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## RÉSUMÉS – ABSTRACTS

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En couverture : *Mégolithes simbuang batu*, Sesean, Pays toraja, Sulawesi, décembre 2014  
(Photo : D. Rappoport)

*Archipel* 89, Paris, 2015

## SOURCES TEXTUELLES

LUDVIK KALUS<sup>1</sup> ET CLAUDE GUILLOT<sup>2</sup>

Cimetière de Uleè Luëng, Puni  
[Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 9]



Fig. 1 – Cimetière de Puni, vue d'ensemble vers 1912 (De Vink).

Parmi les nombreux cimetières de la région d'Aceh dont nous présentons ici progressivement les tombes inscrites, le cimetière de Uleè Luëng de Puni se trouve à la limite sud de Banda Aceh<sup>3</sup>. Comme on peut s'en rendre compte d'après une photo prise par De Vink en 1911 (fig. 1), à l'arrivée de son équipe

1. Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, Paris

2. CNRS, Paris

3. Village (*gampong/kelurahan*) de Punie, Mukim Daroy, Kecamatan Darul Imarah, Kabupaten Aceh Besar. (Données communiquées par Daniel Perret à qui nous adressons nos remerciements.) De Vink, vers 1911, note : « Poeni (Meunassa Kg. Djawa). Complex Oeleè Loeëng ».



**Fig. 2 – Cimetière de Puni, vue d'ensemble en 2004 (Guillot/Kalus).**

sur place, le cimetière était en très mauvais état et beaucoup de stèles étaient déracinées et renversées. Une autre photo de l'ensemble du cimetière prise par De Vink (photo non présentée ici) démontre que les stèles ont été redressées et réparties en deux rangées qui devraient correspondre aux emplacements de la tête et des pieds des tombes. Cette restauration, qui correspond sans doute à la situation que nous avons trouvée en 2004 (fig. 2), nous sert de base pour notre numérotation des tombes. Mais déjà du temps de De Vink, quelques stèles étaient très abîmées et pour certaines, il ne restait qu'un petit fragment de leur base ou rien du tout et c'est la raison pour laquelle notre numérotation a des lacunes.

De l'inventaire des tombes de ce cimetière, qu'on trouvera ci-dessous, on peut tirer des renseignements d'ordre historique qui ne sont pas sans intérêt.

Le cimetière comprend un certain nombre de sultans :

– Sultan al-Malik Firman shâh (mort en juillet 1590) (tombe n° 5). Il s'agit du père de 'Ala' al-din Ri'âyat shâh, le sultan choisi par les *orang kaya*, selon Beaulieu<sup>4</sup>, alors qu'il est déjà âgé et qu'il entend vivre le reste de sa vie dans la sérénité. Ce personnage appartient à la maison de Dar al-kamal puisqu'on le dit fils de Muzaffar shâh, petit-fils de 'Inâyat shâh, le fondateur d'Aceh, et arrière-petit-fils de « 'Abd allâh (Roi Manifeste) ». Selon une coutume musulmane, le nom porté par cet homme, « 'Abd allâh », est sans doute présent pour prouver la conversion à l'islam de lui-même ou de son fils 'Inâyat shâh.

On peut noter que le *Bustan al-Salatin*<sup>5</sup> le nomme aussi « sultan » et la question se pose pourquoi il est appelé ainsi. Il n'y a pas de réponse claire,

4. Denys Lombard, *Mémoires d'un voyage aux Indes Orientales 1619-1622. Augustin de Beaulieu. Un marchand normand à Sumatra*. Paris, EFEO, 1996, p. 219-220.

5. Siti Hawa Haji Saleh, éd., *Bustan al-Salatin*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992, p. 5.

peut-être était-il roi d'une principauté, comme Daya, Pasai, Pidie ou Aru ?

Mais se pose également une question beaucoup plus grave. D'après leur épitaphe, son père, Muzaffar shâh, serait mort en 1497 et lui serait décédé en juillet 1590, soit 93 ans plus tard. Face à cette incohérence chronologique évidente, nous sommes, hélas, incapables d'apporter une réponse.

– Meugah (?) Meurah (?) sultan, fils de al-Malik Firmân shâh (mort le 7 mai 1590 (?)) (tombe n° 30). Dans son épitaphe, il est qualifié de « sultan et roi illustre », alors que dans la généalogie donnée par l'*Encyclopédie des Indes néerlandaises*<sup>6</sup>, il apparaît sous sa titulature malaise avec le titre de « Prince de Aru ». Malgré nos recherches, nous avons été dans l'impossibilité de retrouver trace de cette mention.

À supposer qu'elle existe, ceci serait une explication du titre de sultan. Il ne fait aucun doute que le titre de Meugah Merah (Meugah étant une appellation pour un « frère aîné » et Meurah étant un titre local signifiant « chef »), serait plus conforme à sa qualité de souverain d'un État vassal, tel que Aru.

– Sultan Husayn, mort en 1597/8 (tombe n° 40). Vu la date et le lieu de l'ensevelissement (Puni), il ne peut s'agir que du fils de 'Ala' al-din Ri'ayat shâh (règne 1589-1603 ou 4) dont parle Beaulieu, le grand-père de Iskandar Muda.

La chronique malaise *Adat Aceh*<sup>7</sup> attribue à ce 'Ala' al-din Ri'ayat shâh deux filles et quatre fils. Deux des fils meurent tôt, restent Sultan Muda et Sultan Husayn. François Martin de Vitre ainsi que Beaulieu lui attribuent comme enfants deux fils et deux filles. L'aîné, Alî, est choisi par le sultan comme prince héritier du royaume d'Aceh, le second est nommé roi de Pidie. Selon le *Bustan al-Salatin*<sup>8</sup>, l'aîné est co-souverain à Aceh et le plus jeune, Husayn, devient roi de Pidie. C'est donc en tant que tel qu'il porte le titre de sultan.

