cebu and other local rulers or their ministers (Blair and Robertson vol. 33, 1906: 147, 149, 215, 227, 253, 263; vol. 34, 1906: 43, 55).

38. However, considering the extent of robbing burial sites for valuable goods, hopes of finding an intact burial with such glass jarlets might not be great, in particular, since such plundering did not begin in the twentieth century, but was already practiced by the Spanish in the sixteenth century (Blair and Robertson vol. 2, 1903: 172-173).

a 'status-symbolising' function for the elites in the early Philippine kingdoms, as ethnohistoric and archaeological data indicate.[39] It has already been noted that the small jarlets are among the most frequent types of Chinese ceramics brought to the Philippines. In general, it is remarkable that most of the Chinese ceramics from the Philippines are miniatures. The southern Chinese kilns apparently mass-produced them in response to a special demand from Southeast Asia. The small size of the jarlets made them rather unsuitable for practical use, except possibly to hold small quantities of some valuable and special substance, like aromatics or medicine. In Sulawesi and Sumatra, some examples of such ceramic jarlets are known to have been used as containers for medicine or magic potions.[40]

However, the arrangement of the ceramic jarlets within the burial seems to point to a function beyond their role as prestige objects or containers for special substances alone. In addition, it has been noticed that their pristine condition as found suggests that they were never put to practical use. It seems that they were thought to be endowed with magical properties. In burials in the Philippines, ceramics of special shapes cover certain parts of the body, for instance, large celadon plates turned upside down on the lower body protecting the pubes, or they are placed around the body, for instance, numerous small jarlets around the head and upper body of the deceased.[41]

Regarding the magical aura of ceramic containers,[42] an early Spanish missionary account is of interest (see appendix). It relates an incident of the year 1599. In a village on the island of Bohol some small ceramic jarlets and cups, the Spanish terms *botijillas* and *corneçuelos* apparently designate porcelain containers,[43] were used for soothsaying and other practices; these *botijillas* and *corneçuelos*, called by the natives *dolondongos* or – in a spelling variant – *delongdongos*, were themselves thought to be full of magic and so powerful that nobody dared to touch them. In our context, it is important to note that both Spanish terms appear in the diminutive, recalling the miniature types of Chinese ceramics, in particular the small jarlets, which were traded to the Philippines two or three centuries earlier than the Bohol

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39. Junker 1990, Junker 1993: 1-7; Bacus 2000; Miksic 2006b: 149.

40. Adhyatman 1981: 150, 154, 157; Guy 1990: 37 fig. 14. In Indonesia, the celadons were thought to have healing powers, and to act as a detector of poison or even as an antidote (Adhyatman 1981: 154; Blair and Robertson vol. 33, 1906: 225 n. 421). Similarly, the Karo in Sumatra used blue-and-white Yuan period jarlets as containers for magic substances (Edwards McKinnon 2009: 139; cf. also Adhyatman 1981: 236-237 fig. 105).

41. Addis 1967-69: 32; Guy 1990: 27 fig. 12, one of the richest burials from the Santa Ana excavations, with 79 pieces of porcelain and stoneware, including a large number of jarlets; it was the burial of a mother and child. See also Dupoizat 1995: 222.

42. Cole 1912: 11-15, pl. 18. Kaboy and Moore 1967: 15 pl. 12 (jarlets).

43. Addis 1967-69: 32.

episode. Thus far, no explanation has been offered for the native term *dolondongos*, at present, its meaning is not clear. Future research might shed more light on this question.

Part II: Blown glass vessels with interior flange and applied decoration

The vast majority of the vessel glasses found in Singapore are fragments of glass vessels made by the blowing technique. A large proportion of the blown glass consists of insignificant wall fragments; other fragments are still waiting to be studied in greater depth. Here, special rim fragments have been selected, which share certain characteristics, like the peculiar rim shape and the decoration with applied glass threads in contrasting colours. They form a small group of glass vessels discussed here in part II. These rim fragments were all found at the excavation site on Fort Canning Hill, in an archaeological context explained as debris of a glassworking shop where vessel glass was collected for remelting to be reworked (see above, Introduction).

Description and shape

All of the rim fragments of this group (Figures 2-4, Plate 6-7, cat. nos. II 1 to 9) have a rather wide opening at the rim, usually with a diameter between 8 and 10 cm, in common. The walls are very thin, the average thickness is about 0.1 cm. As far as it is preserved, the wall is upright and rather straight, pointing to a more or less cylindrical shape with a wide opening. However, sometimes the wall is slightly convexly curved. In most cases, only a small part of the wall just below the rim is preserved, and no fragments from lower parts or any bottom fragments could be identified with any certainty as belonging to these rim fragments. Therefore, the wall, though more or less vertical in its upper part, might have curved inward toward the bottom, similar to the shape of a small bowl or cup. At present, a reconstruction of the lower body of these glass containers is not possible. Future finds of more complete vessels might provide better evidence for a reconstruction.

The specific feature of this group is the rim with interior flange. The wall is folded first outwards, then inwards to form a bulging rim, sometimes leaving a tubular hollow within the rim bulge (Plate 6, cat. no. II 2 detail). From the rim, usually from the lower part of the rim bulge or from the area between rim and wall, a flange projects inwards and slightly upwards.

Another speciality of this group is the fact that, in some examples, glasses of different colours were used to make the body (Plate 6-7, cat. nos. II 1 to II 4). Whereas sometimes the wall, rim bulge, and interior flange are made of the same glass, in several cases, a glass of different colour is added for the interior flange, or for the rim and the interior flange together. This was done with great skill and care. It is remarkable that the glassworker made such an effort and chose such a laborious method of making a mere detail.

The glasses used are translucent blue, purple, and greenish. After shaping the body of the glass vessel, thinly drawn-out threads of opaque glass in contrasting colours were applied while the vessel was revolving. Opaque white, yellow, and red glasses were used for these decorative glass threads. Usually, these threads are only partly sunken into the surface and still partly stand out in relief, sometimes they are completely sunken into the wall and are flush with the surface. The thread applied on the tip of the interior flange is usually thicker and forms the interior edge.

The variations in rim profiles and the different combinations of coloured glasses used for the body and the applied threads make it certain that the fragments listed in the catalogue come from nine different vessels.

The glass is of very good quality and homogeneity (Plate 8, cat. no. II 2, scanning electron microscope), and shows little or no weathering. It contains numerous tiny bubbles. The thin walls, as well as the thin glass threads applied, point to a low viscosity of the glass during manufacture, apparently, the glass was worked at rather high temperatures. The delicate task of adding glass of a different colour to form the rim and/or the interior flange was mastered with great skill (Plate 6, cat. no. II 2), the glass threads were also applied with great accuracy. This technical perfection certainly required long experience and excellent craftsmanship.

These rim fragments form a closely connected group, similar in shape and decoration, glass colours, and technical details of manufacture. These similarities indicate a common origin and a common tradition of glassworking.

Chemical composition

The three glasses of different colour preserved on fragment cat. no. II 2 (Plate 6) have been analysed. They are a translucent purple glass for the wall and rim, a clear glass with an olive green tinge for the interior flange, and an opaque white glass for the applied threads. They were analysed by electron probe microanalysis (EPMA) (Table 2) and by laser ablation-inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS)(see report by Laure Dussubieux, same volume).[44] The chemical composition of all three is that of a soda-alumina-silica glass characterised by its high alumina and low lime content. Such a composition has been identified as characteristic for glasses made in South Asia.[45] The colourant agent in the opaque white glass is tin; pigments of cassiterite (SnO_2) are visible in the photo by scanning electron

44. Heinz-Jürgen Bernhardt, Central Microprobe, University of Bochum, carried out the microprobe analyses in 2007, and Laure Dussubieux, The Field Museum, Chicago, the LA-ICP analyses in 2009. The author's sincere gratitude is due to both of them.

45. Brill 1987.

	FTC 6666 (wall) tr. purple	FTC 6666 (flange) tr. clear	FTC 6666 (applied) op. white
Na2O	13.51	14.98	12.88
MgO	0.58	0.79	0.58
Al2O3	7.03	9.31	6.90
SiO2	72.40	66.35	65.59
SO3	0.19	0.25	0.25
K2O	2.11	2.72	2.27
CaO	0.99	1.28	1.04
TiO2	0.68	0.68	0.57
MnO	0.66	0.79	0.57
FeO	2.25	2.77	2.24
ZnO	0.10	0.04	0.11
SnO2	0.00	0.01	1.73
BaO	0.20	0.22	0.15
PbO	0.00	0.00	2.83
Total	100.70	100.18	97.71

Table 2. Chemical analyses (wt%) of rim fragment cat. no. II 2 (FTC 6666), electron microprobe analysis (EPMA), University of Bochum, Heinz-Jürgen Bernhardt, 2007.

microscope (Plate 8, cat. no. II 2, showing in the lower right the white glass, in the upper left the area of the clear glass with greenish tinge). Besides the high alumina level, the composition is further characterised by the relatively high concentrations of certain trace elements (see report by Laure Dussubieux, same volume), clearly suggesting a South Asian origin for the glasses of the fragment cat. no. II 2 and, as may be inferred, presumably also for the glass of the other typologically related fragments of this group.[46]

Distribution and date

So far, no closely corresponding parallels for the shape of this group seem to be known from other sites. However, in 1986, chemical analyses of some glass finds from Sumatra revealed glass of a similar composition indicating an origin in South Asia, attesting for the first time the presence of vessel glass of such a composition at Southeast Asian sites.[47]

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46. Previously, the author had tentatively proposed a connection with medieval Near Eastern glass, because the colour range of the glasses was similar to that of the so-called Islamic glass (Borell 2005). However, the two series of chemical analyses carried out in 2007 and 2009 proved that the composition of the glass is different from that of medieval Near Eastern glass (Henderson 1995).

47. Edwards McKinnon and Brill 1987: samples 2962 and 2964 (Matangkuli), sample 2935

These are four fragmentary glass vessels, recovered from three different sites in northeastern Sumatra (Map 2). Two almost complete glass vessels were found at Matangkuli (Plate 8, *comp.* II A; *comp.* II B), one rim fragment at Samudera-Pasai (*comp.* II C) and a base fragment at Kota Rentang (*comp.* II D).[48] Robert Brill identified the chemical composition of their glass as characteristic for South Asia; it is a soda glass with high alumina and low lime content similar to the composition of the Singapore fragment. These finds are not closely dated, but, on the basis of the imported ceramics found, the sites are generally attributed to periods being close to or encompassing the time span of the Fort Canning site. For Samudera-Pasai, a flourishing harbour and port town, a period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century has been suggested. At Matangkuli, situated just a short distance inland from Samudera-Pasai, some blue-and-white ceramics have been found, for which reason a fifteenth century date has been tentatively suggested also for the glass finds. The site of Kota Rentang is not far from the important trading centre Kota Cina in the Belawan estuary on the east coast, and yielded ceramics ranging in date from the thirteenth/fourtheenth to the sixteenth century, whereas the time range of Kota Cina is from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The base fragment from Kota Rentang (*comp.* II D) and the rim fragment from Samudera-Pasai (*comp.* II C) are both made of translucent, slightly turbid blue glass, the latter is described as decorated with two opaque yellow threads. This recalls the kind of decoration characteristic for our group. One of the glass vessels from Matangkuli (Plate 8, *comp.* II A) is a thin-walled globular bowl made of a translucent pale green, somewhat turbid glass. Some opaque yellow glass is preserved at its pontil mark on the bottom, indicating that opaque yellow glass was used simultaneously in the same workshop, possibly for the decoration of other pieces. The critical factor for comparison with our group is, of course, the similar chemical composition, indicating a South Asian origin for the Sumatran finds, as well as for the Singapore group.

In the recent excavations at Barus on the west coast of Sumatra, mainly at the Bukit Hasang site, a large amount of vessel glass fragments were recovered. Based on the ceramics, a time span from the twelfth to the middle

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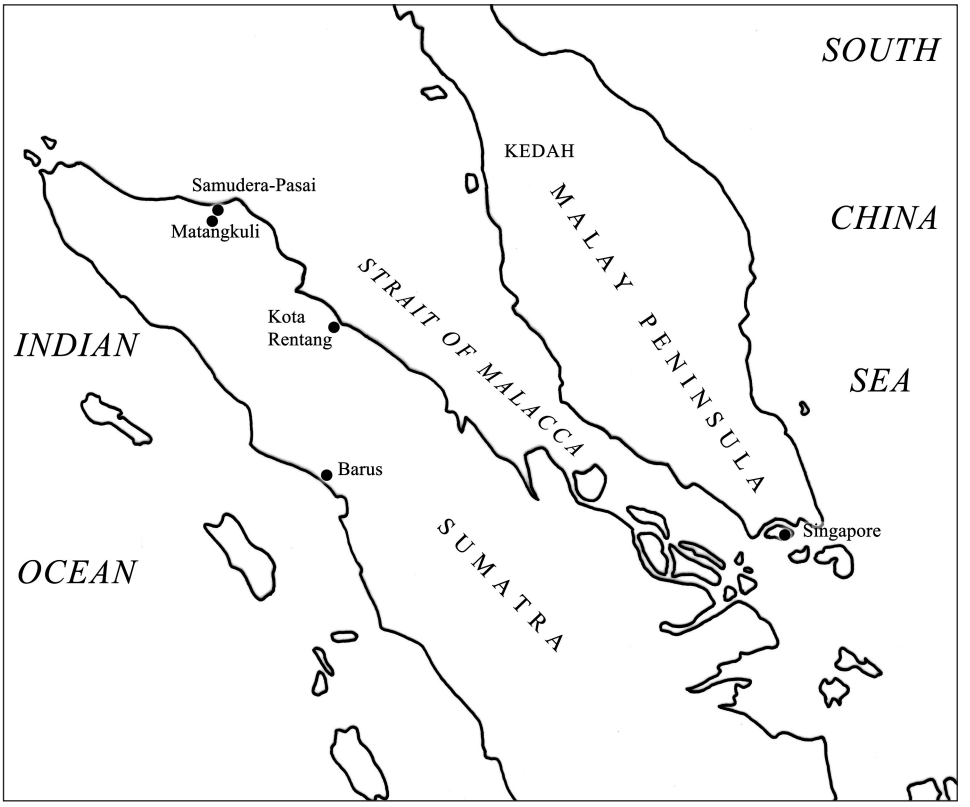
(Samudera-Pasai), sample 2960 (Kota Rentang); sample 2937 (bracelet from Samudera-Pasai); 13 table 2 column 2 (see also Brill 1987: 21 table 3 column 1). Brill 1999 vol. 1: 169-170, vol. 2: 380. 387. The author's thanks are due to the finder of these glass items, Edmund Edwards McKinnon, as well as to Robert Brill and The Corning Museum of Glass, for their help in obtaining photographs of the Matangkuli pieces and permission to publish them.

48. On the Sumatran sites, see also Miksic 2004b: 247-249; Edwards McKinnon 2006: 333, Edwards McKinnon 2009: 125-126, 132-133.



Map 2. Sites mentioned in the text where glass vessels with a South Asian composition were found

of the first half of the sixteenth century has been assigned to the Bukit Hasang site; however, the period of the site's greatest prosperity seems to be limited from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century. For the majority of the glass finds, a date between the twelfth and the fourteenth century has been suggested.[49] As only relatively small fragments were found, it is not possible to reconstruct complete shapes. However, the typological and stylistic comparisons combined with chemical analyses suggest that the majority of the vessel glass originates from the Middle East and, to a lesser extent, the Near East, but for a number of fragments, about a third of the samples analysed from Bukit Hasang, a chemical composition indicating a South Asian origin of the glass has been identified.[50] This is again a mineral soda-alumina glass of the subgroup with high uranium concentrations.

The Bukit Hasang vessel fragments with a South Asian composition are made of blue and purple glass, and of a clear glass with a greenish or yellowish tinge. One of the analysed samples from Bukit Hasang, the fragment of a bowl, is made of a translucent blue glass with an applied opaque red thread on its rim,[51] recalling a similar decoration and colour combination on some of the Singapore fragments (Plate 7, cat. nos. II 5 to 7).

Most remarkable is the elaborate decoration of two base fragments from Bukit Hasang featuring in their centre a polychrome motif, sandwiched between two layers of clear glass. In one example it is a rosette resembling a large marguerite, the petals consisting of opaque white glass, the petal tips being either dark blue or orange. The other example has, likewise embedded in clear glass, a motif made up from two superimposed sets of thin blue and opaque white glass threads radiating from the centre.[52]

Based on her analyses of glass from four sites in Sumatra, Lobu Tua, Bukit Hasang, Kota Cina, and Kota Kareueng, Laure Dussubieux suggests a shift from imports of Middle Eastern glass vessels to those procured from South Asia in the fourteenth century.[53] The findings from Singapore and the date of the Fort Canning site yielding the glass finds would be in accordance with this.

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49. Perret and Surachman 2009: 328; Dussubieux 2009: 400.

50. Perret and Surachman 2009: 328-329; Dussubieux 2009: 393-394. The analysed samples with a South Asian composition are the vessel fragments catalogue nos. 74, 79, 120, 151, 152, and three vessel fragments without catalogue numbers, page 352: a blue fragment, page 357: a clear fragment with a greenish tinge, page 359: a purple fragment; and the bracelet fragment no. 181.

51. Perret and Surachman 2009: 365 no. 120.

52. Perret and Surachman 2009: 374-375 nos. 151-152.

53. Dussubieux 2009: 399-400; Perret and Surachman 2009: 330.

While in Bukit Hasang as well as in Singapore, only relatively small fragments were recovered, the two finds from Matangkuli (Plate 8, *comp.* II A; *comp.* II B) are important evidence that there were complete glass vessels with a South Asian origin in Sumatra at the time. Even though the archaeological context of the Fort Canning site points to small-scale glassworking activites by remelting vessel glass, it was not necessarily the original purpose of this glass to be imported as scrap for recycling. At Bukit Hasang, no evidence for the working of glass has been discovered, and the vessel fragments were found widely distributed over the settlement area. We may therefore assume that the glass vessels were imported as complete vessels, and put to domestic use.

All the sites mentioned as yielding glass vessels of South Asian origin would be easily reached by sea routes (Map 2). Barus on the Sumatran west coast facing the Indian Ocean was accessed directly from South Asia across the sea. The other sites on the northeast coast of Sumatra are situated along the Strait of Malacca, the great throughfare from the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea, with Singapore at its southern end.

Origin and possible function

At present, it doesn't seem possible to narrow down the region in South Asia where such glass vessels might have been produced, given the lack of conclusive evidence from Indian sites.[54] According to the chemical analyses of the vessel fragments with a South Asian composition found in Southeast Asia, it appears that different glassmaking centres using different sources of sand were probably involved. As it seems, making glass vessels had no long standing tradition in India.[55] Ancient Indian glass production focused rather on ornaments like beads, the manufacture of glass vessels seems to have been an innovation at that time.

As already noted for the Singapore fragments, not only the glass itself has a remarkably high quality but also the craftsmanship. Noteworthy is, in particular, the accuracy and perfection of joining two different coloured glasses in the rim and flange area.[56] This also required good control over the making of different coloured glasses with corresponding thermal expansions. Similar observations can be made on the fragments from Bukit Hasang, in

54. For an overview: Kanungo 2004.

55. Chaudhuri 1990: 332, puts this down to "ritualistic authority and laws of religious pollution", ruling out the use of glass vessels for serving food or drink.

56. Two other of Singapore fragments also show the use of different coloured glasses for the vessel's body. The one fragment (FTC 2625: Miksic 1989: 51 photo 20, Miksic 1995: 260; Low 2004: 19 plate 3 centre right) consists of a disc-shaped part made of translucent blue glass and decorated with a concentric thread of opaque yellow and, attached at an angle, the continuing wall made of an almost clear glass with a very slight purple tinge. The other

particular, the two elaborate examples mentioned above. The making of such sophisticated glass vessels requires a good command of technical skills on the part of the glassworker, presumably acquired only after long experience.

At Nevasa in Maharashtra, evidence for glass production is ascribed to phase VI, probably beginning in the Bahmani period in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. It is thought that glassworking activities at the site were stimulated in this period by Iranian glass workers who introduced in particular the art of making polychrome bracelets.[57] Similarly, it would be quite conceivable that immigrant Middle Eastern craftsmen, fleeing the repercussions of the Mongol invasions, their first culmination being the sack of Baghdad in the year 1258, introduced the manufacture of glass vessels as suggested by Daniel Perret and Heddy Surachman.[58] In this manner, by bringing with them their traditional skills, they might have initiated new developments in Indian glass production.

South Asian imports are well-attested in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. At Barus, both the earlier site of Lobu Tua, dating from the late ninth to the eleventh century, as well as the Bukit Hasang site yielded a wealth of evidence for South Asian, in particular Tamil contacts.[59] From Kota Cina an array of artefacts with a Sri Lankan and South Indian connotation has been identified.[60] Sri Lankan coins of the medieval period were found in Kota Cina, Singapore and Kedah.[61] Furthermore, the recent study of South Asian earthenwares from Bukit Hasang, in combination with their geochemical analysis, distinguishes six different groups suggesting six different areas of production: Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka being the regions predominantly represented, the others are Bengal, southern India (including Andhra Pradesh and Orissa), the west coast of India with Kerala, and finally Gujarat, revealing a complex pattern of contacts. In contrast to the Chinese ceramics which were produced for trade and arrived in Southeast Asia as a commodity, these South Asian earthenwares are mostly utilitarian wares like

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fragment (FTC 15343: Miksic 1995: 259, 260, fig. 6) is made of a translucent green-blue glass decorated with curved and horizontal white opaque threads, flush with the surface, preserving on one side a small part of the continuing wall made of an almost clear glass with a very slight greenish tinge.

57. Sen and Chaudhuri 1985: 70-72. Kanungo 2004: 84. The rim fragments of twelve glass vessels found at Nevasa have been attributed to phase V, the phase of Roman contact (50 BCE to 200 CE) Sankalia *et al.* 1960: 445 fig. 192, 10; 453 (explicitly mentioning their thin walls); Dikshit 1969: 42-43, fig. 10,5.

58. Perret and Surachman 2009: 329-330 and D. Perret, pers. comm., 2010.

59. Perret 2009: 628-637.

60. South Indian connections with Southeast Asia: Edwards McKinnon 1996; Guy 2001; Guillot 2003: 57-59, 69-102; Edwards McKinnon 2009: 126, 132-135.

61. Borell 2000b: 8-10, Borell 2001: 52 fig. 18. One more Sri Lankan coin was found at the site of the St. Andrew's Cathedral excavation in Singapore in 2004 (Miksic 2006a: 340).

cooking pots. Their presence in Barus is considered to be an indicator for the presence of people from South Asia, at least temporarily resident, who brought their domestic earthenware with them.[62]

However, neither among the finds from northeastern Sumatra nor among the rim fragments from Bukit Hasang on the Sumatran west coast, is there a close parallel to the rim shape of the Singapore group. The purpose for which glass vessels with such an unusual rim profile were designed, is still an open question. The interior flange certainly had a special importance, since the glassworker took such great care to make it. As the vessel type is an open shape, the rim with interior flange might be intended to prevent spilling. This would imply a use for liquids. However, one might expect such a rim to be combined with some sort of pouring device, like a spout. Among the surviving fragments at the Fort Canning site, no such fragment has been found. Another possibility would be to see the interior flange as support for a lid covering the wide opening. Previously, the author had suggested a use as containers for lightweight – because of the thin walls – pastey or solid material, possibly costly aromatics or suchlike. It is not impossible that the glass containers might have arrived together with their precious contents.

Conclusion

The vessel glass fragments presented here, with one exception, all found at the site on Fort Canning Hill in a level dated to fourteenth century, represent two distinct groups of glass vessels, different in appearance, technique, and chemical composition.

The polychrome glass fragments discussed in Part I come apparently from small jarlets like those found in the Philippines, which are decorated in the same manner with glass trails in different colours drawn into patterns. Their shape is similar to that of the contemporary ceramic jarlets of the Yuan period, frequently encountered among the Chinese trade wares exported to Southeast Asia, and, in particular, to the Philippines. The chemical composition of the glass is that of a potash-lead glass used in China from the Tang to the Yuan period, suggesting, together with the shape, a Chinese origin, not only for the glass but presumably also for the finished objects. The technique of making the glass jarlets is unusual for the fourteenth century as the jarlets are not made by glassblowing. They are rather made in a technique of core-forming related to the forming of beads around a rod. A plausible explanation would be that bead makers developed such a manufacture of small glass containers around a removable core. The distribution of the polychrome vessel fragments of this group – and of

62. Perret *et al.* 2009: 190-196.

elaborate polychrome beads of presumably Chinese origin – points to a distribution along the eastern searoute starting from Quanzhou. It therefore seems likely that workshops making such glass jarlets and polychrome beads were located in the Quanzhou hinterland.

Part II deals with a selected group of the blown glass vessels sharing an unusually shaped rim with an interior flange. A special feature of some examples in this group is the joining of glass of different colours to shape the vessel, which requires great technical skills. The chemical composition of the glass indicates an origin in South Asia. Other finds of vessel glass with a South Asian composition are known from several sites in Sumatra, the dates assigned to the sites all lie within a period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Due to a lack of published finds of comparable glass vessels from Indian sites, it is at present not possible to identify the region or regions in India where the glass vessels might have been made.

Glass artefacts arriving in Southeast Asia from such diverse cultural spheres like India and China testify to the active networks of maritime searoutes. Their presence in fourteenth century Singapore is particularly befitting to Singapore's location between two oceans.

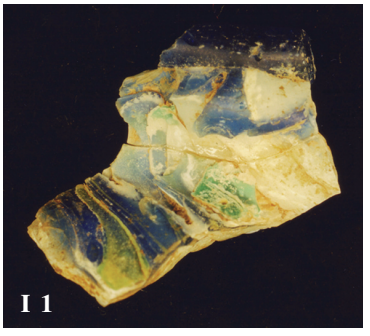
Illustration credits

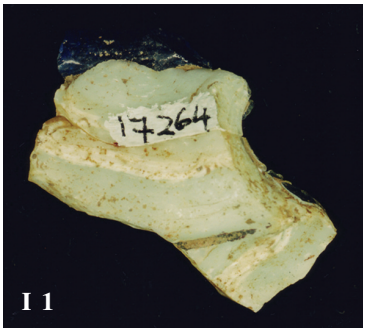
Figures 1-4: Drawings by Brigitte Borell.

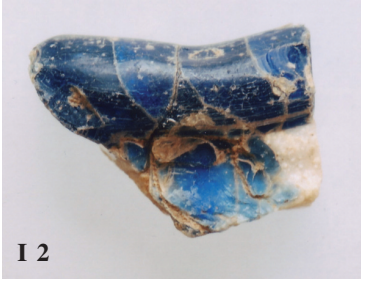
Maps 1-2: Drawings by Brigitte Borell and Antje Seidel.

Plate 1 (cat. no. I 3), plate 3 (cat. no. I 13 and cat. no. 14 b), plate 7 (cat. no. II 6): photos John Miksic. Plate 3 (cat. no. I 10): photo Andrew Cowan. Plate 4 (sample 8 and sample 2): photo Beate Spiering. Plate 5 (*comp.* I A): After Lamb 1961: pl. 80. Plate 5 (*comp.* I B): courtesy Cecilia Locsin. Plate 5 (*comp.* I C): After Tantoco and Tantoco 1976: pl. 34. Plate 5 (*comp.* I D left): photo Margarita Cembrano. Plate 5 (*comp.* I D right): photo Pierre-Yves Manguin. Plate 8 (cat. no. II 2): photos Heinz-Jürgen Bernhardt. Plate 8 (*comp.* II A and *comp.* II B): courtesy of Edmund Edwards McKinnon and of The Corning Museum of Glass, photos Florian Knothe.

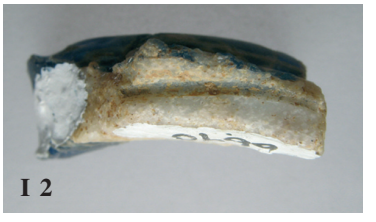
All other photos by Brigitte Borell.















