

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

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Écho de la recherche : International Conference “Seals as Symbol of Power and Authority in Southeast Asia” (Kuala Lumpur, 6-7 novembre 2012) — **Monde insulindien et péninsule indochinoise** : D. Perret & D. Wong Tze Ken, *Monde insulindien et péninsule indochinoise : un panorama de contacts millénaires* – A. Griffiths, *The Problem of the Ancient Name Java and the Role of Satyavarman in Southeast Asian International Relations Around the Turn of the Ninth Century CE* – G. Wade, *Maritime Routes Between Indochina and Nusantara to the 18th Century* – M.-F. Dupoizat, *Vietnamese Ceramics in the Malay World* – N. Weber, *Les Cham et les Malais du Cambodge et de Cochinchine vus par les archives coloniales (1859-1954)* – C. Salmon, *The Hạ châu or Southern Countries as Observed by Vietnamese Emissaries (1830-1844)* – D. Wong Tze Ken, *The Cham Arrivals in Malaysia: Distant Memories and Rekindled Links* – S. Nor Awang, *Daripada Pelarian Kepada Usahawan: Pengalaman Masyarakat Cham di Pekan, Pahang, Malaysia* – D. Perret & D. Wong Tze Ken, *Monde insulindien et péninsule indochinoise : essai bibliographique* — **Varia** : L. Kalus & C. Guillot, *La principauté de Daya, mi-XV^e-mi-XVI^e siècle [Épigraphie islamique d’Aceh 6]* – H. Hägerdal, *Cycles of Queenship on Timor: A Response to Douglas Kammen* — **Comptes rendus** — **Résumés-Abstracts**

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ÉCHO DE LA RECHERCHE

International Conference “Seals as Symbol of Power and Authority in Southeast Asia”

(Kuala Lumpur, 6-7 novembre 2012)

Organisée conjointement par le Département d’Histoire de l’University of Malaya et le centre de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO) en Malaisie, cette conférence semble avoir été la première rencontre organisée sur ce thème spécifique des sceaux en Asie du Sud-Est. C’est sans doute l’une des raisons qui lui a permis de bénéficier du soutien de nombreuses institutions locales (Jabatan Muzium Malaysia, Arkib Negara Malaysia, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia) et de l’Ambassade de France en Malaisie. Le programme de coopération sur l’étude des archives royales du Campā, qui comportent de nombreux sceaux, conduit depuis plusieurs années par l’EFEO et le Département d’Histoire de l’Université of Malaya, était à l’origine de cette conférence.

Dix-neuf communications ont été présentées par des chercheurs locaux et des chercheurs venus de Grande-Bretagne, de France, d’Indonésie, du Japon, du Vietnam et de Chine. Près de 100 participants ont pris part de manière assidue à ces deux journées de conférence. Comme d’usage dans les conférences internationales en Malaisie, celle-ci a été ouverte par un «keynote address», délivré ici par Annabel Teh Gallop, grande spécialiste des sceaux du monde insulindien. Sa communication a porté sur les premiers usages des sceaux dans la région, partant du sceau pallava de Perak (V^e-VII^e s. EC) jusqu’aux sceaux de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle, un millénaire durant lequel les sceaux montrent une grande diversité à la fois du point de vue calligraphique, paléographique et iconographique, alors que la période suivante, jusqu’au début du XX^e siècle, voit l’usage de sceaux d’une grande homogénéité.

Toujours en ce qui concerne les sceaux de l'Archipel, Susanto Zudhi a présenté des exemples de sceaux en usage dans le sultanat de Buton aux XVII^e (à partir de 1613) et XVIII^e siècles dans les contrats conclus avec la VOC. Abdullah Zakaria bin Ghazali s'est intéressé à la question des différentes autorités détentrices de sceaux dans les sultanats malais. À travers l'examen de plusieurs sceaux, l'auteur de ces lignes a présenté une communication sur la question de l'autorité et de l'influence du sultanat d'Aceh sur les entités politiques voisines, en particulier sur la côte nord-est de Sumatra et sur la région du lac Toba, entre le XVI^e et le XIX^e siècles. Wan Ali Wan Mamat a livré une étude comparative de calligraphie et de paléographie sur des sceaux et des textes de lettres en malais. Mohammad Yussop Ishak et Kamariah Abu Samah ont présenté une étude sur une collection de sceaux provenant des États de Selangor, Kelantan, Pahang et Terengganu. Ab. Razak Ab. Karim s'est intéressé au symbolisme de la forme et de l'ornementation de sceaux malais présents sur des correspondances avec des Occidentaux. Nik Hassan Suhaimi bin Nik Abdul Rahman et Ros Mahwati Ahmad Zakaria ont traité des sceaux de la côte orientale de la péninsule malaise datant du XIX^e siècle et aujourd'hui conservés au Musée d'Art Islamique de Kuala Lumpur, en particulier de sceaux de Kelantan reflétant des luttes pour le trône dans ce sultanat au XIX^e siècle. Hasanuddin Daud et Mohd. Zamberi A. Malek se sont intéressés à la question des sceaux et de la partition du sultanat de Patani par la puissance siamoise. Nor 'Atikah Safri et Basyarah Bahaldin ont montré un aperçu de la richesse et de la variété des sources portant des sceaux actuellement conservées aux Archives Nationales de Malaisie. Arba'iyah Mohd. Noor et Mohd. Kasturi Nor Abd. Aziz ont présenté une étude comparative des sceaux utilisés dans les correspondances entre les sultanats de Pahang et de Kedah entre la fin du XIX^e siècle et le début du XX^e siècle, en mettant l'accent en particulier sur les influences extérieures et en abordant également la question des contrefaçons.

Les sceaux des archives royales du Panduranga au Campā ont donné lieu à trois communications. Niu Junkai a abordé la question de la typologie des sceaux du Panduranga à l'époque de la dynastie des Tây Son, typologie qui reflète l'influence culturelle vietnamienne dans la société cam. Nicolas Weber s'est intéressé aux usages variés des sceaux dans ces archives entre la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle et la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, sceaux qui renseignent sur les rapports entre l'autorité impériale vietnamienne et les dirigeants cam, les relations administratives entre les Vietnamiens et les Cam, mais aussi entre les migrants vietnamiens et les populations locales, ainsi qu'à l'intérieur de la société cam elle-même. C'est toute la question de l'influence plus ou moins grande du pouvoir vietnamien qui transparaît à travers ces documents. Danny Wong Tze Ken a tout particulièrement

examiné cette question pour les régions de Binh Thuan et le Panduranga au XVIII^e siècle. Shine Toshihiko a quant à lui abordé la question d'un système biométrique particulier, différent selon les sexes, rencontré aussi bien dans les archives royales du Campā que dans des archives villageoises au Vietnam entre le XVII^e et le XIX^e siècles. Il s'agit de l'apposition de l'empreinte de phalanges de doigts sur les documents officiels. Huỳnh Đình Két a présenté des sceaux provenant de documents d'archives en sino-vietnamien de plus de vingt villages des environs de Hué, documents datés entre le XVII^e et le XIX^e siècles et collectés depuis les années 1990.

Deux autres communications ont porté sur l'Asie du Sud-Est. Michel Lorillard a livré un panorama de l'usage des sceaux au Laos à partir du XV^e siècle, sceaux utilisés non seulement en tant qu'instruments de pouvoir mais aussi au service d'une idéologie fortement marquée par le bouddhisme. Grégory Mikaelian s'est quant à lui intéressé au rapport entre les sceaux et la symbolique royale khmère, à travers un corpus d'archives coloniales françaises datées de la fin du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècles, documents portant des sceaux apposés par les dignitaires de l'administration royale. Sa communication a porté tout particulièrement sur le sceau du ministre de la guerre associant la puissance martiale et la maîtrise de cette puissance.

En contrepoint à ces études sur les sceaux en Asie du Sud-Est, Kume Masso a livré un panorama sur l'histoire des sceaux au Japon qui couvre deux millénaires, et a montré en particulier des sceaux de chefs de guerre chrétiens des XVI^e-XVII^e siècles portant des inscriptions en caractères romains.

Daniel PERRET

LISTE DES COMMUNICATIONS

Ab Razak Bin Ab Karim (Assoc. Prof. Dr.), *University of Malaya*, Cap dalam Masyarakat Melayu: Kajian berdasarkan Surat-Surat Melayu Lama.

Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali (Prof. Datuk Dr.), *University of Malaya*, Cap dalam Kesultanan Melayu: Kuasa Dan Autoriti.

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Zuhdi, Susanto (Prof. Dr.), *Universitas Indonesia*, Stempel Dalam Kontrak-Kontrak di Kesultanan Butun: Satu Telaah Deskriptif.

MARIE-FRANCE DUPOIZAT

Vietnamese Ceramics in the Malay World

For centuries Vietnam, along with other countries such as Japan, Korea and Thailand, has been in close political and cultural contacts with China. It is therefore hardly surprising that Chinese techniques in the manufacture of ceramics have spread overseas. As for Vietnam, this transfer goes back centuries but local production was initially aimed only at the local market.

Vietnamese ceramics were subsequently exported to the Malay World but only during certain limited periods over the long production history of Vietnamese ceramics. These exports closely correspond with periods when the ceramics supply from China was restricted or reduced for domestic reasons. In fact, the presence of Vietnamese ceramics in the Malay World gives a rather clear illustration of the importance and the structure of the trade networks in the China Sea.

Indeed, this trade in Vietnamese ceramics happened in periods when the partial closure of the main ceramics workshops in China (Jingdezhen for example) prevented a regular supply and export, or when China closed itself off from the outside world such as during the 15th century. As a result, Vietnamese ceramics would be imported to respond to the trade demand, at first imitating certain patterns of Chinese ceramics no longer available, but also later because some types were sought after for their own value. Moreover, in certain cases, Vietnamese ceramics were produced to respond to specific orders, as was the case in the 15th century, with the unique Vietnamese wall tiles of Majapahit, or in the 17th century with a type of coarse Vietnamese ware.

Since the 1970s, several publications have pointed out and identified the main types of Vietnamese trade ceramics, in addition to which recent

excavations of shipwrecks have added important new understanding and perspective.

One of the first comprehensive publications pertains to the Vietnamese ceramics that belong to the collection of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta. Not only have a large number been collected, but the diversity of their provenance gives clear evidence of the great dispersion of Vietnamese ceramics in Indonesia.¹ In addition, not only are the main islands represented – Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Kalimantan – but also Bali, Sumba, Sumbawa, Ternate, Maluku or Halmahera. Vietnamese ceramics are also recorded in various sites of North Borneo – in Sabah, Sarawak and in Brunei.² In other areas, such as Peninsular Malaysia or in the Philippines, similar types have been found.

Rather than covering the full range of types available, the Vietnamese trade wares only cover a selection of them according to criteria which, as it will be seen, are mainly related to an already well-established demand for specific forms and decoration. For instance and rather surprisingly since betel consumption was widely spread over the Malay World, the lime pots so common in the Vietnamese ceramic production have not really been found in numbers. They may be present in collections but are not among the pieces excavated from sites of old settlements and therefore cannot be genuinely considered as trade wares.³

Early export ware of the 14th century

The earliest group of Vietnamese trade ware to reach the Malay World consists of underglaze black decorated bowls and monochrome glazed bowls. The first ones display a single floral-spray design on the interior, considered as a stylized chrysanthemum, a calligraphic thin scroll within line borders around the rim and another larger band of calligraphic scroll around the exterior. The decoration is painted directly on the body, which is characterized by a fine cream-coloured clay, under a clear pale ivory-tinted glaze. Usually there are five triangular-shaped marks, on the interior, left by a support used during the firing. Similar features appear on monochrome glazed bowls of the same period. The export of these two types together is well attested by a 14th century shipwreck cargo found in international waters off the East Coast of Malaysia.⁴ It clearly demonstrates their

1. Cheng Lammers & Abu Ridho, *Annamese ceramics in the Museum Pusat Jakarta*, Himpunan Keramik Indonesia, Jakarta, 1974.

2. Awang Hanapi Bin Haji Maidin, *Tembikar Vietnam di Negara Brunei Darussalam*, Jabatan Muzium-Muzium Brunei, Bandar Seri Begawan, 1999.

3. For a study of the various patterns of lime-pots, see, Kerry Nguyen-Long, “The Vietnamese Limepot”, *Arts of Asia*, 27(5), 1977, pp. 66-78.

4. Roxanna Brown & Sten Sjostrand, *Turiang: A Fourteenth century Shipwreck in Southeast*

contemporaneous export, even if their similar features – shape, colour glaze, presence of spur marks – were already enough evidence to prove that they were manufactured during periods close to each other.

Both types have been excavated at Trowulan, site of the capital of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit during most of its duration, and at Bukit Hasang in Barus, on the western coast of North Sumatra.⁵ They have also been found in many other areas in the Malay World and are on display in various museums of the region.

One of the first attempts to date underglaze iron-black ware is linked to a bowl of this type found in Japan, in the Buddhist temple of Kanzeonji at Dazaifu in northern Kyushu, associated with a wooden plate dated 1330.⁶ Even if this dating has been subsequently questioned, the designs of the Vietnamese underglaze iron-black wares bear a close resemblance to some of the Yuan underglaze cobalt-blue ceramics. It is generally accepted that the new decorative technique of painting in cobalt blue did not begin in the Far East before the second quarter of the 14th century in the famous Jingdezhen kilns of China. By mid-14th century, the Chinese had completely mastered the production of blue-and-white porcelain with a great assortment of decorative motifs as testified by the dedicatory inscriptions dated 1351 of the temple vases of the Percival David Foundation in London. In addition to the elaborately decorated porcelains of the 14th century, Jingdezhen kilns have produced a simple type of ceramic which is found notably in the Malay World. This distinctive group consists of thickly potted ceramics characterized by a free style decoration of a single flower.

There is a clear relationship between the “simple” blue-and-white production of Jingdezhen kilns and early Vietnamese underglaze iron-decorated ware. Their similar style of painting of a single flower spray in an almost calligraphic way in the centre and the sketchy drawn scroll round the outside attested to the will of the Vietnamese potters to produce a ware similar to the “simple” Chinese blue-and-white required by the Southeast Asian markets.⁷ Since uprisings in Jingdezhen region around the mid-14th century led to a partial closure of the kilns, it is rather logical to suggest that Vietnamese ceramics had to adjust to the already well-established demand of

Asian Waters, Pacific Asia Museum, Pasadena, 2000, p. 31.

5. Marie-France Dupoizat & Naniek Harkantiningih, *Catalogue of the Chinese Style Ceramics of Majapahit, Tentative Inventory*, Cahiers d'Archipel 36, Paris, 2007, pp. 84-87; Marie-France Dupoizat, «Grès et porcelaines des sites de Barus postérieurs à Lobu Tua», in *Histoire de Barus III. Regards sur une place marchande de l'océan Indien (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e s.)*, D. Perret & H. Surachman (eds.), Paris, EFEO/Association Archipel, Cahier d'Archipel 38, 2009, pp. 128-131.

6. Kamei Meitoku, “Vietnamese and Thai Ceramics Excavated in Japan”, *SPAFA final report*, Cebu City, 1983, pp. 183-204.

7. M.-F. Dupoizat & N. Harkantiningih, 2007, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

the market. When merchants could not be supplied by China with what they wanted, they had therefore to look for alternative sources. At this stage, the Vietnamese obviously had not yet mastered the use of cobalt to produce underglaze blue ware and could only supply underglaze iron-black ware. There was also an attempt by the Thai kilns of Sri Satchanalai to make a type of bowl with a black painted flower design in the centre. This attempt was not carried on as this motif is not found subsequently on Thai wares.⁸ Obviously, because of the quality of the underglaze iron-black ware, and because of the later mastering of the manufacture of cobalt-blue ware by the Vietnamese potters, the merchants turned to the latter.

Underglaze-blue and monochrome wares of the 15th century

The transition for the Vietnamese ceramics between underglaze iron-black to cobalt-blue decoration went on progressively in the course of the first half of the 15th century. It is worth noting that sometimes blue and black decorations appear on the same piece. Then, the main decoration, kept simple at first, evolved into a fully matured style with elaborate designs. Main floral or animal motifs framed by a line border are combined with panels of geometric designs or vegetal sprays, scrolling bands of various kinds. Shapes were diversified too. The most famous piece of this new style is the Topkapi Saray bottle dated from the mid-15th century, giving an accurate reference for the accomplished style of painting of the Vietnamese blue-and-white.

Bowls and dishes are the most frequently exported ware, but covered boxes are numerous too. Large displays of these elaborate blue-and-white pieces can be seen in various Southeast Asian museums. They have been recovered from shipwrecks sites dating from the mid to late 15th century, located, for instance, off Pandanan Island, south of the island of Palawan, in the Philippines or also off the coast of Central Vietnam in the case of the Hoi An cargo.⁹ They have also been excavated from various land sites of the Malay World such as Banten Girang in West Java, Bukit Hasang near Barus (Sumatra) or Kota Batu, capital of the sultanate of Brunei, where they attested to the demand of the South-Seas populations during the 15th century.¹⁰ It is therefore not surprising to find them in large number in

8. See M.-F. Dupoizat & N. Harkantiningih, 2007, *op. cit.*, p. 79, and Roxanna Brown & Sten Sjostrand, 2000, *op. cit.*, pl. 8 & 10.

9. Allison Diem, "The Significance of Pandanan Shipwreck Ceramics as Evidence of Fifteenth Century Trading Relations within Southeast Asia", *Bulletin of the Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong*, 12, Hong Kong, 2002, pp. 28-36; Butterfields, *Treasures from the Hoi An Hoard*, San Francisco, Los Angeles, 2000.

10. Hanapi, 1999, *op. cit.*, p. 46; B. Harrison, "A Classification of Archaeological Trade Ceramics from Kota Batu", *The Brunei Museum Journal*, 2(1), 1970, p. 155; M.-F. Dupoizat & N. Harkantiningih, «La céramique importée» in C. Guillot *et al.*, *Banten avant l'Islam*,

Trowulan, the former capital of the politically and commercially powerful Majapahit. Without any doubt, in the course of the 15th century, the important demand for blue-and-white ceramics of all kinds, with various shapes and a large variety of decorative patterns, was mostly satisfied by the Vietnamese production. Towards the end of 15th century, Vietnamese polychrome wares started to be exported along the same maritime routes, probably at the same period as the production of Chinese overglaze enamels.

Fifteenth century Vietnamese monochromes are also found in the same sites but to a lesser extent than blue-and-white. Most of them have a biscuit ring inside with a moulded design on the cavetto under a cream, yellow-brown or apple-green glaze. Even if these Vietnamese monochromes appeared in the trade too, the supply of celadon pieces was provided at large by the Thai kilns which managed to produce pieces quite similar to those of Longquan in China as far as the turquoise blue colour was concerned.

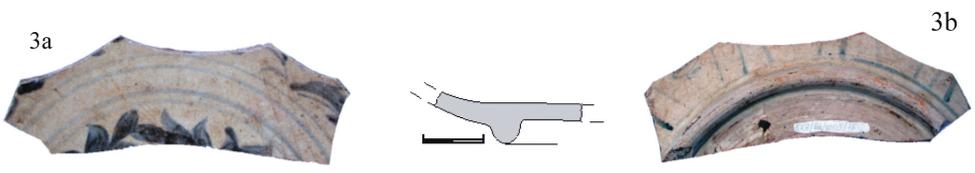
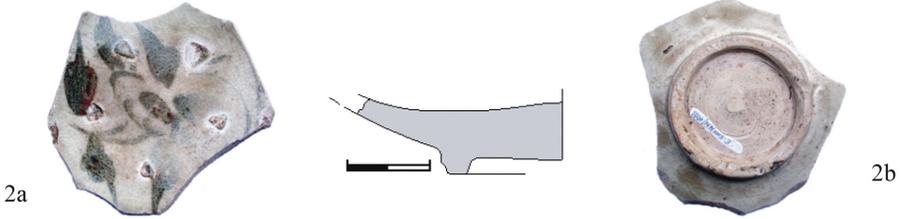
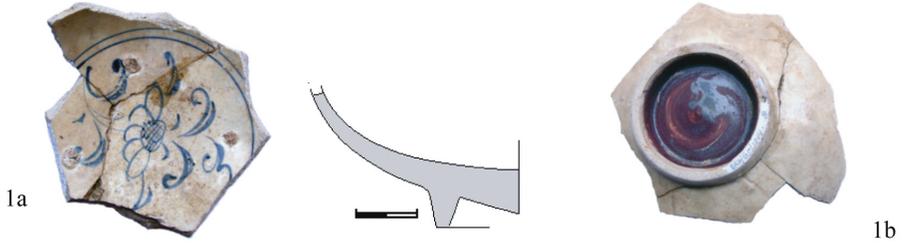
During the second half of the 15th century, monochrome bowls with an unglazed stacking ring inside were produced by the Binh Dinh kilns in Central Vietnam. They belong to a group of ceramics characterised by a finely textured clay, mostly of a greyish tone, which sometimes turns reddish where exposed. They usually have a greenish to golden-brown glaze. They amount to more than half of the Pandanan shipwreck ceramics cargo.¹¹ In the Malay World, these bowls are clearly a substitute for the bowls abundantly produced by kilns in Fujian province and exported in large quantities before the closure of China. The Chinese bowls with a biscuit ring are among the most common categories of ceramics found in various kinds of settlements such as Banten Girang (West Java), Bukit Hasang at Barus (Sumatra), or the site of Trowulan (East Java). It is also the case in the Angkor Thom site of Cambodia, where, with the celadons from Longquan (Zhejiang province), Chinese unglazed ring bowls are the most abundant group of ware.¹² Therefore, the kilns in the actual Binh Dinh province, formerly in the vicinity of Vijaya, the capital of Campā, produced the same type of bowls in order to meet the demand of common type bowls during the second half of the 15th century.¹³

Étude archéologique de Banten Girang (Java-Indonésie) 932?-1526, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Monographies no. 173, Paris, 1994, p. 163; Marie-France Dupoizat, «Grès et porcelaines des sites de Barus postérieurs à Lobu Tua», 2009, pp. 132-133.

11. A. Diem, 2002, *op. cit.*, p. 33: 70% of the Pandanan ceramics cargo were manufactured in Binh Dinh Province. Among them were a few jars, jarlets, pear-shaped bottles, one lime-pot, and 3,228 monochrome bowls. See also A. Diem, "Ceramics from Vijaya, Central Vietnam: Internal Motivations and External Influences (Fourteenth-Late Fifteenth Centuries)", *Oriental Art*, 45(3), 1999, p. 61.

12. M.-F. Dupoizat & N. Harkantiningasih, 2007, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

13. Asako Morimoto & Koji Ohashi, "An Excavation and Investigation of Go Sanh kilns



1a-1b. Barus-Bukit Hasang, Sumatra, 14th-mid-15th century, Bat Trang kilns
2a-2b. *Idem*
3a-3b. Barus-Bukit Hasang, Sumatra, 2nd half 15th – beg. 16th century



Decorative glazed wall tiles from the Masjid Agung, Demak

Even if blue-and-white ware may continue to be produced in Vietnam, their trade seems to have ceased at the turn of the 16th century, or within the first decades of the 16th century, when the Chinese kilns, specially those of Jingdezhen, could offer again to international trade their blue-and-white porcelains. This change of sourcing may give clear evidence of the Chinese origin of the network with traders who quickly turned to China once Chinese ceramics were again available.

Specific demand

One of the most particularly interesting characteristics of the Vietnamese ceramics lies in their flexibility to respond to specific changes in demand.

Excavations in Trowulan have revealed a large number of decorative items which show that the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit displayed a taste for an environment ornamented with colourful glazed ceramics. A large selection of shards of these pieces, moulded in various shapes, mostly representing an animal or a figurine for some of them, belong to water droppers, probably utilitarian as well as ritual vessels. Glazed wall tiles, unknown elsewhere in the Malay World, were specially ordered by Majapahit. Numerous fragments have been recovered in Trowulan but the largest group of complete tiles is found elsewhere in Java, on the facade of the prayer hall of the oldest mosque of Java, the Masjid Agung of Demak. One tile is fixed on the outer gate of the mosque at Kudus, and another one is set on the gapura of the Sunan Bonang Mausoleum at Tuban. Their designs are mostly painted in underglaze blue combined sometimes with red and green enamels. The variations of the shapes are linked to the organisation of the decoration on the surface. Principal motifs are disposed in panels of various shapes, enclosed within line borders. The decorative repertoire includes floral spray, small animals inspired by local designs such as those found in the bas-reliefs of the Panataran temple.¹⁴ They all have an homogeneous construction with high sides (4 cm), a recessed back and crossbars to strengthen. The finding in Trowulan of an Islamic tile – now in the collection of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta – with the same structure as the Vietnamese ones strongly suggests that the rulers of Majapahit had commissioned their main supplier of colourful ceramics for similar tiles.¹⁵

N° 2 and 3 in Binh Dinh Province, Vietnam”, *Champa Ceramics: Production and trade – Excavation Report of the Go Sanh Kiln Sites in Central Vietnam*, Yoji Aoyagi & Gakuji Hasebe (eds.), Tokyo, The Study Group of the Go Sanh Kiln Sites in Central Vietnam, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2002, pp. 37-59.

14. Dupoizat & Harkantingsih, 2007, *op. cit.*, p. 98; John Guy, “The Vietnamese Wall Tiles of Majapahit”, *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1988-1989, N° 53, London, 1990, pp. 27-46.

15. See M-F Dupoizat, «Mojopahit et la couleur : le cas des carreaux de revêtement mural», *Archipel*, 66, 2003, p. 57.

Although in China the practice of using tiles as architectural elements has been attested since the remote past, it is in the Islamic world that ceramic tiles for walls are indeed a major outlet for decoration.

These facts suggest a remarkable organisational efficiency, not only from the merchants but also from the providers, since the Vietnamese could respond quickly to this specific and unprecedented demand of tiles.

Vietnamese jars

Vietnamese jars are few in the Malay World. This contrasts with the far greater numbers of Chinese and Thai jars. For example, among the jars recovered from the Brunei sunken ship, only a few of them are Vietnamese and either might have been part of the possessions of passengers on board or might have contained a special or rare product.¹⁶ Heavy, stable Thai jars with their black glaze over their very resistant stoneware body, were perfect containers to cope with the difficult conditions of the sea journeys. The cargo of the Hoi An shipwreck located offshore Cù Lao Chàm in Vietnam has provided a wide range of Vietnamese wares of various forms and designs. Some small Vietnamese jars were found among them, but all the large ones were of Thai manufacture.¹⁷

Vietnamese ceramics exported during the 17th century

The export of Vietnamese ceramics to the Malay World in the course of the 17th century did not draw much attention until quite recently. Moreover, among the relatively few pieces which have been found, a fair number of them can easily be confused with coarse wares from South China kilns, especially when small fragments are concerned. Their presence in South-East Asian sites is due to some under-supply of Chinese ceramics in the late second half of the 17th century.¹⁸ During this short spell, turmoil in the maritime traffic, due to the fight between the Zhengs still loyal to the Ming against the Qing, affected the coastal areas of South China and particularly Fujian province. Moreover, the partial closure of main Chinese kilns due to the Manchu conquest is also largely responsible for important disruptions to the Chinese overseas trade. At that period, part of the former well-established network of trade routes in the South Seas was under the control

16. M.-F. Dupoizat, «Les jarres de grès dans le commerce maritime asiatique, fonctions domestiques et rituelles», in *La mémoire engloutie de Brunei, précis scientifique*, M. L'Hour (ed.), Éditions Textuel, Paris, 2001, pp. 85-108. Compared to the few excavated Vietnamese jars, some 1,200 Thai and around 1,000 Chinese jars were found.

17. Thai storage jars were made in the Singburi kilns located near Ayutthaya. For the Hoi An cargo, see Butterfields 2000.

18. Bennet Bronson, "Export Porcelain in Economic Perspective: The Asian Ceramic Trade in the 17th century", in *Ancient Ceramic Kiln Technology in Asia*, Ho Chuimei (ed.), Centre of Asian studies, University of Hong Kong, 1990, p. 128.

of the Dutch East India Company. Contents of cargoes of European and Asian ships are recorded in the Dagh-registers, the journals kept by the VOC. During the second half of the 17th century, kilns in the Arita area in Japan could supply good quality porcelain and therefore could respond to the demand from the Dutch for this type of ware in replacement of Chinese ceramics. The shipments of Vietnamese ceramics, mainly on board Chinese junks, are mentioned as “coarse ware”.¹⁹ The latter were aimed at Japan but also at South-East Asian destinations among which Banten or Batavia, its rival, which became a centre of transshipment for a large region.²⁰ Banten, one of the foremost sultanates of the Malay World during the 16th- and 17th-centuries, was situated at the west end of the north coast of Java. It was a prosperous state with an active port heavily involved in the international pepper trade. Among the ceramics excavated on the site of Tirtayasa, some 20 kilometres east of Banten, but also at Pasar Ikan, site of the old port of Batavia, Japanese ceramics from the late 17th are present and consequently some Vietnamese coarse ware should also be expected.²¹

Vietnamese ceramics traded at this period are mostly bowls made in a rather coarse clay with an unglazed ring inside and a design painted in underglaze-iron under a clear glaze. The decoration consists of a curved motif swiftly drawn or a printed-made flower-type motif.²²

19. T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company, as recorded in the Dagh-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary papers, 1602-1682*, Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 1971 (first ed., 1954), p. 219.

20. Asako Morimoto, “On Southeast Asian ceramics after the 16th century, viewed from findings in Japan”, in N. Harkantiningshi & S. Riyanto (eds.) *Proceedings International Symposium for Japanese Ceramics of Archaeological Sites in South-East Asia: The Maritime Relationship on 17th century*, Jakarta, Pusat Arkeologi, The Japan Foundation, 2000, p. 34.

21. See for instance, the fragment of an unglazed ring bowl with a black decoration found in the site of Tirtayasa which could be either from Fujian or from Vietnam; see *Laporan Penelitian Ekskavasi Situs Tirtayasa, Banten & Benteng Wolio, Buton*, Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional, NPO Association of Asian Cultural Properties Cooperation, Jakarta, 2007, fig. 79; *Laporan Penelitian Ekskavasi Situs Tirtayasa, Banten*, S. Takashi & N.H. Wibisono (eds.), Jakarta, 2000, fig. 3 p. 50. Hasan Muarif Ambary, *Laporan Ekskavasi Pasar Ikan*, Himpunan Keramik Indonesia, Jakarta, 1981.

22. *Technical Studies on Ancient Ceramics Found in North and Central Vietnam*, Morimoto Asako and Yamasaki Kazuo (eds.), Morimoto Pub., Fukuoka, 2001, Plate 7-91. One sherd of a bowl with a brown-black flower printed motif has been found on the port site of Den Huyen, between the Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces. According to these authors (p. 6): “In the 17th century, when Japanese trade ships with government license came to Tonkin, first arriving near Nghe An, they went along the coast to the delta of the Red River.” For similar bowls, see Asako Morimoto, “About the Recent Findings on Vietnamese Ceramics: Some Historiographical Remarks”, *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. 38, Taipei, 2006, fig. IV-9, excavated from a 1663 fire layer of Nagasaki.

Conclusion

The Vietnamese wares from Tonkin – and of course from Binh Dinh as well – are a late entrant in the international trade and by and large meant for South-Eastern destinations. Their exports do not follow a steady pattern and take place in special circumstances related to temporary undersupplies from China. Only some series are selected. These pieces are particularly close to or up to the standards of similar Chinese ceramics usually traded in those foreign markets.

The coming of the Vietnamese ceramics as trade items pointed first to long and well established markets with specific requirements, and secondly to the leading role played by the communities of merchants and traders. Obviously their demands have induced potters to specialize in what they were doing best and therefore imposing a specificity to kilns from different locations. Why were so few jars or celadons exported at the time of the export of Vietnamese underglaze blue wares? Regarding the jars, it is undoubtedly because the Thai jars from Singburi, perfectly made with a strong and solid stoneware body, were the right containers for shipping and many secondary uses. Regarding the celadons, it is because those produced by the Thai kilns of Sri Satchanalai with their beautiful glassy turquoise glaze could replace the Chinese Longquan production and respond to the demand of celadon ware. Even the much smaller production of monochrome bowls with an unglazed ring from the Binh Dinh kilns were in line with the demand for more common ware to replace the ones made in Fujian province and exported in quantity.

When it came to the specific order of Majapahit for decorated tiles, only Vietnamese ceramics and their beautiful decoration of underglaze blue or polychrome patterns were able to satisfy such a demand, therefore demonstrating the reactivity of Vietnamese kilns.

The merchants efficiency in the choice of the origin for the various types of ceramics – Vietnamese ceramics for the underglaze blue wares, celadons from Thailand, jars from the central area of Thailand and the return to Chinese ceramics from the early 16th century – provide clear evidence of the permanence of the networks involved in the Asian trade, which are obviously Chinese.

It is worth noting that as far as Southeast Asia is concerned, the ceramics were very soon traded as commodities. They were only one part of a global commercial system which included other important commodities such as silk and required a sophisticated organization for loading and discharging activities at ports. It is within that context that Vietnamese ceramics made up for the temporary shortfall of Chinese ware in the imports of the Malay world. Nevertheless such a commercial flow does not appear to have initiated or developed a long term direct relationship between Vietnam and the Malay world as this trade remained all along in the hands of a third party – the Chinese trading communities with their own economic logic.

Monde insulindien et péninsule indochinoise : un panorama de contacts millénaires*

Daniel Perret & Danny Wong Tze Ken

Parmi les multiples approches possibles de l'histoire de l'Asie du Sud-Est, il en est une qui semble ne pas avoir encore reçu toute l'attention qu'elle mérite. À notre connaissance, il n'y a en effet pas jusqu'à présent de réflexion générale sur l'histoire des relations entre les différentes régions la constituant. Pourtant, dès 1944, dans son *Histoire ancienne des États hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient*, Georges Cœdès appliquait le concept de mer Méditerranée à l'ensemble formé par la mer de Chine, le golfe de Siam et la mer de Java. Il imaginait cette mer plus comme un potentiel d'interactions pour les populations côtières que comme une barrière¹. Plus près de nous, dès la première page de son *Carrefour javanais*, Denys Lombard insistait sur l'importance des rapports entre l'Archipel, le monde mon-khmer et l'ensemble de la péninsule indochinoise, et un peu plus loin reprenait l'idée de Cœdès sur la mer comme espace d'échanges en suggérant de considérer les étendues maritimes comme des zones de gravité². Quelques années plus tard, il constatait le petit nombre d'études consacrées aux relations entre différentes régions d'Asie du Sud-Est³. Dans une toute récente synthèse sur l'histoire de l'Asie du Sud-Est, un chapitre est consacré à cet aspect, mais il est limité à l'histoire des acteurs « non indigènes » présents dans la région⁴.

* Ce texte introduit un dossier basé sur une sélection de communications présentées lors du séminaire "Historical Relations between Indochina and the Malay World", qui s'est tenu à Kuala Lumpur les 20-21 octobre 2009, organisé conjointement par la Faculté des Arts et Sciences Sociales de l'University of Malaya et l'École française d'Extrême-Orient à Kuala Lumpur.

1. *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, de Boccard, 3^e éd., 1964, réimprimée en 1989 : 16.

2. *Le Carrefour javanais. Essai d'histoire globale. I : Les limites de l'occidentalisation*, Paris, Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1990 : 13, 15. Voir également Lombard, 1998 et 2007, dans la bibliographie. Afin d'éviter les répétitions, les références mentionnées dans la bibliographie consacrée aux relations entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise publiée dans ce dossier, apparaissent uniquement sous une forme abrégée dans cette introduction. Les abréviations utilisées ici sont également détaillées dans la bibliographie.

3. "Networks and Synchronisms in Southeast Asian History", *JSEAS*, 26(1), 1995: 10-16.

4. M.C. Ricklefs *et alii*, *A New History of Southeast Asia*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: chapitre 6 "Non-Indigenous Actors Old and New" (p. 116-133).

Le champ n'est toutefois pas complètement vierge d'études détaillées consacrées à l'histoire des relations entre deux ou plusieurs zones de la région. Citons, à titre d'exemples, l'étude de Khin Sok sur le Cambodge et ses voisins entre la fin du XVIII^e siècle et la fin du XIX^e siècle⁵ ou encore le travail de Suwannathat-Pian sur les relations thaïes-malaises entre le XVII^e siècle et le début du XX^e siècle⁶. Mais ces recherches restent très peu nombreuses.

Le but de ce dossier est de mettre en lumière cette approche consacrée aux échanges interrégionaux en Asie du Sud-Est à travers le cas des relations sur la longue durée entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise, en particulier l'espace représenté aujourd'hui par le Viêt Nam et le Cambodge, deux aires qui, vues globalement, ont emprunté des chemins divergents sur les plans linguistique, religieux et politique. Il n'est bien sûr pas question ici de traiter de tous les aspects de ces échanges multimillénaires.

Cette introduction n'a d'autre prétention que de proposer quelques jalons et d'illustrer les multiples facettes de ces relations réelles ou « imaginées ». Elle permet également de situer les contributions de ce dossier dans la longue durée des contacts.

Vestiges d'espaces et de réseaux

Les indices les plus anciens, quoiqu'encore incertains, de contacts culturels entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise remontent à environ 13 000 ans, avec ce que les préhistoriens s'accordent à nommer le phénomène hoabinhien, qui se traduit par l'existence d'une industrie lithique, précisément des outils sur galets, que l'on retrouve en péninsule indochinoise, en péninsule malaise et à Sumatra. Une industrie qui pourrait d'une part, être l'héritière de pratiques en usage chez les chasseurs-cueilleurs des mêmes régions, il y a quelque 35 000 ans, et qui d'autre part, va perdurer jusqu'au développement de l'agriculture⁷. Les aborigènes Semang Negritos de la péninsule malaise, locuteurs de langues austro-asiatiques, sont probablement des descendants de ces populations adeptes de l'outillage sur galet⁸.

5. *Le Cambodge entre le Siam et le Viêt Nam : de 1775 à 1860*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1991.

6. *Thai-Malay Relations: Traditional Intra-Regional Relations from the Seventeenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*, Singapore/New York, Oxford University Press, 1988.

7. Hubert Forestier, Truman Simanjuntak, Florent Détroit, Valéry Zeitoun, "Unité et diversité préhistorique entre Java et Sumatra", *Archipel*, 80, 2010 : 23 (19-44).

8. P. Bellwood considère que le facteur linguistique ne prouve pas que ces aborigènes soient originaires de la région qui est aujourd'hui le Cambodge, ajoutant que leur présence en péninsule malaise semble plutôt liée à l'expansion de la culture dite Ban Kao, centrée il y a quelque 2 000 ans sur la province thaïe actuelle de Kanchanaburi (Bellwood, "Southeast Asia before History", in N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, I, 1992: 100-1 (55-136)).

Selon le modèle archéo-linguistique le plus largement accepté aujourd'hui, des populations de l'ouest de Bornéo appartenant à la famille linguistique chamique s'installent sur les côtes méridionales du Viêt Nam entre le début du premier millénaire avant notre ère et le tout début de notre ère⁹. Les communautés maritimes dites Sa Huynh seraient le fruit de la rencontre entre les populations néolithiques locales et ces nouveaux arrivants¹⁰. Cette culture Sa Huynh emprunte son nom au site archéologique situé dans le sud du Viêt Nam, découvert au tout début du XX^e siècle. Elle a été identifiée également dans le delta du Mékong, au sud de la Thaïlande, à Bornéo (grotte de Niah à Sarawak), ainsi qu'aux Philippines¹¹. Se dessine ainsi un réseau à travers les deux zones qui nous intéressent ici, réseau qui traduit probablement l'existence de contacts culturels et commerciaux à l'époque¹². Au Viêt Nam, ces sites de tradition Sa Huynh pourraient représenter les premières implantations cam et cette culture semblerait aussi à l'origine de l'introduction des techniques de travail du fer en Asie du Sud-Est insulaire¹³. Rappelons ici que le plus ancien document en langue austronésienne connu à ce jour est l'inscription cam de Dong Yen Chau, datable du IV^e siècle EC¹⁴.

Un autre métal a joué un rôle important dans l'histoire des contacts entre la péninsule indochinoise et le monde insulindien, il s'agit du bronze. Le

9. P. Bellwood, 1992: 114-115; P. Bellwood, *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*, Honolulu, Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1997 (1^{ère} éd., 1985): 120-121; P. Bellwood, "The Origins and Dispersals of Agricultural Communities in Southeast Asia", in I. Glover & P. Bellwood (eds.), *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, London/New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004: 28-29 (21-40).

10. Bellwood, 1992: 130 (55-136); Bellwood, 1997: 271-2; Charles Higham, *Early Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia*, Bangkok, River Books, 2002: 179-183.

11. Pour un point récent sur cette question aux Philippines, voir E.A. Bacus, "The Archaeology of the Philippine Archipelago", in I. Glover & P. Bellwood (eds.), *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, London/New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004: 263-266 (257-281).

12. P. Bellwood, 2004: 38 (21-40). Pour une étude de cas très récente, voir B. Bellina, G. Epinal, A. Favereau, "Caractérisation préliminaire des poteries marqueurs d'échanges en mer de Chine méridionale à la fin de la préhistoire", *Archipel*, 84, 2012 : 7-33.

13. Pour des éléments récents sur ces questions, voir B. Bellina, E.A. Bacus, T.O. Pryce & J.W. Christie (eds.), *50 Years of Archaeology in Southeast Asia. Essays in Honour of Ian Glover*, Bangkok, River Books, 2010; P. Bellwood, "Southeast Asia before History", in N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, vol. 1(1), 1999: 130-1 (55-136); C. Higham, "Mainland Southeast Asia: From the Neolithic to the Iron Age", in I. Glover & P. Bellwood (eds.), *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, London/New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004: 60 (41-67); W.A. Southworth, "The Coastal States of Champa", in I. Glover & P. Bellwood (eds.), *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, London/New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004: 212-213 (209-233).

14. G. Cœdès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, de Boccard, 1964 (1^{ère} éd. 1948) : 96. Cette inscription est translittérée et traduite en anglais dans Thurgood (1999 : 3).

développement du travail du bronze en Asie du Sud-Est a très récemment fait l'objet d'une importante révision, étant maintenant situé vers 1000 AE¹⁵. L'industrie du bronze la plus connue est celle de Dong Son, qui tire son nom du site du même nom, dans la province de Thanh Hoa au sud d'Hanoi, fouillé initialement dans les années 1920 et 1930. La réputation de cette industrie est surtout liée à sa production de tambours dont la forme particulière a peut-être vu le jour vers 600 AE. Un type, probablement fabriqué uniquement au Viêt Nam, nous concerne tout particulièrement ici, c'est le type dit Heger I, puisqu'on en retrouve de nombreux exemplaires non seulement au Viêt Nam, mais aussi au Cambodge, en Thaïlande, ainsi que dans l'Archipel¹⁶. Fabriqués au moins jusqu'au III^e siècle EC, ils sont parvenus jusque dans le Grand Est indonésien, en particulier l'archipel de Kai près de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Bellwood semble suggérer que de par leur position géographique par rapport à la zone de production, des Austronésiens appartenant à la famille linguistique chamique auraient joué un rôle important dans leur diffusion¹⁷.

D'autres traits culturels ont pu suivre la même voie. C'est le cas de la charpente à faîtière tendue dont la silhouette est représentée sur des tambours de Dong Son (ainsi que du Yunnan) et que l'on retrouve justement en usage jusqu'à l'île de Sangeang au nord-est de Sumbawa¹⁸. On observe par ailleurs à la même époque des coutumes funéraires similaires sur la côte du centre du Viêt Nam (site de Go Cam), à Java Ouest, ainsi qu'au nord de Bali¹⁹.

C'est aussi durant les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne qu'a pu se produire ce qui serait la première « conquête » connue concernant les deux zones qui nous retiennent ici. Une source chinoise mentionne en effet que le royaume du Funan, centré sur le delta du Mékong, prend le contrôle d'une partie de la péninsule malaise, un événement qui serait à placer au III^e siècle EC²⁰. Le Funan attire les navires marchands de l'Archipel livrant dans ses ports des denrées destinées au marché chinois, en particulier des produits

15. C. Higham, T. Higham, A. Kijngam, "Cutting a Gordian Knot: The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia, Origins, Timing and Impact", *Antiquity*, 85, 2011: 583-598; C. Higham, T. Higham, R. Ciarla, K. Douka, A. Kijngam, F. Rispoli, "The Origins of the Bronze Age of Southeast Asia", *Journal of World Prehistory*, 24(4), 2011: 227-274.

16. Selon un décompte effectué dans les années 1980, on arrive à plus de 200, dont un quart en Asie du Sud-Est insulaire (Bellwood, 1999: 122).

17. Bellwood, 1997: 272; Bellwood, 2004: 37.

18. Dumarçay, 1981, 1998.

19. Manguin, 2010: 178-9.

20. G. Cœdès, 1964: 82. M. Vickery ("Funan Reviewed: Deconstructing the Ancients", *BEFEO*, 90-91, 2003: 124-125), puis E. Bourdonneau ("Réhabiliter le Funan : Ôc Eo ou la première Angkor", *BEFEO*, 94, 2007 : 131) ont repris cette question récemment.

forestiers et les épices des Moluques²¹. Dès le début du III^e siècle EC, les sources chinoises signalent une autre entité politique côtière, le Linyi, dans la moitié nord du Viêt Nam, qui entretient très probablement des contacts commerciaux avec le monde insulindien²².

D'autres indices de réseaux apparaissent au V^e siècle, marqués par la présence de statues de Viṣṇu « mitrés » dans le delta du Mékong, à la fois au Cambodge et au Viêt Nam, en Thaïlande péninsulaire et dans l'Archipel, précisément sur les sites de Kota Kapur sur l'île de Bangka, de Cibuyaya à Java Ouest, ainsi qu'à Bali²³. P.-Y. Manguin associe ces statues particulières à un réseau maritime de marchands adeptes du courant Vaiṣṇava reliant plusieurs ports d'Asie du Sud-Est. Dans l'Archipel, le vestige le plus récent de ce réseau serait le site de Kota Kapur daté de la fin du VII^e siècle²⁴.

À la même époque, le bouddhisme manifeste également une expression commune sur les routes commerciales maritimes de la région, notamment à travers la statuaire et les inscriptions en sanskrit²⁵. Ces témoignages artistiques et épigraphiques, auxquels il faut probablement ajouter certaines techniques architecturales communes, sont complétés depuis une dizaine d'années par du mobilier issu de fouilles archéologiques. En effet, des assemblages archéologiques similaires (poteries, objets en étain, perles, etc...) ont été mis au jour à Oc Eo dans le delta du Mékong, en péninsule malaise (Pontian, Kuala Selinsing), à Sumatra (sites de Air Sugihan/Banyuasin près de l'embouchure de la rivière Musi à Sumatra Sud), à Java Ouest (Batujaya), et enfin à Java Central (Pekalongan) pour un sceau d'influence indienne ou hellénistique similaire à des trouvailles d'Oc Eo²⁶.

21. K.R. Hall, "Economic History of Early Southeast Asia", in N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia. I: From Early Times to c. 1500*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999 (1ère éd., 1992): 194 (183-275); Manguin, "The Archaeology of Fu Nan in the Mekong River Delta: the Oc Eo Culture of Viet Nam", in N. Tingley (ed.), *Arts of Ancient Viet Nam: From River Plain to Open Sea*, Houston, Asia Society, The Museum of Fine Arts, New Haven/London, Yale Univ. Press, 2009: 111 (103-118).

22. Pour une synthèse sur le Linyi, voir W.A. Southworth, "The Coastal States of Champa", in I. Glover & P. Bellwood (eds.), *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, London/New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004: 216-222 (209-233). Sur la question de la localisation de Linyi, voir M. Vickery, "Champa Revised", in Trần Kỳ Phương & B.M. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*, Singapore, National Univ. Press, 2011: 363-420 (en particulier pp. 372-378).

23. Les auteurs remercient Arlo Griffiths d'avoir porté à leur attention cette découverte récente à Bali, ainsi que pour ses suggestions ayant permis d'améliorer une version antérieure de ce texte.

24. Dalsheimer & Manguin, 1998.

25. Manguin 2010: 172-174.

26. Manguin, 2002, 2004; P.Y. Manguin & A. Indrajaya, "The Archaeology of Batujaya (West-Java, Indonesia): An interim Report", in E.A. Bacus, I.C. Glover & V.C. Pigott (eds.), *Uncovering Southeast Asia's Past. Selected Papers from the 10th International Conference of*

Au moins une figure mythique relie les deux ensembles pour cette époque ancienne. Elle apparaît dans une tradition encore vivante dans les années 1970 à Java. Il s'agit d'un certain Aji Saka, considéré comme l'acteur principal de l'indianisation de l'île, acteur que cette tradition fait venir du Campā²⁷. Le Campā lui-même apparaît comme une entité indépendante au V^e siècle, entité dont les ports servent déjà d'escale pour les navires de l'Archipel se rendant en Chine²⁸. Une source chinoise du VII^e siècle suggère ainsi que Cua Dai Chiem (province de Quang Nam) et l'archipel de Cu Lao Cham, ont participé activement à ces échanges à l'époque²⁹. L'archéologie confirme d'ailleurs cette situation pour des sites en amont sur la rivière Thu Bon, tels que Tra Kieu, Hau Xa et Go Cam³⁰.

En ce qui concerne cette période qui débute avec l'horizon hoabinhien et s'achève au VII^e siècle de notre ère, les relations entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise sont aujourd'hui perçues essentiellement à travers la mise en lumière d'espaces et de réseaux caractérisés par des traits communs sur le plan de la culture matérielle et de la vie religieuse, et secondairement à travers des sources chinoises à partir des premiers siècles de notre ère. Si elle peut être confirmée un jour, la prise de contrôle d'une partie de la péninsule malaise par le Funan au III^e siècle EC constituerait, au cours de cette longue période, l'unique événement dont la trace soit parvenue jusqu'à nous à propos des relations qui nous intéressent ici.

Des réseaux qui s'affirment et une histoire événementielle fragmentaire

Les contours de ces relations commencent à se préciser durant ce VII^e siècle avec l'apparition de noms d'acteurs, de toponymes et d'événements liés à ces relations. C'est tout d'abord la question de l'origine de la dynastie Śailendra à Java, dont les premiers dirigeants ont pu être politiquement actifs

the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Singapore, NUS Press, 2006: 245-257; P.Y. Manguin & A. Indrajaya, "The Batujaya Site: New Evidence of Early Indian Influence in West Java", in P.-Y. Manguin, A. Mani & G. Wade (eds.), *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia*, Singapore, ISEAS, New Delhi, Manohar, 2011: 129; A. Indrajaya, "The Pre-Srivijaya Period on the Eastern Coast of Sumatra: Preliminary Research at the Air Sugihan Site", in M.L. Tjoa-Bonatz, A. Reinecke & D. Bonatz (eds.), *Connecting Empires and States. Selected Papers from the 13th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists*, vol. 2, Singapore, NUS Press, 2012: 32-42.

27. Lombard, 1987: 312.

28. K.R. Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia. Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100-1500*, Lanhan, etc., Rowman & Littlefield Pub., 2011: 73, 75.

29. Voir G. Wade dans ce volume.

30. W.A. Southworth, 2004: 221 (209-233). W. Southworth & R. Prior, "History and Archaeology at Trà Kiệu", in B. Bellina, E.A. Bacus, T.O. Pryce & J.W. Christie (eds.), *50 Years of Archaeology in Southeast Asia. Essays in Honour of Ian Glover*, Bangkok, River Books, 2010: 183-194.

dans l'île dès le début du VII^e siècle³¹. Le nom même de «Šailendra», qui signifierait «roi de la montagne», a conduit Cœdès, en 1934, à l'interpréter comme une reprise des titres des anciens souverains du Funan³². Vingt ans plus tard, de Casparis déchiffre le toponyme «Varanara» dans une inscription de Plaosan à Java Central. Ce texte datable du IX^e siècle mentionne également le nom d'un roi qui semblerait être le fondateur à Java de cette dynastie Šailendra. De Casparis rapproche ce toponyme de Naravaranağara, le Na-fu-na des sources chinoises, qui n'est autre que le nom de la capitale du Funan après l'abandon de Vyādhapura dans la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle. Il retrouve ce toponyme Naravara sur l'inscription voisine de Kelurak (782 EC), affirmant qu'il n'y a pas d'ambiguïté sur la référence à la capitale du Funan. Il lit par ailleurs dans l'inscription de Plaosan le titre *adhirāja*, inhabituel à l'époque à Java pour désigner les rois, alors que c'est justement le titre en usage pour les souverains du Funan installés à Vyādhapura³³. Ajoutons que sur le plan chronologique, l'hypothèse se tient puisque qu'on sait maintenant qu'une importante rupture s'opère au Funan vers le milieu du VII^e siècle³⁴, période qui correspondrait à celle de l'émergence des Šailendras à Java. Ces hypothèses et conjectures sont toutefois loin de faire l'unanimité³⁵.

En ce qui concerne le VIII^e siècle, trois types de sources semblent faire état de velléités de conquête de la part du monde insulindien à l'encontre de la zone Jiaozhi (futur Viêt Nam) – Campā – Cambodge. Mentionnons tout d'abord un passage dans un texte soundanais tardif, la *Carita Parahiyangan*, dont des extraits ont été publiés initialement par Poerbatjaraka, qui raconte que le roi Sanjaya, dont on sait par ailleurs qu'il a régné à Java Central à partir de 732 EC, entreprend des conquêtes territoriales parmi lesquelles figure «kēmīr», un toponyme qu'il est logique d'associer à l'actuel Cambodge³⁶. Néanmoins, l'écart temporel entre le moment de ces conquêtes supposées et l'époque de rédaction du texte est tel que cette information doit

31. Boechari, "Preliminary Report on the Discovery of an Old-Malay Inscription at Sodjomerto", *Majalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia*, oct., III, 2/3: 241-251 (réédité dans Boechari, *Melacak Sejarah Kuno Indonesia Lewat Prasasti. Tracing Ancient Indonesian History through Inscriptions*, Jakarta, KPG, FIB UI, EFEO, 2012: 349-360).

32. Cœdès, 1964: 168.

33. J.G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia II. Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Centuries*, Bandung, Masa Baru, 1956: note 39 p. 184-5.

34. Manguin, 2009: 114.

35. Voir par exemple L.-C. Damais dans son compte rendu des deux ouvrages de De Casparis (1968: 421-422), ou encore Boechari (1966, 2012).

36. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, "De Batoo-Toelis bij Buitenzorg", *TBG*, LIX, 1919-21: 403 (380-418). Plusieurs manuscrits de ce texte sont datés du XVII^e siècle (cf. Atja & Edi S. Ekadjati, *Carita Parahiyangan*, Bandung, Yayasan Pembangunan Jawa Barat, 1989: 87-96).

être traitée avec la plus grande précaution³⁷. Selon les Annales vietnamiennes, en 767 EC une partie de la région est envahie par des bandes venues du monde insulindien³⁸, mais elles sont défaites par le gouverneur local. Sept ans plus tard au Campā, c'est une inscription sanskrite de Po Nagar à Nha Trang, alors escale pour les bateaux venant de l'archipel notamment³⁹, qui raconte que «des hommes nés dans d'autres pays, des hommes vivant d'aliments plus horribles encore que les cadavres, effrayants, entièrement noirs et maigres, terribles et méchants comme la mort, venus sur des navires» désacralisent et brûlent le temple. Une autre inscription, datée 787 EC, plus au sud dans la plaine de Phan Rang cette fois, mentionne que «les armées de Java, venues sur des vaisseaux» brûlent un autre temple⁴⁰. À partir de ces deux textes et d'autres sources épigraphiques, Arlo Griffiths apporte dans ce dossier un nouvel éclairage sur les rapports entre le «Java» des inscriptions et la péninsule indochinoise au tournant du IX^e siècle. En contrepoint à ces conflits, les historiens de l'art décèlent dans l'architecture cam le développement d'un moment «indo-javanais» qui ne peut être antérieur au VIII^e siècle, et se situe probablement entre la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle et le début du X^e siècle, moment qui traduit des contacts culturels étroits⁴¹.

En 802 EC au Cambodge, Jayavarman II organise une cérémonie visant à se libérer de la domination de «Java» et une inscription du XI^e siècle nous apprend d'ailleurs qu'il est venu de «Java» pour régner à Indrapura⁴². Cœdès rapproche cette situation de dépendance du Cambodge vis-à-vis de «Java» d'une source arabe du début du X^e siècle, le *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân en Inde et en Chine*, qui relate un conflit entre le roi khmer et le roi de Jâwaga :

«[le roi khmèr s'exprime] 'Je désire voir devant moi, sur un plat, la tête du Mahârajâ, roi de Jâwaga' (...) le propos parvint à la connaissance du Mahârajâ (...) [ce dernier prescrivit

37. Sur ce point, voir L.-C. Damais, "Bibliographie. Compte rendu de l'ouvrage de Poerbatjaraka, Riwayat Indonesia, 1952", *BEFEO*, 48(2), 1957 : 635sq.

38. Voir l'article de C. Salmon dans ce volume sur le terme employé à cette époque pour désigner le monde insulindien.

39. W.A. Southworth, 2004 : 226 (209-233).

40. Cœdès, 1964 : 173.

41. Philippe Stern, *L'art du Champa (ancien Annam) et son évolution*, Toulouse, Les Frères Douladoure, 1942 : 68 ; B.P. Groslier, *Indochine. Carrefour des Arts*, Paris, Editions Albin Michel, 1961 : 133-6, 141, 143 ; J. Guy, "Artistic Exchange, Regional Dialogue and the Cham Territories", in A. Hardy, M. Cucarzi & P. Zolese (eds.), *Champa and the Archaeology of My Son (Vietnam)*, Singapore, NUS Press, 2009: 147-151 (107-126). À l'inverse, le Candi Pari à Java-Est (XIV^e siècle) montrerait une influence cam dans son architecture (N.J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1923, vol. II: 185).

42. B.P. Groslier, 1961 : 88-9 ; Cœdès, 1964 : 183-4. Cette question est reprise par A. Griffiths dans le présent dossier.

de] faire préparer mille navires de moyenne grandeur, de les équiper, de mettre à bord de chacun d'eux des armes et des troupes vaillantes (...) il déclara ouvertement qu'il désirait faire un voyage d'agrément dans les îles de son royaume (...) celui-ci s'embarqua et avec sa flotte et ses troupes fit route à destination du royaume de Khmèr (...). [une fois dans la capitale] Il fit alors couper la tête au roi du Khmèr. Puis il s'approcha du ministre khmèr et lui dit '(...). Cherche maintenant quelqu'un qui puisse faire un bon roi après ce fou, et mets-le à la place de celui-ci'. Le Mahârâja partit sur l'heure pour retourner dans son pays (...) et il fit mettre devant lui le plat contenant la tête du roi du Khmèr. (...) Le Mahârâja fit ensuite laver et embaumer la tête du roi du Khmèr; on la mit dans un vase et on l'envoya au roi qui avait remplacé sur le trône du Khmèr le souverain décapité (...). Depuis ce moment, les rois du Khmèr, tous les matins, en se levant, tournent le visage dans la direction du pays de Jâwaga, s'inclinent jusqu'à terre et s'humilient devant le Mahârâja pour lui rendre hommage.»⁴³

Cœdès ajoute toutefois que ce passage pourrait être le souvenir romancé d'une attaque de Śrīvijaya à la fin du VII^e siècle⁴⁴. Ajoutons en ce qui concerne le IX^e siècle qu'une influence javanaise est perceptible dans l'art d'Angkor, notamment dans le style des *kala* et *makara*, ainsi que sur certains haut-reliefs⁴⁵.

À Java, l'inscription en vieux-javanais de Kuti (Java Est, 840 EC) donne une liste des pays d'origine de *wargge dalēm* (domestiques du palais). Parmi eux figurent des gens du Campā (*cĕmpa*) et du Cambodge (*kmir*)⁴⁶. À la même époque au Campā, c'est probablement toujours le port de Nha Trang qui domine dans les relations avec l'Archipel, alors qu'entre la fin du VIII^e siècle et le début du IX^e siècle il était en concurrence pour ces échanges avec le port de Long Bien dans la vallée de la Rivière Rouge⁴⁷. Sur ces contacts anciens, une inscription du Campā du début du X^e siècle rapporte que par deux fois, sous deux souverains différents (qui ont régné entre la fin du IX^e et le début du X^e siècle), un certain Po kluñ Piliḥ Rājadvāra, dignitaire apparenté à la maison royale, s'est rendu en ambassade à Java⁴⁸.

43. G. Ferrand (trad. & éd.), *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abū Zayd Hasan (vers 916)*, Paris, Editions Bossard, 1922 : 99-102.

44. Cœdès, 1964 : 177.

45. Styles de Kulên et de Preah Ko, Bakong (Groslier, 1961 : 91, 97-99).

46. H.B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1971, vol. 1: 76-99. Ce document est toutefois à traiter avec précaution dans la mesure où il s'agit d'une copie réalisée à l'époque de Majapahit. Dans son répertoire onomastique (Paris, PEFEO LXVI, 1970), dont le corpus comprend les inscriptions javanaises antérieures à 928 EC, Damais ne relève le terme *campa* qu'à cinq reprises (dans des inscriptions datées entre 762 Ś et 831 Ś, soit 840-909 EC) et *kmir* à six reprises (dans des inscriptions datées entre 762 et 844 Ś, soit 840-922 EC).

47. W.A. Southworth, 2004: 227-8.

48. E. Huber, « Études indochinoises », *BEFEO*, 11, 1911: 301, 303, 309 (259-311). L'interprétation que fait Huber d'un pèlerinage réalisé à Java pour y apprendre la sorcellerie (ou la science magique) est aujourd'hui contestée (cf. la contribution de A. Griffiths dans ce dossier).

On retrouve l'ethnonyme *kmir* dans une inscription de Java Central de la première moitié du X^e siècle (Wuruḍu Kidul, 922 EC), qui reprend un jugement suite à un litige dans lequel un individu saisit la justice parce qu'il a été traité de « fils de Khmer » (*vka kmir*), ce qu'il considère comme une insulte⁴⁹.

Les annales de la dynastie Song (960-1279) rapportent qu'au royaume de « San-bo-tsai » (Śrīvijaya), des « esclaves de Pulo Condore » y sont musiciens et chanteurs, et qu'en 988 un ambassadeur apporte un tribut à la cour de Chine avant de se rendre au Campā avec son navire⁵⁰. Cette mention permet de mettre l'accent ici sur le rôle des communautés étrangères dès cette époque dans les relations entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise. Il est en effet probable qu'une bonne partie de ces envoyés au service d'entités politiques du monde insulindien étaient d'origines chinoise, sud-asiatique ou moyenne-orientale, et que certains d'entre eux étaient métis⁵¹. Des marchands étrangers et métis ont aussi très probablement joué le rôle d'intermédiaires dès cette époque, à travers des réseaux reliant diverses régions d'Asie du Sud-Est et leur pays d'origine⁵². Ce sont justement surtout les sources chinoises et moyennes-orientales qui permettent encore de reconstituer les anciennes routes maritimes entre la péninsule indochinoise et le monde insulindien⁵³. Geoff Wade reprend cette question sur la longue durée dans le présent dossier.

Au X^e siècle, le Campā comprend plusieurs ports accueillant probablement des marchands de l'Archipel, entre le port d'Amarendrapura au nord et Phan Rang au sud⁵⁴. Il faut noter en particulier l'archipel de Cu Lao Cham, déjà cité plus haut, lieu de transbordement qui a livré de gros fragments de poteries glaçurées du Moyen-Orient datables des IX^e-X^e siècles, poteries qui reflètent vraisemblablement des contacts avec l'Archipel

49. H.B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java, up to 928 A.D.*, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1971-2, vol. 2: 198-206; Boechari, 2012: 242.

50. W.P. Groeneveldt, *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya compiled from Chinese Sources*, Djakarta, C.V. Bhratara, 1960 (1^{ère} éd., 1877): 63, 65.

51. Voir par exemple le cas des intermédiaires entre Śrīvijaya et la Chine étudié par C. Salmon (« Srivijaya, la Chine et les marchands chinois (X^e-XII^e s.). Quelques réflexions sur l'empire sumatranais », *Archipel*, 63, 2002 : 57-78).

52. Pour deux synthèses récentes sur cette question, voir C. Salmon, « Les Persans à l'extrémité orientale de la route maritime (II^e A.E.-XVII^e siècle) », *Archipel*, 68, 2004 : 23-58 ; Geoff Wade, « An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900-1300 CE », *JSEAS*, 40(2), 2009: 221-265.

53. On peut ajouter un exemple de source d'origine différente, tel ce routier arménien de la mer de Chine du début du XII^e siècle. Une communauté arménienne est installée à Zaytun (= Quanzhou) au moins dès le tout début du XIV^e siècle, puisqu'on sait qu'elle y finance la construction d'une église pour le compte de Rome (K. Kévonian, « Un itinéraire arménien de la mer de Chine », in C. Guillot (éd.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. Le site de Lobu Tua. I : Études et Documents*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel 30, 1998 : 35-118).

54. K.R. Hall, 2011: 77.

à l'époque. Il convient d'y ajouter le port de Cua Dai Chiem sur la côte en face de Cu Lao Cham⁵⁵.

À Java même, deux inscriptions en vieux-javanais du delta du fleuve Brantas, dans l'est de l'île (Patakan et Cane), datées 1021 EC, mentionnent la présence de gens du Campā et des «Kmir»⁵⁶.

Dès la fin du X^e siècle, après la libération définitive du Dai Viet de la domination chinoise en 939 EC, les chroniques officielles vietnamiennes font état d'une ouverture au grand commerce, avec une fréquentation de la capitale Hoa Lu et de son port de Bo Hai par des marchands venant d'autres régions d'Asie du Sud-Est, en particulier de Java⁵⁷. Les mêmes sources décrivent une situation similaire pour le port de Van Don, dans le delta de la Rivière Rouge, à partir du milieu du XII^e siècle. Van Don au nord, et, au sud, le nouveau port de Thi Nai (Quy Nhon dans la province actuelle de Binh Dinh) à Vijaya au Campā, semblent apparaître en même temps, à une époque d'accroissement du grand commerce entre Java Est et la Chine du Sud⁵⁸. Un peu plus tard, dans les années 1170, Fan Chengda, un lettré fonctionnaire de Chine rapporte que la côte du Dai Viet est une zone de rencontre entre les «infâmes trafiquants du sud de l'empire» et «les marchands étrangers des pays barbares»⁵⁹.

Une source chinoise compilée au XII^e-XIII^e siècle mentionne que le Campā est en relation, sans doute commerciale, avec «San-fo-qi» (probablement Śrīvijaya) et Butuan aux Philippines⁶⁰.

Au Cambodge, une inscription de Jayavarman VII datée 1191 EC rapporte que, parmi d'autres souverains, le roi de Java «porte chaque jour avec piété l'eau des ablutions», le tribut d'eau étant très probablement à l'époque un signe d'allégeance⁶¹. Ce passage, certainement destiné à magnifier le souverain d'Angkor, montre que Java était bien présente dans la vision politique du monarque.

55. W.A. Southworth, 2004: 228; Andrew Hardy, "Eaglewood and the Economic History of Champa and Central Vietnam", in A. Hardy, M. Cucarzi & P. Zolese (eds.), *Champa and the Archaeology of Mỹ Sơn (Vietnam)*, Singapore, NUS Press, 2009: 108 (107-126).

56. J.L.A. Brandes, *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden Nagelaten Transscripties*, Batavia, Albrecht & Co., 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, VBG deel LX, 1913: 120-8, no. LVIII et LIX; N.J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1931: 264.

57. K.W. Taylor, "The Early Kingdoms", in N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia. I: From Early Times to c. 1500*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999 (1^{ère} éd., 1992): 145 (137-182).

58. M. Shiro, "Dai Viet and the South China Sea Trade: From the 10th to the 15th Century", *Crossroads*, 12(1), 1998: 14 (1-34).

59. J.K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast: Trade, State and Culture in Early Đại Việt", *JSEAS*, 37(1), 2006: 110, 111 (103-122).

60. G. Wade, 2009: 242, 258 (221-265).

61. G. Coëdès, "La stèle du Prah Khân d'Ankor", *BEFEO*, 41, 1941: 267-8, 299 (255-302).

Au début du XIII^e siècle, c'est toujours le port de Van Don qui représente la plaque tournante principale du commerce entre le Dai Viet et l'Archipel, et il le restera jusqu'au XIV^e siècle. Au XIII^e siècle, Thi Nai à Vijaya au Campā, reste le port cam principal servant d'escale entre l'Archipel et la Chine et deviendra même le port intermédiaire majeur de toute la péninsule pour ce commerce jusqu'aux premières décennies du XV^e siècle⁶².

Maspero mentionne une inscription du Campā datée 1306 EC rapportant qu'une «princesse, fille du roi de Java, est venue du Yavadvipa et se nomme la reine Tapasi»⁶³. En 1318, le roi cam Che Nang, vaincu par les Vietnamiens, se réfugie à Java, une réaction logique s'il s'agit d'un fils de la reine Tapasi mentionnée ci-dessus⁶⁴. À la même époque, le Dai Viet continue d'entretenir des relations avec l'Archipel. On apprend ainsi que le frère d'un général du Dai Viet s'exprimait dans leur langue avec les envoyés de Temasek (actuel Singapour), langue qui pouvait être du malais, du persan ou de l'arabe⁶⁵.

Le *Deśawarṇana*, composé en 1365, inclut le Campā, le Cambodge et le Yawana (Dai Viet) parmi les pays «protégés» par le souverain de Majapahit à Java Est, ou «amis» de ce royaume. Ces trois pays apparaissent également ensemble dans un autre passage du texte, où la gloire du souverain, ainsi que la présence de religieux illustres, attirent des visiteurs de la Chine à l'Inde, visiteurs qui font le voyage avec les marchands⁶⁶. L'influence de la péninsule indochinoise à Majapahit dès le XIV^e siècle est encore perceptible à travers les céramiques originaires de cette région retrouvées dans les fouilles de Trowulan, l'ancienne capitale du royaume⁶⁷. Trois siècles plus tard, Dampier note qu'un marchand anglais a acheté 100 000 bols de basse qualité à Thang Long (Hanoï), cargaison revendue pratiquement en totalité sur la côte ouest de Sumatra avec un énorme profit⁶⁸. Cet aspect des relations, à savoir la diffusion des céramiques vietnamiennes dans le monde

62. K.R. Hall, 2011: 241, 242.

63. G. Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, Paris, EFEO, 1988 (1^{ère} éd. 1928) : note 5 p. 189, 199.

64. Maspero, 1988: 197-9.

65. Li Tana, "A View from the Sea: Perspectives on the Northern and Central Vietnamese Coast", *JSEAS*, 2006: 91 (83-102).

66. Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century: A study in cultural history/The Nāgara-Kērtāgama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 A. D.*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff (KITLV, Translation Series 4), 1960, I: 12, 64; III: 18, 98; 1962, IV: 35, 272-3 (5 vol.); S. Robson (transl.), *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakērtāgama) by Mpu Prapañca*, Leiden, KITLV Press, 1995: 34, 85.

67. Dupoizat, 2003.

68. William Dampier (1699) cité par A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, vol. I, New Haven/London, Yale Univ. Press, 1988: 105.

insulindien pendant plus de trois siècles, est examiné dans ce dossier par Marie-France Dupoizat.

Majapahit et la péninsule indochinoise, c'est aussi l'histoire très populaire à Java de la fameuse Putri Cempa, rapportée dans plusieurs textes littéraires javanais, personnage lié à l'introduction de l'islam à Java. S'il n'est pas possible de reprendre ici cette question en détail, à notre connaissance, il n'y a pour l'instant aucune source cam qui confirme cette légende. Pour s'en tenir à un seul texte, le *Babad Tanah Jawi*, la chronique officielle du royaume de Mataram, dont nous n'avons examiné qu'un résumé d'un manuscrit publié⁶⁹, cette histoire comporte trois épisodes à l'époque du souverain Brawijaya de Majapahit⁷⁰. Rêvant qu'il épouse une princesse du Campā (Cempa dans le texte), Brawijaya envoie une délégation au Campā pour transmettre son souhait. Elle revient avec la fille aînée du roi du Campā, Darawati, que Brawijaya épouse⁷¹. Au Campā, un musulman nommé Makdum Ibrahim Asmara (beau-frère du nouveau roi du Campā et de Darawati) a deux fils, Raden Rahmat et Raden Santri (qui sont donc musulmans). Raden Rahmat souhaite retrouver sa tante à Java et y part avec son frère ainsi qu'avec Raden Burereh, le fils du roi. Tous trois passent un an au palais de Majapahit et prennent chacun une épouse. Raden Rahmat s'installe à Surabaya, dans le quartier d'Ampel Denta, où il devient imam de la mosquée à la demande de Brawijaya⁷². Deux de ses nombreux disciples

69. Nous avons consulté la traduction en indonésien parue en 2004 (S.D. Damono & S. Sondakh, eds. trad., *Babad Tanah Jawi*, Jakarta, Amanah-Lontar, 2 vol.), d'un résumé de l'édition en javanais en 31 volumes parue en 1939 (éditée par R. Ng. Yasadipura et publiée par Balai Pustaka). Il y a probablement autant de versions différentes concernant Putri Cempa qu'il y a de manuscrits, qui sont conservés dans au moins cinq collections (S.D. Damono & S. Sondakh, eds. trad., 2004 : xv). Pour une brève revue déjà ancienne, mais encore utile, des études sur ce texte, voir H.J. de Graaf, "Later Javanese Sources and Historiography", in Soedjatmoko et al. (eds.), *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell Univ. Press, 1965 : 119-122 (119-136).

70. Les avis divergent sur l'identité et l'époque du règne de ce souverain. J. Noorduyn le place au début du XVI^e siècle ("Majapahit in the Fifteenth Century", *BKI*, 134(2/3), 1978: 243 (207-274), alors que H. Djafar l'identifie avec Bhre Krtabhūmi et situe son règne entre 1468 et 1478 (cf. *Masa Akhir Majapahit. Girindrawarddhana dan Masalahnya*, Jakarta, Komunitas Bambu, 2009).

71. Le texte malais *Hikayat Hasanuddin* comporte également un épisode relatant le mariage entre un roi de Majapahit et une princesse du Campā (Malay Concordance Project - <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/> - Jan Edel, *Hikajat Hasanoeuddin*, Meppel, Ten Brink, Akademisch Proefschrift Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1938: 64-27, 64-30, 68-28). Selon la *Babad Meinsma*, elle apporte un gong, un carosse et une charrette qui feront plus tard partie du trésor royal de Mataram (H.J. de Graaf & Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse vorstendommen op Java: studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, VKI 69, 1974: 20).