Ce sultan Husayn serait mort en 1597/1598, soit sept ans avant son père. Inutile de dire que les témoignages de John Davis ainsi que De Houtman, cités par Hoesein Djajadiningrat<sup>9</sup>, correspondent à d'autres événements et donc à d'autres personnages.

– On trouve aussi la tombe d'un Sultan Meurah (?) (tombe n° 13) et celle d'un Sultan Ladas (?) (tombe n° 33) sur lesquels la pauvreté des données ne permet pas actuellement d'identification.

Dans ce cimetière datant de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> et du début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, on

6. « Genealogish Overzicht der Atjëhsche Soeltans tot 1675 », *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië (ENI)*, eerste deel, 's-Gravenhage/Leiden, 1917, entre les pages 72 et 73.

7. Teuku Iskandar, *De Hikajat Atjeh*, 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1958, p. 99 [p. 77 du manuscrit].

8. Siti Hawa Haji Saleh (éd.), 1992, p. 5.

9. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, « Critisch overzicht van de in Maleische werken vervatte gegevens over de geschiedenis van het soeltanaat van Atjeh », *Bijd. tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van de Koninklijk Instituut*, n° 55, 1911.

trouve plusieurs titres malais – *meurah* quatre fois – *meugah* deux fois, *tuan* une fois et *laksamana* une fois – pour six défunts, qui sont quasiment absents ou rares dans les autres épitaphes. On peut penser que le temps s'est écoulé et que la mode arabo-persane commence à laisser place au contexte acihais.

À part les cas que nous avons cités, ces tombes donnent l'impression que les textes religieux, très simples mais répétés à l'envi, l'emportent sur les qualités du mort. Cette attitude des lettrés et des sculpteurs laisse penser qu'ils sont moins intéressés ou moins compétents qu'autrefois et laisse deviner la phase finale à laquelle on va bientôt parvenir, celle des pseudo-inscriptions, quand on fait croire à un vrai texte en arabe uniquement à l'aide de jambages reliés entre eux (tombe n° 18).

Puni mériterait tout autant que le cimetière de « Tuan di Kandang », *gampong* Biluy, où est enterré Muzaffar, le titre de cimetière familial de Dar al-kamal. On y trouve, malgré un certain nombre de tombes sans informations, celle de al-Malik Firman shâh, de son fils Meugah Meurah et de son petit-fils sultan Husayn, plus celle de Meurah Asankhan (?) fils du sultan Firman shâh ou Husayn. Dans ce contexte, on peut être surpris par l'épitaphe d'une fille de sultan 'Abdallah qui est d'une autre branche mais on peut supposer qu'elle se rattache à la branche de Dar al-kamal par un mariage.

### Inventaire<sup>10</sup>

**TOMBE N°01** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XXXI.

Deux stèles à très grand pinacle et à ailes.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 3) ; D- face est. A et C : (a) dans un grand champ, trois lignes ; (b) sur les deux côtés de la partie inférieure du grand champ, une étroite ligne verticale, à droite (1) et à gauche (2). B et D : (a) dans un champ, registre ; (b) sur les deux côtés du champ, une étroite ligne verticale, à droite (1) et à gauche (2).

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

**10.** Parmi les tombes que nous sommes en mesure de présenter ici, celles qui sont datées situent l'ensemble du cimetière à la fin du x<sup>e</sup>/xvi<sup>e</sup> et au début du xi<sup>e</sup>/xvii<sup>e</sup> siècles. Comme il est mentionné plus haut, à cette époque, dans la région d'Aceh, les inscriptions sur les stèles commencent à devenir superficielles, leur texte moins concret. Il se limite souvent à la répétition des formules religieuses où la profession de foi islamique (*sahāda*) domine clairement. Pour des raisons techniques, nous ne présentons pas dans l'inventaire qui suit ces textes répétitifs en caractères arabes, mais seulement en traduction française. Les endroits de ces abandons sont indiqués par #####.

- ١ - أ - (أ) - (١) لقسمان [؟] .+. (٢) اوزي علکا [؟] ... (٣) راج ديرفو [دبرفرق؟] عش [عشر، عشرة] [؟]
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله (٢) لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله
- ب - (أ) - يوصل الحبيب إلى الحبيب محمد [؟]
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا إله (٢) لا إله إلا الله لا إله
- ت - (أ) - (١) نشان ... (٢) بعث (لغ) ملي ... مره [ملم؟] مكع (٣) بركة [؟] اوزي عليکا ..
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله (٢) لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله
- ث - (أ) - الموت جسر
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا إله (٢) لا إله إلا الله لا إله
- ٢ - أ - (أ) - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) لا إله إلا الله
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله (٢) لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله
- ب - (أ) - محمد رسول الله
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا إله (٢) لا إله إلا الله لا إله
- ت - (أ) - (١) العزيز الغفار (٢) الجلال هو الله (٣) الكريم الشاكر
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله (٢) لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله
- ث - (أ) - لا إله إلا الله
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلا الله لا إله (٢) لا إله إلا الله لا إله

### Épitaphe :

- I - C - (a) - (1-3) ; - I - A - (a) - (1-3) : Signe (de la tombe de)...[?] meugah meurah<sup>11</sup>... Uzî 'Alkâ [?]... laksamana .x.x. Uzî 'Alkâ [?]... raja ... [?]