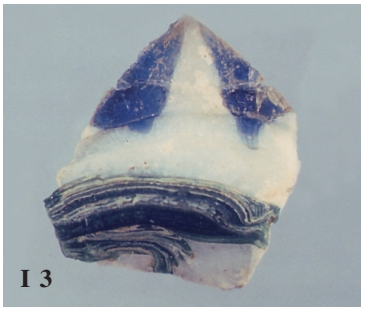
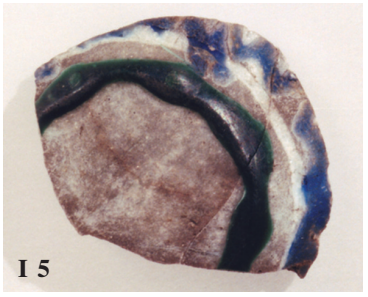
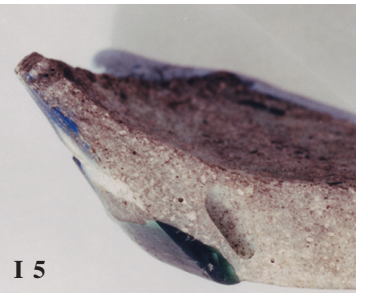


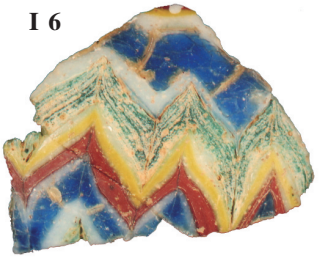


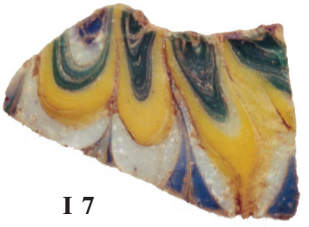


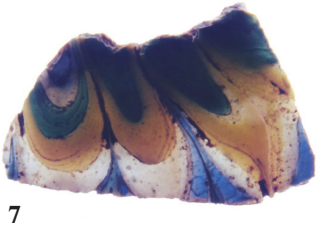
Plate 1. Fragments of glass vessels of group 1



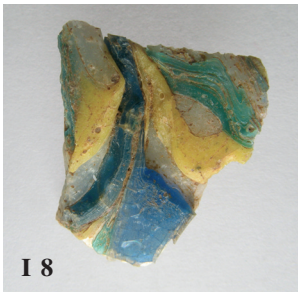












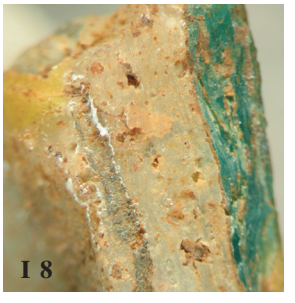
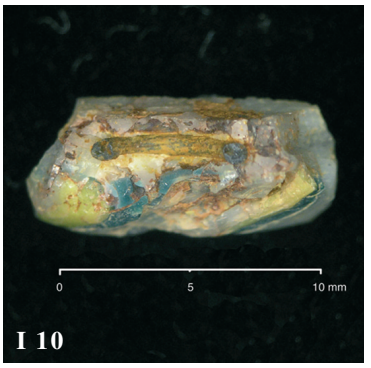






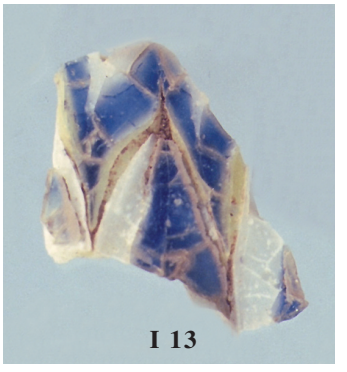
Plate 2. Fragments of glass vessels of group 1

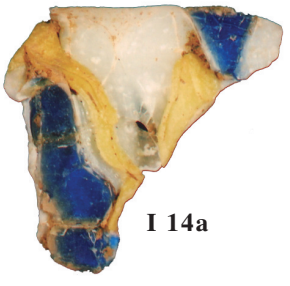












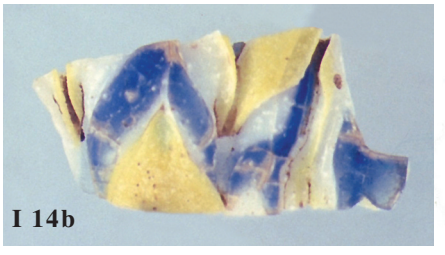
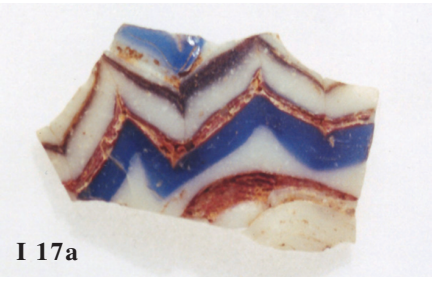


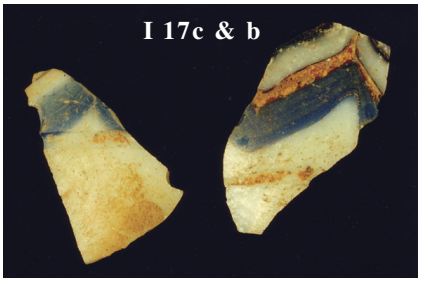






Plate 3. Fragments of glass vessels of group 1





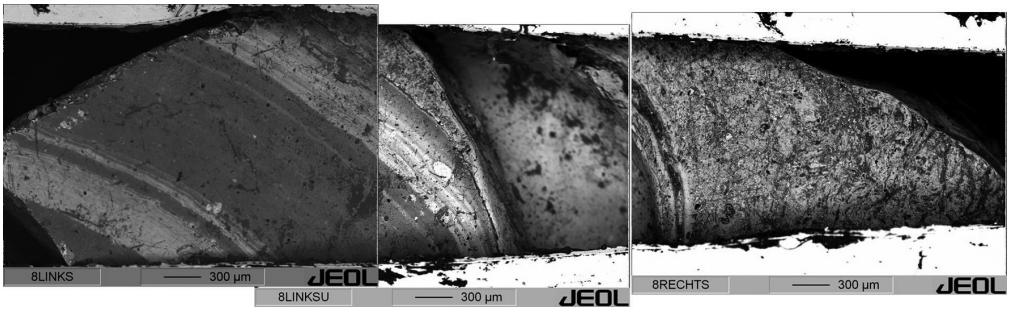


I 17a

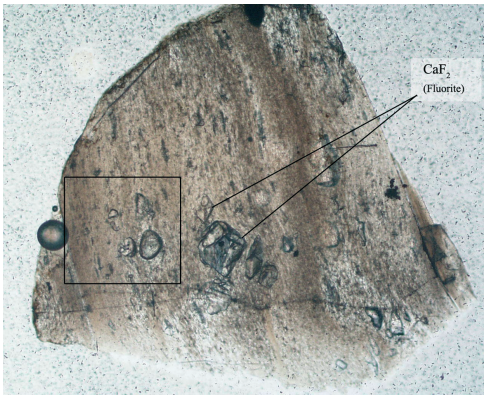


I 18

Sample 8



Sample 2



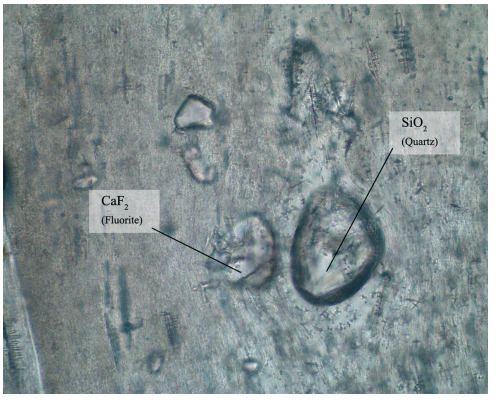
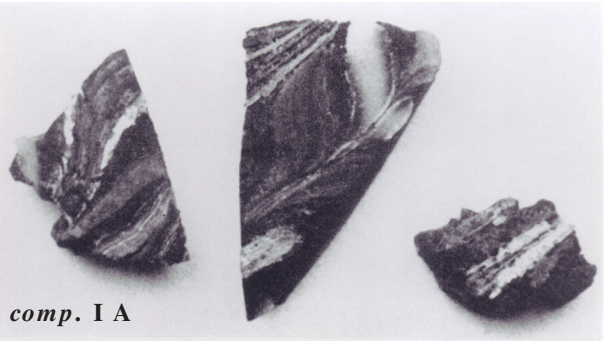
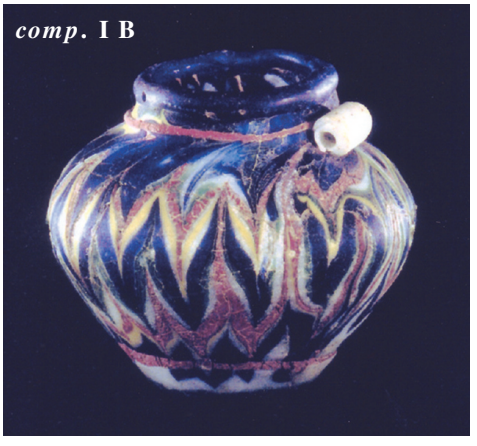


Plate 4. Fragments of glass vessels of group I including the bead fragment cat. no. I 18. Backscattered electron photo (BSE by EPMA) of sample 8 (a vessel fragment of group I). Microscope photos of sample 2 (monochrome bead).









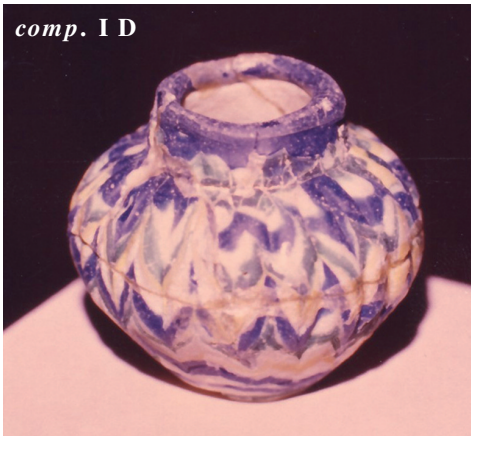
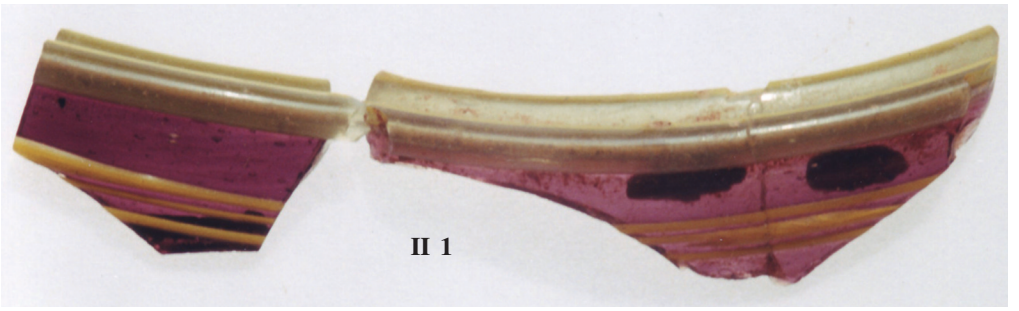


Plate 5. Comparisons to group I, found in Malaysia and the Philippines



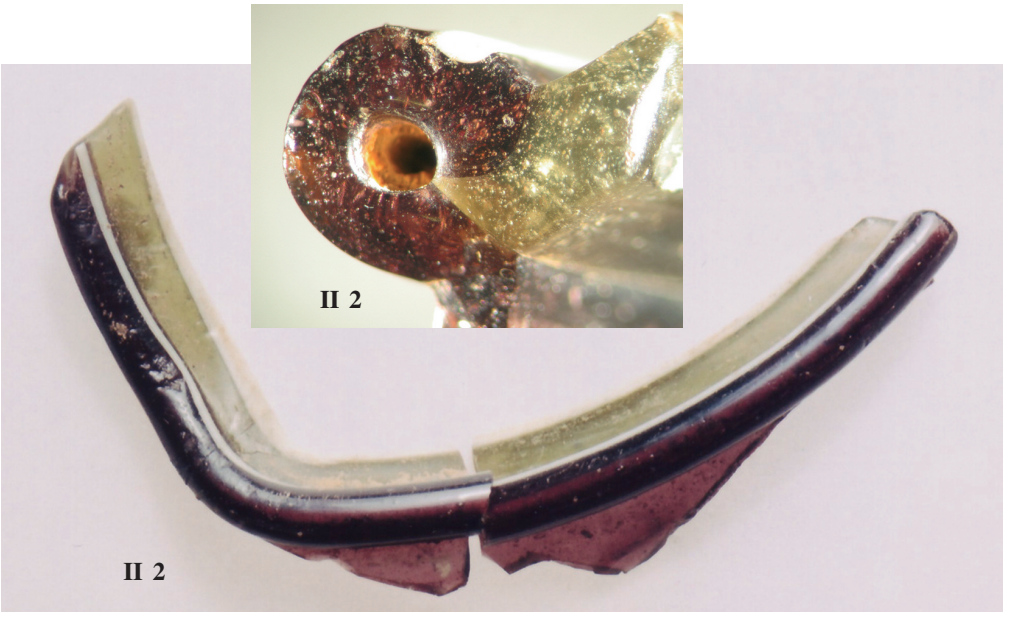
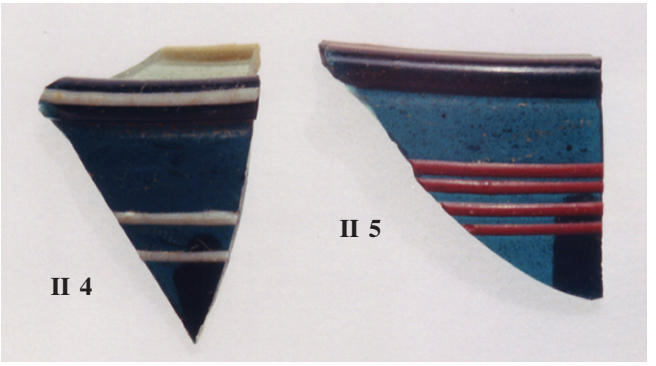
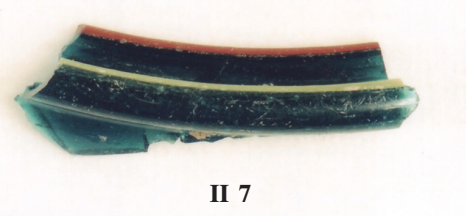




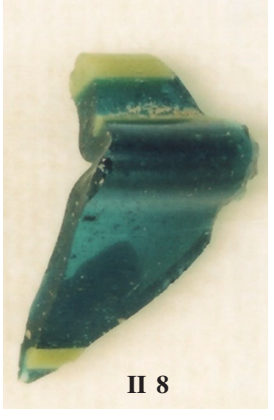
Plate 6. Fragments of glass vessels of group II. The detail of fragment II 2 showing the transition between the translucent purple of the rim and the translucent greenish glass of the interior flange.













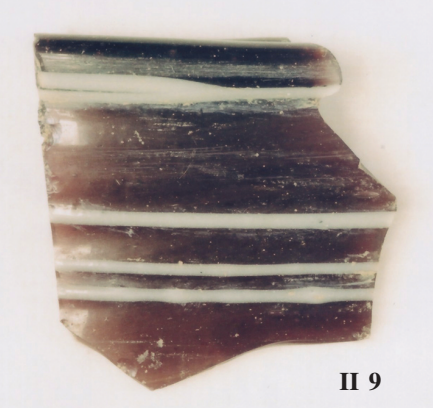
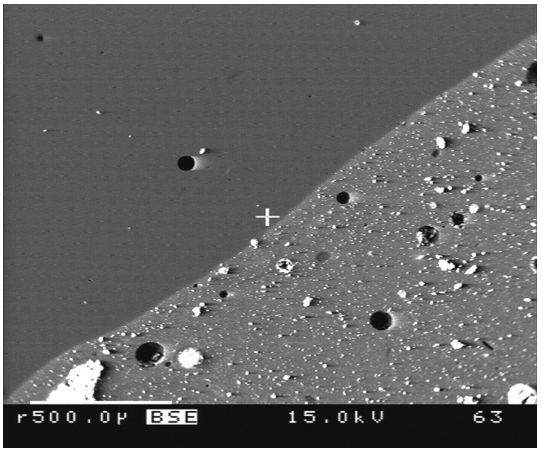


Plate 7. Fragments of glass vessels of group II





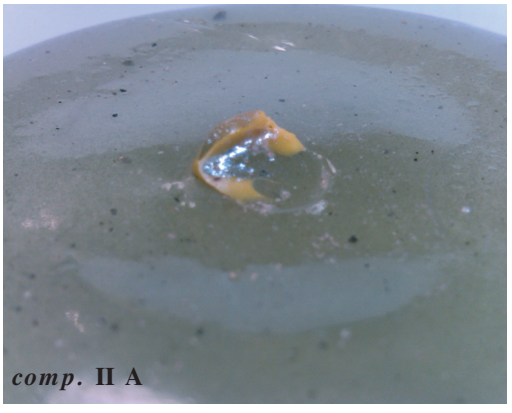






Plate 8. Fragment II 2: Microscope photo of cross section. – Fragment II 2: Backscattered electron photo (BSE by EPMA) showing the transition between the translucent green (upper left) and the opaque white glass (lower right). – Comparisons to group II, found in Sumatra.

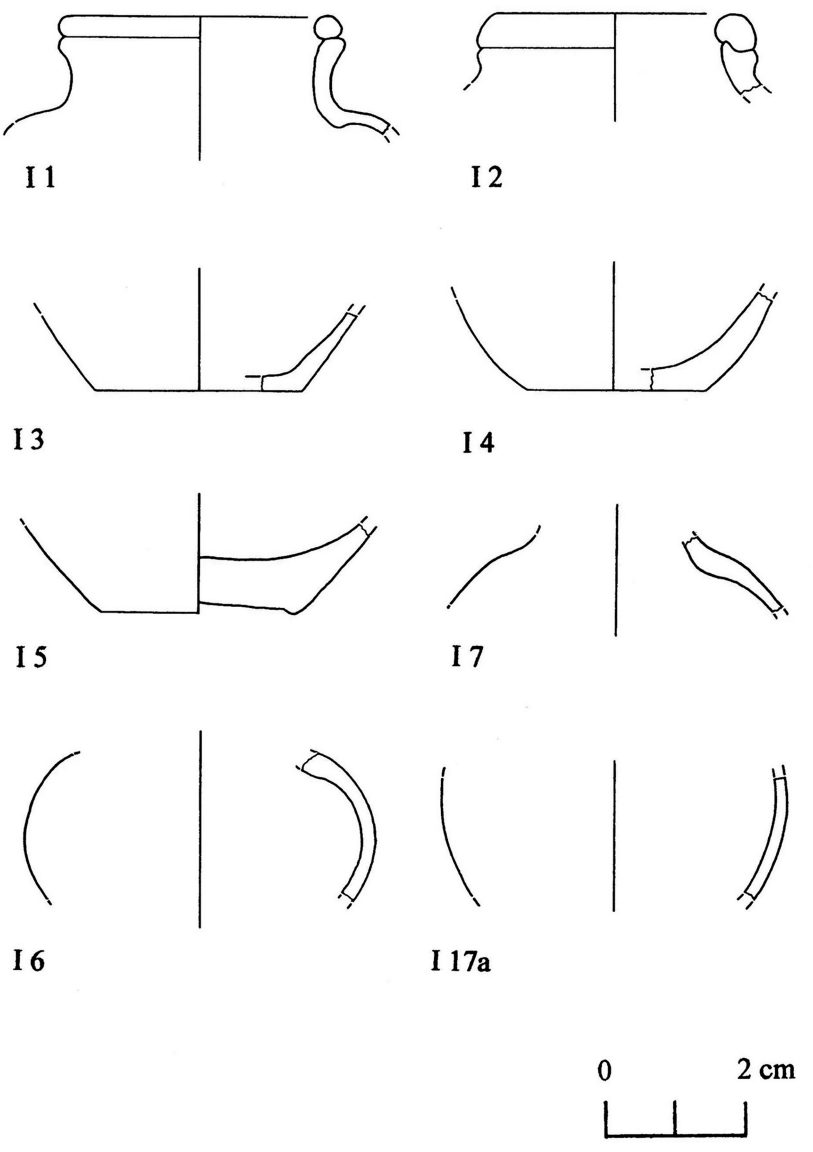


Figure 1. Profiles of group I fragments

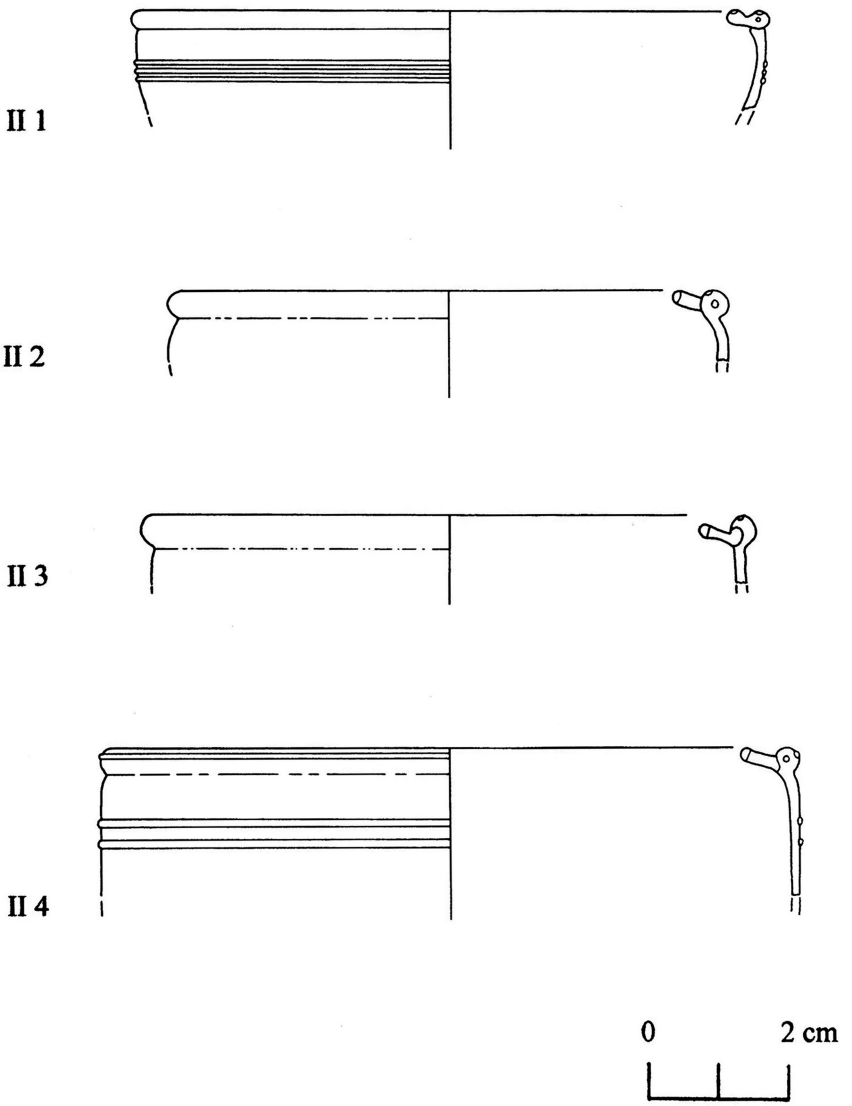


Figure 2. Profiles of group II fragments

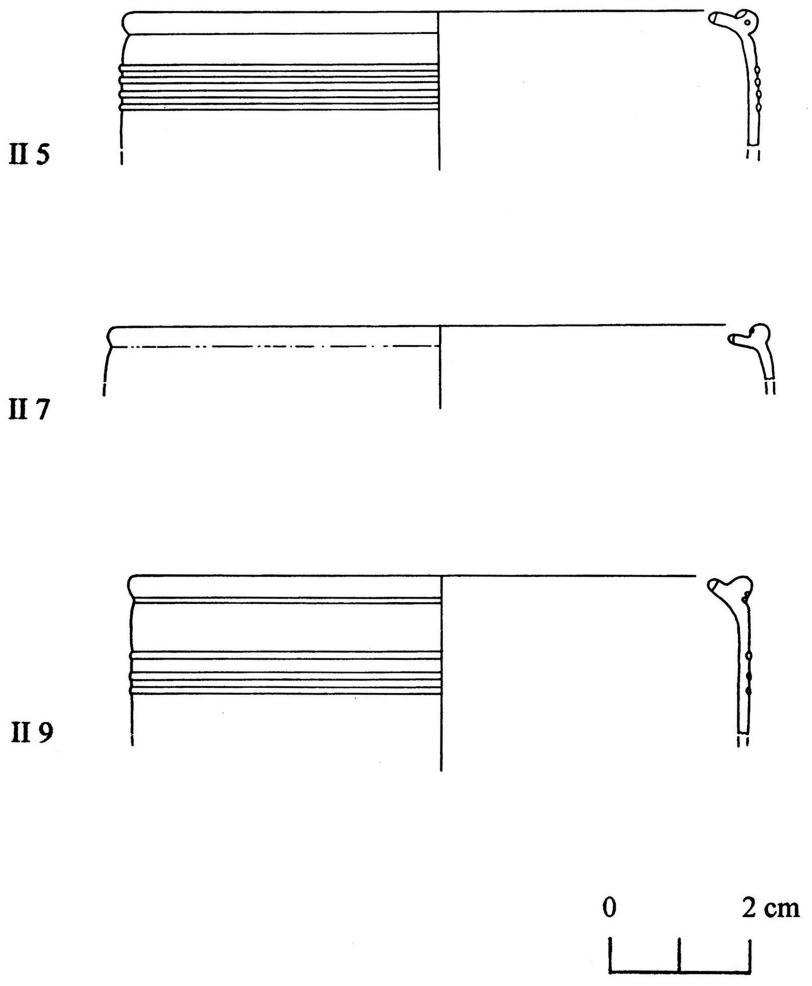


Fig. 3 Profiles of group II fragments

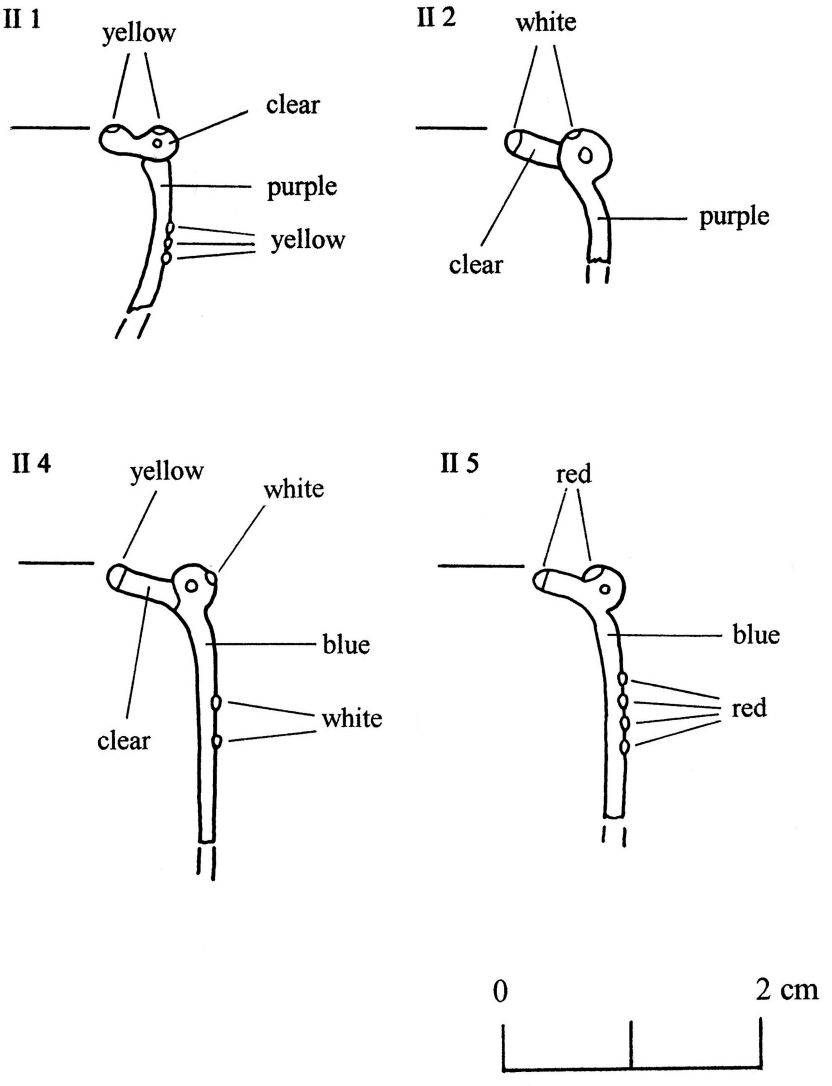


Fig. 4 Details of group II fragments

Singapore glass catalogue

Abbreviations used

D: Diameter
H: Height
L: Length
W: Width
Th: Thickness
est.: estimated
max.: maximum
pres.: preserved
FTC: Fort Canning
PHC: Parliament House Complex
comp. = *comparandum*

Part I: Polychrome core-formed glass

Singapore

I 1. Rim fragment of a jarlet FTC 17264 (rim) + FTC no number (shoulder). Figure 1 and Plate 1.
H 1.7 cm. W 2.0 cm. D of rim (est.) 4.0 - 4.5 cm. Th 0.2 - 0.3 cm. Th rim 0.35 - 0.4 cm.
W of hollow channel about 0.8 cm.
Two joining fragments reassembled, together preserving part of a jarlet from rim to neck and shoulder. Rounded rim, made of a thick trail of translucent dark blue glass; short neck almost cylindrical, its wall slightly incurving; the wall softly bends into convex curving shoulder.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with translucent dark green, translucent dark blue, and opaque yellow glass, dragged obliquely upwards.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character. On the interior striations in the glass visible, mainly horizontal in direction; part of a hollow almost horizontal channel, still containing some brownish remains, is preserved in the shoulder area.
Borell 2003: 215 fig. 5 b (FTC 17264 only).

I 2. Rim fragment of a jarlet FTC 6690 (old number FTC 3600). Figure 1 and Plate 1.
H 1.3 cm. W 1.8 cm. D rim (est.) about 4.0 cm. Th about 0.3-0.4 cm. Th rim about 0.6 cm.
W of hollow channel about 0.8 cm.
Two joining rim fragments reassembled. Rounded rim, made of a thick trail of translucent dark blue glass; preserved is the overlapping end of the blue glass trail (clearly visible from above and on the inside near the right edge). Very short neck splaying out toward shoulder. Probably from a jarlet like cat. no. I 1.
Opaque white glass. Exterior with remains of decoration in translucent blue glass.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character. Thickening of wall on interior at transition between neck and shoulder.
The lower broken edge preserves a hollow, almost horizontal channel, which is not precisely parallel to the surfaces; its distance to the inner and outer surface varies between 0.2 and 0.12 cm.

I 3. Base fragment FTC 11359. Figure 1 and Plate 1.
1.9 cm x 1.6 cm. H (pres.) 1.1 cm. D base (est.) about 3.0 cm. Th about 0.2 cm. W of horizontal groove 0.18 cm.
Two joining fragments reassembled. Probably from a flat-based jarlet. The fragment preserves part of the flat base and the straight splaying wall.
Opaque white glass. Exterior with remains of decoration in translucent blue glass, probably the two points of a chevron pattern. A thick trail of translucent dark green glass is wound

around the edge of the base; the fragment preserves the part with the overlapping trail after one full circle was completed; deterioration of the green glass made the striations from the winding process particularly noticeable. A horizontal groove, crossing the points of the blue chevrons, apparently indicates the original place of a sunken in glass trail, which is now missing (compare cat. nos. I 4 and I 5; also *comp.* I B).
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character; glass partly deteriorated. The broken edge on the left preserves part of hollow channel, which runs upright almost parallel to the surfaces and contains some brownish remains.
Borell 2003: 215 fig. 5c.

I 4. Base fragment FTC 4690. Figure 1 and Plate 1.
2.0 cm x 2.0 cm. H (pres.) 1.3 cm. D base (est.) about 2.5 cm. Th 0.25-0.3 cm. W upper groove 0.15 cm. W lower groove 0.4 cm.
Probably from a flat-based jarlet. The fragment preserves part of the flat base and the straight splaying wall.
Opaque white glass. Lower part of exterior with remains of decoration in translucent blue glass, possibly a simple zigzag. Two horizontal grooves: a wide groove just above the base, a narrow groove higher up across the blue decoration. Both grooves apparently indicate the place of glass trails, which are now missing (compare also cat. nos. I 3 and I 5; also *comp*. I B).
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character. The broken edge on the left preserves a hollow channel, which runs upright, in parts just beneath the inner surface, and still contains some dark brown remains.
Borell 2003: 214 fig. 3.

I 5. Base fragment PHC, from T 1. Figure 1 and Plate 2.
3.3 cm x 4.1 cm. H (pres.) 1.3 cm. D base (est.) about 3.0 cm. Th wall 0.24 cm. Th base 0.7 cm. W of hollow channel about 0.09 cm.
Two joining fragments reassembled. Probably from a jarlet. It preserves a large part of the almost flat, only slightly concave base and the lower part of the straight splaying wall.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with a zigzag in translucent blue glass. A horizontal groove below the zigzag, just crossing some of its lower tips, apparently indicates the place of a now missing glass trail (compare nos. I 3 and I 4; also *comp.* I B). Furthermore, this horizontal groove still shows the untainted white colour of the glass, whereas the whole surface of the fragment is now stained, probably from the layer of black sand in which it was found; the loss of the original glass trail may have occurred after excavation. A thick trail of translucent dark green glass, varying in width and thickness, is wound around the edge of the base; it is flush with the wall, but slightly projecting on the base; the horizontal striations in the trail are faintly visible.
Inner surface rough and uneven, with adhering brownish accretions. The white glass with granular texture; numerous small bubbles and some large bubbles, which measure up to 0.5 cm in length. In the broken edge, visible over a length of about one centimetre, is a hollow channel with dark-brownish remains running parallel to the flat base.
Borell 2000a: 4 fig. 3.

I 6. Wall fragment FTC 8805. Figure 1 and Plate 2.
H 2.0 cm. W 2.3 cm. D (est. max.) about 5.0 - 5.5 cm. Th 0.2 - 0.3 cm.
Two joining fragments reassembled. The fragment with convex curving wall preserves part of shoulder and body. Probably from a small jarlet.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with trails of opaque red, opaque yellow, translucent dark blue, and translucent dark green glass, dragged up and down into a chevron pattern. The green glass deteriorated, the striations strongly visible.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character. Wall thickness increases toward neck. Some small blackish-brownish inclusions; one elongated inclusion along the broken edge on the upper left, parallel and close to inner surface.
Miksic 1995: 257 fig. 2; Borell 2000a: 3 fig. 2, Borell 2001: 48 fig. 16a, Borell 2003: 213 fig. 1; 215 fig. 5 a.

I 7. Wall fragment FTC 511. Figure 1 and Plate 2.
H 1.7 cm. W 2.7 cm. Th 0.2 - 0.4 cm.
The fragment appears to be from the slightly convex curving shoulder of a small jarlet.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with trails of translucent dark green, opaque yellow, and translucent dark blue glass, dragged upward into a garland pattern, which – to judge from the drawn out yellow trail - might change further down into a chevron pattern (like on the shoulder of *comp.* I C). As can be inferred from the sharp-edged depression between the yellow and blue, showing the white glass of the body, there was originally another glass trail, which is now missing.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character. Wall thickness increases toward top.
Miksic and Low 2004: 19 plate 3 (top right).

I 8. Wall fragment FTC (no number). Plate 2
1.1 cm x 1.1 cm. Th 0.25 - 0.35 cm.
Opaque white glass. Exterior with remains of decoration in translucent dark green, opaque yellow, and translucent dark blue glass, possibly dragged into a garland pattern like cat. no. I 7 with an identical sequence of colours. Deep grooves between the yellow and blue were originally filled by glass of another colour, which is now missing.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character. The increase in wall thickness possibly indicates the thickening of the wall characteristic of the bend between shoulder and neck.
Sample 12.