72. Selon une autre source, Raden Rahmat aurait été accueilli à Ampel Denta par un Chinois « chef des marchés » (*Pecat tanda*) au service de Majapahit (D. Lombard & C. Salmon, « Islam et Sinité », *Archipel*, 30, 1985 : 74 (73-94)). Parmi les premiers chercheurs à

sont fort connus dans l'histoire de l'islamisation de l'île, il s'agit de Sunan Bonang et de Sunan Giri⁷³. Quant à Raden Santri et Raden Burereh, ils s'installent à Gresik. Le troisième épisode intervient lorsque Brawijaya tombe gravement malade. Pour guérir, la reine Darawati lui conseille de coucher avec Putri Wandan Kuning, l'une de ses servantes également originaire du Campā. Celle-ci lui donne un fils que Brawijaya confie à l'un des fonctionnaires du palais en lui ordonnant de le tuer lorsqu'il aura atteint l'âge de huit ans. Sur le site de Trowulan, l'ancienne capitale de Majapahit, on peut encore voir une tombe que la tradition locale attribue à Putri Cempa. Le millésime figurant dans l'inscription de la stèle correspond à 1448/9 EC⁷⁴. Raden Rahmat, qui deviendra Sunan Ampel, est traditionnellement considéré comme le plus important des neuf saints (Wali Sanga) ayant islamisé l'est et le centre de Java à partir de la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle⁷⁵.

Une autre tradition liée à l'époque de Majapahit, moins connue cette fois, est celle d'une attaque de la côte orientale de Java par des troupes siamoises et khmères alliées à Sukadana (Bornéo), attaque qui aurait été repoussée par un personnage originaire du massif du Tengger. En récompense, il aurait reçu le territoire de Blambangan⁷⁶.

Dans le texte malais *Sulalat al-Salatin*, les Cam apparaissent dans le récit du royaume de Melaka juste après la conversion de son souverain à l'islam. La réorganisation du protocole palatin donne une place de choix à un certain *nakhoda* Cempa⁷⁷. On retrouve les Cam à propos des relations entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise à l'époque de Majapahit, avec

s'être intéressés à la question, citons P.J. Veth qui consacre plusieurs pages à "Ratoe Poetri Tjampa" et à Raden Rahmat dans son *Java, geografisch, ethnologisch, historisch*, Haarlem, De Erven F. Bohn, 1896, vol. I: 233sq.. Pour un examen de sources littéraires de Java associant la diffusion de l'islam dans l'île et le Campā, voir Manguin, 1979 : 261-4.

73. À propos de Sunan Giri, on dispose de quelques informations sur sa mère nourricière, Nyai Pinatih, une Chinoise originaire de Palembang (Lombard & Salmon, 1985 : 74). Au tournant du XVI^e siècle, cette musulmane peut-être d'origine khmère, est active à Java-Est pour la promotion de l'islam. Elle est probablement un temps *syahbandar* de Gresik, propriétaire d'une flotte de commerce, envoyant des navires jusqu'au Cambodge (T.S. Raffles, II, 1994 : 115 ; M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1962 : 108). Selon De Graaf & Pigeaud (1974 : note 178 p. 285), son époux était probablement khmer.

74. C'est Brandes qui en publie le premier une lecture correcte, après une lecture fautive publiée par Raffles (*NBGBKW*, XXIV, 1886 : 42).

75. Th.G.Th. Pigeaud & H.J. de Graaf, *Islamic states in Java, 1500-1700*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, VKI 70, 1976 : 5, 16. Voir aussi T.S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford Univ. Press, vol. II, 1994 (1^{ère} éd., 1817) : 124. Ses deux disciples, Sunan Bonang et Sunan Giri, font également partie des Wali Songo.

76. De Graaf & Pigeaud, 1974 : 192, note 174 p. 284.

77. A. Samad Ahmad (ed.), *Sulalatus Salatin*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1986 (1^{ère} éd., 1984) : 75.

la visite d'un certain Pau Gama, roi de Bal, à la cour du royaume javanais, où le souverain local lui donne comme épouse l'une de ses filles, Raden Galuh Ajeng. Pau Gama retourne au Campā au moment où la princesse est enceinte. Raja Jakanak, le fils né de cette union, part au Campā, où son père le fait roi. La chronique continue en racontant que c'est au moment où Pau Kubah, le successeur de Raja Jakanak, refuse de donner sa fille en mariage au roi de Kuci⁷⁸ (Dai Viet) que ce dernier attaque et conquiert la capitale⁷⁹.

Ce conflit est bien connu par ailleurs, puisqu'il s'agit de la prise de Vijaya, la capitale du royaume du Campā, en 1471⁸⁰. L'événement provoque le déplacement de la capitale au sud, dans la région de Phan Rang, tandis que Van Don au Dai Viet devient le port d'escale majeur de la péninsule indochinoise entre l'Archipel et la Chine⁸¹. Des Cam s'enfuient en direction du monde insulindien. Le *Sulalat al-Salatin* identifie deux princes cam, respectivement Syah Indera Berma, qui se réfugie à Melaka, et Syah Pau Ling, qui se réfugie à Aceh où, le texte nous précise, il est à l'origine des souverains d'Aceh⁸². Un autre élément sans doute beaucoup plus ancien relie Aceh et le Campā, ce sont les deux langues, dont les similitudes ont donné lieu à un certain nombre d'études linguistiques⁸³. La présence cam à Aceh a peut-être imprimé sa marque dans le paysage puisque trois toponymes de la pointe nord de Sumatra, encore en usage aujourd'hui, comportent le terme «Cempa»⁸⁴. Il est toutefois plus probable que ce mot

78. Kuci tire son origine du terme ancien Jiaozhi en chinois, rendu Giao Chi en vietnamien, qui sera ensuite emprunté par les Portugais pour donner Cochinchina, que l'on retrouve déjà chez Tomé Pires.

79. A. Samad Ahmad (ed.), 1986: 163-4.

80. Dans ses *Légendes historiques des Chames*, Aymonier raconte : «En l'année du serpent les Annamites amenèrent des troupes entourer la capitale Bal Thuh [...] A Bal Thuh, leurs têtes furent amoncelées en pyramides hautes comme des montagnes.» (cité par Georges Maspero, «Le royaume de Champa. Chapitre IX», *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 12, No. 5 (1911), pp. 589-626, à la note 5 page 603).

81. K.R. Hall, 2011: 250.

82. A. Samad Ahmad (ed.), 1986: 163-4. La conquête de la capitale du Campā et la fuite de Cam vers l'Archipel sont mentionnées dans un autre texte malais, le *Hikayat Hasanuddin* (Malay Concordance Project, Jan Edel, *Hikajat Hasanoeddin*, Meppel, Ten Brink, Akademisch Proefschrift Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1938: 74-4). Une tradition sundanaise tardive, le *Sejarah Banten rante-rante*, affirme qu'après le départ de Raden Rahmat et de ses compagnons, le «Cēmpa» est dévasté par le roi de Koci (Manguin, 1979 : note 1 p. 262).

83. Au-delà de la parenté linguistique, Thurgood (1999 : 20-21, 42-43) avance que les Acihais sont les descendants de Cam qui auraient quitté la partie centrale de la côte du Vietnam au X^e-XI^e siècle (après le sac d'Indrapura, 982 EC) pour s'installer à Aceh. Les auteurs remercient Jérôme Samuel pour cette information. Nous pensons néanmoins qu'il convient de traiter avec la plus grande prudence ce genre d'hypothèse aussi précisément datée, tant qu'elle n'est pas confirmée par d'autres sources.

84. Il s'agit de deux villages sur le territoire actuel d'Aceh, que sont Pantai Cempa, Kecamatan Tamiang Hulu, Kabupaten Aceh Tamiang, et Cempa, Kecamatan Blangkejeren,

soit d'origine botanique, comme de nombreux toponymes à Sumatra. En effet, à Sumatra, « campā » désigne *Michelia champaca* (famille des Magnoliacées), un arbre connu pour ses fleurs jaunes ou blanches odoriférantes⁸⁵.

Le *Sulalat al-Salatin* poursuit en racontant qu'à Melaka, Syah Indera Berma entre en faveur auprès de Sultan Mansur Syah, et qu'à la demande du souverain, lui-même, son épouse et sa suite se convertissent à l'islam, avant qu'il ne soit fait ministre. Selon le texte malais, ils sont les ancêtres de tous les Cam de Melaka⁸⁶. On retrouve, dans certaines versions de la chronique, mention d'un Cam capitaine de navire, qui participe à l'enlèvement de la fille du *bendahara* de Pahang qui deviendra l'épouse de Sultan Mahmud⁸⁷.

Les rapports commerciaux entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise se précisent avec la multiplication des sources portugaises. Au début du XVI^e siècle, le Campā ne dispose pas de port pouvant recevoir de grandes jonques, mais de nombreux *lanchara* naviguent jusqu'à Pahang. Le Campā est alors surtout réputé pour son bois d'aloès, aussi nommé bois d'aigle ou *calambac* (*Aquilaria sp.*)⁸⁸, le meilleur de la région, ainsi que pour son or, à propos duquel Pires précise qu'il s'agit également du meilleur de la région. Ces deux produits sont négociés jusqu'à Melaka, de même que le poisson salé séché et le riz. Dans l'autre sens, on y trouve à acheter de l'or provenant du pays minangkabau⁸⁹. De son côté à l'époque, le Dai Viet envoie rarement ses navires à Melaka, mais ses négociants s'y rendent sur des jonques chinoises. Melaka lui fournit surtout de grandes quantités de soufre provenant de l'île de Solor⁹⁰. À Melaka, Vietnamiens et Cam sont

Kabupaten Gayo Lues. Le troisième est le village de Cempa, qui se situe aujourd'hui dans la province de Sumatra Nord, Kecamatan Hinai, Kabupaten Langkat.

85. On peut citer d'autres toponymes « Cempa » dans le monde insulindien : Pulau Cempa, Kabupaten Lingga, Province de Kepulauan Riau; Kampung Cempa, Desa Cilangkap, Kec. Kalanganyar, Kab. Lebak, Province de Banten; Desa Cempa, Kecamatan Cempa, Kabupaten Pinrang, Province de Sulawesi Selatan; Lubok Chepa, sur la rivière Nerus, près de Kampung Lubok Buaya dans l'État de Terengganu en péninsule malaise, ou encore, toujours en péninsule, Pengkalan Chepa, petite localité de Kelantan près Kota Bharu.

86. A. Samad Ahmad (ed.), 1986: 165.

87. W.G. Shellabear (éd.), *Sejarah Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur, Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1994 (1^{ère} éd. en jawi, 1896): 168-171; John Leyden (éd.), *John Leyden's Malay Annals*, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS Reprint 20, 2001 (1^{ère} éd., London, 1821): 293-302; Muhammad Haji Salleh (ed.), *Sulalat al-Salatin, ya'ni Perteturan Segala Raja-Raja (Sejarah Melayu)*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Yayasan Karyawan, 2009 (1^{ère} éd., 1997): 182-186.

88. Pour un point récent sur le commerce du bois d'aigle au Campā, voir Hardy, 2009 : 116-118.

89. A. Cortesao (ed. & trad.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1944, I: 112-3, II: 275. Ce commerce de l'or pourrait expliquer, au moins partiellement, la présence de gens de Minangkabau dans la péninsule indochinoise, présence furtive dans plusieurs textes malais. Les chercheurs d'or « malais » actifs au Cambodge au début du XVII^e siècle pourraient bien être des Minangkabau (voir *infra* en ce qui concerne la Nam Noy).

90. Pires, 1944, I : 114-5; II : 203.

sous l'autorité d'un même *syahbandar*, qui est également responsable des Chinois et des gens de Ryukyu⁹¹. Ajoutons que des marchands du Cambodge fréquentent aussi la ville⁹².

À la suite de la prise de Melaka par les Portugais en 1511, une partie des marchands musulmans de la ville s'enfuient pour s'installer dans des ports de la région, ainsi qu'au Cambodge, où ils sont perçus et s'identifient peut-être comme Malais⁹³. Au Cambodge, ils ne sont probablement pas les premiers «Malais» à s'installer⁹⁴ et s'attirent dès le XVI^e siècle la confiance des dirigeants, puisque des Malais font partie de la garde personnelle du roi Paramarājā III (1566-1576)⁹⁵. C'est cette communauté malaise du Cambodge, vue à travers le prisme des fonctionnaires coloniaux français au XIX^e siècle, qu'aborde la contribution de Nicolas Weber dans ce dossier. La prise de Melaka ne semble pas interrompre le commerce entre le Cambodge et la péninsule malaise, puisqu'une version des chroniques royales du Cambodge indique l'envoi de jonques vers Mariyūv (Malayū) pour y acheter des canons et des fusils⁹⁶. On sait par ailleurs que des marchands cochinchinois et cam fournissent de grandes quantités de soie à Melaka à la fin du siècle⁹⁷.

Dès le XVI^e siècle en ce qui concerne les Portugais et les Espagnols, et dès le siècle suivant pour d'autres Européens, il faut intégrer la composante occidentale dans le paysage des relations entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise. Il n'est bien sûr pas possible d'aborder ce sujet ici et nous ne pouvons que renvoyer aux nombreuses études publiées.

Le rôle des Japonais est également à considérer dès cette époque au moins, et jusqu'en 1635, après quoi il leur est interdit de sortir de leur pays. On sait par exemple qu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle des mercenaires japonais se trouvent à bord de navires espagnols partant de Manille pour attaquer le Cambodge, alors que d'autres sont au service de la cour du Cambodge elle-

91. Pires, 1944, I : 126 II : 265.

92. Pires, 1944, II : 268.

93. A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, vol. II, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 1993: 126-128; A. Reid, "Economic and Social Change, c. 1400-1800", in N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, vol. I (part two), 1999 (1^{ère} éd., 1992): 137 (116-163).

94. Cependant, ni Mak Phoeun (1995b : 1271, 1285), ni Mohamad Zain bin Musa (2001 : 4) ne font remonter l'histoire de cette communauté avant le XVI^e siècle.

95. Mak Phoeun, *Histoire du Cambodge de la fin du XVI^e siècle au début du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, Presses de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1995 : 321.

96. Khin Sok, *Chroniques Royales du Cambodge (de Bañā Yāt à la prise de Lanvaek) (de 1417 à 1595)*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Coll. de textes et documents sur l'Indochine XIII, 1988 : 285.

97. Shiro, 1998 : 21.

même⁹⁸. À cette époque, des gens originaires du monde insulindien, ainsi que des Cam musulmans font partie des plus importantes minorités marchandes du pays⁹⁹ et dès les années 1590, le roi recrute une armée de Cam et de «Malais» pour défendre Lovek contre les Siamois¹⁰⁰. Vers 1598, Rām I^{er}, roi du Cambodge, envoie à Manille une ambassade dirigée par un Malais de Johor¹⁰¹. Cet individu originaire de l'Archipel (*javā*) apparaît dans les chroniques royales du Cambodge sous le nom de Laksamana, qui renvoie au même terme bien connu dans le monde insulindien pour désigner un amiral. Son premier fait d'armes semble avoir été une expédition au Campā, probablement en 1596, où considérant qu'il a été mal reçu, il suscite une révolte, pille la capitale et rentre au Cambodge avec pièces d'artillerie et prisonniers. Le souverain lui confie alors de hautes charges et des terres qu'il administre¹⁰². En compagnie d'un Cam nommé Po Rat, il se proclame souverain sur son territoire et commence à soumettre d'autres provinces. En 1599, un conflit violent à Phnom Penh entre les Européens et Malais aboutit à l'assassinat de pratiquement tous les Européens par les troupes de Laksamana, qui font également disparaître le souverain Paramarājā V. Chassé du Cambodge par Paramarājā VI, il se réfugie au Campā où il meurt¹⁰³.

On peut penser qu'un certain nombre de marchands musulmans ayant fui le Melaka portugais prennent la direction du port cam de Phan Rang, ou du port de Hoi An (Cua Dai Chiem) contrôlé par la cour des Nguyen à Hué, port qui devient au XVI^e siècle un relais important entre le Japon, la Chine et l'Archipel. Hoi An est alors dominé par les marchands chinois, en particulier les Hokkien¹⁰⁴, et le restera au moins jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle¹⁰⁵.

98. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Manila, Melaka, Mylapore...: A Dominican Voyage through the Indies, ca. 1600", *Archipel*, 57, 1999 : 235-6 (223-242).

99. A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, vol. II, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 1993: 188. Ceux originaires de l'Archipel sont souvent désignés comme Malais dans les sources. Or, des Javanais sont également présents (B.P. Groslier, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI^e siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles*, Paris, Presses Univ. de France, 1958 : note 4 p. 49).

100. D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, Houndmills, New York, 1981 (1^{ère} éd., 1955): 281.

101. Subrahmanyam, 1999 : 236.

102. Mak Phoeun, 1995 : 64-66.

103. B.P. Groslier 1958 : 54-5; Mak Phoeun, 1995 : 89-91, 94.

104. Reid, 1993: 63-64; Charles Wheeler, "Re-Thinking the Sea in Vietnamese History: Littoral Society in the Integration of Thuận-Quảng, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries", *JSEAS*, 37(1), 2006: 142 (123-153).

105. L.Y. Andaya, "Interactions with the Outside World and Adaptation in Southeast Asian Society, 1500-1800", in N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, vol. I (part two), 1999 (1^{ère} éd., 1992): 6-7.

Dans le récit de ses pérégrinations dans la région au cours des années 1530, Mendes Pinto rapporte que l'un des quatre bataillons de l'armée de Pasuruan, à Java Est, est commandé par un Cam¹⁰⁶.

À Makassar, la première implantation permanente et identifiée comme telle d'une communauté malaise daterait des années 1550-60 selon la *Chronique de Gowa*. Sous l'autorité d'un capitaine nommé Anakoda Bonang, elle accueille alors des gens de Pahang, de Patani, du Campā, de Minangkabau et de Johor¹⁰⁷. Un personnage portant le titre de Dato' (ou Datuk) Maharajalela est associé à cette communauté malaise de Makassar, dès le début des années 1630 selon la tradition locale¹⁰⁸. Sa biographie est loin d'être claire. Une tradition lui attribue le nom de Andi (Faqih) Ali Datok Maharajalela, fils de Mustafa Datu Jambu, qui serait devenu souverain du Campā entre la fin du XVI^e et le début du XVII^e siècle. Installé un temps à Patani, Ali aurait d'abord pris le titre de Tok Koda Bonang avant de se rendre à Sulawesi. Ce titre n'est pas sans rappeler l'Anakoda Bonang cité plus haut. Il serait revenu ensuite à Patani, à l'époque de Raja Ungu, où il aurait prit le titre de Datu Sri Maharajalela¹⁰⁹.

Au XVII^e siècle, le commerce de Patani avec le Cambodge est assuré au moins en partie, sinon en totalité, par des Chinois de Patani¹¹⁰. Le sultanat reçoit du bois d'aigle du Campā, du Cambodge et de la Cochinchine, des esclaves du Campā et du Cambodge, du bois de laque, des résines, du benjoin, des peaux de cervidés, de la cardamome, du coton, du sucre et des cuirs du Cambodge¹¹¹. Au moins dès le tournant du XVII^e siècle, il convient d'ajouter le riz, que Patani importe du Cambodge¹¹². Il faut mentionner ici un autre petit détail concernant le Patani du XVII^e siècle : lorsqu'en 1641, un bateau de la VOC commandé par Gerrit van Wuysthoff remonte le Mékong, il dispose à son bord d'un interprète malais de Patani¹¹³. Au Cambodge

106. Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Pérégrination* (trad. & éd., R. Viale), Paris, La Différence, 1991 : 593.

107. A. Reid, "The Rise of Makassar", *RIMA*, 17, 1983: 137-8 (117-160).

108. W. Cummings, "The Melaka Malay Diaspora in Makassar (c. 1500-1669)", *JMBRAS*, LXXI(1), 1998: 109, 114-6 (107-122); H. Sutherland, "The Makassar Malays: Adaptation and Identity, c. 1660-1790", *JSEAS*, 32(3), 2001: 400 (397-421).

109. Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud Bin Abdullah Al-Fatani. Ulama' dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara*, Shah Alam, HIZBI, 1990: 9-10.

110. H. Terpstra, *De factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani*, 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, VKI 1, 1938: 136.

111. Il est possible que ces échanges débutent dès l'apparition du sultanat à la fin du XV^e siècle. Cf. D. Perret, «Patani dans les grands réseaux marchands du XVII^e siècle», in D. Perret, A. Srisuchat & S. Thanasuk (textes réunis par), *Études sur l'histoire du sultanat de Patani*, Paris, EFEO, Études Thématiques 14, 2004 : 250-253.

112. Reid, 1988 : 21.

113. M. Guérin, 2004 : 34.

même, vers 1621, des «Malais», des Chinois et des Khmers sont envoyés pour chercher de l'or en amont de la Nam Noy¹¹⁴.

Durant les années 1630 au Cambodge, dans la capitale située à Oudong, les communautés étrangères sont représentées par plusieurs *sabandar*, y compris la communauté malaise. Lorsque Hageenaar, le premier envoyé de la VOC, se présente à la cour, sa missive est lue en malais, puis traduite en khmer¹¹⁵. En 1643/4, le roi Rāmādhīpatī I^{er}, qui a pris le pouvoir par la force, se convertit à l'islam. Selon certaines versions des chroniques royales, cette conversion aurait fait suite à son mariage avec une musulmane, malaise ou cam selon les textes, et peut-être d'origine minangkabau. Il aurait également confié des charges importantes à des Malais. D'après d'autres versions des chroniques, c'est pris de remords après avoir fait assassiner son oncle pour accéder au trône, qu'il se convertit à l'islam, convaincu par les autorités religieuses malaises qu'il serait délivré de ses fautes par cette conversion. Face à une population hostile, il semble avoir cherché du soutien auprès des musulmans cam et malais vivant au Cambodge, prenant le nom de Sultan Ibrahim et s'entourant d'une garde de Javanais et Malais¹¹⁶. Il est chassé du pouvoir en 1659, à la suite d'une révolte de princes destinée à faire cesser la prépondérance des Malais au sein de la cour du Cambodge. Face à la disparition de leur protecteur et, par conséquent, de leurs privilèges et avantages, les Cam et Malais se révoltent dans la province de Thbaung Khmum. Finalement battus, les principaux dirigeants de cette révolte, y compris la reine, ainsi que nombre de partisans (plus de 700 familles) se réfugient au Siam¹¹⁷. Cependant, tous les Malais n'ont pas quitté le pays, puisqu'on sait que dès la fin des années 1660, il y a une communauté malaise à Phnom Penh, et qu'une décennie plus tard ils disposent toujours, ou ont retrouvé, une grande influence à la cour de Oudong. Le souverain de l'époque, Padumarājā II, est d'ailleurs assassiné par quatre Malais en 1673, sur ordre de la reine¹¹⁸.

Parmi les marchands malais fréquentant le Cambodge à l'époque, il y a des gens de Makassar qui appartiennent à un réseau s'étendant jusqu'à Manille¹¹⁹, où réside d'ailleurs une communauté marchande cam¹²⁰. Lorsque Makassar passe sous contrôle de la VOC en 1669, un certain

114. Mak Phoeun, 1995 : 188.

115. Mak Phoeun, 1995 : 233, 236.

116. Mak Phoeun, 1995 : 259-261.

117. Mak Phoeun, 1995 : note 225 p. 294, 307-8, 317.

118. Mak Phoeun, 1995 : 317.

119. Cummings, 1998 : 110 ; Sutherland, 2001 : 399.

120. Manguin 1979 : 277.

nombre de marchands musulmans se réfugient au Cambodge, parmi d'autres places encore indépendantes en Asie du Sud-Est¹²¹.

À propos du Campā au tout début du XVII^e siècle, l'amiral néerlandais Matelief, qui y fait escale en 1607, apprend que le dirigeant «hindou» est allié avec le sultan de Johor¹²². L'année précédente, l'Anglais Edmund Scott, qui réside alors à Banten, y note la présence d'une Cochinchinoise épouse d'un Chinois résident¹²³. Toujours à propos de Banten, il faut signaler l'existence de relations commerciales avec le Campā dans la seconde moitié du siècle, puisque le sultan y envoie ses navires à la fin des années 1660¹²⁴.

Il semble que dès le XVII^e siècle, la côte orientale de la péninsule malaise, en particulier le sultanat de Kelantan, ait joué un rôle symbolique important pour les Cam musulmans, puisqu'ils associent Kelantan à La Mekke et y viennent en pèlerinage. Dès lors, au moins sur le plan religieux, les échanges se multiplient y compris pour lutter contre le Viêt Nam¹²⁵. La contribution de Danny Wong à ce dossier revient sur cet aspect pour expliquer l'histoire récente de la communauté cam en Malaisie.

Au tout début du XVIII^e siècle, on retrouve des gens de Makassar au cœur d'un événement sanglant au Viêt Nam. Il s'agit de la mutinerie de Pulo Condore, où les Anglais ouvrent une loge commerciale en 1702. Trois ans plus tard, mécontents du sort qui leur est fait, les soldats originaires de Makassar au service des Anglais, massacrent tous les Européens sauf deux, qui parviennent à s'enfuir à Johor¹²⁶.

À la fin du XVII^e siècle, des marchands de l'Archipel fréquentent Saïgon et My Tho dans le delta du Mekong, quelques années après que quelques milliers de Chinois, anciens partisans de Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) défait

121. Sutherland, 2001 : 398.

122. « Relation du voyage de Corneille Matelief le jeune amiral hollandois aux Indes Orientales (1605-1608) », in *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, Formée dans les Provinces Unies des Pays-bas*, Tome III, Amsterdam, Etienne Roger, 1705 : 500. Dès 1594 au moins, le roi du Campā envoie des troupes à Johor pour combattre les Portugais. Les bons rapports établis avec les Hollandais à cette occasion se confirment avec l'envoi par le dirigeant du Campā, en 1680, de deux ambassadeurs à Batavia et deux années plus tard, il envoie deux de ses navires commercer à Melaka (Manguin, 1979 : 272, 276, 277).

123. Edmund Scott, "An exact discourse of the Subtilities, Fashions, Pollicies, Religion, and Ceremonies of the East Indians, as well Chyneses as Javans, there abyding and dwelling", in W. Foster, ed., *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas (1604-1606)*, London, The Hakluyt Society, 1943: 127.

124. W.P. Coolhaas (éd.), *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. Deel III, 1655-1674*, 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1968: 638.

125. Po Dharma, 2000 : 185-6.

126. D. Wong Tze-Ken, 2012.

par le régime mandchou, se sont réfugiés à Hoi Han, d'où le souverain Nguyen les envoie dans la région du delta du Mékong. Ces Chinois y développent rapidement des marchés florissants¹²⁷.

Une tradition locale veut que la mosquée de Kampung Laut, à Kelantan, près de Kota Bharu ait été édifiée par des Cam¹²⁸. L'étude architecturale de cette mosquée a permis de suggérer une datation de construction au XVIII^e siècle, ce qui s'accorderait bien avec cette tradition¹²⁹.

Malgré ces siècles de contact, il faut cependant attendre la fin du XVIII^e siècle pour disposer des premiers comptes rendus de missions d'émissaires vietnamiens dans le monde insulindien, région désignée alors par l'expression *Hạ châu*. Ce sont ces sources relatives à des missions s'étalant jusqu'en 1846 que Claudine Salmon examine dans ce dossier.

Le XIX^e siècle apporte des éléments sur les relations autres que le grand commerce. Ainsi, la *Carita Bangka*, un texte malais du milieu du XIX^e siècle, mentionne la présence de travailleurs de Koci (Dai Viet) dans l'archipel, dont l'île de Bangka¹³⁰.

Ce siècle voit surtout la mise en place de deux réseaux religieux parallèles entre la péninsule indochinoise et la péninsule malaise. Il s'agit d'une part du réseau stimulé par les écoles islamiques sur la côte Est, et d'autre part du réseau stimulé par le développement du Collège général des Missions Etrangères de Paris à Penang sur la côte Ouest.

Depuis le XIX^e siècle au moins jusqu'à aujourd'hui, les écoles religieuses musulmanes (*pondok* et *madrasah*) de Pattani, Kelantan et Terengganu sont en effet régulièrement fréquentées par des étudiants cam et malais du Cambodge¹³¹. Dans l'autre sens, probablement dès la fin du XVI^e siècle au moins, des ulémas malais fréquentent le Cambodge afin de propager la religion et de régler des questions religieuses¹³². Au XIX^e siècle, sur la côte opposée, c'est un réseau missionnaire catholique qui est actif. Le Collège

127. Reid, 1993 : 315.

128. Guérin, 2004: 34.

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

130. Malay Concordance Project. E.P. Wieringa, *Carita Bangka, Het verhaal van Bangka*, Leiden, Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Asië en Oceanië, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1990. Semaian 2. (1861): 106:13, 88:14, 88:9, 88:16, 88:23, 103:19, 88:11.

131. Ner, 1941: 152, 158-164, 167-8, 171; Lombard, 1987: 316; Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok & Madrasah in Patani*, Bangi, Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1999: 123; Guérin 2004: 38. Le premier uléma documenté de Pattani est Shaykh Daud bin Abdullah bin Idris al-Fatani, dont la première œuvre connue a été achevée à La Mekke en 1809 (V. Matheson & M.B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition", *JMBRAS*, LXI(1), 1988: 20 (1-86)).

132. Voir la contribution de Danny Wong à ce dossier. Cf. également Ner, 1941 : 152; Guérin 2004 : 39.

général des Missions Étrangères de Paris installé à Penang voit ainsi passer plus de 600 séminaristes envoyés du Viêt Nam, et 11 du Cambodge, entre 1830 et 1950¹³³. L'un d'entre eux au moins fera une carrière brillante dans le domaine de la langue vietnamienne. Il s'agit de Truong Vinh Ky, appelé également Pétrus Ky (1837-1898), qui reçoit une formation au grand séminaire de Penang en 1852, avant de poursuivre ses études en France. Il est notamment l'auteur d'une *Grammaire de la langue annamite* (Saïgon, 1883), considérée comme la première véritable grammaire de la langue vietnamienne. Professeur à l'école des interprètes au collège des stagiaires de Saïgon, il sera également directeur du premier journal *Gia dinh bao* en vietnamien et membre du conseil secret de la cour d'Annam à Hué¹³⁴.

Les réseaux communistes

L'un des aspects les moins connus des relations entre la péninsule indochinoise et le monde insulindien à l'époque contemporaine est relatif aux liens qu'entretenait le Parti Communiste de Malaya (MCP) avec, d'abord la Ligue pour l'indépendance du Viêt Nam (Viêt-Minh), ensuite le gouvernement de la République Démocratique du Viêt Nam. Créé en 1930, le MCP connaît des débuts difficiles, d'une part en raison de son interdiction par l'administration coloniale britannique, d'autre part en raison de dissensions internes qui vont pratiquement conduire à sa paralysie. Il faut l'arrivée d'un certain Lai Tek, un agent se présentant comme envoyé par l'Internationale Communiste (Comintern), pour remettre le parti sur pied. Ce Lay Tek était apparemment un communiste annamite d'abord arrêté par la police française avant d'être offert aux Services Spéciaux britanniques comme agent double pour infiltrer le MCP. Il devient Secrétaire Général du parti, le dirigeant pendant la Seconde guerre mondiale, au cours de laquelle sa branche armée, la Malayan Peoples' Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA), combat parallèlement aux forces alliées. La MPAJA est dissoute après la guerre, tandis que le MCP tente d'opérer au grand jour.

À cette époque, le MCP fournit également de l'aide à la Ligue pour l'indépendance du Viêt Nam (Viêt-Minh) dans sa lutte contre les Français. En 1947, le Viêt-Minh lance en effet un appel à volontaires parmi les partis communistes des pays voisins afin de soutenir les efforts des communistes

133. Bernard Pařary, *Homo Apostolicus. La formation du clergé indigène au Collège général des Missions Étrangères de Paris, à Penang (Malaisie), 1808-1968 : institution et représentations*, Université Lumière Lyon 2, Lyon, 2009 : tab. 3 – thèse en ligne consultée en novembre 2012.

134. Lê Thị Xuyến, Phạm Thị Quyên, Đỗ Quang Viêt, Nguyễn Văn Bích, « Bref aperçu sur l'histoire de l'étude des parties du discours en vietnamien (1^{ère} période) », *Histoire Epistémologie Language*, 26(1), 2004 : 150 (137-158). Voir également l'article de Claudine Salmon dans ce volume sur un autre aspect du personnage.

en Indochine. L'association des anciens camarades du MPAJA et ses antennes commencent à collecter des fonds pour porter assistance au Viêt-Minh, en particulier en finançant ses « volontaires ». Par ailleurs, un certain nombre d'anciens combattants du MPAJA, pressentant que le parti pourrait se lancer dans une guerre en Malaya, dans laquelle ils ne voient aucune chance de succès, se portent volontaires et sont envoyés en Indochine¹³⁵. Deux ans après le début des actions viet-minh contre le régime colonial français, le MCP lance en juin 1948 une insurrection armée contre l'administration britannique en Malaya, insurrection qui va durer jusqu'en 1960, une période connue sous le nom d'Emergency.

Pour le MCP, la guerre en Indochine n'est probablement pas un souci majeur en ce qui concerne ses stratégies militaires en Malaya. Il convient de noter toutefois une exception, la Résolution de juin 1949, émise par le Bureau Politique Central, mettant l'accent sur l'idée que la lutte armée est la plus haute forme de lutte révolutionnaire. À cet égard, le politburo du MCP affirme :

« Il n'y a aucune aide internationale à attendre, si ce n'est sous forme de propagande et de soutien moral, jusqu'à ce que la MRLA [l'Armée de Libération Révolutionnaire de Malaya] elle-même parvienne à s'établir fermement par des gains significatifs de territoires dans le pays, comme les communistes l'ont fait en Chine et en Indo-Chine. Ainsi, les camarades ne peuvent compter que sur leurs propres efforts sur une longue période pour atteindre cette étape, sans espoir d'une aide étrangère pour sauver actuellement la révolution en Malaya. »¹³⁶

L'Indochine est toutefois importante pour les leaders du MCP comme lien avec le Parti Communiste en Chine. Des témoignages de dirigeants du MCP, y compris Chin Peng, révèlent comment ils se rendaient en Chine méridionale par voie terrestre à travers le nord de la Malaya, la Thaïlande, le Laos et le nord du Viêt Nam. C'est avec le repli du MCP sur la frontière Malaya-Thaïlande, que des relations plus étroites se tissent avec l'Indochine. Entre 1954 et 1963, l'Indochine continue de servir de voie principale pour les cadres du MCP se rendant en Chine. Au début des années 1960, alors que le conflit s'intensifie entre le Viêt-Minh et le gouvernement de Ngo Dinh Diem basé à Saïgon, le MCP se tourne vers Hanoi pour chercher son inspiration. Une mission du MCP s'y installe en 1961, précisément rue Tran Hung Dao. Elle devient un lieu de transit très utile aux dirigeants du MCP en route pour la Chine¹³⁷.

135. C.C. Too, "Notes on the History of the Communist Party of Malaya", University of Malaya Library, 1990: 67-68.

136. "The General History of the Party" in C.C. Too Papers: 105.

137. Aloysius Chin, *The Communist Party of Malaya: the Inside Story*, Kuala Lumpur, Vinpress, 1994: 183-184.

Bien qu'il n'y ait pas de preuve de soutien militaire direct vietnamien (Parti Lao Dong/Parti des Travailleurs) au MCP, les tactiques militaires viet-minh et plus tard celles du Front de Libération Nationale sont grandement appréciées par les cadres du MCP. Suite à l'installation de sa mission à Hanoi, certains d'entre eux sont invités par le Comité Central du Parti Lao Dong à participer à ses cours de formation. Parmi les tout premiers cours mis en place, il y a notamment celui de 1961 destiné spécialement aux cadres du MCP, intitulé « l'expérience révolutionnaire vietnamienne »¹³⁸. Avec l'ouverture des écoles du MCP sur la frontière Thai-Malaya cette même année 1961, les stratégies et tactiques militaires viet-minh/viet-cong font partie intégrante du module de formation. C'est le cas notamment à l'école numéro cinq¹³⁹.

En Malaya, il faut attendre 1953 pour que l'attention du public se porte sur les événements qui se déroulent alors en Indochine. L'événement marquant est l'incursion des troupes viet-minh en territoire laotien en mars-avril 1953, incursion qui menace Luang Prabang, la capitale royale du pays¹⁴⁰. Il est rapporté dans la presse en Malaya comme pouvant avoir des implications à long terme en Malaya même, la crainte étant qu'il pourrait susciter une réaction en chaîne dans des pays d'Asie du Sud-Est confrontés à des rébellions armées dirigées par des communistes. En fait les progrès du Viêt-Minh eurent une influence directe sur le moral des membres du MCP. Ainsi, alors que le Viêt-Minh enregistre des gains territoriaux significatifs au Viêt Nam et au Laos, en Malaya les autorités constatent une baisse significative du taux de défection au MCP, dans le cadre des plans d'amnistie offerts par le gouvernement¹⁴¹.

Relations diplomatiques avant 1975

À l'époque contemporaine, les relations diplomatiques entre la péninsule indochinoise et le monde insulindien débutent avec l'établissement de relations officielles entre l'Indonésie et la République Démocratique du Viêt Nam indépendant en 1954 (à l'époque du régime communiste dirigé par Hô Chi Minh). L'année suivante, l'Indonésie accueille le sommet du Mouvement des Non Alignés à Bandung, sommet auquel assiste Hô Chi Minh. C'est aussi en 1954 qu'est fondée l'Organisation du Traité de l'Asie du Sud-Est (SEATO), une initiative des États-Unis et des nations anti-

138. *Ibid.*: 184.

139. *Ibid.*: 98-99. Durant les années 1970, le Viêt Nam est l'une des régions où le MCP envoie ses cadres pour des formations en tactique militaire.

140. *Malay Mail*, 25 April 1953.

141. Télégramme de Sir Gerald Templer à Secretary of State for the Colonies, 18 June 1953, CO1022/49 [Colonial Office: South East Asia Department, Original Correspondence].

communistes pour enrayer l'avancée de l'influence communiste et de possibles conflits militaires en Asie du Sud-Est. Si la Malaya elle-même n'y participe pas, son colonisateur en est membre et la Grande-Bretagne va fournir une assistance à la SEATO.

Entre l'indépendance de la Malaya en 1957 et la chute de Saïgon en 1975, la Malaisie maintient des relations diplomatiques avec la République du Viêt Nam (Sud Viêt Nam) et ne reconnaît la République Démocratique du Viêt Nam qu'en 1973, à la suite de l'Accord de paix de Paris. Cette prise de position était basée sur la longue et amère expérience de l'insurrection communiste armée. Même si la période de l'Emergency est considérée comme terminée en 1960, la rébellion armée du MCP se poursuit en fait jusqu'en 1989. C'est ce contexte de fort positionnement anti-communiste qui va déterminer les relations bilatérales avec les deux Viêt Nam. Après l'indépendance, la Malaya envoie des surplus d'armes et de véhicules blindés au régime de Saïgon¹⁴². Mais contrairement à ses voisins, la Thaïlande et les Philippines, la Malaisie n'enverra jamais de troupes tout en restant un fervent soutien du Sud Viêt Nam, y compris dans la plupart des forums internationaux, notamment les Nations-Unies. Elle mettra par ailleurs l'île de Penang comme lieu de repos et de distraction à disposition des troupes américaines servant en Indochine¹⁴³.

Durant la Guerre du Viêt Nam, les experts anti-insurrection américains et sud vietnamiens voient la Malaya comme un exemple de succès dans la lutte anti-communiste. Sir Robert Thompson, un officier supérieur britannique en poste en Malaya est invité comme conseiller pour la mise en place de mesures destinées à éliminer l'ennemi communiste au Viêt Nam. Parmi les mesures adoptées figure l'établissement de «hameaux stratégiques», suivant en cela le Briggs Resettlement Plan qui, en Malaya, prévoyait le déplacement de villageois jugés vulnérables à la menace communiste dans des hameaux où une protection serait assurée. Mais contrairement à la Malaya où ce plan est mis en place de façon stricte, le manque de volonté politique et les carences de l'administration du régime de Saïgon entraînent son échec, malgré sa réintroduction par des régimes successifs¹⁴⁴.

Parallèlement, les contacts religieux se poursuivent entre la péninsule indochinoise et la Malaisie dans les années 1960. Des candidats venus du

142. D. Wong Tze-Ken, *Vietnam-Malaysia Relations during the Cold War, 1945-1990*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1995: 48.

143. Khaw Guat Hoon, *Malaysian Policies on Southeast Asia: The Search for Security*, PhD Dissertation, Université de Genève, Genève, 1976: 125-133.

144. Voir Milton E. Osborne, *Strategic Hamlets in South Viet-Nam: A Study and Comparison*, Data Paper No. 55, Southeast Asian Studies Program, Department of Asian Studies, New York, Ithaca, Cornell University, 1965 ; voir aussi Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency, The Lessons of Malaya and Vietnam*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1966: 121-140.

Viêt Nam et du Cambodge participent régulièrement aux concours internationaux annuels de récitations coraniques organisés par le gouvernement malaisien. Dans l'autre sens, des lettrés religieux de Malaisie continuent d'effectuer des visites prolongées dans les deux pays, afin de fournir une instruction religieuse aussi bien aux Malais qu'aux Cam. Des publications à caractère religieux sont également importées de Malaisie et de Singapour¹⁴⁵.

C'est au moment où l'Indonésie lance sa campagne de Confrontation contre la nouvelle Fédération de Malaysia en 1963-66, que s'interrompt le soutien direct de la Malaisie au Sud Viêt Nam. Ceci afin de permettre à la Malaisie de faire face à la menace indonésienne. Les deux Viêt Nam vont réagir différemment. Bien que le soutien de la Malaya (et plus tard de la Malaisie) soit sans commune mesure avec celui offert par ses voisins, ce retrait provoque une réaction des dirigeants du Sud Viêt Nam réclamant la poursuite de cette aide. De son côté, la République Démocratique du Viêt Nam (Nord Viêt Nam) appuie fermement l'Indonésie dans sa volonté d'écraser la Malaisie en condamnant cette dernière comme le fruit d'un complot néo-colonialiste britannique. Hô Chi Minh déclare son «soutien sans réserve» à Soekarno contre la Malaisie, «une création des Impérialistes»¹⁴⁶. Toutefois, après la chute de Soekarno et la fin de la Confrontation en 1966, le pouvoir en place en Indonésie commence à prendre ses distances vis-à-vis de Hanoi.

La création en 1967 de l'ASEAN par cinq Etats non communistes d'Asie du Sud-Est (Thaïlande, Malaisie, Singapour, Indonésie et Philippines) va contribuer aux efforts anti-communistes à travers le développement économique et social. Si le régime de Saïgon accueille favorablement cette initiative, elle est par contre condamnée par le gouvernement de la République Démocratique.

Durant les années 1970, les changements dans l'environnement international culminent avec la signature de l'Accord de Paix de Paris en 1973. Le cessez-le-feu au Viêt Nam s'accompagne d'un relâchement au moins temporaire des tensions régionales, se traduisant notamment par l'ouverture de relations diplomatiques entre Kuala Lumpur et Hanoi¹⁴⁷. L'interruption des hostilités sera courte puisque le Nord Viêt Nam défait le Sud Viêt Nam en avril 1975, ce qui conduit à la réunification du pays l'année

145. Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Government Committee for Religious Affairs, *Religion and Policies Regarding Religions in Vietnam*, Hanoi, Socialist Republic of Vietnam Government Committee for Religious Affairs, 2006: 25-26.

146. Hô Chi Minh cité dans Arnold C. Brackman, *Southeast Asia's Second Front: The Power Struggle in the Malay Archipelago*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1966: 284. Voir également *Nhan Dan*, 27/12/1962.

147. *Foreign Affairs Malaysia*, 6(1), 1973: 92.

suiivante. Néanmoins, cette dernière ouvre la voie à la reconnaissance de la République Socialiste du Viêt Nam par les Etats de l'ASEAN, y compris la Malaisie et l'Indonésie. De même, Malaisie et Indonésie reconnaîtront les régimes communistes qui prennent le pouvoir au Cambodge et au Laos.

Des boat people aux pembantu rumah cambodgiennes

Les années qui suivent la réunification ne sont pas particulièrement marquées par des relations pacifiques entre le Viêt Nam et le monde insulindien. Après une période initiale de coexistence paisible, où les gouvernements de deux régions cherchent à s'adapter au nouveau contexte international, l'atmosphère de confrontation renaît. Trois problèmes majeurs vont dominer cette période dans les relations qui nous intéressent ici.

Le premier est relatif aux réfugiés, qui commence par un exode de populations de la péninsule indochinoise refusant de vivre dans les nouveaux régimes communistes. Nous ne reprendrons pas ici l'exposé détaillé des causes et du contexte de ces migrations, qui ont été suffisamment étudiés ailleurs. Rappelons toutefois que l'augmentation dans des proportions alarmantes du nombre de ces réfugiés va provoquer une double crise majeure pour la Malaisie : avec l'Indonésie d'un côté et avec le Viêt Nam de l'autre. Hanoi était en effet suspecté d'encourager l'exode massif de gens jugés non désirables par le pays. Ce problème avec le Viêt Nam ne sera finalement résolu qu'en 1992. Dans ce dossier, c'est tout particulièrement la situation des réfugiés cam en Malaisie qui est abordée, d'une part d'un point de vue global par Danny Wong Tze Ken, d'autre part illustré à travers un cas d'intégration dans la société malaisienne par Siti Nor Awang.

Le second problème est la crise au Cambodge. En décembre 1978, l'armée vietnamienne envahit le Cambodge, alors dirigé par le régime communiste des Khmers Rouges, en invoquant un effort humanitaire pour mettre fin aux massacres en masse perpétrés par ces derniers. La communauté internationale condamne toutefois le Viêt Nam pour cette décision considérée comme un acte d'agression envers un pays tiers. Plus important encore étaient les craintes suscitées par cette invasion qui pouvait replonger la région dans l'instabilité. La décision vietnamienne était en effet perçue comme l'événement précurseur de la réalisation de la théorie des dominos, théorie largement exposée dans les années 1950 et au début des années 1960, selon laquelle la chute des pays de l'Indochine déboucherait sur la domination totale du communisme dans l'ensemble de l'Asie du Sud-Est¹⁴⁸. Des pays comme la Malaisie et l'Indonésie apporteront leur soutien

148. Cette théorie a été popularisée lors d'une conférence de presse du président américain Dwight D. Eisenhower en avril 1954.

aux forces anti-vietnamiennes au Cambodge, rendant l'atmosphère politique d'autant plus tendue.

Le troisième problème concerne les disputes territoriales en mer de Chine méridionale, en particulier la question de l'archipel de Spratly. La perspective de fonds sous-marins au riche potentiel en ressources incite le Viêt Nam à revendiquer des droits face à la Chine et au reste de l'Asie du Sud-Est. À deux reprises au moins depuis 1976, la marine vietnamienne s'est ouvertement confrontée à la marine chinoise à ce propos, menaçant à la fois la sécurité des routes maritimes internationales passant dans la région et la stabilité politique régionale. L'archipel de Spratly reste aujourd'hui un point de discorde, moins entre le Viêt Nam et la Malaisie ou l'Indonésie qu'entre le Viêt Nam et les Philippines et la Chine. Comme le Viêt Nam, cette dernière revendique sa souveraineté sur la totalité de la mer de Chine méridionale, ce qui inclut non seulement l'archipel de Spratly, mais également d'autres îles.

On peut dire qu'entre 1978 et 1996, les contacts entre la péninsule indochinoise et le monde insulindien sont au plus bas. Le Viêt Nam est alors marginalisé internationalement, décalé et en retard. Virtuellement sans accès aux fonds de la Banque Mondiale et du Fonds Monétaire International pour sa reconstruction, le pays se tourne vers l'Union Soviétique qui connaît alors d'importantes difficultés économiques. Cette impasse sur le plan international conduit en 1986 au tournant majeur bien connu dans sa politique économique. Cette nouvelle orientation débouche sur des rapprochements avec ses voisins, d'autant plus que le Viêt Nam réintègre progressivement la scène internationale suite au retrait de ses troupes du Cambodge en 1989, et que la question des réfugiés est résolue trois ans plus tard.

Au Cambodge, le retrait de l'armée vietnamienne laisse un vide dans un pays ravagé par la guerre. Avec une coalition au pouvoir incapable de mettre en place le futur politique du pays, les Nations-Unies prennent en charge son administration à travers l'United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) en 1992-1993. Des armées de plusieurs pays sont sollicitées et la Malaisie contribue en envoyant un bataillon qui aura une tâche d'observation et de maintien de la paix. Les troupes malaisiennes, issues essentiellement du First Royal Ranger Battalion¹⁴⁹, vont également fournir une aide aux populations et contribuer à remettre sur pied la communauté musulmane.

En 1994, les Etats-Unis lèvent leur embargo économique sur le Viêt Nam, qui rejoint l'ASEAN l'année suivante. Le volume des échanges commerciaux commence alors à croître avec ses voisins sud-est asiatiques, de même que l'investissement étranger direct. Un développement similaire

149. *New Straits Times*, 30/03/2012.

se produit au Cambodge. La Malaisie et Singapour constituent à cette époque les principaux investisseurs de la région dans les deux pays, pour qui ils deviennent également d'importants partenaires commerciaux¹⁵⁰. Cette évolution s'accompagne logiquement de l'installation ou de déplacements fréquents d'hommes d'affaires, surtout chinois, ainsi que de techniciens et d'employés hautement qualifiés. Ces déplacements sont à leur tour facilités par la multiplication des liaisons aériennes entre les deux ensembles, surtout depuis une dizaine d'années¹⁵¹.

Le phénomène de migrations économiques s'observe également à grande échelle entre la péninsule indochinoise et la Malaisie depuis les années 2000.

Après avoir renvoyé en Indonésie plusieurs dizaines de milliers d'immigrants clandestins à la fin des années 1990, la Malaisie se tourne alors vers d'autres pays pour satisfaire ses besoins en main-d'œuvre dans divers secteurs. Elle commence à accueillir un nombre significatif de travailleurs migrants vietnamiens à partir de 2002, avec près de 20 000 individus pour cette seule année, dont 1 500 femmes¹⁵². Elle en aurait accueilli officiellement plus de 190 000 en dix ans (avec un pic en 2006 – près de 38 000 –, et une moyenne de 10 000 annuellement en 2010 et 2011), dont plus de 70% dans le secteur manufacturier, le reste se répartissant entre la construction, l'agriculture, les services et le personnel domestique¹⁵³. Au milieu des années 2000, le nombre de travailleurs originaires du Viêt Nam présents en Malaisie dépassait 100 000 personnes, dont un quart de femmes¹⁵⁴.

150. Ainsi, le groupe bancaire malaisien Maybank ouvre sa première succursale à Phnom Penh en 1994, opération suivie par l'ouverture de sa première succursale à Hanoi deux années plus tard (Maybank Annual Report 2010; <http://www.maybank.com/files/Maybank%20Annual%20Report%202010.pdf>) (consulté en nov. 2012).

151. Aujourd'hui, en tenant compte uniquement des compagnies aériennes de Malaisie et de Singapour, plus de 25 vols directs relient quotidiennement Kuala Lumpur et Singapour à Ho Chi Min City, Hanoi, Phnom Penh, Da Nang et Siem Reap, la ligne Kuala Lumpur-Ho Chi Min City, inaugurée en 1990 par Malaysian Airlines, étant la mieux desservie avec sept vols quotidiens dans les deux sens.

152. Labour Migration: Trends, challenges and policy responses in countries of origin. International Organization for Migration, Genève, 2003 <http://www.iom.org.bd/publications/12.pdf> (consulté en nov. 2012).

153. Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry. http://www.vccinews.com/news_detail.asp?news_id=23003, 21/04/2011 (consulté en nov. 2012).

154. Labour migration from Viet Nam: issues of policy and practice/ Dang Nguyen Anh; International Labour Office; ILO Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Asian Regional Programme on Governance of Labour Migration, Bangkok, 2008. http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/—asia/—ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms_099172.pdf (consulté en nov. 2012).

Une seconde composante dans les migrations économiques de la péninsule indochinoise vers la Malaisie concerne le personnel de maison d'origine cambodgienne. D'ampleur bien inférieure au précédent, ce flux a débuté en 2008, devenant significatif dès l'année suivante. En effet, suite à la multiplication de cas de meurtres et mauvais traitements à l'encontre de personnels de maison d'origine indonésienne en Malaisie¹⁵⁵, le gouvernement indonésien met en place, en juin 2009, un moratoire sur l'envoi de personnel de maison en attendant que le gouvernement malaisien accorde des garanties sur les rémunérations et la protection des employées. Malgré la signature d'un accord entre les deux gouvernements en mai 2011, l'envoi de personnel de maison indonésien par l'intermédiaire d'agences agréées n'a toujours pas repris début 2013. Pour faire face à la pénurie de personnel de maison, les agences de recrutement malaisiennes se tournent notamment vers le Cambodge. Début 2011, la Malaisie comptait ainsi quelque 40 000 travailleurs migrants d'origine cambodgienne, dont 25 000 dans le secteur domestique¹⁵⁶. La multiplication des cas de mauvais traitements conduit toutefois le gouvernement cambodgien, en octobre 2011, à interdire lui aussi à ses citoyens de travailler comme employées de maison en Malaisie¹⁵⁷.

Le retour de la paix au Viêt Nam et au Cambodge voit également la reprise et le développement, surtout au Cambodge, des activités de missionnaires musulmans venus de Malaisie, d'organisations gouvernementales et non gouvernementales islamiques malaisiennes, ainsi que le financement de la construction de mosquées, *surau*, écoles islamiques et orphelinats avec l'aide de capitaux malaisiens et indonésiens¹⁵⁸. Par

155. Avant 2009, le nombre total des employées de maison d'origines étrangères (surtout indonésienne et philippine) en Malaisie est estimé à 300 000 individus (*The Star*, Kuala Lumpur, 29/02/2008, consulté en novembre 2012).

156. Human Rights Watch, 2011 report, <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/cambodia1111webwcover.pdf> (consulté en novembre 2012).

157. *The Sundaily* (23/11/2011); *The Star* (02/02/2013).

158. À titre d'exemples :

The Cambodia Daily, September 13, 2003;

http://www.camnet.com.kh/cambodia.daily/selected_features/putting_down.htm;

Regional Islamic Da'wah Council of Southeast Asia and the Pacific,

<http://www.riseap.org/2010/07/29/visit-to-phnom-penh-cambodia/> (consulté en nov. 2012);

Report on the Fieldwork conducted in Malaysia and Cambodia on Muslim NGOs in Cambodia from 5 March to 17 March 2010 (27/04/2010), Organization for Islamic Area Studies, Waseda University;

<http://www.kikou.waseda.ac.jp/ias/en/research/nihu2.php?id=77>);

<http://khemnz.blogspot.com/2009/04/malaysia-to-help-cambodian-muslims.html>;

Muslims In Cambodia Hoping For Assistance From Malaysian Government, NGOs (<http://www.camboguide.com/cambodia-news-latest/muslims-in-cambodia-hoping-for-assistance-from-malaysian-government-ngos>);

ailleurs, la formation des étudiants cam venant en Malaisie n'est plus limitée aux *pondok* et *madrrasah* de la côte Est de la péninsule, puisque depuis la fin des années 1990 au moins, certains fréquentent des universités islamiques¹⁵⁹.

Cette ouverture concerne aussi le champ matrimonial. En Malaisie, sur la totalité des mariages conclus entre 2009 et octobre 2011, 30% des épouses étrangères sont vietnamiennes. Cette situation concerne en moyenne 2 500 mariages avec des Chinois chaque année. Peu exigeantes, semble-t-il, sur l'aspect physique et la situation personnelle du conjoint, elles ont également souvent l'avantage d'apprendre rapidement le mandarin¹⁶⁰.

Conclusion

Ce rapide panorama chronologique a permis de mettre en lumière, pour les périodes les plus anciennes, l'existence d'espaces et de réseaux caractérisés par des traditions et des pratiques communes dans les deux ensembles, traditions et pratiques qui suggèrent l'existence de contacts. À partir du milieu du second millénaire de notre ère et jusqu'au milieu du XIX^e siècle, ces relations se précisent, ce qui permet d'en évaluer toute la diversité, malgré le caractère fragmentaire et quelquefois peu fiable, des sources. Pour la période qui débute au milieu du XIX^e siècle, la multiplication et la précision de certaines sources permet d'envisager d'étudier ces relations à travers des parcours individuels notamment. Un pic dans ces contacts est atteint entre la fin des années 1970 et la fin des années 1980 avec l'afflux de réfugiés dans l'Archipel, réplique à grande échelle de l'épisode des réfugiés cam dans l'Archipel après la prise de Vijaya par les Vietnamiens en 1471. Le second pic a débuté il y a dix ans avec, entre autres, des migrations économiques dans les deux sens, mais encore une fois surtout dans le sens péninsule indochinoise-monde insulindien, migrations facilitées par l'accroissement rapide des transports aériens. À l'inverse, le monde insulindien, en particulier la Malaisie, accroît ses actions en faveur des communautés musulmanes de la péninsule indochinoise.

Tout en reconnaissant le caractère très spéculatif de cette approche en raison de sources fragmentaires, on peut néanmoins tenter d'examiner ces relations sur la longue durée en termes de flux et de centres de gravité. Si l'on examine le domaine religieux par exemple, pour lequel nous disposons

PKPU (Persatuan Kakitangan Perkhidmatan Ugama) Teruskan Misi Dakwah & Pendidikan di Kemboja Vietnam – 8/11/2012 (<http://www.islam.gov.my/pkpu-teruskan-misi-dakwah-pendidikan-di-kemboja-vietnam>) (consultés en nov. 2012); “Pejabat Mufti Kemboja terima van”, *Berita Harian*, 31/12/2012.

159. Regional Islamic Da'wah Council of Southeast Asia and the Pacific, <http://www.riseap.org/2010/07/29/visit-to-phnom-penh-cambodia/> (consulté en nov. 2012).

160. *The Star* 22/11/2011.

de quelques jalons sur un millénaire et demi, il semble qu'au milieu du premier millénaire de notre ère, le Funan centré sur le delta du Mékong a pu représenter un centre de gravité important pour le monde insulindien indianisé. À l'époque de Majapahit, les Javanais incluent le Campā parmi les régions ayant fourni des acteurs importants de l'islamisation de l'île. Un autre centre de gravité religieux apparaît dans les relations au XV^e siècle, c'est Melaka. Depuis le XVII^e siècle, et on peut dire jusqu'à une époque récente, c'est la côte orientale de la péninsule malaise, en particulier Kelantan mais aussi Patani, qui prend le relais comme centre de gravité pour les communautés islamiques de la péninsule indochinoise. En sens inverse, un flux de missionnaires et volontaires relie jusqu'à aujourd'hui la péninsule malaise et le Cambodge en particulier. Parallèlement, Penang sur la côte ouest devient centre de gravité pour les catholiques de la péninsule indochinoise, surtout du Viêt Nam, entre le milieu du XIX^e et le milieu du XX^e siècle.

On pourrait aussi aborder l'histoire de ces relations de façon thématique. Ainsi, des travaux ont déjà porté sur la littérature malaise ou acihaise et cam¹⁶¹, sur la question de l'islamisation des deux ensembles¹⁶², sur la linguistique¹⁶³ et la lexicologie¹⁶⁴. Bien d'autres aspects sont envisageables, qu'il s'agisse des communautés ou individus médiateurs entre les deux régions, des rouages économiques transrégionaux, des réseaux religieux, des frontières, de l'imaginaire, de la circulation des techniques, des idées, des arts, des symboles, de divers produits, etc...

À titre tout à fait exploratoire, on notera par exemple que la littérature malaise traditionnelle ne semble pas avoir de concept pour désigner l'Asie du Sud-Est continentale ou la péninsule indochinoise¹⁶⁵. On y trouve l'expression «benua China», mais lorsque dans un texte le passage concerne un déplacement vers la Chine, généralement rien n'est dit sur l'Asie du Sud-

161. Cowan, 1933 ; G. Moussay, *Akayet Deva Mano*, Paris, EPHE, 1975 ; Nara Vija, *Une épopée classique cam* : Inra Pātrā, Paris, EPHE, 1975 ; Chambert-Loir, 1988 et 1994 ; *Akayet Deva Mano: Versi Cam dari Hikayat Dewa Mandu*, Kuala Lumpur, Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Pelancongan Malaysia/EFEO, 1989 ; Po Dharma, Moussay, G. & Abdul Karim (eds.), *Akayet Inra Patra (Hikayat Inra Patra – Epopée Inra Patra)*, Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia/EFEO, 1997 ; Po Dharma, Moussay, G. & Abdul Karim (eds.), *Akayet Dewa Mano (Hikayat Dewa Mano – Epopée Dewa Mano)*, Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia/EFEO, 1998 ; Po Dharma, G. Moussay, Abdul Karim (eds.) 2000. Un rapprochement a aussi été fait entre les littératures javanaise et khmère avec les Histoires de Panji (Lombard, 1987 : 317). Voir également G.E. Marrison, "The Chams and their Literature", *JMBRAS*, 58(2), 1985: 45-70.

162. Manguin, 1979 ; Lombard, 1987 ; Nakamura, 2000.

163. Cowan, 1948 ; Thurgood, 1999 ; Po Dharma, 1999.

164. Po Dharma, 1999.

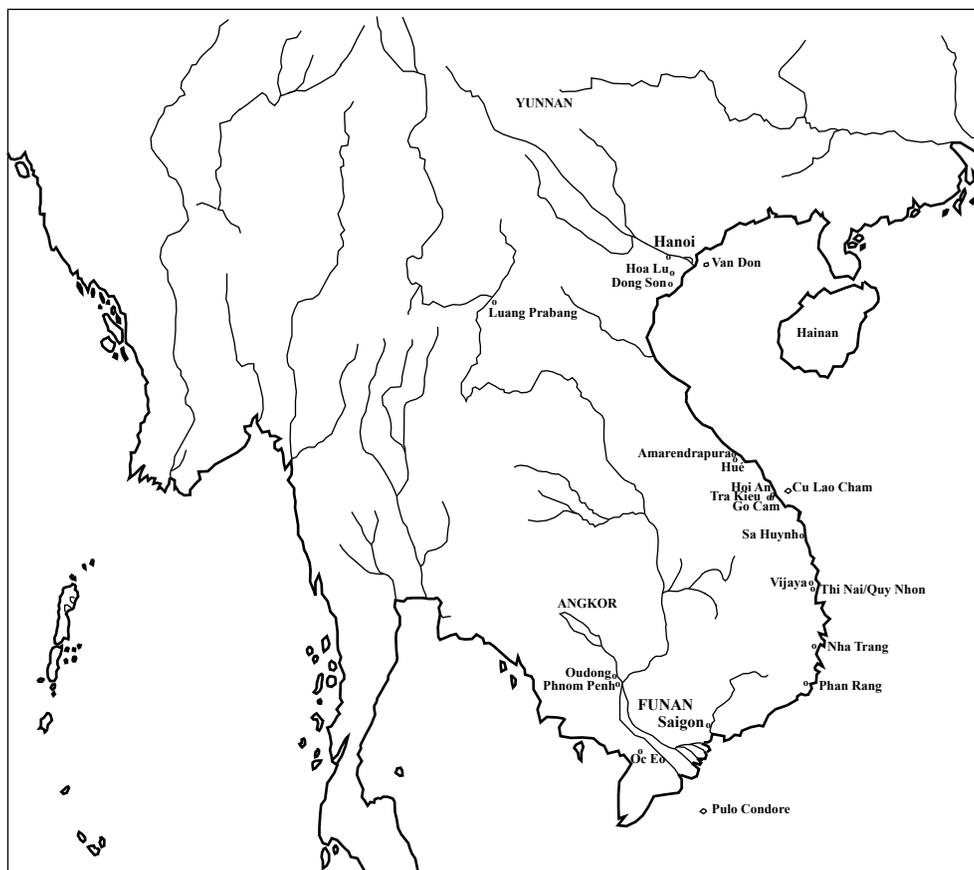
165. Cette observation et les suivantes ont été effectuées par recherche systématique dans le corpus du *Malay Concordance Project*.

Est continentale. Nous avons mentionné plus haut le toponyme Cempa/Campa, que ce soit dans les inscriptions en vieux-javanais ou dans plusieurs textes malais, les toponymes Kamboja et Yawana en vieux-javanais, le toponyme Bal dans la littérature malaise pour désigner l'une des capitales du Campā, Kuci ou Koci pour désigner le Dai Viet, Kemboja/Kamboja dans la littérature malaise pour désigner le Cambodge. Il convient de mentionner ici le cheminement linguistique intéressant d'un toponyme que la littérature malaise situe «dekat Kemboja» (au Cambodge). Il s'agit de Pantai Emas (litt. Côte d'Or) mentionné dans trois textes malais¹⁶⁶, et qui désigne en fait Banteay Meas (litt. la «Citadelle dorée» ou «la Citadelle d'or» en khmer), fondé par un Ming réfugié à la fin du XVII^e siècle, un site présentement au Cambodge. Sa destruction par les armées siamoises va obliger son fondateur à se replier à l'embouchure de la rivière du même nom (*sting* Banteay Meas) sur un lieu connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de Ha Tiên, en territoire vietnamien cette fois¹⁶⁷. À l'inverse, dans des lexiques Cam/Malais du XVII^e siècle, on trouve l'expression «orang Benua» pour désigner les indigènes de la péninsule malaise, et les termes *layu*, *liya*, *liyu*, *aliyu*, pour désigner les Malais, le pays des Malais et la langue malaise¹⁶⁸.

166. Malay Concordance Project. Muhammad Yusoff Hashim (ed.), *Hikayat Siak dirawikan oleh Tengku Said*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992 (1855 –MCP). MCP: 476, 477; Virginia Matheson Hooker, *Tuhfat al-Nafis: Sejarah Melayu-Islam*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991. (1866, MCP): MCP 168:7, 168:8; 168:9, 168:13, 170:3; Annabel Teh Gallop (with E. Ulrich Kratz), *The Legacy of the Malay Letter: Warisan Warkah Melayu*, London, British Library for the National Archives of Malaysia, 1994: 221, doc. 70 (1820).

167. Les auteurs remercient Grégory Mikaëlian et Claudine Salmon pour les informations concernant Banteay Meas, ainsi que pour les compléments bibliographiques apportés à la liste jointe à ce texte.

168. Po Dharma, 1999 : 355, 361.



Péninsule indochinoise : principaux toponymes cités

ARLO GRIFFITHS*

The Problem of the Ancient Name Java and the Role of Satyavarman in Southeast Asian International Relations Around the Turn of the Ninth Century CE

« Tout revient donc en fin de compte
à une question de méthode. »
Louis-Charles Damais (1964 : 94)

Introduction

One of the most familiar episodes of ancient Southeast Asian history is without doubt the account of how Cambodian king Jayavarman II returned from Javā, in order to liberate his country from it founded the “cult of the Devarāja”, and consequently declared himself emperor (*cakravartin*) on Mount Mahendra in the year 724 Śaka, or 802 CE. These events and this year are widely considered to represent the beginning of the Angkorian “empire”. Recent years have seen several new scholarly contributions questioning parts of this account.

One issue is the very historicity of the narrative elements about Jayavarman II, including those that involve Javā. It has been argued — to my mind persuasively — that there is every reason to read the sources recounting them as what they are: retrospective accounts of events in the past, whose historical veracity cannot be taken for granted, and which may reveal more about the period during which they were written than about the past they pretend to deal with.¹

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1. This is argued most explicitly and exhaustively in a forthcoming paper of Michael Vickery. Several of his earlier writings (e.g. 1992, 2001) already foreshadow the idea that

Another topic of debate is the identity of Javā in such retrospective accounts, and, more generally, in the history of Southeast Asia. The contributions on this topic tend to be marked by a focus on particular groups of sources with their own particular consequences for the conclusions that are drawn with regard to the identity (or identities) of the land (or lands) that the Khmers in the 7th through 13th centuries of our era knew as Javā. Two studies were contributed by scholars with a primary interest and competence in comparative-historical linguistics, seeking to apply their expertise to problems of history (Mahdi 2008, Ferlus 2010). Both appear to be founded on the earnest conviction that it is possible, on the basis of a linguistic observation, to propose comprehensive solutions to intricate webs of interrelated problems that have occupied historians for over a century. One of them is among several contributions of scholars arguing that Javā was situated on the Southeast Asian mainland, and here we encounter the unspoken assumption that it is sufficient to demonstrate that a toponym Javā has been in use in particular places or a particular place on the Southeast Asian mainland at some point in history, to conclude that that particular Javā was meant in the Khmer inscriptions (all of them), and not the island of Java. Indeed, more generally, we encounter time and again a flagrant failure to comply with fundamental requirements of historiographic method, such as a weighing of evidence based on a consideration of the epistemological hierarchy of sources, and giving account of all relevant sources of evidence.² The plethora of tendentious arguments, based on partial presentations or simply incomplete awareness of the relevant evidence, is in need of a corrective, for we already see colleagues giving silent approval to one or the other of these arguments, or declining to express any judgment on the relative persuasiveness of different proposals on the identity of Javā.³ Although the specialization of areal and disciplinary expertise has advanced so much that it is no longer possible for any single scholar honestly to pretend to have digested all of the relevant primary and secondary sources, I have made an effort to read widely, and the presentation of my findings on the problem of the ancient name Java forms the bulk of this paper.

this narrative is an 11th-century legend. Vickery cites the important observation of George Cœdès (1937–66, vol. VII, p. 129): «Pour l'épigraphie angkoriennne qui commence en fait avec le règne d'Indravarman en 877, ceux de Jayavarman II et de son fils dont on n'a pas encore trouvé d'inscription constituent une époque semi-légendaire, à laquelle les grandes familles religieuses font remonter l'origine de leur sacerdoce, et les propriétaires de biens fonciers l'origine de leurs titres de propriétés». See now also Bourdonneau (2011a: 100–101 with the references in n. 18) and (2011b: 1345, 1359).

2. For a nuanced discussion of the problem of hierarchization of sources in early Southeast Asian history, particularly the history of ancient Cambodia, I refer to Bourdonneau (2003).

3. See e.g. Laffan (2009: 20–28); Sharrock (2009: 218); Woodward (2011: 93 and 94).

The Narratives of Jayavarman II and Related Accounts of the Khmer Past

As background to the discussion that will follow, I must first present the two epigraphical passages which recount Jayavarman's actions with regard to Javā, immediately adding to them two other narrative passages which are clearly related to each other and together related to the Javā narrative.

Inscription of Sdok Kak Thom: K. 235, face C, lines 61–62 and lines 69–74⁴

man vraḥ pāda parameśvara mok 'amvi javā pi kurūn ni 'nau nagara indrapura. steñ 'añ śivakaivalya ta 'ji prājñā jā guru jā rājapurohita ta vraḥ pāda parameśvara. man vraḥ pāda parameśvara thleñ mok 'amvi 'indrapura steñ 'añ śivakaivalya mok nu vraḥ kandvāra homa nā vraḥ rājakāryya [...] man vraḥ pāda parameśvara dau kurūn ni 'āy mahendraparvata. steñ 'añ śivakaivalya dau 'aṅvay ta nagara noḥ 'ukk pamre ta vraḥ pāda parameśvara rūva noḥh 'nau man vrāhmaṇa jmaḥ hiraṇyadāma prājñā siddhividya mok 'amvi janapada. pi vraḥ pāda parameśvara 'añjeñ thve vidhi leha leñ kam pi kamvujadeśa neḥ 'āyatta ta javā ley. leñ 'āc ti kamrateñ phdai karom mvāy guḥ ta jā cakravartti. vrāhmaṇa noḥ thve vidhi toy vraḥ toy vraḥ vināśikha. pratiṣṭhā kamrateñ jagat ta rāja.

'When H.M. Parameśvara (i.e. Jayavarman II)⁵ came from Java to rule and hold sway in the royal city of Indrapura, the *steñ 'añ Śivakaivalya*, the learned patriarch, served as spiritual preceptor. When H.M. Parameśvara rose up and came from Indrapura, the *steñ 'añ Śivakaivalya* came as member of the holy College of Sacrifices assigned to the holy Royal Service. [...] When H.M. Parameśvara went forth to rule and hold sway in Mahendraparvata, the *steñ 'añ Śivakaivalya* went [and] settled in that royal city as well, continuing to serve H.M. Parameśvara as before. When the *brāhmaṇa* named Hiraṇyadāman, who was learned in knowledge of *siddhi*, came from Janapada — because H.M. Parameśvara had invited [him] to perform a sublime rite which would let this Kamvujadeśa not be subject to Java any longer [and] would let and allow only one High Lord of the Earth to serve as *cakravartin*, — that *brāhmaṇa* performed a rite according to the Vināśikha [and] set up the Sovereign High Lord of the World (i.e. the Devarāja of the Sanskrit text).⁶

Inscription of Vat Samroñ: K. 956, lines 14–17

man vraḥ pāda stac dau parameśvara stac 'āy ṛdval pandval ta mratāñ śrī prathivinarendra pre thve kālyanasiddhi leñ vvaṃ 'ampān vraḥ kamvujadeśa pi javā cāp ley 'oy vraḥ dākṣiṇā bhūmi sratāc ṛdval nu sarvvadravya 'val ta mratāñ śrī prathivinarendra

4. The “K.” and “C.” numbers cited in this paper refer to the EFEO inventories of the inscriptions of Cambodia and those of Campā, on which, see Cœdès 1937–66, vol. VIII; Cœdès, «Liste générale des inscriptions du Champa et du Cambodge» in Cœdès & Parmentier 1923, pp. 1–37; Gerschheimer 2003–04; and Griffiths *et al.* 2012a. For Indonesian inscriptions, I follow in most cases the system of nomenclature introduced by L.-Ch. Damais (see Damais 1952 and Damais 1970: 37–54). Since all epigraphical sources drawn upon here use the Śaka era, I favor in principle the use of this era when citing dates; readers not comfortable with this reckoning may mentally add 78 to each Śaka-year to approximate the corresponding year of the common era. As much as possible, I cite texts of inscriptions based on my own readings, applying a uniform system of transliteration to all epigraphical corpora treated here, except that (only in the case of Old Javanese texts) the sign ° is used to indicate independent (*akṣara*) vowels, whereas the glottal stop of Mon and Khmer, expressed by the independent vowel signs, is marked with '. My use of the sign · indicates *virāma/paten*.