### Hadîth :

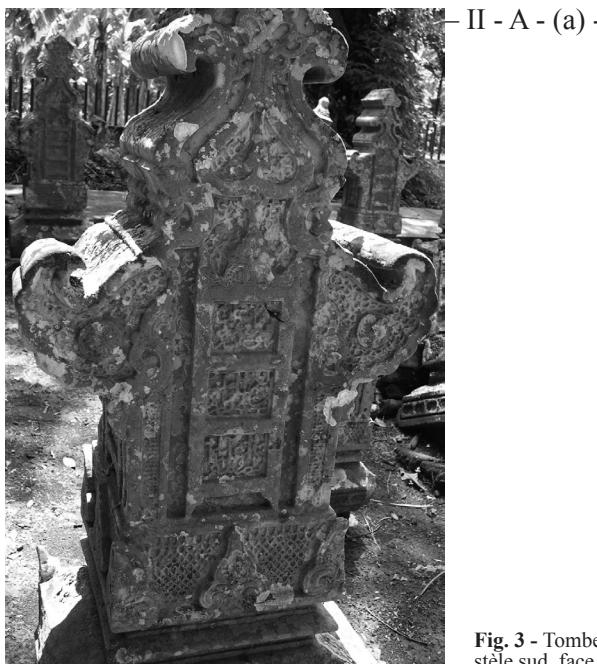
- I - D - (a) ; - I - B - (a) : La mort est un pont par lequel l'ami se rend vers l'Ami Muhammad.

### Textes religieux :

- I - A - (b) - (1-2) ; - I - B - (b) - (1-2) ; - I - C - (b) - (1-2) ; - I - D - (b) - (1-2) ;
- II - A - (a) - (3) ; - II - A - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- II - B - (a) : Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
- II - B - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- II - C - (a) - (1-3) : Le Puissant, l'Absoluteur, la Majesté. Il est Dieu le Généreux, le Reconnaissant, le Violent.
- II - C - (b) - (1-2) ; - II - D - (a) ; - II - D - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).

### À déterminer :

<sup>11</sup>. Makka Murra a été rétabli en *meugah meurah*, un des titres du nord de Sumatra (voir l'article Aceh, dans l'*ENI*, 1916).



— II - A - (a) - (1-2).

**Fig. 3** - Tombe 1,  
stèle sud, face nord (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°03** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques, à grand pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest (fig. 4) ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.

#####

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu xxxxxxxx.
- I - B - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - A - (1-3) : .... la Majesté [al-ğalāl ?], Muhammad est l'Envoyé ....x.x.x.
- II - B - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - C - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - D - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. xxxx



**Fig. 4 – Tombe 3,**  
stèle sud, face ouest (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°04** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XXVIII.

Deux stèles trapues à très grand pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 5) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est.  
A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink nos 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- أ - (١) ... (٢) هذا القبر (٣) السعيدة السعدية  
- ب - محمد رسول الله  
- ت - (١) لا إله إلا الله (٢) محمد رسول الله (٣) لا إله إلا الله  
- ث - محمد رسول الله  
##### - ٢ -

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (1-3) : ... Ceci est la tombe de la bienheureuse, sous d'heureux auspices.

Textes religieux :

- I - B : Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
- I - C - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - D : Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
- II - A - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - B : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - C - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - D : Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.



**Fig. 5** – Tombe 4, stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°05** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XXVII.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées très développées, pourvues au sommet d'un pinacle.

– I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) sur le côté du pinacle, dans un cadre rectangulaire allongé, une ligne ; (b) dans le champ principal, trois compartiments rectangulaires superposés contenant chacun un registre (1-3) ; (c) sur le socle, dans quatre compartiments rectangulaires juxtaposés, une ligne.

– II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 6) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) sur le côté du pinacle, dans un cadre rectangulaire allongé, une ligne ; (b) dans le champ principal, trois compartiments rectangulaires superposés contenant chacun un registre (1-3) ; (c) sur le socle, dans quatre compartiments rectangulaires juxtaposés, une ligne.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- ١ - أ - (أ) .+.+
- (ب)-(١) هذا الحجر ... (٢) و ذلك بتاريخ يوم الإثنين من شهر رمضان (٣) سنة ثمان و تسعين و تسعمائة من هجرة النبي صلوات ..
- (ت)-(١) لا إله إلا الله (٢) محمد رسول الله (٣) لا إله إلا الله (٤) محمد رسول الله
- ب - (أ) ....
- (ب)-(١) ... (٢) ... بعده ... (٣) ... مولانا السلطان غفر ...
- (ت)-(١) لا إله إلا الله (٢) محمد رسول الله (٣) لا إله إلا الله (٤) محمد رسول الله
- ت - (أ) ....
- (ب)-(١) وهو ... سلطان الملك (٢) فرمان شاه ابن مظفر شاه إبن عناية شاه [؟] (٣) إبن عبد الله الملك المبين [؟]
- (ت)-(١) لا إله إلا الله (٢) محمد رسول الله (٣) لا إله إلا الله (٤) محمد رسول الله
- ث - (أ) ....
- (ب)-(١) وبعد ... (٢) الدنيا شر [؟] إلا ... (٣) والقبر جسر إلى الجنان ...
- (ت)-(١) لا إله إلا الله (٢) محمد رسول الله (٣) لا إله إلا الله (٤) محمد رسول الله
- ٢ - أ - (أ) ٩٩٩٩
- (ب)-(١) و إرحم ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
- (ت)-(١) ٩٩٩٩ (٢) ٩٩٩٩ (٣) ٩٩٩٩ (٤) ٩٩٩٩
- ب - (أ) ٩٩٩٩
- (ب)-(١) لا إله إلا الله الملك (٢) الحق المبين (٣) محمد رسول الله
- (ت)-(١) ٩٩٩ (٢) ٩٩٩ (٣) ٩٩٩ (٤) ٩٩٩
- ت - (أ) ٩٩٩
- (ب)-(١) الصادق الأمين (٢) لا إله إلا الله (٣) محمد رسول الله
- (ت)-(١) ٩٩٩ (٢) ٩٩٩ (٣) ٩٩٩ (٤) ٩٩٩
- ث - (أ) ٩٩٩
- (ب)-(١) ... (٢) ... و اعف (٣) .. اغفر ..
- (ت)-(١) ٩٩٩ (٢) ٩٩٩ (٣) ٩٩٩ (٤) ٩٩٩

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (b) - (1-3); - I - B - (b) - (1-3); - I - C - (b) - (1-3) : Cette pierre ... et ceci à la date du lundi du mois de ramadân de l'année 998 de l'hégire du Prophète (= 6 ou 13 ou 20 ou 27 ramadân) - bénédiction ..... notre maître le sultan - que (Dieu lui) pardonne ! / 9 ou 16 ou 23 ou 30 juillet 1590. Il s'agit de .... Sultan al-Malik Firmân shâh, fils de Muzaffar shâh, fils de 'Inâyat shâh [?], fils de 'Abd allâh, le Roi Evident.