I 9. Wall fragment with remains of wire FTC 7451. Plate 2.
1.3 cm x 1.1 cm. Th (pres.) 0.4 cm. D of wires 0.07-0.08 cm.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with coloured trails, deeply dragged to form a chevron (?) pattern. The trails of translucent dark green and opaque yellow glass are well-preserved, the colour of another rather corroded glass trail is uncertain (it was possibly red); in addition, grooves forming a chevron indicate one more glass trail, which is now missing.
The original inner surface is apparently not preserved. In the fractured interior the corroded remains of at least three thin iron wires are visible.
Sample 7. X-ray fluorescence analysis of the wire remains.

I 10. Wall fragment with remains of iron wire FTC 8622. Plate 3.
1.2 cm x 0.6 cm. Th 0.35 - 0.5 cm. D of wire about 0.07-0.08 cm.
Opaque white glass. On badly damaged exterior some remains of trails of translucent green and opaque yellow glass.
The surface opposite seems to be part of the original interior with 'orange-peel' character. In the short broken edge on the right, a hollow channel, parallel to assumed interior surface, is preserved. A well-preserved piece of iron wire is visible in the fractured interior; the wire is curved parallel to the assumed inner surface.
Sample 9. X-ray fluorescence analysis of the wire.

I 11. Fragment FTC 8622bis. Plate 3.
2.2 cm x 1.3 cm. Th 0.4 - 0.5 cm. Th (max) 1.4 cm.
Fragment of indefinable shape.
Opaque white glass. On the badly damaged exterior remains of decoration with translucent dark green and opaque yellow glass trails; in addition to the damage, this side is impaired by encrustations of soil, sand, and probably corroded metal (remains of iron wire?).
In comparison, the opposite surface of opaque white glass is relatively smooth and shows unusual intentional shaping: the surface parallel to the decorated side changes in a sharp angle into a convex profile. A short longitudinal hollow in one of the broken edges.
Miksic 1995: 264 fig. 9 (in the figure caption the translucent green glass is erroneously described as dark blue).

I 12. Wall fragment FTC 23698. Plate 3.
1.9 cm x 1.4 cm. Th 0.2 - 0.3 cm.

Possibly from the transition from shoulder to neck of a small jarlet.
Opaque white glass. Exterior damaged, major parts of the decoration now missing; preserved are traces of a chevron pattern of translucent dark blue und opaque yellow glass. Possibly from the same vessel as cat. nos. I 13 and I 14.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character.
Miksic *et al.* 1994: 37 table 1 subgroup II Ag1; Miksic *et al.* 1996: 199 fig. 1E.

I 13. Wall fragment FTC (no number). Plate 3.
1.8 cm x 1.5 cm. Th about 0.2 cm.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with trails of translucent dark blue and opaque yellow glass, deeply dragged into a chevron pattern, thus penetrating deeply into the body of white glass. Most of the yellow glass is now missing; instead, a depression is left in the white glass. Possibly from the same vessel as cat. nos. I 12 and I 14.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character. Along the broken edges elongated blackish inclusions.

I 14. Two wall fragments FTC 15457 + FTC (no number). Plate 3.
a. FTC 15457: 1.4 cm x 1.3 cm. b. FTC (no number): 1.0 cm x 2.0 cm. Th 0.25 cm.
Possibly two joining fragments.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with trails of translucent dark blue and opaque yellow glass dragged into a chevron pattern. Possibly from the same vessel as cat. nos. I 12 and I 13.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character.

I 15. Wall fragment FTC 17271. Plate 3.
1.0 cm x 0.7 cm. Th 0.3 cm.
Opaque white glass. On exterior remains of translucent dark blue and a thin trail of rather corroded, apparently opaque red glass, both dragged into a chevron pattern.

I 16. Two small wall fragments FTC (no number). Plate 3.
a. 0.9 cm x 1.0 cm. Th 0.2 - 0.3 cm. b. 0.6 cm x 0.8 cm. Th 0.3 cm.
The two fragments display very similar decoration on the exterior and may be from the same vessel.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with garlands in opaque yellow, opaque red, and translucent dark blue. The variation in thickness of cat. no. I 16a possibly indicates a position of the fragment in the shoulder area where the wall thickness often increases.
Inner surface rough with 'orange-peel' character. Fragment no. I 16b preserves on the interior a horizontal hollow channel with blackish remains.
Sample 10: cat. no. I 16b; Sample 11: cat. no. I 16a.

I 17. Three wall fragments FTC 23729, 10477, and XI. Figure 1 and Plate 4.
a. FTC 23729: 1.8 cm x 2.4 cm. Th 0.15 - 0.25 cm. D (est. max.) about 5 cm.
b. FTC 10477: 1.6 cm x 1.2 cm. Th about 0.2 cm.
c. FTC XI: 1.5 cm x 0.9 cm. Th 0.2 - 0.25 cm.
The three fragments with convex curving sides appear to be from the same vessel, probably also a small jarlet. They are not only closely similar in decoration but also in wall thickness, which is considerably less than the average thickness of the other fragments.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with glass trails of different colours dragged up and down into a zigzag pattern. As visible in the broken edge, they were deeply dragged into the white glass of the body so that the colours nearly show through on the inside. Preserved are trails of translucent dark blue, dark brown, and corroded opaque red. On cat. nos. I 17b and I 17c, a horizontal groove below the blue zigzag, respectively on no. 17c just crossing its lower tips, indicates the original place of a trail of opaque red glass, which is now missing except for some particles preserved on cat. no. I 17b. More of the same opaque red trail seems to be preserved on cat. no. I 17a below the lower blue zigzag; however, here it is slightly curved instead of straight horizontal as on cat. nos. I 17a and I 17b. Partly overlaying this trail of red glass on cat. no. I 17a is some additional white glass on top of the smooth surface, showing

the characteristic striations from drawing a trail of glass.
Inner surface uneven with 'orange-peel' character. In the broken edge of cat. no. I 17b a hollow channel.
Borell 2003: 214 fig. 2.

I 18. Fragment of a bead FTC Ag 6. Plate 4.
L (pres.) 1.0 cm. D (max.) 1.0 cm. D of hole (at pres. end) 0.4 cm, D of hole (where broken) 0.38 cm. Th about 0.3 cm.
From a large bead of almost cylindrical shape.
Opaque white glass. Decorated with trails of translucent dark green, red, and opaque yellow glass, drawn probably into a wave pattern. A wide band of translucent dark blue glass encircles the preserved end, showing the characteristic striations from the winding process.
Inner surface of hole is rough. The decrease in hole diameter points to a slightly tapering rod used for the forming the bead. In the break, the granular texture of the white glass is visible.
Miksic *et al.* 1994: 37 Ag 6; 41-42 ill.7, Miksic 1995: 262; 270 table 1; Borell 2000a: 3 fig. 1., Borell 2003: 214 fig. 4.

Pengkalan Bujang, Kedah, Malaysia

comp. I A. Three fragments. From Pengkalan Bujang, from deposits B & C. Plate 5.
Present location unknown.
L of largest fragment about 3.8 cm.
The description given here is based on Lamb 1961 and 1965a (with black and white photographs).
Dark green glass. Exterior decorated with trails of red, yellow, and blue glass, dragged up and down into a chevron or feather pattern.
Inner surface rough.
Lamb 1961: 27 no. 9 pl. 80, Lamb 1965a: 38 fig. 9; Whitcomb 1983: 105; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992: 208 verre no. 2, 264-265; Borell 2003: 214; Hergoualc'h 2002: 481.

Philippines

comp. I B. Jarlet. From a burial site in north-eastern Mindoro. Plate 5.
Locsin Collection, Manila.
H 6.3 cm. D rim about 4.0 cm.
Rounded rim, made of a thick trail of translucent dark blue glass; short almost cylindrical neck, soft bend to convex curving shoulder; bulbous body tapering toward base.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with trails of transparent dark blue, transparent dark green, opaque red, and opaque yellow glass, dragged up and down into a chevron or feather pattern. When the chevron pattern was completed, two horizontal trails of opaque red glass were applied, one around the neck (standing in slight relief), the other one just above the base, partly crossing a blue zigzag. On the shoulder, one of probably two small handles is preserved, made of opaque white glass and shaped like a wound cylindrical bead.
On the inner surface of the neck, some of the coloured glasses from the exterior decoration are visible, apparently resulting from the dragging process deeply penetrating into the white glass.
Lamb 1965a: 38-39 no. 7 fig. 10 with n. 4., Lamb 1965b: 107 n. 29; Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992: 265 n. 14; Allan 1995: 29 n. 53; Borell 2001: 48 fig. 16 b, Borell 2003: 215.

comp. I C. Jarlet. Plate 5.
Formerly Marcos Foundation Museum, San Miguel, Manila, MF – 991; present location unknown.
H 5.8 cm. D (max.) 6.9 cm.
Rounded rim, made of a thick trail of translucent dark blue glass; short almost cylindrical neck, soft bend to convex curving shoulder; bulbous body tapering toward base.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with trails of translucent dark blue, translucent dark green, and opaque red glass dragged up and down into a chevron pattern. After the chevron

pattern was completed and smoothed by reheating, a trail of opaque red glass was applied around the neck. On shoulder, two handles of opaque white glass shaped like cylindrical beads.
Tantoco and Tantoco 1976: pl. 34.

comp. I D. Jarlet. From a burial site in the village Ambago, near Butuan City, Mindanao; found in 1976. Said to be one of two identical glass jarlets. Plate 5.
Present location unknown.
H about 6.0 cm. D (max.) about 7.0 cm. D base about 3.0 cm.
Rounded rim, made of a thick trail of translucent dark blue glass; short neck slightly widening toward convex curving shoulder; bulbous body tapering toward base.
Opaque white glass. Exterior decorated with trails of translucent dark blue, translucent dark green, and opaque yellow glass dragged up and down into a chevron pattern. The trails had sunk into the surface before the dragging process. After the dragging process, which created deep furrows, no further exposure to sufficient heat followed to smoothen them out, the jarlet therefore retained a surface with vertical ribs and furrows.
Cembrano 1998: 37.

Part II: Blown glass vessels with interior flange and applied decoration

Singapore

II 1. Three rim fragments a.FTC 10913, b.FTC 9962, c.FTC XI. Figure 2, Figure 4, and Plate 6.
H (pres.) 1.4 cm. D rim about 9 cm. Th wall 0.1 cm.
Three joining rim fragments with part of the slightly convex curved wall; fragments cat. nos. II 1b and II 1c reassembled.
The wall is made of translucent purple glass. Rim and interior flange are made of clear glass with an olive-green tinge. The bulging rim is made by folding the glass over thus creating a tubular hollow within.
Decorated with applied threads of opaque yellow glass: three horizontal threads on exterior of wall in a short distance from the rim, one on top of rim, one on tip of interior flange.
Miksic 1995: 261; Low 2004: 19 plate 3 bottom left (fragments cat. nos. II 1b and II 1c); Borell 2005: 199 no. 1 colour plate 48 figs.1.1 and 2.1.

II 2. Two rim fragments a. FTC 6666 (old number 24314), b. FTC 5010. Figure 2, Figure 4, Plate 6, and Plate 8.
H (pres.) 1 cm. D rim about 8 cm. Th wall 0.1 cm.
Two rim fragments from the same vessel, fragment cat. no. II 2b distorted by heat.
Wall and rim made of translucent purple glass. The wall is folded over to form the rim thus creating a tubular hollow within the rim bulge. The interior flange is made of clear glass with an olive-green tinge, somewhat turbid in appearance.
Two applied threads of opaque white glass applied, one on interior of purple rim, one on tip of the flange.
A sample of about 0.08 cm in width has been taken off at the left of fragment cat. no. II 2a, so that the actual break is untouched and still available for a possible future assembling with a joining fragment; the sample is presently still in the holder used for non-destructive analysis.
Borell 2005: 199 no. 2 colour plate 49 figs. 1.2 and 2.2.

II 3. Rim fragment FTC 7263. Figure 2 and Plate 6.
H (pres.) about 1 cm. D rim (est.) 9 cm. Th wall 0.1 cm.
Rim fragment with small part of wall, distorted by heat. Wall and rim made of translucent greenish, somewhat turbid glass. Wall folded over inwardly to form bulging rim. Interior flange made of translucent purple glass.
Two threads of opaque white glass: one on top of greenish rim, one on tip of interior flange.

II 4. Rim fragment FTC 19350. Figure 2, Figure 4, and Plate 7.
H (pres.) about 2 cm. D rim (est.) 10 cm. Th wall 0.1 cm.
Rim fragment with part of rather straight vertical wall.
Wall and rim made of translucent dark blue glass. The wall folded over to form rim thus creating a tubular hollow within the rim bulge. Interior flange made of clear glass with a green tinge.
Three horizontal threads of opaque white: two on exterior of wall, one on rim bulge; one opaque yellow thread applied on tip of flange.
Borell 2005: 200 no. 3 colour plate 50-51 (left) figs. 1.3 and 2.3 (the glass thread on the rim is erroneously described as yellow, but it is white).

II 5. Rim fragment FTC 4327. Figure 3, Figure 4, and Plate 7.
H (pres.) about 2 cm. D rim (est.) 9 cm. Th wall 0.1 cm.
Rim fragment with part of rather straight vertical wall. Translucent dark blue glass. Wall folded over to form bulging rim and interior flange. Tubular hollow within rim bulge.
Decorated with threads of opaque red: four on the wall, one on top of rim, and one on tip of interior flange.
Miksic 1995: 260; Low 2004: 19 plate 3 (centre left); Borell 2005: 200 no. 4 colour plate 50-51 (right) figs.1.4 and 2.4.

II 6. Rim fragment FTC (no number). Plate 7.
H (pres.) about 3 cm. Th wall 0.1 cm.
Rim fragment with part of the straight vertical wall. Translucent dark blue glass. Wall folded over to form bulging rim and interior flange. Tubular hollow within rim bulge.
Three opaque red glass threads applied: two on exterior of wall, one on top of rim; one opaque yellow thread on tip of flange.
Miksic 1995: 260 fig. 5 (D rim approx. 15 cm).

II 7. Rim fragment FTC (no number). Figure 3 and Plate 7.
H (pres.) about 0.7 cm. D rim (est.) 9.6 cm. Th wall 0.12 cm.
Two rim fragments reassembled, one with small part of wall. Translucent greenish-blue glass. Wall folded over to form bulging rim and interior flange.
Opaque yellow glass thread applied on inner side of rim bulge; one opaque red thread on tip of interior flange. Remains of two lines of opaque red on underside of flange.

II 8. Rim fragment FTC 8025. Plate 7.
H (pres.) 1.1 cm. Th wall 0.1 cm.
Small rim fragment with part of straight wall. Translucent greenish-blue glass. Wall loosely folded outward and inward to form rim and interior flange.
Three opaque yellow glass threads applied: one on exterior of wall, one on depression between rim bulge and interior flange, one on tip of flange.

II 9. Rim fragment FTC 13922. Figure 3 and Plate 7.
H (pres.) 2.2 cm. D rim (est.) about 9 cm. Th wall 0.1 cm.
Rim fragment with part of straight vertical wall. Translucent somewhat turbid purplish-brown glass. Wall folded over to form bulging rim and interior flange.
Decorated with five opaque white glass threads: three on exterior of wall; one on exterior of rim with overlapping after one revolution was completed (the upper slightly thicker end appears to be the beginning in a clockwise direction); one opaque white thread on tip of interior flange.

Sumatra

comp. II A. Globular bowl. From Matangkuli, Aceh, 1973. Plate 8.
On loan to The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning (New York).
H 7.3 cm. D rim 7.6 cm. D (max.) 12.2 cm. Th 0.15 cm. D pontil mark 1.2 cm.

Almost complete globular bowl, only small part of rim missing. Translucent pale yellowish-green glass (very similar to *comp.* II B). Short upright rim bends softly to globuar body. The convex sides curve inwards to the slightly concave base. Thin walls.
Pontil mark on the base contains some opaque yellow glass.
Edwards McKinnon and Brill 1987: 3, 8 sample 2962 and sample 2963; Brill and Shirahata 1995: 493, 495 sample Pb-2079; Brill 1999 vol. I: 170 sample 2962 and 2963, and vol. II: 387.

comp. II B. Small bottle. From Matangkuli, Aceh. Plate 8.
On loan to The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning (New York).
H 7.4 cm. D (max.) 4.5 cm.
Almost complete small bottle with narrow neck and ovoid body with tapering base.
Translucent yellowish-green glass. Thin walls.
Edwards McKinnon and Brill 1987: 3-4, 8 sample 2964; Brill 1999 vol. I: 170 sample 2964, and vol. II: 387.

comp. II C. Rim fragment. From Samudera-Pasai, Aceh, 1975.
On loan to The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning (New York).
Measurements presently not available.
Translucent blue glass with two opaque yellow threads.
Edwards McKinnon and Brill 1987: 8 sample 2935; Brill 1999 vol. I: 169 sample 2935, and vol. II: 380.

comp. II D. Base fragment. From Kota Rentang, Langkat, 1971.
On loan to The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning (New York).
D base 3.6 cm.
Base of a small vessel. Flat base with raised foot ring. Translucent dark blue glass.
Very shallow pontil mark.
Edwards McKinnon and Brill 1987: 8 sample 2960; Brill 1999 vol. I: 169 sample 2960, and vol. II: 387.

List of samples

Monochrome beads

All the beads are wound, made in the well-known technique by winding a hot glass trail around a mandrel. Almost all are small, their shapes vary from annular to oblate; one is a segmented twin bead (sample 6/2). The one exception of a different shape is sample 6.

sample 1	BBS011	wound bead, translucent dark green, D 0.3 cm, L about 0.25 cm.
sample 1/2	BBS002	fragment of wound bead, translucent dark blue. D 0.5 cm, L 0.4 cm
sample 2	BBS013	fragment of wound twin (?) bead, white. D about 0.3 cm, L about 0.3 cm. Plate 4
sample 2/2	BBS014	fragment of wound bead, white. D about 0.35 cm, L 0.4 cm
sample 3	BBS001	fragment of wound bead, translucent dark blue. D about 0.4 cm, L 0.2 cm
sample 3/2	BBS015	wound bead, white. D 0.35 cm, L 0.3 cm
sample 4	BBS018	fragment of wound bead, opaque yellow. Est. D about 0.6 cm, L 0.35 cm
sample 4/2	BBS010	fragment of wound bead, translucent red. Est. D 0.35 cm, L 0.25 cm
sample 5	BBS016	wound bead, translucent dark green. D 0.35 cm, L 0.25 cm.
sample 5/2	BBS012(Y)	wound bead, opaque yellow. D 0.3 cm

sample 6	BBS017	fragment of large cylindrical bead (?), one side flattened, opaque white. D 0.45 cm, pres. L 0.8 cm
sample 6/2	BBS012(BC)	wound twin bead, translucent dark blue. D 0.2-0.3 cm, L about 0.5 cm

Polychrome vessel fragments

sample 7	BBS023(Y) BBS023(G) BBS023(W)	FTC 7451 = cat. no. I 9. Wall fragment. Plate 2
sample 8	BBS021(W) BBS021(Y)	FTC (no number). Not in catalogue. Very small wall fragment. 1.0 cm x 0.4 cm. Th 0.3 – 0.4 cm. Opaque white glass. On exterior remains of opaque yellow decoration and the groove from a missing glass trail. Plate 4
sample 9	x-ray Bonn	FTC 8622 = cat. no. I 10. Wall fragment with remains of wire. Plate 3
sample 10	BBS020(BC) BBS020(Y) BBS020(W) BBS020(R)	FTC (no number) = cat. no. I 16b. Small wall fragment. Plate 3
sample 11	BBS019(W) BBS019(R) BBS019(Y)	FTC (no number) = cat. no. I 16a. Small wall fragment. Plate 3
sample 12	BBS003(G) BBS004(B) BBS005(Y) BBS006(W)	FTC (no number) = cat. no. I 8. Wall fragment. Plate 2

Blown glass vessel with applied decoration

sample 6666	BBS007 BBS008 BBS009	FTC 6666 = cat. no. II 2. Rim fragment. Plate 6

The capital letter in brackets indicates the colour of the glass:
BC: translucent dark blue (cobalt blue)
G: translucent dark green
R: opaque red
W: white
Y: opaque yellow

Appendix

The incident on Bohol Island, Philippines, 1599

Father Alonso de Humanes, a Jesuit missionary from Spain, who had arrived in the Philippines in 1595, related this episode in a letter to the Father Visitor Diego García. The letter had been written at some time in the first half of the year 1600, the incident reported had occurred on Bohol Island in the previous year, 1599. The original of this letter seems to be lost,[1] however, it is known from quotations in three different sources dating from the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

The content of Alonso de Humanes' letter appeared to be of such importance to the Jesuit missionaries that it was immediately included in the *Annual Letter* of 1600, sent from Manila to Rome to the Jesuit General, Father Claudio Acquaviva. This letter is kept in Rome, in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) in *Philippinarum* vol. 5: *Litterae annuae* I. 1595-1612, ff.62-73.[2] It was signed on the 16 June 1600, that is shortly before the Spanish galleons left Manila for Acapulco, which was usually early in July. In general, the letter covers the period from May 1599 to June 1600, though the period referred to in Alonso de Humanes' account begins slightly earlier during the season of Lent in 1599.[3] Three different hands can be distinguished in the *Annual Letter* of 1600. The first pages, ff.62r-67v, are in the handwriting of Father Lionardo Scelsi, except for f.66 which was written by an unknown hand. The latter part, ff.68-73, was written and signed by Raymondo de Prado, the Vice-Provincial, except for about the top half of f.72v which is again in Scelsi's handwriting. Folio 66, between the pages written by Scelsi, is obviously a replacement of some later date, differing from the other pages also in format and in the quality of the paper. Its text, abruptly beginning and ending in the middle of a sentence, was copied by an unknown hand from the two sides of the original page, which was most certainly written by Scelsi, like the other pages in this part of the *Annual Letter*. The quotation with Father Alonso de Humanes' letter begins on folio 65 verso, here still in Scelsi's handwriting, and ends on folio 66 recto; the story of interest here is found on f.66r, line 4 to 19.

In addition, Alonso de Humanes' letter has been included in two works by the Spanish Jesuit missionary and historian Pedro Chirino who arrived in the Philippines in 1590 and was in Manila from 1599 on, before he left for Rome in 1602. In his *Relación de las islas Filipinas*, printed in Rome in 1604, it is found in chapter 55.[4] It is from this publication that the incident is mainly known at present, in particular from the two English translations of the *Relación*, one published in 1904 by E.H.

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1. It is, at least, not on file in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus. For this information and for his never tiring help with the *Litterae annuae* from the Philippines the author thanks the archivist Father Thomas Reddy, S.J. of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI).

2. For permission to publish this excerpt of the *Annual Letter* of 1600 the author is indebted to Father Marek Inglot, S.J., the director of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI).

3. Easter Sunday 1599 fell on April 11th.

4. Chirino 1604: 117-120. On Pedro Chirino see also, Jurado 1981.

Blair and J.A. Robertson,[5] and a later one published in 1969 by R. Echevarría in a bilingual edition of the *Relación*.[6]

The other work by Pedro Chirino is the *Història de la província de Filipines de la Companyia de Jesús, 1581-1606*, which he probably began during his stay in Europe, first in Rome and then in Spain, and finished by 1610 after his return to the Philippines in 1606. Only recently, in 2000, J. Górriz published a complete transcription of the only surviving manuscript copy of the *Història.*[7] The letter from Alonso de Humanes with the Bohol incident is found in the fourth book, chapter 14, f.484r and 484v. However, about one hundred years earlier, parts of the *Història* manuscript, among them, Alonso de Humanes' letter, had been transcribed by Pablo Pastells and inserted in footnotes when he edited Francisco Colín's *Labor Evangélica* of 1663.[8] This transcription, being in the original Spanish language, seems to have escaped the attention of archaeologists.

When one compares the two versions of Alonso de Humanes' letter handed down by Pedro Chirino in his *Relación* and the *Història*, a number of differences may be noted regarding some phrases and the wording, in particular in one point, which is omitted in the *Relación* and which deserves attention here. In contrast, the version in the *Història* is very close to that in the *Annual Letter* of 1600, both seem to be more faithful copies of the original letter. Some minor variations, like differences in spelling and short omissions in the *Annual Letter* are, at least in part, possibly due to the fact that folio 66 of the *Annual Letter* is a replacement copying the copy of the original letter. For this reason in the excerpt of the *Annual Letter* below, a few supplements and amendments are inserted in brackets following the version in the *Història* according to the transcription by J. Górriz.

The interest in this letter from the archaeologist's point of view concerns the use made of the *botijillas* and *corneçuelos* mentioned in the text. It is thought that the Spanish terms *botijillas* and *corneçuelos*, which would literally translate as small jars and small horns, refer in that period to ceramics, and accordingly, they have been translated as small jars and cups. In our context, it is important to note that both terms appear in the diminutive, recalling the miniature types of Chinese ceramics which were traded to the Philippines two or three centuries earlier than the episode reported from Bohol, in particular the small jarlets.

The important point, however, is that, in both manuscripts, the *Annual Letter* of 1600 and the *Història*, when mentioning the *botijillas* and *corneçuelos*, a native word is also used, designating them as *delongdongos*, according to the spelling in the *Annual Letter* of 1600, respectively, *dolondongos* in the *Història*. However, about the meaning of *dolondongos*, no further information has so far been elicited. Hopefully, future research might be able to clarify this.

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5. Blair and Robertson: 81-82.

6. Chirino 1969: 384.

7. Chirino 2000: 296.

8. Colín 1900: 285-286 n. 2.

Excerpt from Father Alonso de Humanes' letter regarding the incident, which occurred on the island of Bohol in 1599, quoted after Annual Letter of 1600.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), *Philippinarum* vol. 5: *Litterae annuae* I. 1595-1612, folio 66 line 4-19.

(4) en una uisita que se hizo al pueblo de Lobo sucedio una (5) cosa de importancia, para deshazer sus errores, y quitalles unos grandes miedos que (6) el demonio les auia puesto. Auiso un Alguazil que en un pueblocillo çerca de alli (7) estaua un principal, el qual tenia en su casa muchos corniçuelos y botijillas llenas de (8) echisos, y otros instrumentos para echar suertes y consultar en sus enfermedades (9) si haran sacrificio al demonio y para tomar determinacion en las demas cosas. Determinose (10) el padre Gabriel Sanchez de yr a quitalles tan malditos instrumentos y fuera de ninguno effecto (11) qualquiera otra diligençia por en llegando a la casa el mismo hubo de descolgar, y juntar todas las (12) botijillas y corniçuelos [que ellos llaman] *delongdongos*, porque era tan grande el temor, que teniam que los que (13) yuan en compañia del padre no osauan en ninguna manera tocarles diziendo que se les tocauan en breue (14) moririan, [si los quemavan en el pueblo, todos perecerían] y se los echauan en el rio los caymanes, y cocodrillos se embraueçerian contra ellos. (15) Viendo el padre tanta ceguedad, y tan gran miedo ya con persuasiones ya con amenaças hizo a los (16) que le hauian acompañado les lleuassen despues en publico, llamando a los muchachos hizo los (17) escupiessen, y pisasse[n], y finalmente los hizo quemar y echar en el rio, y viendo todos la facilidad [sic! falsedad] (18) y poco fundamento de su temor, quedaron desengañados y aficionados a nuestra solida, y verdadera (19) religion christiana.

English translation

During a visit that was made to the village of Loboc, an important event occurred which served to do away with their errors and rid them of some of the great fears which the devil had implanted in them. An *alguazil* gave notice that, in a little village nearby, there was a chief who kept many *corneçuelos* and *botijillas* full of charms in his house, and other instruments for casting lots and for consulting whether in cases of illness, sacrifice should be made to the devil, and for making decisions in other matters. Father Gabriel Sanchez decided to go there in order to do away with such accursed instruments. In fact, no other means would have been successful, because, when he came to the house, he himself had to take down and collect all the *botijillas* and *corneçuelos*, [which they call] *dolondongos*, because so great was the fear of those who had accompanied the father that they did not dare in any way to touch them; they said, if they would touch them, they would soon die; [if they would burn them in the village, they would all perish;] and if they would throw them into the river, the caimans or crocodiles would become enraged against them. When the father saw such blindness and such great fear, he – be it with persuasions, be it under threats – made those who had accompanied him get hold of them. Later, in public, he called the young boys and made them spit and trample on them, and finally, he made them burn the objects and throw them into the river. And seeing how false and unfounded their fear had been, they became freed from deception and well-disposed towards our own strong and true Christian religion.

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Laure Dussubieux

Glass Material from Singapore

Elemental analysis is used to provenance ancient glass and to reconstruct ancient trade routes. In Southeast Asia, very little is known about late glass that appears mostly in the form of vessel fragments at sites dated after the 8th *c.* AD. Indeed, only glass vessel fragments from Sumatra (9th to 16th *c.* AD) were studied (Edwards McKinnon and Brill, 1987; Dussubieux, 2009). This study of glass vessel fragments and also of beads from Singapore dated from the 14th AD is bringing new insights in the glass trade in Southeast Asia for this period.

Experimental and Samples

The analyses were carried out at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, USA, with a Varian Inductively Coupled Plasma – Mass Spectrometer (ICP-MS) connected to a New Wave UP213 laser for direct introduction of solid samples.

It is important to note that for LA-ICP-MS analysis, no sample preparation is necessary and the analytical technique is virtually non-destructive given that no visible damage is made. Fifty-five major, minor and trace elements were determined but only 35 elements are reported in Annex 1. The limits of detection ranged from 10 ppb to 1 ppm for most of the elements. Accuracy ranges from 5 to 10% depending on the elements and their concentrations. More details on the protocol developed for glass analysis at the Field Museum can be found in Dussubieux *et al.* (2009).

Thirty-one analyses were carried out on the glass material from Singapore (Table 1). In the case of polychrome artifacts, the different colored glasses were measured separately.

Reference	FM reference	Description
3	BBS001	Dark blue bead fragment
1/2	BBS002	Translucent dark blue broken (half) wound bead
12	BBS003	Polychrome piece of vessel: translucent dark green
12	BBS004	Polychrome piece of vessel: translucent dark blue
12	BBS005	Polychrome piece of vessel: yellow
12	BBS006	Polychrome piece of vessel: white
6666	BBS007	Polychrome piece of vessel: colorless
6666	BBS008	Polychrome piece of vessel: translucent purple
6666	BBS009	Polychrome piece of vessel: white
4/2	BBS010	Translucent red broken (half) bead
1	BBS011	Translucent dark green bead
6/2	BBS012BC	Dark blue wound bead
5/2	BBS012Y	Opaque yellow bead
2	BBS013	White broken (half) bead
2/2	BBS014	White broken (half) wound bead
3/2	BBS015	White wound bead
5	BBS016	Translucent dark green wound bead
6	BBS017	White broken wound bead
4	BBS018	Yellow broken (half) wound bead
11	BBS019W	Polychrome piece of vessel: white
11	BBS019R	Polychrome piece of vessel: red
11	BBS019Y	Polychrome piece of vessel: yellow
8	BBS021W	Polychrome piece of vessel: white
8	BBS021Y	Polychrome piece of vessel: yellow
10	BBS020BC	Polychrome piece of vessel: dark blue
10	BBS020Y	Polychrome piece of vessel: yellow
10	BBS020W	Polychrome piece of vessel: white
10	BBS020R	Polychrome piece of vessel: red
7	BBS023Y	Polychrome piece of vessel: yellow
7	BBS023G	Polychrome piece of vessel: dark green
7	BBS023W	Polychrome piece of vessel: white

Table 1. List of samples

Results

Most of the samples contain relatively high concentrations of lead ranging from 22 to 68%. Three samples have low concentrations of this element: samples BBS007, 008 and 009 are soda-alumina glass with concentrations of lead under 2%. These three samples will be described first and then will be the lead glass samples.

Mineral soda-alumina glass

Samples BBS007, 008 and 009 are different colored glasses that are part of a same artifact. Sample BBS007 is colorless, BBS008 is translucent

purple and BBS009 is white. Soda for these three samples is the most abundant constituent after silica with concentrations of approximately 14%. Low concentrations of magnesia (<1%) suggest the use of soda from mineral deposit. Alumina concentrations are relatively high (>7%). Relatively high concentrations of iron (2.3-2.7%), titanium (2000-2500 ppm), uranium (60-100 ppm) and other trace elements suggest the use of sand containing high concentrations of impurities.