5. On this use of a posthumous name, see Jacques (2001).

6. Text and translation follow almost without modification those offered by Sak-Humphry & Jenner (2005: 96–104).

‘When his majesty who had gone to Parameśvara (i.e. Jayavarman II) was pleased to reside at R̥dval, he deputed Mratāñ Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra to order to carry out an auspicious stratagem (*kalyāṇasiddhi*) to end Java’s continuing to hold the sacred Kamvujadeśa, he gave as holy fee the fields of Sratāc and R̥dval, with all their property, to Mratāñ Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra.’⁷

The first of these passages has been known to scholarship for more than a century and forms the basis of the Javā narrative associated with Jayavarman II found in all works on ancient Southeast Asian history.⁸ The second was published about fifty years ago, and despite obvious differences its account was not at that time felt to be in sufficient disagreement with that of the first to require revision of the Javā narrative. It is only due to the discovery in the 1980s of an important bilingual Sanskrit/Khmer inscription, of 988 Śaka or thereabouts, that important new light can and must now be cast on the accounts contained in K. 235 and K. 956. The inscription in question, K. 1158, was recovered from Sab Bak in Nakhon Ratchasima province, Thailand, but it has been suggested that it is not quite certain that this is also where the inscription was originally erected.⁹ Even before it was published by Chirapat Prapandavidya (1990), it attracted interest from scholars, and publications discussing its significance in greater or lesser details have multiplied since then.¹⁰

Part of the interest of this inscription, and of the question where it might originally have been erected, lies in the fact that it mentions in its Khmer part a piece of historical information that is strikingly reminiscent of an event recorded in another inscription, K. 111, recovered rather far away from Nakhon Ratchasima, namely at Vat Sithor, a site about halfway between Phnom Penh and Kompong Cham. This Vat Sithor inscription dates from about a century earlier, from the reign of Jayavarman III that started in 890 Śaka, and states the following:¹¹

7. Text cited after Cœdès 1937–66, vol. VII, p. 130. Translation partly taken from Jenner (2009b: 509).

8. See Cœdès & Dupont (1943–46: 57) : «L’inscription de Sdök Kāk Thom a déjà été publiée deux fois : Aymonier, dès 1901, en a résumé et traduit partiellement la version khmère, accompagnant ce travail d’une analyse de la paraphrase sanskrite due à A. Barth. Louis Finot, en 1915, a donné édition et traduction complètes des deux textes.»

9. Jacques wrote (2005: 24 n. 29) : «la stèle, petite, peut avoir été apportée d’on ne sait où au Cambodge». Vickery (forthcoming) affirms that there is no reason to be skeptical about the provenance, and furnishes a reason to think the stela may originate in the area where it was found.

10. Cf., i.a., Ang Chouléan (1998: 119–120); Sundberg (2003: 178 n. 28); Skilling (2004: 157); Jacques (2005: 24); Woodward (2005: 146). Michael Vickery discusses it too in his forthcoming paper, and Julia Estève has discussed it at some length in her unpublished doctoral dissertation.

11. Vat Sithor Inscription (K. 111; Cœdès 1937–66, vol. VI, p. 195; after 890 Śaka), st. XLV and XLIX.



śrīsatyavarmanā bajrilokeśārccā daśādhikāḥ
sthāpitāḥ prāḡ girau bhagnāsanā yo tiṣṭhipat punaḥ ||

≈ – rmmaṭṭane grāme svaparārthaprasiddhaye
≈ ≈ dīn sthāpayām āsa navaṣaṇmaṅgale śāka ||

Glossing over a few problems of interpretation,¹² I propose that these two stanzas might mean:

‘He [Kīrtipandita, the subject of the inscription] re-installed the ten excellent images of Vajrilokeśa that had been installed formerly on the mountain by Śrī Satyavarman, and whose thrones had been broken.

In the settlement ..rmaṭṭana he installed ... etc. in the course of 869 Śāka, for the realization of both his own benefit and that of others.’

It seems to have been Claude Jacques (1992: 3–4) who first pointed out that this must be related to the events recorded in the inscription recovered from Thailand, for there we read:¹³

aṣṭāṣṭaraṅdhre sitasaptaśukre tapasyamāse sugatādikārccāḥ
teṅpāsnaḡe bhāgyaviśeṣatūrthe sa vraḥdhanus sūrīr atiṣṭhipat yaḥ ||

‘It was he, the learned Vraḥ Dhanus, who in 988 Śāka, on Friday the seventh of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya (= Phālguna), erected the images of the Buddha etc. on the Teṅ Pās mountain, place of pilgrimage capable of yielding extraordinary fortune.’

ri vraḥ vuddhalokeśvara¹⁴ ta praṃ pvāna ti kaṃsteṅ śrī satyavarma ta mān siddhi
sthāpanā vreṅ le ’abhayagiri teṅ kaṃ pi javā ’ākrānta sruk khmera • vraḥ noḥ syaṅ ta
nu tvalla dau hoṅ • kamrateṅ ’aṅ ta guru dharaṅīndrapura jirṅodddharaṅa thve pi pravai
sthāpanā ’issa vraḥ noḥ viṅ ta tel noḥ syaṅ ta ’yat vighna • ri ’ācāryya vraḥ dhanu ta
śiṣya gi ta sthāpanā vraḥ neḥ ’āy ta ’aṣṭa ’aṣṭa nava ta gi rājya vraḥ pāda kaṃmrateṅ
kaṃtvan ’aṅ śrī ’udayādityavarmmadeva •

‘As for the nine Buddhalokeśvaras, they were formerly established atop the Abhayagiri by Śrī Satyavarman, who possessed supernatural power (siddhi), in order that Javā would not attack the Khmer domain. Those deities had fallen to pieces. K.A. the Guru of Dharaṅīndrapura has organized repair. He has made embellishments. He has newly installed all those deities. As before, those [deities] became free of obstacles. As for Ācārya Vraḥ Dhanu, his pupil, he has established these deities in 988 [Śāka] during the reign of His Majesty of the matriline Śrī Udayādityavarmadeva.’

Let me sum up what we gather from the comparison of these two inscriptions. A certain Satyavarman is credited with the establishment of Buddhist images on top of a mountain at an unspecified time. The Sab Bak

12. Mainly the number of images installed (*daśādhikāḥ* can and has been interpreted to mean ‘more than ten’) and the identity of these images. Cœdès interpreted “images de Vajrin et de Lokeśa”, but comparison with the Sab Bak inscription rather suggests that Vajrilokeśa is a synonym of Buddhalokeśvara, on which, see note 14.

13. Sab Bak Inscription, K. 1158; ed. Chirapat Prapandavidya 1990; unpublished improved edition by Julia Estève and Gerdi Gerschheimer. Sanskrit: St. XIII; Khmer: lines 31–36 (both face A).

14. For a suggestion regarding the identity of these Buddhalokeśvaras, see Woodward (2005: 146); cf. also Woodward (1994–95: 108). It should be noted that this specific name is attested in at least two inscriptions of Campā (C. 92 and C. 213).

inscription specifies that the mountain where this original foundation took place was called Abhayagiri, that is ‘Mountain of Safety’, and that the purpose of the foundation was to protect *sruk khmer*, that is the Khmer domain, from Javā. The Vat Sithor inscription credits the Buddhist scholar Kīrtipaṇḍita with a restoration of these images, that had apparently suffered the ravages of time, in or around 869 Śaka.¹⁵ The Sab Bak inscription credits an unnamed Guru of Dharaṇīndrapura with similar restoration activities at an unspecified point of time. It adds that his pupil Vraḥ Dhanus erected several Buddhist images on a mountain called Teñ Pās¹⁶ in the year 988 Śaka. In other words, his master, the Guru of Dharaṇīndrapura, must have lived before that year, and it is not evident that Vraḥ Dhanus’ foundation is geographically or otherwise related to that of Satyavarman.

The parallels with the legend recorded about Jayavarman II in the oft-cited inscriptions of Sdok Kak Thom and Vat Samroñ (K. 235 and K. 956), involving his use of *siddhi* in defense against Javā, are too striking to be coincidental, but nobody has so far commented on the discrepancy between the attribution to Jayavarman II in the case of K. 235 and K. 956 as against the name Satyavarman in K. 111 and K. 1158. What I want to do in what follows is to explore the possibility of identifying the Satyavarman figuring in these Khmer inscriptions with the king of the same name occurring in the epigraphy of Campā, while simultaneously identifying Javā with the island of Java, more specifically with the kingdom of central Java associated with the Śailendra dynasty,¹⁷ and to consider the implications of such a combined hypothesis. In the process, I will review three recent publications addressed from various perspectives to the issue of Java.

Can the Javā of the Khmer inscriptions be identified as the island of Java?

The ancient name of the island Java, and its identifiability with various similar-sounding names known from ancient Southeast Asian, Chinese and Arab sources, is an old problem, compounded by the fact that similar-sounding and obviously related names in some modern mainland Southeast Asian languages refer not to the Javanese or to Java in particular, but to Malays or the Malay world in general,¹⁸ or to localities in northern Laos. The paper “Localisation, identité et origine du Javā de Jayavarman II”, by

15. See on this inscription and the scholar Kīrtipaṇḍita the articles by Mertens (2000) and Sharrock (2009).

16. This means something like ‘Lady of the creepers’. It is not a Khmer version of Abhayagiri.

17. It is not very important for my argument that I presume, with most other current scholars, that former notions of parallel existence of two lines of rulers in 8th–9th century Java, must be abandoned in favor of a ‘single dynasty’ model. See Sundberg 2009 for the state of the field.

18. See Laffan (2009), the contribution of Claudine Salmon to this issue, and the citation of Pierre Dupont in n. 78 below.

Michel Ferlus aims to demonstrate that the term *javā* in those Khmer inscriptions which recount the story of Jayavarman II can be explained as a word originally meaning ‘mountain’, hence also ‘artificial mound’, and would in the latter sense have been applied by other peoples to the Khmers, and through Khmer expansion to what is now northern Laos have become associated with that part of mainland Southeast Asia.¹⁹ Throughout, Ferlus is convinced but makes no effort to demonstrate that “le vocable *javā* de l’inscription de Sdok Kak Thom ne peut en aucun cas désigner l’île de Java” (2010: 8). This statement was meant to hold for the inscription of Vat Samroñ as well, and by implication also for that of Sab Bak, which Ferlus was certainly unaware of and hence ignored altogether. His complicated argument is marked at several steps by the methodological flaw of accepting a given interpretation that seems possible, without asking whether other interpretations might also be possible, and then doing the countercheck of weighing the likeliness of his interpretation against others.²⁰ I think that three examples will be sufficient to demonstrate that Ferlus’ argument rests on very weak foundations.

First, Ferlus’ entire argument relies on the hypothesis that the Chinese designation Funan of the ancient polity associated with such sites as Óc Eo and Angkor Borei reflects the Old Khmer word *vnaṃ* meaning ‘mountain’.

19. Ferlus takes his inspiration from the work of Tatsuo Hoshino, to whom he even dedicates his article (just as Hoshino had dedicated his 2002 article to Ferlus). Ferlus (2010: 68) admits: « dans l’ensemble, les spécialistes n’admettent pas l’identification avec le Java indonésien, mais aucun ne va jusqu’à admettre les idées novatrices de Tatsuo Hoshino qui sont parfois même rejetées avec vigueur ». With regard to the latter point, I have nowhere found a vigorous rejection of Hoshino’s work, but only scattered negative remarks showing that his work is indeed very controversial. Vickery (1998: 81 n. 60) affirms: “I must add here that in general I do not accept many of Hoshino’s presuppositions and methods using Southeast Asian historical documents. On certain isolated points, however, he has contributed valuable new insights.” Jacques (2005: 24) specifies: « Sa démonstration toutefois n’est guère convaincante. Il explique en particulier que Jayavarman II, venant de Javā, arrivait au Laos: mais pourquoi dans ces conditions ce roi aurait-il commencé sa conquête du pays khmer par les provinces les plus méridionales? Il confond souvent d’autre part Yava avec Java, voire avec Yavana. » Woodward (2011: 87) mentions “tendentious aspects of Hoshino’s article”.

20. This same objection was raised against another recent contribution of Ferlus to tackling an old problem of early Southeast Asian history by Bourdonneau (2007: 132, n. 50, my emphasis): « Michel Ferlus propose de restituer derrière le titre *fan*, porté par les premiers souverains du Funan selon les textes chinois, le sanskrit *brahma* ou *brāhmaṇa*. L’hypothèse avait déjà été envisagée par Pelliot sans grande conviction. Ferlus y revient avec une argumentation de phonétique historique : antérieure à l’effacement de la médiale -r- aux alentours du IV^e siècle, le caractère *fan* permettait de transcrire tout à fait correctement le sanskrit *brahma/brāhmaṇa* (Ferlus 2005 : 4-5). Que le terme brahmane ait pu ainsi entrer dans la titulature des premiers rois du Funan soulève de nombreuses interrogations. Mais c’est la démarche en soi qui nous semble d’abord faire difficulté. Que le caractère *fan* transcrive de façon satisfaisante les [mots] *brahma/brāhmaṇa* ne nous dit rien sur les autres correspondances éventuelles avec des termes en vieux khmer et les raisons pour lesquelles il faudrait alors privilégier l’hypothèse de Ferlus. »

This is, however, not more than a possibility, and one that is treated with much circumspection by more than one historian.²¹ Ferlus for his part treats this hypothesis as an established fact (2010: 69):

C'est vraisemblablement dans le sens de « monticule, tertre artificiel (lieu de cérémonies) » plus que celui de « temple » et encore moins de « montagne » qu'il faut chercher la justification du nom « Funan » que les Chinois, frappés par des pratiques qu'ils ne connaissaient pas, ont donné au Cambodge des premiers siècles de notre ère. Cette signification nous accompagnera tout au long de ce texte dans notre quête sur l'identification du terme Javā.

The presumed meaning 'artificial mound' then becomes the basis for an indeed long-drawn web of ingenious and often far-fetched reasoning, but we see here the shakiness of its very starting point: the assumption that the designation Funan derives from the Khmer word for 'mountain' and the associated belief that there are no 'mountains' in Funan. It is impossible to follow Ferlus even in his point regarding the landscape, for there would have been nothing surprising if the various natural elevations, such as the Nui Ba Thê which dominates Oc Eo, the massif of seven mountains slightly further north, not to mention the Phnom Bayang, the Phnom Angkor Borei, etc., which so clearly mark the landscape of Funan, had attracted attention both from the ancient Funanese and from the contemporary Chinese precisely for what they are, and what they are still called in modern Khmer: *bhnam* (*phnom*), 'mountains'.

Second, Ferlus accepts without question the hypothesis recorded in H.L. Shorto's *Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions* (1971: 117) that the word *ja'ba'* occurring in a single 11th-century Old Mon inscription from Thaton, a site on the coast facing the Bay of Bengal, denotes a "native of the region of northern Laos". Ferlus takes the dictionary definition at face value, and has not bothered to retrace its source. This source is probably the work of G.H. Luce (1969–70, vol. I: 24–25), who reported that "[i]n line 23 of the main section the words *lwa'krom ja'ba'* are legible at the end of the line, but the context is obscure. *Lwa'* is the tribal term Lawa or Wa, present in the name of the city, Lavapura (Lăvo, Lopburi). *Krom* is the Mon word, the western word for Cambojan (Old Burm. *Krwam*; Thai Khôm). *Ja'ba'* might be the Möaŋ Javā of Rāma Gāmhèñ's inscription (1292 A.D.), i.e. Luang Phra Bang". On this basis, the sequence *lwa'krom ja'ba'*, about whose context we know nothing, is translated by Shorto as 'Lawas, Cambodians, and Laotians', and this interpretation is supported with a reference to "Lao *swā* (< **javā*), popular name of Luang Prabang".²² It is important to note how the

21. See e.g. the relevant work of Michael Vickery (1998: 33, 36 [with reference to Claude Jacques as expressing doubt about the hypothesis] and 421 n. 1; 2003–04: 125–126).

22. There is a small difference between Luce's reading *ja'ba'* and Shorto's *ja'ba'*, but perhaps

circumspection of historian Luce has got lost in the representation of his hypothesis by linguist Shorto, so that the mere suggestion that the word denote ‘Laotians’ becomes an established fact for Ferlus. Against Luce’s suggestion we may raise the objection — given the circumstance that contemporary inscriptions of Java consistently mention side-by-side the ethnonyms *campa* ‘Cam’, *kmir* ‘Cambodian (i.e. Khmer)’ and *rəmən* ‘Mon’ in lists of resident foreign traders²³ — that one may justifiably expect Mon inscriptions of the same period, and all the more so inscriptions from coastal sites likely to have been frequented by overseas traders, to mention the Javanese. Before further philological evidence is adduced to exclude the possibility that this Old Mon word meant ‘Javanese’, it is inadmissible to use the word as evidence in an argument that Old Khmer *javā* meant anything else.

Third, the claim (2010: 70) that Old Mon *ja’ḥa’* and Old Khmer *javā*, which Ferlus postulates originally to have denoted certain Khmers or the Khmers in general, «devaient avoir le sens premier de ‘tertre, monticule’, comme *bhnam* et *fūnan*» rests solely on the existence of phonetically similar words meaning ‘mountain’ in certain Aslian languages of the Malay peninsula. The Aslian languages belong, like Mon and Khmer, to the Austroasiatic family of languages, but are not closely related to either Mon or Khmer within that family, and the oldest data on these languages are about a millennium younger than the relevant data from Mon and Khmer. Ferlus demonstrates methodically how in terms of historical phonology Old Mon *ja’ḥa’* and Old Khmer *javā* can be reconstructed to Proto-Mon-Khmer **ɟəbaʔ*. He does not, however, ask the question whether the fact that the words *can be* reconstructed to a common ancestor also means that they *have to be* shared inheritance from the proto-language. In any case, his careful procedure as historical phonologist stands in stark contrast to his simple declaration — as he himself admits: «contre toute attente» — that the meaning of this inherited word can be determined on the basis of the Aslian data. Ferlus says nothing about whether the sound correspondences between

this difference is inconsequential (see Shorto 1971: xv). All the readable parts of the inscription were published by Khyac Sinh [Chit Thein] (1965), inscription nr. 1, who reads [*lva’ krom:*] (*ja’*)[*ba*].

23. See below, p. 68. As an aside, I wish to question also Ferlus’ apodictic statement as to the modern Cam word *kur* denoting the Khmers: «Contrairement à une idée courante, ce terme n’a rien à voir avec les attestations de *kvir* et *kmir* des inscriptions chames». Ferlus does not state which scholars have expressed this idea, but epigraphical evidence (part of which has only become available after Ferlus wrote) seems to show an internal development *kmir*-*kvir*-*kur* in the course of the history of the Cam language, and may be adduced against Ferlus’ claim. The form *kmir* is attested in Cam inscriptions of the 11th century (C. 64, Griffiths *et al.* 2012b: 219–224) and the 12th (C. 17, Aymonier 1891: 40); *kvir* is found in inscriptions of the 13th century, and *kur* is found in one of the 15th. See for examples of *kvir* and *kur* the entries on p. 67 below.

the Aslian words and those in Mon and Khmer obey regular patterns or not, and hence it is unclear whether he is thinking of inherited Austroasiatic vocabulary, or whether he perceives the phonetic similarity between the various words as due to some loan scenario. Again, no other possibilities, such as coincidental phonetic similarity with the Mon and the Khmer words, or an etymological connectedness (whether through inheritance or borrowing) without preservation of semantic correspondence, are considered at all.

In short, the flaws of Ferlus' reasoning are so fundamental that his argument in favor of connecting *javā* in the Old Khmer inscriptions with a polity in what is now northern Laos need not detain us any longer. This does not yet mean that the hypothesis itself is disproven. And indeed I do not pretend that in matters such as these, anything such as final proof will ever be forthcoming. We are limited to proposing hypotheses and counter-hypotheses, and to weighing their respective power of persuasion. It is an incontrovertible fact that the inscription of Ram Khamhaeng of 1292 CE (face IV, line 26) mentions a *mōaṅ javā* ('principality of Javā') and situates it far to the north of Sukhothai;²⁴ it is likewise an incontrovertible fact that a name spelled *javā* is associated with the Luang Prabang area of northern Laos till this day. These facts lay at the basis of the argument offered by Tatsuo Hoshino and, after him, by Michel Ferlus, and they determine the way these scholars select and read other sources.²⁵ The historian's task is to weigh the possibility that it was this Javā that was intended in the Old Khmer inscriptions, against alternative possibilities, among which the possibility that the Old Khmer word denoted the island of Java; *mutatis mutandis*, the same possibilities must be weighed independently for any words that might be related, such as Old Mon *ja'ha'*.

I limit myself here to the observation that Hoshino and Ferlus can rely on not a single local source from Northern Laos that is even remotely proximate in time to the Khmer inscriptions that associate Javā with Jayavarman II, let alone to the supposed events around 800 CE associated with Javā in Jayavarman II's career. In what follows, I intend to show that, by contrast, there is a mass of Southeast Asian epigraphical data, relevant to the problem of Javā, and contemporary with the events reported retrospectively in those Khmer inscriptions or with those retrospective inscriptions themselves. It is

24. See Cœdès (1924: 43, 48) and Griswold & Prasert ṅa Nagara (1971: 202, 220).

25. For the former scholar's arguments, see Hoshino (1986: 34–46); the same ideas are repeated, without scholarly apparatus, in Hoshino (2002). Hoshino shows no awareness of the fact that the Ram Khamhaeng inscription is controversial, and may not constitute evidence for the existence of a toponym Javā in the Luang Prabang area in 1292 CE. Ferlus is aware of this fact, but preempts criticism of the fact that his theory is essentially based on this inscription by his characterization of the controversy as «stérile» (2010: 67, n. 4). On the productiveness of the Ram Khamhaeng controversy, see now Terwiel (2011).

my contention that these epigraphical data, and related data from later centuries, can be explained most parsimoniously if one assumes (a) that authors of Southeast Asian inscriptions meant with *javā* the same thing that was meant when they used the term *yavadvīpa*; (b) that Khmer authors used these terms with the same intended referent as did authors of inscriptions of Campā and of the Indonesian archipelago when using those terms; and (c) that in these three major epigraphic traditions of Southeast Asia, the intended referent of those terms remains stable throughout the epigraphic period. To this end, I will now proceed to present the evidence from these three traditions, and show that among them, it is only in Javanese inscriptions that the terms are intended as endonyms, while for the Khmers and Cams they referred to foreigners or a foreign land.

The first corollary of these observations is that the intended referent everywhere in this set of data was the island of Java (or a part of it); the second is that, when in other — in most cases later — Southeast Asian or foreign records, the term *javā* or foreign notations assumed to correspond to such a name denote something else than the island of Java, we are dealing with a parallel set of data, possibly reflecting more recent developments, whose interpretation must be accommodated historiographically next to, rather than in place of, the mass of epigraphic data.²⁶

Yava and Java in inscriptions of insular Southeast Asia

A voluminous and learned study “reconstructing the history of Yavadvipa [*sic*]” was published by Waruno Mahdi just a few years ago in the pages of this journal. Its argument is based on the ideas that the name Yavadvīpa would have applied to a polity in the Batang Hari river basin on Sumatra, before migrating to the island of Java,²⁷ and that the fact that there is a great volcano named Merapi on both islands is evidence of migration of toponyms that would have accompanied political migration. Although these ideas are of no direct consequence for my argument in this paper, Madhi’s study does directly concern the terms that are central in my discussion, and hence cannot be left unmentioned. The line of reasoning adopted by its author is complex, and in my view methodologically unsound. Based as it is on an argument that is hard to unravel, this contribution is liable to mislead even specialist readers. A short discussion of this 2008 article by Waruno Madhi will therefore serve as introduction to the history of the toponyms Yavadvīpa and Java in insular Southeast Asia.

26. Thus for instance the term *jāvaka* to denote the Malay Peninsula in the Sinhalese chronicle *Cūlavamsa*, dealing with the 13th century (cf. Jacques 2005: 21–22).

27. This is not a novel idea. For similar ideas, see Krom (1931: 83 and 99), and Moens as reported by Stutterheim (1939: 84 n. 1).

With inevitable simplification, it seems fair to say that Mahdi engages too freely in associating facts that are not clearly connected, to build complicated historical revisionism on the assumption of connections that remain unproven; that he feels too little constrained by the results of preceding scholars and hence proposes radically novel hypotheses without addressing the question why existing *communis opinio* would be wrong; that his revisionism is in fact based on an incomplete knowledge of the relevant primary and secondary sources, and an insufficient awareness of the risks of interpreting Sanskrit sources without being familiar with the clichés of Sanskrit literature; and that he cherry-picks from the sources he uses, ignoring elements which do not fit into the “unitary picture” that he aims to present (pp. 112, 136). I must limit myself to illustrating these flaws with just a few examples.

Firstly, the author rightly observes that foreign — Arabic, Chinese and Greek — sources often seem to situate places with names resembling Java or Yavadvīpa not where we would *prima facie* expect them, namely in the place of the island of Java, but rather in or around the island of Sumatra. In particular, he retains from his previously published work the conclusion, with regard to “the Chinese pilgrim Faxian’s itinerary of his 413-414 CE voyage from Sri Lanka via Yavadvīpa (*Yēpōtī* 耶婆提, EMC *jia-ba-dej) to Guangzhou”, that “the most likely location of Yavadvīpa would be on the east coast of Sumatra”, and that this “practically places it in the Batang Hari basin, the location of historical Malayu and Jambi” (p. 112).²⁸ Although he is aware of the work of Michael Laffan (2009, cited in the form of its working paper version dating to 2005), he does not consider the possibility that the foreign sources in question may be in error (cf. Damais 1964: 95), or may be using toponyms in a less discrete manner than we are used to do today. In this way the question “Why the name came to refer to the island of Java” (*sic!*) can become the dominant thread of the article, whereas the pre-Islamic indigenous sources — presented below — unequivocally associate the name with the island of Java, so that the historian should rather ask how the name could ever have come to be applied to any other locality.²⁹

Second, although the author rightly observes that it is strange to find the apparently Malay (or Batak) name Merapi applied to the important volcano

28. Although based on a different argument and a different reconstruction of Faxian’s route, the seminal study of Max Deeg (2005: 179–185), which Mahdi ignores, arrives at a similar location for *Yēpōtī*. Excavations at the extensive and ancient Buddhist complex of Batujaya over the last decade (cf. Manguin & Agustijanto Indrajaya 2011), whose results were published internationally too late to come to Deeg’s attention, can be considered to have weakened the argument against identifying *Yēpōtī* in West Java to the extent that it is based on the belief that there was no substantial Buddhist presence there in the 5th century (Deeg 2005: 183, n. 894).

29. This is what Michael Laffan has done in his contribution of 2009.

at the heart of Java, he ignores the fact that the pre-modern sources are not unanimous in naming it Merapi: while the majority of epigraphical and manuscript sources do refer to it by the name Marapi, some manuscript sources call the mountain Mandaragni, which suggests (because *agni* is a synonym of *api*) that, at least in popular etymology, the element *mar-* was associated with the mythical mountain Mandara, rather than with any Malay/Batak prefix. More significantly, the only pre-Islamic indigenous source known to me that seems to refer to the Merapi in West Sumatra is an Old Malay inscription from around the time of Ādityavarman, which names it not Marapi but Mahāmeru.³⁰ At least insofar as the extant historical sources have any say in the matter, there is no support for the author's assumption that "the name *Merapi* (originally perhaps [*sic*] *Marapi*) must have been first coined in Sumatra, and the volcano that originally carried that name probably was the one on that same island". Mahdi seems not to have considered the question when these mountains started to bear their modern names, and what consequences the answer to this question might have for his argument of toponymical and political movement from Sumatra to Java.

In the third place, Mahdi makes egregious use of the first indigenous document to use the term Yavadvīpa, namely the Sanskrit inscription of Canggal dating to 732 CE, which against all common sense is forcibly read as documenting a transplantation of a polity of that name from Sumatra to Java. To this end, he insists on an idiosyncratic literal interpretation of the preterite form *āsīt* at the start of the narrative portion of this inscription, in stanza VII:

āsīd dvīpavaram yavākhyam atulan (dhā)[nyā]divijādhikam
sampannaṃ kanakākaraṃ tad amarais sva[rggād] i[v](o)pārjītam
śrīmatkuñjarakuñjadeśanihi[taṃ] [ga]ṅgādītīrthāvṛtam
sthānaṃ divyatamaṃ śivāya jagataś śa[mbho]s tu yatrādbhutam. ||³¹

'There once was this excellent island called Yava, abundant in grains such as rice, endowed with gold mines, as though procured by the immortals from heaven, and (*tu*) where there was the most heavenly astonishing sanctuary of Śiva, situated in the illustrious land of the Elephant's tusk (*kuñjarakuñja*), surrounded by bathing places such as the Gaṅgā, bringing prosperity for the people.'³²

30. Cf. on the Central Javanese Merapi the references collected by Noorduyn (1982: 423–424, 439 n. 4) and Kuntara Wiryamartana (1990: 299–300 and 1993: 503–505). On the inscription of West Sumatra, see the rather unsatisfactory edition by de Casparis (1995: 923).

31. Text constituted by myself on the basis of an estampage kept in Leiden University Library. Variant readings vis-à-vis Kern (1885), Chhabra (1965) and Sarkar (1971–72, vol. I): (a) *atulan (dhā)[nyā]*° ∅ *atulandhā(nyā)*° Kern; *atula(ndhānyā)*° Sarkar. (b) *amarais sva[rggād] i[v](o)pārjītam* ∅ *amarai* — *dinopārjītam* Kern; *amarai mantrādinopārjītam* Sarkar; *amarais svarggādino[vo?]pārjītam* Chhabra (p. 47). The syllable read as °*dī*° by all predecessors rather seems to me like a °*dri*°. The spelling with *m* rather than *anusvāra* at the end of the *pāda* is certain; Sarkar's *amarai* (for expected *amarair*) is ungrammatical, and the traces of following *ssv* are unmistakable. (c) *nihī[taṃ]* ∅ Chhabra Sarkar; *nihī[ta]* Kern (unmetr.). — *[ga]ṅgādītīrthāvṛtam* ∅ thus Chhabra (p. 46); °*vṛtam* Sarkar (printing error?); *vaṅśādītīvādhr̥tam* Kern.

32. On the interpretation of this stanza, see also Bernet Kempers (1967) and Stutterheim

About the use of the past tense here, Waruno Mahdi affirms that it is “only understandable if not Java, but a Yavadvipa in Sumatra [...] is implied”. The author is evidently unaware that this is an entirely commonplace way for any Sanskrit story to be opened, and that Sanskrit (verse) inscriptions obey faithfully the conventions of Sanskrit (narrative) poetry.³³ The instigation towards this interpretation is another naively literalistic reading, namely of the characteristic *sampannaṃ kanakākaraḥ*, which means ‘endowed with gold mines’. The conventions of Sanskrit literature oblige a poet to affirm that natural surroundings are rich in gold even if this is contrary to fact.³⁴

(1939). Stutterheim (p. 84, n. 1) had already rejected an argument of J.L. Moens, who had argued precisely as does Mahdi with regard to *āsīt*, and drawn the conclusion that in his “opinion the word *āsīt* furnishes no proof for the hypothesis that the kingdom of Sañjaya’s father was situated outside Java”. Mahdi, who is oblivious to this pertinent secondary literature, and hence freely proposes as his own a theory that had been advanced and rejected already many decades ago, cites a translation only of the first half of the stanza, thus escaping from the obligation to find a way to force the geographical elements we find here into the straightjacket of his theory.

33. Indeed, Sheldon Pollock, in his seminal book which is mandatory reading for any scholar who wishes to make historical use of epigraphical Sanskrit praise poems (*praśasti*), has observed that the Canggal inscription is “nearly a textbook example of the Sanskrit *praśasti*” (2006: 131). Within Javanese epigraphy itself, the use of *āsīt* is seen also at the opening of the Sanskrit inscription of Dinaya (or Kāñjuruhan), and repeatedly in the Sanskrit portion of the stela of Pucanian (also known as the Calcutta Stone), stanzas V, XI, XXIII. From Sanskrit inscriptions elsewhere in Southeast Asia, not to mention epigraphical and other written sources from India, the number of examples could be multiplied at will. The burden of proof is on Waruno Mahdi to demonstrate that all these examples must be interpreted as having a contextually significant historical past tense reference, and hence to prove wrong the inclination of Sanskrit scholars to interpret these forms as situating the narrative in a dehistoricized (“mythical”) past. I may also point out that the verb form *vu°ara* ‘There was...’, opening the narrative of the Old Javanese inscription Vanua Tñah III (Boechari 2012: 484), is clearly calqued on this Sanskrit model.

34. See Michel (2011: 13), about the Sanskrit poetic convention called ‘Description contrary to reality’ (*asato nibandhanam*), “for example things invariably described a certain way though such is not necessarily the case in reality, like mountains always described as rich in gold and precious gems”. We see the force of the same poetic convention at work when, several centuries after the Canggal inscription, the poet of the Vurare inscription from East Java, writes (cf. the edition of Poerbatjaraka 1922, who read °*sāmarthyam kumbha°*; my edition from EFEO estampe):

ratnākarapramāṇān tu dvaidhīkṛtya yāvāvanīm

kṣitibhedanasāmarthyakumbhabajrodakena vai

‘After the division of the land of Yava, that is endowed with mines of jewels, by use of Jar- and Vajra-water, powerful enough to effect the division of the earth ...’

It is very likely that the poets of the Canggal and the Vurare inscription were influenced by the model of the ‘primordial Sanskrit poem’ (*ādikāvya*), Vālmīki’s Rāmāyaṇa, which mentions a Yavadvipa in stanzas 4.39.28–29:

giriḥbhīr ye ca gamyante plavenena plavena ca |

ratnavantaṃ yavadvīpaṃ saptarājyopaśobhitam ||

suvarṇarūpyakaṃ caiva suvarṇākaramaṇḍitam |

yavadvīpaṃ atikramya śiśiro nāma parvataḥ ||

‘And you must go to those islands that can be reached from mountains, by swimming or

For Mahdi, however, “reference to goldmines points to Sumatra or the Peninsula, but practically excludes Java as likely location”. Again we see how ignorance of basic characteristics of Sanskrit composition can lead a scholar to far-fetched interpretations. When Mahdi affirms that “The central message of the Canggal inscription is evidently that Sanjaya had [...] attained the formal rank that allowed him to challenge Sri Vijaya”, one cannot help but wonder how this scholar manages to read so much into a text which says not an iota about Śrīvijaya.

This Canggal inscription has so far been understood by most scholars as saying what it says, namely that Sañjaya has installed a *liṅga* of Śiva in the year 654 Śaka, and that this king intended to declare with this installation as much as with the inscription itself his sovereignty over Yavadvīpa. That this referred to the realm of this Javanese king, and Javanese kings in centuries to follow, is easy to demonstrate by juxtaposing various extracts from inscriptions found on Java, which reveal that *yavadvīpa*, *yavabhū*, *yavabhūmi*, *yavāvanī*, *yavapura* (in Sanskrit) and *bhūmi (ri) java*, *nūṣa java* or simply *java* (in Javanese), all functioned as synonyms.³⁵

The inscription of Rukam (Central Java, 829 Śaka), for example, invokes *sakvaiḥ ta devata prasiddha mamrakṣa kaḍatvan śrī mahārāja °i bhūmi java* ‘all ye celebrated gods who protect the kingdom of his majesty in the land of Java’ (plate II verso, line 14),³⁶ using a phrase that is found in a

by boat: to Yavadvīpa rich in jewels, splendid with its seven kingdoms, and to Suvarṇarūpyaka ornamented with gold mines. Beyond Yavadvīpa, there is a mountain called Śiśira.’

I cite here from the text as constituted in the critical edition and the translation of Lefebvre & Goldman (1994).

35. The identity of Java and Yava (and derived names) is now and again called into question, but never, as far as I can see, with solid arguments. This identity emerges from the sources themselves. Although the issue is, therefore, not directly relevant to my argument, I may state here that there is no doubt in my mind that the most original name is Java, and that *yava* was chosen at some point as a fitting Sanskrit word to serve as an equivalent. The similarity in sound of the Sanskrit word to the indigenous name obviously played a major role, whereas meaning was less important. We see similar phenomena throughout ancient Southeast Asia. Indeed, other important nations of ancient Southeast Asia likewise knew similar sounding doublets of names, roughly corresponding to the difference of linguistic context between Sanskrit and vernaculars. See the table below on p. 71. In most cases we lack hard evidence to decide which of Sanskrit and vernacular forms was model and which copy, but common sense suggests that the indigenous name was generally the model of the Sanskrit one. Thus for instance we find Pāṇḍuraṅga presumably mimicking Panrañ in Campā, although the oldest attestation of the indigenous name is younger than that of the Sanskrit equivalent. If this assumption is correct, the literal meaning of Pāṇḍuraṅga (‘Pale Color’) presumably played little role in this matter (cf. Griffiths & Southworth 2011: 285–288), and likewise the literal meaning of *yava* ‘barley’ was not, I think, very relevant in it becoming applied to Java.

36. Ed. Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* (1982: 23–26). I have verified the reading by autopsy of the plates. For more discussion of the formula, frequently attested with *mataram* standing in the place of *java*, see Barret Jones (1984: 5).

number of variants through the history of Javanese epigraphy,³⁷ and also has a parallel in the late-7th century inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, where we read (in more than one inscription) *kita savañakta devata mahardhikasannidhāna maṃrakṣa yaṃ kadatuan· śrīvijaya* ‘all you gods, whose presence is benevolent, protecting the kingdom of Śrīvijaya’.³⁸ The author of the versified Śivagr̥ha inscription (778 Śaka, Central Java) was clearly alluding to the same kind of phrase when he wrote about a king *maṃrakṣa bhūmi ri java* ‘protecting the land of Java’ (stanza VI).³⁹

The term Yavadvīpa does not seem to occur in any other inscription of Central Java than the Canggal inscription, but it becomes very common in the epigraphy of East Java a few centuries later. Thus for instance the Tuhañaru inscription (1245 Śaka) invokes *kita prasiddha rumakṣaṇ yavadvīpamaṇḍala* ‘you celebrated ones who protect the orbit of Yavadvīpa’, evidently meaning the same thing as did authors of the cited Central Javanese inscriptions, except that the center of government (and perhaps the boundaries) of Java had shifted in the meantime.⁴⁰

In this later period, a particularly common expression is *sa(kala)yavadvīpa* ‘the entire island of Java’, typically used in the eulogistic opening parts of inscriptions to indicate the territorial claims of the kings of Singasari and Majapahit. Some of these passages explicitly express the equivalent of this Sanskrit expression in Javanese. Thus, for example, the inscription of Mūla-Maluruñ (1177 Śaka) refers to king Kṛtanagara as

śrīsakalayavadvīpanaranāthādīguru, sira saṃ pinakaguru dainiṃ samaptagrāma,
samastakṣatriya, makādi sakvaiṇnira prabhū nke riṃ nūsa java⁴¹

37. The meaning of *prasiddha* in such phrases is not certain. Always keen to seek connections with ancestor worship, Stutterheim (1927: 188) was convinced that *devata prasiddha* denotes deceased kings who had become deified. But in the undoubtedly related context of the stanzas V and VI of the Śivagr̥ha inscription, de Casparis (1956: 311–312, 316–317) gave it one of its basic Sanskrit meanings, i.e. ‘perfect’. I choose here the other basic Sanskrit meaning.

38. See Boechari (1979: 38–40 = 2012: 381–384) for a synoptic edition. Whereas previous scholars have seen two separate words in the sequence *mahardhikasannidhāna*, it seems to me most natural to interpret it as a *bahuvrīhi* compound. Cf. also *kāmu maṃrakṣāṇa sakalamāṇḍalāṇa kadātuanku* ‘you who protect the entire orbit of my kingdom’ in l. 20 of the Sabokingking (Telaga Batu) inscription from Palembang, also late 7th century (de Casparis 1956: 15–46).

39. Stanza VIII possibly contains a more elaborate allusion, but the reading published by de Casparis (1956: 312) is almost entirely unverifiable on the stone (National Museum, Jakarta, D.28): *nātha prasiddha ri jagat ni ~ ~ ~ rakṣā ni rovañ atha vīra varuḥ svaśīla | kālap kalāguṇaraviprakulasthānāma ginlar ri mamratipurastha maḍaṇ kadatvan* ‘A king, perfect in (this) world,, a protection for his comrades, indeed a hero who knew the duties of his rank; he adopted a name proper to a family of honourable Brāhmaṇas (rich in) arts and virtues, and established his kēraton at Meḍang situated in the country (?) of Mamrati’.

40. Cf. on this shift of the center of government Boechari (1976 = 2012: 155–181) and Barret Jones (1984: 6–7).

41. Plates I verso line 7 through II recto line 1. Ed. compiled on the basis of readings by Titi

‘(in Sanskrit:) the primordial teacher (*ādiguru*) of all the (vassal) kings in Java, (in Javanese:) the one who served as teacher to all settlements, all noblemen, to begin with all (vassal) kings here in the island of Java’

If any doubt remained about the equivalence of *yava*(*dvīpa*) and (*nūṣa*) *java*, and about the assumption that the island of Java itself is designated thereby, then it seems that this passage, with its emphatic *ṅke* ‘here’, should be sufficient to dispel it. Several more expressions of the type *sakalayavadvīpa*(*maṇḍala*) have been assembled from East Javanese inscriptions by Damais (1957: 617), and need not be reiterated here.⁴² It is likely that we are dealing with an early Central Javanese equivalent when in the inscription of Vanua Tñah III (plate II recto, lines 6–7)⁴³ we encounter a sentence: *kumonakan· sam̄ hyam̄ dharmmā bihāra °i java kabaiḥ svatantrā °umāryya kaḍaṇḍān* ‘he issued an order with regard to the sacred monastic foundations on all of Java that they be fiscally exempt and cease to be taxed’ (although *kabaiḥ* ‘all’ here might alternatively qualify the ‘monastic foundations’).⁴⁴ Indeed, the Javanese epigraphical data make it hard not to agree with Damais, who wrote (1964: 127):

Il semble évident que Jawa et Yawa — les deux formes javanaise et sanskrite — ont dû être employées côte à côte par les étrangers pendant la période la plus ancienne aussi bien qu’à Java pendant la période épigraphique où différents documents sont là pour nous le prouver, même à une date beaucoup plus tardive.⁴⁵

In this general light, and in the specific light of the fact that the metrical Old Javanese inscription of Śivagr̄ha of 778 Śaka already used the expression *bhūmi ri java* (where the insertion of *ri* is likely to be *metri causa*), it is hard to understand why many scholars have been reluctant to interpret *bhūmi jāva*

Surti Nastiti and others, by Hadi Sidomulyo (2010: 106–114); verified on the basis of photos of the plates kindly put at my disposal by Titi Surti Nastiti. The reading *samaptagrāma* is not acceptable, and must be emended to *samastagrāma*, as is assumed in my translation, or else to *samastāśrama*.

42. Since aiming at exhaustivity is not useful or realistic in the present context, I add here only reference to the already mentioned Vurare inscription, whose stanzas V (*yavāvanīm*), VI and IX need to be read in parallel with the Sarvadharma inscription (ed. Brandes 1913, nr. LXXIX, pp. 188–193), plates III through IV, and to the Pucañan inscription (ed. Kern 1917: 83–114), which uses the term *yavadvīpa* throughout, both in Sanskrit and in Old Javanese. For further variants on the names of Java in Javanese epigraphy, I refer to Damais (1964: 126–130).

43. Edition Boechari (2012: 484–491); verified by autopsy of the plates.

44. It will be observed that in some of the later contexts of *sakalayavadvīpa* too, the adjective *sakala* contextually needs to be applied to a sentence constituent other than *yavadvīpa*, as in the example above, where it qualifies *naranātha*.

45. Damais’ use of *w* rather *v* to spell these names is in conformity with his transliteration conventions, which are different from mine. His Jawa/Yawa are strictly identical to the names that I prefer to represent as Java/Yava in the present paper.

in the Śrīvijayan inscription of Kota Kapur, on the island of Bangka, as denoting (some part of) Java.⁴⁶ The passage is as follows (lines 9–10):⁴⁷

śakavarṣāṭīta 608 diṃ pratipada śuklapakṣa vulan· vaiśākha • tatkālāṇa yaṃ mammam
sumpah °ini • nipāhat· di velāṇa yaṃ vala śrīvijaya kalivat· manāpik· yaṃ bhūmi jāva
tida bhakti ka śrīvijaya

‘Elapsed Śaka year 608, on the new moon day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha. That was the time that this admonitory imprecation was engraved, on the occasion that the forces of Śrīvijaya passed to attack the land of Java which was not subservient to Śrīvijaya’.

Waruno Mahdi has recently presented an argument that *bhūmi jāva* in this passage would refer to a polity (Malayu) in the Batang Hari river basin (2008: 118–121), being unaware that Boechari (1979: 31 = 2012: 377) has presented another argument that it referred to a place in Lampung, or that Claude Jacques has recently argued that it denoted a place in the Malay Peninsula. In his last statement on the problem, Boechari admits: “We still could not find reasonable grounds for supposing that with *Bhūmi Jāwa* in the inscription of Kota Kapur was meant West Java or the kingdom of Tārumānagara [...], or Central Java [...].” (1986: 48 = 2012: 398). Even though we are 170 years before the earliest attestation of the term *bhūmi java* on Java itself, this manner of viewing things seems aberrant to me. The question the historian should ask is rather whether he can find reasonable grounds for supposing that *bhūmi jāva* here means anything else than Java. In my opinion, neither Boechari, nor Jacques, nor Mahdi has succeeded in demonstrating that there are such reasonable grounds. Evidence will be presented below suggesting that Java was already known under precisely that name to people on the mainland as early as the beginning of the 7th century.

Yava and Java in inscriptions of Cambodia

In a recent article devoted to certain passages in a long Sanskrit inscription of Cambodia issued under Jayavarman VII, the stela of the Prah Khan (K. 908, 1113 Śaka), Claude Jacques (2005) takes exception to the received interpretation of its stanza CXLVI, standing at the end of a section of the text describing an annual temple festival in the month of Phālguna:

46. The spelling difference (*java* in Old Javanese, *jāva* in Old Malay) is certainly not a ground for objection. For the use of non-phonemic vowel lengthening in penultimate syllables is an orthographical feature of Śrīvijayan Old Malay, probably corresponding to a pattern of penultimate stress or accent in the language (cf. Mahdi 2005: 189). Ferlus (2010: 69 n. 5) agrees: «ces différences de forme ne sont pas significatives». Claude Jacques’ remark on this matter (2005: 21 n. 16) reflects his insufficient familiarity with the corpus of Old Malay inscriptions.

47. Ed. Cœdès (1930: 46–50); verified on the basis of the EFEO estampages, as well as photos of the stone.

dvijās śrīsūryabhāṭṭādyā javendro yavaneśvarah
 cāmpendrau ca pratidinaṃ bhaktyā snānāmvudhāriṇaḥ
 ‘Brahmins with Śrī Sūryabhāṭṭa at the head, the king of Java, the lord of Yavana and the
 two kings of Campā, every day devotedly offer bathing water.’

George Cœdès, the editor of this inscription (to which we shall briefly return below, p. 70), had interpreted this stanza as expressing that the mentioned kings were vassals to the king of Cambodia (1941: 267–268), and he assumed that the stanza referred to the kings of Java, of Annam (i.e. Đai Việt, *yavana*) and of Campā. He explained that

La vassalité était effective pour les deux rois du Champa; elle devait l’être infiniment moins pour le roi de Java et surtout pour l’empereur d’Annam. Mais on sait avec quelle facilité les souverains orientaux acceptaient une suzeraineté nominale qui ne les engageait à rien et leur assurait la bienveillance de puissants voisins.

To this interpretation Jacques objects with the following argument (2005: 17).

Jusqu’à preuve du contraire, il semble que les poèmes sanscrits, qui s’adressaient directement aux dieux, s’ils souffraient évidemment de larges hyperboles dans leurs comparaisons, se refusaient à énoncer des contrevérités factuelles. Nous pouvons certes, sous réserve d’une connaissance meilleure de l’état politique du Campā au XII^e siècle, être d’accord avec G. Cœdès lorsqu’il précise au sujet des «deux rois du Champa» que cette vassalité devait être «effective» au moment de la composition de ce poème [...] Cependant, s’il est juste qu’il est en effet peu vraisemblable que le «roi de Java» – à supposer que *javā* désigne l’île – et l’empereur d’Annam – ou plus précisément le roi du Dai-Viet – aient jamais fait acte de vassalité envers le roi khmer, fût-il Jayavarman VII, il est légitime de se demander si ce qui paraît une invraisemblance ne cache pas plutôt le fait que George Cœdès aurait mal identifié géographiquement les sites correspondant aux Javā et aux Yavana.

This argument amounts to a willful denial of the nature of royal inscriptions as instruments of propaganda, that we see throughout the Indianized world, and the corollary that attempts of 19th and 20th century Western historians to build *histoire événementielle* by treating epigraphical data as factual descriptions of historical events need to be treated with utmost care. That is, Claude Jacques chooses to deny just about the most important advance in historiographical understanding in the study of pre-modern South and Southeast Asian history of the past few decades (cf. Pollock 2006: §3.3). And this methodological atavism becomes the starting point for a wild goose chase in search of alternative identifications of Java/ā and Yavana, which Jacques finds respectively in “un royaume vassal de population malaise” and “les Thai”. But as soon as we accept that the Khmer king was just as liable to make counterfactual claims to suzerainty over his neighboring kings, as were his peers throughout the epigraphically recorded history of the entire Indianized world — including the kings of Java (see my citation of the Mūla-Maluruṅ inscription above, p. 59) — the very basis of Jacques’ reasoning falls away, and we no longer have any ground to refuse to

acknowledge what the epigraphical evidence clearly reveals, namely that in the inscriptions of Campā and Cambodia the terms Java and Yavana referred to Java and Đại Việt. I will briefly return below to the issue of Yavana, but my focus must remain on Java.

Jacques rightly observes that the Khmer corpus mainly attests the form Javā, and only once mentions Yavadvīpa. He then deals with the toponymic evidence from the island of Java in no more than one paragraph of five lines, mentioning only the inscription of Canggal with its Yavadvīpa, “sans pourtant être assuré que l’auteur de ce texte désigne effectivement l’île qui porte ce nom aujourd’hui”. It is only by totally ignoring all the evidence presented above, and the work of predecessors such as Louis-Charles Damais, that the rarity of cases of Yavadvīpa in Khmer epigraphy can for Jacques then become an argument to support his claim that the Khmer inscriptions did not mean the island of Java when writing Java/ā, and that *bhūmi jāva* in the late-7th century CE Śrīvijayan Old Malay inscription of Kota Kapur would denote the Malay peninsula rather than the island of Java.

Having determined that Claude Jacques’s arguments cannot stand scrutiny, let us now simply present the few passages from Cambodian epigraphy where we find reference to Java or Yavadvīpa, other than the inscriptions quoted at the outset. The earliest possible reference, not so far acknowledged by any scholar as far as I am aware, is found in the inscription of Vat Cakret (or Preah Vihear Kuk; K. 60, 548 Śaka; ed. Barth 1885: 38–44), from the Ba Phnom region in the heart of Funan, present Prei Veng province in the far South of Cambodia:

rājendrasya prasādena dīnmaṇḍalavicār(inaḥ)
pareśām kīrtim ākramya yasya kīrtir jjavasthitā

The editor of this inscription, Auguste Barth, took the word *java* as the Sanskrit noun meaning ‘speed’. He proposed:

Par la grâce de ce roi des rois (i.e. Īśānavarman), parcourant le cercle (entier) des régions, lui dont la gloire après avoir attaqué la gloire de ces rivaux, s’est arrêtée dans sa course rapide ...

On the word *javasthitā*, ‘arrêtée dans sa course rapide’, he gave the explanatory note: «Pour se reposer, sans doute, et se fixer auprès de lui. Ou faut-il traduire : “(n’en) est devenue (que plus) rapide”?» It seems almost certain to me that a pun was intended here, and that besides the claim that the king’s fame is (oxymoronically) ‘steadfast (*sthitā*) in rapid motion (*java*)’, the poet here intended to claim that the king’s fame had travelled to great distance and was ‘present (even) in Java’; in other words, that he intended to present a variant of the trope of royal fame being disseminated far and wide which is exceedingly common in Sanskrit poetry. In support of this suggestion, I can refer to an inscription of Campā, C. 211 (820 Śaka;

Griffiths *et al.* 2012b: 265), where we read on face B, in stanza III:

kīrtim̐ sthitām̐ api mahām̐vunidhes̐ ca pāre
 puṇyodayaṁ̐ kṛtavato bhuvī rājamārggam
 manye guṇā dinakarāṅśusamās̐ tamondhe
 yānty asya kiṁ̐ punar ime svapure prakīrṇṇāḥ ||

‘I imagine that the fame of him (Jayasiṁhavarman), who has fashioned a royal highway on the earth [in the form of] his abundant merit, is present even on the opposite shore of the great ocean. His virtues, spreading out, like rays of the sun, penetrate (*yānti*) [even] in pitch darkness. How much more throughout his own city!’

If this suggestion is correct, then the stanza of K. 60 implies contact between the Khmers and a distant foreign polity known to them as Java already in the early 7th century CE. It is an attractive speculation to suppose that this polity was situated on the island which still bears this name.

The next reference comes from an inscription from Angkor of the late 9th century (K. 809, 80x Śaka; ed. Cœdès 1937–66, vol. I, p. 37), which states of king Indravarman, in stanza XX on its Southern doorjamb:

cīnacampāyavadvīpabhūbhṛduttuṅgamastake
 yasyājñā mālatīmālānirmmalā cumvalāyate ||

‘His decree, immaculate as a garland of jasmine, forms a crown⁴⁸ on top of the lofty heads of the kings of China, Campā and Yavadvīpa.’

Besides the two Sanskrit stanzas from K. 60 and K. 809, I must mention the use of the term *javā* in a list of cult objects in the inscription K. 947 (815 Śaka), about which I may cite from Dominique Soutif’s doctoral thesis (2009: 174):

..., il nous reste à évoquer Javā, pays pour lequel nous disposons de l’unique mention d’un objet importé d’un pays proche du Cambodge. Elle apparaît [...] dans l’inscription K. 947 A : on y relève en effet l’objet suivant : *vodī caṁdon̐ prak garop prak taṁve javā I jyañ 4 liñ II*, «1 *vodī* [pourvu d’]un bec en argent, avec un couvercle en argent, travail de Javā, [pesant] 4 *jyañ*, 2 *liñ*»; comme on le voit, on retrouve encore une fois le terme *taṁve* (l. 26 ; [...]). [...] Cette nouvelle occurrence n’apporte malheureusement aucun élément permettant de localiser ce Javā. Cependant, il est intéressant de noter que ce pays entretenait manifestement des relations commerciales avec le Cambodge moins d’un siècle après que Jayavarman II ait effectué un rite destiné à permettre au royaume khmer de se dégager de sa tutelle.

Finally, there are a meager two occurrences in lists of persons. There is a *loñ java* in a context from which we gain nothing in K. 366 (Vat Phu, 1061 Śaka; ed. Cœdès 1937–66, vol. V, p. 288), face B, l. 14;⁴⁹ and there is a *kurek javā* in a context which also figures a *vāp cāmpa* and a *vāp cāṁ*, suggesting involvement of people of foreign origin, in K. 165 (Thvar Kdei, Kompong Thom province, 874–79 Śaka; ed. Cœdès 1937–66, vol. VI, p. 132), face N,

48. See Bhattacharya (1991: 15, 49).

49. If the reading *java*, with short final *a*, is correct (which does not seem totally certain on EFEO estampage n. 799), then we may not be dealing with the name that concerns us in this paper, but with the Sanskrit word *java* ‘speed’.

I. 38.⁵⁰ None of the evidence from Cambodia thus provides any internal hint as to the identity of Java and Yavadvīpa known to the ancient Khmers. At least we can say that there is no concrete reason to doubt that these terms denoted the same place.

Yava and Java in inscriptions of Campā

Let us now turn to the inscriptions of Campā, presenting the relevant passages in chronological order. The stela of the temple of Po Nagar at Nha Trang (C. 38) recounts the history of the cult of Śambhu's 'Face-Liṅga' (*mukhaliṅga*) and the cult of his consort, the 'Lady' (*bhagavatī* or *bhaṭārī*). It does so with unusual prolixity, and duplication of information in verse and prose parts of the text, on face A, in stanzas II through IV, and on face B in the prose on lines 8–11. We read about an attack, in the year 696 Śaka, at the hands of foreign men, who came by ship, bearing arms, stole the *liṅga*'s removable face and the image of the Lady, and took off after setting the temple on fire, thereby destroying the *liṅga*. They were pursued and slain on sea by king Satyavarman, but the *liṅga*'s face was lost in the waters, along with its paraphernalia. This king was able to restore the temple with its *mukhaliṅga* and its image of the Lady to their former condition in the year 706 Śaka. For purposes of my argument below, it is sufficient to cite here from the prose narrative (face B, lines 8–9; ed. Bergaigne 1893: 74–75):

tataś cirakālakaliyugadośād deśāntaraplavāgatapāpanarabhuggaṇasamhr̥ṣu
pratimāparibhogabhūṣaṇeṣu śūnyo bhavat

'Then, due to long-lasting faults of the Kali age, [the temple of Śambhu and the Lady] became deserted after the images, paraphernalia and ornaments had been robbed by hordes of evil cannibals who had come by boat from abroad.'

This inscription does not identify the ethnic identity of the foreign attackers. But from an inscription issued by Satyavarman's younger brother and successor, Indravarman (C. 25), we learn that just three years later, in 709 Śaka, foreign forces struck again. Again they arrived on ship, and this time the object of their vandalism was the temple of a god Bhadrādhīpatiśvara that must once have stood in Pāṇḍuraṅga, the Cam heartland not far south of Nha Trang, that was the center of power of Satyavarman and his successors.⁵¹ This inscription, issued on the occasion of restorations carried out in 721 Śaka, is less elaborate in its account of the event, but its description (face B, lines 6–7) is strikingly similar to the prose passage from C. 38 that I have just cited:

50. The terms *loñ*, *vāp* and *kurek* are untranslatable indicators of social status in Old Khmer. Jacques (2005: 20, with n. 14) has referred to a Yavapura in an inscription from the Battambang region. In this case we can agree with him that this was «certinement un toponyme local».

51. For a survey of the relevant sources and what we know about this line of kings, see Griffiths & Southworth 2011.

tataś ca kaliyugadoṣātiśayabhāvena nāvāgatair jjavavalasaṃghair nnirddahyate pi navāmvarādriyamite śakakāle sa eva śūnyo bhavat⁵²
 ‘And then, because of the excessiveness of the faults of the Kali age, [the temple of Bhadrādhīpatiśvara] was even burnt by hosts of forces of Java, who had come by ship, in 709 Śaka. In this way it became deserted.’

The verbal parallelism between the accounts of attacks in 696 and 709 Śaka is such as to suggest that forces of Java were involved also in the attack of 696 under the reign of Satyavarman.⁵³ Whether this is true or not, it is unlikely that Java in this context denoted any mainland polity or ethnic group, for even the Khmers, who would most easily have had access to a naval route, preferred to come by land when they attacked Campā, as attested by historical records.⁵⁴

The next reference that concerns us here is found in an inscription from Northern Campā, C. 149 (833 Śaka), which recounts the career of a high official who served successive kings of the so-called Indrapura dynasty. In stanzas VIII and XI of this inscription we read:⁵⁵

yavadvīpapuraṃ bhūpānujñāto dūtakarmanṇi
 gatvā yaḥ pratipattisthaḥ siddhayātrāṃ samāgamat ||
 ‘Having been assigned by the king with a diplomatic task, this dignitary went to the capital of Yavadvīpa, and met with success of his mission.’

yavadvīpapuraṃ bhūyaḥ kṣitipānujñāyānaya
 dvivāram api yo gatvā siddhayātrāṃ upāgamat ||
 ‘By this (same) assignment of the king he again went to the capital of Yavadvīpa, and even the second time obtained success of his mission.’⁵⁶

The term Yavadvīpa occurs again in the much later inscription C. 22 (no earlier than 1228 Śaka), which states in Old Cam, in lines 2–4 of face A:⁵⁷

52. Ed. Bergaigne (1893: 33); verified on EFEO estampage n. 1952. It seems that *eva* must be emended to *evam*, as my translation presupposes.

53. This was assumed as a fact by Cœdès (1968: 95). The likelihood that we can indeed identify the attackers of 696 Śaka (774 CE) is strengthened by the fact that Chinese accounts of an attack of “Java” (閩婆, Mandarin Shepo, Vietnamese Đô bà / Trà và) on an area which now lies in northern Vietnam, in 767 CE, just seven years before the first recorded attack on Campā. See the first footnote in Claudine Salmon’s contribution to this issue, and its section entitled “The Jawa or Di nhân”.

54. See Wolters (1973: 28–29 = 2008: 173–174) and Lepoutre (forthcoming).

55. Edited by Huber (1911: 303) and Majumdar (1927: 131). With regard to stanza VIII, it is not clear whether Majumdar’s reading *dūta*° in place of Huber’s *nūta*° is a conscious new reading or emendation, or the mere result of faulty copying from Huber. However this may be, direct inspection of the stone (National Museum of History, Hanoi: B2, 28 = LSb 21154) reveals that *dūta*° is the correct reading.

56. On the term *siddhayātrā*, see Nilakanta Sastri (1937, 1948–49) and Chhabra (1948). Several of the contexts in which it occurs in Sanskrit literature explicitly involve travel by sea.

57. I cite these lines in a provisional edition based on my own inspection of the EFEO estampage n. 1073. The text is badly preserved in parts, and I do not fully understand the

madā agrarājamahiṣī sidaḥ rājaputrī pu poṁ tana rayā (d)evādideva⁵⁸ ya marai jeṁ vyā parameśvarī ya samū bhagavatī (śrī) {1} saḥajotpati {1} yaṁ(ñ)· madā rājaputrī pu poṁ tana rayā yavādhipa ya marai di yavadvīpa ya ḍrṁ nāma sidaḥ pu poṁ vyā tāpasī
 ‘There was an excellent chief queen, namely the daughter of his majesty the Super-God among Gods, who came to become his queen. She was like the Lady Śrī ... natural birth ... There was a daughter of his majesty the lord of Yava, who came from (?) Yavadvīpa. She bore the name Pu Poṁ Vyā Tāpasī.’

The remaining passages from Campā inscriptions are in lists, formulated in Cam language, of slaves (*hulun*) attached to the service of certain sanctuaries. These are as follows.

C. 7 (end of the 12th century Śaka), ll. 3–4:⁵⁹

kvi[r]· ja[v]ā laum̄ vukām sya(m) [#]3 drim̄
 ‘Khmers, Javanese, Laos/Chinese, Paganese, Siamese: #3 people [in total].’

C. 10 (13th century Śaka), l. 5:⁶⁰

... vinai javā vinai lamvī vinai yvan· lakim̄ ranuk ...
 ‘... Javanese woman, woman (of) Lamvī, Viet woman, man (of) Ranuk...’

C. 43 (after 1357 Śaka), face B, ll. 21–23:⁶¹

ñan· campa si (vu)[h] dauk· di ñauk· nī ñan· lauvv· yvan· kur· syam̄ [ja]vā vaṅgalā aviḥ 170
 ‘And [men] of Campā whom he ordered to reside here in the highlands, with Laos/Chinese, Viets, Khmers, Siamese, Javanese, Bengalis: all of them 170.’

Again, as in the case of the evidence from the inscriptions of Cambodia, we see that the data from the inscriptions of Campā are not in themselves sufficient to identify what the terms Java/Javā and Yavadvīpa referred to. But there is no reason to assume that they did not denote the same place. We may at least surmise that this place lay overseas, and that Campā maintained connections — diplomatic and otherwise — with it over a period of several centuries.

Cams, Khmers, and other foreigners in the Javanese historical record

Having seen how in records of the Cams and the Khmers the terms Yavadvīpa and Java often occur in the context of lists of foreigners or

passage in question at the time of this writing. See Vickery (2004: 55–58) on the history of interpretation of this passage. In response to Vickery I can confirm here that the reading *yavādhipa*, once entertained by Finot, is certainly not correct, and that Aymonier’s improved reading of 1911 must be accepted. This reading was subsequently ‘rediscovered’ by Jacques (2005: 21) who ignores Aymonier’s publication.

58. Probably to be understood as *devādhideva* (cf. the very common Sanskrit expression *rājādhirāja*).

59. Cited after the edition of Lepoutre (forthcoming), used also in Griffiths & Lepoutre (forthcoming).

60. This unpublished inscription is cited from my provisional reading based on EFEO estampage n. 1949.

61. Ed. Griffiths *et al.* (2012b: 205ff.).

foreign countries, it will be useful for my argument to review briefly how Javanese sources refer to foreigners.⁶² This occurs most notably in lists of ‘tax farmers’ (*kilalan*),⁶³ whose oldest instantiation we find in the damaged Kaliruñan inscription, presumably from Central Java, of 805 Śaka (Boechari 2012: 477–478), and then in a substantial number of inscriptions of following centuries, all from East Java. The lists show only slight variation from the earliest to later specimens, and the development of their composition has been described by Wisseman Christie (1999: 246–248). It is sufficient here to cite only the earliest fully preserved example, from the inscription of Cane (943 Śaka), line 14:⁶⁴

kunañ ikanañ vārgga kilalan kliñ āryya siñhala pañdikira draviḍa campa kmir ṛmān ...
 ‘and the tax farmer groups of Kliñ, Ārya, Singhalese, Pañdikira, Draviḍa, Cams, Khmers
 and Mons...’

The segment *campa kmir ṛmān* occurs (in various spellings) in all attestations of such lists, and has unanimously been interpreted as denoting Cams, Khmers and Mons.⁶⁵ Outside of these lists, the material from Javanese epigraphy is very limited. Besides one inscription where the fact that a person is ‘considered to be of Khmer descent’ (*sinañguḥ vka kmir*) is relevant for his tax status,⁶⁶ we only find occurrences of Campa and Kmir that are of no relevance to the present study.⁶⁷

Different from the cases of ancient Campā and Cambodia, however, the ancient Javanese historical record is not limited to epigraphical sources. The court poem *Deśavarṇana* (formerly referred to by scholars as *Nāgara-kṛtāgama*) in praise of the Majapahit king Hayam Wuruk contains important information on the foreign countries, beyond the sphere of influence of

62. Barret Jones (1984: 23–26) has discussed the pre-11th century CE epigraphical sources relevant to this matter.

63. On this term, see Boechari (1976: 7 = 2012: 166 with n. 16) and Zoetmulder (1976: 191).

64. Edited in Brandes 1913, nr. LVIII, p. 124.

65. On *ṛmān*, see Wisseman Christie (1999: 245–248) and Krom (1914). I may note here that the name *kliñ/khliñ* is also attested in Khmer epigraphy, and is commonly interpreted as referring to (some part of) India (thus e.g. Jenner 2009a: 82 / 2009b: 74), as is the evidently identical Javanese name *k(ə)liñ* (e.g. by Wisseman Christie). The important observations of L.-Ch. Damais (1957: 635–636 and 1964: 94–104), giving a cautious argument in favor of a location in the Malay Peninsula, are habitually ignored. The occurrences in Khmer epigraphy more than once show the ethnonym *ramañ* ‘Mon’ in the immediate context.

66. Inscription of Vuruḍu Kidul, verso, line 10 (844 Śaka), edited by Stutterheim (1935: 451–452).

67. See the plate of Guntur, recto, lines 5–6 (829 Śaka; Sarkar 1971–72/II: 100) for a Si Campa and the stone of Turyan, face A, line 37, for a Sañ Campa (Titi Surti Nastiti 2003: 147); the plate of Paləpañan, line 13 (Sarkar 1971–72/II: 56) for a man called Pu Kmir and the inscriptions of Rataṁun I and II, respectively recto line 11 and line 8 (Sarkar 1971–72/I: 267 and 273), for a man referred to as *si ñgəḥ ramani kmir* ‘Si Ñgəḥ headman of the Khmers’.

Majapahit, that were known in East Java in the 14th century CE. First, in a stanza that comes immediately after a long list of places considered to be under Majapahit suzerainty, we read the following (15.1):

nāhan lvirmiṅ deśāntara kacaya de śrī narapaṭi
tuhun taṅ syaṅkāyodhyapura kim utaṅ dharmanagaṛi
marutma mvaṅ riṅ rājapura ṅuniveh siṅhanagaṛi
ri campā kāmbojānyat i yavana mitreka satatā ||15.1||

‘The above are the various regions protected by His Majesty; on the other hand, the Siamese of Ayodhya and also of Dharmanagaṛi, Marutma, Rājapura as well as Siṅhanagaṛi, Campā, Cambodia and Đai Viêt are always friends.’⁶⁸

In a different part of the text, in the context of a description of an annual festival in the month of Phalguṇa, we read three relevant stanzas (83.4–5):

hetunyāntarā sarvajana tōka sakeṅ anyadeśa prakīṛṇa
naṅ jambudvīpa kamboja cina yavana lēn cāmpa kaṅṅatakādi
goḍa mvaṅ syaṅka taṅ saṅkanika makahavan potra milviṅ vaṅik sək
bhikṣu mvaṅ vipramukhyān hana tōka sinuṅan bhoga tuṣṭan paṅanti ||83.4||
ndān aṅkən phalguṇa śrī nṛpati pinaripūjenivē riṅ svarājya
prāptaṅ mantrī sabhūmī java juru kuvu lēn dhyakṣa sarvopapatti
milvaṅ bālyādī nūṣāntara sahana saha prabhṛtīn taṅ pəgat sək
byāpārī mvaṅ vaṅin ri pəkən aṅəbək atip sarvabhāṅdanya kīṛṇa ||83.5||

‘And so constantly all kinds of people come from other countries in countless numbers — namely India, Cambodia, China, Đai Viêt, Campā, the Carnatic and so on, Bengal and Siam are their places of origin, sailing on ships with merchants in large numbers, monks and priests in particular — when they come they are given food and are happy to stay. Now every Phalguṇa the King is honoured and treated with solicitude in his own palace: there arrive the officials of all Java, the *juru* and *kuvu* as well as the Superintendents and all the Assessors, joined by the Balinese as first among the other islands, all with their gifts in uninterrupted numbers; vendors and merchants fill the markets and all their various wares are piled up in abundance.’⁶⁹

For a discussion of the identification of the foreign countries (*deśāntara*, *anyadeśa*) in these stanzas, I refer to Gerini (1905) and Robson (1997).⁷⁰ It is perhaps no coincidence that the court poem of the 14th-century king of Majapahit records foreign courtesy visits in close connection with the festival in Phālguna, while the description of the Phālguna festival under the Khmer king Jayavarman VII at the end of 12th century CE is likewise stated

68. I have cited with slight adaptations the translation furnished by Robson (1997: 431), which was itself slightly adapted from the complete translation of the *Deśavarṇana* in Robson (1995). Here and in the stanzas below, I have normalized the spelling and made the necessary small adjustments concerning vowel length and epenthesis of the vowel *a* in order for the text as edited diplomatically by Pigeaud (1960–33, vol. I) to satisfy the requirements of meter.

69. The translation of stanza 3 is after Robson (1997), that of stanza 4 after Robson (1995).

70. Robson ignores Gerini’s publication. In my opinion, neither author succeeds in giving a satisfactory explanation of the term *Syaṅka*. Even if, like me, one is unconvinced that *syāṅka* can be explained as *syam* with Sanskrit suffix *-ka*, as Robson proposes, at least one may agree with him that it denoted Siam.

to have involved numerous foreigners. We read about this in the stela of Prah Khan (K. 908, 1113 Śaka), that we have already cited above, now in stanza LVII:

atra strīpuruṣās sacāmpayavanās sārddham pukāmrvañjanair
 rakṣyantān trīsatā iha triniyutās te ṣaṭ sahasrā api
 ṣaṣṭir dvādaśa cāyutan tu gaṇitās sārddham sahasratrayam
 grāmāḥ kiñ ca na devakāryyakaraṇam kāṣṭhopalādy akṣatam

⁷¹For this purpose, the men and women including Cams and Viets,⁷¹ together with Pagan and Mon people, numbering three hundred and six thousand three hundred and seventy-two, as well as the three and a half thousand villages, and whatever, made of wood or stone, serves for the cult of the gods, must be maintained unscathed!⁷²

Implications of nomenclature shared between the ancient Khmers, Cams and Javanese

We have seen that rulers of the Central Javanese kingdom in the 8th, 9th and early 10th centuries of our era used both *yavadvīpa* and *bhūmi java* (and equivalent expressions) to denote their own realm, and that kings continued to do so throughout the following centuries, after the center of power had moved to East Java. The terms were obviously synonymous to the Javanese rulers themselves, and there is no reason *a priori* why we should not attempt to identify the contemporary ancient Khmer and Cam references besides the earlier Śrīvijayan reference to *javā/java/jāva* as denoting the island of Java.⁷³

On the contrary, there is a simple and decisive argument in favor of this identification. This is the evident agreement in nomenclature both for own countries (endonyms) and for foreign countries (exonyms) that we see when

71. Based again on his misguided presumption that the claim of Khmer suzerainty over Yavana in K. 908, st. CXLVI (see above), must be factually true, Claude Jacques (2005: 25–29) has attempted to argue against the idea that Yavana here denotes Đai Việt, and to do so presents data which had long since been presented by Gerini (1905) showing that certain people in northwestern Thailand used the same name, but ignoring entirely Gerini's publication on the list of mainland polities in the *Deśavarṇana*, and its sober conclusion that it is unreasonable to presume the author of the *Deśavarṇana* intended such a people in northwestern Thailand rather than the Viets, to whom this term undoubtedly refers in inscriptions of Campā. If the Javanese and the Cams used the term to denote the Viets, the question becomes why the same would not hold true for the Khmers. One needs much stronger reasons than Jacques' argument based on the stanza of K. 908 to make a persuasive case. See also Vickery (2004: 9) on Yavana as term denoting the Viets in Khmer inscriptions.

72. Another inscription of the same period, K. 273 (Śaka 1108), stanza LXVII, again mentions Cams and Paganese together. On the historical background, see Lepoutre (forthcoming) and Griffiths & Lepoutre (forthcoming).

73. Whereas the spelling *jāva* is found only in one source, in Old Malay, and is explained above, in n. 46, the fact that vernacular Khmer and Cam sources spell *javā* whereas Javanese sources spell *java* can be easily explained with reference to other evident cases of vocabulary that is shared by the unrelated languages Khmer and Malay/Javanese: instances such as Khmer *trā* 'seal' and *māh* 'gold' corresponding to *tara* in (modern) Malay, *amas* in (modern) Malay and *mas* in Javanese. In the cases of lexical correspondences between the very closely

we compare the inscriptions of Cambodia, Campā and Java. If we limit ourselves to names attested in at least two of the three epigraphical corpora, and exclude terms that certainly refer to countries outside Southeast Asia (China and India), the result is as shown in the following table.⁷⁴

Even if we admit the uncertain case of Kliṅ (see n. 65 above), which is anyhow different from all other cases in being much less well attested epigraphically, and intentionally leave open the identity of Yavadvīpa/Java,

Sanskrit name	Vernacular names	Identification
Campa/Campā	Cam, Cām	Cam
Kamvuja	Kmer, Khmer Kmir, Kvir, Kur	Khmer
Rāmanya	Rmañ, Ramañ, Rvañ, Rəmən	Mon
	Pukām	Pagan
	Syam ⁷⁵	Siam
Yavana	Yvan	Viet
	Kliṅ, Khliṅ	?
Yavadvīpa	Java, Javā	

the pattern that emerges from this list is still clear enough: all remaining names can be identified without reasonable doubt as representing one of the major polities known from ancient Southeast Asian history.⁷⁶ Moreover, both in the case of the Cams and the Khmers, their endonym as used in their own inscriptions is identical to that observed in the inscriptions of their neighbors to refer to them and their country. These facts leave no space for reasonable doubt that Java/Yavadvīpa denoted the single major polity of ancient Southeast Asia which is still missing from the rightmost column in

related languages Cam and Malay, and the somewhat more distantly related language Javanese, we also see that final *ā* in Cam normally corresponds to final *a* in Malay/Javanese (e.g. ‘eye’ is *matā* and ‘enter’ is *tamā* in Cam, corresponding to *mata* and *tama* in Mal./Jav.).