Hadîth :

- I - D - (b) - (1-3) : ..... et la tombe est un pont vers les jardins ...

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (c) - (1-4); - I - B - (c) - (1-4); - I - C - (c) - (1-4); - I - D - (c) - (1-4);
- II - B - (b) - (1-3) : *Šahāda* (répétition).
- II - C - (b) - (1-3) : le Sincère, le Sûr. *Šahāda*.

Prière :

- II - A - (b) - (1-4) : Accorde Ta pitié .....
- II - D - (b) - (1-3) : Accorde le pardon ..... pardonne ....

À déterminer :

- I - A - (a) ; - I - B - (a) ; - I - C - (a) ; - I - D - (a) ; - II - A - (a) ; - II - B - (c) - (1-4) ; - II - C - (a) ; - II - C - (c) - (1-4) ; - II - D - (a) ; - II - D - (c) - (1-3).

**TOMBE N°06** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles trapues à grand pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois compartiments superposés non remplis. B et D : un compartiment rectangulaire, non rempli.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 7) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.

- ۲ - أ - (۱) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (۲) مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (۳) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

- ب - الْعَزَّالْدَائِم

- ت - (۱) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (۲) مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (۳) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

- ث - الْعَزَّالْدَائِم

Textes religieux :

- II - A - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - B : Puissance éternelle.
- II - C - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - D : Puissance éternelle.



Fig. 6 – Tombe 5,  
stèle nord, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).



Fig. 7 – Tombe 6,  
stèle nord, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBÉ N°07** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques pourvues au sommet d'un pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes. Les caractères inscrits sur cette stèle sont très schématisés.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.

#####

Textes religieux :

- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - B - (1-3) ; - II - C - (1-3) ; - II - D - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).

**TOMBE N°09** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées très développées, pourvues au sommet d'un pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. À l'origine, partout trois lignes. Actuellement (en 2004), les inscriptions ont disparu, une seule face est partiellement conservée mais illisible.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 8) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.

#####

Textes religieux :

- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - B - (1-3) ; - II - C - (1-3) ; - II - D - (1-3) : *Šahāda* (répétition).



Fig. 8 – Tombe 9, stèle nord, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°11** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux très grandes stèles, trapues, à grand pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : stèle très abîmée, restes d'inscriptions, illisibles.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 9) ; D- face est. Inscriptions, schématisées, en grande partie disparues. Sur la face nord (C) : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois compartiments superposés.

#####

Textes religieux :

- II - C - (1-3) : *Šahāda* (?). Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.



**Fig. 9 – Tombe 11,**  
stèle nord, face nord (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°12** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles, trapues, à grand pinacle et à ailes. Les deux stèles sont très abîmées.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 10) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord (abîmée) ; D- face est (abîmée). A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, à l'origine trois compartiments superposés. B et D : dans un compartiment

rectangulaire, à l'origine une ligne.

– II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord (abîmée) ; D- face est (abîmée). A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, à l'origine trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, à l'origine une ligne.

#####

Textes religieux :

– II - A - (1-3) : Dieu, Dieu, Dieu, Dieu, Dieu, Dieu.



Fig. 10 – Tombe 12,  
stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°13** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées très développées, pourvues au sommet d'un pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 11) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.

- أ - (١) لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (٢) لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (٣)  
 - ب - (١) السُّلْطَانُ (٢) مَرْأَةٌ [؟] . . . (٣)  
 - ت - (١) . . . + . . . + . . . (٢) . . . + . . . + . . . (٣)  
 - ث - (١) لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (٢) لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (٣) لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

##### - ٤ -

Épitaphe :

- I - B - (1-3) : Le sultan Meurah .x.x.x.x.x.x.

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (1-3) ; - I - D - (1-3) ; - II - A - (1-3) ;
- II - B - (1-3) ; - II - C - (1-3) ; - II - D - (1-3) :  
Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).

À déterminer :

- I - C - (1-3).



Fig. 11 – Tombe 13, stèle nord, face sud  
(Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°14** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

- Deux stèles cubiques pourvues au sommet d'un haut pinacle.  
 – I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 12) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est.  
 Partout trois lignes.  
 – II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est.  
 Partout trois lignes.

#####

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D - (1-3) ; - II - A - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).  
 – II - B - (1-3) ; - II - C - (1-3) ; - II - D - (1-3) : Šahāda (?) (répétition).



Fig. 12 – Tombe 14,  
stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).



Fig. 13 – Tombe 15,  
stèle nord, face nord (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°15** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques pourvues au sommet d'un haut pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. (a) dans un grand champ, trois lignes superposées ; (b) sur les deux côtés du grand champ, une étroite ligne verticale, à droite (1) et à gauche (2).
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 13, *supra* p. 16) ; D- face est. (a) dans un grand champ, trois lignes superposées ; (b) sur les deux côtés du grand champ, une étroite ligne verticale, à droite (1) et à gauche (2).