The composition of these samples is characteristic of a glass produced from the mix of a soda-rich efflorescence collected in India called *reh* and a granite sand (Brill, 1987).

Early on, India was associated with the production of such a glass that was called mineral soda alumina glass or m-Na-Al glass (Dussubieux, 2001; Dussubieux *et al.* 2008). Trace elements allow for the separation of the m-Na-Al glass type into sub-groups (Dussubieux *et al.* 2010; Dussubieux and Gratuze, in press). The composition of the Singapore m-Na-Al glass, the dating of the artifacts and their nature are quite similar to those of some Sumatra glass vessel samples (Dussubieux, 2009). However, it seems that the sand used for the Singapore m-Na-Al glass contains higher concentrations of impurities than the m-Na-Al glass identified in Sumatra (Figure 1).

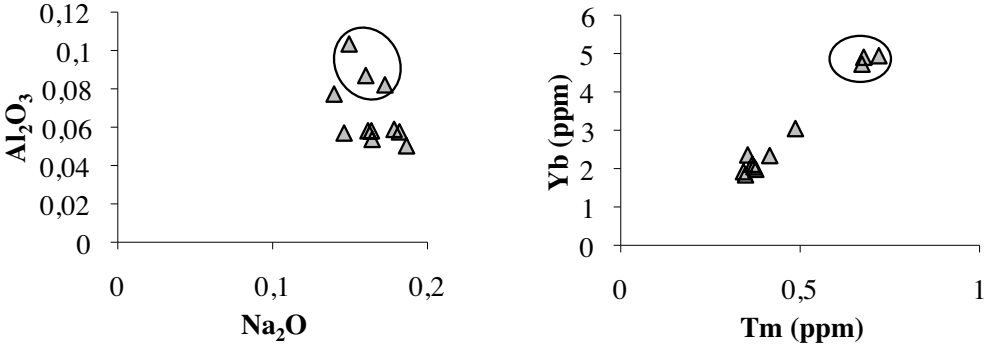

Figure 1. Comparison of the concentrations of alumina, soda, ytterbium and terbium (the three Singapore samples are encircled)

As only eight samples from Sumatra and three samples from Singapore are concerned, it is not possible to determine at this point whether two m-Na-Al glass sources were used to produce glass vessels or if the sand source had a composition that varied in a wide range.

The purple and colorless glass samples contain similar quantities or iron but no discoloring elements (such as manganese or antimony) were added to

discolor the glass. A strict control of the furnace atmosphere must have been used to obtain the different colors.

The white glass contains significant quantities of tin (7%) and lead (2%). Tin oxide is a white opacifier and the addition of lead is used to stabilize tin oxide.

Lead glass

Twenty-eight samples have high lead concentrations. If lead can be involved in the opacifying process of a glass, this element can also act as a flux and help melting the glass batch at a lower temperature. After silica and lead, potash is the constituent that has the highest concentrations in these glass samples (Figure 2). The glass belongs to the K_2O-PbO-SiO_2 system that was used in China from the Tang Dynasty to the Yuan Dynasty (Guan Fuxi, 2009).

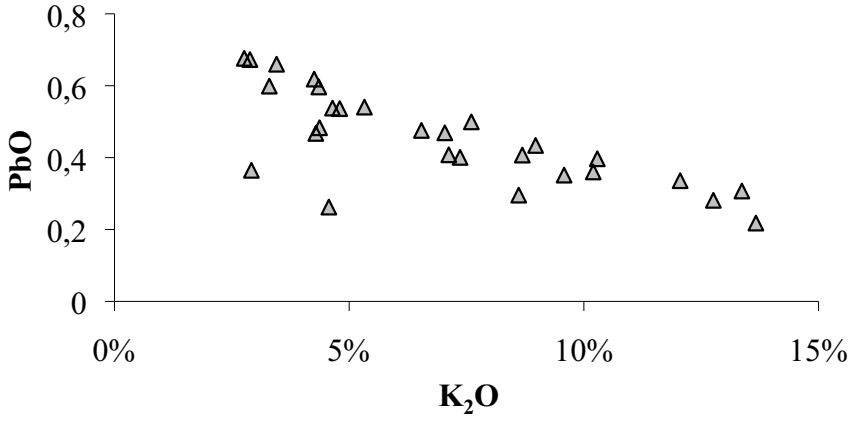

Figure 2. Potash and lead concentrations in the high lead glass samples from Singapore

The composition of the yellow glass is strikingly different as calcium concentrations in this glass are significantly lower compared to those of the other glass samples. Yellow beads and vessel fragments follow the same trend.

Analysis using LA-ICP-MS did not reveal the presence of any elements in significantly higher concentrations that could have been involved in the opacifying process of the glass. However, lime concentrations in the white glass samples are slightly higher than the concentrations of the same element in the other colored glass at the exception of the green glass. Electron Probe Micro-Analysis (EPMA) conducted by Beate Spiering (Steinmann Institute, University of Bonn) in 2006 on sample BBS013 showed the presence of undissolved inclusions of quartz (SiO2) and fluorite (CaF_2). Calcium fluoride is known as an opacifier (Rooksby, 1962) in Chinese white glasses

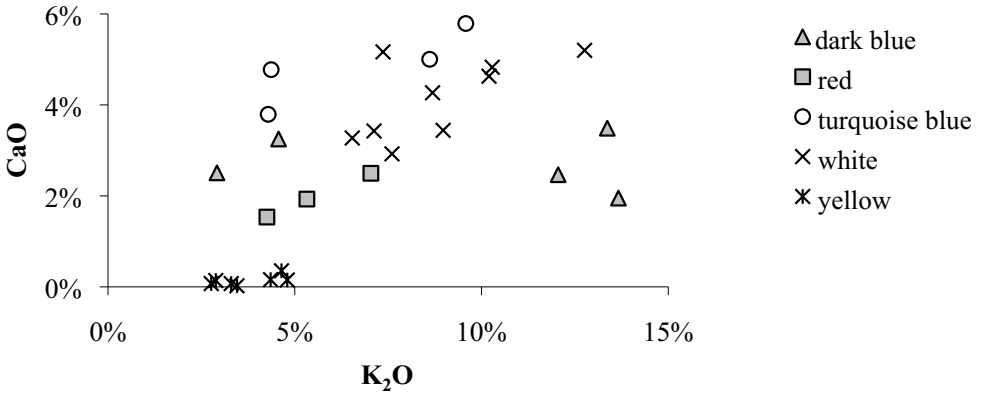

Figure 3. Potash and calcium concentration in the high lead glass samples from Singapore

apparently since the Tang dynasty (Werner and Bimson, 1963). Fluorine concentration is not measured with LA-ICP-MS.

Green and red glasses have higher copper concentrations than the other glass samples: approximately 1.5% for the opaque red glass, 0.6% for the transparent red glass and for the green glass, 3% for the vessel samples and only 0.6% for the glass bead. The ratio copper on tin is very similar in the green and the red glasses and it is approximately 2 to 3. It seems that these two elements were added to the glass batch together, maybe as scrap metal of bronze. This bronze may have contained lead, but the presence of high lead concentrations in the base glass batch would have masked any other lead addition by a coloring ingredient.

Dark blue glass samples are colored by the presence of cobalt. Higher concentrations of arsenic (ranging from 750 to 2600 ppm) can be explained by the use of a cobalt ore containing arsenic. Glass samples containing cobalt contain also higher concentrations of iron. Looking at Chinese blue and white ceramics, elements associated to cobalt were studied and some trends appear (Cheng *et al.* 2005). Unfortunately the focus was mainly on manganese and iron and only a few results concern arsenic or other elements. If looking at these two elements (Fe, Mn), the ratios manganese on cobalt and iron on cobalt in the Singapore glass fall within the range defined for the Yuan production. For manganese, this ratio is 0.005-0.19 and for iron, it is 2.0-24. However, even if this period is associated with the highest concentrations in arsenic, the arsenic concentration in the Singapore glass are well over the range for the Yuan ceramics (20-200 ppm).

Yellow glass samples contain tin (from 2 to 4%). Lead stannate is a yellow opacifier.

Discussion and conclusion

Overall, the compositions of the beads and of the high lead vessel fragments are very similar as are similar the coloring techniques used.

Looking at alumina and titanium concentrations, we notice slightly higher values (in average) for the beads compared to the vessels (Figure 4).

If some beads have concentrations for these two elements that fit within the range defined for the glass vessels (0.3% <Al_2O_3 <1.1% and 28 ppm <Ti <147 ppm), four of them have higher concentrations meaning that a sand containing more impurities was used.

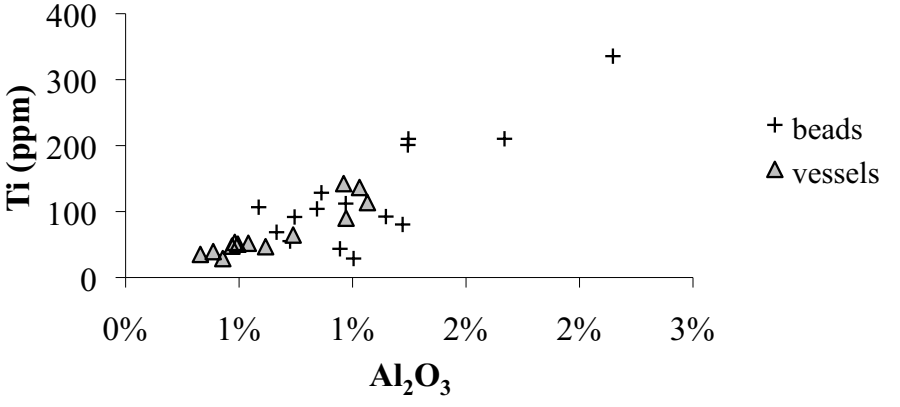

Figure 4. Alumina and titanium concentrations in the high lead beads and fragments of vessels

To conclude, all the glass samples from Singapore were imported. Indeed the m-Na-Al glass was quite likely made in South Asia. A possible connection with glass vessels found in Sumatra would need to be confirmed. High lead glass samples containing potash were certainly made in China. This glass was used to make beads and vessels. It seems however that some beads have a composition that would indicate the use of a sand with more impurities than the sand use for the vessels suggesting that the glass came from two different workshops.

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Annex 1

Major and minor elements are in weight percents of oxides and the trace elements are in ppm of elements. < dl = below detection limits

	3 dark blue BBS001	1/2 dark blue BBS002	12 green BBS003	12 dark blue BBS004	12 yellow BBS005
SiO_2	47,0%	49,6%	50,1%	61,9%	35,7%
Na_2O	1,6%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%
MgO	0,2%	0,06%	0,07%	0,08%	0,02%
Al_2O_3	0,8%	1,7%	1,0%	1,1%	0,5%
P_2O_5	0,0%	0,003%	<dl	0,008%	<dl
K_2O	12,1%	13,4%	8,6%	4,6%	4,8%
CaO	2,5%	3,5%	5,0%	3,3%	0,2%
MnO	0,0%	0,018%	0,015%	0,026%	0,006%
Fe_2O_3	1,6%	0,94%	0,80%	2,33%	0,76%
CuO	0,1%	0,02%	3,15%	0,18%	0,13%
SnO_2	0,0%	0,05%	1,38%	0,09%	4,13%
PbO	33,6%	31%	30%	26%	54%
Be	1	0,6	1,3	0,6	0,5
B	10	2,8	1,8	3,5	1,3
Ti	104	210	90	114	52
V	9	9,4	7,5	7,9	8,9
Cr	4	5,5	2,2	1,5	2,0
Ni	7	3,4	25,9	4,0	5,4
Co	686	349	12	1589	49
Zn	25	14	22	21	19
As	987	752	335	2610	977
Rb	18	28,8	20,0	23,8	14,8
Sr	38	11,1	26,2	18,8	3,4
Zr	8	10,8	9,5	7,1	2,8
Nb	1	1,33	1,23	1,14	0,50
Ag	72	7	120	45	102
Sb	76	19	67	33	72
Cs	0	0,6	0,9	0,6	0,3
Ba	55	48	30	45	13
La	3	6,4	4,6	5,2	1,9
Ce	7	13,7	8,4	11,1	3,3
Pr	1	1,4	1,4	1,2	0,4
Y	3	4,1	3,8	3,7	0,6
Bi	49	27	204	45	76
U	0	0,7	0,9	0,6	0,2

Annex 1

Major and minor elements are in weight percents of oxides and the trace elements are in ppm of elements. < dl = below detection limits

	12 white BBS006	6666 colorless BBS007	6666 purple BBS008	6666 white BBS009	4/2 red BBS010
SiO_2	52,5%	66,2%	71,4%	61,4%	40,8%
Na_2O	0,2%	14,7%	13,8%	14,4%	0,5%
MgO	0,06%	0,8%	0,6%	0,6%	0,1%
Al_2O_3	0,6%	10,2%	7,6%	7,8%	0,7%
P_2O_5	<dl	0,3%	0,2%	0,2%	0,0%
K_2O	12,8%	2,6%	2,0%	2,2%	7,0%
CaO	5,2%	1,4%	1,1%	1,2%	2,5%
MnO	0,034%	0,8%	0,7%	0,6%	0,0%
Fe_2O_3	0,35%	2,7%	2,3%	2,3%	0,4%
CuO	0,04%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,6%
SnO_2	0,05%	0,0%	0,0%	7,0%	0,2%
PbO	28%	0,0%	0,0%	2,0%	46,9%
Be	0,6	3	2	2	0,4
B	2,0	87	107	74	1,5
Ti	47	2523	2561	2166	55
V	3,5	70	66	61	3,5
Cr	1,8	53	51	44	0,9
Ni	3,5	28	24	25	5,1
Co	2	50	45	38	1
Zn	4	66	46	52	18
As	117	10	6	15	172
Rb	14,0	122	90	101	13
Sr	21,9	80	70	70	17
Zr	2,9	402	536	383	7
Nb	0,50	17	17	15	1
Ag	30	0	0	6	84
Sb	12	0	0	56	1023
Cs	0,3	5	3	4	0,4
Ba	53	1148	926	952	22
La	3,4	63	66	60	3
Ce	8,1	144	154	141	5
Pr	0,8	15	16	15	0,7
Y	5,6	47	49	42	1
Bi	42	0	0	8	192
U	0,3	105	61	100	0,2

Annex 1

Major and minor elements are in weight percents of oxides and the trace elements are in ppm of elements. < dl = below detection limits

	1 green BBS011	6/2 dark blue BBS012BC	5/2 yellow BBS012Y	2 white BBS013W	2/2 white BBS014
SiO_2	38,8%	59,2%	34,4%	46,6%	40,7%
Na_2O	0,6%	0,2%	0,1%	0,1%	0,3%
MgO	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,03%
Al_2O_3	1,2%	0,9%	1,0%	1,1%	0,9%
P_2O_5	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,003%
K_2O	4,4%	13,7%	4,6%	7,1%	6,5%
CaO	4,8%	2,0%	0,4%	3,4%	3,3%
MnO	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,004%
Fe_2O_3	0,3%	1,6%	0,4%	0,4%	0,37%
CuO	0,7%	0,1%	0,2%	0,1%	0,05%
SnO_2	0,2%	0,0%	4,8%	0,1%	0,01%
PbO	48,3%	21,8%	53,8%	40,8%	48%
Be	0,3	0,7	0,5	0,4	0,5
B	1,4	1,7	0,9	2,7	1,5
Ti	80	44	29	92	129
V	3,8	8,6	5,7	5,1	8,2
Cr	1,4	0,8	1,0	2,1	2,4
Ni	4,7	1,3	5,1	3,8	4,8
Co	1	1036	2	0,4	23
Zn	26	9	6	11	6
As	110	1650	1088	98	126
Rb	17	15	9	15	13,8
Sr	17	8	16	7	8,6
Zr	12	4	2	7	4,9
Nb	1	1	0	1	0,45
Ag	88	138	199	118	169
Sb	1406	4	27982	485	90
Cs	0,6	0,3	0,3	0,4	0,4
Ba	36	15	13	16	23
La	6	5	2	3	2,7
Ce	13	9	3	8	5,6
Pr	1,3	1,1	0,3	0,7	0,6
Y	2	3	0,5	3	3,2
Bi	141	116	192	29	114
U	0,4	0,3	0,2	0,3	0,3

Annex 1

Major and minor elements are in weight percents of oxides and the trace elements are in ppm of elements. < dl = below detection limits

	3/2 white BBS015	5 turquoise blue BBS016	6 white BBS017	4 yellow BBS018	11 yellow BBS019Y
SiO_2	44,7%	39,5%	43,9%	31,3%	30,2%
Na_2O	0,6%	1,0%	0,4%	0,1%	0,0%
MgO	0,04%	0,10%	0,03%	0,02%	0,02%
Al_2O_3	1,2%	2,1%	0,7%	1,2%	0,7%
P_2O_5	0,007%	0,026%	0,004%	0,005%	0,002%
K_2O	7,4%	4,3%	8,7%	3,3%	4,4%
CaO	5,2%	3,8%	4,3%	0,1%	0,2%
MnO	0,005%	0,029%	0,008%	0,004%	0,006%
Fe_2O_3	0,45%	0,80%	0,42%	0,40%	0,34%
CuO	0,05%	0,63%	0,09%	0,08%	0,26%
SnO_2	0,01%	0,37%	0,05%	3,47%	4,31%
PbO	40%	47%	41%	60%	60%
Be	0,8	1,1	0,9	0,5	0,7
B	3,1	4,0	1,5	2,2	1,5
Ti	210	336	92	201	69
V	9,5	15,1	5,6	7,5	5,5
Cr	3,0	6,1	1,5	3,7	0,9
Ni	17,4	16,3	12,4	4,3	7,5
Co	1	1	2	1	2
Zn	7	112	22	12	8
As	167	293	194	599	871
Rb	17,5	20,4	9,8	5,6	9,1
Sr	13,1	19,7	8,5	7,1	8,0
Zr	5,7	15,6	4,0	7,5	3,5
Nb	1,16	2,13	0,27	1,08	0,21
Ag	27	48	22	138	114
Sb	43	133	82	115	177
Cs	0,4	0,8	0,3	0,2	0,3
Ba	22	62	20	19	18
La	3,8	11,1	3,3	1,9	2,3
Ce	7,1	14,5	6,9	6,1	4,4
Pr	0,9	2,8	0,8	0,6	0,5
Y	5,2	4,0	5,5	0,8	0,8
Bi	60	107	48	14	213
U	0,2	1,0	0,5	0,3	0,2

Annex 1

Major and minor elements are in weight percents of oxides and the trace elements are in ppm of elements. < dl = below detection limits

	11 red BBS019R	11 white BBS019W	10 dark blue BBS020BC	10 yellow BBS020Y	10 red BBS020R
SiO_2	33,8%	42,5%	54,4%	27,3%	28,8%
Na_2O	0,2%	0,1%	0,1%	0,0%	0,2%
MgO	0,06%	0,02%	0,08%	0,01%	0,06%
Al_2O_3	1,0%	0,6%	1,0%	0,5%	0,7%
P_2O_5	0,006%	0,005%	0,015%	0,000%	0,002%
K_2O	5,3%	9,0%	2,9%	3,5%	4,3%
CaO	1,9%	3,4%	2,5%	0,0%	1,5%
MnO	0,020%	0,004%	0,022%	0,006%	0,017%
Fe_2O_3	0,37%	0,29%	2,20%	0,35%	0,34%
CuO	1,91%	0,05%	0,06%	0,07%	1,35%
SnO_2	1,15%	0,53%	0,05%	2,21%	0,66%
PbO	54%	43%	36%	66%	62%
Be	0,6	0,6	0,8	0,4	0,5
B	3,1	2,3	4,8	0,9	0,9
Ti	112	107	136	53	64
V	5,8	5,3	7,1	4,6	4,1
Cr	2,3	1,2	1,8	1,3	1,7
Ni	46,9	4,7	3,5	4,2	40,9
Co	4	1	1403	2	3
Zn	48	4	21	8	42
As	211	266	2186	685	188
Rb	16,2	8,2	16,8	6,8	13,8
Sr	71,4	8,1	15,8	2,2	60,6
Zr	7,4	2,9	6,3	2,3	5,4
Nb	0,93	0,42	0,79	0,27	0,88
Ag	57	19	40	103	34
Sb	157	52	61	131	138
Cs	0,6	0,3	0,5	0,2	0,5
Ba	30	11	53	14	25
La	4,0	2,2	4,0	2,1	3,1
Ce	8,7	6,3	8,7	4,3	6,6
Pr	0,8	0,7	0,8	0,5	0,7
Y	2,5	3,3	3,1	0,6	2,0
Bi	1904	61	34	57	1627
U	0,7	0,2	0,4	0,2	0,6

Annex 1

Major and minor elements are in weight percents of oxides and the trace elements are in ppm of elements. < dl = below detection limits

	10 white BBS020W	8 white BBS021W	8 yellow BBS021Y	7 green BBS023G	7 yellow BBS023Y	7 white BBS023W
SiO_2	38,6%	48,2%	25,4%	42,6%	24,3%	44,0%
Na_2O	0,1%	0,2%	0,1%	0,6%	0,1%	0,1%
MgO	0,02%	0,03%	0,02%	0,08%	0,02%	0,05%
Al_2O_3	0,3%	0,4%	0,5%	1,0%	0,4%	0,5%
P_2O_5	<dl	0,001%	0,004%	0,024%	0,013%	0,007%
K_2O	7,6%	10,2%	2,8%	9,6%	2,9%	10,3%
CaO	2,9%	4,6%	0,1%	5,8%	0,1%	4,8%
MnO	0,004%	0,003%	0,009%	0,021%	0,005%	0,024%
Fe_2O_3	0,29%	0,28%	0,33%	0,54%	0,27%	0,38%
CuO	0,03%	0,02%	0,03%	2,86%	0,10%	0,03%
SnO_2	0,01%	0,01%	3,01%	1,32%	4,34%	0,04%
PbO	50%	36%	68%	35%	67%	40%
Be	0,8	0,9	0,4	0,6	0,4	0,6
B	0,9	2,2	1,1	18,1	1,3	2,9
Ti	35	29	48	142	39	51
V	2,8	4,6	5,0	13,2	3,5	4,5
Cr	0,8	1,2	1,1	4,0	0,9	1,5
Ni	3,6	3,0	5,6	46,4	7,8	3,0
Co	42	2	2	12	2	1
Zn	3	3	8	65	8	5
As	242	118	718	119	596	88
Rb	7,5	11,2	6,4	17,5	6,7	14,0
Sr	6,6	8,5	2,1	22,4	3,4	17,9
Zr	0,9	1,4	2,4	13,6	2,2	2,1
Nb	0,14	0,24	0,52	0,75	0,28	0,33
Ag	12	17	33	131	24	20
Sb	32	24	38	229	49	21
Cs	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,5	0,2	0,3
Ba	9	8	13	52	18	56
La	1,5	1,7	1,4	3,3	1,3	2,6
Ce	3,9	4,0	3,7	7,0	2,5	5,7
Pr	0,4	0,4	0,3	0,8	0,3	0,6
Y	3,2	4,0	0,5	3,0	0,4	4,1
Bi	42	21	50	65	57	35
U	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,2

Ludvik Kalus & Claude Guillot

Bayt al-rijâl : premier cimetière royal du sultanat d'Aceh

[Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 4]

Quand les troupes coloniales hollandaises pénétrèrent en 1873 dans l'enceinte du palais du sultan d'Aceh, Kota Raja, ils y découvrirent avec une certaine surprise la présence d'un certain nombre de sépultures des différentes familles princières qui régnèrent sur Aceh durant les quelque trois cent cinquante ans de l'existence du sultanat [1]. La grande majorité de ces cimetières se trouvait sur la rive droite de la rivière Daru qui traversait l'ensemble palatin. On peut encore voir ceux-ci dans le vaste enclos appartenant aujourd'hui au musée régional de Nangroe Darussalam Aceh. Le seul de ces complexes funéraires à se trouver sur la rive gauche de la rivière est le plus ancien. Il est maintenant connu sous le nom de Kandang XII, Kandang signifiant « tombe » ou « cimetière » et le XII correspondant au nombre supposé de sépultures qui ne sont aujourd'hui que onze. Au XVIIe siècle, comme nombre d'autres lieux de la capitale, ce cimetière portait un nom arabe : *Bayt al-rijâl*. Sans doute, comme l'a interprété T. Iskandar [2], le mot *bayt* renvoie-t-il à une mosquée près de laquelle aurait été créé le cimetière. Celle-ci aurait donc eu pour signification : « la mosquée des

1. Nombreux sont les témoignages des militaires européens qui y font allusion. Les cimetières sont situés sur le plan du palais fait peu de temps après la conquête « Kaart van den Kraton en omstreken van Groot-Atjeh » dans *Beschrijving van den Kraton van Groot-Atjeh : zijne verdedigingskracht en bewapening – merkwaardigheden er in aangetroffen*, Batavia, 1874.

2. Voir ce nom dans l'index de Teuku Iskandar, *Hikajat Atjeh*, 's-Gravenhage, 1958.

grands personnages ». Cette précision toponymique nous est fournie par l'*Hikayat Aceh*[3] du début du XVIIe siècle qui signale entre autres que le futur sultan Ala al-din Ri'ayat Syah, alors qu'il n'était encore que sultan de Samudra-Pasai sous contrôle acihais, a voulu se rendre dans ce cimetière sur la tombe de son père le sultan 'Ali Mughayat Syah dans les années 1540 et que c'est dans cette même nécropole que fut enterré le sultan Mughal tué par son frère Ali Ri'ayat shâh, dans les années 1570[4]. Il se trouve dans une petite rue, en face du musée, derrière un pâté de maisons et à côté d'une caserne toujours en activité, installée par les Hollandais dans l'ancienne résidence royale. Le lieu n'attire en temps ordinaire que très peu de visiteurs mais il est bien entretenu et a même été récemment restauré. Les tombes sont alignées les unes à côté des autres, protégées aujourd'hui par un vaste toit reposant sur une charpente de fer elle-même supportée par des colonnes en fonte. Une photo d'époque montre qu'à la fin du XIXe siècle, elles étaient à l'air libre[5]. Dans l'ensemble, elles sont dans un assez bon état de conservation à l'exception de deux d'entre elles dont il ne reste que la base.

Il s'agit de monuments au style assez homogène, aux extrémités se dressent deux stèles de forme cubique. Mais si pour certains, celles-ci sont fichées directement dans le sol, pour d'autres, beaucoup plus imposantes, elles le sont dans un soubassement rectangulaire mouluré de plus d'un mètre de hauteur. Il est intéressant de remarquer que les stèles de sultans d'Aceh ont un décor particulier puisqu'elles sont couronnées de lourdes volutes croisées, alors que celles des autres princes, même quand ils portent le titre de sultan parce qu'ils ont gouverné sur un État vassal, sont couronnées d'un pinacle[6]. Les stèles de l'une des sépultures, celle de Ala al-dîn Ri'ayat Shâh (*n° 8*), sont entièrement recouvertes d'un placage de bronze (ou de cuivre)[7]. Elle ne devait pas être la seule puisque d'autres laissent voir un grand nombre de petites perforations qui devaient permettre de fixer un placage identique (voir par exemple la *tombe n° 4* de Ghiyath al-dîn). Le métal est aujourd'hui oxydé et présente donc un aspect terne. Il devait en aller différemment autrefois quand les stèles brillaient de tout leur éclat. L'innovation artistique que représente ce mélange de pierre et de métal a été

4. Teuku Iskandar, *Hikajat Atjeh*, 's-Gravenhage, 1958, p. 95.

5. Voir la photo prise en 1895 et conservée dans la collection du KITLV, n° 6615.

6. Stèles à volutes croisées *n° 6, 8, 9 10* et *11*. Seule exception à cette règle, la tombe du Sultan Yusuf (*n° 1*) qui ne régna au mieux que quelques jours avant d'être assassiné. Il semblerait donc qu'il n'a pas été officiellement reconnu comme sultan d'Aceh.

7. Cette tombe n'avait pas manqué de frapper les Européens, après la conquête du palais en 1873. L'un d'eux, Fréderick Tierre, en fit même un dessin au crayon en 1874 avec la légende suivante en français : « Sumatra. Empire d'Atjeh. Tombeau surmonté de deux socles en bronze situé dans l'intérieur du Kraton » (Collection KITLV, Leyde).



Vue d'ensemble du cimetière (photo Guillot/Kalus)

conservée au cours des décennies suivantes, puisque l'Anglais Peter Davis rapporte qu'en 1599 le sultan Ala al-din Ri'ayat syah faisait confectionner deux stèles « pesant mille livres d'or minimum » qui devaient être dressées à la tête et au pied de sa propre tombe et que le sultan Iskandar Muda dans une lettre au roi d'Angleterre Jacques Ier se vantait de s'être fait faire « un sépulcre en or »[8]. Ces souverains sont postérieurs à ceux qui sont inhumés dans le cimetière de Bait al-Rijâl. Ce passage du bronze à l'or semble marquer l'explosion de luxe qui a marqué le rituel et l'art funéraires d'Aceh dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle et qu'illustrent bien les célèbres pages du *Bustan al-Salatin* sur l'enterrement du sultan Iskandar Thani[9].

Sur les onze tombes, neuf possèdent encore une épitaphe tandis que l'identité des deux autres (*n° 5 & 7*) nous reste inconnue. Le sultan Ali Mughayat shah possède quant à lui deux monuments (*n° 9 & 10*).

Les épitaphes, surtout les dates, ont été lues par Moquette et Djajadiningrat qui cherchaient à retracer la généalogie des souverains

8. D. Lombard, *Le sultanat d'Atjéh au temps d'Iskandar Muda*, Paris, 1967, p. 135.

9. Siti Hawa Haji Salleh, *Bustan al-Salatin*, Dewan Bahasa dan Budaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1992, pp. 42-62.

d'Aceh[10]. Mais les inscriptions n'ont jamais été publiées en entier. Nous proposons donc ici une lecture complète des épigraphes de ces tombes encore visibles que nous avons numérotées d'est en ouest.

Les inscriptions

Tombe No. 01 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf X.

Deux stèles cubiques pourvues au sommet d'un pinacle, placées aux deux extrémités d'une haute base horizontale rectangulaire, non inscrite.

I- Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.

II- Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.

Publications

J.-P. Moquette, "Verslag van mijn voorloopig onderzoek der Mohammedaansche oudheden in Atjèh en Onderhoorigheden", dans *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1914, Tweede Kwartaal, pp. 73-80 (mention seulement).

L.-C. Damais, « L'épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est asiatique », dans *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, LIV, 1968, p. 582 (mention seulement).

Reproductions

Coll. De Vink n° 911, 912, 913, 914 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).

Épitaphe

- I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (1-3) ; I - D - (1-3) : Cette tombe honorable et cette grande fosse sont là où a été transféré le seigneur très illustre, dont la grandeur et le rang sont élevés, sultan Yûsuf fils du sultan 'Abd allâh fils du sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn, dans la nuit du (lundi au) mardi, le 27 du mois de rabî' II de l'année 987 de l'hégire / 23 juin 1579.

D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 27 rabî' II 987 tombe effectivement un mardi.

Coran

- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - B - (1-3) ; - II - C - (1-3) ; II - D - (1-3 début) : II, 286.

Texte religieux

- II - D - (3 fin) : Dieu est véridique.

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10. Voir *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 's Gravenhage-Leiden, 1917, *sub* « Atjeh ».



Tombe n° 1 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

- ١ - أ - (١) هذا القبر الكريم
(٢) و الحفر الجسيم
(٣) إنتقل إليه
- ب - (١) السيّد الأجلّ رفيع
(٢) القدر و المحلّ
(٣) سلطان يوسف
- ت - (١) بن السلطان عبد اللّه
(٢) بن السلطان علاى الدين
(٣) فى ليلة الثلثا السابع
- ث - (١) و العشرين من شهر ربيع الآخر
(٢) سنة سبع و ثمانين
(٣) و تسعمائة من الهجرة
- ٢ - أ - (١) ربّنا لا تؤاخذنا
(٢) إن نسينا أو أخطأنا
(٣) ربّنا و لا تحمل
- ب - (١) علينا إصرا كما
(٢) حملته على الذين
(٣) من قبلنا ربّنا
- ت - (١) و لا تحمّلنا ما لا طاقة
(٢) لنا به و اعف عنّا
(٣) و اغفر لنا و ارحمنا
- ث - (١) أنت مولانا فانصرنا
(٢) على القوم
(٣) الكافرين (قرآن، ٢، ٢٨٦) صدق اللّه

Tombe No. 02 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf IX.