74. The headings “Sanskrit” vs. “Vernacular” are only rough indicators, for names from both columns are liable to appear both in Sanskrit and in vernacular context. The precise pattern of distribution is not relevant to my argument.

75. On this name, see the contribution by Ferlus (2006) that is equally problematic as his contribution on the name Java discussed above. For a critical remark (although not one that touches on Ferlus’ basic Siam argument), see Griffiths & Lepoutre (forthcoming, n. 23).

76. I define this concept of ‘major polity’ here — without any pretense that it is valid outside of the scope of my argument — as a polity attested without uncertainty over a period of several centuries both in indigenous written sources and in foreign documents.

the list above, and whose pair of endonyms corresponds with a pair of names found in the list,⁷⁷ namely the suzerain kingdom of the island of Java.

If we read the epigraphical record of ancient Southeast Asia, and particularly that of Campā and Cambodia, in this light, then we may note how mention of Java in inscriptions of the mainland seems to coincide with known high points in Javanese political power and foreign involvement. I hence propose resolutely to revert to precisely this identification expressed with regard to the Sdok Kak Thom inscription (K. 235) by its translator, Pierre Dupont,⁷⁸ a scholar whom I will have occasion to mention again below.

Who was Satyavarman?

Out of the four Khmer inscriptions mentioned at the outset, two attribute defensive rituals against Javā to Jayavarman II, whose posthumous name was Parameśvara. The accession of this king is supposed to date from 724 Śaka (802 CE),⁷⁹ according to retrospective inscriptions. The two other inscriptions mentioned at the outset attribute the erection of a substantial number of Buddhist images to an undated Satyavarman, and one of these two, the Sab Bak inscription (K. 1158), specifies as reason precisely the same purpose of defense against Javā that we saw specified for Jayavarman II's actions in the inscriptions K. 235 and K. 956. None of the many scholars who have taken note of the historical importance of the Sab Bak inscription have paid any real attention to the name Satyavarman.⁸⁰

Now precisely this name is known as that of a ruler of Campā in the last quarter of the 8th century CE. This is only two decades prior to the presumed

77. The reader will note that this last clause excludes Śrīvijaya.

78. Dupont (in Cœdès & Dupont 1943–46: 106 n. 1): « Vx-kh. *Javā* a fait l'objet d'hypothèses diverses, toutes localisées en Indonésie. Le passage par 'Javā' de Jayavarman II doit être rapproché des témoignages arabes sur la sujétion du Cambodge vis-à-vis du *mahārāja* de Java, et des allusions chames à des expéditions de pillards malais. La suppression de la suzeraineté de Javā est d'ailleurs un des buts énoncés par Jayavarman II, comme on verra plus loin. Le terme Javā désigne très probablement en l'espèce l'île de Java, en plein essor sous les premiers Çailendra (Cf. à ce sujet, G. Cœdès *JMBRAS*, XIV, III, et *Histoire ancienne des États hindouïsés d'E.O.*, p. 116). Le mot ne peut être séparé de kh.-md. *Čvā* (orthographié *javā*), qui s'applique indistinctement à tous les Malais. Il avait peut-être anciennement un sens ethnique, les *Javā*. »

79. See Majumdar 1943. See also Jacques (1992: 1) who provides no argument against Majumdar in claiming that the year 724 Śaka is that of a special 'imperial' consecration as opposed to an earlier 'normal' royal consecration. This is an utterly *ad hoc* distinction without any support in the epigraphical record. We may simply have to accept that the date is not reliable, if, as both Jacques and Vickery (forthcoming) are now inclined to do, we identify Jayavarman II with a Jayavarman mentioned in certain Cambodian inscriptions dating from the last decades of the 8th century of our era.

80. Sundberg (2003: 178 n. 28) calls the Kamsteñ Śrī Satyavarman a "magician", which might suggest that, like the officiants presiding over Jayavarman II's execution of similar stratagems in K. 235 and K. 956, he was a Brahmin, but Sundberg's choice of words is

accession date of Jayavarman II in 802 CE. Satyavarman was moreover a ruler whose dynasty, according to the inscriptions of Campā cited above (C.38 and C.25), repeatedly had to face attacks from foreign forces. They first struck the north of what is now Vietnam in the year 767 (cf. n. 53 above), then struck Campā in the year 774 CE. This is just one year before the erection of the ‘Ligor’ inscription in Nakhon Si Thammarat or in Chaiya (in the ancient realm of Panpan, on the East coast of what is now peninsular Thailand), which, whatever its precise historical significance, certainly implies some presence of representatives of archipelago polities so far north: its face A was issued by a Śrīvijayan king in 775 CE, and a Śailendra king left a record on face B of the same stela, most likely at a somewhat later date.⁸¹ Finally, when naval forces struck Campā again, under Satyavarman’s younger brother Indravarman, thirteen years after the attack under Satyavarman in 774 CE, they were explicitly identified as being Javanese (*javavalasaṅgha*).⁸²

These correspondences of events and dates can, to my mind, hardly be coincidental.⁸³ The fact that nobody⁸⁴ has noticed them may be explained in the first place by the general marginalization of data from Campā history within the greater picture of Southeast Asian historiography, especially outside francophone circles; secondly by the fact that Satyavarman was for

probably just a casual interpretation of the fact that this figure is said to *mān siddhi* ‘possess magical powers’. The suffix *varman* clearly identifies this ‘magician’ as a member of the ruling estate (*ksatriyavarṇa*).

81. For a summary of the debate on the interpretation of this inscription’s historical significance, and the problem of its provenance, see Jacq-Hergoualc’h (2002: 242–247).

82. I will not enter here into the thorny problems posed by the Ligor inscription’s association with a ruler of Śrīvijaya on side A, dated 697 Saka, but with a Śailendra ruler on the undated and unfinished side B. It must be noted, however, that the curiosity of omitting the name of the weekday observed in the dating formulas of Satyavarman’s inscriptions (Griffiths & Southworth 2007: 367–368 and 2011: 284–285) is shared precisely with their contemporary, the inscription Ligor A; and that face B of this stela shows script which is clearly distinct from the script on face A, and which is clearly identical to the characteristic cursive script of inscriptions of Java of the 9th century.

83. Of significantly less certain pertinence is the partial agreement between the names of Prathivīnarendra (*sic*), ordered to arrange the execution of the *kalyāṇasiddhi* against Java in K. 956 (quoted above) and that of king Prathivīndravarman (*sic*), alias Rudraloka, of whom Satyavarman is said to have been a nephew (see Griffiths & Southworth 2011: 293–294).

84. Aymonier (1900: 261–270) cites almost in full an 1883 article of Émile Sénart. The latter scholar had spoken of «un personnage peut-être royal du nom de Satyavarman, dont par malheur la date et le rôle nous sont encore complètement inconnus», to which Aymonier added a note (pp. 264–265), explaining that «ce Satyavarman, qui avait jadis consacré des statues du Bouddha, doit être identifié, selon toute vraisemblance, avec le ministre de ce nom qui écrivit l’inscription de Phiméanakas, dans le palais d’Angkor, vers 832 śaka». This information is misleading, for the inscription in question, K. 291, mentions a figure Satyāśraya, of whom it is stated parenthetically that he received the title Mratāñ Khloñ Śrī Satyādhipativamma (face A, lines 27–28; *IC* III, p. 199). There is not, as far as I can see, any supporting evidence for the identification proposed by Aymonier.

more than a century only known to have issued one inscription, the stela of the temple Po Nagar at Nha Trang (C. 38), where the years 696 and 706 Śaka are said to fall within his reign, and where he is credited with repelling a foreign attack and restoring the damage to the *mukhalinga* at Kauthāra (elsewhere spelled Kuṭhāra), present Nha Trang. This track record seems to have been insufficiently glorious for scholars of ancient Cambodia to consider associating him with the erection(s) of nine and/or ten Buddhist images recorded in the Vat Sithor and Sab Bak inscriptions.

But discoveries of two exceptional Sanskrit inscriptions in recent years have significantly enriched our picture of this Satyavarman. While the lower and upper date limits of his reign in Campā are still unaltered, and we have learned no more of his encounters with foreign forces, we can now confidently credit this Satyavarman with the foundation of the important temple complex of Hoà Lai, near Phan Rang, and more generally with the development of Pāṇḍuraṅga as a major bastion of Campā culture.⁸⁵ Indeed Satyavarman's power base seems to have been only here, in the far south of Campā, and he has left no traces elsewhere in Campā territory. Now Pierre Dupont, in a remarkably foresighted paper published in 1949, had already noted several striking correspondences between Satyavarman's dynasty and pre-angkorian Khmer rulers. Chief among these is the custom of using posthumous names.⁸⁶ Other scholars, such as Stern (1942) and Boisselier (1956), have noticed stylistic correspondences between art of 7th century CE Cambodia and contemporary Campā art at Mý Sơn, far to the north of Pāṇḍuraṅga, under Prakāśadharman-Vikrāntavarman, who was of Khmer descent. And they have noted the same between the mentioned temple of Hoà Lai and the Prasat Damrei Krap on the Phnom Kulen (cf. Griffiths & Southworth 2011: 272–275). Ornamental and architectural connections have also been pointed out between temples of Pāṇḍuraṅga (such as Hoà Lai), monuments in the realm of former Panpan in peninsular Thailand, the area of provenance of the 'Ligor' inscription mentioned above, and the monumental art of Central Java (cf. Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2001).

In the light of all the positive evidence for intensive political contact, even extending to the migration of a ruler (Prakāśadharman) from ancient pre-angkorian Cambodia to take up power in Campā; in the light of long recognized artistic connections between insular and mainland Southeast Asia in general, as well as specific connections around the turn of the 9th century CE; in the light of the fact that the political situation in pre-angkorian

85. See the articles by Griffiths & Southworth of 2007 and 2011.

86. In his article devoted to posthumous names of Khmer rulers, Jacques (2001: 195–196) expresses some doubt as to the real existence of such a tradition in these Campā inscriptions. The issue is indeed somewhat uncertain, but I see no specific reasons not to assume, with Dupont, that some posthumous names were in use in early Southern Campā.

Cambodia is very uncertain precisely in the period of Satyavarman's reign in Southern Campā; in the light of the positive evidence that we have for attacks from Java and for a Buddhist ruler from the archipelago showing his influence halfway up the Malay peninsula in precisely this same period; in the light of all these factors, it appears to me not so far-fetched at all to propose that it was the Satyavarman of Pāṇḍuraṅga in Campā who undertook the erection of the Buddhalokeśvara images on the Abhayagiri, retrospectively recorded by the two Khmer inscriptions of Vat Sithor and Sab Bak, or at least to propose that he was a figure of sufficient grandeur to have left a memory even beyond the boundaries of Campā and could hence have become the object of attribution of retrospective legends in ancient Cambodia.

If the former, more audacious hypothesis is accepted, we may become one step more speculative and ponder the possibility that the Abhayagiri was situated not in Khmer territory, nor in Campā nor on the Malay Peninsula, but can be identified with the Ratu Baka hillock in Central Java, which housed the Abhayagiri monastery founded by a Śailendra king in 714 Śaka (782 CE), in which case we would have to presume that the Ratu Baka hillock was already famous as Abhayagiri before a monastery was founded on it in collaboration with Sinhalese monks of the eponymous Abhayagiri-vihāra in Sri Lanka.⁸⁷ Satyavarman would have made the long pilgrimage to and made large-scale foundations at that sacred Buddhist site⁸⁸ not so much for religious reasons — in fact from the Campā record Satyavarman is exclusively associated with Brahmanical foundations — but to engage in diplomacy with the expansive Śailendra rulers, to persuade them to leave mainland Southeast Asia in peace.⁸⁹ But I must frankly admit that the argument for extending the hypothesis this far is entirely circumstantial, and that one can easily imagine multiple Abhayagiris in more than one part of Southeast Asia — southern Cambodia, southern Vietnam, peninsular Thailand, besides the one on Java — so I will conclude by summarizing my main claims. These are, first, that the Khmer inscriptions refer to the island

87. On this point, see the convincing arguments made by Sundberg (2004) for identification of a structure on the Ratu Baka plateau as Abhayagirivihāra, with evidence of contacts with a Sri Lankan eponym. On the site in general, see Degroot (2006).

88. Sundberg (2003: 178): “Lokesh Chandra (...) infers the existence of a large statue of Avalokiteśvara on the Ratu Baka from his study of the Abhayagirivihāra inscription, noting that it would complement the statues of Tārā and Mañjuśrī which were known to be already positioned on the plain.”

89. Recall the two stanzas from the Campā inscription C. 149 which have a possibly Buddhist aristocrat undertake no less than two *siddhayātrā* missions from his country to Yavadvīpura. Whatever this may mean precisely, the connection with *siddhi* in relationship to Yavadvīpa, which must mean Java, would seem to offer a tantalizing parallel with Satyavarman.

of Java when they use the term Javā and, second, that the epigraphical record of Satyavarman and his immediate successors in Southern Campā is likely to hold important clues not only for the history of Campā, but equally for international political relations between the Khmer, Cam and Javanese polities in the late 8th and early 9th century of our era. This second point holds especially for a re-appraisal of the early days of Angkor which have thus far always been associated with the name Jayavarman II,⁹⁰ despite the fact that we entirely lack contemporary evidence for his role, because we now have a source — likewise retrospective — where part of the episodes traditionally associated with this Jayavarman II are attributed to a Satyavarman.

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⁹⁰ Cf., among many other studies, Jacques (1972) and Ang Chouléan (1998).

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GEOFF WADE

Maritime Routes Between Indochina and Nusantara to the 18th Century *

The premodern interactions between the Indochinese (Mainland Southeast Asia) world and that of Nusantara,¹ were by definition almost exclusively by sea. The early migrations of the Austronesian peoples would have been some of the earliest such voyages, but these are obviously not attested by any historical source. The archaeological record, together with linguistic and genetic studies, is the only way to demonstrate these voyages.

But we can certainly be sure that people were travelling long distances around Asia in very early times. “In *Science* in 1996, Stephen Chia of the Universiti Sains Malaysia and Robert Tykot of the University of South Florida were reported as having analyzed 200 obsidian flakes found at a site at Bukit Tengkorak in Sabah. The analysis suggested that the majority of the flakes came from the island of New Britain and from the Admiralty Islands in Papua New Guinea, and the rest from sites in the Philippines. Given that we are considering 4,000 BCE, this is a staggering find with amazing implications for seafaring in Southeast Asia, pushing far back the date at which human beings were thought capable of navigation out of sight of land in a systematic way, returning whence they came and establishing a long distance, 3,500km trade route having done so. It would seem to argue fairly

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1. I use the term Nusantara rather than “Dunia Melayu”, “Dunia Jawa” etc, because it has no national or ethnic affiliation. It is a regional appellation and I believe that this is a preferable term. For present purposes the term includes the Thai/Malay Peninsula. All Chinese terms, including those in quotations from other sources, have been rendered in *Hanyu pinyin*.

strongly that seafaring in Southeast Asia has a fair claim to be a cradle of humanity's navigational skills."²

But in this essay, we are examining the historical maritime links and interactions between the Indochinese world and that of Nusantara. And, as we examine these, we must bear in mind that these interactions were not being engaged in isolation. There were, in most periods, mariners and traders travelling eastwards and westwards, north and south along these and other maritime routes.

Maritime Routes in the First Century CE

The earliest historical reference to ships connecting the Indochina world and that of maritime Southeast Asia appears to be that found in a Chinese text entitled the *Han shu* 漢書³ (History of the Han Dynasty) of c. 100 CE. It reads:

From the barriers of Rinan, or from Xuwen and Hepu, travelling by ship for about five months, one arrives at the country of Duyuan. From there traveling further by sea for some four months, one arrives at the country of Yilumo. Again sailing for twenty-plus days, one reaches the country of Shenli. Then, proceeding on foot for some 10 days, one reaches the country of Fugandulu. From Fugandulu, after sailing for about two months, one reaches the country of Huangzhi. The customs [of these places] are somewhat similar to those of Zhuyai (Hainan). Their territory is broad, their populations great, and their unusual products numerous. Since the reign of Emperor Wudi, they have come to court to offer tribute. There are chief interpreters, part of the eunuch service, who go to sea with those who have responded to their recruitment calls, to trade for pearls, glass, precious stones and exotic products. They take with them gold and diverse types of silks. In all the countries they reach, they are provided with food and companions. The barbarian trading ships transfer them to where they are going [and those on these ships] also benefit from this trade, and sometimes rob and kill people. The traders also suffer from the winds and waves and sometimes drown. Those who survive will be several years on their return. The large pearls are a maximum of two *cun*⁴ in circumference. During the Yuanshi reign (1-6 CE) of Emperor Pingdi, when Wang Mang assisted with administration, he wished to dazzle with his majesty and virtue. He thus sent rich presents to the king of Huangzhi, and instructed the king to send an envoy to present a live rhinoceros [to the Court]. From Huangzhi after a journey of eight months one reaches Pizong. After a further journey of two months, one arrives at the borders of Xianglin in Rinan. To the south of Huangzhi, there is the country of Yichengbu. This is from where the Han interpreting envoys returned.⁵

2. Stephen Davies, "Maritime Museums: Who Needs Them?", presented at Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 30 September 2009. See Robert F. Service, "Pacific archaeology: Rock chemistry traces ancient traders", *Science*, vol.274, 20.12.1996, pp. 2012-2013.

3. Sometimes *Qian Han Shu* 前漢書.

4. Two Chinese inches (one *cun* = 2.4 cm).

5. *Han shu*, juan 28. For alternative translations, see Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade: the Early History of the Chinese Trade in the South China Sea*, Singapore, Times Academic Press, 1998, p. 18; and Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1961 (1966 reprint), pp. 8-11.

The majority of the place names in the above text have not been identified, although there is quite some consensus that the Huangzhi is likely Kanci(puram)/Conjeveram, the Pallava capital in Southern India. This supported both phonetically and by the nature of the journey described, which seems to suggest a trans-peninsular portage. The voyage is described in two forms, one involving the trans-peninsular crossing and the other, the return journey to Xianglin in Rinan entirely by sea, stopping en route at Pizong, which some scholars have identified as Pulau Pisang in the Straits of Melaka.⁶

From this first century CE textual extract we can see that Rinan, a Chinese commandery in Indochina was connected by maritime routes to a range of maritime Southeast Asian (and likely Southern Indian) ports. This would thus seem to be the earliest description of an Indochina-Nusantara maritime route available to us historically.

The descriptions of maritime routes left to us by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims such as Faxian (5th century) and Yijing (7th century), who did travel in Southeast Asia and did write of their stays in Yavadvīpa and Srivijaya, do not touch on Indochina ports, and thus do not concern us here.

Maritime Routes in the Seventh Century CE

In 607 CE, the Sui emperor Yangdi in China sent a mission to Chitu, a kingdom likely lying in what is today the eastern part of Peninsular Malaysia. The description of their voyage reads as follows:

In the tenth month of that year, [Chang] Jun and his retinue took ship from the Nanhai Commandery (Canton). For twenty days and nights they sailed before a favourable wind [the north-east monsoon] and reached Jiaoshi (Scorched Rock) Mountain. Passing south-eastwards, they anchored at Lingqiebobaduo island, which faces Linyi (Champa) on the west, and which has a temple on its summit. Then going southwards they reached Shizishi (Lion Rock), whence there extended a chain of large and small islands. After two or three days' voyage they saw in the west the mountain of the country of Langyaxiu. Then continuing southwards to Jilong (Fowl Cage) Island, they reached the borders of Chitu, whose king sent the Brahman Jiumoluo, with thirty ocean-going junks, to welcome them. Conches were blown and drums beaten to entertain the Sui envoys on their arrival, and a metal cable was used as a hawser for [Chang] Jun's vessel. It took more than a month to reach the capital.⁷

This text provides more identifiable toponyms than the text above from the first century. We can reconstruct from the name of the island facing Linyi

6. Paul Wheatley, "The Malay Peninsula as Known to the Chinese of the Third Century A.D.," in Geoff Wade (ed.), *Southeast Asia-China Interactions: reprints from the Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society (JMBRAS)*, Kuala Lumpur MBRAS, 2007, pp. 26-27.

7. *Sui shu*, juan 82.3-5. Translation from Paul Wheatley, "Ch'ih-t'u (赤土)," *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXX part I (1957), pp. 122-33.

or Champa the name Lingaparvata, known more commonly to us as Cù lao Chàm. Langyaxiu is obviously Langkasuka, located in the area which is today Pattani. Chitu lays to Langkasuka's south, somewhere along what is today peninsular Malaysia's coast.

This suggests that the area of what is today the estuary of Hôi An, the Linyi of the 7th century, together with the islands of Cù lao Chàm, was a major staging post interlinking Indochina with the ports of Nusantara. Two years earlier in 605 the Chinese emperor had sacked the Cham capital of Linyi and had also attacked Liuqiu (today's Taiwan). On this later expedition, the Chinese emperor sent "Kunlun⁸ people who could understand their (the Liuqiu) language quite well and who were sent to negotiate with them."⁹ This underlines the Austronesian networks which obviously still extended as far as Taiwan in the 7th century.

At this time in the 7th century, merchants from throughout Southeast Asia and across the Bay of Bengal traded into Nanhai, or Canton, and while the Linyi entrepôt was not a necessary stopping place, it was a likely staging point. It was not much later that Palembang also developed as a port, and it was these Srivijayan and Champa ports which were to later become two major Southeast Asian ports on the Eurasian maritime trade route connecting West Asia with East Asia.

The burgeoning of Tang relations with distant societies and polities in the 8th century also saw new maritime routes developing in Southeast Asia, and particularly from Canton to Srivijaya, stopping at the ports of Champa en route.

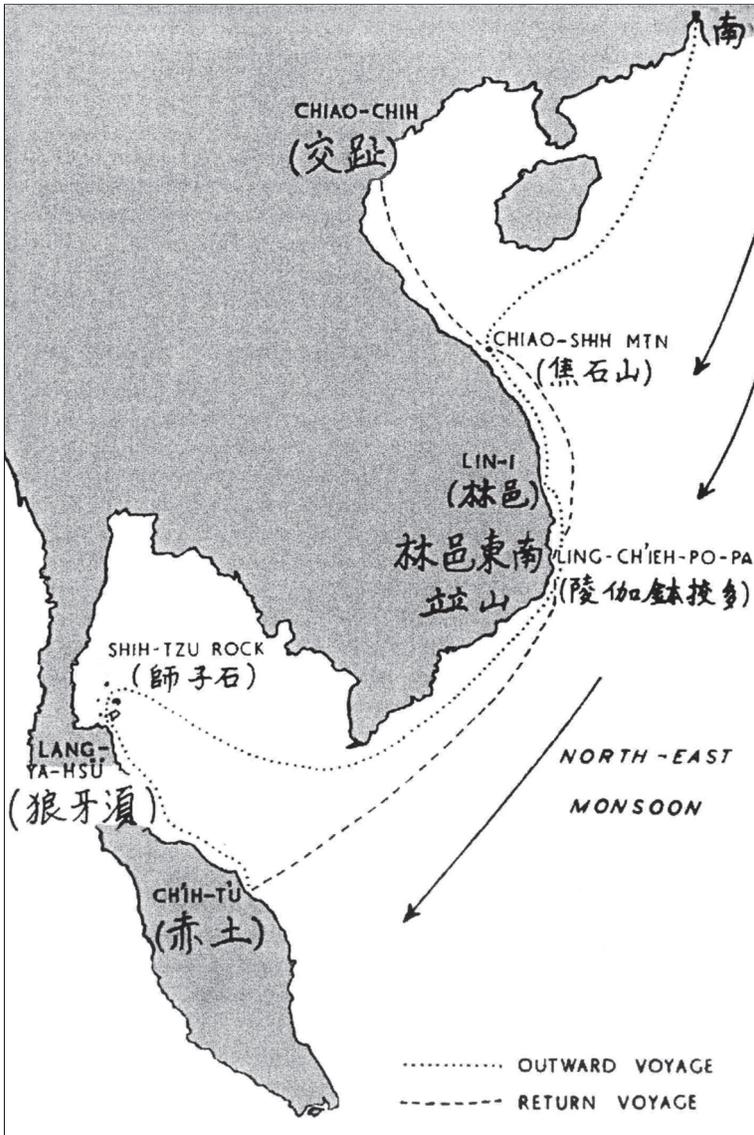
Maritime Routes in the Ninth Century CE

Circa 800 CE, in a work on the geography of the Tang empire, Jia Dan 賈耽 (730-805) a Chinese scholar and geographer, wrote a book with a range of itineraries including a description of the major maritime trade route from China right through to the Persian Gulf. The work is now lost, but this route was recorded in the *Xin Tang Shu*.¹⁰ The details of the Indian Ocean routes may have been provided to the Chinese scholar by Arab or Persian mariners, as it was from the middle of the eighth century onwards that the Chinese sources show the replacement of Kunlun (Southeast Asian) traders arriving in China by Arabs and Persians. Jia Dan's itinerary records:

8. A generic term for the peoples of maritime Southeast Asia. No convincing etymology of the name has been proposed.

9. *Sui shu* 81.7b. See juan 81 "Account of Liu-qiu".

10. *Xin Tang Shu* juan 43B.18b.



Voyages of the Sui envoys, A.D. 607-10. A map based on the information discussed in the text.
 Source: Paul Wheatley, "Ch'ih T'u", *JMBRAS*, XXX(1), 1957, p. 132.

Sailing from Canton, it is 200 *li* to the southeast to Tunmen Shan,¹¹ and two days towards the west to Jiuzhou shi,¹² and then two days towards the south to Xiang Shi. Three days to the southwest lies Zhanpulao shan,¹³ and two days further to the south lies Lingshan.¹⁴ After a further day's journey one reaches the country of Mendu.¹⁵ A further day's journey brings one to the country of Guda.¹⁶ After another half day's sail, one makes Bentuolang Island.¹⁷ Two further days of sailing brings one to Juntunong.¹⁸ Then after a further five days of sailing, one reaches the strait,¹⁹ which the natives call "zhi."²⁰ It is 100 *li*²¹ from north to south.²² On the northern shore is the country of Loyue,²³ while on the southern shore lies the country of Foshi.²⁴ Four or five days voyage to the west of Foshi lies the country of Heling,²⁵ the largest island in the south. Further west one exits the strait. And within three days one reaches the country of Gegesengzhi.²⁶ This is another island to the

11. Tuen Mun in modern Hong Kong.

12. Islands to the northeast of Hainan.

13. Cù lao Chàm.

14. Literally Spiritual or Supernatural Mountain. Likely an area near Quảng Ngãi, and probably Cap Sa Hoi (14° 40' N 109° 05' E), which rises to 92 metres, and is the southern end of a peninsula about one mile long enclosing a lagoon. See *China Sea Pilot*, London, Hydrographer of the Navy, Third Edition (1964) Vol. I, p. 300.

15. Possibly Quy Nhơn.

16. The country of Kuṭhāra, a Cham polity. Centred on the modern Nha Trang in Khánh Hoà province. For the earliest local epigraphical evidence of this polity name, see A. Griffiths and W.A. Southworth, «La stèle d'installation de Śrī Satyadeveśvara: une nouvelle inscription sanskrite du Campā trouvée à Phước Thiện», *Journal Asiatique* 295.2 (2007), pp. 349-381.

17. Pāṇḍuraṅga, a Cham polity, centred on the modern Phan Rang. The "island" reference is possibly to Cap Padaran (Mũi Dinh) 11° 22' N, 109 ° 01' E, rising to 185 metres. See *China Sea Pilot*, London, Hydrographer of the Navy, Third Edition (1964), Vol. I, p. 265.

18. This is a reference to Pulo Condore/Pulau Kundur, an archipelago of 12 islands, 45 miles off the southern coast of Vietnam. Otherwise known as Kunlun shan. See *China Sea Pilot*, London, Hydrographer of the Navy, Third Edition (1964) Vol. I, pp. 93-98.

19. Likely the Straits of Singapore.

20. Some scholars consider this to be a rendering of the Malay term "sēlat", but the correspondence is not unquestioned, given the Late Middle Chinese reconstruction of the pronunciation as either *tri* or *tsit*. See Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver, UBC Press, 1991, pp. 406 and 408.

21. A *li* is a measure of distance, equivalent to approximately 0.5 kilometres.

22. Possibly the Straits between the island of Singapore and the islands of Bintan and Batam.

23. Some scholars identify the name Loyue with the toponym Johor, but the phonetic similarity is less than convincing. Others claim that it represents the word *laut*, but again this is unlikely to have been the name of a polity.

24. Foshi = Vijaya. In this case, a reference to Srivijaya.

25. There seems to be a consensus that this term derives from the Sanskrit Kalinga, suggesting a place frequented or populated by persons from the eastern coast of the Indian subcontinent. It appears here to refer to the island of Java or Sumatra. Louis-Charles Damais, however, argues against this identification. See his «Études sino-indonésiennes : III. La transcription chinoise Ho-ling comme désignation de Java», *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 52 (1964), pp. 93-141.

26. Unidentified polity.

north-west of Foshi. The inhabitants of this place engage in plunder and those on passing ships greatly fear and dread them. On the northern shore there is the country of Geluo.²⁷ To the west of Geluo is the country of Gugeluo.²⁸ Then four or five days sailing from Gegesengzhi, one reaches the island of Shengdeng²⁹.....³⁰

The text then continues to describe the route to Sri Lanka, the Malabar Coast and all the way to Baghdad.

Here then we have a text which describes a 9th century maritime route extending from the coast of southern China through Southeast Asia and South Asia,³¹ to the Persian Gulf. That part of the itinerary which concerns us here is the section of the route which connects Indochina and Nusantara. The Indochina ports at which ships appear to have sailed to and possibly stopped at include the Cham ports of Cù lao Chàm, modern Quảng Ngãi, Kuthāra/Nha Trang, Pāṇḍuraṅga, and of course the key island of Pulo Condore. This route appears to have connected these Cham areas directly across the ocean with the Straits of Singapore and Straits of Melaka, the polity of Luoyue, Srivijaya on Sumatra, Java and other Nusantaran polities.

27. Almost certainly the Kalah of the Arabs texts located on the peninsula in or near modern Kedah. The polity of Geluo [Hokkien: Go-lo; Cantonese: Koh-loh] is noted in the *Xin Tang Shu* (which relates events of the 8th-10th centuries), as lying to the south-east of Panpan. If we follow the description provided by the Tang histories, noting that Panpan lay to the south (implicitly, immediately to the south) of Dvāravatī, then Geluo would also have been situated on the peninsula. The *Xin Tang Shu* account further notes that Geluo was also called Geluo Fushaluo, and comprised 24 *zhou* (a state or provincial administration). It was also stated to lie six days distance from Cambodia. We thus have a fairly sizeable polity somewhere on the isthmus, extending to both sides of the peninsula, known as Geluo or Geluo Fushaluo. These names can be reconstructed as Kala (or Kra) and Kala (or Kra)-vijaya respectively.

28. This polity of Geguluo has been equated with the Qāqullah of the Arabic texts, although this equation is not accepted uncritically. Pelliot mentions that the middle character “gu” derives from a “gok” (as represented by the Hokkien and Cantonese pronunciations noted above), and as such the Arabic name did not represent a real equivalence of whatever name was represented by the Chinese as Geguluo. This phonetic note is important in that it allows a possible identification to be made. The final guttural of the “gu” may well suggest a term of three syllables each beginning with a guttural. Might this then be a reference to Ko Kho Khao? As such, Geguluo, lying to the north of the strait and to the west of Geluo (for which see above), should have been situated on the west coast of the peninsula. The position of Ko Kho Khao as the main entry point to Takuapa River and the trans-isthmian route which connected Ko Kho Khao and Laem Pho on the east of the peninsula, as well as the archaeological evidence which exists, together with it being one of the “best anchorages for small ships between Burma and Singapore” (Bennet Bronson, “Chinese and Middle Eastern Trade” in *Ancient Trades and Cultural Contacts in Southeast Asia*, ed. Amara Srisuchat (Bangkok: Office of the National Cultural Commission. 1996), pp. 181-200, p. 182), all support the contention that Ko Kho Khao was a significant port in the 9th century, the period in which Geguluo was recorded as a polity.

29. Unidentified.

30. *Xin Tang shu*, juan 43C, 18b. For an alternative translation of part of the text, see Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade*, p. 136.

31. For further details, see P. Pelliot, «Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle», *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 4, 1904, pp. 131-413.

The Ninth Century Arab Accounts of the Maritime Routes

It is perhaps appropriate here, given that the above text reflected information either provided by or related to Arab and Persian traders, to briefly introduce some 9th-century Arab texts which also reflect maritime linkages between Nusantara and the Indochina world.

The *Akbhār al-Sīn*³² is the earliest Arab account of Southeast Asia. It dates from the mid-9th century but contains materials from earlier periods. This text is not as detailed in terms of sailing times as the Chinese texts, but it does refer to the ships' arrival at Kalah-bar, noting that this place is a kingdom under Zabaj, or Srivijaya.

Then the ships travel to a place called Tiyūma,³³ which has fresh water for anyone who desires it, and the distance to it is ten days. Then the ships set sail for a place called Kadrang³⁴ and arrive there after ten days. There one also finds fresh water. Such are the islands of India, wherever you find springs you will find fresh water in them. At Kadrang is a high mountain where slaves and robbers sometimes hide. The ships next reach a place called Sanf³⁵ situated at a distance of ten days....When the ships have taken fresh water they set sail for a place named Sundur Fūlāt,³⁶ which is an island in the sea, ten days distance.³⁷

This text suggests a 9th-century maritime route linking Kalah and Srivijaya with the ports of Champa passing by the two island way-stations of Pulau Tioman and Pulo Condore.

Another work from about the same period is Ibn Khurdādhbih's *al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*.³⁸ This includes a section entitled *Tarīq min jānib Fāris ilā'l-Mashriq* ("The Route from the Persian coast to the East"), reflecting a reverse image of Jia Dan's itinerary from East Asia to the Persian Gulf.

32. An anonymous text sometimes known as the *Book of Sulaimān* or *Akbhār al-Sīn wa'l-Hind*. See G.R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia*, Leiden, Brill, 1979, pp. 5-6.

33. Pulau Tioman.

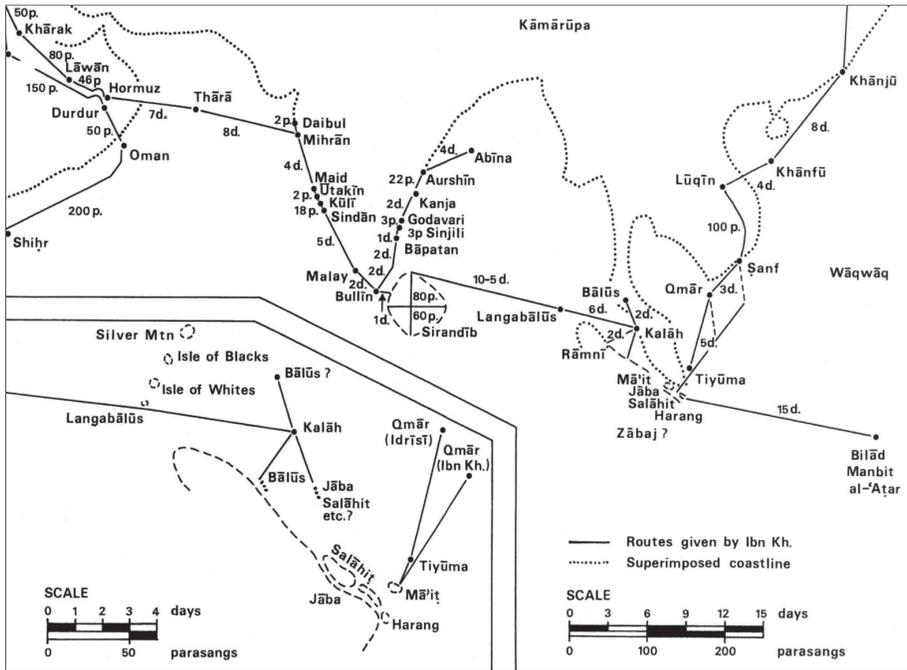
34. Tibbetts (1979; 157-59) suggests various locations and equivalents for Kadrang. The most convincing explanation appears to be that by Ferrand which sees "Kadrang" as an equivalent of the Chinese name Juntulong, a reference to Pulo Condore. The 600 metre peak on the main island of Pulo Condore also supports the description of the "high mountain" there. See Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1913, Vol. I, pp. 14-17.

35. Champa.

36. The island of Hainan.

37. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts...*, pp. 26-27.

38. For details of this, see Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts...*, p. 7.



Place names mentioned in Ibn Khurdādhbih (mid-9th cent CE). Source: G.R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia*, Leiden, Brill, 1979.

From Alankabālūs,³⁹ to the island of Kilah (i.e. Kalah) is six days. This island belongs to the kingdom of Jābat al-Hindi. It contains famous mines of al-Qal'ī tin and plantations of bamboo. To the left and at two days from [the island of Kilah] is the island of Bālūs,⁴⁰ inhabited by cannibals. It produces excellent camphor, bananas, coconuts, sugar cane and rice. From there to the islands of Jāba, Salāhit and Harang, two parasangs. [The island of Jāba] is large.⁴¹ ...From these islands after fifteen days one reaches the Spice Islands. The distance between Jāba and Mā'it⁴² is small. On leaving Mā'it, one finds to the left, the island of Tiyūma. From there one goes in five days to Qmār⁴³ ...from Qmār to Sanf is three days. ...From Sanf to Lūqīn which is the first step of China, is a hundred parasangs either by land or sea.⁴⁴

39. The Andamans.

40. Likely "Barus" on Sumatra. If the sailing times are correct, this would have placed this "Barus" somewhere on the northern coast of Sumatra. Interestingly, Edwards McKinnon has suggested that the ancient Fansur, which many associate with Barus, was indeed located on the northern coast of Sumatra. See E. Edwards McKinnon "Ancient Fansur, Aceh's 'Atlantis'?: The case for Lhok Panca/Indrapurwa," Paper presented at the IAHA Conference, Solo, 2012.

41. Note the almost identical comment about the size of Java in Jia Dan's itinerary above.

42. Unidentified.

43. The Khmer polity, likely situated around the Mekong delta.

44. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts...*, pp. 28-29.

Again, we can underline the role of Arab and Persian ships in linking the polities and ports of Nusantara and Indochina.

The Ships on the Maritime Routes Linking Indochina and Nusantara

For much of the first millennium CE, the ships which sailed the seas between Indochina and Nusantara were Southeast Asian or Indian and Arab ships. Details of early Southeast Asian ships are provided to us by a 3rd century Chinese text, now lost and left to us only in cited fragments – the *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi*. It records:

The men from foreign lands call their boats *bo*.⁴⁵ The large ones are over 200 feet (20 *zhang*) long, and they are twenty to thirty feet (2-3 *zhang*) high [above the water level] they can hold 600-700 men, and a cargo of over 10,000 *he* (a Chinese corn measure of about ten pecks). The men from beyond our frontiers use four sails for their ships, varying with the size of the ships. These sails are connected with each other from bow to stern. There is a kind of *lutou* tree whose leaves are like lattice [-windows]. These leaves are more than ten feet long, and are woven into sails. The four sails do not face directly forwards, but are made to move together to one side of the other, with the direction of the breeze....when they sail, they do not avoid strong winds and violent waves, and therefore can travel very swiftly.⁴⁶

A further reference to Southeast Asian ships in the third century is to be found in the *Yiqie jing yinyi* (一切經音義), a dictionary compiled by Huilin which, according to Pelliot, was completed in 817 CE. Huilin refers in several passages to *bo* and includes the following passage: “Ssuma Piao (3rd century CE), in his commentary on *Zhuangzi*, says: ‘large ocean-going ships are called *bo*’. According to the *Guangya*: ‘*bo* is an ocean-going ship’. It is fast and carries 1000 men as well as merchandise. It is also called *k'un-lun-po*”.⁴⁷

Other descriptions of boat-building in Funan/Cambodia in the third century are provided in another lost book *Funan zhuan* (扶南傳), available to us only through cited extracts:

In the kingdom of Funan, they cut down trees for the making of boats. The long ones measure 12 fathoms on length (about 70 ft.) and their breadth is 6 ft. The stem and the stern resemble (the head and the tail of) a fish, and they are decorated all over with ornaments of iron. The large (boats) can carry a hundred men. Each man has a long oar, a short oar (i.e. a paddle), and a pole for quanting. From stem to stern there are 50 men or

45. Wang Gungwu suggests that this term *bo* may derive from the Tamil *padagu*, *padao* or *parao*, later taken into Malay as *perahu*. Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade*, p. 40, note 30. Pierre-Yves Manguin (personal communication, Jan 2012) opines that such a correlation poses phonetic problems.

46. *Taiping Yulan*, juan 769 and 771. See Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade: the Early History of the Chinese Trade in the South China Sea*, Singapore, Times Academic Press, 1998, p. 33.

47. Anthony Christie, “An obscure passage from the Periplus, kolandiophonta ta megista”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 19(2), June 1957, pp. 345-53.

more than 40 depending on the boat's size. In full motion they use the long oars, when they sit down (to row) they use the paddles; and when the water is shallow they quant with the poles. They all raise their oars and respond to the shouts in perfect unison.⁴⁸

From this same period, we have accounts in Chinese texts of Indochinese ships being used to attack other polities in Nusantara. The *Liang shu* records that Fan Shihman, ruler of Funan in the third century, "had great ships built, and crossing the immense sea, he attacked more than ten kingdoms."⁴⁹ Here again we have textual evidence of maritime interactions between Indochina and Nusantara in an early period, employing Southeast Asian ships.

For the period to the ninth century, it appears that Chinese ships were rarely used on the Southeast Asian routes, while Indian, Persian and Kunlun ships are frequently mentioned. The existence of Arab/Indian ships in these waters for the 9th century is attested by the Belitung/Tang wreck, a ship which sank in the Java Sea c. 826 CE.⁵⁰ The Southeast Asian ships of this period are illustrated on the walls of Borobodur, the Buddhist monument of Java dating from c. 800 CE.

In the middle of the 10th century, the Arab Mas'ūdī recorded three periods in Arab trade with Southeast Asia and China. First, that to circa 900 C.E. when "the ships of Basra, Sīrāf, Oman, India, the islands of Zābaj and Sanf came to the mouth of the river of Khānfū in China with their merchandise and their cargo."⁵¹ Then in the mid-10th century, he records that: "Today this town [Killah] is the terminus for ships from Sīrāf and Oman, where they meet the ships which come down from China."⁵²

We can thus see that the 10th century was a key period of change in long-distance trade through Southeast Asia, with Chinese shipping burgeoning, Chinese commercial networks extending and Arab ships ending their voyages on the western side of the peninsula, where cargoes for China were transhipped into Chinese ships.

There must have been some exceptions and it is certainly the case that Southeast Asian shipping was also developing. An example of someone who used Southeast Asian ships was Ibn Battuta who in 1345-46 travelled in the

48. *Taiping yulan*, juan 769. See Joseph Needham *et al.*, *Science and Civilization in China, Vol. 4: Physics and Physical Technology, Part 3: Civil Engineering and Nautics*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1954, p. 450.

49. *Liang shu* 54.4a. See also Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai Trade: the Early History of the Chinese Trade in the South China Sea*, Singapore, Times Academic Press, 1998, p. 33.

50. Michael Flecker, "A 9th century Arab or Indian shipwreck in Indonesian waters." *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, Vol. 29 (2000), pp. 199–217; and Michael Flecker, "A 9th century AD Arab or Indian shipwreck in Indonesia: first evidence for direct trade with China" *World Archaeology* 32 (2001), pp. 335–354. See also Regina Krahl *et al.*, *Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds*, Washington, Smithsonian Books, 2010.

51. G.R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia*, p. 37.

52. *Ibid.*

region. He mentions visiting Barahnakār,⁵³ al-Jāwa (Samudera), and Mul-Jāwa (Java), the “country of the infidels.” On a ship provided by the ruler of Samudera, he sailed onward toward China, stopping only at the country of Tawālisi. The location of this place has been the source of much debate. The long-standing importance of Champa as a stop on the Islamic trade route to China, however, makes it the leading candidate. This supposition is supported by Yamamoto Tatsuro’s equation of Kailūkarī, the name of the largest city in Tawālisi according to Ibn Battuta, with the Cham name Klaung Garai.⁵⁴

The earlier West Asian links of Champa are manifested in the princess named Urduja whom Ibn Battuta met in this polity, who spoke to him in Turkish, who was literate in Arabic, and who wrote out the *bismillāh* in the presence of the visitor, but whom Ibn Battuta considered an infidel.⁵⁵ This may well have been a manifestation of the diversities of Islam within 14th century Southeast Asia. Through their assumption that Tawālisi was located in the Philippines, Urduja is now a national Filipino heroine, with even films being made about her. From Ibn Battuta’s account, it appears that most of the areas between the Islamic polity at Samudera and China remained outside Islam in the mi-14th century, but that occasional Arab and Persian mariners connected the ports of Samudera, Java and Champa by sea.

There had been a sea-change over the previous several centuries and it appears that by the 14th century the majority of the long-distance trading ships which connected Nusantara and Indochina and on to China from the 13th century were Chinese and possibly Southeast Asian. The effects of this is reflected in later (15th-16th century) Arab geographical works, such as those of Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad ibn Mājīd and Sulaimān bin Ahmad al-Mahrī, whose descriptions of Southeast Asian seas and ports were almost exclusively restricted to the west of the peninsula.⁵⁶ There must also have been Southeast Asian shipping which directly connected Nusantara and

53. Likely the Naguer of the Chinese texts, located in northern Sumatra.

54. The name of a Cham temple complex (Po Klaung Garai) located at Phan Rang in what is today Ninh Thuận Province. It comprises three towers dating back to about 1300, built during the reign of the Cham King Jaya Simhavarman II. See Tatsuro Yamamoto, “On Tawālisi as described by Ibn Battuta” in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, Vol. VIII, Tokyo, 1936, p. 117. Arlo Griffiths (pers. comm.) considers Yamamoto’s equation as not tenable.

55. Gibb, H.A.R., *The travels of Ibn Battuta: A.D. 1325-1354* (translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text, edited by C. Defremery and B.R. Sanguinetti), (London: Hakluyt Society, [1958?]-1994), pp. 874-87.

56. See G.R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia*, Fig. 7. Identifications of place names mentioned by the navigators.

Indochina of this period, but we know little of it because no descriptonal texts have come down to us.

The 15th century Accounts of the Maritime Routes

The expanded Chinese maritime routes from the 11th century both reflected and stimulated Chinese commercial activity within Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean, giving rise to works such as Zhou Qufei's *Lingwai daida* (1178), Zhao Ru-gua's *Zhufan zhi* (1225),⁵⁷ and Wang Da-yuan's *Daoyi zhilue* (1349) describing commercial ports and polities from China to the Persian Gulf and the east coast of Africa.⁵⁸

However, these works do not provide us with specific information on the routes which connected these polities. It is only in the 15th century, with the expeditions despatched by the usurping Ming emperor Yongle beginning to sail through Southeast Asia and into the Indian Ocean, that we begin to have some maritime route details. The voyages led by the eunuch admiral Zheng He have been widely studied and written on. For most of the voyages extending over the period 1405 to 1433, there are only generic descriptions and mentions of the places visited, without any specific information on the voyages or routes. But we can state that generally the armadas sailed to Quy Nhon in Champa and then on to Surabaya in Java,⁵⁹ thereby providing very obvious maritime links between Indochina and Nusantara in the early 15th century.

It is clear that these fleets and their sub-fleets connected various areas of Nusantara with each other during this period, projecting Ming power, and establishing bases to control the Straits of Melaka in Melaka and in Samudera in this attempt to establish a *pax Ming* in the region. There is only one route description available to us today, detailing where the 1431-33 expedition travelled and the time taken between ports. As such it is a very valuable source on sea-going in the 15th century.

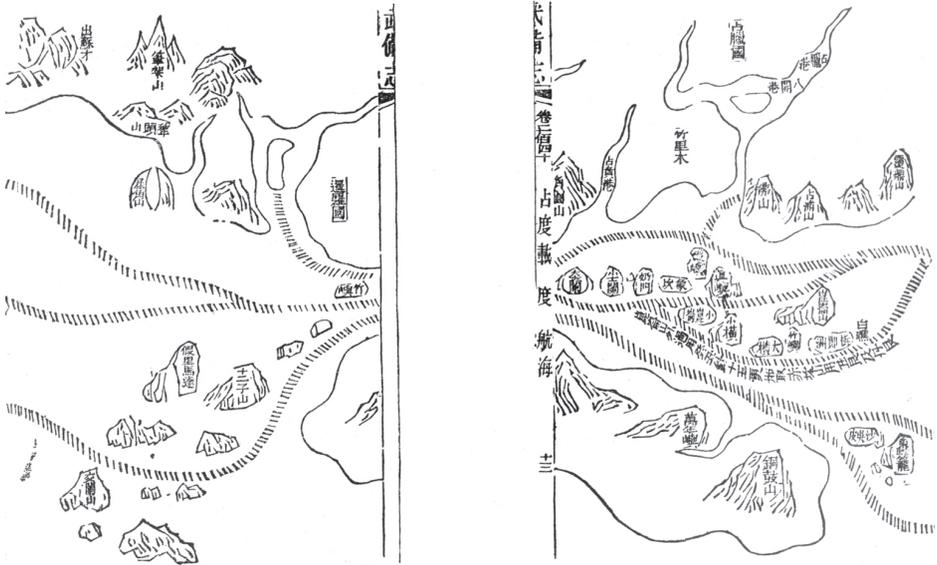
That part of the voyage which immediately concerns us for this topic reads as follows:

In the twelfth moon on the ninth day [12 January 1432] they passed out through Wu-humen [in the entrance of the Min River]. (They travelled for sixteen days) On the twenty-fourth day [27 January 1432] they came to Zhan City [Qui Nhon, in Champa]. In the seventh year, in the first moon, on the eleventh day [12 February 1432], the ships started. (They travelled for twenty-five days). In the second moon, on the sixth day [7 March 1432], they reached Zhaowa (Sulumayi) [Surabaya]. In the sixth moon, on the sixteenth day [13 July 1432] the ships started. (They travelled for eleven days). On the twenty-

57. Available in English translation in Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chufan-chi*, St Petersburg, Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911.

58. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*

59. Mills, J.V.G. (trans. and annot.), *Ma Huan: Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The overall survey of the ocean's shores*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 9.



Extract from *Wubei zhi* map showing maritime routes to and from Siam and Cambodia in the 15th century. Source: Mao Yuanyi (ed.) *Wubei zhi* (1628)

seventh day [24 July 1432] they arrived at Jiujiang [Old Haven, Palembang]. In the seventh moon, on the first day [27 July 1432] the ships started. (They travelled for seven days). On the eighth day [3 August 1432] they came to Manlajia [Malacca]. In the eight moon, on the eighth day [2 September 1432], the ships started. (They travelled for ten days). On the eighteenth day [12 September 1432] they reached Sumendala [Semudera, near Kuala Pasai].....⁶⁰

The voyage of this armada across the Bay of Bengal and on to Hormuz is further described, as is the return journey via Samudera, Malacca, Pulo Condore, Point Ké Ga, Qui Nhon and Cù lao Ré. It is obvious from this itinerary that the Indochinese world and that of Nusantara was closely tied by these ships in the first half of the 15th century.

While the above is the only written itinerary which has survived, a collection of Chinese maps, showing *inter alia* the maritime routes connecting Indochina and Nusantara and undoubtedly deriving from the Zheng He voyages have come down to us. Known as the Mao Kun or *Wubei zhi* ("Records of Military Preparations") (1628) maps – from the author or name of the text in which they were published – they comprise maps from the China coast, through Southeast Asia, to South Asia, the Middle East and the East coast of Africa. Those relevant for present purposes show the

60. Mills, *Ma Huan: Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, pp. 16-17.

maritime route of the Ming ships entering Champa, passing Pulo Condore, entering Cambodia and also Siam, passing Songkhla, Pahang, and Temasik, entering Java, entering Melaka and entering Samudera. Again these maps underline the links which the Chinese fleets maintained between the ports of Indochina and those of Nusantara.

The *Shunfeng Xiangsong* (順風相送)

This collection of Chinese sailing directions dates, in its extant form, from the 16th century, but appears to have been based on earlier materials – perhaps early 15th century sailing data collected during the Zheng He voyages. The sole manuscript of this work is held in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, and this was given to the library by an Archbishop Laud in 1639, apparently having been purchased from a Jesuit University in Europe.⁶¹ The text provides routes for 100 specific voyages, of which 27 relate to the Southeast Asian world. Some of these have been studied and translated by Mills.⁶² Those relating to Southeast Asia include:

A. Seven voyages between China and Nusantara

From Guangdong to Melaka and return
 From Wuyu (Xiamen) to Tuban in Java and return
 From Wuyu to Jaratan (Gresik) and return
 From Wuyu to Sukadana in Borneo and return
 From Wuyu to Lawe (Pontianak) and return
 From Quanzhou to Brunei and return
 From Quanzhou to Donggala (Sulawesi) and return

B. Nineteen voyages between places within Southeast Asia and beyond

From Pointe Ké Ga (modern Southern Vietnam) to Banten and return
 From Siam to Melaka and return
 From Siam to Borneo and return
 From Siam to Mindanao and return
 From Luzon to Brunei and return
 From Patani to Timor and return
 From Pulau Tioman to Tebing Tinggi (North Sumatra) and return
 From Pulau Tioman to Brunei and return
 From Melaka to Pasai and return
 From Melaka to Palembang and return
 From Melaka to Calicut and return
 From Banjarmasin to Kota Waringan and return
 From Palembang to Jaratan and return
 From Banten to Timor and return
 From Banten to Demak and return
 From Banten to Banjarmasin and return

61. This manuscript has been published by Xiang Da (向達) in his *Liangzhong haidao zhenjing* 兩種海道針經, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1961, rpt 1982.

62. See J.V.G. Mills, “Arab and Chinese Navigators in Malaysian Waters in about A.D. 1500” in *JMBRAS* Vol. XLVII: 2 (1974) pp. 1-82; and J.V.G. Mills, “Chinese Navigators in Insulinde about A.D. 1500” in *Archipel*, Vol. 18: 1 (1979) pp. 69-83.

From Kreung Aceh to Barus
 From Barus to Pariaman
 From Pariaman to Banten

Mills gives a generic description of the “Western route” followed by Chinese ships to Southeast Asia: “The western route constitutes the main route to India and Western Asia. Starting from his home port, the navigator followed the islands off the China coast as far as Hainan, then crossed to Cù lao Ré (Wailuo shan) and followed the coast of Vietnam as far as Cape Varella (Ling Shan). From here a branch ran southwards to Catwick Islands (Dongxi dong). Following the main route, ships made Cape Padaran (Luowantou), rounded the cape to reach Pointe Ké Ga (Chikan), and then proceeded in a south-western direction to Pulo Condore (Kunlun) and to Pulau Tioman (Zhupan shan), where they would join the track of ships travelling from Siam (Xianluo) to Malaka (Manlajia).”⁶³

As more specific example of the types of route described in this text, two of relevance to the current investigation – one from the Fujian coast to Patani and one from Cambodia to Patani – are translated below.

*Voyage from Wuyu to Patani and Kelantan*⁶⁴

Sailing out from Wuyu,⁶⁵ one adopts a course of 205 degrees⁶⁶ and then 195 degrees for 7 *geng*..... Proceeding on a course of 217 degrees for 20 *geng* and the ship will pass outside Cù lao Re. Then adopting a course of 173 degrees for seven *geng* the ship will make Jiaobei Island and Yang Island.⁶⁷ Then proceeding further along the course of 173 degrees for five *geng*, the ship reaches Lingshan Dafo.⁶⁸ By employing a bearing of 180 degrees for three *geng*, the ship will make Jiananmao.⁶⁹ A bearing of 187 degrees for five *geng* will bring the ship to Luowantou.⁷⁰ Employing 225 degrees and then 217 degrees for five *geng*, will bring the ship to Chikan.⁷¹ Then adopting a course of 215 degrees for

63. J.V.G. Mills, “Chinese Navigators in Insulinde About A.D. 1500”, *Archipel*, Vol. 8 (1979) pp. 75-76.

64. Xiang Da, *Liangzhong haidao zhenjing*, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1982. See *Shunfeng xiangsong*, p. 53.

65. The island of Jinmen or Quemoy in Fujian, from where Chinese junks set out.

66. The compass directions given in the Chinese texts are taken from a compass divided into 24 segments, each equivalent to 15 degrees of the western compass. For this translation, the navigational directions are converted to western equivalents from the Chinese compass bearings. An illustration of a reconstructed Chinese compass is given in Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, 1961, p. 100.

67. Jiaobei Island and Yang Island were located just off the coast of the old capital of Vijaya, now Cha Ban, to the north of Quy Nhon.

68. Literally the Great Buddha of the Spiritual Mountain. Cape Varella, just north of Nha Trang.

69. Ben Goi Bay, North of Nha Trang, in the modern Khánh Hòa province of Vietnam.

70. Cap Padaran, south of Phan Rang. Also known as Cape Ga Na.

71. Pointe Ké Ga.

15 *geng*, the ship will make Kunlun shan,⁷² and you should pass on the outer side. Then proceed on a bearing of 235 degrees and then 265 degrees for 30 *geng*, and the ship will make the port of Kelantan. There is a muddy bottom and you can cast anchor. Adopting a course of 240 degrees for 7 *geng*, the ship will make Lukun Kunshenwei⁷³ where there are shallows. Travelling further to the west, one will enter a port which is Dani (Patani).⁷⁴

It is worthy of note that six places – if not ports of call at least of navigational importance – are noted along the Indochina coast, before the ship leaves that coast, sails past Pulo Condore, and travels straight across the Gulf of Siam first to Kelantan and then Patani.

*Voyage from Cambodia to Patani*⁷⁵

After departing from the port [of Cambodia], and the ship leaves the shallows, when the water is 7 to 8 *tu* in depth, proceed on a bearing of 185 degrees for three *geng*, and then a course of 240 degrees for five *geng* and 225 degrees for four *geng*. One will come into sight of Zhenci [Pulo Obi]. Then adopt a course of 225 degrees for 10 *geng*, 240 degrees for five *geng* and then 245 degrees for 10 *geng*. You will then sight Zhaili Dashan.⁷⁶ Adopting a bearing of 295 degrees for four *geng*, proceed along the Kunshen⁷⁷ and follow the mountains, plumbing to find water of 16 to 17 *tu* in depth. Proceeding ahead, one reaches Kunshenwei [Lit. the tail of Kunshen: Possibly the entrance to the lakes]. This is Liukun xiachi,⁷⁸ and there are shallows. From there, one proceeds to the west, following the mountains and enters the port of Dani.⁷⁹

Xiyang Chaogong Dianlu (西洋朝貢典錄) (1520)

This work, compiled by Huang Shengzeng (黃省曾) in the 1520s, describes a range of countries following a template by Ma Huan who recorded his experiences on the Zheng He voyages in the early 15th century.⁸⁰ Of the 23 countries described, 10 include details of the sea route by which to reach them.

These include: Champa, Cambodia, Java, Srivijaya/Palembang, Melaka, Siam, Samudera, Maldives, Sri Lanka and Bengal. It is perhaps worthy of note that Champa is the first country detailed within this text, and the majority of the sea route descriptions to Southeast Asian ports are described

72. Pulo Condore off the coast of today's southern Vietnam.

73. Lit. the tail of Kun-shen.

74. The port of Patani.

75. Xiang Da, *Liangzhong haidao zhenjing*, Beijing, Zhonghua Shu-ju, 1982. See *Shunfeng xiangsong*, p. 60.

76. This place is obviously a major mountain on the east coast of the peninsula. The Chinese scholar Xiang Da identifies it as being six *geng* south of Nakhon Si Thammarat, but does not give a modern name. See Xiang Da, *Liangzhong haidao zhenjing*, p. 262.

77. Unidentified. Possibly a generic reference to the mainland coastline.

78. Literally "The lower lake of Nakhon".

79. The port of Patani.

80. For an annotated version, see *Xiyang Chaogong Dianlu jiaozhu* (西洋朝貢典錄校注), Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2000.

beginning in Champa, perhaps underlining its importance at least in terms of maritime movement and commerce at this time, even post-1471.

***Zhinan zhengfa* (指南正法) (17th century)**

This work, also found in manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and published by Xiang Da, appears to date from the early 17th century, but containing material extending back over the previous few centuries. The work is a guide to mariners, including aspects of navigational theory, methods of calculating speed, provides bearings for particular places from others, and like the *Shunfeng xiangsong*, also includes detailed sailing instructions for 53 specific voyages.⁸¹ The emergence and increased importance of Nagasaki, Kelapa (Jakarta), Shuangkou (Manila) and Taiwan for the Hokkien trading networks during the 17th century is underlined by the number of voyages to these places.⁸²

Those voyages most relevant to the study of Indochina-Nusantara maritime links include:

- From Wuyu (Fujian) to Kelapa (Jakarta)
- From Kelapa (Jakarta) to Siam
- From Kelapa (Jakarta) to Nagasaki
- From Nagasaki to Kelapa (Jakarta)
- From Kelapa (Jakarta) to Taiwan
- From Patani to Nagasaki
- From Patani to Wuyu (Fujian)
- From Wuyu (Fujian) to Melaka
- From Melaka to Wuyu (Fujian)
- From Taiwu (Fujian) to Kelapa (Jakarta)
- From Kelapa (Jakarta) to Taiwu (Fujian)

Again the ports and landmarks of the Indochinese coast play a major part in all these voyages, but the major ports reflect a very new period in Southeast Asian maritime trade.

A Vietnamese Maritime Guide “*Xiêm-la-quốc Lộ-Trình Tập-lục*” (暹羅國路程集錄) of 1810

A more modern work which describes a maritime route between Indochina and Nusantara is a Vietnamese text, written in both Classical Chinese (Hán tự) and demotic Vietnamese script (chữ Nôm). Known as *Xiêm-la-quốc Lộ-Trình Tập-lục* (or “Collected Routes to the Country of Siam”), the work dates from the early 19th century, but is based on earlier

81. See J.V.G. Mills, “Arab and Chinese Navigators in Malaysian Waters in about A.D. 1500” in Geoff Wade (ed.), *Southeast Asia-China Interactions* (Kuala Lumpur, JMBRAS, 2007), pp. 409-88. See pp. 414-15.

82. See Xiang Da, *Liangzhong haidao zhenjing*, particularly pp. 169, 173, 175, 177-189.

materials. It is unusual, firstly in that it is a Vietnamese text, and secondly in that it provides a very detailed account of Southeast Asian ports and their characteristics, and also of navigation and overland routes in Southeast Asia. More particularly, it provides a coasting guide from Indochina to Nusantara. But first, something of the text's background.

In 1810, two Vietnamese envoys named *Tông Phúc Ngoạn* and *Du'ong Văn Châu*, who had previously been sent as ambassadors to the Bangkok court of Rama II by the Gia Long Emperor, submitted a memorial reporting on their journey to their Emperor in Hue.⁸³ The memorial was entitled *Xiêm-la-quốc Lô-Trình Tập-lục* "Collected Routes to the Country of Siam."

The memorial stated that they had been previously imperially ordered to proceed as envoys to the country of Siam, and that on their trip they had met a religious mendicant named *Thay Thuy* who had introduced them to a number of land and sea routes to Siam and that on the basis of his accounts and those obtained from other persons, they had compiled route descriptions and drawn up a map of Siam for the Emperor. Details of the routes as well as the map were submitted in this memorial to the Emperor. The map has not been found, but the memorial is still extant and was examined by Professor *Chen Ching-ho* in Hue University in 1959.

Professor *Chen* had the collected itineraries contained within this memorial type-set and published under the publication programme of the New Asia Research Institute, Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1966.⁸⁴ In this work, he examined the background to the memorial and suggested that the Vietnamese envoys had been sent to Siam in response to a Thai request that the Vietnamese provide troops to help repulse Burmese forces attacking from the west of Siam. The gleaning of details of routes into Siam by the Vietnamese envoys certainly is one interpretation of this contention.

The background to this event is particularly interesting. *Nguyễn Anh*, who was later to become the Gia Long Emperor, had been provided with troops and subsequently given refuge by the Siamese court in 1785 after

83. Professor *Nguyen The Anh* has kindly provided the following details of entries within the *Nguyen Imperial Annals* relating to *Tông Phúc Ngoạn* and *Du'ong Văn Châu*:

"Details on *Tông Phúc* (or *Phúc*, if you follow Hue pronunciation) *Ngoạn* can also be found in the *Nguyen Shilu* (*Đại Nam thực lục*), principal part, first period, chap. 2 (for the year 1785), chap. 4 (1789, 9th month), chap. 36 (1808, 11th month), chap. 37 (1809, 6th month, with some development on Siam's proposal for an alliance against Burma), chap. 39 (1809, 12th month, new embassy to Siam, together with *Duong Van Chau*), chap. 40 (1810, 5th month, with mention of the presentation of maps, i.e. *Xiêm-la-quốc Lô-Trình Tập-lục*, to Gia Long after TPN's return from his embassy to Siam). Chap. 42 (1811, 2nd month, promotion of TPN to the grade of commander; 3rd month, new embassy to Siam), chap. 43 (1811, 11th month, return from Siam), chap. 49 (1814, 10th month), chap. 52 (1816, 2nd month, TPN was jailed). As for *Du'ong Văn Châu*, who was assistant governor of Ha-tien in 1811, he was sentenced to death in the 4th month of 1811 as a result of his feud with the governor (see *Đại Nam thực lục chính biên*, 1st period, chap. 42)."

84. *Tông-Phuc-Ngoan* and *Du'ong-Van-Chau* (Arranged, punctuated and annotated by *Chen Ching-ho*), *Xiêm-la-quốc Lô-trình Tập-lục*, Historical Material Series No. 2, New Asia Research Institute, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1966.

unsuccessfully contesting with the Tây-son forces. Returning to Cochinchina in 1787, his forces took Saigon in September 1788 and over the next decade he extended his control over other parts of Vietnam, declaring himself Emperor and adopting the title Gia Long in 1802.

In 1809 Thai envoys who had arrived at Gia Long's court advised that the Thai ruler Rama I had died.⁸⁵ The Vietnamese ruler accordingly sent envoys to offer condolences, and congratulate the new ruler. At the same time, the Thai records note that the Vietnamese envoys also passed on the Gia Long emperor's claim that he was the ruler of the principality of Hà Tiên (known to the Thais as Phathaimat, and the Chinese as the "Gangkou country").⁸⁶

Utilizing the fact that the Thai ruler was new and that Siam was being attacked by Burmese forces, and had indeed in 1809 requested that the Vietnamese court send forces through Laos to assist in repelling the Burmese army,⁸⁷ the Gia Long Emperor seemed to be making good use of the circumstances. He did in fact send forces, but only a few troops and only to Gia-dinh.

On the basis of the above background, Prof Chen Ching-ho concluded that "the 'Collected Records', and their accompanying but no longer extant map must be seen as a form of military preparations for sending troops to intervene in the Siamese-Burmese war."⁸⁸ Other possibilities are also suggested by the continuing contest between Đại Việt and Siam over Cambodia, as Nguyen The Anh notes that the later diplomatic contacts between Đại Việt and Burma were aimed at the "partition of the Indochinese peninsula into two spheres of influence."⁸⁹

85. For diplomatic contacts between Siam and Đại Việt in the years prior to this mission, see *The Dynastic Chronicles – Bangkok Era: The First Reign* (Translated and edited by Thadeus and Chadin Flood), Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, 1978. *Passim*, esp. Vol. 1, pp. 259, 282-286, 294-95.

86. Ha-tien, today located on the Viet-Cambodian border, was at the beginning of the 19th century, bordered by Vietnam, Siam and Cambodia. Originally under the Khmers, the port area was colonized by Chinese refugees fleeing the Qing invasion of China, led by the Mo (Mac) family, who, it is documented gave some sort of allegiance to the Nguyễn of Central Vietnam. It was only under Gia Long that Vietnamese control over the area became paramount. On Ha-tien in this period, see James K. Chin, "King Taksin and China: Siam-Chinese Relations during the Thonburi Period as seen From Chinese Sources", paper presented at Fifth International Conference on Thai Studies, 1993; and Yumio Sakurai, "Vietnam and the Fall of Ayuthaya – An Introduction and Translation of Some Vietnamese Documents" in Kajit Jittasevi (ed.), *Proceedings for the International Workshop: Ayudhya and Asia*, Bangkok, Thammasat University, 1995, pp. 143-162.

87. Tông-Phuc-Ngoan and Du'ong-Van-Chau, *Xiêm-la-quốc Lô-trình Tập-lục*, English introduction, p. 3.

88. *Ibid.*

89. Nguyen The Anh, "Some Remarks on Indochinese Diplomacy in the Early 19th century", *Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs*, Vol. 63, part ii (Oct 1976), pp. 312-316.

The Routes Described

The *Xiêm-la-quốc Lô-Trình Tập-lục* describes six different routes into Siam.

1. A mainly overland route from Phnom Penh, through Battambang, Bangkok, Ayudhya, Nakhon Chaisi, Chaiya, Penang and finally to Chalang on Phuket island near the Isthmus of Kra.
2. A mainly overland route starting at Ko Chang, an island near the west coast of Thailand in the Gulf of Thailand, and proceeding through Chantaburi on the mainland, Bang Plasoï and then south to Paetriu on the southeast coast of the peninsula.
3. A coastal route beginning at Cửa Tranh-Đè at the mouth of the Hậu Giang in the Mekong Delta, touching at the ports of Rạch Giá and Hà Tiên, then Chantaburi, passing the mouth of the Mae Nam Chao Phraya, then down to Chumpon and Chaiya, touching at Nakhon Si Thammarat, Songkhla, Patani, Sungai Kelantan, Sungai Terengganu, Singapore, and Penang and ending at Ujung Salang on Phuket. This is the longest of the routes and includes the second-greatest number of toponyms (195 place-names).
4. A maritime route which begins at Pulo Obi (Hon Khoai) off the southern coast of Vietnam, proceeds northwards to Ko Samet in the Gulf of Thailand, and then to Ko Si Chang, southwards to Patrieu and Lang Suan, Chaiya, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Patani, and Sungai Kelantan and ending in Chalang on Phuket.
5. A cross-ocean route from Pulo Obi across to Chaiya and Sam Roi Yot on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Thailand, north to Chonburi and the Mae Nam estuary and then south-east to Pulo Panjang, before proceeding to the islands in the south.
6. A port-to-port route which also follows rivers upstream to their upper reaches. This is the second longest of the routes recorded and includes 204 place-names. It also begins at Cửa Tranh-Đè in the Mekong delta, follows the river north before returning to Cu'a Mỹ Thanh, to Phnom Penh, Battambang, back along the southern Vietnamese coast to Cu'a Bo De, up various rivers, to Rạch Giá, Hà Tiên, Kampot and Kompong Som in Cambodia, the Mae Nam Chantaburi, and Mae Nam Chao Phraya, Bangkok and Ayudhya and Chiang Mai, back down to the sea and along the coast to Chumpon, Nakhon Si Thammarat and Songkhla.

As Professor Chen notes,⁹⁰ the territory included in these routiers comprised areas from the Mekong delta westwards, all of Thailand, parts of Cambodia, the islands off the Thai coast, as well as ports on the coast of the Malay peninsula. The routes give distances, distinctive landmarks, the width of harbours, the depth of water, and topographical details. However, some of the toponyms remain unidentified.⁹¹

90. *Xiêm-la-quốc Lô-trình Tập-lục*, English Introduction p. 5.

91. In any future translation of these routes, the *nirats* and European sources detailed in B.J. Terwiel's work on the geography of Thailand during the early nineteenth century, and Thongchai Winichakul's study of Siamese "mapping" will be invaluable. See B.J. Terwiel, *Through Travellers' Eyes: An Approach to Early Nineteenth century Thai History*, Duang Kamol, Bangkok, 1989; and Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geobody of a Nation*, Silkworm Books, Chiang Mai, 1994.

The Coastal Water Route (Route 3)

This section of the text comprises a sailing guide for a route which begins in the Mekong Delta and follows the mainland coast up to Cambodia, around the Gulf of Thailand, down the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and up the west coast of the Peninsula to the island of Phuket. It is essentially a port-by-port listing, noting the distance from one port to another, landmarks which identify the port, the width of the estuary, the depth of water, the nature of the economic activities of the people resident locally, whether there were local officials and troops resident there, the economic products of the area and the directions one takes in order to sail on to the next port. It also details marine hazards. As a general rule, the ports noted get less frequent – that is to say, the distance between the ports mentioned increases – as the distance from Vietnam increases.

A characteristic worthy of note is that within this routier there is no mention of territorial jurisdictions, and thus the ports visited are not noted as lying within a particular polity's territory. There is however mention made of "Siamese officials" guarding Chhak Ream, Chhak Som, Ko Ran Pet and Siamese troops being stationed at Ko Pha Ngan, Ko Samui and Phuket. Further, Patani, Kelantan, Terengganu, Kuala Dungun and other areas are recorded as being guarded by "*Cha-bo* officials". The term *Cha-bo* seems to be a representation of Jawa/Ja-ba and appears to have been used to refer to Malayan peoples.

The value of this routier lies in that it constitutes one of the earliest extant detailed coastal routiers produced in an Asian society. While the Chinese texts and Arab texts mentioned above do provide details of major Southeast Asian ports and general sailing directions between them, they lack many of the details of local landmarks, local populations, and economic activities which are so evident in this text. The compass directions are of remarkable accuracy, and the degree of detail and precision has only been surpassed by the more modern European South China Sea navigation manuals. Further research on and analysis of the information contained within this text should reveal much about the maritime and coastal environment of mainland Southeast Asia in the late 18th century. I have elsewhere attempted a tentative translation of this text.⁹²

92. Geoff Wade, "A Maritime Route in the Vietnamese Text *Xiêm-la-quốc Lộ-Trình Tập-lục*" in Nguyen The Anh and Yoshiaki Ishizawa (ed.), *Commerce et navigation en Asie du Sud-Est (XIV^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Tokyo and Paris, Sophia University and L'Harmattan, 1999, pp. 137-170.