#####

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (a) - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).
- I - A - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- I - B - (a) - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).
- I - B - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- I - C - (a) - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).
- I - C - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- I - D - (a) - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).
- I - D - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- II - A - (a) - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).
- II - A - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- II - B - (a) - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).
- II - B - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- II - C - (a) - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).
- II - C - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).
- II - D - (a) - (1-3) : Šahāda (répétition).
- II - D - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).

**TOMBE N°16** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques pourvues au sommet d'un haut pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. (a) dans un grand champ, quatre lignes superposées ; (b) sur les deux côtés du grand champ, une étroite ligne verticale, à droite (1) et à gauche (2).
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. (a) dans un grand champ, quatre lignes superposées ; (b) sur les deux côtés du grand champ, une étroite ligne verticale, à droite (1) et à gauche (2).

#####

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (a) - (1-4) ; - I - A - (b) - (1-2) ; - I - B - (a) - (1-4) ; - I - B - (b) - (1-2) ;
- I - C - (a) - (1-4) ; - I - C - (b) - (1-2) ; - I - D - (a) - (1-4) ; - I - D - (b) - (1-2) ;
- II - A - (a) - (1-4) ; - II - A - (b) - (1-2) ; - II - B - (a) - (1-4) ; - II - B - (b) - (1-2) ; - II - C - (a) - (1-4) ; - II - C - (b) - (1-2) ; - II - D - (a) - (1-4) ; - II - A - (b) - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).

**TOMBE N°17** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles, trapues, à grand pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 14) ; 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, un registre.
- II - Stèle nord : 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, un registre.

#####

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - A - (b) - (1-3) : *Šahāda* (répétition).
- I - B : *Šahāda*.
- I - C - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - C - (b) - (1-3) : *Šahāda* (répétition).
- I - D : *Šahāda*.
- II - A - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - A - (b) - (1-3) : *Šahāda* (répétition).
- II - B : *Šahāda*.
- II - C - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - C - (b) - (1-3) : *Šahāda* (répétition)
- II - D : *Šahāda*.

**TOMBE N°18** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Une stèle, trapue, à pinacle et à ailes.

Stèle sud : A- face sud (caractères schématisés) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord (abîmée) ; D- face est (abîmée). A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, à l'origine trois compartiments superposés. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, à l'origine une (?) ligne.

< ۱ - (۱) اللہ اللہ (۲) اللہ اللہ (۳) اللہ اللہ >

(<1> A - (1-3) : En réalité, les hampes sont reliées créant ce qu'on pourrait appeler plutôt une « pseudo-inscription ». Mais la répétition du mot **ا** était sans doute à l'origine de ce « texte ».

Textes religieux :

A - (1-3) : Dieu, Dieu, Dieu, Dieu, Dieu.

**TOMBE N° 20** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques pourvues au sommet d'un pinacle. Les deux stèles sont très abîmées et ce qui reste des inscriptions est illisible.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 15) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (abîmée) ; D- face est (abîmée). Partout, à l'origine, trois lignes.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (abîmée) ; D- face est (abîmée). Partout, à l'origine, trois lignes.

#####

À déterminer :

- II - A - (1-3).



Fig. 14 – Tombe 17,  
stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).



Fig. 15 – Tombe 20,  
stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°21** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles, trapues, à grand pinacle et à ailes. Les deux stèles sont très abîmées et ce qui reste des inscriptions est pratiquement illisible.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (abîmée) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord ; D- face est (abîmée). A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, à l'origine trois compartiments superposés. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, à l'origine une (?) ligne.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (abîmée) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord ; D- face est (abîmée). A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, à l'origine trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, à l'origine une (?) ligne.

#####

Textes religieux :

- I - C - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu ... (répétition).
- II - C - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).

**TOMBE N°22** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles, trapues, à pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : très abîmée.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 16) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord ; D- face est (abîmée). A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, à l'origine trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, à l'origine une (?) ligne.

#####

Textes religieux :

- II - A - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - C - (1-3) : Le Puissant [al-‘Azīz], l'Absoluteur [al-Ğaffār]. *Šahāda*.

**TOMBE N°23** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées très développées, pourvues au sommet d'un très haut pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 17) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout, à l'origine, trois lignes.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout, à l'origine, trois lignes.

- ١ - أ - (١) الموت باب (٢) وكل الناس داخله (٣) الموت كأس  
 - ب - (١) وكل الناس شاربه (٢) الموت باب [؟؟] (٣) وكل الناس داخله  
 - ت - (١) لا إله إلا الله (٢) ... (٣) لا إله إلا الله  
 - ث - (١) هو العزيز العظيم (٢) لا إله إلا الله (٣) الحكيم [؟] الكريم [؟]  
 ##### - ٢ -

Hadîth :

– I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) : La mort est une porte par laquelle tout le monde entre. La mort est une coupe dont tout le monde boit. La mort est une porte [?] par laquelle tout le monde entre.

Textes religieux :

– I - C - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. .... Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.  
 – I - D - (1-3) : Il est le Puissant, l'Immense. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, le Sage [?], le Magnanime.  
 – II - A - (1-3) ; - II - B - (1-3) ; - II - C - (1-3) ; - II - D - (1-3) : *Šahāda*. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu (répétition).



Fig. 16 – Tombe 22,  
stèle nord, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).



Fig. 17 – Tombe 23, stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°24** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XV.