À l'origine tombe à deux stèles (sans base horizontale), dont il ne reste qu'une stèle, cubique (stèle sud). De la stèle opposée (stèle nord), il ne reste actuellement qu'un petit socle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout. (De la stèle opposée, il ne reste qu'une petite base.)

Reproductions

Coll. De Vink n° 907, 908, 909, 910 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).

Épitaphe

- D - (1-3) ; - A - (1-3) : Ceci est la tombe du serviteur de Dieu, le Roi, …, le garant du jugement de Dieu qui contente [?], (serviteur) qui espère en la miséricorde du Seigneur des Mondes, spécialement affecté de la grâce de Dieu, sultan 'Inâyat Allâh [?], fils de 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat Shâh. Ô mon Dieu ! Pardonne-lui et accorde-lui Ta pitié !

Morceaux poétiques

- B - (1-2) : Si ce bas monde était durable pour les hommes, alors l'Envoyé de Dieu serait vivant et il aurait survécu aux autres.

- B - (3) ; - C - (1-3) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice nécessairement passager, à l'exception du jardin du Paradis où la vie de délices est durable ? La mort arrive sûrement.



Tombe n° 2 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

- أ - (١) المخصوص بعناية اللّه
(٢) سلطان عناية اللّه [؟] بن علاء الدين رعايت شاه
(٣) اللهمّ اغفره و ارحم له
- ب - (١) لو كانت الدنيا تدوم لأهلها
(٢) لكان رسول اللّه حيّا و باقيا
(٣) ألا كلّ شيء ما خلا اللّه باطل
- ت - (١) و كل نعيم لا محالة زائل
(٢) سوى جنّة الفردوس فإن نعيمها يدوم
(٣) و إن الموت لا بد نازل
- ث - (١) هذا القبر عبد اللّه الملك الـ...
(٢) الراضى لقضاء الله المرضى [؟]
(٣) الراجى إلى رحمة ربّ العالمين

Tombe No. 03 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VIII.

À l'origine tombe à deux stèles (sans base horizontale), dont il ne reste qu'une stèle, cubique (stèle sud). De la stèle opposée (stèle nord), il ne reste actuellement qu'une petite base.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.
(De la stèle opposée, il ne reste qu'un petit socle carré.)

Reproductions

Coll. De Vink n° 903, 904, 905, 906 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).

Épitaphe

- C - (1-3) ; - D - (1-3) ; - A - (1-3) : Ceci est la tombe de celui qui est au lignage connu, appartenant à une famille distinguée, le vertueux, le parfait, l'habile, l'honorable [?], le garant du jugement de Dieu le Roi le Très-Haut [?], spécialement affecté de la grâce de Dieu le Puissant [?], Shâh Muhammad fils du sultân 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat Shâh – que Dieu abreuve le sol dans lequel il repose et fasse du Paradis le lieu de son repos ! Il est décédé le jeudi 6 du mois de dhû l-hidjdja de l'année 978 de l'hégire du Prophète / 1er mai 1571.

D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 6 dhû l-hidjdja 978 tombe un mardi.

Texte religieux :

- B - (2 fin - 3 début) : Il n'y a de héros que 'Alî, il n'y a de sabre que dhû l-fiqâr.

Morceau poétique

- B - (1-2 début) : Si ce bas monde était durable pour les hommes, alors l'Envoyé de Dieu serait vivant et il aurait survécu aux autres.

À déterminer

- B - (3 fin).



Tombe n° 3 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

- أ - (١) توفّى فى يوم الخميس السادس
(٢) من شهر ذى الحجّة سنة ثمان و سبعين
(٣) و تسعمائة من الهجرة النبويّة
- ب - (١) لو كانت الدنيا تدوم لأهلها لكان رسول
(٢) اللّه حيّا و باقيا لا فتى إلّا على لا سيف
(٣) إلّا ذو الفقار ...
- ت - (١) هذا القبر الحسيب النسيب الفاضل
(٢) الكامل الحاذق الكريم [؟]
(٣) الراضى لقضاء الله الملك تع [؟]
- ث - (١) المخصوص بعناية اللّه العزيز [؟] شاه محمّد
(٢) ابن سلطان علاء الدين رعايت شاه
(٣) سقى اللّه ثريه [كذا] و جعل الجنّة مثويه

Tombe No. 04 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VII.

Deux stèles cubiques à pinacle (ce dernier a disparu sur la stèle nord), placées aux deux extrémités d'une haute base horizontale rectangulaire allongée, composée de plusieurs niveaux.

I- Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.
II- Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.
III- Sur la surface supérieure de la base horizontale rectangulaire : A- petit cartouche : registre ; B- cartouche moyen : registre « en tête-bêche » ; C-



Tombe n° 4 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

cartouche central circulaire : (a) autour d'une tresse constituée de hampes de lettres, une ligne, (b) dans la bordure circulaire, une ligne ; D- cartouche moyen : registre « en tête-bêche » ; E- petit cartouche : registre.

IV- Autour de la surface supérieure de la base horizontale rectangulaire, bandeau : A- côté est ; B- côté ouest.

V- Sur la tranche de la grande dalle faisant partie de la base horizontale rectangulaire : A- côté nord : trois compartiments se suivant ; B- côté est : dix compartiments se suivant ; C- côté sud : trois compartiments se suivant ; D- côté ouest : dix compartiments se suivant.

- ١ - أ - (١) أ لا كلّ شيء ما خلا اللّه باطل و كلّ نعيم و لا محالة زائل
(٢) سوى جنّة الفردوس فإن نعيمها يدوم و إن الموت لا بد نازل
(٣) لو كانت الدنيا تدوم لاهلها لكان رسول اللّه فيها حيّا و باقيا
- ب - (١) لا فتى إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقار ...
(٢) .... الموت حقّ
(٣) الموت جسر يوصل الحبيب الفانى إلى الحبيب الباقى
- ت - (١) هذا المرقد السلطان ... و الملك الجاه [الكامل؟]
(٢) و هو السلطان فى دار [؟] الغورى المخصوص بعناية اللّه
(٣) سلطان غياث الدين [؟] بن سلطان علاء الدين
- ث - (١) رعاية شاه اللهمّ ارحمه و اغفر له و اجعل الجنّة مثواه
(٢) توفّي يوم الجمعة بعد الصلوة الثالث عشرة من شهر ذى الحجّة
(٣) سنة ثلاثة و ثمانين و تسعمائة من الهجرة النبويّة المصطفويّة [؟] عليه أفضل الصلوات و أزكى التحيّة
- ٢ - أ - (١) هو اللّه الذى لا إله إلّا هو عالم الغيب
(٢) و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحيم هو اللّه الذى لا إله إلّا
(٣) هو الملك القدّوس السلام المؤمن
- ب - (١) المهيمن العزيز الجبّار المتكبّر سبحان اللّه عمّا يشركون
(٢) هو اللّه الخالق البارئ المصوّر له الأسماء
(٣) الحسنى يسبّح له ما فى السموات و الأرض و هو العزيز الحكيم (قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٢-٢٤)
- ت - (١) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيّوم لا
(٢) تأخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الأرض
(٣) من ذا الذى يشفع عنده إلّا باذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم (قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٥/٢٥٦)
- ث - (١) لا اكراه فى الدين قد تبيّن الرشد من الغيّ فمن يكفر
(٢) بالطاغوت و يؤمن باللّه فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى
(٣) لا انفصام لها و اللّه سميع عليم (قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٦/٢٥٧)

- ٣ - أ - الدنيا ساعة [؟]

- ب - .+.+.+.+.

- ت - (أ) .+.+.

(ب) [ألا كلّ شئ ما خلا اللّه با]طل و كلّ نعيم لا محالة زائل ألا كلّ شئ ما خلا اللّه باطل و كلّ نعيم لا محا[لة زائل] ++++++++

- ث - .+.+.+.+.

- ج - فجعلها طاعة

- ٤ - أ - .+. ربّنا إنّى أسكنت من ذرّيّتى بواد غير ذى زرع عند بيتك المحرّم ربّنا ليقيموا الصلوة فاجعل أفئدة من الناس

- ب - تهوى إليهم و ارزقهم من الثمرات لعلّهم يشكرون ربّنا إنّك تعلم ما نخفى و ما نعلن و ما يخفى على اللّه من شىء فى الأرض و لا فى السماء الحمد للّه الذى وهب لى على الكبر اسمعيل و اسحق إنّ ربّى لسميع الدعاء ربّ اجعلنى مقيم الصلوة و من ذرّيّتى ربّنا و تقبّل دعاء ربّنا اغفر لى و لوالديّ و للمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب (= قرآن، ١٤، ٤٠ / ٣٧ - ٤٢ / ٤١)

- ه - أ - .+.+.+. / آمن الرسول بما أنزل إليه من ربّه و المؤمنون / كلّ آمن بالله و ملائكته و كتبه و رسله

- ب - لا نفرّق بين أحد من رسله و قالوا سمعنا / و أطعنا غفرانك ربّنا و إليك المصير / لا يكلّف اللّه نفسا إلّا وسعها لها / ما كسبت و عليها ما اكتسبت ربّنا لا تؤاخذنا / إن نسينا أو أخطأنا ربّنا / و لا تحمل علينا إصرا / كما حملته على الذين من قبلنا ربّنا / و لا تحمّلنا ما لا طاقة لنا به و اعف عنّا / و اغفر لنا و ارحمنا أنت مولينا فانصرنا / على القوم الكافرين (قرآن، ٢، ٢٨٥-٢٨٦) ربّنا لا تزغ قلوبنا

- ت - بعد إذ هديتنا و هب لنا من لدنك رحمة / [إنّك أنت الوهّاب] (قرآن، ٣، ٨/٦) ++ / ++ +++++

- ث - ربّنا آمنّا بما أنزلت و اتّبعنا الرسول / فاكتبنا مع الشاهدين (قرآن، ٣، ٥٣/٤٦)/ ربّنا إنّك من يدخل النار فقد أخزيته / و ما للظالمين من أنصار ربّنا إنّنا / سمعنا مناديا ينادى للايمان أن آمنوا بربّكم / فآمنّا ربّنا فاغفر لنا ذنوبنا و كفّر / عنّا سيّئاتنا و توفّنا مع الأبرار / ربّنا و آتنا ما وعدتنا على رسلك / و لا تخزنا يوم القيامة إنّك لا تخلف الميعاد (قرآن، ٣، ١٩٠/١٨٧- ١٩٤/١٩٢) / ربّنا استمتع بعضنا ببعض و بلغنا أجلنا الذى أجلت لنا (قرآن، ٦، ١٢٨)

Reproductions

Coll. De Vink n° 899, 900, 901, 902 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).

Épitaphe

- I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D (1-3) : Ceci est le lieu de repos du sultan … et le roi, de rang élevé [l'honorable ?]. Il était sultan dans la demeure [?] de Ghauri [Aru], spécialement affecté de la grâce de Dieu, sultan Ghiyâth al-dîn [?] fils du sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat Shâh. Ô mon Dieu ! Accorde-lui Ta pitié,

pardonne-lui et fais du Paradis le lieu de son repos ! Il est décédé le vendredi, après la prière, le 13 du mois de dhû l-hidjdja de l'année 983 de l'hégire du Prophète, l'Elu – sur lui les meilleures bénédictions et la plus pure salutation ! / 14 mars 1576.

D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 13 dhû l-hidjdja tombe un mercredi.

Coran

- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - B - (1-3) : LIX, 22-24.
- II - C - (1-3) : II, 256/255 (les caractères dans le compartiment (3) sont très serrés et difficiles à discerner, la fin du texte est incertaine).
- II - D - (1-3) : II, 257/256 (les caractères dans le compartiment (3) sont très serrés et difficiles à discerner, la fin du texte est incertaine).
- IV - A fin - : XIV, 40/37 - 42/41.
- V - A fin - ; - V - B début - : II, 285-286.
- V - B fin - ; - V - C début - : III, 6/8.
- V - D début - : III, 46/53.
- V - D milieu - : III, 187/190 - 192/194.
- V - D fin - : VI, 128.

Hadîth

- I - B - (2 fin) : La mort est la vérité.
- I - B - (3) : La mort est un pont par lequel l'ami périssable se rend vers l'Ami qui demeure (=Muhammad).
- III - A - ; - III - E - : Ce bas monde n'est qu'un moment, passe-le dans l'obéissance !

Textes religieux

- I - B - (1 début) : Il n'y a de héros que ʻAlî, il n'y a de sabre que dhû l-fiqâr.

Morceaux poétiques

- I - A - (1-2) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice nécessairement passager, à l'exception du jardin du Paradis où la vie de délices est durable ? La mort arrive sûrement.
- I - A - (3) : Si ce bas monde était durable pour les hommes, alors l'Envoyé de Dieu serait vivant et il aurait survécu aux autres.
- III - C (b début) - : [Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vai]ne et tout délice nécessairement passager ? Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice nécessai[rement passager ?].

À déterminer

- I - B - (1 fin - 2 début).
- III - B - : *Abîmé*.
- III - C - (a) - ; - III - C - (b fin) - : *Abîmé*.
- III - D - : *Abîmé*.
- IV - A début - : *Abîmé*.
- V - A début - : *Abîmé*.
- V - C fin - : *Abîmé*.

Tombe No. 05 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; non classé par De Vink vers 1911. (Sans épitaphe car les deux stèles manquent)

Base d'une tombe, de forme horizontale rectangulaire allongée, de dimensions réduites, composée de plusieurs niveaux. Jadis, elle était pourvue, à chaque extrémité, d'une stèle.

I- Sur la surface supérieure de la base horizontale rectangulaire : A- cartouche circulaire (1) flanqué en haut et en bas d'un petit cartouche allongé verticalement (2 et 3) : registre partout ; B- cartouche partagé en quatre compartiments allongés superposés (1-4) : une ligne partout ; C- un petit cartouche allongé verticalement, à l'extrémité de la composition ornementale du cartouche B : petit registre.
II- Sur la tranche de la dalle supérieure : A- côté est : quatre cartouches allongés se suivant ; B- côté ouest : quatre cartouches allongés se suivant.
III- Sur la tranche de la dalle au-dessous de la précédente : A- côté nord : quatre cartouches allongés se suivant ; B- côté est : douze cartouches allongés se suivant ; C- côté sud : quatre cartouches allongés se suivant, en partie détériorés ; D- côté ouest : à l'origine sans doute douze cartouches allongés se suivant.

Textes religieux

- II - A - (1-4) ; - II - B - (1-4) ; - III - A - (1-4) ; - III - B - (1-12) ; - III - C (1-4) : *Shahâda* (*répétition*).

À déterminer

- I - A - (1-3) : *En partie abîmé.*
- I - B - (1-4) : *En partie abîmé.*
- I - C - : *Abîmé (le texte est certainement à caractère religieux, probablement un extrait coranique).*
- III - D - : *Abîmé.*



Tombe n° 5 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

- ١ - أ - (١) .+.
(٢) .+.+.
(٣) .+.
- ب - (١) .+.+.
(٢) .....
(٣) .....
(٤) .....
- ت - +++
- ٢ - أ - (١) [لا إله إلّا اللّه] محمّد رسول اللّه
(٢) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
(٣) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
(٤) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
- ب - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
(٢) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
(٣) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
(٤) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
- ٣ - أ - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(٢) محمّد رسول اللّه
(٣) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(٤) محمّد رسول اللّه
- ب - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(٢) محمّد رسول اللّه
(٣) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(٤) محمّد رسول اللّه
(٥) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(٦) محمّد رسول اللّه
(٧) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(٨) محمّد رسول اللّه
(٩) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(١٠) محمّد رسول اللّه
(١١) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(١٢) محمّد [رسول اللّه]
- ت - (١) [لا إله إ]لّا اللّه
(٢) محمّد رسول اللّه
(٣) [لا إله إلّا اللّه]
(٤) محمّد رسول [اللّه]
- ث - ++++++++++++++

Tombe No. 06 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf V.

Stèle cubique à sommet en volutes croisées se terminant en ailes, à haut pinacle (stèle nord), et restes de la base d'une autre stèle cubique (stèle sud). Les deux éléments sont placés aux deux extrémités d'une base rectangulaire allongée composée de plusieurs niveaux.

I- Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) sommet : une ligne partagée en deux parties ; (b) champ : trois lignes (1-3) ; (c) socle : cinq cartouches juxtaposés (1-5).

II- Stèle nord, cassée, dont il ne reste que le socle : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout cinq cartouches juxtaposés (1-5).

III- Sur la surface supérieure de la base horizontale rectangulaire : A- cartouche circulaire (1) flanqué en haut (2) et en bas (3) d'un petit cartouche allongé verticalement : registre partout ; B- grand cartouche partagé en huit compartiments horizontaux superposés (1-8) : une ligne partout ; C- à l'extrémité de la composition ornementale du cartouche B, un petit cartouche allongé verticalement : registre.

IV- Sur la surface de la dalle horizontale rectangulaire supérieure de la base de la tombe : bandeau suivant le bord de la surface, à l'est (A) et à l'ouest (B).

V- Sur la tranche de la dalle horizontale rectangulaire supérieure, bandeau continu : A- face nord ; B- face est ; C- face sud ; D- face ouest.

VI - Plus bas, sur la tranche de la dalle horizontale rectangulaire médiane, bandeau partagé en compartiments rectangulaires aux côtés arrondis (par endroits abîmé) : A- face nord ; B- face est ; C- face sud ; D- face ouest.

VII- Plus bas, sur la tranche de la dalle horizontale rectangulaire inférieure, un autre bandeau partagé en compartiments rectangulaires : A- face nord ; B- face est ; C- face sud ; D- face ouest. L'ensemble est très détérioré et certains cartouches sont vides ou illisibles.

Publications

J.-P. Moquette, "Verslag van mijn voorloopig onderzoek der Mohammedaansche oudheden in Atjèh en Onderhoorigheden", dans *Oudheidkundig Verslag,* 1914, Tweede Kwartaal, p. 78 (mention seulement).
L.-C. Damais, « L'épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est asiatique », dans *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, LIV, 1968, p. 582 (mention seulement).

Reproductions

Coll. De Vink n° 895, 896, 897, 898 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).



Tombe n° 6 (photo De Vink)

- ١ - أ - (أ) - لا محالة // زائل
(ب) - (١) سلطان علاء الدين بن سلطان
(٢) على بن شمس شاه بن منوّر شاه
(٣) قد هجر القصر و اختار هذا القبر
(ت) - (١) الخطاب من
(٢) الكتاب فكم
(٣) من شيخ ينوح
(٤) على الشباب [شباب ؟] و
(٥) كم شابّ ينادى
- ب - (أ) - الموت باب و // كلّ الناس داخله
(ب) - (١) فى يوم الإثنين ثانى عشر شهر ربيع
(٢) الآخر عام سبع و ثمانين
(٣) و تسعمائة من الهجرة
(ت) - (١) وا شبابى
(٢) فيا حنّان يا منّان
(٣) عفوا ربّ
(٤) و جد بالعتق
(٥) فى يوم الحساب
- ت - (أ) - أ لا كلّ شئ // ما خلا اللّه
(ب) - (١) هذا القبر الكريم و الروض
(٢) الجسيم الذى حلّ فيه السلطان
(٣) المرحوم ذو البرهان المختوم
(ت) - (١) ذنوبى
(٢) قطعت
(٣) عنّى جوابى

(٤) فما عذرى
(٥) غدا يوم
- ث - (أ) - باطل // و كلّ نعيم
(ب) - (١) المشهور فضله فى سائر البلدان ضياء
(٢) لمذرور ديم كرمه فى الأوطان
(٣) سلطان على رعاية شاه بن
(ت) - (١) الحساب
(٢) إذا توبت د [= و ؟]
(٣) قم للعرض
(٤) و إقرأ [؟]
(٥) فقد لاح
- ٢ - أ - (١ - ٥) ...
- ب - (١) لا (ا)نفصام
(٢) لها و اللّه
(٣) سميع عليم
(٤) اللّه ولى
(٥) الذين آمنوا
- ت - (١) يخرجهم
(٢) من الظلمات
(٣) إلى النور
(٤) و الذين كفروا
(٥) أولياؤهم
- ث - (١) الطاغوت
(٢) يخرجونهم
(٣) من النور
(٤) إلى الظلمات
(٥) أولئك (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٧ / ٢٥٦ - ٢٥٩ / ٢٥٧)

- ٣ - أ - (١) بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم
(٢) يس و القرآن / الحكيم إنّك
(٣) لمن المرسلين
- ب - (١) على صراط مستقيم
(٢) تنزيل العزيز الرحيم لتنذر قوم ما أنذر
(٣) آباؤهم فهم غافلون لقد حقّ القول على أكثرهم فهم لا يؤمنون
(٤) إنّا جعلنا فى أعناقهم أغلالا فهى إلى الأذقان فهم مقمحون
(٥) و جعلنا من بين أيديهم سدّا و من خلفهم سدّا فاغشيناهم فهم لا يبصرون
(٦) و سواء عليهم أنذرتهم أم لم تنذرهم
(٧) لا يؤمنون إنّما تنذر من إتّبع
(٨) الذكر و خشى الرحمن بالغيب فبشّره
- ت - بمغفرة و أجر كريم (قرآن، ٣٦، ١ - ١١\١٠)
- ٤ - أ - إنّا نحن نحى الموتى و نكتب ما قدموا و أنارهم و كلّ شىء أحصيناه فى إمام مبين و اضرب لهم مثلا أصحاب القرية إنجاءها المرسلون إذ أرسلنا إليهم اثنين فكذّبوهما فعزّزنا بثالث فقالوآ إنّا إليكم مرسلون قالوا ما أنتم إلّا بشر مثلنا و ما أنزل الرحمن من شىء إن أنتم إلّا تكذبون قالوا ربّنا يعلم إنّا إليكم لمرسلون و ما علينا إلّا البلاغ المبين قالوا إنّا تطيّرنا بكم لئن لم تنتهوا لنرجمنّكم و ليمسّنّكم منّا
- ب - عذاب أليم قالوا طائركم معكم أئن ذكّرتم بل أنتم قوم مسرفون و جاء من أقصا المدينة رجل يسعى قال يا قوم إتّبعوا المرسلين اتّبعوا من لا يسئلكم أجرا و هم مهتدون و ما لى لا أعبد الذى فطرنى و إليه ترجعون أأتّخذ من دونه إلهة إن يردن الرحمن بضرّ لا تغن عنّى شفاعتهم شئا و لا ينقذون إنّى إذا لفى ضلال مبين إنّى آمنت بربّكم فاسمعون قيل أدخل الجنّة قال ياليت قومى يعلمون بما غفر لى ربّى و جعلنى من المكرمين (= قرآن، ٣٦، ١١ / ١٢ - ٢٦ / ٢٧)
- ٥ - أ - و ما أنزلنا على قومه من بعده من جند من السماء و ما كنّا منزلين إن كانت إلّا صيحة واحدة فإذا هم خامدون
- ب - يا حسرة على العباد ما يأتيهم من رسول إلّا كانوا به يستهزءون أ لم يروا كم أهلكنا قبلهم من القرون أنّهم إليهم لا يرجعون و إن كلّ لمّا جميع لدينا محضرون و آية لهم الأرض الميتة أحييناها و أخرجنا منها حبّا فمنه يأكلون و جعلنا فيها جنّات من نخيل و أعناب و فجّرنا فيها من العيون ليأكلوا

من ثمره و ما عملته أيديهم أفلا يشكرون سبحان الذى خلق الأزواج كلّها ممّا تنبت الأرض و من أنفسهم و ممّا لا يعلمون و آية لهم الليل نسلخ منه النهار فإذا هم مظلمون و الشمس تجرى لمستقرّ لها ذلك تقدير العزيز العليم و القمر قدّرناه منازل

- ت - حتّى عاد كالعرجون القديم لا الشمس ينبغى لها أن تدرك القمر و لا الليل سابق النهار و كلّ فى فلك يسبحون

- ث - وآية لهم أنّا حملنا ذرّيّتهم فى الفلك المشحون و خلقنا لهم من مثله ما يركبون و إن تشأ نغرقهم فلا صريخ لهم و لا هم ينقذون إلّا رحمة منّا و متاعا إلى حين و إذا قيل لهم اتّقوا ما بين أيديكم و ما خلفكم لعلّكم ترحمون و ما تأتيهم من آية ربّهم إلّا كانوا عنها معرضين و إذا قيل لهم أنفقوا ممّا رزقكم اللّه قال الذين كفروا للذين آمنوا أنطعم من لو يشاء اللّه أطعمه إن أنتم إلّا فى ضلال مبين و يقولون متى هذا الوعد إن كنتم صادقين ما ينظرون إلّا صيحة (= قرآن، ٣٦، ٢٧ / ٢٨ - ٤٩)

- ٦ - أ - واحدة تأخذهم / و هم يخصّمون / فلا يستطيعون / توصية و لا إلى أهلهم /

- ب - يرجعون و نفح فى الصور فإذاهم / من الأجداث إلى ربّهم / ينسلون قالوا يا / ويلنا من بعثنا / من مرقدنا هذا / ما وعد الرحمن / و صدق المرسلون / إن كانت إلّا صيحة / واحدة فإذاهم / جميع لدينا محضرون / فاليوم لا تظلم نفس / شئا و لا تجزون / إلّا ما كنتم تعملون / إنّ أصحاب الجنّة / اليوم فى شغل فاكهون

- ت - هم و أزواجهم فى ظلال / على الأرائك متّكئون / لهم فيها فاكهة و لهم / ما يدّعون

- ث - سلام قولا من ربّ رحيم / و امتازوا اليوم أيّها / المجرمون ألم أعهد / إليكم يا بنى آدم أن لا / تعبدوا الشيطان إنّه / لكم عدوّ مبين و أن اعبدونى / هذا صراط مستقيم / و لقد أضلّ منكم جبلّا كثيرا أفلم تكونوا / تعقلون هذه جهنّم / التى كنتم توعدون / أصلوها اليوم / بما كنتم تكفرون اليوم نختم على/ أفواههم و تكلّمنا أيديهم و تشهد (= قرآن، ٣٦، ٤٩ - ٦٥)

- ٧ - (١ - ٤) . + . + . + . + . + . + .

Épitaphe

- I - C - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - D - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - A - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - B - (b) - (1-3) : Cette tombe honorable et ce grand jardin sont là où a fait halte le décédé sultan qui possède la preuve authentifiée. Sa munificence est célèbre sur l'ensemble de la terre. Il est la lumière pour celui qui a été arrosé des pluies de sa générosité là où il demeurait, sultan 'Alî Ri'âyat Shâh fils du sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn fils du sultan 'Alî fils de Shams Shâh fils de Munawwar Shâh. Il a abandonné le palais et a choisi cette tombe le lundi 12 du mois de rabî' II de l'an 987 de l'hégire / 8 juin 1579.

D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 12 rabî' II 987 tombe effectivement un lundi.

Coran
- II - B - (1-5) ; - II - C - (1-5) ; - II - D - (1-5) : II, 257/256 - 259/257.
- III - A - (1-3) ; - III - B - (1-8) ; - III - C -; - IV - A -; - IV - B -; - V - A -; - V - B -; - V - C -; - V - D -; - VI - A -; - VI - B -; - VI - C -; - VI - D - : XXXVI, 1- 65.
Hadîth
- I - B - (a) : La mort est une porte par laquelle tout le monde entre.
Morceaux poétiques
- I - C - (a) ; - I - D - (a) ; - I - A - (a) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ?
- I - C - (c) - (1-5) ; - I - D - (c) - (1-5) ; - I - A - (c) - (1-5) ; - I - B - (c) - (1-5) : Ô mes péchés ! Vous avez rendu ma réponse difficile ! Que pourra être mon excuse demain, le jour du jugement dernier ? // Si toi, tu reviens à Dieu en renonçant à tes péchés, alors lève-toi pour le jugement dernier et récite ! Ton discours sera le même que dans le Livre (où sont inscrites toutes les actions de la vie). // Combien de fois, un vieux pleure-t-il sa jeunesse et combien de fois, un jeune crie-t-il « ô ma jeunesse ! ». // Ô le Très-miséricordieux, ô le Bon par excellence ! Pardon Seigneur ! Sois généreux sans limites au jour du jugement dernier !
À déterminer
- II - A - (1-5) : *La photo de cette face manque. Le texte contient sans doute la partie coranique qui précède le texte de la face 2 ou qui suit le texte de la face 4. On peut supposer que la stèle nord dont il ne reste que le socle, contenait le texte coranique II, 256/255 - 259/257 environ.*
- VII - (1-4) : *En partie abîmé (certains cartouches ont disparu, sont vides ou leur texte quand il subsiste est pratiquement illisible, mais on peut supposer que l'inscription contenait la suite de la sourate XXXVI, même s'il est difficile de le confirmer à partir des fragments qui restent).*

Tombe No. 07 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; non classé par De Vink vers 1911. (Sans épitaphe)

Stèle cubique à pinacle chargé d'ornementation et à deux ailes latérales (stèle sud), et restes du socle d'une autre stèle cubique (stèle nord). Les deux éléments sont placés sur une base rectangulaire allongée composée de plusieurs niveaux, presque entièrement inscrite sur les côtés.

I- Stèle sud, cassée, dont il ne reste que le socle (b) : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout quatre cartouches juxtaposés (1-4).

II- Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) champ (A et C quatre lignes dont la première dans un cartouche, B et D deux lignes) ; (b) socle (partout quatre cartouches juxtaposés (1-4)).

III- Sur la surface supérieure de la base horizontale rectangulaire, du nord au sud : A- à l'extrémité nord, petit cartouche allongé inscrit verticalement d'un registre ; B- grand cartouche central, inscrit de six lignes ; C- plus loin, petit cartouche circulaire inscrit d'un registre.

IV- Sur les tranches de deux niveaux de la base horizontale rectangulaire : A- niveau supérieur, bandeau divisé en cartouches ; B- niveau au-dessous, bandeau divisé en cartouches.

Publications

L.-C. Damais, « L'épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est asiatique », dans *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, LIV, 1968, p. 582 (mention seulement).

Coran

- II - A - (a) - (2-4) ; - II - B - (a) - (1-2) ; - II - C - (a) - (1-4) ; - II - D - (a) - (1-2) : II, 256/255.
- II - A - (b) - (1-4) ; - II - B - (b) - (1-4) ; - II - C - (b) - (1-4) ; - II - D - (b) - (1-2) : III, 182/185.
- III - A - ; - III - B - (1-6) ; - III - C - : XLVIII, 1-4.
- IV - A - (1-4 début) : III, 186/189 - 192/194.
- IV - A - (4 fin) : XXIII, 111/109.
- IV - B - (1-4) : XXIII, 12-18.

Textes religieux

- II - A - (a) - (1) : *Basmala*.
- II - D - (b) - (3-4) : Dieu [Immense ?] est véridique.

Morceau poétique
- I - C - (b) - (1-4) ; - I - D - (b) - (1-4) ; - I - A - (b) - (1-2) : La mort est une porte par laquelle tout le monde entre. Plût à Dieu que j'eusse su quelle demeure se trouve derrière la porte : la demeure du jardin d'Eden, si j'ai fait ce que Dieu trouve bon, ou alors celle de l'Enfer, si j'ai agi contre Sa volonté.
À déterminer
I - A - (b) - (3-4) ; - I - B - (b) - (1-4) : *Abîmé*.