NICOLAS WEBER

Les Cam et les Malais du Cambodge et de Cochinchine vus par les archives coloniales (1859-1954)

Les communautés cam et malaises¹ du Cambodge et de Cochinchine sont fréquemment mentionnées dans les documents coloniaux de la période française. Les Archives de la Résidence Supérieure du Cambodge (ARSC) en particulier offrent de précieuses informations non seulement sur la façon dont ces communautés étaient perçues par les fonctionnaires de l'époque mais renseignent également sur leurs affaires internes, leur vie quotidienne et leurs difficultés. Les documents appartenant à ce fonds sont de nature administrative. On y retrouve en effet des demandes de permis pour la construction de mosquées ou pour l'ouverture d'écoles coraniques, des nominations de chefs religieux, des minutes de procès, des rapports, des plaintes, etc.

C'est à partir de ce corpus que nous livrons ici plusieurs éclairages sur ces communautés, après une présentation de la situation antérieure à l'époque coloniale. Nous aborderons ensuite les premiers contacts avec l'administration coloniale, qui va rapidement faire face aux problèmes identitaires, ainsi qu'aux problèmes liés à la nationalité et au statut légal de ces deux groupes. Le colonisateur est également confronté à l'existence de phénomènes migratoires qu'il va chercher à contrôler. Deux autres aspects éclairés par ces documents nous retiendront ici : les conflits religieux intra-communautaires et la question de la diffusion des mouvements réformistes malais.

1. 'Malais' est à interpréter ici dans le sens de population originaire de l'archipel insulindien et de la péninsule malaise.

Les Cam et Malais du Cambodge avant les Français

Avant l'installation du pouvoir colonial, Cam et Malais vivaient dispersés dans plusieurs provinces, les groupes les plus importants se situant dans la province de Kandal, autour de Phnom Penh, dans la province de Kampong Chhnang à proximité de Oudong, l'ancienne capitale royale, ainsi que dans la province de Kampong Cham.

Les plus anciens témoignages de migrations de Cam vers le Cambodge datent des X^e et XII^e siècles, lorsque le roi du Campā, Rudravarman III (1061-1074), et le prince Vidyānandana se réfugient à la cour des rois khmers en 1069 et en 1190². Plus tard, les Chroniques Royales khmères relatent l'arrivée d'une vague de réfugiés cam au cours du XV^e siècle, sans toutefois donner d'indications sur le ou les lieux où ceux-ci s'établissent³. Selon ces mêmes sources, deux siècles plus tard, précisément en 1692-1693, cinq mille familles suivent des membres de la famille royale du Campā et trouvent refuge au Cambodge. Le roi Chei Chétha III (1677-1695) les accueille avec bienveillance et leur donne des terres à Oudong, Prék Pra, Chroy Chângva, ainsi que dans les provinces de Thbaung Khmum (province de Kampong Cham actuelle) et de Stung Trâng⁴. Un autre mouvement important pour l'histoire des Cam se déroule au siècle suivant, en 1795-1796, lorsque le prince Po Cei Brei accompagné de sa famille et de ses partisans trouvent refuge à Rokapopram et y séjournent jusqu'en 1812-1813⁵. Il est également admis que plusieurs vagues de Cam vont trouver refuge au Cambodge entre 1832 et 1835, après la destruction du Pāṇḍuraṅga⁶, la dernière principauté semi-indépendante du Campā, qui est alors incorporée à la province vietnamienne de Binh Thuận⁷.

L'implantation et le développement des communautés malaises sont beaucoup moins bien documentés. S'il ne fait aucun doute que des Malais

2. Voir G. Cœdès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, De Boccard, Paris, 1989, pp. 258, 311-312; G. Cœdès, « Études Cambodgiennes. XXVII – Quelques suggestions sur la méthode à suivre pour interpréter les bas-reliefs de Bantāy Chmār et de la galerie extérieure du Bayon », *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, XXVII, 1932, p. 80; G. Maspero, *Le royaume de Champa*, Éditions Van Oest, Paris-Bruxelles, 1928, p. 164.

3. Khin Sok, *Chroniques Royales du Cambodge (de Bañā Yāt à la prise de Lanvaek) (de 1417 à 1595)*, Collection de Textes et Documents sur l'Indochine XIII, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, 1988, p. 248.

4. Mak Phœun, *Histoire du Cambodge de la fin du XV^e siècle au début du XVIII^e*, Presses de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, 1995, pp. 397-398.

5. Voir Mohamad Zain bin Musa, Contribution à l'histoire du Pāṇḍuraṅga (Campā). (La fuite du Pō cī brī), thèse de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV^e Section – Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, Paris, 1990.

6. Le territoire du Pāṇḍuraṅga correspond approximativement aux provinces actuelles de Ninh Thuận et de Binh Thuận.

7. Voir J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1883, vol. I, pp. 497-498.

sont installés au Cambodge à une époque très ancienne, aucun document à caractère historique n'en fait mention. On peut penser qu'ils provenaient de régions diverses, qu'il s'agisse de la péninsule thaïe-malaise ou encore de l'archipel insulindien⁸.

Les plus anciennes implantations cam et malaises documentées en Cochinchine française remontent quant à elles aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles⁹. Elles sont créées à la frontière vietnamo-cambodgienne, précisément à Tâp Ninh et à Châu Đốc, dans le cadre du développement de colonies militaires dans la partie sud-ouest du Vietnam¹⁰.

Ces deux communautés sont parfaitement intégrées dans la société cambodgienne et jouissent des mêmes droits que les Khmers. Ainsi leurs différences ethniques, religieuses et culturelles ne les ont jamais empêchées d'acquérir des terres ou de participer à la vie politique du pays. Elles ont d'ailleurs joué un rôle important dans ses affaires politico-militaires entre le XVI^e siècle et l'établissement du Protectorat en 1863¹¹.

Tout comme les Chinois et les Vietnamiens, les Cam et les Malais sont tenus de payer la capitation (Khmer : *damréat*)¹². À l'instar de tous les peuples non Khmers du Cambodge, ils désignent leurs représentants. Ainsi, d'après l'article 100 du *Krâm Srok* («Loi du pays»), promulgué en 1693, ils sont tenus de désigner un gouverneur (Khmer : *chaufay*) pour administrer leurs affaires, leur choix devant être approuvé par le roi. Ces gouverneurs sont également chargés de transmettre les ordres royaux, qui sont aussi relayés par des fonctionnaires khmers¹³.

8. J. Moura, *ibid.*, p. 457; M. Ner, «Les musulmans de l'Indochine Française», *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, XLI, 1941, pp. 173, 181-182; Mak Phœun, «La communauté malaise musulmane au Cambodge (de la fin du XVI^e siècle jusqu'au roi musulman Râmâdhipati I^{er})», *Le Monde Indochinois et la Péninsule Malaise*, Travaux du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de la Péninsule Indochinoise, Kuala Lumpur, Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Pelancongan Malaysia, 1990, pp. 47-68.

9. Mais il est très probable que des gens de l'archipel insulindien y sont installés dès le début de notre ère, à l'époque du Funan (cf. D. Perret & D. Wong en introduction à ce dossier).

10. Voir N. Weber, «Securing and Developing the South-Western Region: The Role of the Cham and Malay Colonies in Vietnam (18th-19th centuries)», *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54, 2011, pp. 739-772.

11. Voir par exemple Po Dharmma, «Notes sur les Cam au Cambodge», *Seksa Khmer* 3-4, 1981, pp. 161-183; Mak Phœun, «La communauté Cam au Cambodge du XV^e au XIX^e siècle. Historique de son implantation et son rôle dans la vie politique khmère», in *Actes du séminaire sur le Campā organisé à l'Université de Copenhague le 23 mai 1987*, Travaux du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de la Péninsule Indochinoise, Paris, 1988, pp. 83-93; Mak Phœun, «La communauté malaise musulmane...», 1990, pp. 47-68.

12. Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge entre le Siam et le Viêtname (de 1775 à 1860)*, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient XVIII, Paris, 1991, p. 221; [J.-A.] Fourès, «Royaume du Cambodge. Organisation politique», in *Excursions et Reconnaissances* XIII (1882), p. 209; J. Pouvatchy, *Les Vietnamiens au Cambodge. Étude d'une minorité étrangère*, thèse de Doctorat de III^e cycle, Université de Paris VII, Paris, 1975, p. 37.

13. Fourès, «Royaume du Cambodge ...», p. 209.

La cour compte un ministère composé uniquement de ministres cam et malais : le *krom montrei chvéa* («Service des Ministres Chvéa») ¹⁴. Huit hauts fonctionnaires y sont placés sous l'autorité d'un chef nommé par le roi, qui porte le titre de *Bautès Réach* ¹⁵. Les Chroniques Royales khmères mentionnent que ce titre est donné pour la première fois par le roi Reameathipedei I^{er} (1642-1658) au père de sa jeune épouse malaise Neang Hvah ¹⁶. Jusqu'au règne de Ang Duong (1841-1860), les fonctionnaires cam et malais peuvent accéder à la dignité de Premier Ministre (Khmer : *chaufa*) ou de Ministre de la Justice (Khmer : *yomaréach*) ¹⁷. Il en est de même de la fonction de gouverneur de province à condition de maîtriser parfaitement la langue et les coutumes khmères. Nommés par le roi en personne, ces gouverneurs sont responsables de la justice, de la collecte des impôts et de la levée d'hommes en temps de guerre ¹⁸. Ils peuvent également être nommés *balat* (substitut du gouverneur), *ponhéa* (lieutenant ou chef de village), *mésrok* (chef de canton) ou *menou* (maire de village) ¹⁹. Ils sont également très présents au sein de l'armée. Ainsi les rois khmers ont parfois recours à des régiments composés exclusivement de membres de ces deux communautés. C'est le cas par exemple du roi Reameathipedei I^{er} en 1642 ²⁰ ou du roi Ang Chan (1797-1835), lorsqu'il quitte Phnom Penh pour se réfugier temporairement au Vietnam en 1812-1813 ²¹.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 186. Le terme *chvéa* est habituellement traduit par «Javanais». Cependant, dans le Cambodge traditionnel, ce terme ne désigne pas uniquement les Javanais, mais l'ensemble des peuples originaires de l'archipel insulindien et de la péninsule malaise. Sauf pour des cas très précis, aucune distinction n'était faite entre les Malais et les Javanais (voir Mak Phœun, «Note sur les établissements des Cam et des Malais dans les provinces de Châu-dôc et de Tây-ninh», in Po Dharma & Mak Phœun (éd.), *Péninsule indochinoise et Monde malais (Relations historiques et culturelles)*, Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism Malaysia & École française d'Extrême-Orient, Kuala Lumpur, 2003, p. 76). Il en était de même dans le Vietnam précolonial, où les termes *đô bà* ou *chà oa* (transcriptions sino-vietnamiennes de «Jawa») étaient utilisés pour désigner ces populations. Les documents d'archives portent très rarement le terme *chvéa*. Il se rencontre cependant dans certaines pièces, y compris dans un intéressant rapport réalisé à la demande du conservateur de la bibliothèque royale à Phnom Penh. Ce rapport devait répondre à une enquête destinée à des personnalités des Indes Néerlandaises. Ce document définit les *Chvéa* du Cambodge comme des «malais de Java» (ARSC, dossier 27641 : A. S. des groupements malais du Cambodge, 7 août 1928).

15. P.-L Lamant, «Les Malais du Cambodge face à l'instauration du Protectorat français», in *Le Monde Indochinois et la Péninsule Malaise*, Travaux du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de la Péninsule Indochinoise, Kuala Lumpur, 1990, pp. 73, 79.

16. Mak Phœun, *Histoire du Cambodge...*, 1995, p. 259.

17. Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge...*, p. 132.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

19. Voir le manuscrit cam CM39(36), Collection Société Asiatique, Paris.

20. Mak Phœun, *Chroniques royales du Cambodge III (De 1594 à 1677)*, Publication de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient XIII, Paris, 1981, p. 195.

21. Manuscrit CM39(24), p. 338; *Khâm Định Đại Nam Hội Điển Sự Lệ*, Tập 8 : Quyển 113 – Quyển 136 (Nhà Xuất Bản Thuận Hóa, Huế), 1993, p. 404.

Premiers contacts avec l'administration coloniale française

Au cours des premières années de la présence française en Indochine, de nombreuses personnalités réalisent l'importance des réseaux cam et malais dans les affaires politiques, militaires et économiques du Cambodge et du Sud Vietnam. D'ailleurs, peu de temps avant l'arrivée des Français, ceux-ci ont l'occasion de démontrer leur étendue et leur puissance lors de la révolte menée par les hauts dignitaires Tuan Li, Tuan Him, Tuan Su et Tuan Sêt Dulah (ou Tuan Sa-it Dulah) contre le roi Ang Duong en 1858-1859²². Ces réseaux s'étendent même au-delà des frontières du Cambodge puisqu'après la fuite des chefs de la révolte à Châu Đốc²³, les Cam et les Malais réfugiés au Vietnam préparent une énergique contre-attaque avec le soutien et la participation des autorités de cette localité. L'un de ses principaux objectifs était la libération des Cam et des Malais déportés et détenus à Phnom Penh, Ponghêa Lu, Kampong Luong, Longvêk²⁴, Chroy Chângva et Chhraig Châmrés²⁵.

Il semble que les Français envoyés au Cambodge afin d'y établir le Protectorat ont compris tous les avantages liés à leur soutien. L'idée était de faire en sorte que ceux vivant le long de la frontière vietnamo-cambodgienne (Châu Đốc en particulier) soient loyaux à la couronne. Par conséquent, l'administration coloniale va les inciter à rallier les rangs des partisans de Norodom²⁶, qui coopère avec les Français.

Ces derniers vont continuer à utiliser la puissance militaire des Cam et Malais durant une vingtaine d'années. Leur participation s'avère particulièrement utile pour éteindre les révoltes anti-françaises de 1884 à 1886²⁷. Les documents d'archives montrent par ailleurs que les Français font appel à leurs services pour réprimer des révoltes dans la province de Kampong Cham²⁸, l'une des régions où ces deux communautés sont les plus représentées. Les rapports des officiers français conservés aux Archives Nationales du Cambodge mentionnent qu'ils sont postés à des endroits très

22. Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge...*, p. 138.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

24. *Ibid.*

25. A. Leclère, *Histoire du Cambodge depuis le 1^{er} siècle de notre ère*, Librairie Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1914, p. 446 ; Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, p. 134.

26. Voir Lamant, « Les Malais du Cambodge ... », 1990, pp. 69-80.

27. Ces révoltes sont la conséquence des réformes entreprises par les Français au Cambodge. L'un des principaux chefs était le prince Si Votha, un demi-frère de Norodom. Pour des détails sur cet épisode, on se reportera à M.E. Osborne, *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859-1905)*, White Lotus, Bangkok, 1997, pp. 206-230.

28. Voir ARSC, dossier 3603 : Télégramme, 21 février 1885 – Résident de Kompong Tiam [= Kampong Cham] à Représentant Phnôm-Penh ; Télégramme, 22 février 1885 – Représentant à Résident de France à Kg. Tiam [= Kampong Cham].

précis de la province²⁹, tels Koh Sutin³⁰, Kampong Krabei³¹ ou Peam Chileang³² et sont également utilisés comme éclaireurs³³. Ces sources montrent également que les Cam sont parfois recrutés contre leur gré. Craignant de devoir abandonner leurs familles, de nombreux Cam ne rallient en effet les troupes coloniales que sur ordre des *mésrok* eux-mêmes soumis à la pression des autorités françaises³⁴.

Les bonnes dispositions de l'administration coloniale se tarissent rapidement et la place relativement importante qu'elle était prête initialement à accorder aux Cam et aux Malais va rester lettre morte. Au Cambodge, ces deux communautés vont perdre toute leur influence dans les affaires politiques, administratives et militaires du royaume. Dans le sud du Vietnam, ils sont dégagés de leurs obligations militaires dès 1867, lorsque l'amiral de la Grandière ordonne la destruction des colonies militaires et la dissolution de leurs régiments³⁵. Les archives coloniales montrent clairement que Cam et Malais sont exclus de la vie politique et n'ont plus de représentants officiels qu'au sein du Ministère des Cultes et des Affaires Religieuses.

La méconnaissance des identités

Étudier les communautés cam et malaises au Cambodge pendant la période française peut se révéler être un véritable casse-tête du fait de la dénomination utilisée à propos de ces deux groupes dans les documents administratifs. En effet, aucune distinction n'est faite : les uns comme les autres entrent dans la catégorie «Malais». Ajoutons que cette absence de différenciation n'est pas propre aux Français. Elle est également très répandue chez les Khmers, qui englobent souvent les deux communautés sous l'appellation «*Cam-Chvéa*³⁶» que ce soit dans des documents à

29. Voir *ARSC*, dossier 3603 : Télégramme, 16 février 1885 – Délégué Résident Krochmar à Résident France Kg. Tiam.

30. *ARSC*, dossier 3603 : Télégramme, 25 février 1885 – Représentant à Résident France Kg. Tiam. On notera que Koh Sutin est orthographié Kasutin.

31. *ARSC*, dossier 3603 : Télégramme, 25 février 1885 – Lieutenant Commandant Krauchmar [= Krochmar] à Colonel Phnôm-Penh, à Capitaine Kompong Cham, à Résident K. Tiam.

32. Voir *ARSC*, dossier 3603 : Télégramme, 22 février 1885 – Représentant à Résident de France à Kg. Tiam ; Télégramme, 25 février 1885 – Résident Kompong Tiam à Représentant Phnôm-Penh.

33. *ARSC*, dossier 3603 : Lettre au Gouverneur, non signée et non datée.

34. *ARSC*, dossier 3603 : Télégramme, 22 février 1885 – Commandant poste Krautchmar [= Krochmar] à Résident Kompong Cham.

35. A. Labussière, «Rapport sur les Chams et les Malais de l'arrondissement de Châu-doc», in *Excursions et Reconnaissances* II, vol. 6 (1880) : 374 ; A. Schreiner, *Les institutions annamites en Basse-Cochinchine avant la conquête française*, Claude & Cie, Saïgon, 1902, vol. III, p. 106.

36. Cf. *supra* note 14.

caractère historique ou dans la vie courante. Peu d'individus sont capables ou ressentent le besoin de les différencier. Cette vision unitaire repose sur la communauté de religion (islam³⁷), sur la pratique commune de certaines coutumes, ainsi que sur l'existence de nombreuses alliances matrimoniales unissant les deux groupes.

Les raisons qui poussent les premiers administrateurs coloniaux à considérer les Cam comme des «Malais», et à renoncer dès le départ à définir des groupes, sont peu claires. Est-ce parce que les deux groupes professent la religion musulmane ? Est-ce parce que les communautés malaises ou mixtes cam-malaises sont plus visibles et actives du point de vue de l'administration ? Il est fort possible que les traditions vestimentaires des communautés vivant à proximité de Phnom Penh, et donc des centres administratifs français, aient eu une influence non négligeable. En effet, les membres des communautés de la banlieue de Phnom Penh, dont beaucoup sont métissés cam-malais, portent le *sarong*³⁸ et le *songkok*³⁹ malais, et utilisent d'une manière courante l'écriture *jawi*⁴⁰ alors en usage en péninsule malaise et dans l'archipel insulindien.

Les ambiguïtés sur les appellations ne sont levées qu'en 1937, dans une circulaire mentionnant que les «Malais» sont en fait des «Chams», et qu'ils doivent être désignés comme tel dans les documents officiels⁴¹. Jusque là, il est toutefois difficile de déterminer comment l'administration procéda pour distinguer clairement les différentes communautés. Il y avait en effet des communautés malaises non métissées de Cam vivant à Kampot, Battambang, Takeo et Khleang Sbêk ; des communautés cam non métissées de Malais dans de nombreux villages de la province de Kampong Chhnang (O'Russeï

37. Il convient toutefois de noter qu'il n'existe pas une communauté musulmane homogène et unie, mais de multiples communautés musulmanes. Ceci est encore vrai à l'heure actuelle. Ce sont la pratique de la religion et la stricte adhésion à ses principes qui les différencient nettement. L'islam tel qu'il est pratiqué dans les communautés de Oudong ou de Kampong Chhnang est très éloigné de l'islam des Cam des environs de Phnom Penh ou de la province de Kampong Cham. Ainsi certaines communautés sont à tendances syncrétistes alors que d'autres se déclarent des courants *wahhabi* ou *tablighi*.

38. Une large pièce d'étoffe enroulée et nouée autour de la taille.

39. Une coiffe de forme cylindrique faite de coton noir ou de velours et portée par les hommes de confession musulmane dans toute l'Asie du Sud-Est.

40. Une adaptation de l'alphabet arabe pour l'écriture des langues malaise ou cam. Dans le monde insulindien, le *jawi* était l'écriture standard pour le malais. Il est toujours en usage au Kelantan (péninsule malaise), à Pattani (sud Thaïlande), ainsi que dans l'archipel des Sulu (sud des Philippines). Si l'usage du *jawi* est en net déclin chez les communautés cam du Cambodge, son apprentissage est encore assuré dans certaines écoles religieuses du sud-ouest du Vietnam, en particulier à Tây Ninh et à Châu Đốc.

41. ARSC, dossier 35468 : Circulaire, 25 mai 1937 – Résident Supérieur P. I. Cambodge à Résident Maires Phnôm Penh et Battambang, Résidents, Chef de Province Chefs services locaux [sic].

par exemple); et des communautés mixtes cam et malaises, comme dans de nombreux villages de la province de Kampong Cham par exemple.

L'administration française face aux migrations cam et malaises

Les archives coloniales mettent en valeur le fait que les communautés cam et malaises du Cambodge sont extrêmement mobiles et se déplacent en groupes importants, y compris en direction de la Cochinchine. Il n'est pas rare ainsi de voir des villages entiers en mouvement à la recherche de meilleures opportunités. En 1869, le commandant Labussière, alors Inspecteur des Affaires Indigènes, note le nombre « considérable » de Cam circulant entre le Cambodge et la Cochinchine⁴². Conscientes de l'importance de ces mouvements, les autorités françaises réalisent rapidement la nécessité de contrôler cette mobilité.

Dans les années 1890, l'interprétation erronée d'une ordonnance royale exemptant d'impôts les Cam et les Malais revenant du Siam pour s'installer au Cambodge encourage, aux dépens de l'administration française, la migration de Cam de la Cochinchine vers le Cambodge. En fait, le texte en question autorisait les « Malais » (c'est-à-dire les Cam et les Malais) emmenés au Siam comme captifs de guerre⁴³ à retourner au Cambodge s'ils le souhaitaient. Elle exemptait notamment les individus de l'impôt personnel pour une durée de trois ans⁴⁴. Il s'avère que, mal comprise, l'ordonnance est appliquée à tous les « indigènes malais » du Cambodge et de Cochinchine, entraînant par conséquent une migration massive des « Malais » de

42. Labussière, « Rapport sur les Chams... », p. 376.

43. Les Siamois avaient pour habitude, après chaque guerre, de ramener au Siam des populations en captivité. À partir du règne de Rama I^{er} (Phutthayotfa Chulalok, 1782-1809) capture et déportation font officiellement partie d'une politique de peuplement du Siam. Les sources historiques thaïes mentionnent qu'en 1826, Rama III (Phra Nangklaow, 1824-1851) ordonne la déportation de cinq cents Cam, Malais et Chinois du Cambodge. En 1833, après la chute de Phnom Penh aux mains des Siamois, ces derniers lancent une attaque sur Châu Đốc et capturent plus de trois mille individus, y compris de nombreux Cam (J. Baffie, « Naissance et croissance de Ban Khrua : problèmes d'identité des Chams de Bangkok », *Ban Khrua, le "village" cham de Bangkok (trois articles)*, Bangkok, 1998, p. 14). Dix ans plus tard, Phraya Mahaniwat Nanurak, l'un des généraux de Rama III, ramène à Bangkok des familles cam du Cambodge et les installe le long du canal appelé aujourd'hui Ban Khrua (Baffie, « Naissance et croissance... », p. 16). Toujours en cette même année 1843, les sources thaïes confirment que le général Phra Bodindecha ordonne aux princes khmers Ang Duong et Ang Im de déplacer les Cam (ainsi que les Khmers et les Chinois) de Phnom Penh à Battambang, qui à l'époque appartient à la couronne de Siam (Puangthong Rungswasdisab, 2004, "Siam and the Contest for Control of the Trans-Mekong Trading Networks from the Late Eighteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Centuries", in N. Cooke, N. & Li Tana (ed.), *Water Frontier. Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880*, Singapore, Singapore Univ. Press; Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, p. 108).

44. Nous n'avons pu retrouver aux Archives Nationales du Cambodge, à Phnom Penh, l'original de cette ordonnance vraisemblablement promulguée entre 1890 et 1893.

Cochinchine (Châu Đốc en particulier) vers le Cambodge⁴⁵. Le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine⁴⁶ alerte le Résident Supérieur du Cambodge en expliquant que, faute d'intervention rapide, cette immigration va entraîner la «dépopulation totale» des villages cam et malais de la région⁴⁷. Afin de régler ces questions d'immigration incontrôlée et de non paiement des impôts, l'administration décide de sanctionner les migrants n'ayant pas informé les autorités⁴⁸. Par ailleurs, ceux qui quittent la Cochinchine pour le Cambodge sont enregistrés comme résidents du Protectorat, d'une part s'ils parviennent à prouver qu'ils se sont acquittés préalablement du paiement des impôts dûs à leur ancien lieu de résidence et d'autre part s'ils ont obtenu l'accord des autorités locales pour quitter le pays. La même mesure est également appliquée pour des migrations dans l'autre sens⁴⁹. Cependant, ces décisions n'empêcheront pas la poursuite des migrations depuis la Cochinchine jusqu'à la fin du Protectorat.

Le problème de la nationalité et du statut légal

Dans leurs tentatives pour rationaliser la société cambodgienne selon le modèle français, de nombreux fonctionnaires se heurtent au problème de la nationalité des Cam et des Malais. Faut-il les considérer comme «indigènes» au même titre que les Khmers ou comme des «étrangers»? La première option signifiait, entre autres, la confirmation de leur sujétion à la loi cambodgienne, alors que la seconde amènerait l'administration à les assujettir au gouvernement colonial. Partant du fait qu'ils ne sont ni d'ethnie khmère ni de religion bouddhique, l'administration prend pour un temps la décision de les considérer comme «étrangers». Cependant celle-ci ne va générer que confusion et situations complexes.

Selon une lettre adressée au Gouverneur général de l'Indochine, H. de Lamothe⁵⁰, alors Résident Supérieur du Cambodge, explique que la

45. Voir *ARSC*, dossier 8879 : Lettre de Mr. Chavassieux, Gouverneur Général de l'Indo-Chine par intérim au Résident Supérieur du Cambodge, datée du 22 mai 1894.

46. À cette époque, le Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine était J.-L. de Lanessan. Chavassieux assumait les fonctions de Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine durant quelques mois en 1894, le temps d'une visite de Lanessan en France. Voir C. Fourniau, *Vietnam – Domination coloniale et résistance nationale, 1858-1914*, Les Indes Savantes, Paris, 2002, p. 483.

47. *ARSC*, dossier 8879 : Lettre de Mr. Chavassieux, Gouverneur Général d'Indo-Chine par intérim au Résident Supérieur du Cambodge, datée du 22 mai 1894.

48. *ARSC*, dossier 26028 : Lettre de F. Fourès, Lieutenant-Gouverneur de Cochinchine à Mr. le Résident Supérieur du Cambodge, datée 10 décembre 1894 ; Lettre de l'Administrateur de Chaudoc à Mr. le Résident Supérieur du Cambodge, datée du 1^{er} décembre 1894.

49. *ARSC*, dossier 26028 : Lettre de F. Fourès, Lieutenant-Gouverneur de Cochinchine à Mr. le Résident Supérieur du Cambodge, datée 10 décembre 1894.

50. Henri de Lamothe – ou Henri Félix de Lamothe – (1843-1926) passa six ans en Asie (1901-1907) et exerça les fonctions de Lieutenant-Général de Cochinchine (1901-1902) puis de Résident Supérieur du Cambodge (1902-1904).

confusion sur leur statut légal est en grande partie causée par une mauvaise interprétation de deux décisions officielles. L'une émane du roi du Cambodge, l'autre du chef du Service Judiciaire de l'Indochine⁵¹. L'ordonnance royale du 13 août 1897 règle la situation des «étrangers quelconques» du Cambodge du point de vue juridictionnel. Quant à la lettre du Chef du Service Judiciaire (1904), elle prescrit de «soumettre à la juridiction française» les Cam et les Malais du Cambodge. L'ambiguïté du terme «étrangers quelconques» va manifestement induire en erreur les autorités françaises puisque, par décret du 6 mai 1898 (reproduisant à l'identique le texte de l'ordonnance royale de 1897), H. de Lamothe étend le statut d'«étrangers quelconques» aux Cam et aux Malais. Considérant qu'ils ne peuvent prétendre au statut d'«indigènes», puisqu'ils ne sont ni Khmers ni bouddhistes, mais reconnaissant néanmoins leur caractère local, une nouvelle catégorie, celle des «Asiatiques étrangers», est créée pour eux. L'adoption de cette catégorie entérine ainsi leur sujétion aux tribunaux français. Même les hautes autorités coloniales ont des avis partagés sur la question. A. Leclère, Résident de France à Phnom Penh, considère ainsi que les Cam et les Malais n'ayant pas fait l'objet d'une ordonnance royale spécifiant leur statut (comme cela avait été le cas pour les Chinois ou les Vietnamiens du Cambodge) ils relèvent naturellement des «tribunaux indigènes»⁵². La situation est néanmoins très complexe puisque dans certaines provinces ils continuent de dépendre des tribunaux «indigènes» alors que dans d'autres ils ont affaire aux tribunaux français. Ainsi à Kampot, les Cam étaient justiciables devant les «tribunaux indigènes» alors qu'à Phnom Penh, ils l'étaient devant les tribunaux français⁵³.

La mauvaise interprétation de l'ordonnance royale de 1897 n'est pas, d'après nous, l'unique cause de la difficulté à se prononcer sur ce statut légal. Il faut aussi prendre en considération le manque de compréhension de certains individus (membres de l'administration ou non) à l'égard de la situation particulière de ces deux communautés au Cambodge. Cette mécompréhension est en grande partie liée à une méconnaissance totale de l'histoire des Cam dans ce pays, et surtout au besoin de rationaliser la société traditionnelle cambodgienne sur un modèle préétabli basé sur une vision simpliste et erronée de cette société.

51. ARSC, dossier 12722 : Rapport de H. de Lamothe au Général Gouverneur d'Indo-Chine, daté du 3 mai 1904.

52. ARSC, dossier 12722 : Lettre de A. Leclère, Résident de France à Phnom Penh, à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur de la République Française au Cambodge, datée du 20 juillet 1901.

53. ARSC, dossier 12722 : Lettre de A. Leclère, Résident de France à Phnom Penh à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur de la République Française au Cambodge, datée du 20 juillet 1901.

Les minutes de procès opposant des Khmers à des Cam ou à des Malais reflètent les diverses prises de position de certaines personnalités au sujet de cette question de 'nationalité'. Le procès de 1904 entre les «Malais» Tan Khao Sou Seng, Kalep Mal et Pilormat⁵⁴, commerçants de Chroy Chângva, et le *balat* Keo⁵⁵, est particulièrement révélateur⁵⁶. Au cours de cette affaire, Adamalle, le Procureur de la République, considère qu'en dépit de l'assimilation des Cam et des Malais aux Khmers en ce qui concerne les impôts, l'on ne doit pas «en conclure qu'ils ont voulu abandonner leur nationalité pour devenir sujet du Roi du Cambodge⁵⁷» et que par conséquent il n'est pas nécessaire de les maintenir sous juridiction cambodgienne⁵⁸. Cette remarque est intéressante dans la mesure où elle reflète une méconnaissance totale des deux communautés et de leur intégration dans la société cambodgienne. De plus, de quelle «nationalité» les Cam et Malais du Cambodge pouvaient-ils se réclamer? En effet, le Campā avait été rayé de la carte depuis longtemps et la Malaya britannique ou les Indes Néerlandaises n'existaient pas en tant qu'entités politiques à l'époque où les Malais avaient immigré. La notion de «nationalité» s'avère ainsi un concept occidental moderne tout à fait incompatible avec la réalité cambodgienne. L'avocat de la défense, Maître Pâris, va offrir un tout autre point de vue, en démontrant que Cam et Malais ne devaient être considérés que comme Cambodgiens, en les comparant aux Juifs de France qui «bien qu'ayant leur langue, leur religion, leurs mœurs & coutumes & même leurs monuments (synagogues) ils sont citoyens au même titre que les autres Français⁵⁹». Le débat prit une ampleur beaucoup plus importante avec l'intervention de diverses personnalités. Afin de mettre un terme à la confusion et rétablir les Cam et les Malais dans leurs droits, le Dr Hanh, Inspecteur des Services Civils, rédigea une note spécifiant sans aucune ambiguïté que seule la

54. Il est impossible de déterminer l'origine exacte de ces commerçants. Ils pouvaient être Malais, Cam ou métis Cam-Malais. Les minutes du procès les désignent comme «Malais» ou bien comme «Malais Cham». Voir *ARSC*, dossier 12722 : Extrait des minutes du Greffe du Tribunal de Première Instance de Phnom Penh, 6 août 1904.

55. Les minutes du procès indiquent que le *balat* était «Cambodgien». Il est clair que cet individu n'est ni d'origine cam ni d'origine malaise, donc probablement Khmer ou Sino-Khmer (*ARSC*, dossier 12722 : Extrait des minutes du Greffe du Tribunal de Première Instance de Phnom Penh, 6 août 1904).

56. Les minutes indiquent que les commerçants cam/malais avaient porté plainte contre le *balat* Keo pour «injures publiques» à caractère clairement raciste et obscène.

57. *ARSC*, dossier 12722 : Extrait des minutes du Greffe du Tribunal de Première Instance de Phnom Penh, 6 août 1904. *ARSC*, dossier 12722 : Extrait des minutes du Tribunal de Phnom Penh, 6 août 1904.

58. *ARSC*, dossier 12722 : Extrait des minutes du Greffe du Tribunal de Première Instance de Phnom Penh, 6 août 1904.

59. *ARSC*, dossier 12722 : Conclusions pour Balat Keo contre SonSeng [sic] et autres intimes.

religion sépare les Cams et les Malais des Khmers, et alla plus loin en affirmant que les Cam «sont les autochtones du pays, étaient au Cambodge avant les Cambodgiens et sont moins étrangers par suite que ces derniers⁶⁰». D'autres personnalités (tels H. de Lamothe) écrivent au Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine Française pour plaider la cause des Cam et des Malais et expliquer que le roi du Cambodge lui-même (à cette époque, Norodom), n'a jamais songé à leur «dénationalisation». Dans le même document, il déplore vivement que l'administration française n'ait pas adopté une législation similaire à celle appliquée en Cochinchine pour les Cam et les Malais⁶¹.

C'est seulement en 1904 que le statut des deux communautés est enfin fixé. Par ordre du Résident Supérieur et du Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine, les Cam «[...] provenant des diverses immigrations de ce peuple antérieurement à l'établissement du Protectorat et en général, les descendants d'Asiatiques étrangers nés et établis au Cambodge qui n'auront pas revendiqué la conservation de leur nationalité d'origine» sont déclarés assimilés aux Cambodgiens et par conséquent soumis à la juridiction des cours khmères⁶². Marcel Ner, auteur de la première étude scientifique complète sur les musulmans du Cambodge et de Cochinchine dans les années 1940, remarque très justement que les Cam et les Malais furent «réintégrés» dans la communauté cambodgienne⁶³. La question de leur 'nationalité' ne fut plus jamais remise en doute.

Il est utile de rappeler ici qu'en Cochinchine cette question avait été réglée très rapidement après la conquête française. Par décret du 23 août 1871, tous les «étrangers» (c'est-à-dire toutes les populations non Kinh ou non Việt) de Cochinchine, comme les Chinois⁶⁴, les Khmers, les Minh Hương⁶⁵, les Siamois, les «Moïs⁶⁶», les «sang-mêlés⁶⁷», les Cam et les

60. ARSC, dossier 12722 : Note de l'Inspecteur des Services Civils, Résident-maire de Phnom Penh à Mr Baudoin, Chef de Cabinet, datée du 29 avril 1904.

61. ARSC, dossier 12722 : Rapport de H. de Lamothe au Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine, daté du 3 mai 1904.

62. ARSC, dossier 12722 : Arrêté du Gouverneur Général de l'Indochine, Résident Supérieur au Cambodge, daté 1904.

63. M. Ner, «Les musulmans de l'Indochine française», *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* XLI (1941), pp. 151-202.

64. Il faut noter que les Chinois passent sous juridiction française après la signature du Traité de Tianjin le 25 avril 1886.

65. Vietnamiens d'ascendance chinoise. Le nom de *minh hương*, littéralement «le pays des Minh [> Ming, c'est-à-dire la Chine]» vient du fait que ce groupe était composé à l'origine de Chinois fidèles à la dynastie Ming (1368-1644). Ils choisirent d'émigrer au Vietnam après la victoire des armées mandchoues et l'établissement de la dynastie Qing (1644-1911). Sur l'origine des Minh Hương et leur identité, voir Choi Byung Wook, *Southern Vietnam under the Reign of Minh Mạng (1820-1841). Central Policies and Local Response*, Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 2004, pp. 38-41.

Malais étaient considérés comme Vietnamiens et dès lors soumis à la loi vietnamienne⁶⁸.

Les conflits religieux intra-communautaires et la question de la diffusion des mouvements réformistes malais

Les documents d'archives montrent qu'à partir de la fin des années 1920, l'administration française se soucie des affaires religieuses des Cam et des Malais. Il est possible que la création du Ministère des Cultes et des Affaires Religieuses, et par conséquent une supervision française plus importante, aient eu une certaine influence. Avant la création de ce Ministère, les affaires des musulmans du Cambodge, comme la nomination des chefs de mosquées par exemple, sont gérées par le Chef Suprême des Bonzes du Cambodge. Cette pratique sera modifiée à l'instigation de Georges Maspero, Résident Supérieur du Cambodge⁶⁹. Par ordre du roi du Cambodge Sisowath (1904-1927) en date du 6 janvier 1921, le Ministère des Cultes devient officiellement responsable de tous les groupes ethniques pratiquant la religion musulmane. Les nominations des chefs de mosquées ou des dignitaires de second rang (« *mæun* », « *khun* », « *luong* », « *préas* ») s'effectuent par le Ministère. Seule la nomination des dignitaires de premier rang et prétendant au titre d'*oknya* est proposée par le Ministère, puis sanctionnée par décision royale⁷⁰.

Les documents administratifs français nous éclairent sur les échanges religieux avec les Malais de la Péninsule, y compris sur les conflits qui vont éclater suite à l'introduction de doctrines réformistes. Durant les premières décennies du XX^e siècle, l'affrontement idéologique entre le courant réformiste *Kaum Muda* (« le groupe des Jeunes »)⁷¹ et le courant traditionaliste *Kaum Tua* (« le groupe des Anciens »), qui divise de

66. « Moï » est l'adaptation française du terme vietnamien *môi* désignant toute population non kinh ou non viêt. C'est un terme péjoratif équivalent au terme de « barbare » ou « non civilisé ». Cependant, pour les Français, ce terme a longtemps servi à désigner les montagnards et les ethnies peuplant les Hauts-Plateaux des provinces du Centre et du Sud-Vietnam.

67. D'après le même document, ce terme désigne les Malais de Châu Đốc.

68. ARSC, dossier 12722 : Extrait des minutes du Greffe du Tribunal de Première Instance de Phnom Penh.

69. ARSC, dossier 27641 : Renseignements concernant diverses déclarations faites par des Chams du Khum de Khléang-Sbêk (Kandal) au cours de l'enquête relative aux faits reprochés au Chef de Mosquée NONG, daté 6 juillet 1929.

70. ARSC, dossier 27641 : Ordonnance royale du 13 janvier 1921.

71. J.C. Liow qualifie le groupe « Kaum Muda » de mouvement salafiste ayant pour principal but de réformer la pratique de l'Islam "by taking it away from its traditional syncretism and re-orienting it towards scripturalism" (J.C. Liow, *Islam, Education and Reform in Southern Thailand. Tradition & Transformation*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2009, p. 78).

nombreuses communautés musulmanes en péninsule malaise⁷², dans les Indes Néerlandaises⁷³ et à Pattani⁷⁴, atteint les Cam et les Malais du Cambodge. Ce conflit est parfois mentionné comme la lutte entre les *Trimeu*⁷⁵ et les *Kobuol*⁷⁶. L'influence malaise est évidente chez les membres du mouvement *Trimeu* par l'emploi délibéré de la langue malaise pour le prêche et l'étude du *Qur'ān*. Quant aux membres du groupe *Kobuol*, ils refusent toute intrusion du malais et n'utilisent que l'arabe⁷⁷. Il est par ailleurs intéressant de noter que dans de nombreux documents d'archive, les deux groupes ne sont appelés ni par leurs noms dérivés du malais ou de l'arabe, mais par deux termes empruntés au pāli et habituellement utilisés pour différencier deux ordres bouddhiques theravada du Cambodge et de Thaïlande. Ainsi, le groupe des traditionalistes est désigné par le terme *Mohanikay* (*Mahānikāya*), alors que les réformistes le sont par celui de *Thammayut* (*Dhammayut*)⁷⁸. Un document spécifie que ces termes sont

72. Voir par exemple W. Roff, "Kaum Muda - Kaum Tua: Innovation and Reaction amongst the Malays, 1900-41" in Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique, Yasmin Hussain (ed.), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1990, pp. 123-129.

73. En ce qui concerne le conflit entre membres du *Kaum Muda* et du *Kaum Tua* en Indonésie, et plus particulièrement chez les Minangkabau de Sumatra, voir Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda in West Sumatra (1927-1933)*, Monograph Series, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1971.

74. A Pattani, le mouvement *Kaum Muda* est dirigé par Hadji Sulong Abdul Kadir (Liow, *Islam, Education and Reform...*, p. 104).

75. «*Trimeu*» est l'adaptation cam du malais *terima*, qui apparaît notamment dans la formule rituelle d'acceptation mutuelle «*aku terima*» («J'accepte») prononcée par les nouveaux époux lors de la cérémonie de mariage.

76. Adaptation cam de l'arabe *qabul* (du verbe *qabala* : «accepter»), utilisé notamment dans la formule d'acceptation mutuelle des époux lors du mariage.

77. Il paraît évident que certains groupes cam étaient plus influencés par la culture et les pratiques religieuses malaises que d'autres. Il est possible que la situation géographique de certains d'entre eux ait joué sur le degré de pénétration de l'influence malaise. Ainsi, les communautés cam implantées à proximité des grands centres de commerce, comme Phnom Penh, et des principales voies de communication (comme le Mékong), ont été généralement plus réceptives aux influences malaises, contrairement aux Cam vivant à l'intérieur des terres, comme à Oudong.

78. L'ordre *Dhammayut* (*Dhammayutika Nikāya*, littéralement «le groupe qui possède les enseignements [du Bouddha]») est fondé au Siam par le Prince Mongkut en 1893 (qui devient roi du Siam sous le nom de Rama IV, 1851-1868). Ce courant avait pour but de purifier le bouddhisme des pratiques populaires et des superstitions, ainsi que de réformer la discipline monacale. Pour un exposé des réformes, voir par exemple I.C. Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2005, pp. 106-107; A.R. Hansen, *How to Behave. Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860-1930*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2007, p. 85. La fondation de l'ordre *Dhammayut* au Cambodge est attribuée au bonze Pān, à la suite de son retour du Siam, en 1854 (Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism...*, p. 106; Hansen, *How to Behave...*, p. 87). Il faut noter cependant que malgré sa popularité auprès des élites khmères et de la cour royale, l'influence de l'ordre *Dhammayut* sur le reste de la population était relativement faible : en

employés par les protagonistes eux-mêmes⁷⁹. Un autre document nous apprend que d'après les informations données au Ministère des Cultes, ce serait purement par analogie avec la religion bouddhique que les Malais emploient les termes de «Mohanikay» et de «Thommayut» dans leurs déclarations. Le terme *Mohanikay* s'appliquerait ici à «tous les Malais partisans de la religion Mohametane [sic] pratiquée suivant les anciens rites alors que celui de *Thommayut* concernerait ceux qui cherchent à introduire certaines innovations dans la doctrine.»⁸⁰

Des documents d'archive mentionnent qu'au cours des années 1930, plusieurs religieux malais se rendent au Cambodge et s'installent à l'insu des autorités à proximité de Phnom Penh afin d'enseigner aux Cam et aux Malais de Chroy Chângva de nouvelles prières inconnues de leurs traditions. Nos sources les nomment «Malayou», mettant ainsi clairement en évidence que ces individus étaient originaires d'un pays étranger, probablement de péninsule malaise. Les rapports administratifs montrent que les musulmans du Cambodge, et plus particulièrement les communautés installées autour de Phnom Penh, furent influencées par les courants réformistes de péninsule malaise. Ainsi, un individu appelé Hadji Kateur⁸¹ semble avoir joué un rôle

1920, à Phnom Penh, il n'y avait que cinq pagodes se réclamant de l'ordre et un total de 109 bonzes (A. Forest, *Le Cambodge et la colonisation française : histoire d'une colonisation sans heurt (1897-1920)*, l'Harmattan, Paris, 1980, p. 54. Cela n'empêcha pas les affrontements réguliers avec l'ordre *Mahānikāy* (Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism...*, p. 213).

79. Il est frappant de constater que certains documents emploient des termes bouddhiques pour désigner les religieux et les édifices religieux musulmans. Il semble que cette terminologie était utilisée dans le langage courant, non seulement par les Khmers, mais aussi par les Cam et les Malais eux-mêmes, ainsi que par les fonctionnaires de l'administration française. Les mosquées sont ainsi appelées «mosquées», «pagodes» ou même «monastères» (voir par exemple *ARSC*, dossier 3400 : Rapport d'agents, daté 28 juillet 1939; *ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres, datée 11 mars 1935; *ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Bulletin de Soit Communiqué. Objet de l'affaire : dissensions religieuses des Chams de Chrouy-Changwar (6^e district), daté 28 mai 1932 et portant la mention «Très Urgent»). Quant aux religieux, les imams sont désignés comme bonzes dans certains documents (*ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Commissariat de Police du 3^e arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central de police à Phnom Penh, daté 3 mai 1932).

80. *ARSC*, dossier 27641 : Renseignements concernant diverses déclarations faites par des Chams du Khum de Khléang-Sbêk (Kandal) au cours de l'enquête relative aux faits reprochés au Chef de Mosquée NONG, daté 6 juillet 1929.

81. Un rapport de police précise que cet individu avait été auparavant dans la marine et qu'il était l'un des principaux «voyous» de Phnom Penh, considéré comme le principal instigateur des troubles qui secouèrent la communauté musulmane de Chroy Chângva (*ARSC*, dossier 26016 : Le Commissaire Adjoint du 3^e Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central de Police, daté 4 septembre 1936). Il faut noter ici que certains travaux académiques considèrent que Hadji Kateur venait de Pattani, où il était connu sous le nom de Hadji Sulong bin Hadji Abdul Kadir (1895-1954). Ce dernier avait passé plusieurs années à La Mecque, où il fut instruit des théories réformistes de l'Égyptien Muhammad Abduh. En 1915, il décida de repartir pour Pattani et en chemin fit halte au Cambodge où il séjourna parmi les communautés cam et malaises (Liow, *Islam, Education and Reform...*, p. 82). Nos archives

important dans l'introduction et la diffusion du mouvement réformiste au Cambodge, au moins à Chroy Chângva. Il avait un fort réseau de Malais non Cambodgiens et avait pour habitude de donner asile à des «Malayou» arrivant de la péninsule. Ce sont ces itinérants qui vont enseigner les nouvelles prières aux Cam et aux Malais dans la mouvance de Hadji Kateur⁸². Les sources signalent que ces prières étaient tirées du *Pédatolas-Muchas-Tahétas-Vanis-Haya-Toulas-Muchas-Tasitas*⁸³, vraisemblablement en usage dans les milieux réformistes du monde malais, et que Hadji Kateur les tenait d'un «Malayou» appelé Mohadji-Dinn, enseignant les prières à Chraing Chamrés⁸⁴. Hadji Kateur priaît séparément dans une autre mosquée, manifestant clairement son «intention de créer une secte dont il serait le Chef [...] et qui serait hostile à celle qui est reconnue par S. M. le Roi du Cambodge⁸⁵». Deux clans vont voir le jour : l'un suivant Hadji Kateur et l'autre suivant les chefs traditionalistes⁸⁶. Le premier entre en conflit avec deux puissants représentants de la communauté musulmane du Cambodge : Hadji Mat-Salès (ou Mat-Slès)⁸⁷ et l'*Okhna Réachéa Thippedey Changvang* Hadji Abdoul Raman, à cette époque Chef des mosquées de Chroy Chângva et Chef des Musulmans du Cambodge⁸⁸. Dans une lettre anonyme adressée

coloniales indiquent que Hadji Kateur avait également passé trois ans à La Mecque (*ARSC*, dossier 26016 : Lettre de Hayi Katœu, Malais, enregistré à Chrouy Changvar, résidant à Kompong-Cham, à Mr. le Résident Supérieur de la République Française au Cambodge, datée du 6 août 1936). Bien que les personnages de Hadji Kateur et de Hadji Sulong bin Hadji Abdul Kadir présentent certaines similitudes, il est difficile d'affirmer qu'il s'agit d'une seule et même personne. Les sources mentionnent clairement que Hadji Kateur était «Cham» et non un étranger. De plus, une note du département de la police précise qu'il a vécu à Chroy Chângva depuis sa naissance (*ARSC*, dossier 26016 : Le Commissaire Adjoint du 3^e Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central de Police, daté 4 septembre 1936).

82. *ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres, datée 11 mars 1935.

83. *ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres, datée 11 mars 1935. Nous n'avons pas été en mesure d'identifier le titre original en arabe ou en malais.

84. *ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres, datée 11 mars 1935.

85. *ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Monsieur Richez, Gaston, Commissaire de Police Adjoint du 3^e Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central à Phnom Penh, daté 20 février 1933.

86. *ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Le Commissaire Central de Police à Monsieur l'Administrateur des Services Civils, Résident-Maire de la Ville de Phnom Penh, daté 17 février 1933.

87. Les documents le décrivent comme un homme instruit et vertueux. Il fut nommé professeur de la doctrine «Co-An». Son école, gratuite pour tous, comptait une vingtaine d'élèves (*ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Bulletin de Soit Communiqué. Objet de l'affaire : dissensions religieuses des Chams de Chrouy-Changwar (6^e district), daté 28 mai 1932 et portant la mention «Très Urgent»). Nous n'avons pu identifier avec certitude ce qu'était la «doctrine Co-An». Il est cependant fort possible qu'il s'agisse d'une transcription fautive de l'arabe *Qur'an*.

88. Il fut nommé par le roi Sisowath en personne (*ARSC*, dossier 35825 : Bulletin de Soit

au Résident Supérieur du Cambodge, Hadji Kateur les rend l'un et l'autre coupables de nombreux méfaits. Ainsi Hadji Abdoul Raman est accusé d'avoir, entre autres, tenté de réunir des fonds pour bâtir un navire de guerre et demander l'aide des Turcs afin de débarrasser le Cambodge de la présence française⁸⁹. Quant à Hadji Mat-Salès, Hadji Kateur lui reproche d'avoir introduit des prières qu'il considère «contraires» à la religion⁹⁰, ainsi que d'encourager les fidèles à se prosterner dans une direction contraire à la tradition⁹¹. Il semble en réalité que Hadji Kateur accusait Hadji Mat-Salès de pratiquer des prières et des prosternations qu'il avait lui-même introduites⁹². Les choses allèrent visiblement plus loin, puisque les documents administratifs mentionnent que Hadji Kateur et ses partisans allèrent jusqu'à interrompre les prières des partisans de Hadji Abdoul Raman et de Hadji Mat-Salès⁹³. Après avoir reçu plusieurs plaintes des traditionalistes et de Hadji Kateur, les autorités françaises se résolvent à intervenir. Il est manifeste qu'elles vont prendre très au sérieux les conflits religieux dans la mesure où ils pouvaient mener à des frictions et à des affrontements qui n'auraient pas manqué de troubler l'ordre public. Des observateurs sont envoyés sur place pour surveiller le déroulement des événements. Après délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres, il est décidé que Hadji Mat-Salès et Hadji Abdoul Raman ne sont pas coupables des faits reprochés par Hadji Kateur⁹⁴. De plus, on rappelle fermement à ce dernier qu'il doit se soumettre à l'autorité du Chef des Musulmans du Cambodge (Hadji Abdoul Raman). On lui interdit formellement de consulter

Communiqué. Objet de l'affaire : dissensions religieuses des Chams de Chrouy-Changwar (6^e district), daté 28 mai 1932 et portant la mention «Très Urgent»).

89. ARSC, dossier 35825 : Bulletin de Soit Communiqué. Objet de l'affaire : dissensions religieuses des Chams de Chrouy-Changwar (6^e district), daté 28 mai 1932 et portant la mention «Très Urgent»).

90. ARSC, dossier 35825 : Le Commissaire Central de Police à Monsieur le Résident-Maire de la ville de Phnom Penh, daté 6 mai 1932. D'après Hadji Kateur, les prières récitées trois fois par jour devaient être suivies de prosternations, mais Hadji Mat-Salès et Hadji Abdoul Rahman avaient demandé aux fidèles de se prosterner treize fois après chaque prière (ARSC, dossier 35825 : Bulletin de Soit Communiqué. Objet de l'affaire : dissensions religieuses des Chams de Chrouy-Changwar (6^e district), daté 28 mai 1932 et portant la mention «Très Urgent»).

91. ARSC, dossier 35825 : Délibération du Conseil des Ministres, datée 11 mars 1935.

92. ARSC, dossier 26016 : Dissensions religieuses des Chams de Chrouy Changwar, 6^e district, ville de Phnom Penh, daté 2 avril 1935.

93. ARSC, dossier 35825 : Bulletin de Soit Communiqué. Objet de l'affaire : dissensions religieuses des Chams de Chrouy-Changwar (6^e district), daté 28 mai 1932 et portant la mention «Très Urgent»).

94. On déclara que Hadji Kateur avait accusé les deux hommes afin d'être nommé Chef des Musulmans (ARSC, dossier 35825 : Bulletin de Soit Communiqué. Objet de l'affaire : dissensions religieuses des Chams de Chrouy-Changwar (6^e district), daté 28 mai 1932 et portant la mention «Très Urgent»).

des étrangers, de les prendre pour maîtres et de suivre leurs enseignements⁹⁵. Mis à part les troubles créés par Hadji Kateur et ses partisans, il est manifeste que l'administration française était inquiète du développement de courants réformateurs et des allées et venues illégales de religieux en provenance du monde malais.

Conclusion

Les archives coloniales nous dévoilent des éléments importants sur la vie quotidienne des Cam et des Malais du Cambodge sous administration française, aspects connus par ailleurs uniquement de manière très partielle et incomplète à travers les Chroniques Royales khmères.

Ces sources mettent en évidence les difficultés qu'ont eu les fonctionnaires de l'administration française à comprendre la situation particulière de ces deux communautés au Cambodge. Peu étaient informés de leur rôle prépondérant dans l'histoire du pays et surtout de leur parfaite intégration. Peu étaient également disposés à comprendre certaines de leurs pratiques sociales, comme les migrations en groupes, et cherchèrent par tous les moyens à les réguler.

Les archives mettent surtout en lumière les difficultés de l'administration française à saisir et reconnaître la spécificité des Cam et des Malais du Cambodge. Il est cependant manifeste qu'elle était préoccupée du bien-être de ces communautés et de l'équilibre parfois fragile entre groupes en raison des différentes sensibilités religieuses. Enfin, les autorités françaises n'étaient pas disposées à encourager la diffusion de mouvements réformistes qui risquaient à terme de s'étendre aux autres communautés et de causer des troubles encore plus graves.

95. ARSC, dossier 35825 : Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres, datée 11 mars 1935.

CLAUDINE SALMON

The Hạ châu or Southern Countries as Observed by Vietnamese Emissaries (1830-1844)

Although commercial relations between Vietnam and Insulinde go back to the remote past, the Vietnamese literati have shown very little curiosity – one could almost say that they displayed a certain “incuriosity” – about their Southern neighbours, considering the records at our disposal. Indeed the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* 大越史记全书 or “Complete Historical Memoirs of the Đại Việt” only provide the basic “Imperial Annals” which record the events in chronological order, and occasionally relate the aggressions from neighbouring countries, or the expeditions against some of them, the coming of foreign emissaries sent to carry the tribute, or simply to trade.¹ Unlike the Chinese annals, this chronicle does not contain essays on special subjects (such as music, rites, geography, administration and others...), or notices on eminent persons, foreign countries and peoples.² And to all appearances no travel records focusing on the South Seas are known for the period before the last dynasty.

1. See for instance *Le Đại-Việt et ses voisins, d'après le Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư (Mémoires historiques du Đại-Việt au complet)*, translation by Bùi Quang Tung and Nguyễn Hương, revised and corrected by Nguyễn Thế Anh, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1990, in which are given the translations of at least six quotations: – 767: incursion of the Đồ-bà/Trà-và 闍婆 people (p. 11); – 1149: merchants from Trảo-oa 爪哇 and other countries are allowed to trade in the port of Văn-đôn [located among the islands off the northeast coast of the Red River delta in northern Vietnam] (p. 34); – 1184: traders from Srivijaya arrive in Văn-đôn and ask for permission to trade in the port (p. 36); – 1348: traders from Đồ-bồ[bà] arrive in Văn-đôn where they try to secretly purchase pearls (p. 49); – 1360: traders from Trảo-oa and elsewhere come to trade in Văn-đôn (p. 50); – 1394: traders from Trảo-oa present valuable horses (p. 60); – 1434: traders from Trảo-oa carry the tribute which consists of rare commodities (p. 68).

2. Lê Qui Đôn 黎贵惇 (1726-1784) compiled a general history of Vietnam (up to 1527),

Thanks to a study of the *Đại Nam thực lục chính biên* 大南实录正编 or “Principal Sections of the Veritable Records of Imperial Vietnam” (hereafter *DNTL*) by Chen Ching-ho 陈荆和,³ we can now see that the first efforts to understand what was happening in the “Southern Countries”, then called Hạ châu 下州, became an important endeavour on the part of the Nguyễn dynasty. This interest first arose in the late 1780s at the time when the founder of the dynasty, Nguyễn Phúc Ánh 阮福暎, the future emperor Gia Long 嘉隆, badly needed weapons and munitions of war to aid in the fight against the Tây Sơn 西山 rebels. For the period 1802-1820 no official mission to the Hạ châu is recorded. But they were resumed in the 4th year of the reign of Minh Mạng 明命 (1823) and ceased in 1846-47 under the reign of Thiệu Trị 绍治.⁴ So far forty nine missions have been recorded, the vast majority (forty) having taken place from 1823 to 1846. Among these missions nineteen were sent to places simply designated as Hạ châu (1788, 1796, 1799, 1801, 1823, 1825, 1826, 1828, 1830, 1830/31, 1831, 1832, 1832/33, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1835/36, 1839, 1840). The rest were distributed as follows:

- Kelapa [Batavia]: thirteen missions (1791, 1825, 1826, 1830, 1832, 1832/33, 1836, 1836/37, 1839, 1840, 1842, 1844, 1846/47),
- Singapore: six (1832, 1836/37, 1840, 1842, 1844, 1846/47),
- The Small Western Ocean: three (1829, 1835/36, 1839),
- Penang: two (1832, 1836/37),
- Semarang: two (1839, 1840),
- Luzon: two (1832, 1835),
- Johor: one (1797),
- Goa/Malacca: one (1793).⁵

modelled on the Chinese History of the Great Song Dynasty, and presumably entitled *Đại Việt thông sử* 大越通史 (although some scholars are of the opinion that the original title was *Lê triều thông sử* 黎朝通史 or “General History of the Lê Dynasty”) which was supposed to include notices on foreign countries. Unfortunately the text which has passed to us is fragmentary, either because it was never completed, or because it was partially destroyed; cf. Emile Gaspardone, “Bibliographie annamite”, *BEFEO*, vol. 34, 1935, p. 25; Trần Văn Giáp, *Les chapitres bibliographiques de Lê-qui-Đôn et de Phan-huy-Chú*, Saigon, 1937, pp. 17-23.

3. Chen Ching-ho, “Nguyên chō shoki no ‘Kashū kōmu’ ni tsuite 阮朝初期の下州公務に就いて”, *Sōdai Ajia kenkyū* 創大アジア研究 / *The Journal of Institute of Asian Studies* (Sōka University), No. 11, March 1990, pp. 63-82. French translation: “À propos des missions dans les Hạ châu ou ‘Contrées méridionales’ de la première période des Nguyễn”, translated from the Japanese by C. Salmon with the collaboration of Shibata Shintaro and Tạ Trọng Hiệp, *BEFEO*, vol. 81, 1994, 1, pp. 101-124.

4. After the arrival of the French in Vietnam the Nguyễn court developed its relations with Hong Kong.

5. See Chen Ching-ho, “Les ‘missions officielles dans les Hạ châu’ ou ‘Contrées méridionales’ de la première période des Nguyễn”, translated from the Japanese by C. Salmon with the collaboration of Shibata Shintaro and Tạ Trọng Hiệp”, *BEFEO*, vol. 81, 1994, 1, p. 110.

The first official missions were partly entrusted to military men – some of them being French. It is not until the reign of Minh Mạng, when the court showed a real curiosity for the Southern countries and became interested in obtaining reports on the conditions and views of the European settlements in Bengal, the Straits, Java, and Luzon, that demoted civil servants (*cách quan* 革官) were sent to the Hạ châu to redeem their faults.

Here we intend to reflect on some of the reports and travel impressions written by such demoted civil servants. One of the first, if not the first, was Lý Văn Phúc 李文馥 (1785-1849), a descendant of Ming refugees.⁶ He was dismissed in 1829 and dispatched to Calcutta in early 1830 via Singapore, Malacca and Penang.⁷ Then come Hà Tông Quyền 何宗权 (1797-1839), and Phan Thanh Giản 潘清简 (1793-1867), also of Chinese origin,⁸ who in early 1832 were sent to Singapore and Batavia on the same ship, and composed nostalgic poems on their humiliating journey. They were followed in the same year by Phan Huy Chú 潘辉注 (1782-1840) who composed a long report on his sea journey providing detailed information about the environment of the Indonesian Archipelago and its various populations. Cao Bá Quát 高伯适 (1809-1854), who in 1844 accomplished a mission to Singapore and Batavia, was apparently the last demoted civil servant sent to the Hạ châu.

As far as one can judge, it is only during Minh Mạng's reign that the emissaries were commissioned to write official reports on their missions to the Hạ châu in the way Vietnamese envoys did when they were sent in embassy to China.⁹ These official reports, called *sứ trình nhật ký* 使程日记 or “daily chronicles of the mission”, have apparently not survived. Lý Văn Phúc clearly states that during his mission to the West he wrote three kind of texts; the first being precisely such a travel diary he called *Tây hành nhật ký*

6. The Lý were native to Longxi 龙溪, Zhangzhou 漳州 prefecture, Fujian province. After the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644 some members of the family refused to serve the new rulers and migrated to Vietnam where they settled in the village of Hồ Khẩu 湖口, in the northwest suburb of Hanoi. They were literati and for generations served as military and civil servants.

7. Curiously Lý Văn Phúc's name is not mentioned in the *DNTL* among the demoted emissaries who were sent to Bengal in 1830, see Chen Ching-ho, 'Les missions officielles dans les Hạ châu', p. 107, and note 21.

8. Phan Thanh Giản's ancestors native to Haicheng 海澄, Zhangzhou prefecture, Fujian province, also fled towards the end of the Ming, and settled in central Vietnam with all the people of their village. See inter alia Zhu Xiuxia 祝秀侠 (ed.), *Huaqiao mingren zhuan* 华侨名人传, Taipei, Zhonghua wenhua chubanshe, Minguo 44, pp. 33-36.

9. According to Alexander Barton Woodside (*Vietnam and the Chinese model. A Comparative Study of Vietnamese and Chinese Government in the First half of the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 118-119), Vietnamese emperors were less interested in indulging in bookish daydreaming than in gaining concrete information about China. The envoys themselves, less interested in this function of the daily chronicles, sometimes failed to meet the emperors' standards for them.

西行日记 or “Diary of a Journey to the West”, the second entitled *Tây hành kiến văn kỷ lược* 西行见闻纪略 or “Summary Record of What was Seen and Heard during a Journey to the West”, which constitutes an extensive report on the countries he visited, especially Calcutta,¹⁰ and the third, known under different titles, among which that of *Tây hành thi lược* 西行诗略 (hereafter *THTL*), which is a collection of poems on his journey to the West (appended to his Summary Record).¹¹ Only the two last ones are still in existence. As regards Phan Thanh Giản, Hà Tông Quyền, and Cao Bá Quát, only their collections of poems entitled, respectively, *Ba-lăng thảo* 巴陵草 or “Poems on Batavia”, *Mộng dương tập* 梦洋集 “Collection of Sea Dreams” and *Chu Thần Cao ngâm tập* 周臣高吟集 “Collection of Ballads by Chu Thần Cao” (which contains thirty-six poems on his mission to Batavia) are known. These three authors, unlike Phan Huy Chú, do not allude to the reason they were sent to the southern countries. As for the latter, judging by what he says in the introduction of his report entitled *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略 “Summary Report on a Sea Journey” one may be sure that the account had been commissioned by the court. The original versions of these reports and poetical impressions have apparently not survived, but several copies are kept in various public libraries in Hanoi. Only Phan Thanh Giản’s *Ba lăng thảo*, Cao Bá Quát’s *Chu thần Cao ngâm tập*, and Phan Huy Chú’s *Hải trình chí lược* have been published, the two first in Vietnam and the third in France.

The emissaries and their cultural baggage

Geographical understanding

Phan Huy Chú in his introduction shows clearly that for quite a long time the Vietnamese literati were totally ignorant of their southern neighbours, unlike the merchants who never ceased to trade privately in the *Hạ châu* in spite of the successive interdictions issued by the court. He says:¹²

The Sea is the greatest thing in the world. To the southeast a great number of barbarians are living on islands, between clouds and waves in a boundless sea, and in the past the

10. Lý Văn Phức, *Tây hành kiến văn kỷ lược*, manuscript kept at the Institute Han-Nôm (Hanoi), A 243, not paginated, hereafter abridged in *THKVKL*.

11. Cf. Lý Văn Phức, *Qui thiều cảm bút lục* 归轺感笔录 “Notes taken during the return trip”, manuscript owned by the Lý family, which also deals with the Lý family and more especially the life of Lý Văn Phức, not paginated, p. 9b.

12. Phan Huy Chú, *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略, “*Récit sommaire d’un voyage en mer*” (1833), Sino-Vietnamese original, French and Vietnamese presentation and translations by Phan Huy Lê, C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, Paris, Cahier d’Archipel 25, 1994, p. 177. G.W. Earl (*The Eastern Seas, or Voyages and Adventures in the Indian Archipelago in 1832-33-34*, London 1837, Reprint Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 197-198, 233-234, 166) provides interesting information on the Cochinchinese settlements in the Malay World, and in Bangkok.

officials never went to these places. Nowadays the virtuous majesty of the emperor is resplendent and the maritime universe peaceful; ships visit these remote foreign countries every year, and the voyages by sea to and fro are as peaceful as if it were on the mainland. The literati who accomplished these missions have greatly benefited of all the strange things they heard and have added to their store of knowledge. Therefore how the countries visited during these sea journeys would not deserve to be presented by those who grasp the tablets?

Lý Văn Phúc had reached the same conclusion when he wrote that he gave his account “the title of *Tây hành kiến văn kỷ lược* ‘Brief Account of All what has been Heard and Seen during a Journey to the West’ so that it may contribute to the geographical investigation.”¹³

Obviously the emissaries, before their departure, were not given a chance to read books on the Hạ châu or even to have a look at a map of the world. Hà Tông Quyền is the only one to allude vaguely to the Mongol campaigns against Java, and to have a thought for the Ming expeditions of Admiral Zheng He 郑和, but only to say that they have since long fallen into oblivion.¹⁴ When Lý Văn Phúc arrived in the city of Bengal he could not figure the location of that city and asked the Chinese if Calcutta and Great Britain were contiguous or not.¹⁵ However the two captains of the ship on board of which he was travelling relied on charts and nautical instruments, but were apparently not well trained, as we learn from the *Singapore Chronicle* of March 25, 1830, which provides the following information:

In each ship there are 80 sailors and 10 officers of different grades, including two captains – one in charge of the ship, and one of the cargo. They are acquainted with the use of the compass and have English charts – but how far they are competent to guide themselves may be plainly seen by their applying since their arrival for European commandants to navigate them to Bengal, in which they have been so fortunate as to obtain two for each vessel. We say fortunate, as otherwise we question much if they could even have found their way to Calcutta.

Lý Văn Phúc briefly refers to one of the two European pilots hired in Singapore and judging by the transcription of his name the latter was apparently British.¹⁶ Hà Tông Quyền and Phan Thanh Giản also allude to the European pilot A-xa-thôi-an-tôn 阿车摧安尊 who had been hired to navigate them but who was a good-for-nothing. Hà Tông Quyền states that

13. Lý Văn Phúc, *THKVKL*, p. 1b; see also the French translation: C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phúc et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, in Frédéric Mantienne & Keith W. Taylor (eds.), *Monde du Việt Nam / Vietnam World. Hommage à Nguyễn Thế Anh*, Paris, Les Indes Savantes, 2008, p. 157.

14. Hà Tông Quyền, *Mộng dương tập* 梦洋集, manuscript kept at the Institute Han-Nôm, A 307, not paginated, poems No. 64 and 69.

15. Lý Văn Phúc, *THKVKL*, p. 4b; C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phúc et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, p. 160.

16. Lý Văn Phúc, *THKVKL*, p. 5b; see also the French translation: C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phúc et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, p. 161.

he missed Pulau Condore.¹⁷ As for Phan Thanh Giản he composed a short biography of the pilot (placed at the end of his collection of poems) in which it is related that he came on board carrying nautical charts in the one hand and a spy-glass in the other, but could not enter the Bangka Straits, and finally they had to be guided by a Chinese vessel!¹⁸

Toponymic knowledge

The emissaries seem to have had a rather good knowledge of Nusantaran toponymy. Although the place-name *Hạ châu* was used extensively by the compilers of the *DNTL* from 1788 to 1840, either to refer to the southern countries or also to designate Penang and since 1822 the new port of Singapore, the emissaries rarely use it to designate the City of the Lion. However Cao Bá Quát still used it in the title of a poem on Singapore written in 1844 (*Hạ châu tạp thi* 下州杂诗), as did Phạm Phú Thứ 范富蔗, the author of the diary of the embassy to France led by Phan Thanh Giản in 1863-1864, in a poem he wrote on Singapore.¹⁹ The origin of the place-name *Hạ châu* is difficult to trace; however it seems that it may be linked to the Hokkien expression *è tsiu hú* 下州府 which was (and perhaps still is within certain circles) used to designate the countries located to the south and west of Singapore.²⁰

In 1830 Lý Văn Phức was apparently the first Vietnamese to refer to the City of the Lion by making use of the transcription 新嘉波 (pronounced Tân-gia-ba in Vietnamese and Xin-jia-bo in Chinese). And so did two years later Phan Huy Chú, Hà Tông Quyền, and Phan Thanh Giản, who made use of the slightly different transcription of 新嘉波, also pronounced Tân-gia-ba. Both transcriptions are derived from the most common ones used by the Chinese at that time (with the only difference that for the first usually the

17. Hà Tông Quyền, *Mộng dương tạp* 梦洋集, poem No. 43.

18. Phan Thanh Giản, *Ba lăng thảo* 巴陵草, in Phan Thanh Giản, *Lương Khê thi thảo* 梁溪诗草, Vân Thủy Cư, Tự Đức Bình Tý (1876), q. 10, 18ab.

19. Although his poem is titled “Tân Gia Ba 新嘉波”, Phạm Phú Thứ says in a note that the harbour is also called *Hạ châu* 下州 or also Tân châu 新州 “The New District”; cf. Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Le journal de l’ambassade de Phan Thanh Giản en France (4 juillet 1863 – 18 avril 1864)”, in C. Salmon (ed.), *Récits de voyage des Asiatiques. Genres, mentalités, conception de l’espace. Actes du colloque EFEO-EHESS de décembre 1994, Paris EFEO, 1996*, pp. 343-344 where a translation of the poem is given. As for the original, see the manuscript copy of Phạm Phú Thứ’s collection of poems entitled *Tây phù thi thảo* 西浮诗草 and kept in the Han-Nôm Institute (A 2304, not paginated, poem No. 5). By now the place-name *Hạ châu* is obsolete. However according to a private information of Sơn Nam obtained in the mid-1990, the expression *vải hạ châu* designating the textiles imported from Singapore and other southern countries was still in use in southern Vietnam.

20. Cf. J.J.C. Francken en C.F.M. de Greijs, *Chineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek van het Emoi Dialekt*, Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1882, p. 731, where the following definition is given: “lagere districten (van de plaatsen ten Z en W van Singapore)”.

character *gia* 咖 is written with its homophone 加).²¹ As for Batavia the emissaries, like the compilers of the *DNTL*, called it Giang-luru-ba 江流波, which is an approximate transcription of the former name of that city: Kelapa. Indeed the Malay place-name Kelapa [meaning “coconut”] remained in use long after the city had been taken over by the Dutch in 1619 and renamed Batavia. On their side the Chinese also made use of this Malay place-name, which was variously transcribed. The first transcription, which appears in Zhang Xie 张燮’s *Dong xi yang kao* 东西洋考 (preface of 1618), reads Jiao-liu-ba 加留巴.²² Later on several other transcriptions were coined,²³ while some authors gradually started to refer to Batavia as Ba-cheng 吧城, Ba-guo 吧国, Ba-lang 吧浪... We find a similar evolution in the writings of the emissaries. Hà Tông Quyên makes use of Ba-quók 巴国, Phan Thanh Giản of Ba 吧, Ba-lăng 巴陵, and of Ba-thành 巴城, Phan Huy Chú of Ba-quók 吧国, and Cao Bá Quát of Ba-son 巴山.

The place-names Semarang and Surabaya are apparently first referred to by Phan Huy Chú who called the first Ba-lăng 吧凌 [an abbreviation of Tam-ba-lăng 三吧凌, which is very close to the Chinese transcriptions San-ba-lang 三吧郎 and San-ba-long 三把笼 nowadays superseded by that of San-bao-long 三宝垄], and the second Tú-lý-mạt-vân 泗里末云 (the last character being written for 亚, or wrongly added, because the Chinese used the two forms Si-li-mo 泗里末 and Si-li-mo-ya 泗里末亚). Of interest is the fact that the emissaries have a tendency to abbreviate the place-names by dropping the first character – a use which does not seem to be common among the Chinese – such as Tân-gia-ba 新嘉波 which becomes Gia-ba 嘉波, Giang-luru-ba 江流波 which becomes Luru-ba 流波, and as we have seen above Tam-ba-lăng which becomes Ba-lăng 吧凌.