Deux grandes stèles, trapues, à très haut 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, un registre.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 18) ; 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, un registre.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1188, 1189 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- ١ - أ - (أ) - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله [؟]
- (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 - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
- ت - (أ) - هذَا الْقَبْرُ ... السَّعِيدُ ...
- (ب) - (١) ... (٢) الَّذِي عَمِلَ [؟] هَذَا الْحَجَرُ ... (٣) ثَانِي عَشَرَ مِنْ شَهْرِ ذِي الْحِجَةِ سَنَةُ ١٠١٨ [؟]
- من الْهِجْرَةِ
- ث - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
- ٢ - أ - (أ) - هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ عَالَمٌ
- (ب) - (١) الْغَيْبُ وَ الشَّهَادَةُ هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ هُوَ (٢) اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْمَلِكُ (٣) الْقَدُّوسُ السَّلَامُ
- الْمُؤْمِنُ الْمَهِيمُ الْعَزِيزُ
- ب - الْجَبَارُ الْمُتَكَبِّرُ سَبِّحَنَ اللَّهَ
- ت - (أ) - عَمَّا يُشَرِّكُونَ هُوَ اللَّهُ الْخَالِقُ
- (ب) - (١) الْبَارِئُ الْمُصَوِّرُ لِهِ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحَسَنَى (٢) يَسْبِّحُ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ (٣) وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ (قُرْآن، ٥٩، ٢٤-٢٢) صَدَقَ اللَّهُ
- ث - اللَّهُمَّ عَفْ [؟] ...

Épitaphe :

- I - C - (a) ; - I - C - (b) - (1-3) : Cette tombe ... le bienheureux ..... celui qui a fait [?] cette pierre ... le 12 du mois de dhû l-hidjdja de l'année 1018 [?] de l'hégire / 8 mars 1610 [?].

Coran :

- II - A - (a) ; - II - A - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - B ; - II - C - (a) ; - II - C - (b) - (1-3 début) : LIX, 22-24.

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (a) : *Šahāda* (?).
- I - A - (b) - (1-3) : *Šahāda* (répétition).
- I - B; - I - D : *Šahāda*.
- II - C - (b) - (3fin) : Dieu est véridique.

Prière :

- II - D : Ô mon Dieu ! Accorde lui le pardon [?] ...



**Fig. 18 – Tombe 24,**  
stèle nord, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°25** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux grandes stèles, trapues, à très haut pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 19) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.

- ١ - أ - (١) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (٢) الشَّاكِرُ الْجَنَّارُ لَا إِلَهَ (٣) إِلَّا اللَّهُ الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفَّارُ
- ب - لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَلَا
- ت - (١) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ .. (٢) بِسْمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ... (٣) الْمُتَعَالِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- ث - لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَلَا [؟]
- ٢ - أ - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
- ب - لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَلَا
- ت - (١) مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ الصَّادِقُ الْأَمِينُ [؟] (٢) اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْ ... مُحَمَّدٌ (٣) ...
- ث - لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ أَلَا

#### Textes religieux :

- I - A - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, le Reconnaissant, le Violent. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, le Puissant, l'Absoluteur.
- I - B : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. ..
- I - C - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu ... Au nom de « Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu » ... le Sublime. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - D : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. .. [?]
- II - B : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. ..
- II - C - (1) : Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu, le Sincère, le Sûr.
- II - D : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

#### Prière :

- II - C - (2) : Ô mon Dieu ! Pardonne .... Muhammad.

#### À déterminer :

- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - C - (3).

**TOMBE N°26** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XIII.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées très développées, pourvues au sommet d'un très haut pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (abîmée) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est (abîmée). Partout, à l'origine, trois lignes.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 20) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord (abîmée) ; D- face est. Partout, à l'origine, trois lignes.

#### Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1185, 1186, 1187 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- أ - (١) +++) (٢) +++) (٣) -  
 - ب - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣)  
 - ت - (١) اللهمّ اعف إين [٤] ... (٢) ... (٣) ... محمد  
 - ث - (١) +++) (٢) +++) (٣)  
 - ٢ - أ - (١) هو الله الخالق (٢) البارئ المصوّر له الأسماء (٣) الحسني يسبّح له ما في السموات والأرض  
 (= قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٤)  
 - ب - (١) +++) (٢) +++) (٣)  
 - ت - (١) +++) (٢) +++) (٣)  
 - ث - (١) السلام المؤمن المهيمن (٢) العزيز الجبار المتّكّب (٣) سبحان الله عما يشركون (= قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٢)

Coran :

- II - D - (1-3); - II - A - (1-3) : LIX, 23-24.

Prière :

- I - C - (1-3) : Ô mon Dieu ! Pardonne fils de [?] ..... Muhammad.

À déterminer :

- I - B - (1-3).



**Fig. 19 – Tombe 25,**  
stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).



**Fig. 20 – Tombe 26, stèle nord, face sud**  
(Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°27** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XII.

Deux stèles, trapues, à haut pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 21) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink nos 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- ١ - أ - (١) هذا القبر (٢) السعيدة (٣) السعدية
- ب - المسيحية ...
- ت - (١) ... (٢) بنت تون (٣) فلان [؟] ..
- ث - توفيت في رمضان
- ٢ - أ - (١) العزيز الله لا (٢) إله إلا الله (٣) .+.+
- ب - العزّ الدائم
- ت - (١) العزّ الدائم ألا (٢) العزّ الدائم ألا (٣) العزّ الدائم ألا
- ث - العزيز

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B ; - I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D : Cette tombe est celle de la bienheureuse, sous d'heureux auspices, nommée ..... fille de Tun Fulân [?] .. Elle est décédée en ramadân.

Textes religieux :

- II - A - (1-3) : Le Puissant. Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu .x.x.
- II - B : Puissance éternelle.
- II - C - (1-3) : Puissance éternelle. A-L-A. Puissance éternelle. A-L-A. Puissance éternelle. A-L-A.
- II - D : Le Puissant.