Tombe n° 7 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

- ١ - أ - (ب) - (١) يرضى الإله و ان
(٢) [خالفت فالنار]
(٣) +++
(٤) +++
- ب - (ب) - (١) +++
(٢) +++
(٣) +++
(٤) +++
- ت - (ب) - (١) الموت باب
(٢) و كلّ الناس
(٣) داخله
(٤) فإذا أدرى
- ث - (ب) - (١) بعد الباب
(٢) ما الدار
(٣) الدار جنّت
(٤) عدن إن عملت بما
- ٢ - أ - (أ) - (١) بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم
(٢) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيّوم
(٣) لا تأخذه سنة و لا نوم
(٤) له ما فى السموات و ما
- (ب) - (١) كلّ نفس
(٢) ذائقة
(٣) الموت
(٤) و إنّما
- ب - (أ) - (١) فى الأرض من ذا الذى

(٢) يشفع عنده إلّا باذنه
- (ب) - (١) توفّون
(٢) أجوركم
(٣) يوم القيامة
(٤) [فمن زحزح]
- ت - (أ) - (١) [يعلم ما بين]
(٢) أيديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون
(٣) بشئ من علمه إلّا بما شاء وسع كرسيّه
(٤) السموات و الأرض
(ب) - أ - (١) [عن النار و]
(٢) أدخل الجنّة
(٣) فقد فاز
(٤) و ما الحيوة
- ث - (أ) - (١) [و لا يؤده حفظهما]
(٢) [و هو العلى العظيم (قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٥/٢٥٦)]
- (ب) - (١) الدنيا إلّا
(٢) متاع الغرور (قرآن، ٣، ١٨٢/١٨٥)
(٣) صدق
(٤) اللّه [العظيم ؟]
- ٣ - أ - بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم
- ب - (١) إنّا فتحنا لك
(٢) فتحا مبينا ليغفر لك اللّه
(٣) ما تقدّم من ذنبك و ما تأخّر و يتمّ
(٤) نعمته عليك و يهديك صراطا مستقيما
(٥) و ينصرك اللّه نصرا عزيزا هو
(٦) الذى أنزل السكينة
- ت - فى قلوب المؤمنين ليزدادوا ايمانا مع ايمانهم (قرآن، ٤٨، ١-٤)

Tombe No. 08 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf III.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées se terminant en ailes, en pierre plaquée de bronze, placées aux deux extrémités d'une haute base rectangulaire allongée, à plusieurs niveaux.

I- Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) sommet ; (b) champ (1-3) ; (c) socle (1-5).

II- Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) sommet ; (b) champ (1-3) ; (c) socle (1-5).

III- Sur la surface supérieure de la base horizontale rectangulaire, du nord au sud : A- à l'extrémité nord, petit cartouche circulaire inscrit d'un registre ; B- plus loin, petit cartouche, inscrit d'un registre, verticalement ; C- grand cartouche central, inscrit de huit lignes ; D- plus loin, petit cartouche inscrit d'un registre.

IV- Sur les tranches des différents niveaux de la base horizontale rectangulaire : A - niveau supérieur, bandeau continu ; B- niveau au-dessous, bandeau divisé en cartouches ; C- niveau au-dessous, bandeau divisé en cartouches ; D- niveau au-dessous, bandeau divisé en cartouches.

Publications

J.-P. Moquette, "Verslag van mijn voorloopig onderzoek der Mohammedaansche oudheden in Atjèh en Onderhoorigheden", dans *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1914, Tweede Kwartaal, p. 78 (mention seulement).
L.-C. Damais, « L'épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est asiatique », dans *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, LIV, 1968, p. 582 (mention seulement).

Reproductions

Coll. De Vink n° 891, 892, 893, 894 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).



Tombe n° 8 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

- ١ - أ - (أ) الدنيا ساعة // فجعلها طاعة
(ب)-(١) الواصل إلى طريق الحقّ و اليقين
(٢) ألا و هو السلطان بن السلطان بن
(٣) بن [كذا] السلطان المخصوص بعناية اللّه
(ت)-(١) سلطان علاء الدين
(٢) رعايت شاه
(٣) ظلّ اللّه فى
(٤) العالم بن سلطان
(٥) على مغاية شاه
- ب - (أ) ألا كلّ شئ ما خلا اللّه باطل / و كلّ نعيم لا محالة زائل
(ب)-(١) سقى اللّه ثراه بماء رحمته و جعل الجنّة مثواه
(٢) بين النبى و آله توفّى يوم الجمعة بعد الصبح
(٣) الثامن من جمادى الأوّل سنة تسع و سبعين و تسعمائة
(ت)-(١) من الهجرة النبويّة عليه
(٢) أفضل الصلوات
(٣) و أزكى التحيّة اللهمّ
(٤) اغفره و ارحم ببركة [؟]
(٥) محمّد سيّد المرسلين و
- ت - (أ) الموت يأتى بغتة و // القبر صندوق العمل
(ب)-(١) و الملئكة المقرّبين و الحمد للّه ربّ العالمين
(٢) الدنيا حرام على أهل الآخرة و الآخرة حرام
(٣) على أهل الدنيا و هما (معا) حرامان على أهل اللّه
(ت)-(١) لا فتى إلّا على لا سيف إلّا
(٢) ذو الفقار ...
(٣) .....
(٤) ... الدنيا و الآخرة

(٥) .....

- ث - (أ) الموت جسر يوصل الحبيب // الفانى إلى الحبيب الباقى

(ب)-(١) هذ(ا) القبر المرحوم المغفور الحسيب النسيب

(٢) الفاضل المشهور الراجى إلى

(٣) رحمة اللّه الملك الغفور سلطان

(ت)-(١) سلاطين الأزمان و

(٢) الدهور الغازى

(٣) فى سبيل ربّ العالمين

(٤) قامع الكفرة و

(٥) المشركين محيى الفقر [؟] و المذكّرين [؟]

- ٢ - أ - (أ) مجيد فى لوح محفوظ (قرآن، ٨٥، ٢٠-٢٢) فا // للّه خير حافظا

(ب)-(١) له الأسماء الحسنى يسبّح له ما فى السموات و

(٢) الأرض و هو العزيز الحكيم (قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٢-٢٤) شهد اللّه أنّه

(٣) لا إله إلّا هو و الملائكة و اولوا

(ت)-(١) هو في شأن لا إله

(٢) إلّا اللّه

(٣) الأمان الأمان

(٤) من زوال الايمان و من

(٥) فتنة الشيطان يا قديم

- ب - (أ) و هو أرحم الراحمين (قرآن، ١٢، ٦٤) // (إ)نّ اللّه على كلّ شىء قدير (قرآن، ٢، ١٩/ ٢٠ و ١٠٠/ ١٠٦ و ١٠٣/ ١٠٩ و ١٤٣/ ١٤٨ و ٢٦١/ ٢٥٩؛ ٣، ١٥٩/ ١٦٥؛ ١٦، ٧٩/ ٧٧؛ ٢٤، ٤٤/ ٤٥؛ ٢٩، ١٩/ ٢٠؛ ٣٥، ١)

(ب)-(١) العلم قائما بالقسط لا إله إلّا

(٢) هو العزيز الحكيم إنّ الدين عند اللّه الإسلام (قرآن، ٣، ١٦\١٨ - ١٧\١٩)

(٣) صدق اللّه العلى العظيم و صدق رسوله الكريم

(ت)-(١) الإحسان يا غفور يا غفور

(٢) و صلّى اللّه على

(٣) سيّدنا محمّد من لا نبى [كذا]
(٤) بعده ...
(٥) و أنت خير [أرحم؟] الراحمين (قرآن، ٢٣، ١١١ / ١٠٩ و ١١٨)
- ت - (أ) لا إله إلّا // اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
(ب)-(١) هو اللّه الذى لا إله إلّا هو عالم
(٢) الغيب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحيم هو اللّه
(٣) الذى لا إله إلّا هو الملك القدّوس السلام
(ت)-(١) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(٢) الموجود فى كلّ زمان
(٣) لا إله إلّا اللّه
(٤) المعروف فى كلّ إحسان [كذا؟]
(٥) لا (إ)له إلّا اللّه
- ث - (أ) و اللّه من ورائهم // محيط بل هو قرآن
(ب)-(١) المؤمن المهيمن العزيز الجبّار
(٢) المتكبّر سبحان اللّه عمّا يشركون
(٣) هو اللّه الخالق البارئ المصوّر
(ت)-(١) المعبود فى كلّ
(٢) مكان لا إله إلّا
(٣) اللّه المذكور
(٤) فى كلّ لسان لا إله
(٥) إلّا اللّه كل يوم
- ٣ - أ - بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم
- ب - اللهمّ صل على محمّد
- ت - (١) قل هو اللّه أحد
(٢) اللّه الصمد لم يلد و لم يولد
(٣) و لم يكن له كفوا أحد (قرآن، ١١٢) اللهمّ إجعل القرار له فى القبر
(٤) مؤنسا و فى القيامة شافعا و من النار سترا و حجابا و

(٥) على الصراط نورا و إلى الجنّة رفيقا و إلى لقاء اللّه سبحانه
(٦) و تعالى وسيلة [؟] مع الذين أنعم اللّه
(٧) عليهم من النبيّين و الصدّيقين و
(٨) الشهداء و الصالحين و حسن
- ث - اولئك رفيقا ذلك الفضل من اللّه و كفى باللّه عليما (قرآن، ٤، ٧١ / ٦٩ - ٧٢ / ٧٠)
- ٤ - أ - (١) إنّى آمنت بربّكم فاسمعون قيل أدخل الجنّة قال ياليت قومى يعلمون بما غفر لى ربّى و جعلنى من المكرمين و ما أنزلنا على قومه من بعده من جند من السماء و ما كنّا منزلين إن كانت إلّا صيحة واحدة فإذا هم خامدون يا حسرة على العباد ما يأتيهم من رسول إلّا كانوا به يستهزءون أ لم يروا كم أهلكنا قبلهم من القرون أنّهم إليهم لا يرجعون و إن كلّ لمّا جميع لدينا محضرون و آية لهم الأرض الميتة أحييناها و أخرجنا منها حبّا فمنه يأكلون و جعلنا فيها جنّات من نخيل و أعناب و فجّرنا فيها من العيون ليأكلوا من ثمره و ما عملته أيديهم أفلا يشكرون سبحان الذى خلق الأزواج كلّها ممّا تنبت الأرض و من أنفسهم و ممّا لا يعلمون و آية لهم الليل نسلخ منه النهار فإذا هم مظلمون
(٢) و الشمس تجرى لمستقرّ لها ذلك تقدير العزيز العليم و القمر قدّرناه منازل حتّى عاد كالعرجون القديم لا الشمس ينبغى لها
(٣) أن تدرك القمر و لا الليل سابق النهار و كلّ فى فلك يسبحون وآية لهم أنّا حملنا ذرّيّتهم فى الفلك المشحون و خلقنا لهم من مثله ما يركبون و إن تشأ نغرقهم فلا صريخ لهم و لا هم ينقذون إلّا رحمة منّا و متاعا إلى حين و إذا قيل لهم اتّقوا ما بين أيديكم و ما خلفكم لعلّكم ترحمون و ما تأتيهم من آية من آيات ربّهم إلّا كانوا عنها معرضين و إذا قيل لهم أنفقوا ممّا رزقكم اللّه قال الذين كفروا للذين آمنوا أنطعم من لو يشاء اللّه أطعمه إن أنتم إلّا فى ضلال مبين و يقولون متى هذا الوعد إن كنتم صادقين ما ينظرون إلّا صيحة واحدة تأخذهم و هم يخصّمون فلا يستطيعون توصية و لا إلى أهلهم يرجعون و نفخ فى الصور فإذاهم من الأجداث إلى ربّهم ينسلون قالوا ياويلنا
(٤) من بعثنا من مرقدنا هذا ما وعد الرحمن و صدق المرسلون إن كانت إلّا صيحة واحدة فإذاهم جميع لدينا محضرون فاليوم لا تظلم نفس شئا و لا تجزون إلّا ما كنتم تعملون (قرآن، ٣٦، ٢٤/٢٥ - ٥٤)
- ب - (١) بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم // يس و القرآن الحكيم إنّك لمن المرسلين على // صراط مستقيم تنزيل العزيز الرحيم لتنذر قوما // ما أنذر آباؤهم فهم غافلون لقد // حقّ القول على أكثرهم

فهم // لا يؤمنون إنّا جعلنا فى أعناقهم أغلالا // فهى إلى الأذقان فهم مقبحون و جعلنا // من بين أيديهم سدّا و من خلفهم سدّا فاغشيناهم // فهم لا يبصرون و سواء عليهم أنذرتهم أمر لم // تنذرهم لا يؤمنون إنّما تنذر من إتّبع الذكر // و خشى الرحمن ++++ [بالغيب فبشّره بمغفرة و أجر كريم إنّا نحن نحى الموتى و نكتب ما قدموا و أنارهم و كلّ]

(٢) ++++ // شىء أحصيناه فى إمام مبين و اضرب لهم // مثلا أصحاب القرية إنجاءها // المرسلون إذ أرسلنا

(٣) إليهم اثنين فكذّبوهما // فعزّزنا بثالث فقالوآ إنّا إليكم مرسلون // قالوا ما أنتم إلّا بشر مثلنا و ما أنزل // الرحمن من شىء إن أنتم إلّا تكذبون قالوا // ربّنا يعلم إنّا إليكم لمرسلون // و ما علينا إلّا البلاغ المبين قالوا // إنّا تطيّرنا بكم لئن لم تنتهوا لنرجمنّكم // و ليمسّنّكم منّا عذاب أليم قالوا طائركم // معكم أئن ذكّرتم بل أنتم قوم مسرفون و جاء من أقصا // المدينة رجل يسعى قال يا قوم إتّبعوا // المرسلين اتّبعوا من لا يسئلكم أجرا و هم مهتدون // و ما لى لا أعبد الذى

(٤) فطرنى و إليه ترجعون // أتّخذ من دونه إلهة إن يردن الرحمن بضرّ // لا تغن عنّى شفاعتهم شئا و لا ينقذون // إنّى إذا لفى ضلال مبين إنّى (قرآن، ٣٦، ١ - ٢٤/٢٥)

- ت - (١) تعملون إنّ أصحاب الجنّة اليوم فى شغل فاكهون // هم و أزواجهم فى ظلال على الأرائك // متّكئون لهم فيها فاكهة و لهم ما يدّعون // سلام قولا من ربّ رحيم و امتازوا // اليوم أيّها المجرمون ألم أعهد إليكم يا بنى // آدم أن لا تعبدوا الشيطان إنّه لكم عدوّ مبين // و أن اعبدونى هذا صراط مستقيم // و لقد أضلّ منكم جبلّا كثيرا أفلم // تكونوا تعقلون هذه جهنّم التى

(٢) كنتم توعدون أصلوها // اليوم بما كنتم تكفرون اليوم

(٣) نختم على أفواههم و تكلّمنا أيديهم // و تشهد أرجلهم بما كانوا يكسبون و لو نشاء // لطمسنا على أعينهم فاستبقوا الصراط فأنّى // يبصرون و لو نشاء لمسخناهم على مكانتهم فما // إستطاعوا مضيّا و لا يرجعون و من نعمّره ننكّسه فى // الخلق أفلا يعقلون و ما علّمناه الشعر و ما ينبغى // له إن هو إلّا ذكر و قرآن مبين لينذر من كان // حيّا و يحقّ القول على الكافرين أولم يروا // أنّا خلقنا لهم ممّا عملت أيدينا أنعاما فهم لها // مالكون و ذللناها لهم فمنها

(٤) ركوبهم و منها يأكلون و لهم // فيها منافع و مشارب أفلا يشكرون (قرآن، ٣٦، ٥٤ - ٧٣)

- ث - (١) و اتّخذوا من دون // اللّه إلهة لعلّهم ينصرون لا يستطيعون // نصرهم و هم لهم جند محضرون // فلا يحزنك قولهم إنّا نعلم ما يسرّون // و ما يعلنون أولم ير الإنسان أنّا خلقناه // من نطفة فإذا هو خصيم مبين و ضرب لنا مثلا // و نسى خلقه قال من يحى العظام و // [هى رميم قل

يحييها الذى أنشأها أوّل مرّة و هو بكلّ خلق عليم الذى جعل لكم من] // الشجر الأخضر نارا فإذا أنتم منه توقدون // أوليس الذى خلق السموات و الأرض بقادر // على أن يخلق مثلهم بلى و هو
(٢) الخلّاق العليم إنّما أمره // إذا أراد شئا أن يقول له كن فيكون // فسبحان الذى بيده ملكوت كلّ شئ و إليه // ترجعون (قرآن، ٣٦، ٧٤ - ٨٣) و صلّى اللّه على خير خلقه
(٣) محمّد و آله و صحبه و سلّم [؟] // بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم اللّه لا إله إلّا // هو الحيّ القيّوم لا تأخذه سنة و لا نوم // له ما فى السموات و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى // يشفع عنده إلّا باذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم و // ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه إلّا بما شاء // وسع كرسيّه السموات و الأرض و لا يؤده // حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم // لا اكراه فى الدين قد تبيّن الرشد من الغيّ // فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن باللّه // فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى لا انفصام // لها و اللّه سميع عليم
(٤) اللّه ولى الذين آمنوا يخرجهم من // الظلمات إلى النور و الذين // كفروا أولياؤهم الطاغوت يخرجونهم من النور إلى // الظلمات أولئك أصحاب النار هم فيها خالدون (قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٦\٢٥٥-٢٥٧\٢٥٩)

Épitaphe

- I - D - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - D - (c) - (1-5) ; - I - A - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - A - (c) - (1-5) ; - I - B - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - B - (c) - (1-3 début) : Ceci est la tombe du décédé digne de pardon, au lignage connu, appartenant à une famille distinguée, le vertueux, le célèbre, qui espère en la miséricorde de Dieu, le Roi l'Absoluteur, le sultan des sultans des temps et des époques, le combattant dans la voie du Seigneur des mondes, qui subjugue les infidèles et les polythéistes, le vivificateur de l'ascèse [?] et de ceux qui célèbrent les louanges de Dieu, celui qui atteint le chemin de la Vérité et de la vraie foi. A-L-A - il s'agit du sultan fils du sultan fils du sultan, spécialement affecté de la grâce de Dieu, Sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat Shâh, l'ombre de Dieu sur terre, fils du sultan 'Alî Mughâyat Shâh – que Dieu abreuve le sol dans lequel il repose de l'eau de Sa miséricorde et fasse du Paradis le lieu de son repos par la réunion avec le Prophète et sa famille. Il est décédé le vendredi, après l'aurore, le 8 du djumâdâ I de l'année 979 de l'hégire du Prophète – sur lui les meilleures bénédictions et la plus pure salutation ! / 28 septembre 1571.
D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 8 djumâdâ I 979 tombe effectivement un vendredi.

Coran
- II - D - (a) ; - II - A - (a début) : LXXXV, 20-22.
- II - A - (a fin) ; - II - B - (a début) : XII, 64.
- II - B - (a fin) : II, 19/20 ou II, 100/106 ou II, 103/109 ou II, 143/148 ou II, 261/259 ou III, 159/165 ou XVI, 79/77 ou XXIV, 44/45 ou XXIX, 19/20 ou XXXV, 1.
- II - C - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - D - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - A - (b) - (1-2 début) : LIX, 22-24.
- II - A - (b) - (2 fin-3) ; - II - B - (b) - (1-2) : III, 16/18-17/19.
- II - B - (c) - (5) : XXIII, 111/109 ou XXIII, 118.
- III - C - (1-3 début) : CXII.
- III - C - (6 fin-8) ; - III - D - : IV, 71/69 - 72/70.
- IV - B - (1-4) ; - IV - A - (1-4) ; - IV - C - (1-4) ; - IV - D - (1-2 début) : XXXVI, 1-83.
- IV - D - (3 fin-4) : II, 256/255-259/257.

Hadîth
- I - A - (a) - : Ce bas monde n'est qu'un moment, passe-le dans l'obéissance !
- I - C - (b) - (2-3) : Ce bas monde est étranger au peuple de la vie future et la vie future est étrangère au peuple de ce bas monde. Les deux sont étrangères au peuple de Dieu.
- I - D - (a) - : La mort est un pont par lequel l'ami périssable se rend vers l'Ami qui demeure (=Muhammad).

Textes religieux
- I - C - (c) - (1-2 début) : Il n'y a de héros que ʻAlî, il n'y a de sabre que dhû l-fiqâr.
- II - C - (a) - : *Shahâda*.
- II - B - (b) - (3) : Dieu Elevé et Immense et véridique, et Son noble Envoyé est véridique.
- III - A - : *Basmala*.
- IV - D - (3 milieu) : *Basmala*.

Prière
- I - B - (c) - (3 fin - 5) ; - I - C - (b) - (1) : O mon Dieu ! Pardonne-lui et accorde-lui la pitié par la bénédiction [?] de Muhammad Seigneur des Envoyés et des Anges qui sont proches (du Seigneur). Louange à Dieu, Seigneur des Mondes.
- II - C - (c) - (1-5) ; - II - D - (c) - (1-5) ; - II - A - (c) - (1-5) ; - II - B - (c) - (1-4) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui existe de tout temps. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui est bon par tout bienfait. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu digne de l'adoration en tout lieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu mentionné par toute langue. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui chaque jour se livre à une

autre œuvre (il crée et fait mourir). Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, la Protection, protection contre la disparition de la foi et de la tentation de Satan. Ô Eternel par le bienfait ! Ô Absoluteur ! Ô Absoluteur ! Que Dieu bénisse notre seigneur Muhammad, après qui il n'y aura pas de Prophète ! …
- III - B - : Ô mon Dieu, bénis Muhammad !
- III - C - (3 fin-6 début) : Ô mon Dieu ! Rends agréable son séjour dans la tombe. Qu'il ait lors de la résurrection un intercesseur, une protection et un voile qui le protègent du feu de l'Enfer, qu'il ait une lumière sur la Voie et un compagnon sur la route du Paradis et qu'il ait l'occasion de rencontrer Dieu – gloire à Lui, le Très-Haut.
- IV - D - (2 fin-3 début) : Que Dieu bénisse la meilleure de Ses Créatures Muhammad, l'ensemble de sa famille et ses Compagnons, et qu'il les salue !
Morceaux poétiques
- I - B - (a) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice nécessairement passager ?
- I - C - (a) : La mort arrive soudain et la tombe devient le coffre de l'œuvre (accomplie).
À déterminer
- I - C - (c) - (2 fin - 5).

Tombe No. 09 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf II.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées, placées aux deux extrémités d'une haute base rectangulaire allongée composée de plusieurs niveaux.

I- Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.
II- Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.
III- Sur la surface supérieure de la base horizontale rectangulaire, du nord au sud : A- à l'extrémité nord, petit cartouche ; B- plus loin, petit cartouche, inscrit de deux lignes ; C- grand cartouche central, inscrit de huit lignes.
IV- Autour de la surface supérieure de la base horizontale rectangulaire, bandeau, très abîmé : A - côté sud ; B - côté ouest ; C - côté nord ; D- côté est.

Publications
J.-P. Moquette, "Verslag van mijn voorloopig onderzoek der Mohammedaansche oudheden in Atjèh en Onderhoorigheden", dans *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1914, Tweede Kwartaal, p. 78 (mention seulement).
L.-C. Damais, « L'épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est asiatique », dans *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, LIV, 1968, p. 582 (mention seulement).
Reproductions
Coll. De Vink n° 887, 888, 889, 890 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).

Épitaphe
- I - D - (1-3) ; - I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (1-3) : Ceci est la tombe du digne de pardon, le décédé, qui espère la miséricorde de Dieu, obéissant aux ordres de Dieu, le combattant sur terre et sur mer par le secours de Dieu, le généreux envers les serviteurs de Dieu. Il est A-L-A, le sultan 'Alî Mughâyat Shâh – que Dieu abreuve le sol dans lequel il repose et fasse du Paradis le lieu de son repos ! Il est décédé dans la nuit du (samedi au) dimanche le 12 du mois de Dieu, le sacré, dhû l-hidjdja – que Dieu fasse qu'il s'achève, pour nous et pour vous, dans la prospérité et dans la grâce ! –

en l'année 936 de l'hégire du Prophète, l'Elu, al-Makkî, al-Madanî, al-Abtahî, al-Tihâmî [11] – sur lui les meilleures bénédictions et les plus parfaites salutations ! / 7 août 1530.

D'après le Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 12 dhû l-hidjdja 936 tombe effectivement un dimanche.

Coran

- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - B - (1-3) : II, 256/255.
- II - C - (1-3) ; - II - D - (1-3) : LIX, 23-24.
- III - A - ; - III - B - (1-2) ; - III - C - (1-8) : XXXVI, 1-13/14.

À déterminer

- IV - A - ; - IV - B - ; - IV - C - ; - IV - D - : *Abîmé*.



Tombe n° 9 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

- ١ - أ - (١) الباذل لعباد اللّه و هو ألا
(٢) السلطان على مغاية شاه
(٣) سقى اللّه ثراه و جعل الجنّة مأواه
- ب - (١) توفّى ليلة الأحد الثانى عشر من شهر اللّه
(٢) الحرام ذى الحجّة ختم اللّه لنا و
(٣) و [كذا] لكم بالخير و المنّة سنة ستّ و ثلاثين و تسعمائة
- ت - (١) من الهجرة النبويّة المصطفويّة المكّيّة
(٢) المدنيّة الأبطحيّة التهاميّة عليه أفضل
(٣) الصلوات و أكمل التحيات
- ث - (١) هذا القبر المغفور المرحوم الراجى إلى
(٢) رحمة اللّه المطيع لأوامر اللّه
(٣) الغازى فى البرّ و البحر بنصرة اللّه
- ٢ - أ - (١) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيّوم
(٢) لا تأخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات

11. al-Makkî, al-Madanî, al-Abtahî, al-Tihâmî, sont des nisba-s / qualificatifs du Prophète Muhammad. Alors que les deux premiers sont évidents, les deux autres le sont moins mais font partie des quatre-vingt-dix-neuf noms de Muhammad. al-Abtahî est en relation avec un endroit à la Mecque qui s'appelle al-Abtah ou al-Bathâ. Par ce nom est désignée la partie la plus basse à l'entrée de la vallée de la Mecque, l'endroit où le Prophète avait l'habitude de camper afin qu'il lui soit plus facile de repartir. Quant à la nisba al-Tihâmî, elle est en relation avec la vallée de Tihâma, qui est une plaine côtière désertique de la mer Rouge située au pied des montagnes de l'Asïr, à cheval sur l'Arabie saoudite et le Yémen du Nord.

(٢) لا تأخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات
(٣) و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده إلّا باذنه
- ب - (١) يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ
(٢) من علمه إلّا بما شاء وسع كرسيّه السموات و الأرض
(٣) و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم (قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٦/٥٥)
- ت - (١) هو اللّه الذى لا إله إلّا هو الملك
(٢) القدّوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن العزيز
(٣) الجبّار المتكبّر سبحان اللّه عمّا يشركون
- ث - (١) هو اللّه الخالق البارئ
(٢) المصوّر له الأسماء الحسنى يسبّح له ما
(٣) فى السموات و الأرض و هو العزيز الحكيم (قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٣)
- ٣ - أ - يس و القرآن الحكيم
- ب - (١) إنّك لمن المرسلين على
(٢) صراط مستقيم
- ت - (١-٣) تنزيل العزيز الرحيم لتنذر قوم ما أنذر آباؤهم فهم غافلون لقد حقّ القول على أكثرهم
فهم لا يؤمنون إنّا جعلنا فى أعناقهم أغلالا فهى إلى الأذقان
(٤) فهم مقبحون و جعلنا من بين أيديهم سدّا و من خلفهم سدّا فاغشيناهم فهم لا يبصرون و سواء
عليهم أنذرتهم
(٥) أمر لم تنذرهم لا يؤمنون إنّما تنذر من إتّبع الذكر و خشى الرحمن بالغيب فبشّره بمغفرة و أجر
كريم إنّا نحن نحى
(٦) الموتى و نكتب ما قدموا و أنارهم و كلّ شىء أحصيناه فى إمام مبين و اضرب لهم مثلا
أصحاب
(٧) القرية إنجاءها المرسلون إذ أرسلنا إليهم
(٨) اثنين فكذّبوهما فعزّزنا بثالث فقالوآ إنّا إليكم مرسلون (قرآن، ٣٦، ١٣\١-١٤)
- ٤ - أ - .+.+.+.+.+.+.+.
- ب - .+.+.+.+.+.+.+.
- ت - .+.+.+.+.+.+.+.
- ث - .+.+.+.+.+.+.+.

Tombe No. 10 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf 0.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées.

I- Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.
II- Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord ; D- face est (abîmée). Trois lignes partout.

Publication
J.P. Moquette, "Verslag van mijn voorloopig onderzoek der Mohammedaansche oudheden in Atjèh en Onderhoorigheden", dans *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1914, Tweede Kwartaal, p. 79 (mention seulement).



Tombe n° 10 (photo Guillot/Kalus)

- ١ - أ - (١) قبره بعناية بركة اللّه و محمّد و آله و الآخرة
(٢) توفّى ليلة الأحد الثانى عشر من شهر (ا)للّه
(٣) الحرم [كذا] ذى الحجّة ختم اللّه لنا و لكم
- ب - (١) بالخير و المنّة سنة ستّ و ثلاثين و تسعمائة من انتقال
(٢) خير البرّيّة عليه أفضل الصلوات و از
(٣) كى (أزكى) التحيّة من مكّة اللّه المشرّفة إلى يثرب
- ت - (١) من أرض اللّه المصطفية الواسعة
(٢) المطهّرة من الدنس و الآفات و البليّة و
(٣) المنوّرة بنور النبى الخير الورى السخى [؟]
- ث - (١) هذ(ا) (هذا) القبر المرحوم المغفور الحسيب السبت
(٢) لعبيد اللّه الملك الجاه
(٣) المستمّى سلطان على مغيث [مغيت؟] شاه نوّر اللّه
- ٢ - أ - (١) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيّوم
(٢) لا تأخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات
(٣) و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده إلّا باذنه
- ب - ++++++
- ت - (١) يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ
(٢) من علمه إلّا بما شاء وسع كرسيّه السموات و الأرض
(٣) و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم (قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٥/٢٥٦)
- ث - (١) ++++
(٢) ++++
(٣) ++++...

Reproduction
Coll. De Vink n° 879, 880, 881, 882 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).

Épitaphe
- I - D - (1-3) ; - I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (1-3) : Ceci est la tombe du décédé, digne de pardon, au lignage connu, généreux envers les serviteurs de Dieu, le roi, de rang élevé, nommé sultan 'Alî Mughîth [Mu'îth] Shâh –que Dieu illumine sa tombe ! – par la grâce de la bénédiction de Dieu, de Muhammad et de sa famille et de la Vie future. Il est décédé dans la nuit du (samedi au) dimanche le 12 du mois de Dieu, le sacré, dhû l-hidjdja – que Dieu fasse qu'il s'achève, pour nous et pour vous, dans la prospérité et dans la grâce ! – en l'année 936 de l'émigration du meilleur de la Créature – sur lui les meilleures bénédictions et la plus pure salutation ! – de la Mecque de Dieu, l'Anoblie, à Yathrib, qui font partie de la Terre de Dieu, l'Elue, la Spacieuse, la Pure de toute souillure, de toute calamité et de tout malheur, et illuminée par la lumière du Prophète, le meilleur du genre humain, le généreux [?] / 7 août 1530.
D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 12 dhû l-hidjdja 936 tombe un samedi.
Coran
- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - C - (1-3) : II, 256/255.
À déterminer
- II - B - ; - II - C - (1-3) : *Abîmé*.

Tombe No. 11 (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008) ; d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf I.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées, à l'intérieur d'un encadrement rectangulaire bas, qui délimite le champ de la tombe.
I- Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.
II- Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.

Publications
J.-P. Moquette, "Verslag van mijn voorloopig onderzoek der Mohammedaansche oudheden in Atjèh en Onderhoorigheden", dans *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1914, Tweede Kwartaal, p. 78 (mention seulement).
L.-C. Damais, « L'épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est asiatique », dans *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, LIV, 1968, p. 582 (mention seulement).
Reproductions
Coll. De Vink n° 883, 884, 885, 886 (signalé dans "[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zesde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh", dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1913).