In brief, the place-names quoted by the emissaries are for the greatest part adapted from the Chinese ones. However in some cases the Vietnamese made their own coinages. Such appears to be the case for Bangka which they call Bôn Tố Sơn 盆素山 or “Mountain of Muntok”, whereas the Chinese have other transcriptions for this island (such as Peng-jia 彭家, Wen-jia 蚊甲 and Wen-dao 文島), and for Muntok (such as Wen-diao 文掉, as we learn from Phan Thanh Giản,²⁴ and Wen-du 文都). This leads us to scrutinize the way the emissaries proceeded to make their surveys on the spot.

21. See Chen Ching-ho 陈荆和 & Tan Yeok Seong 陈育松 (eds.), *Xinjiaopo huawen beiming jilu* 新加坡华文碑铭集录, Hong Kong, Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, (n.d.), and Jao Tsung-I 饶宗颐, *Xinjiabo gushi ji* 新加坡古事记, Hong Kong, Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, [1994], pp. XIII-XIV where a chronological list is given of the different Chinese appellations of Singapore.

22. The character 巴 being preceded by the radical 王.

23. See Chen Jiarong et al, *Gudai nanhai diming huishi* 古代南海地名汇释, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1986, p. 968.

24. Phan Thanh Giản, *Ba lăng thảo*, p. 5b.

Interestingly it is in Singapore that Phan Thanh Giản discovered that his own country was known there under the name of Cochin China (洋人呼本国为俱真真), which he transcribed as *Câu-chân-chân* 俱真真, not knowing that this appellation was derived from the Malay ‘Kochi’ (Javanese ‘Koci’) which in turn was derived from a former name of Vietnam, Jiaozi 交趾 (pronounced *Giao chí* in Vietnamese, *Kawčǐ* in Cantonese, *Kauchí* in Hokkien).²⁵

The emissaries’ encounter with Chinese and (Sino-)Vietnamese cultural brokers

By the time the emissaries visited the southern countries the court had realized the necessity of having its own interpreters and the first corps was formed in 1827. They were asked to study Cantonese, Siamese and Lao as well as Western languages, but apparently not Malay, and this body was known as the “Office of travelling deputies” or *Hành nhân ty* 行人司.²⁶ The emissaries were badly handicapped for they did not know any Western languages, but none of them allude to eventual interpreters accompanying the missions. However thanks to a report in the *Singapore Chronicle* of March 25, 1830 we know that the mission to Bengal to which Lý Văn Phức was attached had hired a Chinese interpreter who was a native of Macao, and spoke the Portuguese and Malayan languages well.

Interestingly in their reports the emissaries record some Malay loan-words they obtained from the Chinese they interviewed but without knowing that they belonged to that language. None of them allude to the term ‘Melayu’ which was still unknown to the Vietnamese, although very familiar to the Chinese. Lý Văn Phức, in his notice on “Jawa”, only mentions the term *mollah* 谟啦 (a learned man [Islam]). Phan Huy Chú on his side records the following loans: *Baba* (wrongly transcribed *ba-na* 吧那, local-born Chinese), *ghurab* or *gurab* (*cù-lạp* 衢笠, special type of vessel), *kapitan* 甲必单 (captain), *luitnan* 雷珍郎 (lieutenant), *duit* 礮 (copper coin, money) and *tun* 盾 (*gulden* or *guilder*), Phan Thanh Giản those of *ghurab*(?) (wrongly transcribed *đầu liệp* 蚪鬚) and *kapitan*.

Cultural encounters with Chinese literati-merchants

We do not know exactly how the emissaries communicated with the Chinese literati they met in the southern countries. Phan Huy Chú alludes to

25. Phan Thanh Giản, *Ba lãng thảo*, p. 5b. See also the long footnote on Cauchy Chyna, in Pierre-Yves Manguin, *Les Portugais sur les côtes du Viêt-nam et du Campã. Étude sur les routes maritimes et les relations commerciales, d’après les sources portugaises (XVI^e, XVII^e, XVIII^e siècles)*, Paris, École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1972, pp. 42-43. For the expression *piring coci*, “Vietnamese dishes”, see S. Robson, “Serat Arok”, *Archipel* 20, 1980, p. 293. The present Chinese transcription for Cochin China is Jiaozi china 交趾支那.

26. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese model*, p. 265.

Zhang Runbo 张润波, a scholar native of Minzhong 闽中, Fujian province, who had taught in Batavia since 1824, and who accompanied him when he visited the city of Batavia. Phan Huy Chú states that Zhang Runbo was his (or one of his) informant(s), but does not explain how they communicated.²⁷ Nor does Cao Bá Quát who alludes to the visit he paid to Huang Lianfang 黄联芳, owner of the firm Meixiang 美香²⁸ based in Tanjung Pinang and with whom he exchanged poems, and also to a rich landlord of Batavia, Lieutenant Souw Tian Pie 苏天庇 who invited him to his country house.²⁹ On the other hand, Lý Văn Phức states clearly that in Calcutta he communicated with his Chinese informants by means of the brush:

In the western part of the city of Bengal live some Chinese: Lin Youlan 林友兰 from Fujian and Xie Changyu 谢常余 from Guangdong who have resided here for a long time. These people are quite knowledgeable and each time I interviewed them by writing [in Chinese], in most cases I received satisfactory replies (每以文字为问答, 多有所得).³⁰

When Lý Văn Phức left Calcutta he exchanged poems with his Chinese informers especially with a Cantonese bearing the same surname, a certain Li Jingren 李静仁, with whom he felt very close. The first started as follows:

One writing, the same ancestry,
Heaven, like a leaf in the wind, has pushed us away,
This place in the south is the ultimate point of our journey,
Let us hope that we shall meet again.

The other replied:

Five hundred years ago our clan was refined,³¹
You should know that our encounter was not just an accident,
Let us leave without asking who of both you and me is the most affected.
Just notice the fact that, we met each other. (THTK, p. 64b)

Discrete contacts with Vietnamese migrants

Lý Văn Phức also refers to a Vietnamese or rather Sino-Vietnamese migrant who for some unknown reason had to go into hiding in Calcutta:

27. Phan Huy Chú, *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略, “*Récit sommaire d’un voyage en mer*” (1833), original, No. 41, pp. 204-205; French translation, pp. 73-74; Vietnamese, pp. 172-173.

28. The name of the firm Meixiang appears among the donors who contributed to the repair of the temple dedicated to Tianhou 天后 in Singapore in 1841; cf. Chen Ching-ho & Tan Yeok Seong (eds.), *Xinjiaopo huawen beiming jilu*, p. 59.

29. See C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “L’émisnaire vietnamien Cao Bá Quát (1809-1854) et sa prise de conscience dans les ‘Contrées méridionales’”, *BEFEO*, vol. 81, 1994, pp. 134-135.

30. Lý Văn Phức, *THKVKL*, pp. 4a-5a; Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phức et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, p. 160.

31. Allusion to the following Chinese expression: *Wubai nian qian shi yijia* 五百年前是一, “Five hundred years ago we belonged to the same family”.

There is also a ‘migrant’ (*lưu dân* 流民) also called ‘Vagrant roaming among the Barbarians’ (*du di giã* 遊夷者). The story goes that some forty years ago he happened to come to Bengal. Now he wants to come back with us. Each time I questioned him, he told all what he knew.³²

Most probably the emissaries also met with Sino-Vietnamese (or Cochin Chinese as they were called at that time) migrants based in Singapore, but since private trade was theoretically prohibited³³ they did not dare to allude to these migrants. However their contemporary, the British ship captain G.E. Earl, states that in 1834 he met with Cochin Chinese:

On the 27th [May], when near the entrance of Singapore Straits, we fell in with six Cochin Chinese prahus, similar to that which we had seen in Tringanu. Although exposed to a severe squall, these brave fellows were carrying all sail on their little vessels, and seemed determined to start nothing. Our Chinese jerratulis watched them for some time in silent admiration, and at last he cried out – “*Ah! Dia brani berlayar itu orang Cochin China*” – “they are bold seamen those Cochin Chinese;” (...) I do not know how the Cochin Chinese would behave on board square-rigged ships, but they work their little vessels in a manner that would not disgrace the best European seamen. These prahus, none of which exceeded fifty tons burden, had beat the China sea against the monsoon, a feat which a Company’s ship would scarcely have attempted twenty years ago.³⁴

Some thirty years later Phạm Phú Thứ, when making a stop over in Singapore, presumably met with some of these illegal migrants for he states in his collection of poems that they were about one hundred.³⁵

Now we would like to see what kind of perception of the Hạ châu the emissaries acquired thanks to the help provided by the cultural brokers, first as regards the presence of the Europeans within the area and second as regards the original inhabitants.

The emissaries’ perception of the European order

The main objective of the emissaries, as we have seen, was to gain information on the conditions and views of the European settlements in Bengal, the Straits, and Batavia. This easily explains why the envoys’ attention was concentrated on the European order, which was completely

32. Idem.

33. G.W. Earl (*The Eastern Seas*, p. 198) has this to say: “In their commercial intercourse with Singapore they (the Cochin Chinese) have to struggle against many disadvantages. In the first place the selfish government of their country not permitting a foreign trade, they are consequently, when engaged in this forbidden trade, obliged to steal away and risk all their little property, and probably their lives also; and being unable to procure arms, become the favourite prey of the cowardly Malay pirates, many of them, perhaps to the annual amount of one hundred and fifty, being killed or taken, within a day’s sail of our settlement in Singapore.”

34. G.W. Earl, *The Eastern Seas*, p. 198.

35. Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Le journal de l’ambassade de Phan Thanh Giản en France (4 juillet 1863 – 18 avril 1864)”, p. 344; Phạm Phú Thứ’s collection of poems entitled *Tây phù thi thảo* 西浮诗草, poem No. 5.

new to them. As far as one can judge, the emissaries shared more or less the same opinion regarding the modernity introduced into the region although the term was not yet coined. They also never forget to remind their readers that the countries they passed or visited were formerly independent and that they had been annexed by the Europeans. Singapore which was the first place they visited was a real eye-opener. Unlike Phan Huy Chú who had first been sent on a mission to China, Lý Văn Phức, Phan Thanh Giản, and Cao Bá Quát only encountered the outside world in the Hạ châu.

Another time computation

Soon after his arrival in the City of the Lion, Lý Văn Phức discovered that there existed another time computation materialised by the western calendar:

When I reached Singapore, I saw in a Chinese shop some public notices; on one of these it was written: “British year: 1829, and just after Qing year: Daoguang 道光 9”, which coincides precisely with the 10th year of the Minh Mạng era of our dynasty, that is the year *kỷ sừu* 己丑.³⁶

On his side, Phan Huy Chú noticed that the Europeans, especially the British and the Dutch, shared the same calendar and that the Chinese based in the southern countries also used it in their translations,³⁷ but did not perceive the existence of another calendar, that of the Muslims.

Lý Văn Phức as well as Phan Huy Chú also noticed the existence of a social time punctuated by festivities and religious ceremonies. The latter says: “The Westerners are used to saunter together once a week and to share a meal.”³⁸ Both emissaries call this day of rest *du yển nhất* 遊宴日.

However it was not until Calcutta that Lý Văn Phức realised the importance given to the notion of “time” by the Europeans who all carry a small watch with them “so that they may check the time at any moment”. He also alludes to the time-fixing clock which punctuates the collective life and regulates the opening and closing of the shops.³⁹

A chain of metropolises

Speaking of the harbour of Singapore, Lý Văn Phức, like the other emissaries, is struck by the appearance of the urban structure and notes that

36. Lý Văn Phức, *THKVKL*, p. 3a; C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phức et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, p. 158.

37. Phan Huy Chú, *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略, “*Récit sommaire d’un voyage en mer*” (1833), original, No. 13, p. 186; French transl., p. 51; Vietnamese transl., p. 153.

38. Phan Huy Chú, *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略, “*Récit sommaire d’un voyage en mer*” (1833), original, No. 14, pp. 188-189; French transl., p. 51; Vietnamese transl., p. 154.

39. Lý Văn Phức, *THKVKL*, p. 37a, 24b; C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phức et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, pp. 180, 163.

the British have built up there streets and quays so that the place has become a harbour city” 舟船都会之所.⁴⁰ Phan Huy Chú, who arrived in Singapore almost three years later, also noticed the importance of this harbour, saying:

Along the river [i.e. Boat Quay] the shops are contiguous, and the merchants live in this district. The harbour is crowded with foreign ships, and there is a great traffic of commodities. This is really a prosperous place beyond the seas 固海外繁华处也.⁴¹

Along the road in the direction of the Small Western Sea, Lý Văn Phức has the opportunity to discover the presence of the British in their successive settlements. After Singapore, Malacca which he qualifies as a “small metropolis” *tiểu đô hội* 小都会, Penang which still carried a significant trade, and finally the City of Bengal,⁴² where he takes the measure of the power of the British, and which he qualifies as a “big metropolis” *đại đô hội* 大都会. He is fascinated by the luxury life of the British established in this ‘City of Palaces’.⁴³

Phan Huy Chú on his side was very surprised to discover in the remote southern sea a city whose extension and trade greatly exceeded those of Singapore. He says:

As regards the accumulation of riches, Kelapa largely surpasses Singapore. From the moment one enters the harbour up to the outlying districts; that is on a distance of several tens of *li*, it is a succession of houses covered with tiles. Storied buildings face each other along the streets while goods are well displayed. Along the houses run canals which communicate with the harbour and the small crafts go back and fro, while on the land the carriages follow each other daily in great number carrying Dutch people seated on embroidered cushions.⁴⁴

A technological superiority

Another subject of admiration for the emissaries is the technological knowledge of the Europeans. Phan Huy Chú devotes some paragraphs to this question. For instance he pays great attention to the construction of carriages and regrets that he is not in a position to provide a good description of all these novelties. He further says that he will content himself with the presentation of sawmills and alludes to the specificity of European nautical

40. Lý Văn Phức, *THKVKL*, p. 3b; C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phức et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, p. 158.

41. Phan Huy Chú, *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略, “*Récit sommaire d’un voyage en mer*” (1833), original, No. 10, p. 186; French transl., pp. 47-48; Vietnamese transl., pp. 150-151.

42. Lý Văn Phức never uses the place-name Calcutta, which was nevertheless commonly used by the Chinese, but only refers to the “City of Bengal”.

43. See Lý Văn Phức’s descriptions of storied houses and of the official residences, *THKVKL*, pp. 24b-25a; C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phức et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, pp. 180-181.

44. Phan Huy Chú, *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略, “*Récit sommaire d’un voyage en mer*” (1833), original, No. 23, pp. 193-194; French transl., p. 58; Vietnamese transl., p. 160.

measures, and to the steamers he observed in the harbour of Batavia. Lý Văn Phức on his side pays great attention to the impressive steamers he saw during his journey, but also to much smaller artefacts such as lightning conductors and pencils.

A political menace

Although Lý Văn Phức and Phan Huy Chú were greatly concerned with politics and with the menace caused for the region by the rivalries between the Europeans, they did not dare to express their views too clearly. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that it was not possible for the emissaries to criticise the partners with whom the Nguyễn court was trading. In contrast, Cao Bá Quát in a Poem on Singapore did not hesitate to pinpoint the hierarchy of relations between the Europeans and the local population:

Storyed houses piled up along the river edge,
Pine shadows, cool places, spring strange flowers,
Steel gates unlocked for the return of the breaks,
Driving the White, all dark-skinned men.⁴⁵

This last verse invites us to move on to the manner the emissaries perceived the former inhabitants.

The former inhabitants and their customs

It seems that, as far as the local populations were concerned, the emissaries did not much question their Chinese informers, but rather made use of their own categories. They either approached them as Jawa or simply as *di nhân* 遺民 (Chinese: *yimin*) “survivors” [of the former state of Jawa].

The Jawa or di nhân

After having passed the island of Pulau Condore, Phan Huy Chú had the feeling that he had entered a new maritime universe which he called Đô-bà (the Sino-Vietnamese pronunciation of the old Chinese transcription Shepo 閩婆 for the place-name Jawa), a term by which he referred both to a country and to its population.⁴⁶ For a long time the place-name Jawa was used by the Vietnamese to refer to a geographical place larger than the present island of Java. This Jawa designated a vast space including Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and Java. Worth noting this ethnonym/toponym was also used in the similar way by the Khmers (under the form Jvā).⁴⁷ And our emissaries continued to make use of this toponym/ethnonym with its former

45. *Thơ chữ Hán Cao Bá Quát*, Hà Nội, Nhà xuất bản văn học, 1970, p. 371.

46. In China during the Mongol rule the transcription ‘Shepo’ was replaced by that of ‘Zhuawa 爪哇’, which has been in use up to now.

47. See Grégory Mikaelian, *La royauté d’Oudong. Réformes des institutions et crise du pouvoir dans le royaume khmer du XVII^e s.*, Paris, PUPS, 2009, p. 341, n. 7.

meaning, whereas in China since the Yuan Dynasty the transcription ‘Shepo’ has been replaced by that of Zhuawa 爪哇 (Sino-Vietnamese ‘Trảo-oa’) which refers to the present island of Java.

Phan Huy Chú, who apparently did not notice that the compilers of the *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* also referred to Java, when they use the transcription Trảo-oa 爪哇⁴⁸ (following the new Chinese usage), ignores that this country had commercial intercourses with Vietnam, as did Srivijaya. And he tries to trace the history of Jawa by checking Chinese chronicles. He says:

In the remote past Đô-bà was a great country. During the Jianlong 建隆 era (960-963) of the Northern Song Dynasty, Jawa brought the tribute once. Later on, Đô-bà is no more mentioned in the chronicles; it means that it had become weak, and that is the reason why the Europeans occupied it. The present cities of Singapore and Kelapa belonged to this former country [...] For several hundred years Jawa has been subjected. The local population dwells in the forests and is compelled to pay taxes. The inhabitants wanted to resist the aggressors, but they could not and were obliged to submit and now they serve the Europeans.⁴⁹

As for Lý Văn Phức, his presentation of Đô-bà is even more simplified:

Đô-bà in the remote past was a state; later on the Red-Haired people have annexed it; they have displaced the former ruler and given him substantial emoluments, but no army. The remnants of the population submitted to the Dutch; however some people have settled at the foot of the Nuyễn-cá 倮个 [Lingga?], where they practice piracy. There is nothing else to notice.⁵⁰

The emissaries share the same political and reductive approach. The fact that the local populations have lost their independence deprives them of any serious attention on their part. Lý Văn Phức and Phan Huy Chú find it convenient to present them as simple survivors of the former states or *di nhân* 遺民. In the Chinese world, this expression which has been widely used up to now has a long history which goes back to the period of the Conquering Kingdoms. It designates the adherents of a former dynasty, the survivors of a great upheaval, the population of a subdued country, and the remnants of a population. It seems that this concept exists neither in Malay⁵¹ nor in European languages.

48. See above note 1.

49. Phan Huy Chú, *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略, “*Récit sommaire d’un voyage en mer*” (1833), original, No. 11, pp. 186-187; French transl., p. 48-49; Vietnamese transl., pp. 151-152.

50. Lý Văn Phức, *THKVKL*, p. 33a; C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phức et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, p. 188.

51. The *Kamus besar Tionghoa-Indonesia* 汉语印度尼西亚语大词典, Beijing, Waiwen chubanshe, 1995, p. 1049 gives for 遺民 the two following meanings: 1. *pengikut dinasti yg lampau*; 2. *orang yg selamat dalam pergolakan besar*.

What about their customs?

Lý Văn Phúc speaks of the *di phong* 遗风 or former customs or remnants of the past. Regarding Bengal he says that they seem to survive, but in reality they have been politically transformed 今其遗风政化, 猶有存者.⁵² As for the country of Jawa, he briefly presents their dress, their housing, their usages, not saying that they were Muslims, but alluding to the fact that for the funerals a *mollah* 谟啦 is present.⁵³ As for Phan Huy Chú he did not deem it necessary to relate such details.

The place of the Chinese

Phan Huy Chú provides a rather good description of the Chinese established in Batavia. Again he approaches them by making use of a political concept (apparently quite common at that time) calling them Thanh khách 清客 or “Hosts from the Qing Dynasty”. He says that the Thanh khách residing in Kelapa amount to some thousands and that for the most part they come from the province of Fujian and to a lesser degree from that of Guangdong. Some families have been settled there for several generations, although their members still retain their Manchu costume and plait their hair. They do not speak Chinese anymore, but the “barbarian language(s)” *phiên âm* 番音. They have become “half Jawa” and are called Babas. They are active in a wide range of professions including those of merchants, craftsmen, and tax collectors. He also states that some of them are very rich, own beautiful residences and do not intend to return to China. He also observes that these Chinese are governed by a captain assisted by lieutenants. Finally he also provides a rather detailed description of the quarter inhabited by the Chinese, as well as their public edifices, especially their temples and their Chinese school.

Phan Huy Chú refrains from making comparisons with the Chinese communities in his own country, probably fearing to displease the emperor. He just says that the captain is more or less the equivalent of a *phó trưởng* 铺长 or chief of a district in his own country.⁵⁴

Since for the Vietnamese authorities the Hạ châu were mainly the place where the emissaries could gain information on the Europeans, their settlements within the area, and their rivalries, one may understand that the

52. Lý Văn Phúc, *THKVKL*, p. 30b; C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phúc et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, p. 186.

53. Lý Văn Phúc, *THKVKL*, pp. 32b-33a; C. Salmon & Tạ Trọng Hiệp, “Lý Văn Phúc et sa découverte de la Cité du Bengale (1830)”, p. 188.

54. Phan Huy Chú, *Hải trình chí lược* 海程志略, “*Récit sommaire d’un voyage en mer*” (1833), original No. 38, 39, 40, 41, pp. 204-207; French transl., pp. 70-74; Vietnamese transl., pp. 169-173.

emissaries focused their attention on them, and that to some extent their view was biased. The traditional disdain of the Vietnamese elite towards the populations of the Southern countries as well as the loss of independence by the latter contributed to the fact that the emissaries did not pay much attention to them. They did not yet have a taste for ethnography *avant la lettre* in the way the Chinese had with their own minorities, and with foreign populations – we are thinking here of their illustrations of tributary peoples which were greatly developed during the Qing. Consequently they were not able to perceive even a difference between, say, Malays, Javanese and Sundanese.

It seems that the first ‘scientific’ curiosity for the Malay language arose after the coming of the French in Indochina. The scholar Trương Vĩnh Ký 張永記, alias Petrus Ký (1837-1898), who spent several years in the French seminary at Penang was apparently the first Vietnamese to study this language. He even compiled (in French) the first reader emanating from a Vietnamese entitled *Vocabulaire et exercices de la langue malaise* which was published in Saigon in 1893. Unfortunately not a single copy has survived!⁵⁵

In order to better appraise the signification of cultural contacts between the Hạ châu and Vietnam, a similar study on the perception of Vietnam in Insulindian sources has to be undertaken.

55. There exists several studies in French and in Vietnamese on this fascinating figure; see inter alia J. Bouchot, *Petrus Trương Vĩnh Ký érudit cochinchinois (1837-1898)*, Saigon, 1923; Nguyễn Văn Trung, *Trương Vĩnh Ký. Nhà văn hóa*, n. p., Nhà xuất bản Hội nhà văn, 1993.

DANNY WONG TZE KEN

The Cham Arrivals in Malaysia: Distant Memories and Rekindled Links

When Phnom Penh and Saigon fell in April 1975, throngs of refugees fled Cambodia and Vietnam in the face of incoming Communist regimes in the two countries. The refugees left their countries for fear of living under what they considered oppressive governments; in some cases they were enemies of the Communists as they had taken part in the fighting against the Communists. This marked the period of mass exodus (1975–1982) when more than a million people left these two countries as refugees. Many left in a very deplorable and perilous manner. Crammed into small vessels which were hardly seaworthy, many had to face the threats of storms and pirate attacks. While many made their way to neighbouring countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines, others were less fortunate and perished at sea. In these countries, known as transit countries, the refugees were detained in refugee camps where they were screened and processed by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) before being settled in a third country.

In Malaysia, it was estimated that more than 250,000 Indochinese refugees passed through the various transit points in the country and were resettled elsewhere.¹ While the Malaysian Government, for various reasons – including fears of racial imbalance and security – generally did not allow the refugees to settle in the country, an exception was made for 9,704 of

1. For a study on Indochinese refugee arrivals to Malaysia, see Danny Wong Tze Ken, *Vietnam–Malaysia Relations during the Cold War, 1945–1990*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1995, pp. 93-97, 126-130 & 152-155.

them. This group of refugees, ethnically known as Chams or Islam Kemboja (Muslim Cambodians), were, at the time of their arrival, Muslims or practitioners of the Islamic faith. This paper will examine the circumstances that led to the Malaysian Government's decision to accept the Chams. Focus will be given to the two reasons generally provided by the Malaysian officials: humanitarian reasons and also the common Muslim brotherhood factor. This paper will venture to propose that apart from these two, a very crucial third factor prompted the Malaysian Government to accept these Chams: centuries-old ethnic and family ties. Along with the Islamic religion factor, this third factor formed the two main reasons behind the Malaysian Government's decision to allow the Chams to remain in the country.

This paper will explore the origins of the Cham refugees and how they came to settle in Malaysia. For the first time, first-hand information from the personal papers of Mubin Sheppard deposited in the National Archives of Malaysia was consulted to obtain a fuller picture of what transpired.²

The Refugee Problem

Malaysia's experience with the Indochinese refugees was a mixed one. As an ally of the Saigon regime in Vietnam and the government of, first, Sihanouk and, later, Lon Nol in Cambodia, Malaysia had always been sympathetic to the plight of these two countries which were facing severe threats from the Communist elements of the political divide. Malaysia's position was essentially shaped by its own long struggle against a Communist attempt to take power, including a long twelve-year war against the Communist armed insurgency, known as the Emergency (1948–1960). Thus, when the Indochinese refugees first landed on the shores of Peninsular Malaysia, particularly along the coasts of the northeast states of Terengganu and Kelantan in April 1975, they were looked upon with great sympathy. Help and assistance were readily made available. Malaysia's humanitarian assistance to the Vietnamese refugees even won praise from Hanoi.³ However, as the number of refugees began to grow and showed no sign of abating the once sympathetic attitude began to change towards negative reactions. No longer seen as people who were in need of help, the refugees were increasingly looked upon as possible threats to local and national security.⁴ Many of these refugees left their home with vast amounts of cash

2. The (Tan Sri) Mubin Sheppard Papers are listed as SP38 in the Personal Papers Collections (Surat Persendirian) of the Malaysian National Archives. The papers concerning the Chams are part of Sheppard's documentation of his role in bringing the Chams to Malaysia. Sheppard was acting in the capacity of Honorary Secretary of the Malaysian Muslim Welfare Organisation (Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia/PERKIM).

3. *New Straits Times*, 11 June 1975.

4. *New Straits Times*, 29 November 1978.

and jewellery. During their stay in the refugee camps, many traded with the locals for subsistence items, causing a sudden rise in prices of necessary goods in the local market. Some of the refugees were former military personnel who arrived with their military hardware, including some very advanced weapons which could prove to be extremely dangerous should they fell into the hands of wrong parties, especially at a time when Malaysia was still facing armed rebellions from the outlawed Malayan Communist Party.⁵

From the beginning, the Malaysian Government's stance on the refugee issue was very clear. While the country was playing an important role as a first asylum country in helping the UNHCR to process the refugees who arrived on its shores, the government had made it clear that it would not allow any refugees to settle in the country. In 1977 the refugees were reclassified as illegal immigrants under the Immigration Act, thereby denying them entry into Malaysia. The refugee camps were also classified as restricted areas and refugees were barred from moving freely beyond the boundaries of the camps. This decision had much to do with government security concerns. First, the refugees were mainly either ethnic Vietnamese or ethnic Chinese residing in the two countries. There were also some Khmers. All these people were ethnically different from the people of Malaysia, except for the ethnic Chinese. For a country like Malaysia where the question of ethnicity was crucial and could be sensitive, any influx of new people, particularly the Vietnamese and the ethnic Chinese from Vietnam, would tilt the sensitive ethnic balance. Furthermore, these two groups were unlikely to be assimilated with the indigenous community.

The refugee issue also created problems in international relations when Malaysia and Indonesia both refused to accept further arrivals and began to push (towed) the refugees' vessels out of their waters into that of the other nation. The matter took on an even stranger turn when Mahathir Mohamad, the then Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, allegedly threatened to shoot the refugees, something which he later clarified as trying 'to shoo' them off.⁶ It was obvious that after several years of dealing with the refugee problem, it had taken its toll on the Malaysian Government. However, the matter continued to drag on even longer as more Vietnamese, mainly southerners, unwilling to live under the new Communist-led government continued to turn themselves into refugees by leaving the country illegally.⁷ While the

5. *New Straits Times*, 17 January 1978.

6. *New Straits Times*, 25 March 1979.

7. Many in the Malaysian Government suspected that the mass exodus of the Vietnamese could have even been encouraged by the Vietnamese government. The arrival of a Vietnamese ship named *Hai Hong* on 14 November 1978 with 2,500 refugees onboard was a classic case. It was inconceivable that so many people could escape the attention of the ever-watchful Vietnamese authorities. See *New Straits Times*, 15 November 1978.

media continued to harp on the issues of Indochinese refugees who came by sea, another group of refugees was making their way to Malaysia, albeit under different circumstances, and were treated differently. They were the Chams, who are the focus of this paper.

Very little was known locally about the arrival of the Chams. As most of them were from Cambodia and most were Muslims, they were generally known as Muslim Cambodians (Kemboja) or Malay Cambodians (Melayu Kemboja). Until the mid-1990s these terms were used in the local media to describe this group of people. It was only much later that they began to be known as Melayu Champa or Cham Malays. This was a departure from the practice of referring to the religion of the people to using ethnicity as a distinguishing feature. Interestingly, this change of name in the public sphere was partly attributed to the academic programmes promoted by the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (French School of Asian Studies or EFEO) that had begun to study the relationship between the Chams and the Malays earnestly since the setting up of an EFEO Office in Kuala Lumpur in 1988. Thanks to the many EFEO publications on the subject, as well as its series of public seminars, this notion of Malay-Cham identity was reinforced and the name stuck.

Unlike most Vietnamese refugees who left the country by boat, the Chams mainly came to Malaysia overland. Two groups of Chams came to Malaysia. The first originated from among the Cham communities in Vietnam but had travelled to Cambodia before leaving that country. Many Chams from the coastal areas in places like Saigon, Phan Rang and Nha Trang moved to border towns such as Chau Doc and Tay Ninh before crossing over to Cambodia. From Cambodia, they made their way to Thailand before coming to Malaysia. The second group came from Cambodia. Known as Cambodian Chams, they consisted mainly of Chams who had steadily migrated from Vietnam to places like Kampong Cham and areas north of Phnom Penh since the decline of Champa in 1471. Both groups came to Malaysia via Thailand.

Historically, the Chams were inhabitants of central Vietnam. Between the second century AD and 1835, the Chams had their own ruling class and kingdom. However, due to a series of wars with Vietnam, the Chams began to experience decline and by 1835, the Chams in Vietnam were confined to the region around present-day Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan provinces. The Chams who were already in Cambodia were the remnants or descendants of Chams who had fled there since the first major defeat of Champa by the Vietnamese in 1471. From that time, a pattern of Chams crossing over to Cambodia whenever a major crisis took place in their country seems to have become established. Most crossed through the border town of Chau Doc before settling in one of the many Cham settlements in Cambodia. This practice continued even during the Vietnam War.⁸

Cham Emigration to Malaysia

When news of the fall of Phnom Penh and, later, Saigon reached Malaysia, the concern of the Malaysian Government was to manage and overcome the problem of the mass arrivals of refugees by sea. It was not long before news concerning another group of refugees stranded in Thailand began to reach Kuala Lumpur. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Home Affairs were informed of the existence of a group of Cham Muslim refugees who had requested settlement in Malaysia instead of being processed for a third country. These refugees were part of the larger refugee exodus from Indochina who had found their way into Thailand hoping to be resettled in the United States and elsewhere. However, unlike their counterparts who wanted to move to countries like the United States, Australia and France,⁹ this group of refugees wanted to come to Malaysia.¹⁰

Despite being well treated by the Thai Government which channelled help through Muslim organizations in that country, these Chams put forward requests for asylum in Malaysia. It must be emphasized that these requests were made not merely because of the common Muslim fraternity that had definitely endeared Malaysia to these people; the Secretary General of the OIC (Organisation of Islamic Conference) was the former Malaysian Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj. But more importantly, many of these refugees had relations in Malaysia, particularly in the state of Kelantan and also some in Terengganu. There was also a legal issue pertaining to the status of the Chams as refugees. At the time Cambodia and Vietnam fell to the Communist regimes, ASEAN countries had not ratified the United Nations Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Refugee Protocol of 1967. Hence, the refugees were considered illegal immigrants and were not allowed to remain in these countries. They would either be resettled in a third country or ran the risk of being sent back to Cambodia when peace was re-established.¹¹

8. Even as late as the 1960s, Cham fugitives from southern Vietnam crossed over the borders to Cambodia. Many joined the FULRO (Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées) which championed the political rights of the highland minorities, including the Chams. Some of the Chams also served in the Cambodian army. See Po Dharma and Mak Phœun, *Du FLM au FULRO : Une Lutte des Minorités du sud indochinois, 1955–1975*, Paris, Les Indes Savantes, 2006.

9. Some Cambodian Cham refugees decided to move on to the third receiving countries such as the United States, France or Australia. However, their numbers were small. See various secretariat reports for the executive committee meetings of the Malaysian Red Crescent Society, 1976, in Personal Papers of Mubin Sheppard, SP38/a 52/6 (Arkib Negara Malaysia).

10. In a series of interviews conducted with former Cham refugees now settled in Malaysia, many expressed the view that they decided to come to Malaysia as they preferred to live in a Muslim country. Interviews at Kampung Kubu Gajah, Sungai Buluh, November 2008.

11. Through the intervention of the Vietnamese Army in late 1978, the Democratic

Meanwhile, the Malaysian government was beseeched by many welfare organizations and even Malay political parties to take measures to assist the Cham Muslim refugees. In the forefront was PERKIM (Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia/Muslim Welfare Organisation of Malaysia) which was extremely concerned about the welfare of the Chams.¹² The Malaysian Government was also urged by the OIC Secretariat to accept the Cham Muslim refugees on a temporarily basis, especially because Malaysia is the nearest Southeast Asian country with a large Muslim population. It was therefore based on the two main reasons of humanitarian factors and common Muslim fraternity that the Malaysian Government made the decision to accept the Cham Muslim as refugees on a temporarily resettlement basis. Steps were then taken to bring them into the country.

The first step taken was for the Malaysian Government – through the Malaysian Embassy in Bangkok with cooperation from the Thai Government and the UNHCR – to visit refugee camps to identify the Cham Muslim refugees and make offers to bring them to Malaysia. This was carried out as early as June 1975, barely two months after the fall of Cambodia to the Khmer Rouge regime. According to Haji Ahmad bin Yahya, a well-known religious teacher who was an advisor for Islamic affairs in Cambodia prior to the Khmer Rouge rule, the Chams chose Malaysia because it is a strong Islamic country with strong religious leanings.¹³ Such admission on the part of the refugees clearly demonstrated the role of Islam in the refugees' acceptance of the offer of temporary asylum in Malaysia. When the news of the Malaysian offer reached the ears of the Cham Muslims refugees who were still in the various refugee camps in Thailand, it was like a god-sent opportunity. Many took up the offer and towards the end of 1975, 1,279 Cham refugees were accepted into Malaysia. The process of bringing in Cham refugees continued well into the late 1980s, resulting in a total of 9,704.¹⁴

Kampuchea Government led by the Khmer Rouge was ousted. A new regime under Heng Samrin supported by Vietnamese was set up. By 1980, taking advantage of the relative peace, many Cambodian refugees in Thailand, including Cham Muslim refugees, were repatriated to Cambodia. See Milton Osborne, Beverly Male Gordon, Lawrie W.J. O'Malley, *Refugees: Four Political Case-Studies*, Canberra: The Australian National University, 1981, p. 6.

12. "Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, President PERKIM to Tuan Haji Alias, Working Secretary, PERKIM", 12 May 1975, in Mubin Sheppard Personal Papers SP38/a 52/6 (Arkib Negara Malaysia).

13. Abdullah bin Mohamed (Nakula), "Keturunan Melayu di Kemboja dan Vietnam: Hubungannya dengan Semenanjung dengan Tumpuan Khas kepada Negeri Kelantan", *Majalah Warisan Kelantan*, VIII, 1989, p. 6.

14. This is a figure provided by Dato' Nik Mohamed Nik Salleh in his paper entitled "Kedatangan dan Kehadiran Masyarakat Melayu Cam di Malaysia". Dato' Nik Mohamed was formerly Deputy Secretary General of the Ministry of Home Affairs responsible for bringing in the Cham refugees. Personal communication, May 2008.

Table 1: Cham Refugee Arrivals in Malaysia, 1975–1988

Year	No. of Refugees
1975	1,279
1977	180
1979	1,079
1980	1,923
1981	638
1983	587
1984	118
1985	1,012
1986–88	2,888
Total	9,704

Source: Unpublished paper by Nik Mohamed Nik Salleh.

However, it must be pointed out that the first group of Cham refugees had arrived in Malaysia in April 1975. This group of 27 persons were the pioneers of the Chams who came to Malaysia. Their arrival preceded those who came under the Malaysian-initiated resettlement programme. According to Mubin Sheppard, the group who arrived in April 1975 were charged immigration pass fees by the Malaysian Immigration Department upon their arrival at the Thai–Malaysian border.¹⁵

The Cham refugees who came under the resettlement programme introduced by the Malaysian Government were brought in by boat from Thailand. The process of accepting the refugees was carried out by representatives appointed by the Malaysian Government. Among those heavily involved during the initial period were Haji Ahmad Nordin (Secretary General of PERKIM), S. Sampatkumar (official representative of UNHCR) and Ruby Lee, the Secretary General of the Malaysian Red Crescent Society. They were tasked with the job of identifying Cham refugees through a general interview process. Once accepted, the refugees were put on a transfer programme that would eventually bring them into Malaysia.

Malaysians' introduction to the presence of the Chams came through a series of articles published in the *Islamic Herald* and *Majallah Kelantan* in 1975. The first article was written by Mubin Sheppard, who introduced the Chams as people of a former great kingdom which had gone into decline and exile. He also highlighted the historical linkages between the Chams and the Malays, as well as the religious links between Kelantan and Indochina. However, the article fell short of highlighting the efforts of the Malaysian

15. Mubin Sheppard to Tunku Abdul Rahman, May 1975, in SP38/a 52/6.

Government in offering asylum to these Cham Muslims.¹⁶ At the time of the publication of the article, Mubin Sheppard had just returned from his fact-finding trip to Thailand where he met the Cham refugees and submitted a report to the Tunku which laid the foundation for Malaysia's (and PERKIM)'s programme in bringing the Muslim Chams to Malaysia.

In August 1975 the *Islamic Herald* published an article by Tunku Abdul Rahman in which he made an appeal to Malaysians for financial assistance to help the Muslim refugees from Cambodia.¹⁷ The Tunku also personally visited the Chams who had settled earlier in Pengkalan Chepa in Kelantan.

Writing in the December 1975 issue of the *Islamic Herald*, Haji Ahmad Nordin, PERKIM's secretary general, highlighted the existence of a group of Cham refugees still in camps in Thailand. "Apart from about 1,200 Cham refugees who are now living in North Malaysia, and some others who are reported to be still in Thailand, we have no news of this very large number of our Muslim Neighbours in Cambodia, but we understand that the 185 Mosques have been converted to other uses, or destroyed."¹⁸ In subsequent visits to the refugee camps in Thailand where the Chams were congregated, Ahmad Nordin and his team, comprising R. Sampatkumar (UNHCR Resident Representative in Malaysia) and Ruby Lee (Secretary General of the Malaysian Red Crescent Society), met a number of Cham refugees who expressed a wish to join the 1,500 fellow refugees already in Malaysia. The last statement was a very important one: the desire to come to Malaysia, and not compelled to come nor forced to come. "Our task was to interview those who wanted to come to Malaysia so as to make sure that no one was being pressured to go to anywhere against his will and that the 'doubtful' cases would not be included."¹⁹

It is interesting to note that, despite being clearly identified as Chams, these refugees were referred to at various times as Muslim refugees from Cambodia; yet on other occasions they were simply known as Chams.

The Malaysian Government's acceptance of the Chams was indeed a rather special one. Officially, the government's statement on the Indochinese refugees reflected its concerns on the possible threat posed by the refugees, especially when the majority were ethnic Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese. This had resulted in Malaysia only taking on the role of a transit country where refugees were screened and processed before being sent to a third

16. Mubin Sheppard, "Our Muslim Neighbours", *Islamic Herald*, 1(2), June 1975, pp. 6–7.

17. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, "Muslim Refugees from Cambodia", *Islamic Herald*, 1(4), August 1975, p. 11.

18. Ahmad Nordin, "Interviewing the Muslim Cambodian Refugees in Thailand", *Islamic Herald*, 2(9), January 1977, p. 14.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

country for resettlement. The exception was the Cham community whom the Malaysian Government received with open arms. This exception was made possible because the Chams are of Malay stock, and are Muslims.

When the Chams first arrived in the country, they were settled at a refugee camp at Kemumin in Pengkalan Chepa, near Kota Bahru, the state capital of the northeastern state of Kelantan. The camp was later renamed Taman Putra, Kemumin, or Putra Garden, Kemumin from the name of Malaysia's first Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj who was at the time the Secretary General of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). The camp was declared opened by the Tunku in June 1976.

The camp was governed by a special committee known as the Special Committee for Refugees. It was different from other refugee-related committees in that it consisted of representatives from the Ministry of Home Affairs, the police force, the Immigration Department, the Kelantan State Secretariat, Ministry of Social Welfare and PERKIM. The main difference was the inclusion of the local Kelantan governments and PERKIM. This clearly demonstrated the nature of the issue – the Islam fraternity factor as the primary reason for the Chams' acceptance for resettlement in Malaysia. Upon completion of their rehabilitation programme, the new arrivals were transferred to different settlements in the country where they were expected to fend for themselves.

Old Cham–Malay Links

This segment will explore the theme of distant memories and recent rekindled relations in the context of the relations between the Chams and the Malays, another major reason for the resettlement of Cham refugees in Malaysia.

Even as common adherence to the Islamic faith was a principal reason why the Muslim Chams chose to come to Malaysia, a second reason was that many of the Chams were related to people in the Malay Peninsula, particularly in Kelantan. In other instances, they had known of the link between Kelantan and the Malay Peninsula to their community since very early times. In many ways these links were also tied to the Islamic faith, with Kelantan and the Malay Peninsula being a centre for Islamic learning and the source of many Malay-related families in Cambodia (and Vietnam).²⁰

The importance of Kelantan to the Muslim Cham community can apparently be traced to very early times. According to Abdullah Mohamed, the decline of the Chams and the annexation of their territories by the Vietnamese had caused the Chams to be despaired and many began to turn

20. Another place of similar importance would be Pattani in southern Thailand which also shared many common cultural and religious practices with the Kelantanese.

away from their religious practices. It was during this time (likely to be between the fall of Vijaya in 1471 and the annexation of the last Cham territory in 1832) that Muslim preachers and missionaries from the Malay Peninsula, especially Kelantan, began to arrive in the former land of Champa and Cambodia, and started to work among the Cham communities. Through the efforts of these early missionaries, whose names are no longer remembered, the Chams in Cambodia began to return to the right way of religious practices and the Muslim Chams regained their sense of purpose.²¹ Even though the names of the preachers and missionaries were lost to posterity, their place of origin – Kelantan and the Malay Peninsula – was known to the Chams. Thus the Chams, especially the Muslim Chams in Cambodia, held Kelantan dear to their hearts, so much so that when Malaya became independent of Britain in 1957, it was celebrated among the Cambodian Muslim Chams as “Kelantan is now independent!”²²

The old links between the Malays from Kelantan and the Chams were sustained over the years by the visits of many religious teachers and missionaries from Kelantan to Vietnam and Cambodia where their main purpose was to propagate the Islamic faith to the Chams. These visits were not unitary in terms of direction and many Chams also made the effort to send their children to Kelantan for religious education. In fact, it was the desire of many Chams from both Cambodia and Vietnam to have their sons study at the religious establishments in Kelantan.

One of the earliest to observe this flow of religious teachers and missionaries from Kelantan to Champa and Cambodia was Husin bin Yunus. Husin, a native of Kampong Cham, was sent by his parents to study religious teachings at Kampung Pulau Chondong, Kota Bahru, Kelantan in 1957. Later, he continued his studies at Pasir Mas before returning to Cambodia in 1964. He became a religious teacher and remained so until 1971 when life was becoming increasingly unbearable. He then decided to return to Kelantan with his family. It was Husin’s observations and research that yielded valuable information which helped to strengthen the notion of the old and lasting links between Kelantan and the Cham communities in both Cambodia and Vietnam. It was drawing upon the memory of this linkages that had eventually helped the 1975 Cham refugees to make the decision to choose Malaysia as their destination after leaving Cambodia or Vietnam. Husin bin Yunus’ research provided us with a list of 25 male Muslim missionaries and seven female missionaries.²³

21. Abdullah bin Mohamed (Nakula), “Keturunan Melayu di Kemboja dan Vietnam: Hubungannya dengan Semenanjung dengan Tumpuan Khas kepada Negeri Kelantan”, *Majalah Warisan Kelantan*, VIII, 1989, p. 24.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Table 2: Male Muslim Missionaries to the Chams from Kelantan

No	Name	Visit to Vietnam/ Cambodia	Year	Origin
1.	Ungku Omar	Cambodia	c. 1580–1590s	Kelantan
2.	Laksamana Haji Abdul Hamid @ Datuk Bamso	Cambodia	1687	Jembal, Kelantan
3.	Laksamana Haji Omar* (Brother of Hamid)	Cambodia	c. 1695–1700	Jembal, Kelantan
4.	Tuk Guru Haji Hassan bin Abdullah @ Ong Hassan	Cambodia	c. 1849	Ligor, then Kelantan
5.	Tuk Guru Syeikh Ismail bin Syeikh Hussin @Tuk Nguk	Cambodia	c. 1860s	Pasir Mas, Kelantan
6.	Tuk Guru Haji Wan Salleh bin Haji Omar	Cambodia	c. 1870s	Pasir Mas, Kelantan
7.	Tuk Guru Haji Wan Ngah Wan Mat Yunus	Cambodia, Kelantan	1889–1917	Pasir Puteh, Kelantan
8.	Tuk Guru Haji Syeikh Ismail bin Muhammad Zain	Cambodia	c. 1890	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
9.	Tuk Guru Haji Wan Ismail bin Wan Musa	From Mecca to Cambodia	1892	Pasir Mas, Kelantan
10.	Tuk Guru Haji Wan Ahmad bin Wan Ismail	From Mecca to Cambodia, Vietnam	1892	Pasir Puteh, Kelantan
11.	Tuk Guru Haji Daud bin Lebai Hussin	From Mecca to Cambodia	1893	Tumpat, Kelantan
12.	Tuk Guru Haji Ismail bin Yusuf	From Mecca to Cambodia, Vietnam	c. 1896	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
13.	Tuk Guru Haji Ibrahim bin Haji Yusuf	From Mecca to Cambodia, Kelantan	1903–1905	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
14.	Tuk Guru Haji Said bin Haji Isa	Cambodia	1905	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
15.	Tuk Guru Haji Awang bin Muhammad @Haji Awang Lemak @ Tuk Kemboja Tua	From Mecca to Cambodia, Kelantan	1912–1932	Kampung Terap, Kelantan
16.	Tuk Guru Haji Ahmad bin Haji Abdul Manaf @ Tuk Kemboja	From Mecca to Cambodia	1912–1922	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
17.	Tuk Guru Haji Shamsuddin bin Syeikh Ismail *(son of Syeikh Ismail, No. 7)	Cambodia – Kelantan - Cambodia	Returned to Cambodia 1920	Cambodia – Ketereh, Kelantan
18.	Tuk Guru Haji Wan Ahmad bin Haji Wan Muhammad Zain@Al-Arif Billah	From Mecca to Cambodia	1914	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
19.	Tuk Guru Haji Wan Muhammad Zain bin Haji Wan Ahmad (*son of Haji Wan Ahmad, No. 18)	From Mecca to Cambodia, Kelantan	1914 -1928	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
20.	Tuk Guru Haji Ahmad bin Abdul Rahman	Cambodia	1918–1930	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
21.	Tuk Guru Haji Wan Hassan bin Haji Wan Muhammad Zain (*brother of Haji Wan Ahmad, No. 18)	Cambodia	1924	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
22.	Tuk Guru Haji Idris bin Haji Salleh	Cambodia	1924	Kota Bharu, Kelantan
23.	Tuk Guru Haji Syeikh Wan Muhammad Nur bin Haji Wan Ishak	Cambodia	1929	Kampung Che Bakar, Kota Bharu, Kelantan
24.	Tuk Guru Haji Salleh bin Mat Yusuf @Haji Salleh Kangkung	Cambodia	1929	Pasir Mas, Kelantan
25.	Tuk Guru Nik Daud bin Nik Mat	Cambodia, Kelantan	1931–1932	Jambu, Patani, Kelantan

Source: Abdullah bin Mohamed (Nakula), “Keturunan Melayu di Kemboja dan Vietnam: Hubungannya dengan Semenanjung dengan Tumpuan Khusus kepada Negeri Kelantan”, *Majalah Warisan Kelantan*, VIII, 1989, pp. 38–41.

Table 3: Female Muslim Missionaries to the Chams from Kelantan

No	Name	Visit to Vietnam/ Cambodia	Year	Origin
1.	Hajah Wan Zainab	Cambodia	1927	Kelantan
2.	Hajah Wan Aminah	Cambodia, Kelantan	1927–1975	Kelantan
3.	Che Zainab	Cambodia	1941	Bachok, Kelantan
4.	Che Kalthum	Cambodia	c. 1941–1945	Pasir Mas, Kelantan
5.	Hajah Hafsa bt Muhammad	Cambodia, Kelantan	1920s–1975	Pasir Mas, Kelantan
6.	Cik Fatimah bt Abdullah	Cambodia, Kelantan	??–1975	Pasir Mas, Kelantan
7.	Che Maimunah @ Mok Noh Saigon	Vietnam, Kelantan	??–1963	Pasir Puteh, Kelantan

Source: Abdullah bin Mohamed (Nakula), “Keturunan Melayu di Kemoja dan Vietnam: Hubungannya dengan Semenanjung dengan Tumpuan Khusus kepada Negeri Kelantan”, *Majalah Warisan Kelantan*, VIII, 1989, pp. 38–41.

Tables 2 and 3 are lists of Muslim missionaries from Kelantan who went to serve among the Chams in Cambodia, and one or two in Vietnam. While it is clear that both lists are incomplete as many more were not recorded, several observations can be made. First, the presence of Muslim missionaries from Kelantan among the Chams, in both Cambodia and Vietnam, was a very long-standing affair. The links had existed for at least three to four centuries. Secondly, the continuation of this link into the twentieth century had ensured that though it could be seen as part of distant memories, it remained a recent one. More importantly, many family ties remained intact, even after a century. The continued coming and going of family members between the two places had ensured that the linkages remained fresh – and that when disaster struck, as in the case of the fall of Cambodia and Vietnam to the Communist regimes, Kelantan and Malaysia became the natural choice of destination for the Muslim Chams. In some cases, as in three out of seven female missionaries, they chose to return to the land of their birth in 1975.

The people-to-people relations were not confined to religious activities. It is likely that the Chams had been frequenting Kelantan for many centuries. Several place names in Kelantan suggest close ties between the two peoples, and wide acceptance on the part of the Malays. In Kelantan, one finds names such as Pengkalan Chepa and Kampung Chepa. There were also costume and textile names associated with Champa, for example, *tanjak Chepa*, *sutra Chepa*, *kain Chepa*. Chepa is also used to describe one type of *keris* (dagger). There was also *padi Chepa* (Champa paddy) and *sanggul Chepa* (hair decoration). It is also believed that a mosque in Kampung Laut was built by the Cham sailors who frequented Kelantan.²⁴

24. Abdul Rahman, AI-Ahmadi, *Sejarah Mesjid Kampong Laut*, Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian

Between the establishment of Nguyen rule over Champa in 1693 and the final annihilation of the Cham political entity in 1834, the Chams made many attempts to break away from Vietnamese rule. These normally took the form of armed revolts. Among the major Cham revolts were those of 1693, 1728, 1796 and 1832–34. It is likely that the main cause of the 1728 Cham revolt was the Chams' dissatisfaction with the socio-economic situation with the Vietnamese. This, in turn, brought about the emergence of anti-Vietnamese movements.²⁵ It was through these revolts that the Chams began to rekindle their ties with the Malays and to seek their help in resisting the Vietnamese. The Cham resistance of 1796 against Vietnamese control was led by a Malay nobleman named Tuan Phaow, who is believed to have been from Kelantan as he told his Cham followers that he was from Mecca (which is the Cham name for Kelantan). His followers were mainly Chams from Binh Thuan and from Cambodia (giving rise to the suggestion that he was from Cambodia) as well as Malays. Tuan Phaow's resistance also had a religious dimension. In order to rally the Chams, Tuan Phaow claimed to have been sent by God to help them resist the Vietnamese. His forces were up against Nguyen Anh (Gia Long, founder of the Nguyen Dynasty). Despite putting up a strong resistance for almost two years, Tuan Phaow's forces were cornered and defeated by the Nguyen army working in league with a Cham ruler who was pro-Nguyen. Tuan Phaow was reported to have escaped to Mecca. His resistance was the first clear indication that Cham resistance against the Vietnamese had a strong Malay connection. It also shows that the Islamic religious dimension was a common rallying call.

The 1832 Cham revolt was a reaction against Emperor Ming Mang's harsh oppression of the Chams who had supported Le Van Duyet's viceroy in Gia Dinh in the south. Le Van Duyet had refused to accept orders from Hue since 1728. After Le Van Duyet passed away in 1832, he was succeeded by his adopted son Le Van Khoi, who continued to resist the Nguyen Court. Ming Mang's army carried out a series of oppressive activities against the Cham population in Binh Thuan as punishment for their support of Le Van Duyet and Le Van Khoi. In this conflict, once again the Malay-Cham connection is evident, in the form of Malay leadership in the fight against the Vietnamese. The Chams were led by an Islamic clergyman from Cambodia named Katip (Khatib) Sumat who had spent many years studying Islam in Kelantan. Apparently, upon hearing that Champa was being attacked by the Nguyen army, Katip Sumat immediately returned to Champa accompanied

Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan, 1978, pp. 112–113; J. Dumarçay, «La mosquée de Kampung Laut (Kelantan) : étude architecturale», *Archipel*, 44, 1992, pp. 115–122.

25. Po Dharma, *Le Pāndurāṅga (Campā) 1802–1835 : ses rapports avec le Vietnam, Vol. I*, Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1987, p. 81.

by a large force of Malays and Chams from Kelantan. Katip Sumat, who arrived in Binh Thuan in 1833, led the Chams in a series of guerrilla attacks against the Nguyen army. Apart from fighting for the survival of Champa, he also invoked the Islamic bond in rallying Malay and Cham support for the cause. In some ways this turned the Cham struggle against the Vietnamese into a form of religious war.²⁶ The Katip Sumat-led resistance, however, was defeated by the Nguyen army. Po Dharma is of the opinion that Katip Sumat's Malay contingent did not consist of mere volunteers. He believed they were sent by Sultan Muhamad I of Kelantan (1800–37), who raised an army to accompany Katip Sumat to Champa. According to Po Dharma, the underlying factors were the Sultan's acknowledgement that he and the ruler of Champa were of the same lineage, i.e., Po Rome's descendants, and the need to preserve Islamic unity.²⁷

The defeat of Katip Sumat and other Malay-Cham resistance against the Vietnamese in 1834 marked the end of Champa as an 'independent or autonomous' political entity. However, it remains clear that the Malay-Cham relationship was very old, and was based on their common identity of Malay-ness and, since the 16th century, their common adherence to the Islamic faith. The relations were also lasting as evident by post-1834 relations, where the two peoples continued their ties, both culturally and religiously.

Conclusion

This paper sets out to investigate the reasons behind the Malaysian Government's decision to accept the Chams for resettlement in Malaysia and the reasons the Chams chose Malaysia over the opportunities to settle elsewhere. It is evident that the common adherence to Islam was the main reason behind both decisions. This paper also argues that, apart from the contemporary Islamic ties, the Chams and the Malays – especially those from Kelantan – had established and sustained a long-term people-to-people relationship as a result of many Malay Muslim religious teachers and missionaries from Kelantan going to Cambodia and Vietnam to work among the Chams. When the Chams in Vietnam were facing crisis and oppression from the Vietnamese, there were Malay delegations from the Malay Peninsula that went on to the Chams' aid, though to no avail. All these old links, both religious and political, were strongly imprinted in the minds of the Chams so much so that when Cambodia and Vietnam fell to the Communists, it was to Kelantan and the Malay Peninsula that the Chams had

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 141–147.

27. Po Dharma, "Peranan Kelantan dalam Pergerakan Islam di Campa 1833-1834", *Majalah Warisan Kelantan*, VIII, 1989, pp. 85–86.

chosen to settle in. In many ways, the Chams' experience of migrating to Malaysia demonstrated the importance of distant memories and old linkages in helping to shape present day decisions.

The Cham migration to Malaysia ended some time in 1985. By then the number of Chams who had settled in the country had increased significantly. It is estimated that the total Cham population in Malaysia is probably around 50,000 or more. This was not merely due to the arrivals but also those who were born subsequently in Malaysia. The Cham refugees' resettlement in Malaysia owed its success to the efforts of PERKIM which introduced various programmes to help the Chams to settle. The programme became the Chams' source for social-economic welfare, security and religious solace – three important elements of their lives, especially in the face of the difficulties and challenges they faced. Through PERKIM's resettlement programme, the Cham refugees were able to enjoy social-economic welfare help; they were provided with shelter and basic necessities. After attending the programme, many of the Cham refugees were able to leave the camp and move to other parts of Kelantan and, later, to other parts of the country. Today, many have slowly being integrated into the Malaysian society.

SITI NOR AWANG

Daripada Pelarian Kepada Usahawan: Pengalaman Masyarakat Cam di Pekan, Pahang, Malaysia

Pengenalan

Seperti yang diketahui amnya, pada tahun 1970an, taufan politik telah melanda Indochina hingga menyebabkan antara satu juta hingga tiga juta kematian berlaku yang diakibatkan oleh kebuluran, kerja berat, dan hukuman bunuh (Kiernan, 1990, 1997; Chandler, 1992; Ysa Osman, 2002). Reaksi langsung kesan krisis ini menyebabkan perpindahan keluar penduduk secara besar-besaran untuk menyelamatkan diri dan mencari ahli keluarga yang telah dipisahkan sebelum ini. Penduduk melarikan diri dan meninggalkan rumah dan negara sama ada melalui jalan darat atau jalan laut. Mereka mencari suaka di negara-negara jiran, terutamanya di Thailand dan juga di Malaysia.

Setelah suatu sintesis yang ringkas mengenai perkembangan dan sambutan pelarian Indochina di Malaysia, berdasarkan sebuah studi di lapangan pada tahun 2000an, kami memberi tumpuan kepada sekelompok masyarakat Muslim asal Kemboja yang duduk di Negeri Pahang, khususnya di daerah Pekan, di mana ia mengembangkan pelbagai aktiviti ekonomi, terutamanya kegiatan ternakan ikan.

Pelarian Indochina di Malaysia

Isu pelarian Indochina telah menarik perhatian banyak negara, khususnya berkaitan dengan isu sosial, politik, ekonomi dan strategik. Justeru beberapa negara ASEAN cuba untuk membantu mereka. Thailand merupakan negara suaka pertama yang mengulurkan bantuan, dengan menubuhkan kem-kem.

Usaha ini telah diikuti oleh negara-negara berdekatan seperti Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapura, Filipina, dan Hong Kong (Sutter, 1990).

Kumpulan pertama pelarian Kemboja dan Vietnam mula mendarat di pantai timur Semenanjung Malaysia pada 3 Mei 1975 (Nik Zaharah, 1977). Kerajaan Malaysia bimbang dengan kebanjiran pelarian, khususnya dari Vietnam, yang rata-ratanya adalah berketurunan Cina. Kehadiran mereka dikhawatiri boleh mencetuskan reaksi politik berhubungan dengan komposisi kaum bagi penduduk Malaysia. Sebenarnya, didapati bahawa 60 hingga 80 peratus pelarian yang meninggalkan Vietnam pada tahun 1979 dan 1980 merupakan etnik Cina (Stubbs, 1983; Sutter, 1990). Bagi pelarian yang terdiri daripada kalangan bukan Islam seperti etnik Vietnam dan Cina, mereka telah dihantar ke Pulau Bidong di Terengganu untuk ditempatkan sementara. Selain itu, kerajaan Malaysia turut menubuhkan sebuah pusat transit di Sungai Besi untuk menempatkan pelarian sebelum dihantar di negara ketiga (Sutter, 1990; Chantavanish & Reynolds, 1988; Nik Mohammad, 2004; Mohamad Zain Musa & Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, 2003).

Atas sebab-sebab keselamatan dalaman, kerajaan Malaysia membuat keputusan untuk menempatkan hanya pelarian Islam di negara ini. Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia (PERKIM) telah menyediakan satu pusat yang dikenali sebagai pusat penerimaan di Thailand, di mana pelarian dikehendaki melalui proses penyaringan. Mereka dikehendaki membaca mana-mana surah dari Al-Quran untuk membuktikan bahawa mereka adalah beragama Islam.

Mereka kemudian dibawa ke Malaysia melalui samada jalan darat atau laut. Terdapat dua pintu masuk yang berbeza. Yang pertama adalah di Rantau Panjang, sebuah bandar sempadan antara Malaysia-Thailand di Kelantan, dan yang kedua ialah Tumpat, di pantai timur Semenanjung Malaysia. Kumpulan pelarian yang memasuki negara ini dengan menggunakan bas atau kereta api akan melalui Rantau Panjang dan kumpulan ini datang dari Bangkok. Walau bagaimanapun, kumpulan yang melarikan diri dari Trat, sebuah pelabuhan di Thailand, menggunakan perkhidmatan bot atau kapal, menyeberangi Teluk Siam dan Laut China Selatan sebelum mendarat di Pantai Jubakar di Tumpat (Nik Zaharah, 1977; Mohammad Zain Musa, 2004; Mohammad Zain & Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, 2003; Nik Mohamed, 2004). Menjelang akhir Disember 1975, jumlah pelarian Islam di Kelantan seperti yang dicatatkan oleh Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia (PERKIM) adalah seperti yang ditunjukkan dalam Jadual 1.

Program penempatan pelarian Islam bermula dengan penubuhan sebuah pusat di kem Kemumin di Pengkalan Chepa, yang terletak empat kilometer dari Kota Bharu (Kelantan), kemudiannya dikenali sebagai Taman Putra Kemumin. Pusat ini dibina dengan kemudahan yang terdiri daripada 20 unit kuarters keluarga yang lengkap dengan dapur secara berkongsi, surau,

Jadual 1: Bilangan Pelarian yang Tiba di Kelantan Mengikut Kumpulan Bagi Tahun 1975

Kumpulan	Tarikh ketibaan	Dewasa		Kanak-Kanak		Bilangan	Tempat Mendarat
		M	F	B	G		
Pertama	15.05.1975	21	28	28	28	105	Rantau Panjang
Kedua	20.06.1975	94	89	112	99	394	Tumpat
Ketiga	05.07.1975	109	107	94	98	408	Tumpat
Keempat	10.07.1975	64	49	51	54	218	Tumpat
Kelima	11.07.1975	5	10	3	8	26	Rantau Panjang
Keenam	08.12.1975	11	7	7	11	36	Rantau Panjang
Jumlah		304	290	295	298	1187	

Sumber: Confidential Report of State Executive Committee - Association for the Welfare of Muslim Malaysia (AWMM), 1975.

kawasan berekreasi, kawasan menanam sayur-sayuran, dan kemudahan-kemudahan lain. Seterusnya dengan meningkatnya jumlah pelarian Islam, sebuah lagi kem telah dibina di Cherating di Pahang (Nik Zaharah, 1977; Mohamad Zain Musa & Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, 2003). Setelah dua tahun, mereka dipilih oleh masyarakat Melayu Kelantan melalui program khas yang dikenali sebagai ‘skim angkat’ (lihat Nik Zaharah, 1977). Program ini membolehkan masyarakat Melayu Kelantan membantu pelarian dan ahli keluarga mereka diberi tempat tinggal dan pekerjaan.

Mencari Penempatan di Malaysia

Menjelang tahun 1980an kumpulan pertama pelarian ini mula berpindah keluar dari keluarga angkat mereka dan memulakan kehidupan baru dengan bekerja sendiri. Antara jenis pekerjaan yang diceburi oleh mereka ialah menjual makanan tempatan, yang mana wanita atau isteri pelarian ini mempelajarinya daripada wanita Melayu tempatan semasa mereka tinggal dengan keluarga angkat masing-masing. Sementara ada yang menjual barangan keperluan, seperti kemeja-T, jeans, skirt, tudung, blaus, kain sarung, barangan runcit, makanan dan pelbagai jenis barangan lain. Kaedah perniagaan yang digunakan adalah dengan menjunjung barangan tersebut di atas kepala dan dijual dari rumah ke rumah di kampung-kampung sekitar Kota Bharu. Terdapat juga di antara pelarian ini yang bekerja sebagai pembantu kedai, buruh binaan, dan lain-lain pekerjaan buruh tidak mahir.

Walau bagaimanapun, bagi mereka yang datang selepas tahun 1980an, mereka tidak lagi berpeluang menjadi sebahagian daripada ahli keluarga angkat kepada masyarakat Melayu Kelantan. Kumpulan ini terus dihantar ke

kem pelarian Cherating di Pahang, dan selepas dua tahun di kem pelarian, mereka dihantar untuk bekerja di ladang kelapa sawit Keratong dan Sawira di Daerah Keratong, Pahang. Hasil pendapatan yang diterima oleh setiap keluarga telah disimpan dan kemudian digunakan oleh mereka untuk memulakan kehidupan yang lebih berdikari.

Pada kumpulan pelarian awal, ada di antara mereka telah berpindah dari Kelantan ke Pekan, Pahang. Daerah Pekan terletak berhampiran dengan muara Sungai Pahang, dan kawasan ini menyediakan persamaan dari segi geografi dengan keadaan penempatan mereka di Kemboja, khususnya bagi mereka yang berasal dari wilayah Battambang. Justeru, mereka berupaya meneruskan kehidupan dengan selesa dan melakukan pelbagai jenis pekerjaan yang melibatkan kegiatan perikanan untuk keperluan sara hidup. Selain itu, mereka turut meneroka pelbagai aktiviti ekonomi termasuk meneruskan pekerjaan sama seperti semasa mereka tinggal di Kelantan. Antara aktiviti ekonomi yang dilakukan sehingga kini adalah menternak ikan air tawar dalam sangkar.

Permulaan Kegiatan Menternak Ikan Dalam Sangkar

Kaedah menternak ikan air tawar di dalam sangkar telah dikenalkan secara kecil-kecilan sekitar tahun 1984, apabila pelarian Islam dari Kemboja mula mencari penempatan di negeri Pahang, khususnya ke daerah Pekan. Idea ini datang dari seorang lelaki bernama Wak Zakaria, yang memilih untuk memelihara ikan patin (*Pangasius sp.*) bersaiz kecil. Memandangkan ikan kecil bersaiz sebesar lengan kanak-kanak telah ditangkap dalam jumlah yang banyak oleh Wak Zakaria, ini telah mencetus idea kepada beliau untuk mencuba menternakan ikan tersebut di dalam sangkar.

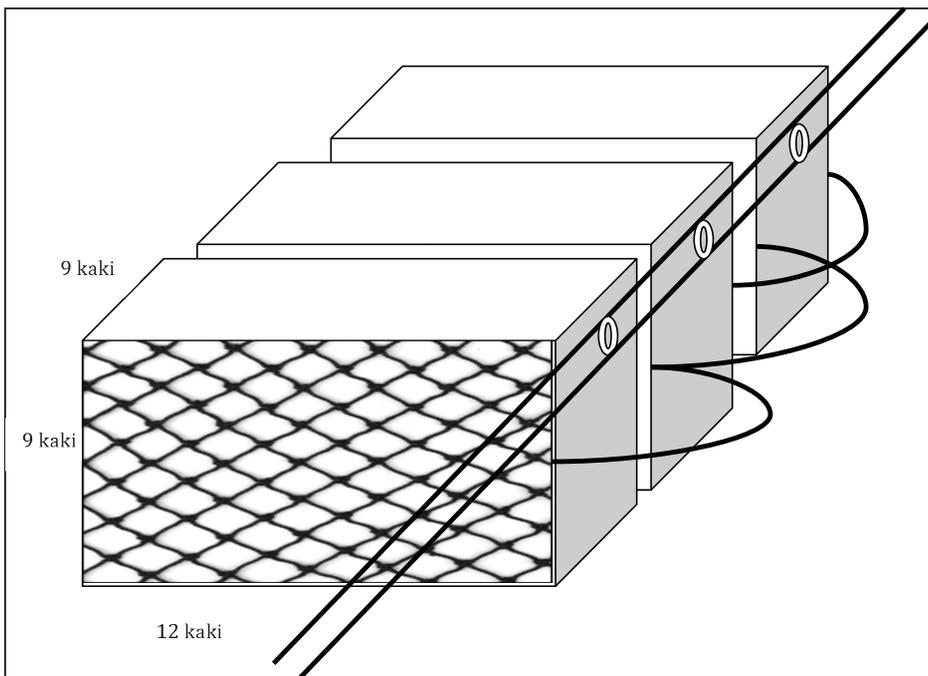
Wak Zakaria memulakan usaha dengan membina sangkar kayu berbentuk segi empat, dengan bahagian tepi sangkar diperbuat daripada buluh untuk memastikan sangkar kayu terapung. Sangkar telah dibina di tebing sungai dan kemudian, apabila siap, telah dibawa masuk ke sungai. Untuk memastikan sangkar tidak hanyut dibawa arus ia diikat dengan tali pada dua batang kayu balak, seterusnya diikat kepada sebatang pokok di tebing. Buluh, kayu dan paku adalah bahan utama yang digunakan untuk membina sangkar pertama beliau. Sedikit ruang di antara kayu dibentuk supaya air dapat mengalir masuk kedalam sangkar dan seterusnya mengalir keluar. Ikan telah dipelihara di dalam sangkar untuk tempoh antara 8 hingga 12 bulan. Wak Zakaria dapat menjual hasilnya dengan harga mencapai tujuh ribu ringgit.

Keuntungan yang besar ini telah meyebabkan beliau ingin meneruskan usaha tersebut, malah turut menarik minat masyarakat Cam lain untuk menceburkan diri dalam kegiatan ini. Beliau menyedari bahawa sangkar yang sedia tidak mampu bertahan lama kerana ia mudah reput. Akhirnya, beliau mendapat idea untuk membina sangkar dengan menggunakan jaring

nilon dan bingkai logam. Jaring yang digunakan diperbuat dari benang nilon nipis yang kemudiannya diikat ke lubang pada bingkai logam. Walau bagaimanapun, sama seperti dengan sangkar kayu, sangkar jaring juga mengalami kerosakan, memandangkan kesan karat logam yang berlaku agak cepat di dalam air. Sementara itu, seorang pelanggan Cina, yang merupakan pembeli ikan, datang dengan idea lain. Dalam percubaan ketiga ini, bahan-bahan yang digunakan untuk bingkai sangkar adalah jaring hijau dan paip plastik, yang dilihat tahan lebih lama. Jelasnya pelanggan berketurunan Cina ini turut menjadi pembekal peralatan membina sangkar dan juga pembekal benih-benih ikan untuk diternak.

Pada masa kini, sangkar yang dibina diperbuat daripada pelbagai bahan: bingkai diperbuat daripada paip PVC, kayu atau keluli, dan plastik polyethylene adalah digunakan untuk jaring atau jala. Lakaran di bawah menunjukkan reka bentuk sangkar, dengan pintu di bahagian atas. Saiznya adalah berbeza-beza antara satu sama lain, namun saiz standar biasanya dibina oleh masyarakat Cam tempatan adalah 6 x 6 x 9 kaki dan 9 x 9 x 12 kaki.

Lakaran 1: Lakaran Bentuk Sangkar Ikan



Pada kebiasaannya para penternak ikan membina sangkar bawah rumah dan memasukkannya di dalam air selama kira-kira dua atau tiga minggu sebelum mereka mengisinya dengan benih ikan (antara 3,000 hingga 4,000 ekor dimasukan ke dalam sangkar bersaiz 9 x 9 x 12 kaki persegi).

Ikan peliharaan di dalam sangkar kebiasaannya diberi makan samada makanan khusus yang dibeli, sisa daripada industri ayam (organ dalaman ayam), atau ikan baja (Masser, 1988; Morris, 1991). Ikan-ikan ini perlu sentiasa makan secara berjadual untuk memastikan pembesarannya, dan biasanya diberikan secara harian atau mingguan. Ikan yang ditenak ini boleh dijual apabila purata berat setiap ekor mencapai antara 800-1000 gm. Ikan patin buah (*Pangasius nasutus*) dan patin mas (*Pangasius micromenus*) adalah antara yang mendapat permintaan tinggi.

Pada masa kini penternakan ikan sangkar merupakan aktiviti utama masyarakat Cam di daerah Pekan. Aktiviti ini berjaya memenuhi keperluan ikan bukan sahaja kepada penduduk tempatan, tetapi juga kepada rakyat Malaysia yang lain. Masyarakat Cam telah berjaya membiak dan memelihara beberapa spesies ikan, yang dianggap sesuai untuk ternakan dalam sangkar dan mendapat permintaan yang tinggi, antaranya *trey pra* (patin hitam), *trey kai* (patin buah), *trey meih* (patin mas), *trey chnot* (cemperas = *Cyclocheilichthys apogon*), *trey kahai* (belida = *Chitala chitala*), dan *trey cepen* (kelah = *Tor sp.*). Nama-nama ikan ini seperti yang dikenali oleh masyarakat Cam tempatan.