**TOMBE N°28** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XI.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées développées, pourvues au sommet d'un haut pinacle.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 22) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- أ - (١) هذا القبر (٢) حمل فيه مرم [؟] (٣) ابن ...
- ب - (١) ابن اولاع [؟] (٢) ... (٣) ... و تسعمائة [؟]
- ت - (١) لا فتى إلا (٢) على لا سيف إلا (٣) ذو الفقار
- ث - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
- ٢ - أ - (١) ألا كلّ شيء (٢) ما خلا الله (٣) باطل و كلّ
- ب - (١) نعيم لا محالة (٢) زائل تستوى [؟] (٣) جنة الفردوس
- ت - (١) +.+.+ (٢) +.+.+ (٣) +.+.+
- ث - (١) إنما الدنيا (٢) فناء و (٣) الآخرة بقاء

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) : Cette tombe est celle dans laquelle a été porté Marmor [?], fils de ..., fils de Awlâ' [?] ..... et neuf cents [?].

Hadîth :

- II - D - (1-3) : En vérité, ce bas monde est le néant et la vie future la durée.

Textes religieux :

- I - C - (1-3) : Il n'y a de héros que 'Alî, il n'y a de sabre que dhû l-fiqâr.

Morceaux poétiques :

- II - A - (1-3) ; - II - B - (1-3) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vainc et tout délice, nécessairement, passager, à l'exception du jardin du Paradis.

À déterminer :

- I - D - (1-3).



**Fig. 21** – Tombe 27,  
stèle sud, face sud (De Vink, vers 1912).



**Fig. 22** – Tombe 28,  
stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°30** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf IX.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées développées, pourvues au sommet d'un très haut pinacle.

– I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est.  
Partout : (a) sur le côté du pinacle, dans un cadre rectangulaire allongé, une

ligne divisée en deux parties; (b) dans le champ principal, trois compartiments rectangulaires superposés contenant chacun un registre (1-3); (c) sur le socle, dans quatre compartiments rectangulaires juxtaposés, une ligne.

– II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) sur le côté du pinacle, dans un cadre rectangulaire allongé, une ligne divisée en deux parties; (b) dans le champ principal, trois compartiments rectangulaires superposés contenant chacun un registre (1-3); (c) sur le socle, dans quatre compartiments rectangulaires juxtaposés, une ligne.

#### Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- ١ - أ - (أ) - <1> ٩٩٩ // ٩٩٩
- (ب) - (أ) ..... إلى الجبار [؟] [الجسم، الحساب؟] من الكتاب [كتابه؟] (٢)
- هذا الحجر نصبه يوم قبل ما حلّ [؟] عليه
- (ت) - (أ) ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ (٣) <1> ٩٩٩
- ب - (أ) - <1> ٩٩٩ // ٩٩٩
- (ب) - (أ) ..... يوم الأحد الثاني من شهر (٢) الله الأصمّ [؟] المكرّم ... الربّ سنة (٣) ثمان [؟] و تسعين و تسعمائة من هجرة خير البرية عليه
- (ت) - (أ) ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ (٢) <1> ٩٩٩
- ت - (أ) - الموت كأس وكلّ // الناس شاربه
- (ب) - (أ) أفضل الصلاة وأذكى [؟] التحيّة و كان ذلك إنصاف [؟] (٢) .. خوفاً ... وهذه .... (٣) ..... و هو مولانا السلطان ..
- (ت) - (أ) ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ (٣) <1> ٩٩٩
- ١ - أ - (أ) - <1> ٩٩٩ // ٩٩٩
- (ب) - (أ) ..... إلى الجبار [؟] [الجسم، الحساب؟] من الكتاب [كتابه؟] (٢)
- هذا الحجر نصبه يوم قبل ما حلّ [؟] عليه
- (ت) - (أ) ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ (٢) <1> ٩٩٩
- ب - (أ) - <1> ٩٩٩ // ٩٩٩
- (ب) - (أ) ..... يوم الأحد الثاني من شهر (٢) الله الأصمّ [؟] المكرّم ... الربّ سنة (٣) ثمان [؟] و تسعين و تسعمائة من هجرة خير البرية عليه
- (ت) - (أ) ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ (٢) <1> ٩٩٩
- ت - (أ) - الموت كأس وكلّ // الناس شاربه
- (ب) - (أ) أفضل الصلاة وأذكى [？] التحيّة و كان ذلك إنصاف [？] (٢) .. خوفاً ... وهذه .... (٣) ..... و هو مولانا السلطان ..
- (ت) - (أ) ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ <1> ٩٩٩ (٢) <1> ٩٩٩

<1> ٩٩٩ : illisible ou hors cadre sur la photo ou la photocopie à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus.

Épitaphe :

– I - A - (b) - (3) ; - I - B - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - C - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - D - (b) - (1-4) : Cette pierre qui a été plantée un jour [?] avant qu'y fasse halte [?] ..... le dimanche 2 du mois de Dieu, « le Sourd » [?], vénéré ... radjab de l'année 998 [?] de l'hégire du meilleur de la Créature - sur lui la meilleure bénédiction et la plus pure [?] salutation ! / 7 mai 1590 ..... Il s'agit de notre maître le sultan .. et le roi illustre, vénérable, *meugah meurah*, il est le Sultan, fils du roi Firmân shâh, fils de Muzaffar shâh, fils de 'Inâyat shâh, fils de 'Abd allâh, le Roi Manifeste.

*D'après les tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 2 radjab 998 tombe un lundi.*

Coran :

– II - B - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - C - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - D - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - A - (b) - (1-3) : II, 256/255 - 257/256.

Hadîth :

– I - C - (a) : La mort est une coupe dont tout le monde boit.  
– I - D - (a) : La tombe est une porte par laquelle tout le monde entre

Prière :

– I - D - (c) - (1-4) : Ô mon Dieu ! Accorde Ta miséricorde à ton serviteur qui est arrivé à Ta porte .... et reconnaît les péchés.