Épitaphe
- I - D - (1-3) ; - I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) : Ceci est la tombe de l'homme de bien, digne de pardon, célèbre pour sa charité continuelle sans bornes, assisté par le secours de Dieu, le roi, de rang élevé. Il est A-L-A, le sultan fils du sultan, sultan Salâh al-dîn fils du sultan 'Alî Mughâyat Shâh – que Dieu abreuve le sol dans lequel il repose et fasse du Paradis le lieu de son repos ! Il est décédé à la miséricorde de Dieu le samedi 23 du shawwâl de l'année 955 de l'émigration de la meilleure de ses Créatures – sur Lui la plus parfaite salutation / 25 novembre 1548.
D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 23 shawwâl 955 tombe un dimanche.
Coran
- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - B - (1-3 début) : LIX, 22-23.
- II - C - (1-3) ; - II - D - (1-3) : II, 256/255.
Prière
- II - B - (3 fin) : Ô mon Dieu ! Accorde-lui la miséricorde [?] !
Morceau poétique
- I - C - (1-3) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice nécessairement passager, à l'exception du jardin du Paradis où la vie de délices est durable ? La mort arrive sûrement.

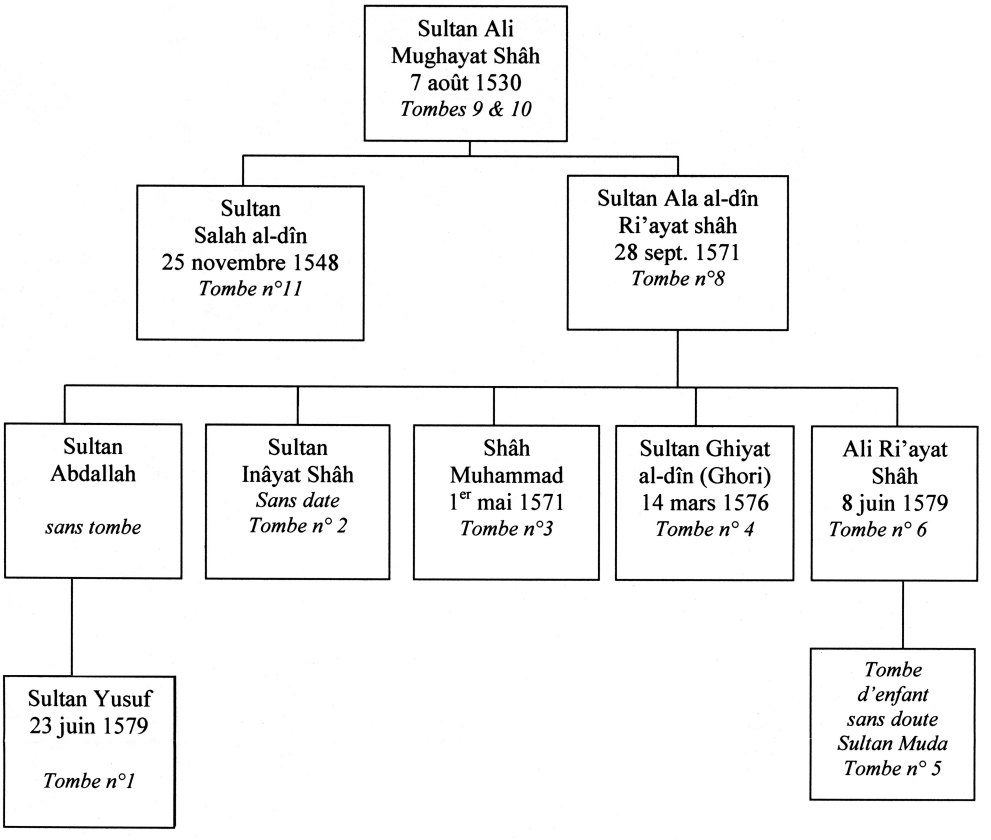


Tombe n° 11 (photo De Vink)

- ١ - أ - (١) السلطان بن السلطان
(٢) سلطان صلاح الدين بن سلطان على
(٣) مغاية شاه سقى اللّه ثر(اه) و (جعل) فى الجنّة مأويه
- ب - (١) توفّى إلى رحمة اللّه يوم السبت الثالث
(٢) و العشرين من الشوّال [كذا] سنة خمس و خمسين و تسعمائة
(٣) من انتقال خير البرّيّة عليه أكمل التحيّة
- ت - (١) ألا كلّ شىء ما خلا (ا)للّه (اللّه) باطل
(٢) و كلّ نعيم لا محالة زائل سوى جنّة الفردوس
(٣) كان [كذا] نعيمها (دائم) و إن الموت لا شكّ نازل
- ث - (١) هذا القبر الخليق المغفور المشهور
(٢) بنيمه فى كلّ الدهور المؤيّد بنصر اللّه
(٣) الملك الجاه و هو الأ
- ٢ - أ - (١) هو اللّه الذى لا إله إلّا هو عالم
(٢) الغيب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحيم
(٣) هو اللّه الذى لا إله إلّا هو الملك
- ب - (١) القدّوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن
(٢) العزيز الجبّار المتكبّر
(٣) سبحان اللّه عمّا يشركون (= قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٢-٢٣) اللهمّ إرحمه [؟]
- ت - (١) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيّوم
(٢) لا تأخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات
(٣) و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده إلّا باذنه
- ث - (١) يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه
(٢) إلّا بما شاء وسع كرسيّه السموات و الأرض
(٣) و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٥/٢٥٦)

Commentaire

À partir des épitaphes on peut très facilement reconstituer l'arbre généalogique de cette première dynastie.



Si cette reconstitution généalogique à partir des monuments funéraires est aisée, toute autre est la tâche de tenter de mettre celle-ci en conformité avec les autres sources. Les problèmes commencent avec le premier souverain. Les textes portugais contemporains attribuent à un certain Ibrahim l'établissement de la puissance d'Aceh par la libération du joug de Pidir et la conquête de Daya et Pasai au début des années 1520. Barros mentionne que le « tyran » mourut en 1528 [12]. Les sources locales, chroniques et tombes ne connaissent pas de personnage portant ce nom et les chroniques considèrent

12. Barros, *Da Asia*, *Decada III*, VIII, 5, p. 281.

Ali Mughayat shah (*n° 9 & 10*), mort le 7 août 1530, comme le véritable fondateur de l'État d'Aceh. Si l'on considère que les deux dates de mort, à deux ans d'intervalle sont exactes, les deux noms ne peuvent pas désigner le même personnage. Barros signalant que le gouverneur d'Aceh pour Pidir avait deux fils « Raja Abraemo » et « Raja Lila »[13], certains historiens ont identifié Ali Mughayat shah avec le Raja Lila de Barros, faisant donc de Raja Ibrahim un frère de Ali, ce qui est une hypothèse très plausible. Quoiqu'il en soit le règne de ce dernier n'aurait donc été que de deux ans tout au plus, une trop courte période pour avoir imposé la forte empreinte sur son pays que lui prête le *Bustan al-Salatin* : avoir été le premier (souverain d'Aceh) à adopter l'islam et à le faire adopter, avoir vaincu les royaumes de Pidir, Samudra et de quelques autres plus petits[14]. Il y a donc manifestement de la part des chroniques une manipulation des événements tendant à magnifier ce roi au-delà de la réalité.

Cette glorification postérieure (posthume) se retrouve dans le cimetière où le même souverain se trouve commémoré par deux tombeaux, situés côte à côte (*n° 9 et 10*). Si l'on en juge par les vestiges encore visibles aujourd'hui, le plus ancien doit être le plus simple, deux stèles cubiques fichées en terre (*n° 10*) tandis que le second (*n° 9*) est beaucoup plus imposant, véritable mausolée avec sa structure parallélépipédique en pierre sculptée, haute de plus de 1,5 m, supportant les stèles[15]. Si l'épitaphe de la première sépulture se contente de mentionner comme eulogie profane que le sultan décédé était « d'un lignage connu », autrement dit « de bonne famille », ce qui est peu, celle de la seconde le dit quant à elle « combattant sur terre et sur mer », qualificatif bien glorieux pour un règne si bref. Il est assez probable que ce second mausolée ait été érigé par le fils et successeur du défunt, le sultan Ala al-dîn, souverain énergique et incessant guerroyeur, qui établit véritablement la puissance d'Aceh, durant son long règne d'une trentaine d'années. On a vu qu'il manifestait un respect filial à la tombe de son père, fondateur du royaume. Il se fit enterrer juste à côté de lui (*n° 8*).

Une seconde énigme surgit avec le fils et successeur de Ali, Salah al-din. Sa tombe (*n° 11*) est datée du 25 novembre 1548. Les textes malais (*HA*, p. 79-85 ; *BS*, p. 2) le décrivent comme un roi peu intéressé par le gouvernement mais surtout comme ayant pour mère une femme très énergique qui avait en main les rênes du pouvoir par l'intermédiaire d'un vizir, persan ou turc (un *agha*), surnommé Raja Bungsu.

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13. Barros, *id*. p. 245.

14. Sitti Hawa Haji Salleh, *Bustan al-Salatin*, Kuala Lumpur, 1992, p. 1.

15. Il servit de modèle à plusieurs : Ala al-dîn Ri'ayat shâh (*n° 8*), Ghiyath al-dîn (*n° 4*), Ali Ri'ayat shâh (*n° 6*) et Abdallah (*n° 1*).

Devant cette situation, son frère cadet, 'Ala al-din, qui était sultan vassal à Pasai, fit tuer le vizir, Raja Bungsu, et mettre en prison sa mère et son frère, Salah al-din, pour prendre le pouvoir à la place de ce dernier. Salah al-din aurait survécu neuf ans après sa destitution, à en croire le *Bustan* (*BS*, p. 2). Il aurait donc régné de 1530 à 1539.

Dans un autre quartier de Banda Aceh, Bitay, il existe une autre tombe au nom de sultan Salah al-din[16]. Aucune source ne fait mention d'un second sultan d'Aceh portant ce nom au XVIe siècle. La date, en malais, de la stèle de Bitay n'est malheureusement pas très lisible, cependant le siècle, IXe de l'hégire est net et on peut deviner la présence d'un cinq, ce qui rapproche de la date de 955 H. donnée par l'autre épitaphe. Il est donc très vraisemblable que les deux tombes commémorent le même sultan Salah al-din.

La question se pose bien sûr de savoir sur quels critères les défunts pouvaient être inhumés dans ce cimetière de Bayt al-Rijal et dans quelle intention.

Tout semble désigner 'Ala al-din comme l'ordonnateur de Bayt al-Rijal. On le décrit se préoccupant de la tombe de son père (*HA*, p. 80) et faisant retirer de ce cimetière le cadavre de Raja Bungsu qui y avait été enterré selon des rites royaux (*HA*, p. 84). Par ailleurs, 'Ala al-din se fit faire un magnifique mausolée aux stèles plaquées de bronze dont on a parlé. Le transfert du corps de son frère Salah al-din dans ce cimetière, si tel est bien le cas, montrerait qu'il tenait, bien qu'il l'ait renversé du trône, à rassembler ici toute la descendance de son père, Ali Mughayat Shah. Sans doute est-ce dans le même esprit qu'en a été écarté Raja Ibrahim et qu'on en a minimisé le rôle dans les chroniques soit pour faire valoir une seule lignée, soit, parce que, contrairement à ce qu'affirme Barros, Raja Ibrahim n'était peut-être pas son oncle.

Le sultan 'Ala al-din Ri'ayat shah (*n° 8*) est le grand souverain d'Aceh du XVIe siècle. Il eut un très long règne d'environ 32 ans puisqu'il mourut le 28 septembre 1571. Il assit véritablement la puissance du grand Aceh. Non seulement héritait-il du nord d'Aceh mais il étendit le pouvoir aussi bien sur la côte occidentale, que sur la côte orientale au moins jusqu'à Aru et même au sud en attaquant les Bataks. Mendes Pinto raconte la guerre contre ces derniers à laquelle il aurait été mêlé. Il mentionne la présence du côté acihais de Turcs, d'Abyssins, etc., en bref de groupes ethniques très présents dans les ports du Gujarat et il est fort probable qu'il faille voir l'implication de ce sultanat dans ces guerres d'expansion acihaises, comme elle est prouvée dans les années 1560 avant l'attaque, manquée, contre Malaca en 1568[17].

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16. C. Guillot & L. Kalus, « Quand un sultan d'Aceh devient turc à la suite du tsunami », *Archipel*, n° 77, 2009, pp. 45-55.

17. C. Guillot & L. Kalus, « Inscriptions islamiques sur des canons d'Insulinde du XVIe siècle », *Archipel*, n° 72, 2000, pp. 74-94.

C'est lui aussi qui envoya une ambassade auprès du sultan ottoman, qui n'eut guère de conséquences concrètes mais laissa un profond souvenir dans l'histoire d'Aceh. En bref, il fut lui-même un grand « combattant sur terre et sur mer » pour citer l'épitaphe de la seconde tombe de son père.

Ce souverain énergique eut cinq fils nous dit le *Bustan* (*BS*, p. 2) qui les nomme dans l'ordre suivant : sultan Abdullah, sultan Hussein, sultan Mughal, sultan Abangta Ditangkap (?), et Abangta Abdul Jalil.

Le cimetière comprend aussi les tombes de cinq fils de Ala al-din Ri'ayat shah. Les noms divergent sensiblement : sultan Abdullah (sans tombe), sultan Inâyat Allah (*n° 2*) tombe non datée, Shah Muhammad (*n° 3*), décédé le 1er mai 1571, sultan Ghiyath al-din (?) (*n° 4*), mort le 14 mars 1576 et sultan Ali Ri'ayat shah (*n° 6*), mort le 8 juin 1579. Malheureusement, il est bien difficile de faire concorder avec certitude les noms des chroniques avec ceux des tombes.

Sultan Abdallah. Sultan Abdullah présenté comme l'aîné et sultan d'Aru par le *BS* n'a pas de tombe et n'est cité que sur la tombe de son fils Yusuf (*n° 1*). Or, Mendes Pinto rapporte que le sultan d'Aceh, après avoir vaincu Johor suzerain de Aru en 1564, s'empara de ce dernier royaume où il plaça son fils aîné comme sultan et que celui-ci mourut dans l'attaque d'Aceh contre Malaca en 1568. Il paraît donc raisonnable d'identifier ce sultan d'Aru comme Abdallah et sa mort sur le champ de bataille expliquerait qu'il n'ait pas de tombe à Bayt al-Rijâl. Ce sultan Abdullah serait donc mort en janvier 1568. Il n'aurait régné sur Aru que quatre années, de 1564 à 1568.

Ghiyath al din (?) (*n° 4*). Cet autre fils aurait succédé à son frère comme sultan d'Aru. Son épitaphe affirme en effet qu'il était sultan de Ghori, autre nom d'Aru. Il est mort le 14 mars 1576. Ce ne peut être que lui qui, avec son frère sultan Mughal, tenta un coup d'État contre leur frère régnant, le sultan Ali Ri'ayat shah, tentative au cours de laquelle sultan Mughal fut tué (*HA* p. 95). Ces événements eurent donc lieu entre 1571 et 1576.

Sultan Ali Ri'ayat shah (*n° 6*). Il est appelé sultan Hussein par le *BS*. C'est lui qui succéda à son père comme sultan d'Aceh en 1571. Il mourut le 8 juin 1579. Il eut donc un règne de huit ans.

Inâyat Allah (*n° 2*). Son épitaphe ne porte pas de date mais lui donne le titre de sultan. Il devrait s'agir de celui qui est appelé sultan Mughal par la *HA*. On sait qu'il fut tué lors d'une tentative de coup d'État entre septembre 1571 et juin 1579 et qu'il a été enterré dans le cimetière de Bayt al-Rijâl (*HA* p. 95). Sa tombe est la seule à pouvoir correspondre à celle de ce personnage.

Shah Muhammad (*n° 3*) Il est mort le 1er mai 1571 et ne porte pas le titre de sultan. Comme pure hypothèse, on pourrait peut-être voir dans Shah Muhammad, le Abangta Ditangkap du *BS*, tué par son père parce qu'il devenait trop puissant, pour les deux raisons qu'il n'a régné nulle part – il ne porte pas le titre de sultan – et qu'il est mort avant son père.

La succession du sultan Ali Ri'ayat shah en 1579 fut très difficile. Une chronique (*BS*, p. 3) nous dit que lui succéda son fils, un tout petit enfant de 4 mois, appelé Raja Muda qui mourut très vite. Il y a à Bayt al-Rijâl une minuscule tombe (*n° 5*) qu'on peut penser être celle de ce bébé, qui serait donc mort en juin 1579. Sans doute, officiellement comme régent, gouverna, selon *HA*, un frère de Ali Ri'ayat Shah, appelé Raja Pariaman et ayant pour titre sultan Sri Alam. Il fut très rapidement tué et remplacé sur le trône par son neveu, le fils du sultan Abdallah, appelé sultan Zain al-abidin (*HA*, p. 96) qui doit être nécessairement celui qui eut pour nom de règne, sultan Yusuf (*n° 1*)[18]. Il fut tué très rapidement du fait de sa cruauté. Si les dates données par les épitaphes ne sont pas erronées, il y eut entre le 8 et le 23 juin 1579, trois souverains successifs et au moins deux régicides !

Selon les chroniques monta alors sur le trône d'Aceh le sultan Ala al-din, fils du sultan Ahmad de Perak, dont la tombe n'est évidemment pas à Bayt al-Rijâl puisqu'il est d'une autre lignée.

En effet, il apparaît clairement que ce cimetière est celui du fondateur déclaré d'Aceh, sultan Ali Mughayat Shâh, et de sa descendance directe, fils, petits-fils et arrière-petit-fils qui régnèrent sur Aceh ou ses dépendances. Il s'agit donc de la nécropole de la première dynastie d'Aceh qui portait le nom de Makota Alam, « Couronne du monde ».

18. Il serait plus vraisemblable que Yusuf soit son propre nom et Zain al-abidin son nom de règne. Peut-être faut-il voir dans le choix du nom personnel pour l'épitaphe une preuve supplémentaire du refus d'inclure ce personnage dans la liste des sultans d'Aceh. On a vu, en effet, qu'on lui a aussi refusé l'ornementation royale (les volutes croisées) sur les stèles de sa tombe.

COMPTES RENDUS

George F. BASS, Robert H. BRILL, Berta LLEDO and Sheila D. MATTHEWS, *Serçe Limani, Volume II: The Glass of an Eleventh-Century Shipwreck*, Texas A & M University Press, 2009, 544 p., nombreuses illustrations, cartes, plans, bibliographie, index. ISBN. 978-1-60344-064-6

Aux environs de 1025, coulait dans les eaux d'une petite anse naturelle, appelée aujourd'hui Serçe Limani, sur la côte méridionale de la Turquie, en face de la ville de Rhodes, un navire marchand de taille modeste (30 tonnes) transportant, outre sa cargaison de marchandises, un ballast de trois tonnes de verre sous forme de verre brut, de collets (la partie reliant l'objet à la canne pendant sa fabrication) ainsi que de rebuts de cuisson, plus quelque 80 récipients de verre intacts destinés en partie aux besoins des passagers du bateau et en partie à la vente.

Entre 1977 et 1979, cette épave fut fouillée par l'archéologue subaquatique Georges Bass. Armé d'un immense courage et d'une ténacité à toute épreuve, celui-ci fit tout pour mener une fouille quasi parfaite, partant à la recherche de fonds pour permettre aux plongeurs ainsi qu'aux archéologues et spécialistes de tous les domaines concernés, de fouiller, nettoyer, numéroter, recoller, analyser stylistiquement et chimiquement ce ballast de verre composé de fragments, au nombre estimé entre un demi et un million ! En bref, l'effort fourni a été à la hauteur de la découverte, exceptionnel. En effet, jamais au Proche-Orient n'a été retrouvée une aussi grande quantité d'objets de verre, qui plus est, datant de la même époque et, comme il s'avèrera par la suite, provenant vraisemblablement d'un même atelier ou de fours géographiquement très proches.

Durant le quart de siècle qui suivit, G. Bass publia dans diverses revues un certain nombre d'articles pour faire connaître sa trouvaille et faire part des premiers résultats, articles partiels qui avaient pour but autant de faire patienter ses collègues que, sans doute, d'obtenir de nouveaux financements. Mais tous ceux, archéologues et historiens, qui s'intéressent à l'histoire du Moyen Âge proche-oriental continuaient d'attendre les résultats finaux.

En 2004, Bass faisait paraître le premier volume, écrit en collaboration avec S.D. Matthews, J.R. Steffy et F.H. van Doorninck Jr., consacré à l'étude du navire et à ses passagers, sous le titre : *Serçe Limani: An Eleventh-Century Shipwreck. The Ship and Its Anchorage, Crew, and Passengers*.

En 2009, est sorti des presses le gros (544 pages) second volume, *The Glass of an Eleventh-Century Shipwreck,* qui constitue le cœur de l'étude, c'est-à-dire l'analyse et la description de la cargaison de verre.

Les auteurs sont arrivés à plusieurs conclusions. Le verre provient d'ateliers situés sur la côte du Levant – on saura peut-être avec le troisième et dernier volume à paraître s'il est possible de mieux préciser la localisation – le verre brut et les rebuts de cuisson étaient acheminés par ce navire vers un atelier byzantin qui pouvait ainsi économiser du combustible puisqu'il s'épargnait ainsi la coûteuse fusion des composants de base. Ils rappellent utilement que l'importance de cette

cargaison (3 tonnes), qui peut sembler considérable à première vue, doit être relativisée puisqu'on sait qu'à la même époque un atelier de Tyr traitait quelque 7 tonnes de verre (soit environ 250 000 récipients de taille moyenne !) à chaque cuisson dans un seul four et qu'un document de la synagogue de Fustat (Vieux Caire) signale l'envoi de Tyr au Caire de 9 tonnes et quart de verre en une seule fois, en 1011 ! Ces chiffres montrent clairement l'ampleur de la production verrière au Moyen-Orient à cette époque au volume quasi industriel qui fait penser, en Extrême-Orient, en Chine, à celle des céramiques en grès.

Les quelques dizaines de pièces intactes ont été restaurées et les rebuts de fabrication ont été examinés et triés par forme de sorte que, selon les auteurs, tous les types de pièces ont été identifiés.

L'inventaire constitue bien entendu la partie la plus précieuse puisqu'il recense, décrit et illustre consciencieusement ces types : aiguières, pichets, bouteilles, verres, flacons divers, lampes, suspendues ou sur pied, plats et bols, dames-jeannes, alambics, etc. Il fait voir que ces pièces étaient dans leur grande majorité en verre teinté – donc non incolore et avec apparemment peu de bleu cobalt –, qu'elles étaient soufflées à l'air libre ou en moules, et que la plus courante technique de décor ajouté était la gravure linéaire à la meule. Il semble clair que la production de ces ateliers était avant tout destinée à un marché de masse, privilégiant fondamentalement une qualité ordinaire.

Il sera désormais possible à partir de cet inventaire minutieux de vérifier jusqu'où, géographiquement, a été diffusée la production de ces mêmes ateliers mais aussi de mieux distinguer entre eux les centres de production de verre du Moyen-Orient et de mieux interpréter les similitudes et les différences de styles. En bref, on peut gager que cet ouvrage servira longtemps de manuel de référence à tous ceux qui auront à travailler sur le verre islamique du Moyen Âge.

Parmi ceux-ci, on ne saurait oublier – et la présence de ce compte rendu dans une revue consacrée au Monde insulindien s'en veut un rappel – les historiens des régions de l'Ancien Monde apparemment très éloignées, comme l'Extrême-Orient ou l'Afrique, où le verre du Proche-Orient comme la céramique de Chine témoignent d'une déjà très large expansion des échanges. On en vient à rêver que cette très complète monographie sur la production d'un centre verrier du Levant, qui vient après quelques belles mais rares études comme celle de J. Kröger sur celui de Nishapur, soit suivie de travaux aussi éclairants sur d'autres lieux de production. Notre vision historique de cette période en serait grandement améliorée.

Claude GUILLOT

Marie-France DUPOIZAT & Naniek HARKANTININGSIH, *Catalogue of the Chinese Style Ceramics of Majapahit*, Paris: Association Archipel, Cahiers d'Archipel 36, 2007, 111 p., notes, bibliography. ISBN. 2-910513-51-3

As long ago as 1984, J.C.Y. Watt wrote that: "Trowulan, when fully studied, will provide one of the key ceramic assemblages in the whole of South-east Asia. The ceramic finds here confirmed the historical importance of Mojopahit as one of the

great international metropolis of Asia in the 14th-15th centuries" (Watt 1984: 188). Only one major publication on the ceramics of Trowulan, whether locally-made or foreign, has been published since Watt wrote those words: the volume under review here.

This volume is therefore most welcome. It partially alleviates the frustration felt by many people, scholars and laypeople, foreigners and Indonesians alike, at the lack of priority devoted to the preservation of the remains of the capital of the greatest empire Southeast Asia ever has seen. Majapahit flourished during the 14th century, as documented by historical records from many sources, local, Chinese, and even a few European references. It reached the height of its eminence in the late 14th century, a period during which several important transitions were in progress. Islam was expanding rapidly in Indonesia, and the Ming Dynasty replaced the Yuan. Chinese trade and diplomacy were fundamentally reshaped during this time; nascent overseas Chinese resident communities which existed in the early 15th century had disappeared by the time the Portuguese arrived, probably absorbed into the local populations.

Majapahit's commerce and the nature of life in its capital are two important subjects which only the study of ceramics is likely to shed new light upon. Was Trowulan, the name of the site which functioned as the center of Majapahit's government for at least 150 years, a ceremonial center inhabited mainly by bureaucrats and priests, or a bustling focus of commerce and industry? Historical sources suggest the former, but archaeological remains tend toward the latter conclusion.

As Claude Guillot notes in his Foreword to this volume, "We know nothing with certainty in relation to this site before it won fame by the Javanese rulers' election, neither do we know when the Majapahit dynasty abandoned the place. Nor is there any satisfactory answer to more intricate questions such as the relations between the Javanese kingdom and China, or continental South East Asia, or even with Champa…? What about the lifestyle or the tastes of the Javanese court? The list of questions is endless." The publication of this inventory provides a stimulating glimpse into many of these questions.

The lifespan of Trowulan, or at least sectors of the huge complex of remains grouped under this name, began in the 9th or 10th century. This was suspected from the existence of the Alasantan inscription dated 939 CE, but datable Chinese ceramics from the site begin to appear around this time, and other examples exist to fill the gap between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries. Then the quantity of Chinese ceramics, their range and quality, improve significantly, as one would expect from the historical records.

Of the Chinese wares in the collections of the National Research Centre for Archaeology which forms the basis for this inventory, greenwares represent 62%, of which 33% are from Fujian and 29% are from Zhejiang (Dupoizat and Harkantiningsih 2007: 14). The single most common form is a bowl with unglazed stacking ring, a rather utilitarian artifact. Iron-spotted celadons, reserved biscuit dragon motifs, bowls with impressed floral motifs, and double-fish plates are some of the more elaborate designs found. Dehua white wares including covered boxes and small round tripod incense burners comprise 4%, *qingbai* from Jingdezhen and Fujian constitute 2%, and Yuan blue and white are "less than 2%".

The Yuan blue and white wares in the National Research Centre for Archaeology's collection display a limited range of decorations and shapes; they are mainly bowls with stylized floral sprays, chrysanthemums, and flaming pearls in the interior, and blackberry vines on the exterior. Small jarlets and lids for jars are also found. A few sherds of large jars are also in the collection. Other shapes include *yuhucun* vases with octagonal necks. "Very few pieces from the early 15th century are among the Trowulan inventory" (Dupoizat and Harkantiningsih 2007: 61). Underglaze copper red sherds are also reported, including one *yuhucun* vase which could be almost completely reconstructed from Sentonorejo, in the southwest sector of the site (Dupoizat and Harkantiningsih 2007: 63).

Stoneware storage jars made up 30% of the imported ceramics in the National Research Centre for Archaeology's collection. These include pieces made in Cizhou, Quanzhou, and Guangdong. Among them are numerous fragments of the "small-mouth jars" which some have suggested were designed for the transport of mercury, but which could have been reused for other purposes. Fragmentary examples found in Singapore in 14th-century context contained remnants of lime, probably for betel chewing; they were so cheap and easily obtainable that a dozen examples were discovered in unbroken condition, showing that they were considered disposable. Other stoneware shapes include brown or black-glazed jarlets and covered boxes.

The Chinese materials shed considerable light on the range of Majapahit's urban population's taste in household decorations, and indirectly on their wealth and sophistication, during its golden age in the 14th century. The 15th century is a grey area in Javanese history, partly because few Chinese sources are available after the 1430s as a result of China's isolationist policy during that period. The range and quality of Vietnamese and to a lesser extent Thai ceramics from Trowulan however prove that the site was still a center of important wealth and economic relations with countries outside the archipelago. The Vietnamese wall tiles in particular, which must have been especially ordered, demonstrate the complexity and the intimacy of the communication between Java's hinterland and the kiln areas in the vicinity of distant Hanoi. Majapahit may have declined from its former heights, but it was still a commercial and probably military force to be reckoned with.

The illustrations and data provided in this publication should be of serious interest to historians as well as archaeologists for the information they provide on international relations and economic patterns at this crucial period in Southeast Asian history just before the irruption of a new factor, European contact, on the scene. There are some lacunae in the information, which should act as a motivating factor to encourage further research along the lines plotted by this book. The inventory covers material from the entire site of Trowulan, which is a vast area of no less than 100 square kilometers. As Indonesian archaeologists have noted, there are clear differences in the distribution of various types of ceramics between different sectors of the site.

Hadimulyono (1984: 121) notes that the finest ceramics in the Trowulan site are found in the sectors of Kedaton, Nglinguk, and Temon. The further north one goes, the rarer foreign ceramics become. Thus the question of the parts of the site represented in the inventory published here is critical. The inventory provides a breakdown for the two storage areas where the archaeological materials are kept (Jakarta and Trowulan), but does not say which parts of the site are represented.

In 1976, the National Research Centre for Archaeology began research at the site of Pendopo Agung Brawijaya, Trowulan (Soejatmi Satari 1980). Finds included local pottery, bones, beads, Chinese coins, charcoal, bronze, stone, and imported ceramics from the Song, Ming and Qing Dynasties, Vietnam, and Thailand. Roof tiles formed 37% of the ceramic artifacts. Of the other types of ceramics, only 5% were imported.

In this inventory, among all wares excavated by the National Research Centre for Archaeology, Chinese ceramics comprise 81% of the total porcelain (by number of sherds; a comparison by weight might give a different result), with 17% from Southeast Asia, and the remaining 2% "other" (mainly European 19th-century products). Out of the Southeast Asian products, Vietnamese wares outnumbered Thai by a proportion of 4 to 1 (Dupoizat and Naniek Harkantiningsih 2007: 17). This is quite a difference, which indicates that the materials in the collection inventoried are biased in favor of glazed wares, based on comparison with the results of a survey of 1991-1993 (see below). Leaving aside the question of the ratio between local and imported wares, the Dupoizat and Naniek inventory provides important data on the ratio of various types of imported wares to one another.

From 1991 to 1993, a major survey of Trowulan was conducted under the Indonesian Field School of Archaeology, jointly sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the Indonesian National Research Center for Archaeology. Approximately 100 archaeologists, including staff and students from universities in Indonesia and Singapore, government departments, and museums, surveyed an area of 11 square kilometers, or about 10% of the entire Trowulan site.

One of the survey's principle goals was to obtain an indicator of the density of population in ancient Trowulan. A related goal was to study the differences between different parts of the huge site in terms of spatial use, including economic activity and social status. For this, the main type of data consisted of ceramics.

Preliminary analysis of 70% of the assemblage discriminated between three types of materials: coarse earthenware, fine earthenware, and imported porcelain and stoneware. Out of 4103.7 kg of finds, the coarse earthenware comprised 87.9%; fine earthenware, 12.1%; and Chinese porcelain and stoneware, 10%. The proportion of Chinese to local ware in different parts of the site varied between 6.4% and 35.4%. In the center of the site, where the finds were densest, the percentage of Chinese imports varied between 9% and 10.1%.

Unfortunately the breakdown of Chinese wares into specific types of porcelain and stoneware has not been completed. Chinese wares were distributed throughout the site, the vast majority of which date to the 14th century. The key conclusion is that Chinese blue and white porcelain from the late Yuan and early Ming are found widely distributed on the surface of the site.

The statistical information needed to probe into the details of the organization of life in Majapahit unfortunately do not exist. It is unlikely that a proper statistical summary can ever be made; wholesale destruction of much of the site make this impossible. The publication of this inventory however provides a great service by making known the parameters of the imported wares found at the site. This book should become a basic source for any future discussion of Majapahit.