Gambar1: Sangkar Ikan Sepanjang Sungai Pahang (Pulau Keladi, 2000, gbr. Siti Nor Awang)



Gambar 2: Menuai Hasil (Pulau Keladi, 2000, gbr. Siti Nor Awang)

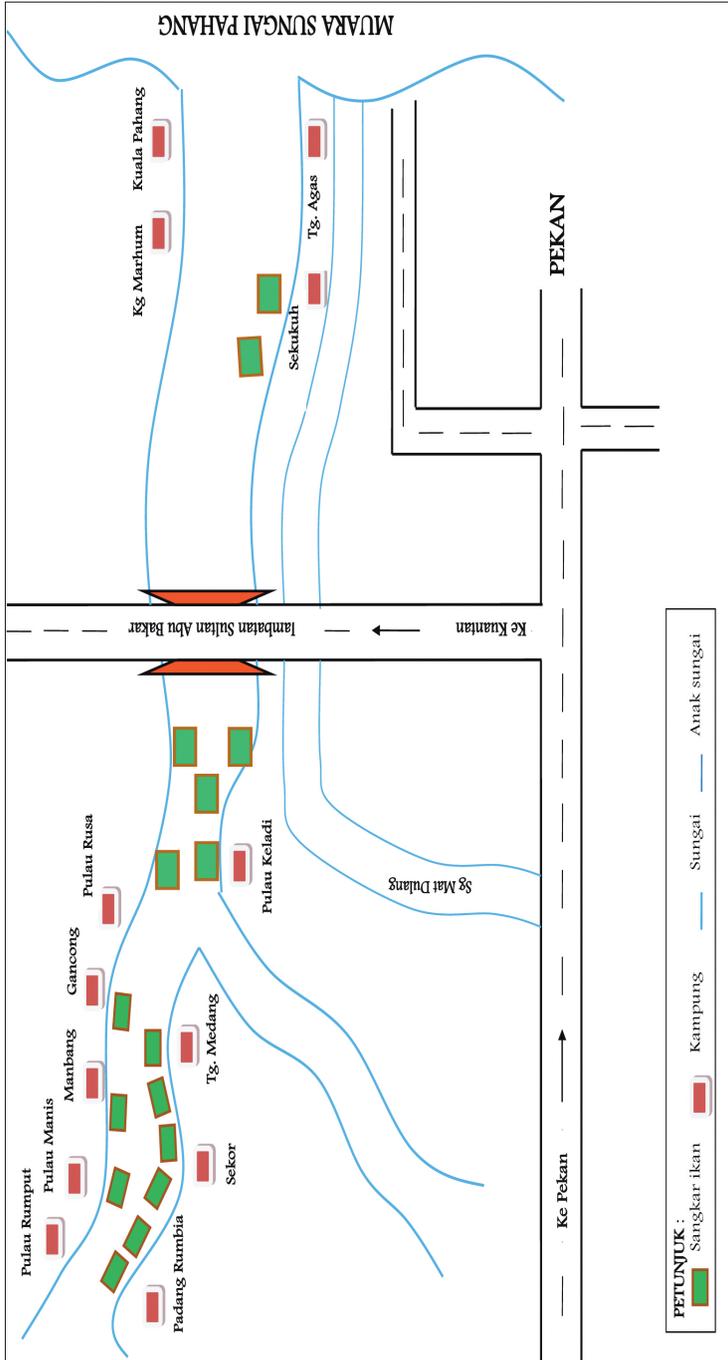
Penglibatan Dalam Industri Perikanan

Peta 1 menunjukkan aktiviti penternakan ikan di sepanjang Sungai Pahang. Kegiatan penternakan ikan sangkar yang paling intensif adalah di Kampung Pulau Keladi, Kampung Sekor dan Kampung Sekukuh. Ketiga-tiga buah kampung ini didiami oleh masyarakat Cam atau dikenali sebagai 'Orang Kemboja' oleh penduduk tempatan.

Jadual 2 berdasarkan laporan yang dikeluarkan oleh Jabatan Perikanan Daerah Pekan mengenai pengeluaran ikan air tawar di daerah Pekan. Didapati terdapat 13 kampung yang terlibat dalam penternakan ikan air tawar di daerah Pekan, termasuk empat buah kampung yang dihuni oleh masyarakat Cam. Empat kampung tersebut adalah pengeluar utama ikan air tawar di daerah Pekan.

Jadual 3 memberi gambaran tentang bilangan penternak ikan sangkar yang berdaftar mengikut kumpulan etnik: Cam atau Kemboja, Melayu dan Cina. Baik pada tahun 2007 mahupun pada tahun 2009, majoriti penternak adalah terdiri daripada masyarakat Cam atau Kemboja, diikuti masyarakat Melayu.

Aktiviti penternakan ikan sangkar pada dasarnya dibahagikan kepada tiga kategori utama: skala besar, skala sederhana dan skala kecil. Pembahagian



Peta 1 : Tapak Sangkar Ikan di Sepanjang Sungai Pahang (Lakaran Siti Nor Awang)

Jadual 2: Bilangan Penternak Ikan Sangkar di Daerah Pekan

Nama Kampung	Penternak ikan tahun 2007	Penternak ikan tahun 2009
Pulau Keladi*	62	62
Sekor*	31	33
Sekukuh*	26	26
Sg Baung*	7	6
Tanjung Medang*	6	6
Ketapang Hilir	5	4
Ketapang Tengah	4	5
Sg Lebai Yahya	4	5
Padang Rumbia	2	2
Gancong	1	1
Kg Tebat	1	1
Pusat Komersial	1	1
Sultan Abu Bakar	1	1
Jumlah	151	153

*Perkampungan masyarakat Cam

Sumber: Jabatan Perikanan Daerah Pekan, Laporan tahunan 2009.

Jadual 3: Bilangan Penternak Ikan Sangkar di Daerah Pekan Mengikut Kumpulan Etnik Bagi Tahun 2007 dan 2009 (Sehingga Bulan Oktober)

Kumpulan Etnik	2007	%	2009	%
Cam/Cambodian	151	60.9	153	51.4
Melayu	93	37.5	141	47.3
Cina	4	1.6	4	1.3
Jumlah	248	100	298	100

Sumber: Jabatan Perikanan Daerah Pekan, Laporan tahunan 2009.

ini dilakukan berdasarkan pemilikan jumlah sangkar ikan oleh setiap penternak. Penternak ikan berskala besar adalah terdiri daripada mereka yang mempunyai lebih daripada 100 sangkar¹ dan terlibat dalam membekalkan ikan ke pasar atau restoran.

Di Pekan dua individu berada di bawah kategori pertama, yaitu Mat Yuen (berketurunan Vietnam dan berkahwin dengan wanita Cham) dan Mat Lohai (seorang lelaki berketurunan Cina yang berkahwin dengan wanita Cham dan tinggal bersama masyarakat Cham) (nama samaran yang diberikan oleh penduduk kampung). Mat Yuen misalnya telah memiliki 250 buah sangkar. Semuanya terletak kira-kira setengah kilometer dari kawasan kampung. Beliau memiliki sebuah lori dan sebuah wagon bagi menjalankan perniagaan. Pada peringkat awal penglibatan beliau dalam kegiatan ini, kebanyakan kerja-kerja dilakukan oleh beliau sendiri dan isteri, dan tiada tenaga buruh yang diupah. Beliau bertanggungjawab ke atas kebanyakan urusan perniagaan. Walau bagaimanapun, selepas lebih 15 tahun terlibat dalam industri perikanan beliau mula melatih anak-anaknya seawal usia 10 tahun untuk membantu beliau dengan melakukan 'kerja ringan'. Kini anak lelaki sulung beliau yang berusia 19 tahun dan yang kedua berusia 16 tahun telah diberikan tanggungjawab membantu beliau menjalankan kegiatan ini. Mereka antara lain menjaga keselamatan sangkar ikan, khususnya pada waktu malam.

Sementara itu, Mat Lohai mempunyai 100 sangkar sahaja. Walau bagaimanapun, beliau mempunyai lebih banyak aset: tiga buah lori, enam orang pemandu, tiga orang pemberi makan ikan, dan dua penjaga sangkar ikan. Di samping itu, beliau turut dibantu oleh isterinya yang bertanggungjawab menjaga akaun dan panjar runcit. Kaedah pengendalian operasi perniagaan Mat Lohai sedikit berbeza, kerana beliau membeli ikan dari penternak berskala kecil, khususnya jika beliau menghadapi masalah kekurangan bekalan. Dianggarkan 80 peratus daripada penternak ikan berskala kecil di Pekan menjual ikan mereka kepadanya.

Penternak ikan berskala sederhana memiliki kurang daripada 50 buah sangkar. Bagi penternak dari kategori ini, kebiasaannya segala urusan akan dibantu oleh ahli keluarga dalam menjaga dan memberi makan ikan, dan penghantar ikan kepada pelanggan. Bagi kumpulan penternak yang dikategorikan sebagai penternak berskala kecil, biasanya memiliki beberapa sangkar ikan, dan aktiviti menternak ikan ini dijalankan sebagai aktiviti sampingan.

1. Menurut maklumat yang diperolehi menerusi salah seorang informan, menyatakan bahawa untuk kos sebuah sangkar ikan dianggarkan kira-kira tiga ribu ringgit. Kos ini termasuk membeli bahan untuk pembinaan sangkar ikan, membeli benih ikan (kebanyakan dari Thailand), dan makanan ikan.

Memasarkan Hasil Pengeluaran

Ketiga-tiga kumpulan penternak ini bergantung antara satu sama lain. Penternak berskala kecil akan menjual ikan mereka kepada penternak berskala sederhana atau penternak berskala besar, atau kadang-kadang mereka juga menjual di pasar pagi atau pasar malam di sekitar bandar Pekan. Penternak berskala sederhana biasanya menjual sendiri ikan-ikan mereka di pasar malam, pasar pagi dan pasar tani di daerah Kuantan dan Pekan. Kadangkala mereka ini juga mempunyai pelanggan tetap yang mengusahakan restoran kecil atau gerai makan.

Penternak ikan berskala besar boleh menjual ikan secara terus ke restoran-restoran yang merupakan pelanggan tetap mereka. Contohnya, Mat Lohai menghantar bekalan ikan antara 200-1000 kg ikan atau udang kepada pelanggan tetap beliau setiap minggu. Beliau adalah pembekal utama ikan hidup dan udang kepada tujuh buah restoran di Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya, Ipoh dan Singapura. Sementara itu, Mat Yuen turut membekalkan ikan air tawar ke beberapa restoran Cina seperti di daerah Bentong dan Maran, yang terletak kira-kira 140 km dari kampungnya.

Kesimpulan

Setelah duduk selama beberapa tahun di Kelantan, mula-mula di kem kemudian bersama keluarga angkat Melayu, mulai tahun 1980an, sejumlah pelarian Muslim asal Kemboja berpindah ke Pahang, di mana mereka berjaya diintegrasikan ke dalam masyarakat tempatan dan berjaya mengukuhkan kedudukan ekonomi mereka. Lingkungan daerah Pekan yang menyerupai lingkungan daerah asal mereka telah membantu mereka untuk mengembangkan aktiviti perikanan sebagai salah satu sumber ekonomi utama. Malah mereka telah berjaya memartabatkan industri perikanan di negara ini. Pencapaian ini dilihat agak luar biasa, kerana hanya dalam tempoh dua dekad sahaja masyarakat ini telah mencapai kedudukan kewangan yang kukuh di samping menjadi pengeluar ikan air tawar dalam sangkar terbesar di daerah Pekan.

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Monde insulindien et péninsule indochinoise : essai bibliographique

Daniel Perret & Danny Wong Tze Ken

Cette bibliographie ne concerne que le domaine des sciences sociales et retient uniquement les travaux dont l'objet principal, ou une partie significative, traitent des relations entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise.

Abréviations

AA	Artibus Asiae
AP	Asian Perspectives
AS	Asian Survey
ATMA	Institut Alam & Tamadun Melayu
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van de Koninklijk Instituut
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CHCPI	Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de la Péninsule Indochinoise
CHM	Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale
CSDS	Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies
FEQ	Far Eastern Quarterly
FMJ	Federation Museums Journal
IA	India Antiqua
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JGIS	Journal of the Greater India Society
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malayan/Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSBRAS	Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
JSEAH	Journal of South-East Asian History
JSEAS	Journal of South-East Asian Studies
MIH	Malaya in History
NBKGW	Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
PEFEO	Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
RIMA	Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs
TOCS	Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
VBG	Verhandelingen van de Bataviaasch Genootschap
VKI	Verhandelingen van de Koninklijk Instituut

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LUDVIK KALUS & CLAUDE GUILLOT

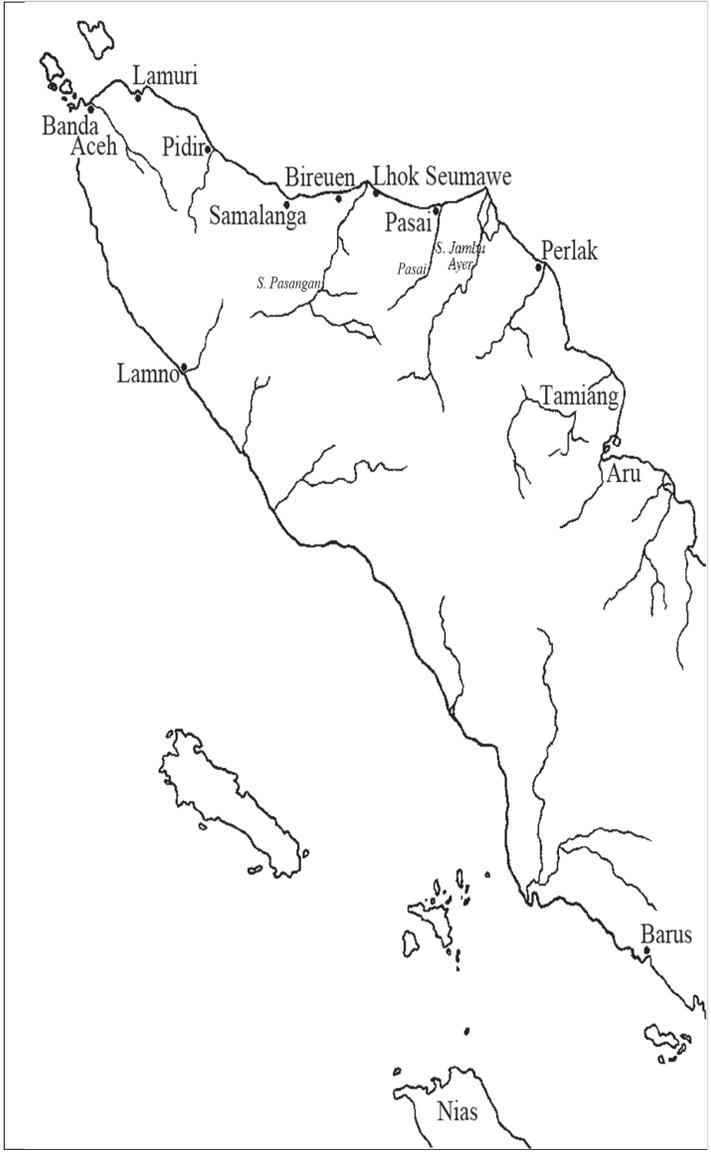
La principauté de Daya, mi-XV^e-mi-XVI^e siècle [Épigraphie islamique d’Aceh 6]

Dans la refondation politique qui prit place au moment du déclin et de la disparition du vieux royaume de Lamuri dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle, surgit, dans la partie occidentale du nord de Sumatra, l’énigmatique principauté de Daya, avant qu’Aceh ne prenne définitivement le dessus. Enigmatique, elle l’est en effet puisque les sources locales ne citent même pas son nom. Elle apparaît peut-être sous le nom de « Barat » dans le *Nāgara-Kertāgama*¹ puis sous celui de « Daya » dans les sources portugaises. Elle était centrée sur la rivière Daya, là où se trouve aujourd’hui le village de Lamno, c’est-à-dire sur la côte occidentale de Sumatra à quelque quatre-vingt kilomètres au sud-ouest de Banda Aceh.

Géographiquement (voir carte), cette cité bénéficiait d’un port naturel, l’estuaire de la rivière, ainsi que d’une liaison facile, par terre, avec la côte septentrionale et donc avec Aceh et, par mer, avec les ports de la côte occidentale, Barus, Tiku et Pariaman entre autres, par où s’exportaient les richesses de l’île : or, benjoin, poivre, etc. En bref, si cette principauté n’a, semble-t-il, jamais joui directement des profits du commerce international, elle était remarquablement placée pour servir de relais entre fournisseurs de produits locaux et revendeurs de biens importés, et abrégé ainsi le temps de navigation des navires hauturiers.

Dans le bassin de la rivière Daya, sur une superficie relativement réduite, s’éparpillent plusieurs cimetières anciens, le plus important, Glé Jong, étant

1. Chant 13/1, Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century. A study in Cultural History, The Nāgara-Kertāgama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 A.D.*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, vol. III, 1960, p. 16.



Carte du nord de Sumatra

situé à l'embouchure (Kuala Daya). Le nombre total de sépultures anciennes inscrites se monte à une quinzaine, ce qui fait de Daya l'un des sites du nord de l'île les plus riches en vestiges de ce type.

Tombes inscrites de la région de Daya

Les tombes présentées ici ont été recensées par les auteurs de cet article lors de leurs prospections dans la région entre 2002 et 2008. Dans la recherche et l'identification des cimetières, tous de petite taille, nous avons été guidés par la liste jadis établie par De Vink. Les appellations des lieux ayant évolué, les gens du pays étaient parfois embarrassés ou hésitants en nous guidant vers les lieux indiqués par De Vink. Ainsi, comme pour l'ensemble de nos prospections dans la région d'Aceh, certains cimetières, voire certaines tombes, relevés par De Vink, n'ont pas pu être retrouvés ou identifiés (certaines tombes ont apparemment disparu) alors qu'à l'inverse, nous avons pu «découvrir» de nouveaux ensembles non signalés par De Vink.

Dans notre inventaire, nous n'avons retenu que des tombes inscrites. Notons que dans l'ensemble présenté ici, six tombes seulement sont pourvues d'une véritable épitaphe lisible au moins en partie. D'autres tombes, avec des textes à caractère religieux plus ou moins lisibles, sont d'une facture visiblement moins onéreuse et dans certains cas plus récentes.

GJ - Cimetière de Glé Jong, Daya. [D'après De Vink vers 1911 : «Glé Djong (Meunassa Lam Keumawé)».] (fig. 1)

Tombe n° 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2002). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911, alors qu'il a photographié d'autres tombes de ce cimetière.

Deux stèles pyramidales, avec la date [8]75[?]/1471.

Voir Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, coll. Cahiers d'Archipel, 37, Paris, 2008, p. 339, n° GJ 01.

Tombe n° 02 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2002). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911, alors qu'il a photographié d'autres tombes de ce cimetière.

Deux stèles à pinacle et à ailes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, registre situé verticalement.



Fig. 1 : Cimetière de Glé Jong, vue d'ensemble (2006)

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 2); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, registre situé verticalement.

En arabe et en malais.

... ١ - أ - (أ) ...
 (ب) (١) -
 .+.+. (٢)
 .+.+. (٣)
 ب - لا إله إلا الله [٩] محمد رسول الله
 ت - (أ) .+.+. -
 (ب) (١) .+.+. -
 (٢) .+.+. -
 (٣) +++++ -
 ث - الله المعروف بالإحسان لا إله إلا الله [٩]
 ٢ - أ - (أ) هجرة النبي صلى الله

- (ب) (١) عليه و سلم سمبلن راتس .. فله ..
 (٢) سلطان
 (٣) لا فتى إلا على لا سيف إلا ذو الفقار [؟]
 ب - لا إله إلا الله محمد الخالق .. (exécuté à l'envers)
 ت - (١) ...
 - (ب) (١) لا إله إلا الله مالك الملك [؟]
 (٢) لا إله إلا الله ...
 (٣) لا إله إلا الله السلام [؟]
 ث - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله ...



Fig. 2 : Tombe 2 - stèle II - face A

Épitaphe :

- II - A - (a); - II - A - (b) - (1-2) : (En) hégire du Prophète - que Dieu le bénisse et le salue ! - 9xx sultân.

Textes religieux :

- I - B : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu [?], Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
 - I - D : Dieu qui est bon par tout bienfait, il n'y a de divinité que Dieu [?].
 - II - A - (b) - (3) : Il n'y a de héros que 'Alî, il n'y a de sabre que dhû l-fiqâr.
 [?]
 - II - B : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad (est l'Envoyé de Dieu). ..
 le Créateur ..
 - II - C - (b) - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Souverain de la Royauté !
 [?] Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, le Salut.
 - II - D : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. ...

À déterminer :

- I - A - (a); - I - A - (b) - (1-3); - I - C - (a); - I - C - (b) - (1-3); - II - C - (a).

Tombe n° 03 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2002). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911, alors qu'il a photographié d'autres tombes de ce cimetière.

Deux stèles à pinacle et à ailes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 3) ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, registre situé verticalement.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 4) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, registre situé verticalement.

... ١ - أ - (أ) ...
 ... (ب) (١) ...
 ... (٢)
 (٣) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 ب - الله لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 ت - (أ) ... < ١ >
 (ب) (١) الغالب على ابن أبي طالب لا إله إلا الله الموجود في كل زمان لا
 (٢) إله إلا الله المعبود في كل مكان
 (٣) لا إله إلا الله المعروف بالإحسان
 ث - لا إله إلا الله المعروف بالإحسان
 ... ٢ - أ - (أ) ...
 ... (ب) (١) الله المعروف ...
 ... (٢)
 (٣) لا إله إلا الله المعبود في كل مكان
 ... ب -
 ت - (أ) لا إله إلا .. < ٢ >
 (ب) (١) .+.+. .
 (٢) .+.+. .
 (٣) .+.+. .
 ث - الله ... لا إله إلا ا

(1) Hors du champ de la photo à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus.

(2) Incomplet sur la photo à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus.

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (b) - (3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.



Fig. 3 : Tombe 3 - stèle I - face C



Fig. 4 : Tombe 3 - stèle II - face A

- I - B : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
 - I - C - (b) - (1-3) : Le plus fort est 'Alî fils de Abû Tâlib. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui existe de tout temps. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu digne de l'adoration à tout endroit.
 - I - D : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui est bon par (tout) bienfait.
 - II - A - (b) - (1-3) : Dieu qui est bon (par tout bienfait)..... Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu digne de l'adoration à tout endroit.
 - II - C - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que (Dieu).
 - II - D : Dieu ... Il n'y a de divinité que (Dieu).
- À déterminer :
- I - A - (a); - I - A - (b) - (1-2); - I - C - (a); - II - A - (a); - II - B; - II - C - (b) - (1-3).

Tombe n° 04 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2002). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911, alors qu'il a photographié d'autres tombes de ce cimetière.

Deux stèles pyramidales, avec la date 862[?]/1457-1458.

Voir Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, 2008, p. 340, n° GJ 04.

Tombe n° 05 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). D'après le classement de De Vink vers 1911 : Graf II.

Deux stèles à accolade polylobée.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 5); B- face ouest (fig. 6); C- face nord; D- face est. Partout : trois registres superposés.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud; B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est. Partout : trois registres superposés.

Publications :

L.C. Damais, «L'Épigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est asiatique», *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, LIV, 1968, p. 582 (mention seulement).

Suwedi Montana, «Nouvelles données sur les royaumes de Lamuri et Barat», *Archipel*, 53, 1997, p. 94 (mention seulement).

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211 (signalé dans «[Lijst der fotografische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh», Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1914).

١ - أ - (١) المؤمنون لا يموتون ... (= بل ينقلون من دار ٩) إلى دار

(٢)

(٣)

- ب - (١) أرى طالب الدنيا أنّ عمره طال

(٢) و يأمرك الدنيا بسرور و نعماءك

(٣) برحمته [؟] ...

- ت - (١) هذا القبر المرحوم المغفور الراجي إلى رحمة الله [؟] ...

(٢) و هي [هو؟] الا السلطان علاو الدين ... سقى الله

(٣) قبره و جعل الجنة مثواه [؟] توفي ليلة الجمعة يوم السابع من شهر رجب [؟]

- ث - (١) سنة ثلاث عشرة و تسعمائة من انتقال النبوية [؟] ...

(٢) ... خير البشر [؟]

(٣) أفضل الصلوات و أزكى التحية

- ٢ - أ - (١) العزيز الجبار المتكبر سبحانه الله عمّا يشركون

(٢) هو الله الخالق البارئ المصور له الأسماء

(٣) الحسنى يسبح له ما فى السموات و الأرض و هو العزيز الحكيم (= قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٢-٢٤)

- ب و ت و ث - ؟؟؟ < ١ >

(1) - II - B - D : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus.

Épitaphe :

- I - C - (1-3); - I - D - (1-3) : Cette tombe est celle du digne de miséricorde, digne de pardon, qui espère la miséricorde de Dieu [?] ... N'est-il pas le



Fig. 5 : Tombe 5 - stèle I - face A
(photo De Vink)

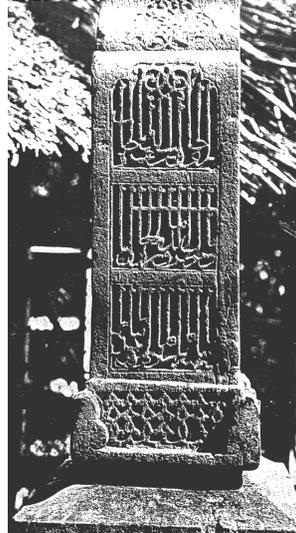


Fig. 6 : Tombe 5 - stèle I - face B
(photo De Vink)

sultan ‘Alâ al-dîn ... - que Dieu abreuve sa tombe et fasse du paradis le lieu de son repos! [?] Il est décédé dans la nuit du (jeudi au) vendredi le 7 du mois de radjab [?] de l’année 913 de l’émigration du Prophète [?] / 12 novembre 1507, ... le meilleur du genre humain [?] - sur lui les meilleures bénédictions et la plus pure salutation!

D’après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 7 radjab 913 tombe effectivement un vendredi.

Coran :

- II - (1-3) : LIX, 22-24.

Hadîth :

- I - A - (1) : Les croyants ne meurent pas, (mais ils sont déplacés d’une demeure) vers une autre.

Morceaux poétiques :

- I - B - (1-3) : Celui qui est en quête de ce bas monde pense que sa vie sera longue. Ce bas monde te fait rechercher le contentement et les plaisirs. Par Sa miséricorde [?] ...

À déterminer :

- I - A - (2-3); - II - B - (1-3); - II - C - (1-3); - II - D - (1-3).

Tombe n° 06 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N’a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911, alors qu’il a photographié d’autres tombes de ce cimetière.

Deux stèles à pinacle.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 7); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est.
Partout : trois registres superposés.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 8); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est.
Partout : trois registres superposés.

- ١ - أ - (١) إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا
 (٢) إِلَيْهِ (را)جعون (قرآن، ٢، ١٥١ / ١٥٦) إِنَّا لِلَّهِ
 (٣) إِنَّا إِلَيْهِ عَاجِلُونَ
 ب - (١) إِنَّا أ
 (٢) لِلَّهِ
 (٣) اللَّهُ [؟]
 ت - (١) إِنَّا لَاقِيَةٌ [؟] لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا
 (٢) إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ (قرآن، ٢، ١٥١ / ١٥٦) إِنَّا لِإِلَهِهِ [كُنَّا]
 (٣) إِنَّا إِلَيْهِ عَاجِلُونَ أ
 ث - (١) .+.
 (٣) .+.
 ٢ - أ - (١) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ
 (٢) لَ إِلَهِ إِلَّا
 (٣) اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
 ب - (١) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا
 (٢) اللَّهُ
 (٣) مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
 ت - (١) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
 (٢) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
 (٣) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
 ث - (١) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا
 (٢) اللَّهُ
 (٣) مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

- Textes religieux :

- I - A - (1-3) : «Nous sommes à Dieu et à Lui nous revenons!» (Cor. II, 151/156) Nous sommes à Dieu et vers Lui nous nous hâtons!

- I - B - (1-3) : Nous sommes à Dieu. Dieu [?]

- I - C - (1-3) : La Rencontre [?] est avec Dieu, à Lui nous revenons! (Cor. II, 151/156) Nous sommes à Dieu et vers Lui nous nous hâtons!

- II - A - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

- II - B - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.



Fig. 7 : Tombe 6 - stèle I - face A



Fig. 8 : Tombe 6 - stèle II - face A

- II - C - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

- II - D - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

À déterminer :

- I - D - (1-3).

Tombe n° 07 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). D'après le classement de De Vink vers 1911 : Graf III.

Deux stèles à pinacle et à ailes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 9); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, deux registres superposés.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 10); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, deux registres superposés.

Publication :

Suwedi Montana, «Nouvelles données...», 1997, p. 94 (mention seulement).

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1914).

... ١ - أ - (١) ...

(ب) (١) هذا القبر الحسينية النسبية المغفورة المرحومة المسّمات

(٢) بستّ حور بنت سلطان سلاطين علاء الدين رعایت شاه ابن

(٣) راج عناية بادشا(ه) ابن عبد الله الملك المبین غفر الله لها

- ب - (١) و لوالديها و جعل الجنة

(٢) مأواها إنا لله لقين [؟]

- ت - (أ) إنا الآخرة لقاء وجهه

(ب) (١) توفيت ليلة الخميس الحادى عشر من شهر

(٢) الله المحرم لسنة إثنى و ستين و تسعمائة من هجرة

(٣) خير البرية عليه أفضل الصلوات و التحية

- ث - (١) لو كانت الدنيا تدوم لأهلها

(٢) لكان رسول الله حيًا و بقيا

- ٢ - أ - (أ) لا إله إلا الله محمد

(ب) (١) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(٣) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

- ب - (١) لا إله إلا الله

(٢) سيّد الأنبياء محمد رسول الله

- ت - (أ) لا إله إلا الله محمد

(ب) (١) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(٣) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

- ث - (١) لا إله إلا الله

(٢) سيّد الأنبياء محمد رسول الله

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (b) - (1-3); - I - B - (1-2 début); - I - C - (b) - (1-3) : Cette tombe est à celle qui est au lignage connu, appartenant à une famille distinguée, digne de pardon, digne de la miséricorde, nommée Sitt (dame) Hûr, fille du sultan des sultans 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyât shâh, fils de raja 'Inâyat Bâdishâ(h), fils de 'Abd allâh le Roi Evident - que Dieu lui pardonne ainsi qu'à ses père et mère et qu'Il fasse du Paradis son refuge ! Elle est décédée dans la nuit du



Fig. 9 : Tombe 7 - stèle I - face A



Fig. 10 : Tombe 7 - stèle II - face A

(mercredi au) jeudi le 11 du mois de Dieu muharram de l'année 962 de l'hégire du meilleur de la Créature - sur lui les meilleures bénédictions et salutation! / 6 décembre 1554.

D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 11 *muharram* 962 tombe effectivement un jeudi.

Textes religieux :

- I - B - (2fin) ; - I - C - (a) : Nous rencontrerons [?] Dieu, la vie future est la Rencontre avec Sa face.

- II - A - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad (est l'Envoyé de Dieu).

- II - A - (b) - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

- II - B - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, le seigneur des prophètes, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

- II - C - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad (est l'Envoyé de Dieu).

- II - C - (b) - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

- II - D - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, le seigneur des prophètes, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

Morceaux poétiques :

- I - D - (1-2) : Si ce bas monde était durable pour les hommes, alors l'Envoyé de Dieu y serait vivant.

À déterminer :

- I - A - (a).

TP - Cimetière de Tuan Pakeh, Kampung Lamno, Meunasa Tua. [D'après De Vink vers 1911 : «Toean Pakeh, Kg. Lam No, Meunathah Toeha, Moekim Lam No»]

Tombe n° 02 du cimetière, Graf II d'après le classement de De Vink vers 1911. La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2006 et 2008.

À l'origine sans doute tombe à deux stèles (dont De Vink n'a photographié que la stèle sud), cubiques, surmontées d'un pinacle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud; B- face ouest; C- face nord (fig. 11); D- face est. Partout : trois registres superposés, partagés au milieu en deux moitiés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475 (signalé dans « [Lijst der fotografische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1917).

أ - (١) لا إله إلا الله // ... // ... (٢)
 ... // ... (٣)
 ب - (١) يا الله .. // يا الله .. (٢)
 ... // لله ... (٣)
 (٣) إنا إليه راجعون [٤] // لله ...
 ت - (١) هجرة النبي صلى // الله عليه وسلم
 ... // ... (٢)
 (٣) سلطان علاء الدين رعایت شاه // ظلّ الله في العالم بن محمد ... جعل
 ث - (١) ... // صلى الله
 (٢) عليه وسلم الملك // ...
 ... // ... (٣)

Épitaphe :

- C - (1-3); D - (1-3) : [En] hégire du Prophète - que Dieu le bénisse et le salue !Sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh, l'ombre de Dieu sur la terre, fils de Muhammad ... - que (Dieu) fasse ... - que Dieu le bénisse et le salue! Le Roi [La Royauté?]

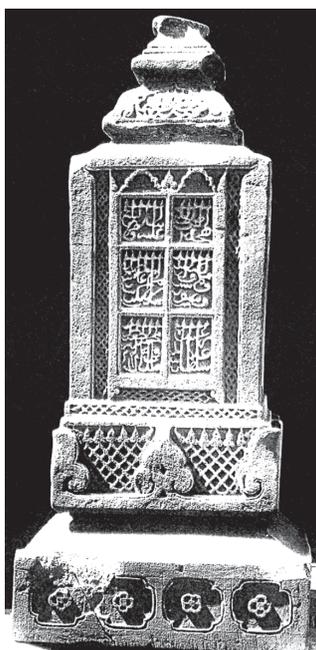


Fig. 11 : Tombe 2 - stèle - face C - (photo De Vink)

Textes religieux :

A - (1) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

B - (1-3) : Ô Dieu ! .. Ô Dieu ! à Dieu ... à Lui nous revenons [?] À Dieu ...

À déterminer :

A - (2-3).

Tombe n° 04 du cimetière, Graf IV d'après le classement de De Vink vers 1911. La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2006 et 2008.

Stèle dont la photo de De Vink ne permet pas de déterminer la forme. (fig. 12)

Sur le sommet de la stèle, registre rectangulaire.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n° 1476 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1917).

..... - ج -

À déterminer : E.



Fig. 12 : Tombe 4 - stèle - sommet - (photo De Vink)

TP complément - Cimetière de Tuan Pakeh [?]

À la recherche du cimetière de Tuan Pakeh, en 2006, un habitant de la région nous a guidés vers un endroit supposé s'appeler ainsi, où se trouvaient les tombes présentées ci-dessous, alors que celles photographiées par De Vink étaient introuvables. Il nous est impossible de déterminer si les deux endroits sont identiques. (fig.13)



Fig. 13 : Cimetière de Tuan Pakeh - vue d'ensemble

Tombe n° G/K 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Petite stèle (deux à l'origine?) à grand pinacle et à deux ailes, déplacée dans le périmètre de son emplacement d'origine.

Face A : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés. (fig. 14)

Les autres faces n'ont pas été photographiées.

أ - (أ) - ألا كلّ شيء ما خلا الله
 (ب) - (ب) باطل و كلّ
 (٢) نعيم لا محالة زائل
 ... (٣)
 - ب و ت و ث - ??? < ١ >

(1) B, C, D : Ces trois faces n'ont pas pu être photographiées par Guillot/Kalus.

Morceaux poétiques :

A - (a); A - (b) - (1-2) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager?

À déterminer :

A - (b) - (3); B; C; D.



Fig. 14 : Tombe G/K 01 - face A - champ

Tombe n° G/K 02 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Petite stèle (deux à l'origine?) à grand pinacle et à deux ailes, déplacée dans le périmètre de son emplacement d'origine.

Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 15); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un petit cartouche, registre; (b) dans les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre; (c) plus bas, dans un grand champ, trois lignes. B et D : dans un champ, un registre.

... - أ - (أ) -
 ... (ب) - (ب)
 ... (ب)
 ... (ت) - (ب) لا إله إلا الله ...
 ... (ب) لا إله إلا الله ...
 ... (ب)
 ... - ب -
 - ت و ث - ؟؟؟ < ١ >

(1) C et D : Ces deux faces n'ont pas pu être photographiées par Guillot/Kalus.



Fig. 15 : Tombe G/K 02 - face A - vue d'ensemble

Textes religieux :

A - (c) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu ... Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu ...

À déterminer :

A - (a); A - (b) - (1-2); A - (c) - (3); B; C; D.

Tombe n° G/K 06 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Deux stèles à grand pignon, sans ailes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 16); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est; E- sur le sommet (fig. 17). A et C : (a) au-dessus du grand champ rectangulaire inscrit, dans deux compartiments, à droite (1) et à gauche (2); (b) dans un grand champ rectangulaire, trois registres superposés; (c) dans deux bandes verticales à droite (1) et à gauche du grand champ rectangulaire inscrit. B et D : non photographié. E : registre rectangulaire.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 18); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est; E- sur le sommet (fig. 19). A et C : (a) au-dessus du grand champ rectangulaire inscrit, dans deux compartiments, à droite (1) et à gauche (2); (b) dans un grand champ rectangulaire, trois registres superposés; (c) dans deux bandes verticales à droite (1) et à gauche du grand champ rectangulaire inscrit. B et D : non photographié. E : registre rectangulaire.

Inscriptions difficilement discernables, lecture impossible - أ - ١ -

ب و ت و ث - ؟؟؟ <١>

ج - هذا القبر المرجوم ...

Inscriptions difficilement discernables, lecture impossible - أ - ٢ -

ب و ت و ث - ؟؟؟ <٢>

ج - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله ...



Fig. 16 : Tombe G/K 06 - stèle I - face A



Fig. 17 : Tombe G/K 06 - stèle I - sommet



Fig. 18 : Tombe G/K 06 - stèle II - face A



Fig. 19 : Tombe G/K 06 - stèle II - sommets

(1) B, C, D : Ces trois faces n'ont pas pu être photographiées par Guillot/Kalus.
 (2) B, C, D : Ces trois faces n'ont pas pu être photographiées par Guillot/Kalus.

Épitaphe :

- I - E : Cette tombe est celle de celui qui est digne de la miséricorde

Textes religieux :

- II - E : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

TBS - Cimetière de Tungku Ba Sapih, Kampung Meunasa Rayeu Lue, Lam Beusoe. [D'après De Vink vers 1911 : «Teungkoe Bā Sapih, Kg. Meun. Rajeü Loeë, Meunathah Rajeü Loeë, Moekim Lam Beusoë»]

Tombe n° 01 du cimetière, Graf I d'après le classement de De Vink vers 1911. La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2006.

À l'origine sans doute tombe à deux stèles (dont De Vink n'a photographié que la stèle sud), cubiques, surmontées d'un pinacle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 20); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est. Partout : trois registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^os 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1917).



Fig. 20 : Tombe 1 - stèle - face A (photo De Vink)

- أ - (١) - هذ القبر الذى
- (٢) حلّ فيه الشيخ
- (٣)
- ب - (١) - ... و هو
- (٢) المعروف
- (٣) بفقيه مظاهر
- ت - (١) - تغمّده الله بغفرانه
- (٢) الباهر آمين
- (٣) ربّ العالمين
- ث - (١) - و ذلك يوم الأثنين
- (٢) العاشر من شهر
- (٣) رمضان ...

Épitaque :

A - (1-3); B - (1-3); C - (1-3); D - (1-3) : Cette tombe est celle où a fait halte le shaykh il est connu comme faqîh (docteur) Muzâhir - que Dieu le couvre de Son pardon éclatant ! Amen, Seigneur des Mondes ! Ceci eut lieu le lundi 10 du mois de ramadân ...

TBS complément - Cimetière de Tungku Ba Sapih [?]

À la recherche du cimetière désigné vers 1911 par De Vink sous le nom de «Teungkoe Bā Sapih, Kg. Meun. Rajeü Loeë, Meunathah Rajeü Loeë, Moekim Lam Beusoë», un habitant de la région nous a guidés vers un endroit où se trouvait la tombe présentée ici, alors que celle photographiée par De Vink était introuvable. Il nous est impossible de déterminer si les deux endroits sont identiques.

Tombe n° G/K 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Petite stèle à grand pinacle et à ailes.

Stèle : A- face sud (fig. 21); B- face ouest (fig. 22); C- face nord; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire, registre.

أ - (أ) - هذا نشان [؟] سبعين [؟] ...
 (ب) - (١) إلى رحمة الله
 (٢) ... الملك
 ... (٣)
 ب - الحمد لربّي [؟]
 ت و ث - ؟؟؟ <١>

(1) C et D : les deux faces n'ont pas pu être photographiées correctement.



Fig. 21 : Tombe G/K 01 - stèle - face A



Fig. 22 : Tombe G/K 01 - stèle - face B

Épitaphe :

A - (a); A - (b) - (1-3) : Ceci est le signe [?] ... à la miséricorde de Dieu ... le Roi ...

Textes religieux :

B - Louange à mon Seigneur [?].

À déterminer :

C - (a); C - (b) - (1-3); D.

TGM - Cimetière de Tungku Gle Merah (Kampung Meunasa Rayeu Lue, Lam Beusoe). [D'après De Vink vers 1911 : «Teungkoe Glé Meurah, Kg. Meunassa Rajeü Loeë, Meunathah Rajeü Loeë, Moekim Lam Beusoë»] (fig. 23)

Tombe n° 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Petite stèle en accolade polylobée.

A- face sud (fig. 24); B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est. A et C : deux registres rectangulaires superposés. B et D : un registre vertical.

أ - (١) لله لله
ب - (٢) لله .. الله
..... - ب -
..... (١) - ت -
..... (٢)
..... - ث -



Fig. 23 : Cimetière de Tungku Glé Merah. Vue d'ensemble



Fig. 24 : Tombe 1 - face A

Textes religieux :

A - (1-2) : A Dieu, à Dieu, à Dieu, à Dieu ... à Dieu.

D : A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A

À déterminer :

B; C - (1-2).

Les trois faces A, B et C sont inscrites de différentes variantes de la *shahâda*, la face D contient quatorze *alif-s*.

Tombe n° 02 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). D'après le classement de De Vink vers 1911 : Graf II.

Deux stèles à pignon, sans ailes.

I- Stèle sud : A- face sud; B- face ouest; C- face nord; D- face est (fig. 25).
Partout : trois registres superposés.

II- Stèle nord : A- face sud; B- face ouest; C- face nord (fig. 26); D- face est. Partout : trois registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1917).

Arabe et malais.

- ١ - أ - (١) هجرت النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَمِيلِن رَاتس انم بو
 (٢) له .. فد هر فد الوفا (فد تاهن؟) ... سلطان صلاح
 (٣) الدين ابن على مغايد [= مغايت ؟] شاه خَلد الله
 - ب - (١) ...
 ... (٢)
 (٣) ... المعروف
 - ت - (١) ...
 ... (٢)
 ... (٣)
 - ث - (١) ملكه و سلطانه
 ... (٣)
 - ٢ - أ - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا
 (٢) ... الله لا إله
 (٣) إلا هو ...
 - ب - (١) ...
 ... (٢)
 (٣) .. الحاصل [؟] ..
 - ت - (١) ...
 ... (٢)
 ... (٣)
 - ث - (١) الله باطل و كلّ
 (٢) نعيم لا محالة زائل
 ... (٣)

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (1-3); - I - D - (1) : (En) hégire du Prophète - que Dieu le bénisse et le salue ! - 96x Sultân Salâh al-dîn, fils de ‘Alî Mughâyid [= Mughâyat ?] shâh - que Dieu éternise son royaume et son pouvoir !

Textes religieux :

- II - A - (1-3) : Il n’y a de divinité que Dieu. Il n’y a (de divinité que) Dieu. Il n’y a de divinité que Lui ...

Morceaux poétiques :

- II - D - (1-2) : (Toute chose, excepté) Dieu, n’est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ?

À déterminer :

- I - B - (1-3); I - D - (2-3); - II - B - (1-3); - II - C - (1-3); - II - D - (3).



Fig. 25 : Tombe 2 - stèle I -
face D



Fig. 26 : Tombe 2 - stèle II -
face C

La stèle I contient une épitaphe où la date est exprimée en malais. La mauvaise exécution des caractères ne permet pas le déchiffrement exact de l'ensemble de la date. Pour la même raison, le déchiffrement d'autres parties des inscriptions est incomplet. Le registre - I - B - (3) est rempli d'une rangée d'*alifs* reliés à la base et coupés par deux hampes obliques croisées dont les extrémités supérieures et inférieures sont reliées par une ligne horizontale.

La stèle II est difficilement lisible à cause des intempéries (mousse). On y relève, sur les faces larges, dans la première ligne, la première partie de la *shahâda*. On note dans - II - D - (3) une rangée d'*alifs* juxtaposés coupée par deux hampes obliques croisées.

Tombe n° 03 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2008). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles à pignon, sans ailes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 27) ; D- face est. Partout : trois registres superposés.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 28) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : trois registres superposés.



Fig. 27 : Tombe 3 - stèle I - face C

أ - ١ - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٢) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٣) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 ب - (١) لا إله إلا
 (٢) الله لا إله إلا
 (٣) الله

ت - (١) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٢) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٣) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 ث - (١) لا إله إلا
 (٢) الله لا إله إلا
 (٣) الله

٢ - أ - (١) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٢) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٣) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 ب - (١) لا إله إلا
 (٢) الله لا إله إلا
 (٣) الله

ت - (١) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٢) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٣) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 ث - (١) لا إله إلا
 (٢) الله لا إله إلا
 (٣) الله



Fig. 28 : Tombe 3 - stèle II - face A

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
- I - B - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - C - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
- I - D - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - A - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
- II - B - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - C - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
- II - D - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

TPS - Cimetière de Tungku Pahlawan Syah, à Kampung Baru. [D'après De Vink vers 1911 : «Teungkoeh Pahlawan Sjah, Kg. Oeateuë, Meunathah Meungko.ek (?), Moekim Koeala Daja»]

Tombe n° 01 du cimetière, Graf I d'après le classement de De Vink vers 1911 (il semblerait qu'aucune des photos de cette tombe, prises par De Vink vers 1911, ne se trouve actuellement à Jakarta ou à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Leyde).

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2006.

Stèle pyramidale isolée sur la plage.

Inscription qui « porte le nom de Husein et la date *tis'in wa sab'a mi'ah*, soit 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) » et qui s'accompagne d'un médaillon ressemblant à un « soleil de Majapahit »². La date lue par Montana est sans doute incorrecte.

Voir Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires...*, 2008, p. 341, n° TPS 01 (mention seulement).

2. D'après Suwedi Montana, «Nouvelles données sur les royaumes de Lamuri et Barat», dans *Archipel*, 53, 1997, p. 95.

Tombe n° 02 du cimetière, Graf II d'après le classement de De Vink vers 1911.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2006.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1485/ii, 1486/ii, 1487/ii, 1488/ii (signalé dans «[Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh», Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1917).

Il semblerait qu'aucune des photos de cette tombe, prises par De Vink vers 1911, ne se trouve actuellement à Jakarta ou à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Leyde.

MS - Cimetière de Mahdum Syah (à Babahdua, district de Lamno). [N'a pas été recensé par De Vink vers 1911]. (fig. 29)

Tombe n° 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Petite stèle à pinacle et à deux petites ailes.

Sur les deux grandes faces opposées (A et C), deux registres superposés partagés chacun en deux moitiés. (fig. 30)

- ... / ... (١) - أ -
- ... / ... (٢)
- ب - [غير منقوش]
- ت - ... / ... (١)
- ... / ... (٢)
- ث - [غير منقوش]



Fig. 29 : Cimetière de Babahdua - vue d'ensemble



Fig. 30 : Tombe 1 - face A

À déterminer :

A - (1-2); C - (1-2).

Décor : B; D.

Parmi les conclusions que l'on peut tirer de l'ensemble de ces données, les premières relèvent presque de l'évidence, ce qui ne diminue en rien leur intérêt.

L'existence de la principauté de Daya a été relativement longue, comparée en tout cas à Pidir³ et Peudada⁴, puisque la tombe la plus ancienne remonte à 1457-8 (GJ04)⁵ et la plus récente à 1552-1562 (TGM02), soit plus d'un siècle.

Elle a été islamisée au plus tard au milieu du XV^e siècle, contrairement à ce qu'affirmaient d'une part Tomé Pires⁶, qui n'y est pas allé, écrivant que le

3. C. Guillot & L. Kalus, «Note sur le sultanat de Pidir. Début du XVI^e s. [Étude épigraphique d'Aceh. 3]», *Archipel*, 78, 2008, pp. 7-18.

4. L. Kalus & C. Guillot, «Note sur le sultanat de Peudada, fin XV^e-début XVI^e s. [Étude épigraphique d'Aceh. 5]», *Archipel*, 83, 2012, pp.7-15.

5. Il s'agit de la tombe d'un certain Zayn al-dîn, déjà publiée dans C. Guillot & L. Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires...*, 2008, p. 339.

6. Tomé Pires, *The Suma oriental of Tomé Pires...*, Armando Cortesão (trad. & éd.), Londres, Hakluyt Society, 1944, tome I, p. 163.

roi de Daya était encore « païen » vers 1515, d'autre part le chroniqueur de l'*Hikayat Aceh* (désormais *HA*) qui attribue l'islamisation de la région à 'Alî Mughâyat shâh, c'est-à-dire dans les années 1510-1530. La principauté eut un sultan avant 1507, contrairement à ce qu'avance Barros qui affirme qu'à l'arrivée des Portugais dans la région, en 1509, seuls deux souverains du nord de Sumatra portaient le titre de sultan, Pasai et Pidir⁷.

Elle n'a cessé d'être liée à un royaume plus puissant centré autour de l'actuelle Banda Aceh. Nous avons constaté ailleurs⁸ que le type de stèles en forme de pyramidion effilé, qui est celui des deux plus anciennes tombes de Daya, était caractéristique de l'art funéraire du XV^e siècle de la partie occidentale du nord de Sumatra et nous avons émis l'hypothèse que ce style était propre au royaume de Lamuri, seul nom d'entité politique qui nous soit parvenu pour cette région avant l'émergence d'Aceh. La présence de telles stèles à Daya prouverait que cette principauté dépendait politiquement aussi de Lamuri. Nous verrons plus loin qu'après la disparition de ce vieux royaume, son destin fut étroitement lié à celui d'Aceh.

Une évolution radicale de la typologie des monuments funéraires apparaît au tournant du XVI^e siècle. Le pyramidion est abandonné au profit de stèles parallélépipédiques d'un style proche de celui de Pasai. Cette nouvelle esthétique témoignerait, selon nous, des bouleversements politiques survenus dans la région entre l'effondrement du royaume de Lamuri et l'émergence de petites principautés sur ses ruines (Pidir, Peudada, Daya).

Plusieurs épitaphes princières donnent des éléments d'informations qu'il convient de mettre en parallèle avec les deux chroniques locales, l'*HA* et le *Bustan al-salatin*, et celle de Barros. Ce dernier⁹ rapporte que la principauté la plus puissante de la région vers 1511 était alors Pidir et que le souverain de cet État avait placé à la tête des deux principautés vassales de Daya et d'Aceh, deux de ses « esclaves », terme, ajoute-t-il, qui n'empêche pas qu'ils aient pu être de grande noblesse. Il est difficile de concilier les sources locales et étrangères et beaucoup s'y sont essayés. L'*HA*¹⁰ connaît deux royaumes aux noms curieusement arabes de Dar al-Kamal et Makuta 'Alâ'm. Il est vraisemblable comme le suppose Teuku Iskandar¹¹ que Makuta 'Alâ'm correspondait à Lamuri. Il faudrait en toute logique que Dar al-Kamal corresponde au Daya des Portugais. Ces deux principautés auraient eu la rivière d'Aceh pour frontière commune.

7. João de Barros, *Da Ásia*, *Decada* III, VIII, i.

8. C. Guillot & L. Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires...*, p. 26.

9. Barros, *Decada* III, VIII, i.

10. Teuku Iskandar, *De Hikajat Atjeh*, *Verhandelingen van het KITLV*, deel XXVI, 's-Gravenhage, 1958, p. 72.

11. *Ibid*, p. 32.

D'après la même chronique, le prince de Dar al-Kamal avait pour nom 'Inâyat shâh, celui de Makuta 'Alâ'm, Munawwar shâh. Il s'agit sans doute des deux hommes-liges du sultan de Pidir mentionnés par Barros. La tombe de 'Inâyat shâh n'a pas été retrouvée mais ce personnage est mentionné dans plusieurs épitaphes de ses descendants. Celle de sa petite-fille, Dame Hûr, qui se trouve à Daya (GJ07), est la plus détaillée. Elle donne le titre de *raja* à 'Inâyat shâh, ce qui laisse présumer qu'il dépendait politiquement d'un souverain plus puissant (celui de Pidir, selon les sources portugaises). La même épitaphe le dit « fils de Abd allah, al-malik al-mubîn », « al-malik al-mubîn », « le roi Evident », étant une apposition au *Allah* contenu dans le nom. Nommer un ascendant Abd allah constitue souvent un procédé pour masquer un lignage non musulman. Il est donc vraisemblable que 'Inâyat ait été le premier de sa famille à avoir adopté l'islam. Toujours à Daya, a été enterré comme on va le voir, le sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh. Il y possède même deux tombes (GJ05 et TP02). Sur l'une d'elles (TP02), sa courte généalogie le présente comme « fils de Muhammad... ». Comme on sait par ailleurs qu'il était le fils de 'Inâyat (nom de règne), on serait tenté d'affirmer que le nom propre (*ism*) de ce dernier était Muhammad, tout à fait adéquat pour un nouveau converti. Ce personnage vécut dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle puisque ses deux fils moururent respectivement en 1497 (Muzaffar shâh) et en 1507 ('Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh).

En effet, 'Inâyat eut au moins deux fils qui régnèrent tous deux en prenant le titre de sultan. L'un, Muzaffar shâh, mort en 1497, est enterré au cimetière de Tuan di Kandang (TK03) dans le quartier de Biluy à Banda Aceh. Son frère, 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh, est lui enseveli à Daya, où répétons-le, il a deux monuments funéraires (GJ05 & TP02). La chronique locale étant trop lacunaire et trop confuse, il est impossible de comprendre si ces deux fils se succédèrent sur le trône de Dar al-Kamal ou s'ils régnèrent sur deux régions différentes. La double sépulture de 'Alâ' al-dîn s'explique sans doute par la volonté d'un de ses descendants – sa fille peut-être – de réunir sa lignée dans un cimetière familial princier à Glé Jong, situé dans un cadre magnifique en surplomb de l'embouchure de la rivière Daya.

Selon l'*HA*, le royaume de Makuta 'Alâ'm attaqua et vainquit celui de Dar al-Kamal. Elle attribue cette victoire à un certain Muzaffar, qu'il faut rétablir en Munawwar d'après les généalogies données par certaines épitaphes. Si l'utilisation dans la bataille d'un canon récupéré sur un navire portugais qui s'était échoué n'est pas un anachronisme, il faut situer l'unification des deux principautés et la formation du Grand Aceh dans la deuxième décennie du XVI^e siècle. Cette nouvelle entité ne comprenait cependant pas Daya qui entra en résistance. Peut-être faut-il, à ce stade, entendre par Daya, seulement la partie la plus occidentale de Dar al-Kamal, près de la côte de l'océan Indien.

Selon Barros¹², «le seigneur d’Aceh» avait deux fils, l’aîné Raja Ibrahim et le second Raja Lila (sans doute le titre *Raja Lela*). Le chroniqueur portugais attribue à Raja Ibrahim une série d’exploits militaires, contre Daya, dont le prince se serait enfui à Aru, contre son suzerain Pidir et enfin contre Pasai. En bref, il serait le fondateur de la puissance indépendante d’Aceh dont le territoire recouvrait tout le nord de Sumatra. Il aurait épousé la fille du «seigneur de Daya» qui, pour se venger, l’aurait empoisonné, en 1528.

L’épigraphie connaît effectivement deux frères dont l’un s’appelait Raja Ibrahim et l’autre ‘Alî Mughâyât shâh. Selon son épitaphe, Raja Ibrahim ne porte pas le titre de sultan et est mort en 1523 (KA16)¹³. Son frère, ‘Alî Mughâyât shâh (BR9 et 10), est décédé en 1530 et non seulement a-t-il, lui, le titre de sultan mais les chroniques locales le considèrent comme le véritable fondateur du sultanat d’Aceh.

Les sources sont irréconciliables entre elles. Sans doute, faut-il penser que les sources portugaises ont quelque peu confondu les deux personnages. Raja Ibrahim fut certainement un éminent chef de guerre, mort sans doute trop jeune pour accéder au trône. Mais ce fut ‘Alî Mughâyât shâh (le «Raja Lila» de Barros), qui reprit à son propre compte les conquêtes de son frère¹⁴, devint sultan et épousa une princesse de Daya.

Dans le cimetière de Glé Jong, l’une des tombes les plus importantes (GJ07), est celle d’une certaine Dame Hûr, fille du Sultan ‘Alâ’ al-dîn et donc petite-fille de Muhammad, *raja* ‘Inâyât, «l’esclave» placé par le roi de Pidir, à la tête de la principauté de Daya. Tout dans son épitaphe concourt à montrer qu’il s’agit d’une femme de haute distinction. Elle porte le titre arabe de *sitt* (Dame), qui, on l’a vu à Pasai¹⁵, semble réservé aux épouses royales. Par ailleurs, elle fait rejaillir sa propre gloire sur ses ascendants, qui se voient gratifiés de titres emphatiques qu’ils n’avaient pas osé s’attribuer eux-mêmes. Le titre – jugé trop commun? – de sultan de son père est transformé en «sultan des sultans». Quant à son grand-père ‘Inâyât, pourtant simple *raja*, il est honoré d’un «roi des rois», *bâdishâh*, à l’époque très répandu surtout en Inde (!). Cette femme n’est inconnue ni dans Barros ni dans l’*HA*. Barros¹⁶ affirme qu’une princesse de Daya épousa Raja Ibrahim

12. Barros, *Decada* III, VIII, i.

13. Notre article («Bayt al-rijâl : premier cimetière royal du sultanat d’Aceh» [Épigraphie islamique d’Aceh. 4]), *Archipel*, 80, 2010, pp. 211-255) a été publié avant que ne soit terminé l’inventaire total des inscriptions d’Aceh. Nous y avons, de ce fait, affirmé à tort (p. 251) qu’il n’existait aucune tombe au nom de Raja Ibrahim. Celle-ci se trouve au cimetière de Kuta Alam, dans le quartier de Pangu.

14. Dans l’une de ses épitaphes (BR09), il est qualifié de «combattant sur terre et sur mer» (L. Kalus & C. Guillot, «Bayt al-rijâl...», 2010, p. 244).

15. C. Guillot & L. Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires...*, 2008, p. 101.

16. Barros, *Decada* III, VIII, iv.

qu'elle fit périr par le poison. Comme on vient de le voir, cette épouse royale (*Sitt*) ne fut pas la femme de Raja Ibrahim mais celle du sultan. C'est par ce mariage que peut s'expliquer la suite des événements rapportés par l'*HA*. A la mort du sultan 'Alî Mughâyat shâh [en 1530 d'après sa tombe], monta sur le trône son fils Salâh al-dîn. L'*HA* et le *Bustan* le présentent comme un souverain falot ou hédoniste qui, par désintérêt ou incompétence, aurait abandonné la direction des affaires de l'État à un certain Raja Bungsu, assassiné plus tard par son frère qui régnait alors à Pasai.

À lire avec attention le texte de l'*HA*, on se rend compte que cette désinvolture vis-à-vis du pouvoir ne tenait pas à la personnalité de Salâh al-dîn mais bien au fait que le véritable souverain était sa mère¹⁷, veuve de 'Alî Mughâyat shâh, nommée dans cette chronique par son seul titre royal de *Paduka Shâh 'Alam*¹⁸. L'*HA* précise en effet que c'est elle qui nomma au poste de premier ministre, *mangkubumi*, un homme de son choix, au nom corrompu de «Kasdin», un étranger venu de l'Ouest puisqu'on le désigne par le titre turc de *agha*. C'est elle qui attribua à ce dernier la prérogative royale de jouir du «parasol vert». Si c'est son fils qui lui permit d'édifier sa résidence à l'intérieur de l'enceinte du palais, c'est elle encore qui lui donna le titre de Raja Bungsu («Petit dernier») qui montre assez sa grande intimité avec la famille royale.

Selon la même source, le second fils de cette reine, 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh, sultan à Pasai ne put supporter cette situation. Il vint à Aceh, et tua Raja Bungsu. Salâh al-dîn lui fit faire des funérailles de souverain, dit l'*HA*, et le fit enterrer au cimetière royal de Bayt al-rijâl¹⁹. Devant les réactions hostiles de sa mère et de son frère, 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh fit enfermer ceux-ci dans le palais, transférer le corps de Raja Bungsu dans un autre cimetière avant de le faire finalement jeter dans la mer. L'*HA* dit que Salâh al-dîn mourut peu après avoir été mis en résidence surveillée, alors que le *Bustan* affirme, lui, qu'il survécut neuf ans à ces événements. D'après les épitaphes, il semble qu'il faille donner raison au *Bustan*. Salâh al-dîn et sa mère Dame Hûr sont très certainement morts et ont été enterrés à Daya et non à Aceh. L'exil dans la principauté natale de la mère et de son fils constituait, sans doute, une sortie honorable pour 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh qui, d'après l'*HA*, n'avait manifestement pas l'intention de les tuer ni même de les maltraiter.

Notons au passage que la présence de la tombe de Salâh al-dîn à Daya (TGM02) constitue un élément supplémentaire plaidant en faveur d'un mariage de la Dame Hûr avec 'Alî Mughâyat shâh, et non avec son frère Raja Ibrahim. Autant cet emplacement paraîtrait incongru, sans lien proche

17. T. Iskandar, 1958, pp. 79-85.

18. «Shâh 'Alam» est l'appellation réservée traditionnellement au souverain.

19. T. Iskandar, 1958, p. 84.

entre ce sultan, fils de ‘Alî Mughâyat shâh, et la Dame Hûr, autant il s’explique aisément si cette dernière est sa mère.

Cette Dame Hûr, peu connue par rapport aux sultanes, fait donc partie de cette cohorte de femmes énergiques n’hésitant pas à s’emparer du pouvoir, qui ont émaillé l’histoire politique du sultanat d’Aceh, comme elles l’avaient fait auparavant dans celui de Pasai avec Malika Wabîsa de Minye Tujuh au XIV^e siècle ou Malika Râbghisâ Khâdira au début du XV^e siècle²⁰.

Le sultan Salâh al-dîn présente la particularité de posséder trois tombes au nord de Sumatra. La première est à Kuta Raja dans le cimetière de Bayt al-rijâl (BR11) qui le dit fils du sultan ‘Alî Mughâyat shâh et mort le 23 *shawwal* 955 ou 25 novembre 1548²¹. La seconde est au cimetière de Bitay où il est dit sultan Salâh al-dîn, fils de ‘Alî, mort en 9xx (date incomplètement déchiffrable), soit entre 1494 et 1590²². La troisième est celle de Daya qui donne pour son décès la date incomplètement déchiffrable de 96x de l’H., soit entre 1552 et 1561, et le dit fils de ‘Alî (Mughâyat shâh). Bien que les dates ne concordent pas, il faut admettre qu’il s’agit du même défunt puisqu’on ne connaît qu’un seul sultan Salâh al-dîn dans l’histoire d’Aceh du XVI^e siècle. La simplicité de la sépulture de Daya fait penser que ce monument correspond à la première inhumation, celle d’un exilé, banni par le pouvoir. La tombe de Bayt al-Rijal est à l’évidence un monument officiel dressé postérieurement dans l’enclos funéraire des souverains, dans une recherche d’harmonie politique posthume après que tout danger partisan ait disparu. La date du décès inscrite sur la stèle peut être erronée précisément parce qu’elle a été sculptée longtemps après le décès. Faute de sources suffisantes, la présence d’une troisième tombe, celle de Bitay, reste inexpliquée mais on a vu, avec l’exemple de Raja Bungsu, de ‘Alâ’ al-dîn Ri’âyat shâh et de nombreux autres que les cadavres n’ont pas toujours qu’une unique sépulture.

Salâh al-dîn serait donc mort, selon nous, entre 1552 et 1561. On sait qu’il succéda à son père mort en 1530. F. Mendes Pinto rapporte qu’au cours de l’été 1539, des campagnes furent menées par Aceh contre le royaume des «Batak» et celui d’Aru. Il appelle le sultan régnant alors «Alaradim», ce qui est évidemment proche de ‘Alâ’ al-dîn²³. Il faudrait donc en tirer la

20. C. Guillot & L. Kalus, *Les monuments ...*, 2008, pp. 72, 78.

21. C. Guillot & L. Kalus, «Bayt al-rijâl...», 2010, p. 249. Dans cet article publié avant la fin de l’inventaire total des inscriptions d’Aceh, il est malencontreusement affirmé que ce sultan n’avait que deux tombes.

22. C. Guillot & L. Kalus, «Quand un sultan d’Aceh devient turc à la suite du tsunami [Épigraphie islamique d’Aceh I]» *Archipel*, 77, 2009, pp. 45-55.

23. Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Pérégrination* (trad. française de Robert Viale), Paris, La Différence, 1991, ch. 31, p. 109. Il ne faut pourtant pas perdre de vue que Mendes Pinto ait pu confondre le sultan d’Aceh avec le sultan de Pasai, vassal d’Aceh. Avant le coup d’État, ‘Alâ’ al-dîn était sultan de Pasai. Stratégiquement Aru était plus facile à attaquer de Pasai que d’Aceh.

conclusion que l'assassinat de Raja Bungsu et le coup d'État eurent lieu avant cette date. Selon l'*HA*, Salâh al-dîn aurait été détrôné vers 1549, après dix-neuf ans de règne. Il aurait encore vécu neuf ans après son abdication, d'après le *Bustan*, ce qui le ferait mourir en 1558. Nous nous contenterons de constater que les dates obtenues par les chroniques locales paraissent cohérentes mais en ajoutant aussitôt que lesdites chroniques sont généralement peu fiables sur les chiffres.

Barros²⁴ rapporte qu'à l'approche des troupes de Raja Ibrahim qui allait attaquer Daya, le « prince de Daya » s'enfuit à Aru. Celui-ci ne peut pas être 'Alâ' al-dîn, comme le pense T. Iskandar puisqu'il était mort plus d'une dizaine d'années auparavant. Il s'agit beaucoup plus vraisemblablement, comme le spéculait Hoesein Djajadiningrat, d'un fils de celui-ci et donc d'un frère de la Dame *Hûr*.

Une tombe de Glé Jong (GJ02) porte le titre de sultan au nom illisible et à la date peu lisible de 9xx, soit après 1494. Comme on ne connaît pas d'autre souverain ayant eu des relations avec Daya, l'interprétation la plus plausible – qui reste bien sûr une hypothèse – serait que ce monument marquerait la sépulture du « prince de Daya » dont Barros ne donne pas le nom mais qui aurait régné au début du XVI^e siècle, après la mort de son père en 1507, et qui aurait été chassé du trône par Raja Ibrahim, avant 1523. Il aurait pu revenir de son exil à Aru après la mort d'Ibrahim ou celle de 'Alî Mughâyat shâh. La présence de sa tombe au cimetière princier de Glé Jong confirmerait qu'il s'agit bien d'un membre de la famille de Dame *Hûr*, qui serait donc sa sœur.

On voit que la principauté de Daya a connu une histoire mouvementée entre le milieu du XV^e et celui du XVI^e siècle. Elle aurait dû, comme les autres petits États du nord de Sumatra, disparaître, pour être intégrée au nouveau royaume d'Aceh dans la seconde décennie du XVI^e siècle. Elle put survivre quelque trente ans grâce au rôle éminent qu'a su jouer la Dame *Hûr*, princesse de Daya, devenue souveraine sans titre d'Aceh.

Il reste un mot à dire sur la tombe d'un spécialiste de droit musulman, Faqîh Muzâhir (TBS01). On a vu ailleurs²⁵ que ces petits sultanats s'attachaient les services de shaykhs, le plus souvent étrangers, qui jouaient le rôle de *qâdî* et jouissaient d'une grande estime. Ils avaient ainsi souvent le privilège de bénéficier d'une tombe inscrite au même titre que les membres de la famille régnante. Un cimetière dans les environs de Lamno, à Meunasa Tua (TP), d'après De Vink porte le nom local de Tuan Pakeh qui renvoie bien sûr aussi à un *faqîh*.

24. Barros, *Decada* III, VIII, iv.

25. Voir nos études sur Pasai, Pidir et Peudada.

HANS HÄGERDAL

Cycles of Queenship on Timor: A response to Douglas Kammen¹

Studies on the indigenous structures of rulership on Timor have tended to be the territory of anthropologists rather than historians. While works by Herman Schulte Nordholt, A.D.M. Parera and Tom Therik are useful in mapping out the ideology and practice of “traditional” leadership, they are not particularly interested in historical change, nor have they addressed the issue of female leaders in society.² This has been remedied by Douglas Kammen in an interesting article in *Archipel* 84 (2012) entitled “Queens of Timor”. From published and unpublished Portuguese materials, Kammen shows how the middle period of colonial rule in East Timor, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was marked by a great upsurge of female rulers. Of the numerous small domains (known as *reinos*, kingdoms) in the colony, which numbered from 47 to 60 in the official listings, 29 had ruling queens at some stage. Kammen argues that the phenomenon can be explained by looking at the interaction between three levels, namely clans (houses), domains (“kingdoms”) and the nascent Portuguese colonial state. The shifting political situation encouraged the enthronement of females, whether as actual rulers or as convenient figureheads for (male) elites. With the deepening of colonial penetration in the decades around 1900 the queenship pattern vanished and left few traces in the local collective memory.³

1. Research for this article was funded by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet), and conducted within the postcolonial project Concurrences, Linnaeus University, Sweden.

2. Schulte Nordholt 1971; Parera 1994; Therik 2004.

3. Kammen’s study is restricted to Portuguese Timor. One might add that there were several

Ages of queens

Kammen's study encourages us to look beyond hegemonic discourses of power and ritual structure. Societies in the eastern part of the Southeast Asian Archipelago may seem deeply imbued with hierarchical and structural principles, but the upsurge and disappearance of the queens is a reminder that there were alterations that were conditioned by the interplay of historical factors on the local, regional and Timor-wide level. While early Southeast Asian societies often accorded the female gender a considerable social and ritual status, this status was subject to constant negotiation according to different circumstances of time and place.⁴ A survey of the European archival material on Timor nevertheless begs for a few additions to the investigation of Kammen. The fairly comprehensive and regular Dutch sources on Timor, available from 1613 allow us to draw some further conclusions on the cycles of queenship.

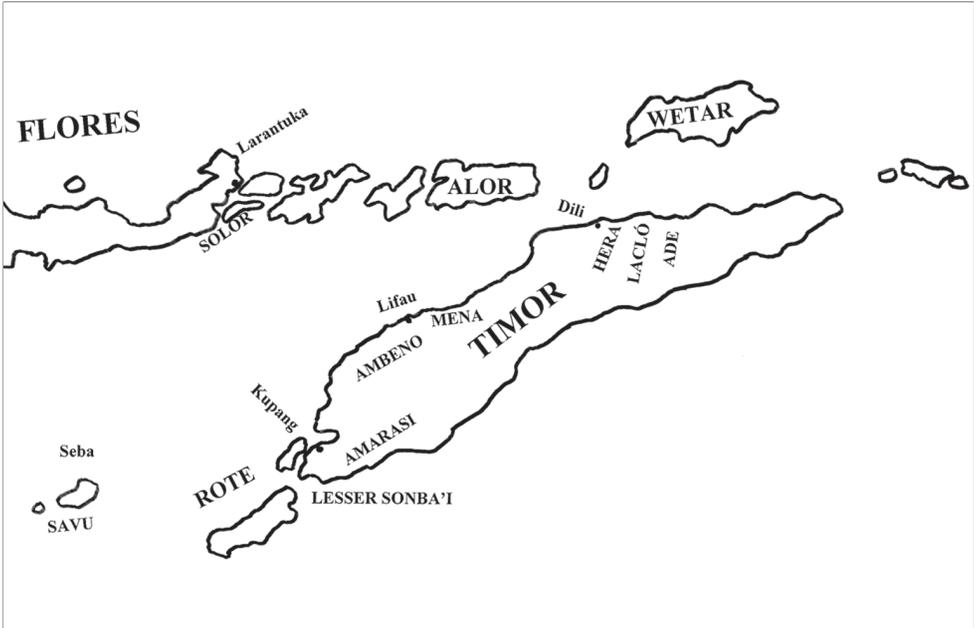
Kammen rightly observes that hardly any queen is known to have been enthroned in the course of the eighteenth century. A ponderous exception is the female "Liulai" (Liurai) of Belu who occurs in 1732. Belu in its more restricted sense is the Tetun-speaking region of Central Timor, the centre of which was Wehali on the southern plain. Wehali was known in West and much of East Timor as the cultural and ritual place of origin with a dual ruling structure based on a male-female dichotomy. The Liurai (a title subsequently used by the various minor rulers of East Timor) was in a symbolic sense "male" in relation to the passive "female" Maromak O'an, the "dark lord" who held the system in place by being immobile and resting at the centre.⁵ That the "male" Liurai title was held by a woman is therefore quite interesting. She furthermore appears as politically active since she sent ritual gifts to the Dutch establishment in Kupang and offered to withdraw her allegiance from the Portuguese.⁶ All in vain since the VOC did not wish to be involved in East Timorese affairs at this stage.

ruling queens in the Dutch half of the island during the nineteenth century, in particular in the Tetun-speaking area of Belu. The ritual centre Wehali had an unnamed queen in 1814 (ANRI Timor: 63), there were several generations of female rulers in Lakekun (Banu Lorok - Balok Lorok - Hoar Teti) (Politieke Verslagen en Berigten uit de Buitengewesten 1916, No. 1136, Nationaal Archief), and there were also well documented queens of Jenilu (Mariana Rosa da Costa 1879-1893) and Lidak (her daughter Petronella da Costa, 1901-1913) (Laan, H 1475, KITLV Archive). In the Atoni area one only finds a single documented case: Anna Elizabeth Aunoni of Amfo'an in 1880-1902 (Politieke Verslagen en Berigten uit de Buitengewesten 1924, No. 683, Nationaal Archief), along with a few doubtful cases mentioned by tradition. In most of these instances the succession appears to have been regular, and at least Petronella da Costa of Lidak was appointed although there were male siblings at hand.