John N. MIKSIC

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Manuel GODINHO DE ERÉDIA, *Informação da Aurea Quersoneso, ou Península, e das Ilhas Auríferas, Carbúnculas e Aromáticas*, edited, introduced and annotated by Rui Manuel LOUREIRO, Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2008, 178 p., maps, notes, bibliography. ISBN 978-972-8586-10-2

To the historian of maritime Southeast Asia, especially the Malay world, Manuel Godinho de Erédia (1563-1623) is best known for his *Declaraçam de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay em iii Tract.* (Goa 1613). This text has been dealt with by Léon Janssen in his *Malaca, l'Inde Orientale e le Cathay* (Brussels: E. Lambert Stevelinck, 1881), and later by J.V. (G.) Mills, who prepared an English translation, which first came out under the title "Eredia's Description of Malaca, Meridional India, and Cathay" in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8.1 (1930), pp. 1-287, and again, in 1997 (edited by Cheah Boon Kheng; Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian BRAS). Besides these works, Erédia has also left several other texts, which have rarely been investigated by historians. This includes a shorter treatise called *Informação da Aurea Quersoneso...* (*Report on the Golden Khersonese*...), which was written in Goa, between 1598 and 1600, and first published by António Lourenço Caminha in his *Ordenações da Índia do Senhor Rei D. Manuel* (Lisbon: Impressão Régia, 1807). Later, a small section of the *Informação* appeared in Loureiro's *Onde nasce o sândalo. Os portugueses em Timor nos séculos XVIe XVII* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho... para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1995). The full book, transcribed into modern Portuguese – on the basis of the readings offered by Caminha –, has now come out in the present monograph under review here.

The editor, Rui Manuel Loureiro, is not only known for his research on Luso-Chinese contacts, Timor, the Portuguese in Hormuz, and related topics, but also for having published various sixteenth century sources, along with notes, learned commentaries, bibliographies and indices. Many of these works have become indispensable tools for the historian dealing with the early *Estado da Índia*. Although Erédia's *Informação* is certainly not as important as the *Suma Oriental* by Tomé Pires, it nevertheless provides a comprehensive survey of the Malay world, from the shores of the peninsula and Sumatra in the "far West" to the Moluccan Islands and other locations in the distant East, and for this very reason – and other considerations, as we shall see below – can be placed in a category of its own.

As usual, Loureiro has endowed his editorial work with a clear structural profile. The book opens with a detailed introduction, which summarizes the biography of Erédia, especially his youth and studies in Goa. It then discusses the text itself, including some of its European and possible Asian sources. Among other things, Loureiro points out that Erédia was influenced by classical learning – and also fascinated by the unusual. At the same time, he was an artist and interested in precious things. This might explain his frequent references to gold and other rare substances. Besides that, Erédia was also quite ambitious – and very convinced of his own scholarship. He "advertised" himself by telling others of his achievements, as a writer and cartographer, and above all, he sought to obtain an official title: *cosmógrafo-mor*. The real motives behind these moves are difficult to understand. Perhaps they can be linked to his years in Goa, where he was forced to develop special survival strategies, or simply tried to attract the attention of others.

Erédia's projections have left certain marks on his œuvre: parts of his writings carry a medieval or even classic touch, mixed with a sense for the exotic. To some measure, this also applies to both the *Informação* and *Declaraçam*. There can be no doubt, Erédia was driven by the idea of establishing himself as a respected authority in geographical matters – not in a "conventional" way, but rather by merging his Luso-Malayan experiences with the views of Europe's ancient "masters". In order to reach these goals, he could of course point to his language skills (he had grown up in Melaka!) and his broad intellectual training in Goa. However, in the end these dreams did not come true. Although there were not too many men of his calibre, the administrative elites in Goa and elsewhere rejected most of Erédia's suggestions and the honours, which he aspired, were not granted to him.

The *Informação* begins with a chapter on the Malayan peninsula, or *Aurea península*. It then turns to specific locations, for example Melaka, Johore and Patani. There is also a long segment on local products. This is followed by chapters on Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Macassar, the Moluccan world, and so on. Erédia also adds some passages on the Philippines, Japan and the Ryukyu Islands, but these bear no weight. The next part deals with the Lesser Sunda Islands, especially with the islands of Solor and Timor. Timor is a *terra aurífera*, with many local rulers who have much gold. The two final *informações* discuss the *Ilha do Ouro*, or "Island of Gold", and the "discovery" of that metal. Evidently these familiar themes were chosen to symbolically place the main body of the text, and thereby the Malayan world, in a "golden casket" – and to provide readers with a vision of the "golden" future (as rooted in the "golden past" of classical times). The "discovery" segment, it should also be noted, praises the author for his wonderful suggestions...

Detailed notes and comments follow the text. Other than that, Loureiro offers a list, or rather dictionary, of important names and terms (plus explanations) that occur in the work itself. These parts are very reliable and again very useful. That can also be said of the bibliography, which mentions practically all "Western" titles dealing with Erédia's works. To round off my comments: The overall impression of Loureiro's book is definitely positive. It is certainly an item that ought to be read by Southeast Asianists and historians working on the *Estado da Índia*.

Roderich PTAK

Leon RUBIN & I Nyoman SEDANA, *Performance in Bali*, Routledge, London & New York, 2007, 159 p. ISBN 9780415331319

Publié dans la collection « Theatres of the World », ce livre est le troisième d'une série de collaborations entre spécialistes étrangers et balinais, après Bandem & deBoer[1] et Dibia & Ballinger[2]. On pourrait d'ailleurs faire remonter ce type de collaboration à l'étude pionnière de Beryl de Zoete et Walter Spies[3], pour laquelle ce dernier mit sa connaissance des spectacles balinais au service du talent littéraire de la première, une critique de danse intéressée aux traditions scéniques d'obédience indienne.

Les auteurs du présent ouvrage sont tous deux à la fois des universitaires et des gens de théâtre. Leon Rubin est un dramaturge et metteur en scène britannique, directeur de l'East 15 Acting School à l'Université de l'Essex, à qui l'on doit notamment le chapitre consacré aux théâtres d'Asie du Sud-Est dans *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre*. Quant à Nyoman Sedana, *dalang* et enseignant à l'Institut Seni Indonesia de Bali, il est titulaire d'un Ph.D. sur l'art du *dalang*, soutenu à l'Université de Georgia en 2002[4].

Leur étude s'adresse aux amateurs de théâtre – tant acteurs que spectateurs – curieux de découvrir d'autres pratiques scéniques. De là les nombreuses références aux traditions dramatiques européennes, au théâtre élisabéthain notamment, et tout particulièrement aux pièces de Shakespeare, qui leur servent de point de comparaison avec les spécificités de la scène balinaise. Mais s'ils mettent dûment l'accent sur la formation de l'acteur et sur les techniques scéniques, ils ne négligent pas pour autant le contexte culturel des représentations balinaises et insistent au contraire sur leurs conditions de production et sur leur réception.

Par leur collaboration, les auteurs entendent croiser les regards portés sur le théâtre balinais, en associant la connaissance vécue du praticien indigène à la compétence académique du spécialiste étranger. Mais pour que cette collaboration s'avère fructueuse, encore faut-il que l'informateur balinais soit effectivement ancré dans sa tradition et que son partenaire soit lui-même bien au fait des choses balinaises. Faute de quoi, le risque peut être aussi bien de juxtaposer l'inexpérience de l'observateur extérieur aux idées reçues en usage chez les universitaires balinais. Le fait est que l'éducation indonésienne a suscité chez les Balinais une certaine dissonance cognitive entre ce qu'ils savent implicitement et le discours qu'ils ont appris à tenir sur leurs pratiques. C'est notamment le cas des Balinais passés par les établissements d'enseignement artistique, dont les références et les perspectives divergent nettement de celles des artistes et lettrés de la vieille génération demeurés dans leur village. Ces derniers reprochent aux danseurs de formation académique

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1. I Madé Bandem & Fredrik Eugene deBoer, 1981, *Kaja and Kelod. Balinese Dance in Transition*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur (second edition 1995). Cf. *Archipel* 31, 1986: 215-218.

2. I Wayan Dibia & Rucina Ballinger, 2004, *Balinese Dance, Drama and Music. A Guide to the Performing Arts of Bali*, Periplus Editions, Singapore. Cf. *Archipel* 72, 2006 : 267-269.

3. Beryl de Zoete & Walter Spies, 1938, *Dance and Drama in Bali*, Faber and Faber Ltd., London.

4. I Nyoman Sedana, 2002, Kawi Dalang : Creativity in Wayang (Puppet) Theatre, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia.

leur méconnaissance du fondement littéraire, linguistique et spirituel de leur art, tout en déplorant la standardisation qui résulte de méthodes d'enseignement empruntées aux pratiques occidentales.

Outre quelques erreurs fâcheuses et certaines assertions infondées, on retiendra à charge l'absence d'indications permettant de distinguer les termes balinais de ceux appartenant au registre indonésien, sinon même la substitution de termes indonésiens à la terminologie balinaise, une pratique de plus en plus répandue parmi la jeune génération d'artistes académiques. Un autre indice en est l'interprétation des conflits mis en scène au théâtre en termes de bien et de mal, alors qu'il s'agit bien plutôt d'une question de « pouvoir » (*sakti*), notion moralement ambivalente s'il en est.

Contrairement à leurs prédécesseurs, Rubin et Sedana n'aspirent aucunement à l'exhaustivité mais se concentrent sur quatre genres dramatiques jugés représentatifs des traditions scéniques balinaises : le *wayang* (théâtre d'ombres), le *sanghyang* (transe rituelle), le *gambuh* (théâtre dansé) et le *topeng* (théâtre masqué). La présentation de ces différents genres est encadrée par un chapitre d'introduction qui aborde le passé et le présent des arts du spectacle balinais, et un bref chapitre de conclusion qui tente d'anticiper l'avenir. L'étude est suivie de conseils aux voyageurs, d'un glossaire, d'une bibliographie sélective et d'un index. Une vingtaine de photographies en noir et blanc, ainsi que quelques schémas, illustrent le propos. Mais les légendes des photos restent très générales, se contentant de mentions telles que « Topeng performer » par exemple, plutôt que de désigner nommément le personnage représenté. Par ailleurs, la première photo illustrant le chapitre sur le *wayang* donne à voir un *dalang* javanais là où l'on s'attendrait plutôt à trouver son homologue balinais.

Le traitement de chaque genre dramatique suit une présentation similaire : les sources historiques du genre considéré, le contexte de sa représentation et sa fonction, la formation des interprètes, la structure d'une représentation et la description d'un spectacle spécifique.

À la différence du théâtre européen, à Bali un spectacle est identifié non par la pièce représentée mais par le genre dramatique dont elle relève. Les représentations théâtrales n'y ont pas d'existence en tant que « pièces de théâtre », identifiables par un texte fixé dans son écriture ou inscrit dans une mémoire transmise oralement. Un spectacle dramatique est composé au moment même de sa représentation et constitue donc en cela un évènement unique et éphémère. Si chaque genre possède une structure et une caractérisation qui lui sont propres, sa représentation fait une large place à la créativité et aux improvisations des interprètes. À Bali, l'innovation s'inscrit dans la tradition et la création de nouvelles formes de représentations vient s'ajouter aux formes existantes plutôt que de s'y substituer.

Chacun des genres composant le répertoire théâtral balinais peut être caractérisé par l'univers qu'il met en scène – en l'occurrence, l'Inde, Java ou Bali – et donc par une source littéraire qui lui est propre. À la variété des sources qui composent le patrimoine littéraire balinais correspond une pluralité des codes – linguistiques et prosodiques, narratifs et dramaturgiques, chorégraphiques et musicaux – appropriés à la représentation des personnages, des situations et des valeurs qui leur sont respectivement associés. Et à chaque personnage correspond de même un thème musical, un style de danse, un vocabulaire de mouvements et un mode d'élocution.

Un principe de présentation des différents genres peut consister à les ordonner selon un arbre généalogique faisant apparaître leurs trois principales formes originelles (*sanghyang*, *wayang kulit* et *gambuh*) et celles qui en sont dérivées (*kecak*, *wayang wong*, *topeng*, etc.). Mais cette méthode atteint rapidement ses limites, car au fil du temps de nouvelles formes sont apparues au croisement des formes originelles plutôt que dans la droite ligne d'une seule d'entre elles. Aussi Rubin et Sedana – à l'instar de Bandem et deBoer ainsi que de Dibia et Ballinger – optent-ils pour la distinction établie (non sans difficultés) par les Balinais eux-mêmes en 1971 entre des genres « sacrés » (*wali*), « cérémoniels » (*bebali*) et « profanes » (*balih-balihan*). Ils prennent néanmoins soin de préciser que ce schéma ne permet pas d'ordonner de manière univoque et exhaustive l'ensemble des genres dramatiques balinais. Ne serait-ce que dans la mesure où le caractère d'un genre est fonction à la fois de son contexte et des traditions particulières au village ou au temple où il est représenté.

Ce qui les amène à s'interroger sur la capacité des Balinais à faire la distinction entre un rite et un spectacle touristique qui en est tiré. La question s'avère particulièrement cruciale pour les spectacles dérivés de certaines formes de *sanghyang*, qui font communément appel aux mêmes interprètes, que le contexte en soit rituel ou touristique. Si dans certains villages les Balinais paraissent capables de distinguer entre les représentations où les esprits descendent et celles où ils ne descendent pas, et ne semblent pas avoir de problème à accepter l'usage d'une même forme dans un cadre rituel aussi bien que touristique, ailleurs ils ne manquent pas de dénoncer le processus de sécularisation à l'oeuvre dans les spectacles de pseudo-transe pour les touristes et craignent la disparition des formes rituelles de *sanghyang*.

En dépit cependant des défis auxquels sont confrontés les Balinais, Rubin et Sedana soulignent qu'à la différence de ce que l'on constate ailleurs en Asie, les arts scéniques traditionnels perdurent à Bali, en raison de l'intrication des dimensions spectaculaires et rituelles des représentations traditionnelles : c'est la fonction religieuse qui permet la persistance de la forme dramatique. Il n'en relèvent pas moins divers symptômes inquiétants, tels que la simplification des structures dramatiques et la réduction de la durée des représentations, l'appauvrissement des messages spirituels, la diminution du recours aux langages archaïques au profit de vernaculaires (balinais et indonésien), l'importance grandissante du comique et des effets spectaculaires, etc. Et ils notent un déclin de l'intérêt des Balinais – particulièrement des jeunes générations - pour leur traditions scéniques.

Dernier point, qui concerne l'éditeur plus que les auteurs : il paraît quelque peu abusif et franchement dissuasif de vendre 60 £ un livre de 159 pages, surtout s'il n'apporte rien de vraiment nouveau par rapport aux ouvrages disponibles sur le sujet...

Michel PICARD

Donald K. EMMERSON (ed.), *Hard choices. Security, democracy and regionalism in Southeast Asia*, The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia Pacific Research Center (APARC), Stanford University, 2008, 397 p. Biblio., index. ISBN 978-1-931368-13-1

Après plus de quarante ans d'existence, l'ASEAN continue de se présenter comme une organisation relativement ambiguë quant à son identité, son action et ses fins. Certes, elle rassemble maintenant les dix pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est, mais cette diversité de régimes politiques et d'espaces culturels a pour effet de réduire l'intégration des membres dans l'association, dont les répercussions et l'autonomie régionales sont limitées. La mondialisation, la troisième vague des démocratisations et les attentes sécuritaires interpellent l'ASEAN, qui est incitée à se renouveler pour faire face à de nouveaux défis qui mettent en cause son avenir.

C'est aux questions posées par cette délicate conjoncture que s'attache à répondre l'ouvrage dirigé par Don Emmerson et réalisé par une dizaine d'auteurs : non seulement l'époque a changé depuis la naissance de l'ASEAN en 1967, mais le contexte également, qui invite à des réformes de structures. L'Association des Nations d'Asie du Sud-Est est ainsi confrontée à des « choix difficiles ». Le triangle institué par le titre (sécurité, démocratie et régionalisme) forme le périmètre dans lequel les différents auteurs inscrivent leurs thématiques et leurs analyses.

Avec sa rigueur coutumière, Don Emmerson définit dans un chapitre introductif les trois termes critiques qu'il entend relier, quand bien même la compatibilité ou l'inter-relation de ces trois paramètres ne s'impose pas d'emblée.

Sans doute faut-il une conjoncture particulière – les crises Birmanes de 2007 et 2008 – pour faire clairement ressortir la nécessité du rapport entre sécurité, démocratie et régionalisme.

Écrit au moment de la répression contre les moines au Myanmar de septembre 2007, puis de la catastrophe humanitaire provoquée par le cyclone Nargis (mai 2008), l'ouvrage reflète la fascination des auteurs face à la résistance obtuse du régime autocratique birman : la junte militaire au pouvoir semble parfaitement hermétique face aux pressions du reste du monde – y compris celles de l'ASEAN. En l'occurrence, les atteintes à la *démocratie* (la répression des bonzes) et à la *sécurité* humaine (la dévastation du cyclone de mai 2008 dans le delta de l'Irrawaddy) semblent ne pas pouvoir être traitées par le *régionalisme* sud-est asiatique. Toutefois, Emmerson souligne une nuance de taille entre la première et la seconde crise, car l'ASEAN a réussi à obtenir que passe l'aide internationale vers la Birmanie. Grâce aux efforts de Surin Pitsuwan, secrétaire-général de l'association (et auteur de la préface du livre), auquel Emmerson attribue le mérite de cette percée, la junte finit par accepter que les humanitaires étrangers pénètrent sur le territoire birman. Le droit d'ingérence humanitaire (en anglais : la responsabilité de protéger) a pu être mis en œuvre sans que soit remis en cause l'*ASEAN way*, ce tropisme souverainiste qui interdit l'intervention dans les affaires intérieures d'un État membre. Les apparences sont sauves, puisque les militaires birmans avaient fini par donner leur accord.

Un autre incident relié à la Birmanie a illustré le propos : le refus des Birmans de laisser Ibrahim Gambari, envoyé spécial des Nations Unies, s'exprimer devant les leaders de l'ASEAN réunis en conclave à Singapour en novembre 2007.

En fait, la principale difficulté de l'ASEAN réside sans doute dans le rapport à la démocratie. Les États-membres sont pour la plupart assez éloignés de ce modèle politique, seule l'Indonésie étant considérée comme véritablement démocratique, selon Freedom House. La démocratie préconisée *urbi et orbi* par les États-Unis n'est pas la priorité de l'ASEAN, alors même que les observateurs ne s'accordent pas pour savoir si elle favorise ou non la sécurité. À la démocratie, l'ASEAN préfère sans doute la sécurité, et le statu quo. Même si elle constitue une avancée relative sur la voie de l'intégration régionale, la charte dont s'est dotée l'association en 2007 est peu démocratique, elle maintient le principe du consensus et de la souveraineté des États. Elle a été rapidement ratifiée par tous les États-membres qui sont pour la plupart d'entre eux autoritaires ou semi-autoritaires, par contraste avec l'exception indonésienne.

En conclusion de sa substantielle introduction, Emmerson reconnaît que les régimes non démocratiques de l'Asie du Sud-Est évitent de se faire la guerre. Ce faisant, ils valident même « une théorie de la paix autocratique » (p. 56).

À la suite du texte de Emmerson, deux chapitres évaluent l'ASEAN : le point de vue (critique) du *scholar* (Jörn Dosch) qui regrette le faible impact de la société civile contraste avec la vision plus modérée du praticien (Termsak Chalermpalanupap, officiel du secrétariat de l'association). Puis, cinq problèmes clés sont examinés en cinq chapitres : Rizal Sukma lance la question de savoir si l'ASEAN, à l'instar de l'Indonésie, peut concilier son souci de sécurité avec un agenda démocratique. Considérant la résilience de l'autocratie locale et la répression de la démocratie au Myanmar, Kyaw Yin Hlaing apporte une réponse plutôt pessimiste. Mely Cabellero-Anthony envisage les aspects de *sécurité non traditionnelle* au sein de l'ASEAN (menaces non militaires) et pose l'hypothèse des droits de l'homme et de la démocratie comme nouvel horizon. Simon SC Tay décrit les efforts de l'ASEAN pour régler une menace non traditionnelle classique, à savoir la fumée résultant des incendies de forêt en Indonésie, et demande si la démocratie de l'archipel est l'une des causes du problème. Michael S. Malley explore le lien entre les joutes politiques nationales et la sécurité énergétique dans le cadre des projets de construction de centrales nucléaires dans la région : l'ASEAN prend-elle les mesures nécessaires pour parer aux éventuels risques ?

L'ouvrage se termine par deux chapitres qui examinent dans quelle mesure le régionalisme autoriserait un droit d'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un pays. David Martin Jones défend la valeur de « décence » par rapport à la démocratie, et conteste l'idée selon laquelle l'ASEAN devrait promouvoir le pluralisme libéral dans la région. En revanche, Erik Kuhonta, préoccupé par le cas birman, s'oppose à la souveraineté inconditionnelle et prend parti pour « une intervention régionale proportionnelle à la sévérité du mal infligé par un gouvernement répressif à son propre peuple ».

De la lecture de cet ouvrage se dégage l'image d'une Asie du Sud-Est nuancée et contradictoire. Les régimes politiques partagent des dilemmes stratégiques, mais s'interrogent sur les conditions dans lesquelles la solidarité de tous peut s'imposer à l'un des membres. Les différents États font face à leurs peuples et à la montée chez ceux-ci d'une aspiration démocratique. Mais la puissance des formats nationaux et l'hétérogénéité des conditions sociales et politiques rendent improbable une réponse commune à l'association.

François RAILLON

RÉSUMÉS – ABSTRACTS

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Unité et diversité préhistorique entre Java et Sumatra

La comparaison des données archéologiques de Java et Sumatra permet de présenter une évaluation préliminaire définissant les recherches futures à lancer à propos de questions fondamentales telles que l'origine des « Austronésiens ». Les destins géographiques des deux îles sont différents pour les humains modernes et ont manifestement joué un rôle important, partagé ou séparé, dans l'histoire et la préhistoire de l'Indonésie. De 20 000 à 5 000 BP, Java est marqué par une hétérogénéité technique en outils lithiques fabriqués. À la même époque, Sumatra montre des choix techniques plus homogènes, avec un façonnement unifacial sur galet appartenant à la tradition hoabinhienne. De récentes données paléoanthropologiques de Java indiquent également une grande variabilité des pratiques funéraires. Différents types d'inhumations, crémations et autres pratiques mortuaires sont documentés diachroniquement et synchroniquement. Les données funéraires fiables concernant les pratiques funéraires à Sumatra restent insuffisantes.

Prehistoric Unity and Diversity of Java and Sumatra

The comparison of the archaeological records of Java and Sumatra allows to present a preliminary assessment defining future researches to be implemented in order to address major questions such as the origin of the "Austronesians". The geographical fates of both islands are different for modern humans and obviously played an important role, shared or separated, in the history and prehistory of Indonesia. From 20 000 to 5 000 BP, Java is marked by a technical heterogeneity in produced stone tools. In the meantime, Sumatra shows more homogenous technical choices, with a unifacial pebble shaping which still belongs to the Hoabinhian tradition. Recent palaeoanthropological data from Java indicate a large variability in funerary practices as well. Different types of burials, partial cremations and other mortuary practices are documented diachronically and synchronically. Consistent data related to funerary practices are still needed regarding Sumatra.

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Interrelations parmi des temples de Java Central : l'exemple d'Asu, Lumbung et Pendem

Dans cet article, les auteurs souhaitent démontrer comment de nouvelles recherches en archéologie et en histoire de l'art livrent des informations complémentaires et une meilleure compréhension des relations entre temples de Java Central. Trois temples peu connus, à savoir Asu, Lumbung et Pendem, situés à l'est de la ville actuelle de Magelang, sont étudiés ici comme exemples.
La comparaison de l'orientation, du plan, du profil et de l'ornementation suggèrent fortement que la construction de Pendem précède celles de Lumbung et Asu. La période d'occupation de la zone à proximité des temples s'étend (au moins) de 830 environ jusqu'à la fin du IXe siècle.

Aucun temple bouddhique n'étant connu durant cette phase finale de construction de temples, les auteurs suggèrent que Asu et Lumbung, ayant été bâtis durant cette période, sont sivaïtes, alors que Pendem a pu être hindou ou bouddhique.
Ces trois temples ne formaient pas un complexe religieux isolé, mais se trouvaient à un point stratégique du paysage, à l'extrémité occidentale de la route reliant la plaine de Kedu à la région de Boyolali. Les constructions successives de Pendem, Asu et enfin Lumbung reflèteraient alors l'importance croissante, vers la fin de la période de Java Central, des régions orientales et de la route Klaten-Salatiga-Semarang.

Interrelationships Among Central Javanese Temples: The Example of Asu, Lumbung, and Pendem

In this article, the authors wish to demonstrate how new archaeological and art historical researches provide complementary information and a better insight into the relationships between Central Javanese temples. Three relatively unknown temples, Asu, Lumbung, and Pendem, located to the east of the modern-day city of Magelang, are studied here as examples. The comparison of the orientation, plan, profile and ornamentation, strongly suggests that Pendem was built first and that Lumbung and Asu were added later. The period of occupation of the area directly around the temples extended (at least) from c. 830 to around the end of the 9th century. No Buddhist temples are known from the latest phase of temple building, which would suggest that Asu and Lumbung, from this latest period, are Śaivite, whereas Pendem might have been Hindu or Buddhist.
These three temples did not form an isolated religious complex, but were located at a strategic point in the landscape, at the western end of a route linking the plain of Kedu to the area of Boyolali. The successive construction of Pendem, Asu and finally Lumbung, would then reflect the increasing importance, towards the end of the Central Javanese period, of the Eastern regions and of the Klaten-Salatiga-Semarang road.

Hadi Sidomulyo

De Kuṭa Rāja à Singhasāri : vers une révision de l'histoire dynastique de Java au XIIIe siècle

Afin de tenter de reconstruire l'histoire dynastique javanaise de la première moitié du XIIIe siècle, les chercheurs ont été contraints, jusqu'à présent, de s'en remettre presque entièrement à des sources littéraires plus tardives, notamment le *Deśawarṇana* et le *Pararaton*. Des données épigraphiques découvertes récemment réclament un réexamen de ces sources littéraires. A partir des éléments nouveaux livrés par l'inscription de *Mūla-Malurung*, datée de 1255, l'auteur conclut que le terme Singhasāri, tel qu'il est couramment utilisé à présent pour définir Java au XIIIe siècle, est inapproprié. L'arrivée au pouvoir du roi Wiṣṇuwardhana vers 1250 doit être considérée comme un événement décisif séparant deux chapitres distincts représentés par les âges de *Kuṭa Rāja* et de Singhasāri à proprement parler. Il est suggéré que cette nouvelle perspective peut servir de cadre plus adéquat pour construire une histoire révisée de la dynastie de Rājasa.

From Kuṭa Rāja to Singhasāri: Towards a Revision of the Dynastic History of 13th Century Java

In attempting to reconstruct Javanese dynastic history of the first half of the 13th century, scholars have in the past been forced to rely almost entirely upon later works of literature, notably the Deśawarṇana *and* Pararaton*. Recently discovered epigraphical data demands a re-evaluation of these literary accounts. From an examination of the new evidence provided by the 1255 inscription of* Mūla-Malurung*, the author concludes that the term Singhasāri as it is currently applied to define 13th century Java is something of a misnomer. The accession of the king Wiṣṇuwardhana in around 1250 needs to be viewed as a definitive landmark separating two distinct chapters, represented by the ages of* Kuṭa Rāja *and Singhasāri proper. It is proposed that this new perspective can serve as a more accurate framework upon which to construct a revised history of the Rājasa dynasty.*

Brigitte Borell

Verre de Chine et d'Inde : trouvailles de vaisselle de verre du XIVe siècle à Singapour

L'article présente deux groupes distincts de fragments de vaisselle de verre retrouvés sur le site de Singapour daté du XIVe siècle. Ces groupes diffèrent au point de vue taille, forme, technique et composition chimique de leur verre. Le premier groupe présente une vaisselle de petite taille, apparemment formée sur un noyau, à décor polychrome. Le second groupe comporte une sélection de pièces en verre soufflé caractérisées par une forme particulière du bord.
Cet article explore les relations stylistiques, typologiques et techniques des récipients en verre dans leur contexte historique. D'après les analyses chimiques, le verre du premier groupe est originaire de Chine, alors que celui du second groupe provient d'Asie du Sud. La distribution de trouvailles similaires dans le reste de l'Asie du Sud-Est reflète la circulation de tels produits de luxe le long des routes commerciales maritimes, mettant l'accent sur la situation géographique de Singapour « entre les océans » : la mer de Chine méridionale et – via le détroit de Malacca – l'océan Indien.

Glass from China and from India: Finds of Vessel Glass from Fourteenth Century Singapore

The paper presents two different groups of vessel glass fragments found in fourteenth century Singapore. They differ in almost every aspect of size, shape, technique, and chemical composition of their glass. The first group consists of small, apparently core-formed vessels with polychrome decoration. The second group represents a selection of blown glass vessels characterised by their peculiar rim shape.
The paper explores the stylistic, typological, and technical relation of the glass vessels in their historical context. According to the chemical analyses the glass of the first group originates from China, whereas that of the second group from South Asia. The find distribution of related glassware in Southeast Asia reflects the flow of such luxury commodities along the maritime trade routes, emphasising the geographical situation of Singapore "between two oceans": the South China Sea and – via the Strait of Malacca – the Indian Ocean.

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Verre de Singapour

Trente et une analyses par spectrométrie de masse à plasma induit couplée à un système d'ablation laser ont été effectuées sur un ensemble d'objets constitué de perles et de fragments polychromes de récipients en verre retrouvés sur l'île de Singapour et datés du XIVe siècle de notre ère.
Deux types de compositions et, par conséquent, deux types de recettes ont été identifiés pour ces objets. Trois échantillons de vaisselle de verre ont une composition riche en aluminium typique d'une production indienne. Les autres échantillons contiennent des quantités relativement élevées de plomb qui caractérisent le verre produit en Chine. La concentration des éléments traces révèle que deux types de verres au plomb ont été utilisés et que, par conséquent, les objets proviennent certainement de deux ateliers distincts. La similitude entre la composition de certaines perles et de certains fragments de récipients laisse supposer que du verre ait pu être recyclé.

Glass Material from Singapore

Thirty one analyses were carried out with a Varian Inductively Coupled Plasma - Mass Spectrometer (ICP-MS) connected to a New Wave UP213 laser on 14th century glass material made of beads and polychrome vessel fragments found on the Singapore Island.
Two types of composition and, consequently, two types of recipes have been identified for these artifacts. Three samples of glass vessel show an alumina rich composition, typical of an Indian production. The other samples contain relatively high quantities of lead characteristic

of glass produced in China. The concentration of trace elements reveals the use of two different types of lead glass certainly produced in two distinct workshops. The similarity of composition regarding some beads and some vessel fragments suggests that glass may have been recycled.

Ludvik Kalus [Université Paris IV, Sorbonne, Paris] & Claude Guillot [CNRS, Paris]

Bayt al-rijâl : premier cimetière royal du sultanat d'Aceh. [Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 4]

Dans cet article sont présentés les textes inscrits sur les tombes du plus ancien cimetière royal du sultanat d'Aceh, qui est aujourd'hui appelé Kandang XII mais qui portait au XVIe siècle le nom arabe de Bayt al-rijâl. Il s'agit des membres de la première dynastie connue sous le nom de Makota Alam qui ont régné entre c. 1524 et 1579. Les auteurs tentent de mettre en concordance les personnages enterrés ici avec ceux dont parlent les chroniques locales qui ne les citent souvent que par leurs surnoms.

Bayt al-rijâl: First Royal Graveyard of the Sultanate of Aceh. [Islamic Epigraphy of Aceh. 4]

This paper presents the Arabic inscriptions found upon the tombstones of the most ancient cemetery of the sultanate of Aceh, today called Kandang XII but known under the Arabic name of Bayt al-rijâl in the 16th century. They relate to the members of the first Acehnese dynasty, that of Makota Alam, who reigned from c. 1524 until 1579. The authors endeavor to make the names of the epitaphs tally with the characters depicted by the local historical chronicles where they are often quoted under surnames.