4. Khan 2009: 23.

5. Fox 1982.

6. VOC 2239, f. 109-10.



The Timor area in the seventeenth century, showing the domains where ruling queens are documented

Apart from an otherwise unknown Dona Isabela of Hera (1726), Liulai stands alone in a male-dominated century.⁷ The succession in the Atoni domains of the western part of Timor can be followed in some detail through the records of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and does not feature female enthronements in 1700-1800.⁸ The Portuguese material is more scattered, but we have a number of lists of vassal “kingdoms” which enumerate male names (with the exception of the Hera queen). However, this is not the end of the issue. If we go back to the seventeenth century the situation is quite different, and it might even be tempting to speak of an “age of queens”. This is especially the case if we widen the geographical scope somewhat, to the islands immediately to the west and north of Timor. In the period 1640-1700 there are ten or eleven documented cases of ruling queens, of which eight are found on Timor, two on Solor and one on Savu. This happens to be exactly the “age of queens” in Aceh, and is partly overlapping with the corresponding age of the Patani queens on the Malay Peninsula.

It might be worth the effort to trace the circumstances of these eleven cases one by one, and then draw general conclusions about their place in Southeast Asian history. Can the types of queenship that appear through the document pages be connected and fruitfully compared to the cases of Aceh, Patani, or other regions of Southeast Asia?

Eleven queens

An unnamed Queen of Mena is mentioned in the Dominican chronicle in connection with the Portuguese expedition to Timor’s north coast in 1641, often seen as a decisive step in binding the Atoni domains to the Larantuka-based mixed-blood community of Portuguese. The principedom was situated around the Mena River between the later domains Insana and Biboki and disappears out of sight after 1703.⁹ In the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, however, it was known as one of the most important “kingdoms” on the island. This reputation was conditioned by its position as a port where sandalwood was brought for export. It was therefore of no small consequence who headed this area. The queen that is documented in 1641 ruled for her son, baptized by the Portuguese as Dom João. Together with 2,000 subjects she received baptism from the Dominican padres and allowed churches to be constructed.¹⁰

7. Matos 1974: 152.

8. Tables showing the succession of Atoni rulers may be found in Hägerdal 2012: 417-20.

9. Matos 1974: 338. It is locally believed that Mena, mentioned for the last time as a “kingdom” in 1703, was actually a component of the Insana principedom which is known from European sources from 1741 (Alexander Un Usfinit, Maubes Insana, personal communication, February 2012).

10. Santa Catharina 1866: 300.

This lady may have met a hasty end. In 1648 she had 27 Portuguese who stayed in her domain killed, effectively demonstrating that her enthusiasm for Christians was not unconditional.¹¹ A letter from 1656 states that the King and Queen of Mena had recently been executed by the Portuguese *capitão mor* Francisco Carneiro de Siquera on charges of collaboration with the Dutch enemies.¹² What must be another queen appears in 1660. She took an anti-Portuguese stance and had the colonial soldiers killed or expelled. We do not know how the story ended. This second queen was reportedly an in-law (*vermaegschapt*) of the “emperor” of Sonba’i whose influence encompassed a large part of West Timor, further emphasizing her political importance.¹³

The expedition from Larantuka in 1641 also touched Lifau in the Ambeno principedom, the present-day Oecussi-Ambeno enclave. Here, too, the Portuguese met an unnamed ruling queen. Her husband had recently passed away and she ruled for her son who was no more than 16 years of age. Just like her counterpart in Mena she was baptized together with four daughters and the son who received the name Dom Pedro.¹⁴ Nothing further is known about the queen, but Dom Pedro is remembered in local tradition as an ancestor of the royal Da Cruz clan.¹⁵ Portuguese from Larantuka started to settle at Lifau in numbers in the late 1650s and seem to have held the principedom closely under the thumb.¹⁶

Female rulers were also found in East Timor, where the Makassarese exercised a loose suzerainty over the north coast for many years, in rivalry with the Portuguese. After the victorious conclusion of the Makassar War in 1667, the Dutch East India Company made a diplomatic effort to bind the coastal domains to the system of alliances that they were in the process of forging. Contracts were hastily concluded in 1668 with Ade, Manatuto, Hera, Laivai and Waimaa. Hera, a domain east of Dili, was ruled by a queen called Bealou.¹⁷ It might be recalled that Hera is the only known domain with a female vassal ruler in the eighteenth century.

The contracts immediately provoked a swift Portuguese reaction. They were at formal peace with the Netherlands since 1663, and the very same Netherlands had just ridded them of a dangerous seaborne rival. In the fall of 1668 a squadron ravaged a number of places on the north coast, an event that

11. Fiedler, H 475a, KITLV Archive.

12. Boxer 1967: 65-6.

13. VOC 1233, f. 200.

14. Loureiro 1995: 150-2.

15. Spillett 1999: 136.

16. VOC 1229, f. 864r-865v.

17. Corpus Diplomaticum 1931; 397. A certain Radja Ama Lakou is mentioned by her side, but the text of the contract makes it perfectly clear that Bealou enjoyed the superior position.

inaugurated their real hold on East Timor. In early 1669 an envoy from a place called Licalo reported to the Dutch about the disaster. He had been dispatched by the queen of that place, by the name Ynalou.¹⁸ Another report specifies that Ade, Manatuto and Lacló, a region to the west of Manatuto, had been destroyed six months previously.¹⁹ The name Licalo is therefore probably a variant of Lacló.

The Dutch *Generale missiven* for the same year give some particulars about Ade, the later Vemasse principedom. The land was sparsely populated, so it would require a lot of Dutch effort to construct a fortification there and keep a garrison at the place. The trade that consisted of slaves, beeswax, etc. would not balance the costs. By necessity, therefore, the profit-driven VOC had to turn these people down with no hope for Dutch military intervention. Their queen and what remained of her people had taken refuge in the mountains since long, choosing to hide there rather than accepting Portuguese rule.²⁰ If this is not a mixing up between Ade and Lacló, it would mean that the most important domain on the north coast of East Timor was also headed by a woman. However, the contract of 1668 does not seem to mention a queen, and in other sources, various male leaders of Ade occur.²¹

Portuguese power on Timor rested on close alliances with a number of Atoni principedoms, in particular Amarasi in the south-western part of the island. Christianity made some impact among the Amarasi elite, as noted by the Jesuit missionary Antonius Franciscus SJ in 1670. Pater Antonius made the acquaintance of the *de jure* Queen of Amarasi, Dona Maria, whose character he extolled in glowing terms: an intelligent, quiet and solitary woman who spoke fluent Portuguese and showed great concern for the dissemination of the Catholic faith. She kept her residence close to Larantuka on Flores where she married a certain Portuguese through the mediation of Pater Antonius. "The constitution of the kingdom was fully applied to this woman, and as a queen she made use of the income derived from the taxes of the kingdom as she found fit, although, given the security of the kingdom, she left the governance to her uncles and her brother."²²

The VOC establishment in Kupang likewise owed its existence to a number of allied domains that surrounded the port. The most important of these was Lesser Sonba'i, a split-off from the main Sonba'i realm in the

18. VOC 2285, f. 218-9.

19. VOC 2285, f. 188.

20. Coolhaas 1968: 667-8.

21. The contract between the VOC and Ade, printed in *Corpus Diplomaticum* 1931: 395, mentions the brothers Ama Gali and Sili Saba but no queen.

22. Jacobs 1988: 241. I wish to thank Erik Wiberg, Linnaeus University, for help with translating the Latin text.

interior. The “emperor” of this domain passed away in 1672, leaving no sons but three daughters.²³ One of these, the six years old Usi Tetu Utang, inherited the position and was formally enthroned as “empress” in 1682. She is usually referred as Bi Sonba’i, Lady Sonba’i.²⁴ Thanks to the verbose Dutch records we have comparatively many details of her life and acts. Following the usual symbolic male-female (*mone-feto*) dualism, she was a female ruler with regard to her political position as well as her actual sex. “Male” regents of the Oematan clan took care of the governance, although Usi Tetu Utang took strong political action on a few occasions. Interestingly for a society where marriage was universal, she never received a consort. The “empress” eventually passed away in May 1717 to the immense grief of the population, and was succeeded by a son of her Sonba’i cousin who resided in the inland of West Timor.²⁵

The centre of Dutch activities in the area was initially Solor. Five Muslim princedoms on Solor and Adonara formed a bond, Watan Lema that was allied to the VOC from 1613. The *primus inter pares* among the Watan Lema was Lohayong on the north coast of Solor. After the death of the old ruler of that place in 1645, his position was taken over by his widow Nyai Cili who was now known as the queen or ruler of Solor (*vorstin van Solor*).²⁶ According to a somewhat later account she originated from Keeda (Kedah in Malaysia?).²⁷ Her career is extensively documented through the VOC records which show her as an astute politician although being old and frail. She eventually passed away in 1664.²⁸

Nyai Cili bequeathed her position as ruler of Solor to another female figure, her daughter’s daughter Nyai Cili Muda.²⁹ On the paternal side she was descended from the princes of Lamahala on Adonara Island, another member of the Watan Lema bond. Nyai Cili Muda was less effective than her grandmother in Dutch eyes. The reports frequently complain about her inability to bring the members of the Watan Lema to obedience, which in turn complicated Dutch ambitions to control the Solor Islands. She passed away in 1686 and was, after a brief interregnum, succeeded by a son of her sister.³⁰

23. VOC 1294, f. 307r.; VOC 1367, Dagregister, sub 26-10-1680.

24. In several Dutch documents she is known as Nonje Sonnebay, where Nonje might be interpreted as Nyonya = Bi = Lady.

25. Coolhaas 1979: 297; VOC 1894, f. 4.

26. De Roever 2002: 244.

27. VOC 1728, f. 138-40.

28. VOC 1246, f. 1585-6.

29. Dagh-Register 1887-1931, the year 1665: 284.

30. Coolhaas 1975: 118.

Situated between Sumba, Flores and Timor, Savu was a small but not unimportant component of the VOC-led system of alliances. The island was divided into five domains, one of which was Seba at the north coast which later became the dominating power on Savu. A female ruler (*vorstin*) called Ina Tenga headed Seba from before 1682 to her demise in 1683. She was not a widow-regent but rather belonged to the ruling lineage since a VOC source specifies that she was succeeded as ruler by a brother's son.³¹ Ina Tenga appears in the partly detailed reports as an honoured but not particularly active leader.

Figureheads or agents of change?

Of these eleven figures, several are no more than names for us, and sometimes not even that. They occur for a moment in the textual sources since their existence had some significance for the economic, political or religious ambitions of the Europeans. Then they disappear again without leaving further traces in the material. No VOC official apparently took the trouble to see how things ended for the Queen of Ade who took to the hills with her followers to evade Portuguese atrocities. The situation is quite different with the Sonba'i "empress" and the two queens of Solor whose lives after their enthronement can be followed in sometimes circumstantial detail. The scrupulous daily records, *Dagregisters*, that the Dutch headmen were expected to write, ensured that the acts of the allied rulers were recorded on a regular basis. These three cases are therefore particularly valuable in assessing the agency of female leadership in the eastern archipelago.

Of the recorded queens, three (Mena I, Lifau, Solor I) owed their position to marriage rather than ancestry. Four (Amarasi, Sonba'i, Solor II, Seba) were members of the ruling clan, and for the rest there are no clear indications. From an ethnic point of view the queens are spread over a number of linguistic groups with a certain emphasis on the Atoni area of West Timor (Mena I and II, Lifau, Amarasi, Sonba'i). Interestingly, no more than one single queen ruled an Atoni kingdom during the late period studied by Kammen.³² Others are Galoli (Hera, Lacló, Ade), Waimaa (Ade³³), Lamaholot (Solor I and II) and Savunese (Seba). The three East Timorese queens are moreover found within two of the six geographical queenship

31. VOC 1403; VOC 1400, *Dagregister*, sub 16 May 1684.

32. This is Anna Elizabeth Aunoni of Amfo'an in north-western Timor who succeeded her grandfather in 1880 and stayed in power until her abdication in 1902 (*Politieke Verslagen en Berigten uit de Buitengewesten* 1924, No. 683, Nationaal Archief).

33. Ade appears to have been Galoli-speaking in the first place, but at least in modern time part of the region is Waimaa.

clusters pointed out by Kammen in his article (map, page 158). Especially the Queen of Lacló, a place that has a matrilineal family system, has counterparts in the nineteenth century when at least three queens sat on the throne.³⁴ Nevertheless it must be stressed that there are large parts of Timor about which very few data is known from the seventeenth century, and that other female leaders would probably surface had regular records been preserved.

The new material begs for both synchronic and diachronic questions. First, can the prerogatives and activity shown by all these queens be accommodated within the common paradigm of male/active-female/inactive socio-political relations? And secondly, does the early pattern of queenship basically accord with the findings of Kammen in the nineteenth century? Modern anthropology shows that the “traditional” Timorese society displays a range of social structures, from patrilineal to matrilineal. The visible world which we can see and conceive with our senses tends to be dominated by men. On the other hand, the supernatural “inside world” (in Tetun, *rai laran*) is associated with women and a goddess called Mother Earth (Rai Inan). Senior women may achieve a position of authority as functionaries in social exchange and ritual.³⁵

We might therefore expect women in honoured but politically inactive positions, but this is in fact not always the case. The accounts of the Dominican chroniclers are selective and biased, but they do not hesitate in referring to the queen dowagers of Mena and Lifau as the major political force, and the persons to be approached for missionary forays. The two Mena queens and the female rulers of Lacló and Ade (unless the two latter refer to one and the same person) are moreover active players in the resistance against early Portuguese colonialism – in the case of the second Mena queen with temporary success. An amount of constructive activity is also shown by the first Solorese queen. During her 19 years in power she was used by the VOC as a tool to keep the Watan Lema bond together. Although she was not always successful in this, she took action to secure peace in the area and even made an agreement with the rivals in Larantuka beyond the eyes of the Dutch.³⁶

Queens known to have inherited their positions tend to conform to the pattern of ceremonial inactivity. Dona Maria of Amarasi is described by the Jesuit pater as highly gifted, but also dapper. An interesting detail is her marriage to a Portuguese (possibly a “black Portuguese” Eurasian). Marriages between foreigners – Europeans, Eurasians, Chinese, etc. – and

34. Kammen 2012: 169.

35. Niner 2011: 43.

36. Dagh-Register 1887-1931, the year 1661: 218-9.

females of the highest aristocracy are common in the various Timorese princedoms, in spite of the insistence that rulers and regents should have princely blood on the father's and mother's side.³⁷ Usi Tetu Utang of Sonba'i is another and better documented case of inactive queenship. In their memorandums the Dutch headmen (*opperhoofden*) noted that they seldom noticed her taking an active stance, but rather let the Oematan clan handle affairs. When the Dutch officials met with Sonba'i representatives the lady herself was seldom present. At the same time they apprehended the great reverence in which she was held by local Timorese due to her vital dynastic position. At times she nevertheless broke the narrow limits of activity accorded to her physical and symbolic gender. In 1704 she negotiated a peace agreement with the rival Amarasi kingdom, and in 1714 she sent a frank letter to Batavia where she castigated the rude and oppressive behaviour of the current *opperhoofd*.³⁸ Both actions led to positive results and showed that symbolic-ritual capital could sometimes transform into political.

Similarly to the pattern of collective memory observed by Kammen for the nineteenth-century queens, there is hardly a memory today of the eleven female rulers. To be honest, the great time span and the lack of literacy in the area makes it less likely that detailed historical information would have survived. The only queens who are unambiguously remembered by local tradition are the two Solorese ones.³⁹ There are possible references to Usi Tetu Utang of Sonba'i and Ina Tenga of Seba in oral stories, although this requires some stretch of imagination.⁴⁰

On average the seventeenth-century queens seem to exert more influence on the political course of their princedoms than their counterparts in the nineteenth century. This point should not be taken too far, but the material indicates that they were sometimes able to serve as the rally-point of

37. On the emphasis on princely paternity and maternity for rulers, see Hägerdal 2012: 218.

38. VOC 1691, f. 17-8, 114-7; VOC 1841, f. 1-4.

39. Nyai Cili and her husband and predecessor are mentioned in traditions discussed by Dietrich 1984: 320-1, 324. Haji Achmad Kelake, of the princely family of Lohayong (personal communication, June 2006), knew vaguely about Nyai Cili Muda, although he could conceivably have been influenced by modern historiography.

40. A Sonba'i lady called Bi Aulais is referred as an early dynastic key person in Timorese tradition, although the details are too vague to confirm the identity with Usi Tetu Utang (Heijmering 1847: 38, 44). Savunese tradition speaks extensively about a lady of Seba called Ga Lena who allied with the Dutch to fight the rival princedom Timu (letter by M. Teffer, Raad voor de Zending 1102-1: 1411, Het Utrechts Archief). This is reminiscent of the VOC expedition to Savu in 1676 in the age of Ina Tenga (Hägerdal 2012: 231). However, neither Bi Aulais nor Ga Lena is expressly characterized as a female monarch, nor do the names fit. An Ina Tenga is actually mentioned in the orally transmitted Seba pedigrees, as the consort of the assumed father of the historical Ina Tenga (Dr Geneviève Duggan, NUS, Singapore, personal communication).

political action in times of distress or crisis. As pointed out by Kammen the numerous queens recorded in nineteenth century Portuguese texts should not always be considered as mere figureheads, but with a few exceptions they do not take on visibly active roles during the innumerable rebellions and petty wars that dot the history of East Timor in this period. At least the material illuminating such roles has yet to be dug up in the archives.

A Southeast Asian perspective

A second comparison applies to the wider Southeast Asian Archipelago. It is a well-known fact that a few trade-oriented Muslim states in the western part of the archipelago saw a succession of ruling queens in the early-modern period. In Patani altogether seven queens are accounted for the period 1584-1651 and again in 1670-1718 (with dates being partly controversial). Five of these were in the line of succession with two coming from other families.⁴¹ The four queens of Aceh ruled from 1641-1699; the details of succession are obscure for three of them. A large number of reigning queens are also known from Sulawesi, especially in the Buginese, Makassarese and Mandarese kingdoms, during the early modern and modern periods. In contrast with the Patani and Aceh cases they are more evenly spread over time. For example, six female rulers are known in Bone from about 1600 to 1895, four in Tallo' from 1590 to 1850, and seven in Luwu from about 1500 to 1935.⁴²

Relatively little research has been undertaken on this proliferation of early modern queens, although those of Aceh have received quite some scholarly attention.⁴³ Anthony Reid argues that the preference for Acehnese queens after 1641 was due to relations of power between the monarch and the local elite. The stern autocracy developed by the sultan in the first half of the seventeenth century alienated the *orangkayas* and further chiefs who preferred the somewhat weaker but peaceful governance of the queens during whose tenures conditions for prosperous foreign trade were good. Meanwhile factions of *orangkayas* increasingly controlled the actual state of

41. Teeuw and Wyatt 1970 I: 247-77, imply that there were five queens, but the study of Amirell (2011) describes seven queens encompassing eight reigns.

42. For Bone, see the genealogical tables in Bakkers 1866 and IJzereef 1995; for Tallo', Ligtoet 1872; for Luwu, the unpublished manuscript of Van Lijf, H 789, KITLV Archive. There were also ruling queens in Jambi on Sumatra (1630-55), Sukadana in Kalimantan (1608-22) and Gorontalo in northern Sulawesi (four individuals in c. 1578-1677), among other places. By contrast there were hardly any female rulers in the mainland states of Southeast Asia in this period. The closest hits would be the two Thai queens of Lan Na (1545-46 and 1564-78), and three brief episodes in Cambodia in 1687, 1736 and 1747 (Jacobsen 2008: 85-7).

43. An early study on female reigns in the East Indies was, however, published by P.J. Veth (1870). Veth attributed the phenomenon to the localization of Islam in insular Southeast Asia that retained strong pre-Islamic features, and drew comparisons to the Berber in North Africa.

affairs.⁴⁴ On the other hand, Leonard Andaya has argued for a forceful rule by the first queen of Aceh, whose enthronement was therefore not a sign of weakness of governance.⁴⁵ In her study of the Acehnese queens, Sher Banu Khan believes that the beginning of female rule was simply due to a confluence of various circumstances, and that the success of the arrangement made for the enthronement of three further queens. In spite of the Islamic character of the state there was no *adat* prescription against such thing.⁴⁶ It was only in 1699 that a fatwa arrived from Mecca decreeing that the rule by females was against the law of God, signalling the end of the era of queens.⁴⁷ Similarly, Stefan Amirell argues for a relatively benign era of partly active Patani queens, the success of which was broken by external political and economic factors, in the first hand European expansion.⁴⁸ In general, the role of women declined in some respects with the increasing influence of world religions, not least with regard to their old religious-ritual functions.⁴⁹ But in the case of Sulawesi, the importance attached to noble (“white”) blood appears to have ensured the enthronement of queens with irregular intervals, many hundreds of years after the introduction of Islam.

Do these observations have any relevance for our understanding of the Timorese situation? The shifting power relations between levels of hierarchy in the Acehnese kingdom, as pointed out by Reid, are somehow paralleled by the practical political concerns of the Timorese domains, indicated by the findings of Kammen and the new data referred above. In both cases it motivated female rule that may not have been the norm but was also not in direct conflict with *adat*. With reference to Patani, Stefan Amirell has noted the tendency that “peaceful, open, prosperous and trade-friendly conditions” in various historical societies have been conducive to the acceptance of female rulers, in contrast to belligerent and impoverished societies with commercially unfavourable conditions.⁵⁰ While seventeenth-century Timorese polities were seldom peaceful or prosperous, they were in some cases open to commerce and external contact. An important rationale would also be the role accorded to women in the kinship structure and systems of social and economic exchange – indeed, it has been argued that Southeast Asian states used to be centred on kinship and family rather than official institutions.⁵¹ The hierarchy of social estates in Sulawesi finds an obvious

44. Reid 2005: 144-5 (chapter co-authored with Takeshi Ito).

45. Andaya 2004: 59-84.

46. Khan 2009: 55-6.

47. Veth 1870: 369.

48. Amirell 2011: 321-3.

49. Tarling 1999: 213.

50. Amirell 2011: 321-2.

51. Cummings 2007: 11.

parallel in the Timorese distinction between princely (*usif, dasi*) and lower estates; in both cases aristocratic bilateral ancestry was a crucial but apparently not exclusive criterion for female enthronements.

The discontinuation of female rule on Timor, Savu and Solor in about the same decades as the end of queenship in Patani and Aceh, can possibly be linked to the impact of global cultural and political forces. Catholic as well as Protestant monarchs and regents begin to appear on Timor in larger numbers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁵² Moreover, the Portuguese vassal rulers were endowed with martial and by implication male titles such as *brigadeiro*, *coronel* and *tenente-coronel*.⁵³ The political, diplomatic and religious networks that the white foreigners tried to construct were therefore oriented towards the male (*mone*) rather than female (*feto*) sphere. Relations between the external forces and the indigenous elites may as a consequence have discouraged female enthronements for a century, until the resurgence of the institution after 1800. The ups and downs of Timorese queens over the centuries strengthen a central argument in Kammen's article: while the body of traditions and rules (*adat*) may have been hegemonic, there were always divergent discourses and practices.⁵⁴ Quite possibly, much of the scholarly literature on Timorese culture has been overly absorbed by the structural features of society, and too reluctant to pinpoint historical change.

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52. Matos 1974: 145-161 provides lists of rulers drawn up in 1703, 1726 and c. 1769, where nearly all of the rulers have Portuguese Catholic names.

53. Matos 2005: 10-1. It should be noted that most of Timor, apart from the Dutch enclave around Kupang, was under Portuguese influence up to 1749.

54. Kammen 2012: 166-7.

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COMPTES RENDUS

Hans HÄGERDAL (ed.), *Tradition, Identity, and History-Making in Eastern Indonesia*, Växjö, Kalmar: Linnaeus University Press, 2011, 183 pages, ill., ISBN: 978-91-86983-09-3

The chain of islands that run just below the equator from Bali eastward through Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, and on to Timor has long captured the imaginations of traders and travelers and fascinated historians and anthropologists. Historians of early modern Southeast Asia have studied the networks of trade between these islands and linked them northward to Sulawesi and the Moluccas, westward to Java and Malacca, and beyond to the great markets of China, India and Europe; colonial scholars and later imperial historians have written about the Portuguese and Dutch struggles over the area and their respective efforts to establish trading posts, claim suzerainty over vassal polities and eventually assert territorial control; and subsequent researchers have traced indigenous responses to colonial rule, trade, religious conversion and incorporation into the modern nation-state. The region has also been the site of intensive and extremely fruitful anthropological research ranging from the structural studies of the Leiden School to the ethnographic models of social and cultural anthropology. Over the past several decades, with the increasing cross-fertilization between these disciplines, a growing number of scholars working on the islands variously termed the Solor and Timor zone, the Lesser Sundas, and Nusa Tenggara have explicitly addressed the intersection of history and anthropology. The volume *Tradition, Identity, and History-Making in Eastern Indonesia*, lovingly edited by the indefatigable Hans Hägerdal, brings together seven exemplary articles on eastern Flores, Solor, Adonara, Savu, Rote and both West and (more tangentially) East Timor. The authors employ archival records to interrogate oral traditions and use a variety of oral traditions to cast new light on historical accounts and their producers.

As Hägerdal's tidy and informative introduction makes clear, these islands provide an excellent opportunity to explore the relationship between archival and oral accounts of the past because of the combination of relatively rich early Portuguese and Dutch documentation and the abiding concern most societies in the region have for origins, genealogies, local lore and their pasts. These repositories, of course, were informed by very different interests, perspectives, and techniques. Nevertheless, as the chapters presented here demonstrate, there is also fascinating correspondence across archival and oral sources and variation within oral sources themselves. From this common starting point, however, the authors bring very

different questions and lead in divergent directions. For James Fox, writing on the island of Rote in the seventeenth century, the question is how to use archival material to better understand why particular information in the genealogies of ruling families has been selected and how it has been transmitted across time. In a study of the island of Savu in the late seventeenth century, Geneviève Duggan painstakingly identifies the correspondences between the archival and oral sources and then highlights what the VOC documents can contribute to oral tradition (mostly events, dates and additional names) and what oral Savunese traditions tell us about what the VOC officers could not see or were not interested in understanding. Turning to the north coast of Adonara, Robert Barnes explores fantastic and amusing legends about a figure named La Asan who, whether a historical figure or not, provides a powerful reminder of the links of trade, religion and migration the area enjoyed to South and Southeast Sulawesi during the period of early European penetration. Pairing violent events on Timor in 1655 and on Solor in 1675 documented in the colonial archives, Hågerdal cleverly demonstrates that the instability of oral accounts over time becomes comprehensible when viewed in terms of indigenous responses to colonial rule. The next two contributions consider textile production in a village on Lembata and musical styles in eastern Flores and Solor. Working from ethnographic field notes, 200 year old textiles in the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology and engravings, Ruth Barnes documents weaving practices and the fascinating (re)appearance of a particular style of striped cloth, which she speculates was made possible through oral transmission. Dana Rappoport enquires into the origins of a rare and enigmatic duet singing style, for which she finds surprising links to the Fatuluku-speaking people on Timor, thus suggesting the possibility of common origins, though she is careful to stress that this is only a hypothesis. In the final chapter, Emilie Wellfelt presents competing oral and archival accounts of a regicide on the island of Alor in 1918 to illustrate the very different interpretations of the same event recorded orally among animist-turned-Christian mountain dwellers, a coastal Muslim kingdom from which the ill-fated king came, and the Dutch colonial administration.

The great contribution of the move to interrogate the intersection of archival and oral accounts of the past in the region stretching from Flores to Timor is that it makes history strange. It loosens any lingering tendency to accept colonial documents as simple records of past times or tainted reflections of the scribes and officials who produced them, and it provides a means to ask new questions about orally transmitted information. The volume is handsomely produced and illustrated with detailed genealogies, maps, photographs, engravings from colonial field expeditions and musical notation. This is a welcome addition for scholars in several disciplines working in eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste and one can only hope that it will stimulate similar efforts elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Douglas KAMMEN

Eka SRIMULYANI, *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia: Negotiating Public Spaces*, Amsterdam University Press, IAS Publications Series, Monographs 8, 2012, 184 p., ill.; ISBN: 978-90-8964-421-3, 978-90-485-1621-6 (pdf), 978-90-485-1622-3 (e-book)

This book is a significant work as it opens new perspectives on gender and Islamic institutions.¹ The 20th century altered gender perspectives in general but it apparently did so also in a milieu that many thought was the least permeable to such changes, the *pesantren*, Islamic boarding schools of Indonesia. Eka Srimulyani's meticulous work exposes the increase in pious Muslim (*santri*) female agency, especially the *nyiais*, the wives of *kiais*, i.e. ulama leading the *pesantren*, and the mechanisms that made the *nyiais'* agency possible. It goes against the assumption of *pesantren* women being confined to the private domain and thus without agency. As the author underlines, these women's agency may be weaker than that of the *kiais* or other women, but it does exist: "it is different but significant". Eka pointedly asks: "If the *kiai* is the symbolic father, who is the mother? Why is this not obvious in many works on *pesantren*?"

Eka Srimulyani has chosen as her main field work a *pesantren* that was a pioneer in female religious education, the Pesantren Seblak (1921-1988), situated in Jombang District, the birthplace of Indonesia's largest Islamic organization, the Nahdlatul Ulama. Her work is based on many in-depth interviews with actors bearing testimony to the reform of female education in the 1930s. The five chapters are: 1. Why Study Women and Pesantren?; 2. Women and Pesantren Education: History, Kinship, and Contents; 3. Women and Pesantrens in Jombang: A Portrait from the Fieldwork; 4. Nyais of Jombang Pesantrens: Roles and Agency; and 5. Santriwati's Life: Religious Femininity in Pesantren Education.

Many factors have contributed to the new agency of *santri* women, but – and this is a key finding of this research – the increase of their agency has depended mainly on kinship relationships within this milieu that is otherwise bound to reproduce old patriarchal models.

Of course, all this occurs in a new context, the general awareness of the significance of education at the beginning of the 20th century. The Dutch Ethical policy produced a first generation of Indonesians with general education who founded new schools for natives in different places in Indonesia. In 1904, Dewi Sartika was the first to do so in Bandung. Other places followed. In 1922 Taman Siswa was the first important educational institution run by Indonesia's nationalists, which admitted female pupils. The Muhammadiyah followed suit, with Ahmad Dahlan himself teaching a few female pupils. Traditionalist Islam did not shy away from following these reforms. In 1919, in Jombang, Kiai Bisry Syansury and his wife Nurkhadijah began to organize a small informal learning group for girls in the compound of the *pesantren*.

The author relates how these educational reforms taking place in Jombang came about. Hasyim Asyari, Nahdlatul Ulama's charismatic *kiai* and founder, taught Islamic

1. The book is based on her doctoral thesis at Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney, and on additional field research in 2003 and 2004.

sciences to his daughter Nyai Koiriyah and his granddaughter Nyai Abidah. Later he initiated the idea of establishing a *pesantren* for girls close to Tebuireng because his granddaughters had to go a long way to Denanyar, some 15km away, to have religious instruction. It was his eldest granddaughter Abidah who became the first instructor.

The road of change had been activated: the notorious ulama wanted to give the best education to daughters and granddaughters. He was not alone. The rest followed naturally: the *nyais* started a new culture of learning, husbands agreed and some helped, grandchildren were given new models to follow, and pious Muslim girls as well. A new tradition of female agency emerged with public, religious, political and judicial roles for *santri* women.

To explain this evolution, Eka Srimulyani chose to present the portraits of three major *nyai* of different generations to highlight their public role and agency.

Khoiriyah is Hasym Asyari's daughter. From 1938 to 1957, she spent 19 years in Mecca, where she married a second time, after being widowed. She pioneered the establishment of a school for girls in Mecca in 1942. She was appointed as a member of the Supreme body of the Nahdlatul Ulama (Badan Syuriah PBNU) in the 1960s: no other woman has held such a position since. She was not engaged in politics as she decided not to.

Nyai Abidah, her daughter, followed in the footsteps of her mother. She was given no formal schooling, but learned from her mother, grandfather and uncle. Nyai Abidah could become a public woman, because of the exceptional support of her husband, who offered to look after the 11 children. She became a cadre of NU's women organisation, the Muslimat, a member of Parliament in the local Assembly in Jombang in 1951, and a religious judge from 1960 to 1968. Abidah's daughter, Lily Zakiyah Munir, will be one of the foremost feminist militants in the early 21st century, creating in 2002 the Cepdes, Centre for Pesantren and Democracy Studies.

The third figure studied is Nyai Mashunah, married to a grandson of Haysim Asyari. She was appointed the vice-chairperson of the local Parliament of Jombang for the Islamic party (PPP) and also chairperson of NU's young women's association, the Fatayat, in Jombang, from 1999, as well as chairperson of a board of Indonesia's Islamic Party from 1999.

Pesantren Seblak's three generations of *nyais* show that they had access to public positions in *pesantren* and beyond. They may be considered pioneers, and not represent a majority of *nyais* but the author argues that the changes should not be underestimated, as they were soon supported by empowerment programs for *pesantren* through NGOs such as P3M, PUAN Amal Hayati, Rahima, the NU's Muslimat and Fatayat programs. Other factors also played a role to enable their intensive engagement in the public space: relevant skill or experience and support from their male counterparts. Their commitment is also a key factor, as these are women of duties and responsibilities.

Eka Srimulyani describes the *nyai* agency with five circles of influence. First, in the *pesantren*, the *nyai* exerts leadership, management and instructional duties. The second circle extends her influence beyond the *pesantren* through religious instruction given to the neighborhood in religious sessions (*majelis taklim*). Third, the *nyai* can have regional or even national impact through the socio-religious organizations such as Muslimat or Fatayat. Fourth, they may, as religious judges,

have a role in the judiciary. And the fifth circle is that of the political arena opened to them after independence.

Over the 20th century, *santri* female agency has however met two major obstacles. From the secular sphere, women were confronted with *priyayization* and *ibusim*, in which a woman derives power from her husband's status, and not from her own capacities. This occurred especially during President Soeharto's years. The second major obstacle comes from the Islamic institution itself, the learning of classical *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) textbooks (*kitab kuning*) in *pesantren*. Eka presents an overview of the *kitab kuning* on gender relations. Until today, such books as *Uqud al Lujjayn* are still taught in most *pesantren*, although interestingly the *pesantren* Seblak itself seems to have abandoned them some time ago. It is indeed interesting to observe the coexistence of old *kitab* promoting total submission of women to their husband with the reality of Indonesia's Muslim women's public religious, political and judicial roles. The author notes: "The good thing about an active Nyai is that her experience deconstructs the ideal portrayal of women's position as conveyed in the *kitab kuning*".

The history of the women of Pesantren Seblak itself is rich in information about the sources of *santri* women's emancipation. The author shows it was a family concern for daughters that was at the start of the educational project and not a major ideological project. But once change had been activated, it was no longer to be stopped, as educated women were there now to take up the roles of educators. It is interesting to see how the great Hasyim Asyari's willingness to educate his own granddaughters was finally at the source of the innovative feminism of Lily Munir, his granddaughter, a major *santri* feminist with national fame. The book shows clearly that Islamist criticism of feminism as being merely a western product is unfounded. Its roots are also in the *pesantren*.

This phenomenon of female *santri* agency should not be underestimated, as it has wide implications for Indonesia. As Eka notes: "Now in an era in which the number of female pupils makes up almost half of the total number of *pesantren* students in Indonesia, the demand for actively involved *nyais* is steadily increasing in the segregated education setting of a *pesantren*."

Eka Srimulyani points out rightly that the *nyais*' experience and the skills developed in managing people within the *pesantren* give them significant experience when it comes to dealing with people in general. This special experience might indeed make them worth watching as they may have an advantage when women are now increasingly wanted in politics. This book is well conceived and written, it is convincing through the in-depth analysis of key interviews. Never before has the Indonesian female *santri* world been exposed so clearly to the public eye in a scientific work. The reader discovers an unexpected world, more open and more dynamic than imagined. Pesantren Seblak was an elite experience, but it has no doubt served as a model. Unfortunately, this model has by far not reached yet the whole *santri* milieu throughout Indonesia, although it progressed significantly in the 1980s. The reverse tendency in the past two decades raises one question for the reader: that of the future of *santri* women's emancipation in a world increasingly polarized between Islamic ultraconservatism and liberalism.

Andrée FEILLARD

Robert BLUST & Jürg SCHNEIDER (eds.), *A World of Words. Revisiting the Work of Renward Brandstetter (1860-1942) on Lucerne and Austronesia*, Edited by Frankfurter Forschungen zu Südostasien Band 8, Harrasowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2012, 156 pages, 10 plates, ISSN: 1613-9690, ISBN: 978-3-447-06769

This book is the result of a conference held in Lucerne in 2010 on the occasion of Renward Brandstetter's 150th birthday. It is a very laudable initiative, because Brandstetter seems to be more or less forgotten, except by a few specialists. There are several reasons for that:

He pursued two completely different lines of research, thus addressing two different audiences: one on the local dialects and history of his native Lucerne in Switzerland, and the other one on the languages of Indonesia. He didn't publish books, but articles and monographs, which he sent to colleagues. Thus it is hard to find them in libraries. He published only in German, which has declined as a scientific language after World War I and even more so after World War II. Only the four papers by Brandstetter, which exist in an English translation by C.O. Blagden are known to the international scientific community. But there is another reason why Brandstetter is not that well known: he was a high-school teacher at the Lyceum of Lucerne, just like his colleague Ferdinand Blumentritt (1853-1913), the expert on the Philippines who was also a high-school teacher and school principal in Leitmeritz (Bohemia). Although they were highly regarded by some of their contemporaries, they lacked the institutional support of a university and thus the possibility to publish books or articles in scientific journals. The articles in this volume reflect the two distinct lines of research that Brandstetter pursued: one focused on local history, dialect and folklore of Lucerne, and the other on the languages of Indonesia.

After an introduction to the life and work of Brandstetter with a useful concordance of Brandstetter's Monograph Series, Jürg Schneider writes about Brandstetter's formative years between 1880 and 1905.

Walter Haas treats in "Brandstetter as a Dialectologist" the papers on the dialects of Lucerne, which were published between 1883 and 1891 and then only intermittently. After meeting the Dutch scholar Georg Karl Niemann by chance during a boat trip on the lake of Lucerne, Brandstetter became so fascinated by the languages of Indonesia that he devoted from then most of his attention to these languages.

Between 1891 and 1898 he did translations of Malay and Buginese texts, as discussed by Holger Warnk in "'Repositories for Ethnographic Research' Renward Brandstetter's Studies on Malay Literature". Brandstetter did these translations in order to search for the soul of the Malay people. In this search for the "Volksseele" (people's soul) he stands in the tradition of Herder and the German Romantic movement. Although his translations of Malay literature had a high literary quality, they did not attract much attention outside academic circles.

In "Buginese: Renward Brandstetter at Work" Roger Tol describes how Brandstetter progressed from translations of Buginese texts to a study of loanwords in Buginese up to "A comparative sketch of an Indonesian idiom" (1891) where he compared Buginese with seven other languages. It was during this period that he

compiled the database for his future comparative work. But since he was an armchair linguist, who based his work on texts and had not heard the spoken languages, it took him until 1910 to recognize that “sharp vowels” were in reality glottal stops.

In “Brandstetter as Systematizer: Putting together the Pieces of the Austronesian Language Puzzle” Robert Blust pays tribute to the pioneering work of Renward Brandstetter, who was the first Austronesian linguist to speak of a “proto-language”, to reconstruct a complete sound-system and a morphology of this “Original Indonesian” and to propose a number of sound-laws and common affixes, of tracing monosyllabic roots in different languages (although Wilhelm von Humboldt had already started this). By Indonesian Brandstetter did not mean the present Indonesian language, but what we would call nowadays the West-Austronesian languages. He was a much more systematic comparative linguist than the Dutch linguists, who tended to ignore him, which left him quite bitter toward the end of his life. Consequently he donated the manuscript of his comparative dictionary to the University of Paris with the instruction that no Dutchman should ever see it.

Iwar Werlen describes in his “Renward Brandstetter – The General and Comparative Linguist” the development of Brandstetter from a comparative to a general linguist trying to show in his “Architektonische Sprachverwandtschaft” (1920) that languages from all continents have the same “architectural” (i.e. structural) relationships, to an ethno-psychologist, who analysed and compared the words for soul and feelings in Indonesian and Indo-European languages in volume 1 (1921) of his series on “Wir Menschen der Indonesischen Erde” (We People of the Indonesian Earth) and arrived at claiming a genetic relationship between both language families in Volume XI of the same series (1937). This claim can only be explained by his desire to prove the equality of all human beings.

Wolfgang Marschall writes in his “Renward Brandstetter’s Indonesian Language Psychology and its Political Equivalent” that Brandstetter had a feeling of inferiority and transferred this feeling to the Indonesians. He tried to defend the Indonesians against the condescending Europeans by showing the subtleness of their languages, but he was not really interested in their social or political problems. Not a word on the colonial situation in the Philippines or in the then Netherlands East Indies from a man who was mostly interested in languages and literature.

Waruno Mahdi analyses in “Renward Brandstetter’s Comparative Analysis of the ‘Indonesian Mind’” the twelve volumes of “Wir Menschen der Indonesischen Erde”. From the “Spiritual soul of the Indonesian and the Indo-European peoples” (1921), “Sense of what is true, or good, or beautiful, in the Indonesian people’s spirit” (1922), “The intellectual capacity of the Indonesian race” (1923), “Indonesian technical terms in the fine arts and a way of life that is receptive to art” (1925) etc. to the unpublished manuscript of volume 12 (1939), published in 1992 by Wolfgang Marschall, Brandstetter always tried to prove the equality of the Indonesian and the Indo-European by linguistic and literary comparisons. Although Brandstetter’s language may seem rather affected or belletristic (as Otto Dempwolff called it) to modern readers and his comparisons somewhat daring, one must recognize his idealism and his courage to challenge western prejudice against South-East Asian people.

Peter Kamber describes in his article the history of “The Brandstetter Collections in the Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern”. Brandstetter donated his library to the then “Kantonsbibliothek Luzern”, among them many rare books and it is good that the catalogue is now available through the web-based electronic catalogue.

Jacqueline Ackermann presents a short analysis of: “Brandstetter’s Autobiography – Content and Interpretation”. He wrote it 1941 when he was eighty years old. The unpublished manuscript can be found in the Archives of Lucerne. He focused mostly on his scientific success, which must have held an important place in his life. He often felt misunderstood by his colleagues and, according to the obituary of his friend Bühlmann, Brandstetter was oversensitive to criticism and always insisted on listing all the scientific societies of which he was a member on his publications. But in spite of this human weakness, he was a great Austronesian linguist. It is good that this book brings Brandstetter again to our attention.

Marlies SALAZAR

Marlies S. SALAZAR, *Perspectives on Philippine Languages/Five Centuries of European Scholarship*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City, Philippines, 2012, xiv + 334 p., 15.2 x 22.7 cm, ISBN 978-971-550-649-6

The book has five chapters: 1. The Age of Discovery (37 p.), 2. The Rise of Historical Comparative Linguistics (49 p.), 3. The Nineteenth Century – An Age of Intensified Contacts with the Philippines (57 p.), 4. Austronesian Linguistics and their Influence in the Philippines (47 p.), 5. Recent Developments in Philippine Linguistics in Europe (33 p.).

The appendices (pp. 227-264) give the list of vocabularies collected from Pigafetta’s to Alexander Schadenberg’s on Negrito and Moro languages. Endnotes (pp. 265-296) start again at number 1 with each chapter. These are short, so would have been more conveniently placed as footnotes. In the bibliography (pp. 297-321), every entry in another language than English is given as is, while in the text it is also followed by its English translation. The Russian entries are given in a Latin transliteration. This is the best solution in a book written in English. I suppose the author did not supply the originals in Cyrillic simply because the Ateneo has no appropriate font or typeface. There is a long and clear index (pp. 322-333), obviously handmade, hence better than any generated by a wordprocessor. The cover picture is an artistic representation of the Philippines with the acanthus motif by Karl Fredrick M. Castro.

Not many scholars could have written such a book because of the languages of the sources analyzed – Dutch, English, French, German, Italian and Russian. Dr. Marlies S. Salazar has endeavored to cope with the tremendous task of describing the studies written by European linguists with the exception of those from the Iberic Peninsula because the grammars and the dictionaries we owe to Spaniards like San Joseph (*Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala*, 1610), San Buenaventura (*Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 1613), Noceda & San Lucar (*Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 1754) and to U.S. Americans like Bloomfield (*Tagalog Texts with Grammatical*

Analysis, 1917) and Schachter (*Tagalog Reference Grammar*, 1972) are well-known, and fortunately now available in facsimile or digitized version broadcast on the Internet.

Much less so are the works of European scholars, hence the great importance of *Perspectives on Philippine Languages*. It all started with the Magellan circumnavigation, and the lists of vocabularies recorded by its secretary Antonio de Pigafetta, but a long lull ensued, until the 18th century when the proponents of the enlightenment would seek information on little known civilizations to compare with ours with the Chinese at one end of the spectrum and the *bon sauvage* at the other. The list of the linguists and ethnographers mentioned is quite long (Adelaar, Adelung, Aliyeva, Alter, Blumentritt, Brandes, Brandstetter, Bulich, Chamisso, Choris, Costenoble, Coyaud, Dahl, Dell, Dempwolff, Haudricourt, Hervas y Panduro, Himmelmann, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Ignashev (with Cruz/Lansang), Jacquet/Jaquet, Jonker, Keate, Kelz, Hendrik Kern, Rudolf Kern, Klimov, Kolmer, Kotzebue, Lambrecht, Makarenko, Mallat, Marre, Marsden, Adolf Meyer, Hans Meyer, Mohring, Montano, Müller, Pallas, Pigafetta, Podberezskij, Polivanov, Postma, Potet, Pottier (née Quirolgico), Quatrefages, Rashkov, Revel-Macdonald, Riedel, Rohde-Ensslin, Ronkel, Marlies S. Salazar, Schadenberg, Scheerer, Friedrich Schlegel, Stuart Schlegel, Schmidt, Semper, Shkarban, Sirk, Staniukovich, Steinthal, Syromyanikov, Thévenot, Trystram, Vanoverbergh, Wegmüller, Williams, Wingersleben, Wulff). The author spent decades searching for their books, and reading them. She discusses each, underlining its best contributions, and suggesting what is not so good if not wrong in the rest, thus sparing readers the daunting task of shifting the wheat from the chaff in so many and varied sources.

During most of the Spanish period, foreigners, with a few exceptions, were not allowed to settle in the Philippines. European scholars collected their data about Philippine languages from the grammars and the dictionaries by the linguists of the Spanish religious orders who had provinces in the archipelago. They also held correspondences with their colleagues so that they had both printed books and private communications at their disposal.

When the Philippines ceased to be a Spanish overseas territory administered by the vice-roy of Mexico to become a colony of Spain in 1837, in accordance with the new political concept of the 19th century, foreigners were allowed to travel to the Philippines and settle there. Most were representative of trading firms.

During the U.S. colonial period that succeeded the Spanish one, and lasted from 1898 to WWII, an increasing number of foreigners visited the Philippines and wrote about its languages.

From Marlies S. Salazar's work, it appears that German-speaking scholars played an amazingly major part in linguistic studies on Philippine languages as well as on Austronesian languages while as far as can be seen no British author wrote anything on Philippine languages.

Jesuits assigned to the Philippines sent reports to their confreres in Europe, and their data were exploited by scholars interested in languages. They brought their manuscripts to Europe after their expulsion from the Spanish Empire in 1767. Fr. Hervas y Panduro (1735-1809) may be regarded as the initiator of Philippine linguistic studies in the volumes XVII and XVIII of his encyclopedia.

Another remarkable event is the appointment of the German Peter Simon Pallas (1714-1811) by Catherine the Great of Russia in 1766 as an academician at Saint-Petersburg. He launched into a comparative vocabulary of world languages based on 285 words printed in Cyrillic characters. The Philippine languages he could illustrate were Magindanao, Pampanga and Tagalog. Research on vocabularies continued with the Viennese Jesuit Franz Carl Alter (1749-1804) and the German grammarian Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806).

In comparative linguistics, the most famous scholar is Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835). Humboldt was the first to say that Malayo-Polynesian words were built on monosyllabic roots, a fact still overlooked or deliberately ignored by many Austronesianists. The term 'Austronesian' was coined by Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt of Austria.

It is needless to recall Otto Dempwolff's breakthrough in comparative analysis. German studies on Austronesian languages were of such repute then, and in such sharp contrast with their absence in France and Great-Britain that non-German scholars like Otto Christian Dahl (wrongly called Hans p. 184) from Norway, who also wrote in French *Malgache et Maanjan* (1951), Harold Williams from New-Zealand and Cecilio Lopez from the Philippines did their post-graduate studies there. Dahl played the major part by using both the grammars of the vocabularies to relate Austronesian languages among themselves while it was customary to focus on the lexicon, while leaving the grammar aside.

There is also the case of Germans who worked in the Philippines, and grew interested in its languages. These are Otto Scheerer (1858-1938), a trade agent, who succeeded Pardo de Tavera as head of the Department of Philippine Languages at the University of the Philippines, and Hermann Costenoble (1905-1943), an agronomist born in Guam, who also wrote on monosyllabic roots and Tagalog reflexes of Proto-Philippine phonemes.

After WWII, interest shifted to the grammar and the phonology of Philippine languages under the impetus of the American schools of linguistics. Generally there resulted only sporadic studies by linguists who also worked on other languages, using Philippine languages to discuss modern linguistic theories.

Only Russian universities in Moscow and Saint-Petersburg may claim to have had uninterrupted studies in Philippine languages throughout the 20th century. This is an opportunity for Marlies S. Salazar to illustrate the quandary of lexicographers endeavouring to write bilingual dictionaries. Quite often a term does not exist in Tagalog, and the tagalized Spanish or English one is used to fill the gap. In Russia, the Filipino Teodosio Lansang (1918-1993), who wrote under the pen name of 'Manuel Cruz', did his best to find equivalents in his Tagalog-Russian dictionary, but often came up with an unsatisfactory solution.

This review of mine cannot do justice to Marlies S. Salazar's compendium. She has managed to give the gist of every scholar's contribution, and explained in detail the major features of their findings. Thus looking for a major author, readers will find enough on his life and work within the linguistic current to which he belongs to know where to look for, if they want to launch in a branch of Austronesian studies.

It is a pity Marlies S. Salazar's book was published in the Philippines because such books are seldom sold outside, hence hardly available for world scholars.

When actually made available, the postage is staggeringly high – another obstacle to the spread of knowledge. Once the first edition is sold out, no reprint is done. There is no doubt that these many problems would be solved if Philippine university presses, and others, entered the modern age, and had their books printed and distributed by a book-on-demand (BOD) company with a global distribution network.

Jean-Paul G. POTET

RÉSUMÉS — ABSTRACTS

Daniel Perret, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Kuala Lumpur & **Danny Wong Tze Ken**, Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur

Monde insulindien et péninsule indochinoise : un panorama de contacts millénaires

Les relations historiques entre différentes régions d'Asie du Sud-Est restent une approche encore largement sous-étudiée, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'examiner ces relations sur la longue durée. Malgré des avancées notables depuis une trentaine d'années, l'histoire des relations entre le monde insulindien et la péninsule indochinoise, deux aires qui vues globalement ont emprunté des chemins divergents sur les plans linguistique, religieux et politique notamment, n'échappe pas à ce constat.

Afin de stimuler ces recherches, ce panorama diachronique présente, à partir de données les plus récentes, plusieurs jalons couvrant quelque 13 000 ans de contacts possibles ou avérés depuis le « phénomène hoabinhien » jusqu'aux principaux phénomènes migratoires observables aujourd'hui. Jusqu'au VII^e siècle EC, les données encore très fragmentaires ne permettent pas pour l'instant d'aller au-delà de la mise en lumière d'espaces et de réseaux caractérisés par des traits communs. Ensuite, progressivement la multiplication des événements, toponymes et personnages connus permet de mieux préciser ces relations et d'envisager des approches thématiques multiples allant de la culture matérielle jusqu'à la circulation des idées.

Maritime Southeast Asia and Indochina: A Panorama of Contacts Across Millennia

Historical relations between regions of Southeast Asia remains a still largely under-studied approach, especially for relations in the longue durée. Although significant progresses have been made during the last thirty years, history of relations between Maritime Southeast Asia and Indochina, two regions that took divergent paths, especially regarding languages, religions and politics, is not an exception to this observation.

In order to stimulate these researches, this diachronic panorama, based on most recent data, offers a number of milestones along the 13,000 years of possible or attested contacts, from the "Hoabinhian phenomena" until the main migratory flows visible today. Until the 7th century AD, the still very fragmentary data do not allow to go beyond the observation of spaces and networks sharing a number of common features. Then, the gradual increase in the number of known events, place names and individuals, allows a better insight into these linkages and provides opportunities to conduct multiple thematic approaches, from material culture to circulation of ideas.

Arlo Griffiths, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Jakarta

The Problem of the Ancient Name Java and the Role of Satyavarman in Southeast Asian International Relations Around the Turn of the Ninth Century CE

One of the most familiar narratives of ancient Southeast Asian history is the account of how Cambodian king Jayavarman II liberated his country from Javā, and consequently declared himself emperor in the year 802 CE. These events and this year are widely considered to represent the beginning of the Angkorian "empire". Recent years have seen several new scholarly contributions questioning parts of this narrative. One issue is the very historicity of the narrative elements about Jayavarman II, another topic of debate is the identity of Javā in the narratives related to Jayavarman II, and, more generally, in the history of Southeast Asia. After revealing the very weak foundations of certain recent attempts to argue that references

to Javā in sources of the Southeast Asian mainland denoted a place on the continent or the Malay peninsula, this paper argues that the Khmer inscriptions refer to the island of Java when they use the term Javā. The paper shows, furthermore, that narratives involving Javā do not exclusively concern Jayavarman II, but that a certain Satyavarman is in some sources attributed a role very similar to that of the much more famous king Jayavarman II. It is proposed that this Satyavarman may well have been the king of that name who ruled in southern Campā around 800 CE, and hence that the epigraphical record of Satyavarman in Campā is likely to hold important clues not only for the history of Campā itself, but equally for international political relations between the Khmer, Cam and Javanese polities in the late 8th and early 9th century of our era.

Le problème de l'ancien nom Java et du rôle de Satyavarman dans les relations internationales sud-est asiatiques vers le tournant du IX^e siècle EC

L'un des récits les plus connus de l'histoire ancienne de l'Asie du Sud-Est est celui racontant comment le roi Jayavarman II libère son pays de Javā et, par voie de conséquence, se proclame lui-même empereur en 802 EC. Ces événements et cette année sont généralement considérés comme représentant le début de «l'empire angkorien». Des contributions savantes parues ces dernières années ont remis en cause des éléments de ce récit. L'une des questions est celle de l'historicité des éléments narratifs concernant Jayavarman II, un autre élément du débat étant l'identité de Javā dans ces récits liés à Jayavarman II, et plus généralement dans l'histoire de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Après avoir mis en avant les fondations très fragiles de certaines tentatives récentes cherchant à démontrer que le Javā dans les sources d'Asie du Sud-Est continentale renvoie à un lieu sur le continent ou en péninsule malaise, cet article avance que les inscriptions khmères réfèrent à l'île de Java lorsqu'elles usent du terme Javā. Cet article montre, de plus, que les récits impliquant Javā ne concernent pas exclusivement Jayavarman II, mais que dans certaines sources un certain Satyavarman se voit attribuer un rôle très similaire à celui du roi beaucoup plus célèbre Jayavarman II. Nous proposons ici que ce Satyavarman pourrait bien être le roi du même nom ayant régné au Campā méridional vers 800 EC, et qu'ainsi les données épigraphiques relatives à Satyavarman au Campā contiennent vraisemblablement des indices importants, non seulement à propos de l'histoire du Campā lui-même, mais également à propos des relations politiques internationales entre les entités politiques khmère, cam et javanaise à la fin du VIII^e siècle et au début du IX^e siècle de notre ère.

Geoff Wade, Nalanda Sriwijaya Centre, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore

Maritime Routes Between Indochina and Nusantara to the 18th Century

This article offers an overview of historical Chinese, Arab and Vietnamese sources which describe maritime links between the Indochina world and Maritime Southeast Asia from the first century CE until the 18th century. It is in fact from the seventh century that texts begin to provide a number of identifiable toponyms, and the burgeoning of Tang relations with distant societies and polities in the following century saw new maritime routes developing in Southeast Asia. In the 9th century, Chinese sources are supplemented with Arab accounts. Chinese sources of the first millennium CE also contain details regarding the ships which sailed the seas between Indochina and Nusantara, the 10th century being a key period of change in long distance trade through Southeast Asia. By the 14th century the majority of the long-distance trading ships which connected Nusantara and Indochina were Chinese and some possibly Southeast Asian. The beginning of the 15th century brings new maritime route details in connection with the well known voyages led by Zheng He. Further details are provided through three 16th century and 17th century Chinese sources. The article ends with a presentation of data found in a Vietnamese maritime guide dating to 1810 but based on earlier materials.

Routes maritimes entre l'Indochine et Nusantara jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle

Cet article offre un panorama de sources chinoises, arabes et vietnamiennes qui décrivent les relations maritimes entre le monde indochinois et l'Asie du Sud-Est maritime du premier siècle de notre ère jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle. C'est en fait à partir du VII^e siècle que des textes

commencent à livrer un certain nombre de toponymes identifiables et, au siècle suivant, l'essor des relations entre les Tang et des sociétés et entités politiques lointaines voit le développement de nouvelles routes maritimes en Asie du Sud-Est. Au IX^e siècle, des sources arabes complémentent les sources chinoises. Au cours du premier millénaire, ces dernières livrent également des détails sur les navires qui sillonnent les mers entre l'Indochine et Nusantara, le X^e siècle étant une période charnière pour le grand commerce maritime en Asie du Sud-Est. Dès le XIV^e siècle, la majorité des navires marchands hauturiers reliant Nusantara et l'Indochine sont chinois et certains possiblement sud-est asiatiques. Le début du XV^e siècle apporte de nouvelles informations sur ces routes maritimes à l'occasion des expéditions bien connues de Zheng He. Des données complémentaires sont également disponibles dans trois sources chinoises des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. L'article se termine par une présentation de données présentes dans un guide maritime vietnamien datant de 1810 mais fondé sur des sources antérieures.

Marie-France Dupoizat

Vietnamese Ceramics in the Malay World

Vietnamese ceramics were exported to the Malay World during periods when the ceramics supply from China was restricted or reduced for domestic reasons, giving a rather clear illustration of the importance and the structure of the trade networks in the China Sea. Specific Vietnamese trade wares have been found in many places of the Malay World, from Sumatra to the Philippines. The earliest group consists of underglaze black decorated bowls and monochrome glazed bowls dating to the 14th century. Blue-and-white bowls, dishes and covered boxes were the most frequently exported Vietnamese wares during the following century, while monochrome wares were also in demand but to a lesser extent. Towards the end of the 15th century, Vietnamese polychrome wares started to be exported along the same maritime routes. The export of blue-and-white Vietnamese wares to the Malay World seems to have ceased at the beginning of the 16th century. Again, under-supply of Chinese ceramics in the late second half of the 17th century led to the export of a type of coarse Vietnamese ware to the Malay World. Moreover, Vietnamese ceramics were also produced to respond to specific orders, as was the case in the 15th century, with the Vietnamese wall tiles of Majapahit.

Céramiques vietnamiennes dans le monde malais

Des céramiques vietnamiennes furent exportées dans le monde malais à des périodes où, en Chine, l'offre en céramiques était restreinte ou réduite pour des raisons intérieures, livrant ainsi une image assez claire de l'importance de la structure des réseaux commerciaux en mer de Chine méridionale. Des types particuliers de céramiques vietnamiennes ont été retrouvés à divers endroits du monde malais, entre Sumatra et les Philippines. Le groupe le plus ancien comprend des bols à décor noir sous couverte et des bols à couverte monochrome datés du XIV^e siècle. Durant le siècle qui suit, ce sont des bols «bleu et blanc», des plats et des boîtes à couvercle qui représentent l'essentiel des exportations vietnamiennes, alors que les pièces monochromes sont toujours en demande, mais dans une moindre proportion. C'est vers la fin du XV^e siècle que les céramiques polychromes vietnamiennes commencent à être exportées en suivant les mêmes voies maritimes. L'exportation des «bleu et blanc» vietnamiens vers le monde malais semble avoir pris fin vers le début du XVI^e siècle. De nouveau, l'insuffisance de l'offre en céramiques chinoises à la fin du XVII^e siècle, va conduire à l'exportation vers le monde malais de pièces vietnamiennes de facture grossière. De plus, des céramiques vietnamiennes furent également produites afin de satisfaire des demandes particulières. Ce fut ainsi le cas au XV^e siècle avec les carreaux vietnamiens de Majapahit.

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Les Cam et les Malais du Cambodge et de Cochinchine vus par les archives coloniales (1859-1954)

Cet article propose une étude des communautés cam et malaises du Cambodge et de Cochinchine (Sud Viêt Nam) pendant la période coloniale à travers l'examen d'un corpus de

documents administratifs tirés des Archives de la Résidence Supérieure du Cambodge. Les documents étudiés mettent en valeur plusieurs aspects de la vie quotidienne des Cam et des Malais pendant toute la période du Protectorat et nous apportent de précieuses informations sur les difficultés auxquelles se sont heurtés les fonctionnaires de l'administration française pour définir les questions d'identité, de nationalité et de statut légal des Cam et des Malais du Cambodge. Les archives nous offrent également des informations sur les migrations des Cam et des Malais et les tentatives de l'administration pour imposer une régulation. Enfin, les archives nous apportent des renseignements inédits sur les conflits religieux intracommunautaires qui ont secoué les communautés cam et malaises ainsi que sur la question de la diffusion des mouvements réformistes religieux malais au Cambodge.

Cam and Malays in Cambodia and Cochinchina Seen Through Colonial Archives (1859-1954)

The aim of this paper is to study the Cam and Malay communities in Cambodia and Cochinchina (South Vietnam) during the colonial period through the analysis of a corpus of administrative documents belonging to the Archives of the Résidence Supérieure in Cambodia. These documents highlight several aspects of the daily life of Cam and Malays during the entire Protectorate period and provide precious data regarding the difficulties encountered by the civil servants in the French administration in order to define questions of identity, nationality and legal status of the Cam and Malays living in Cambodia. Archives also offer information on the migrations of the Cam and Malays, as well as the administration's efforts to impose a regulation. Lastly, the archives offer new insights on the religious conflicts inside the communities, that rocked the Cam and Malay communities, and also regarding the diffusion of Malay religious reformist movements in Cambodia.

Claudine Salmon, Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris

The Hạ châu or Southern Countries as Observed by Vietnamese Emissaries (1830-1844)

Although commercial relations between Vietnam and Insulinde go back to the remote past, the Vietnamese have shown very little curiosity about their Southern neighbours; this explains why travel accounts are so scarce. Here we intend to reflect on the reports and travel impressions written by demoted civil servants who were sent to the Hạ châu or "Southern Countries" to redeem their faults when the Nguyễn court became interested in obtaining reports on the conditions and views of the European based in Bengal, the Straits, Java, and Luzon. The original versions of these reports have apparently not survived, but several copies are kept in various public libraries in Hanoi.

The first was Lý Văn Phức (1785-1849) demoted in 1829 and dispatched to Calcutta in early 1830 via Singapore, Malacca and Penang. He wrote three texts of which a record in prose and a brief account in verse and prose more or less arranged in chronological order have survived. Cao Bá Quát (1809-1854) who in 1844 accomplished a mission to Singapore and Batavia was apparently the last demoted civil servant sent to the Hạ châu (after the arrival of the French in Vietnam the Nguyễn court developed its relations with Hong Kong). He was the first to realise that the Europeans were a particular danger to the region.

In order to perceive the political situation in the Malay world the emissaries had to rely on the Chinese merchants who shared the same culture and who were the only people with whom they could communicate at least by mean of the brush.

Les Hạ châu ou Contrées méridionales observées par des émissaires vietnamiens (1830-1844)

Bien que les relations entre le Viêt Nam et l'Insulinde remontent aux temps immémoriaux, les Vietnamiens n'ont guère manifesté de curiosité pour leurs voisins méridionaux, ce qui explique l'extrême rareté des récits de voyage. Ici, nous entendons réfléchir sur les rapports et impressions de voyage écrits par des fonctionnaires civils dégradés ou révoqués qui furent envoyés dans les Hạ châu ou « Contrées méridionales » pour racheter leurs fautes, lorsque les Nguyễn devinrent désireux d'obtenir des rapports sur les conditions et les visées des Européens établis au Bengale, dans les Détroits, à Java et à Luçon. Les textes originaux semblent avoir disparu, mais des copies sont conservées dans diverses bibliothèques publiques de Hanoi.

Le premier émissaire fut Lý Văn Phức (1785-1849), dégradé en 1829 qui, au début de l'année 1830, fut envoyé à Calcutta via Singapour, Malacca et Penang. Des trois textes qu'il composa, deux ont survécu : un récit en prose et une brève relation chronologique mêlant vers et prose. Cao Ba Quat (1809-1854) qui, en 1844, accomplit une mission à Singapour et à Batavia fut apparemment le dernier fonctionnaire dégradé à avoir été envoyé dans les Hạ châu (après l'arrivée des Français au Vietnam, les Nguyễn nouèrent des relations avec Hong Kong). Il fut le premier à prendre conscience du fait que les Européens constituaient un danger particulier pour la région. Afin de saisir la situation politique en Insulinde, les émissaires devaient avoir recours aux marchands chinois dont ils partageaient la culture et qui étaient les seuls avec lesquels ils pouvaient communiquer, au moins par écrit.

Danny Wong Tze Ken, Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur

The Cham Arrivals in Malaysia: Distant Memories and Rekindled Links

When Phnom Penh and Saigon fell in 1975, throngs of refugees fled Cambodia and Vietnam in the face of incoming Communist regimes in the two countries. Malaysia became a destination for many of them. However, Malaysia's position in relations to the Indochinese refugees was clear, namely, they were to be processed and to be resettled to a third country. In spite of this, until 1985, some ten thousand among them were allowed to settle. They were Muslims or practitioners of the Islamic faith, ethnically known as Chams or Islam Kemboja. This paper sets out to investigate the reasons behind the Malaysian Government's decision to accept these refugees and the reasons the Chams chose Malaysia. Apart from the common adherence to Islam as the main reason behind both decisions, this paper also argues that old links, both religious and political, were strongly imprinted in the minds of the Chams so much so that when Cambodia and Vietnam fell to the Communists, it was Kelantan and the Malay Peninsula that the Chams had chosen to settle in. For the first time, first-hand information from the personal papers of Mubin Sheppard, at the time Honorary Secretary of the Malaysian Muslim Welfare Organisation, was consulted to write this paper.

L'arrivée des Cam en Malaisie : souvenirs lointains et liens ravivés

Lorsque Phnom Penh et Saigon tombèrent en 1975, des foules de réfugiés s'enfuirent du Cambodge et du Vietnam à l'arrivée de régimes communistes dans les deux pays. La Malaisie fut une destination pour nombre d'entre eux. La position de la Malaisie sur cette question des réfugiés indochinois était cependant claire : leur cas devait être traité puis ils devaient être envoyés vers un pays tiers. Néanmoins, jusqu'en 1985 quelque 10 000 d'entre eux furent autorisés à s'installer. Ils étaient musulmans ou adhérents à la foi islamique, identifiés ethniquement comme Cam ou Islam Kemboja. Cet article se propose d'examiner les raisons sous-jacentes à la décision du gouvernement malaisien d'accepter ces réfugiés et à la décision des Cam de choisir la Malaisie. Mise à part l'adhésion commune à l'islam comme raison principale derrière ces deux décisions, cet article avance également que les esprits des Cam étaient si fortement imprégnés des liens anciens, à la fois religieux et politiques, que lorsque le Cambodge et le Vietnam tombèrent aux mains des communistes, ils choisirent Kelantan et la péninsule malaise pour s'installer. Pour la première fois, des informations de première main tirées des archives de Mubin Sheppard, alors Secrétaire Honoraire de l'Organisation Malaisienne de l'Aide Sociale Musulmane, ont été consultées pour rédiger cet article.

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Daripada Pelarian Kepada Usahawan: Pengalaman Masyarakat Cam di Pekan, Pahang, Malaysia

Berdasarkan sebuah studi di lapangan pada tahun 2000an, kertas kerja ini memberi tumpuan kepada sekelompok masyarakat Muslim yang berasal dari negara Kemboja dan pada masa kini menetap di Negeri Pahang, khususnya di daerah Pekan. Mereka merupakan kumpulan

pelarian terawal yang ditempatkan di negeri Kelantan sebelum berpindah keluar dari negeri tersebut untuk memulakan kehidupan baru dengan bekerja sendiri menjelang awal tahun 1980an. Di daerah Pekan, mereka menemukan sebuah kawasan yang menunjukkan persamaan dengan keadaan penempatan mereka di negara asal Kemoja. Antara aktiviti ekonomi yang dilakukan sehingga kini adalah menternak ikan air tawar dalam sangkar. Kertas kerja ini menggambarkan aktiviti ini yang mulai diperkenalkan sekitar tahun 1984, dan pada masa kini merupakan aktiviti utama masyarakat Cam di tiga buah kampung di daerah Pekan. Masyarakat ini merupakan salah satu contoh kumpulan pelarian yang berasal dari Indochina dan berjaya diintegrasikan ke dalam masyarakat tempatan seterusnya berjaya mengukuhkan kedudukan ekonomi mereka sebagai pengeluar ikan air tawar terbesar di daerah Pekan.

De réfugiés à entrepreneurs : l'expérience d'une communauté Cam de Pekan, Pahang, Malaisie

Cette étude, basée sur un travail de terrain conduit durant les années 2000, est centrée sur une communauté musulmane originaire du Cambodge et aujourd'hui installée dans l'État de Pahang, précisément dans la région de Pekan. Ses membres font partie des premiers réfugiés, d'abord hébergés à Kelantan avant de quitter cet État afin d'entamer une nouvelle vie indépendante au début des années 1980. Dans la région de Pekan, ils vont retrouver un environnement proche de celui qu'ils ont connu au Cambodge et l'aquaculture en eau douce figure au nombre des activités économiques qu'ils pratiquent jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Cet article décrit cette activité que la communauté a débutée vers 1984, et qui représente aujourd'hui l'activité principale de la communauté Cam dans trois villages de la région de Pekan. Cette communauté constitue l'un des cas d'intégration réussie de réfugiés d'origine indochinoise, qui de plus est parvenue à s'épanouir économiquement en devenant l'acteur le plus important de l'aquaculture en eau douce de la région de Pekan.

Ludvik Kalus, Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, Paris & **Claude Guillot**, Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris

La principauté de Daya, mi-XV^e-mi-XVI^e siècle [Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh 6]

Cet îlot de tombes à Daya (ou Lamno) est assez remarquable par le nombre et la qualité des personnages qui y sont enterrés. On y trouve en effet la sépulture du sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn, fils de 'Inâyat shâh, premier prince musulman de Daya, mais surtout celle de sa fille Dame Hûr. Mariée au sultan d'Aceh, 'Alî Mughâyat shâh, elle est devenue la mère du sultan Salâh al-dîn renversé par son frère 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh, celui qui a fait Aceh.

The Principality of Daya, mid-15th Century – mid-16th Century [Islamic Epigraphy of Aceh 6]

This small corpus of tombstones in Daya (or Lamno) is remarkable by the number and the quality of individuals who are buried there. Actually, there is the grave of Sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn, son of 'Inayat shâh, first Muslim prince of Daya, and particularly that of his daughter Dame Hûr. Married to the sultan of Aceh, 'Alî Mughâyat shâh, she became the mother of Sultan Salâh al-dîn overthrown by his brother 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh, the one who made Aceh.

Hans Hägerdal, School of Cultural Sciences, Linnaeus University, Växjö, Sweden

Cycles of Queenship on Timor: A Response to Douglas Kammen

The present article is a rejoinder to Douglas Kammen recent study "Queens of Timor" (*Archipel* 84, 2012). Studying the numerous small polities ("kingdoms") of Portuguese Timor, Kammen found a remarkable upsurge of female rulers in the nineteenth century, explained through the interplay between house, kingdom and colonial administration. However, the occurrence of female rule before 1800 is not as rare as suggested by Kammen. On the contrary, the available contemporary (Dutch and Portuguese) archival sources reveal a cyclical pattern of reigning queens. While almost no women in power are attested for the eighteenth century, there are at least eleven such cases on Timor and the adjacent islands in

the period 1640-1700, that is, from the time when detailed documentation on Timor starts. Some of these queens owed their position to inheritance while others were widow-rulers. On average they appear personally active to a higher degree than the nineteenth century counterparts. The article discusses Timorese queenship in relation to the upsurge of female rule found in Aceh, Patani, and so on, in the same period. Like in these areas, the discontinuation of female rule on Timor after 1700 might be connected to external forces, in this case the new networks forged by European authorities.

Cycles de royauté féminine à Timor : une réponse à Douglas Kammen

Le présent article se veut une réplique à l'étude récente de Douglas Kammen "Queens of Timor" (*Archipel* 84, 2012). Étudiant les nombreuses petites entités politiques («royaumes») du Timor portugais, Kammen y relève la remarquable multiplication de dirigeantes féminines au cours du XIX^e siècle, phénomène expliqué par l'interaction entre maison, royaume et administration coloniale. Cependant, l'existence du pouvoir féminin avant 1800 n'est pas aussi rare que le suggère Kammen. Au contraire, les sources archivistiques contemporaines (néerlandaises et portugaises) révèlent un modèle cyclique de reines au pouvoir. Alors que pratiquement aucune dirigeante n'est attestée au cours du XVIII^e siècle, il existe au moins onze de ces cas à Timor et dans les îles environnantes durant la période 1640-1700, c'est-à-dire dès le moment où l'on dispose d'une documentation détaillée sur Timor. Certaines acquièrent leur position par héritage, d'autres par leur statut de veuve d'ancien dirigeant. Cet article discute la question de la royauté timoraise en relation avec la montée contemporaine du pouvoir féminin à Aceh, Patani, et ailleurs. Comme dans ces régions, la disparition provisoire du pouvoir féminin à Timor après 1700 pourrait être liée à des forces externes, dans ce cas les nouveaux réseaux mis en place par les autorités européennes.



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PROFESOR BOECHARI (1927-1991) ialah ahli epigrafi dan sejarah kuno Indonesia yang sangat dicari bandingannya. Karya-karyanya membuka tabir kegelapan sejarah Indonesia yang bisa dijelaskan oleh para ahli sebelumnya. Prof. Boechari, baik mengenai epigrafi dan sejarah kuno Indonesia, tersebar di berbagai negeri di dalam maupun di luar negeri yang pernah ditemukannya. Buku ini merupakan kumpulan alih aksara prasasti yang diwariskan kepada generasi penerusnya. Diharapkan agar mahasiswa dan masyarakat luas dapat menambah pengetahuan mengenai sejarah Indonesia yang disusun berdasarkan sumber primer dan manfaatnya untuk mengerti peradaban dan negara masa kini melalui pemahaman.

Boechari was the most important epigraphic historian of Indonesia after independence. This book offers a collection of his articles and full transcriptions of inscriptions.

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