À déterminer :

– I - A - (a) ; - I - A - (b) - (1-2) ; - I - A - (c) - (1-4) ; - I - B - (a) ; - I - B - (c) - (1-4) ; - I - C - (c) - (1-4) ; - II - A - (a) ; II - A - (c) - (1-4) ; - II - B - (a) ; - II - B - (c) - (1-4) ; - II - C - (a) ; - II - C - (c) - (1-4) ; - II - D - (a) ; - II - D - (c) - (1-4).

**TOMBE N° 31** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VIII.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées développées, pourvues au sommet d'un très haut pinacle.

– I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 23) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.

– II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (abîmée) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord (en partie abîmée) ; D- face est (en partie abîmée). Partout trois lignes.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- ١ - (١) هذا القبر (٢) السعيد المسمى (٣) بمرة استخان [؟] ابن
  - ب - (١) سلطان ... (٢) الذي توفي (٣) يوم الإثنين
  - ت - (١) الثامن من شهر (٢) ذي الحجّة سنة (٣) ألف و أحد
  - ث - (١) من هجرة النبي (٢) المصطفى صلّى (٣) الله عليه و سلم
- ##### - ٢ -

#### Épitaphe :

– I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D - (1-3) : Cette tombe est celle du bienheureux, le nommé *meurah Asankhân* [?], fils du sultân ... qui est décédé le lundi 8 du mois de dhû l-hidjdja de l'année 1001 de l'hégire du Prophète l'Élu - que Dieu le bénisse et le sauve ! / 5 septembre 1593.

*D'après les tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 8 dhû l-hidjdja 1001 tombe un dimanche.*

#### Textes religieux :

- I - C - (1-2) : *Šahāda*.
- I - D - (3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

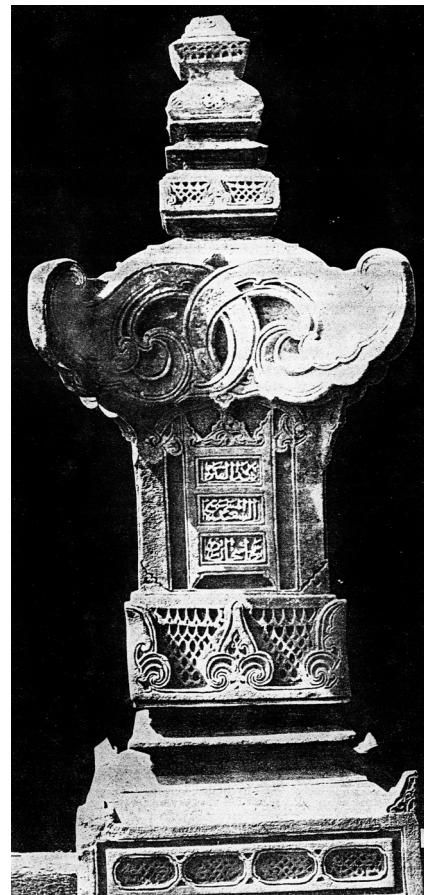


Fig. 23 – Tombe 31,  
stèle sud, face sud (De Vink, vers 1912).

**TOMBE N°32** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles à haut pinacle et à ailes. Les deux stèles sont très abîmées et ce qui reste des inscriptions est pratiquement illisible.

– I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (abîmée) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord (abîmée) ; D- face est (abîmée). À l'origine sans doute : 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, un registre. En 2004, on ne voyait, et partiellement seulement, que le cartouche I - A - (a).

– II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (abîmée) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord ; D- face est (abîmée). À l'origine sans doute : 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, un registre. En 2004, on ne voyait et partiellement seulement que la face I - C - (a) et (b).

# # # # # # # #

## Textes religieux :

- II - C - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, [Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu].

À déterminer :

- II - C - (b) - (1-3).

**TOMBE N°33** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VI.

Deux stèles cubiques à sommet en volutes croisées développées.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (abîmée) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est (en grande partie abîmée). Partout trois lignes à l'origine.

- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 24) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (en grande partie abîmée) ; D- face est (en grande partie abîmée). Partout trois lignes à l'origine.

### Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1166, 1167, 1168 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

١ - أ - (١) +++ (٢) +++ (٣) . . . . .

٢ - ب - (١) السلطان لدس [؟] (٢) +++ (٣) في العالم اللهم

٣ - ت - (١) أدخله جنة ... و (٢) أسكنه بمحogue (٣) جنة ... من

٤ - ث - (١) ...+++ (٢) ...+++ (٣) . . . . .

٥ - ب - (١) لا إله (٢) إلا الله محمد (٣) رسول الله

٦ - ت - (١) ألا كلّ شيء ما (٢) خلا الله باطل و (٣) كلّ نعيم ...

٧ - ت - (١) . . . . . (٢) . . . . . (٣) . . . . .

٨ - ث - (١) . . . . . (٢) . . . . . (٣) . . . . .

Épitaphe :

- I - B - (1-3) : Le sultan Ladas [?] xxx Dieu dans le monde.

Textes religieux :

- II - A - (1-3) : ... *Šahāda*.

Prière :

- I - C - (1-3) : Ô mon Dieu ! Fais-le entrer au Paradis ... et fais-le habiter les lieux les plus exquis du Paradis ...

Morceaux poétiques :

- II - B - (1-3) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, [nécessairement, passager ?].

À déterminer :

- I - D - (1-3):



**Fig. 24 – Tombe 33,**  
stèle nord, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N°34** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf V.

Deux stèles à haut pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 25) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (abîmée en partie) ; B- face ouest (abîmée) ; C- face nord (abîmée en partie) ; D- face est (abîmée). A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne.

## Publication :

H.M. Zainuddin, *Tarich Atjeh dan Nusantara*, Medan, 1961, p. 50 (mention seulement).

## Reproduction :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- ١ - أ - (١) التي توفيت ... يوم الإثنين الثامن و (٢) العشرين من شهر شعبان سنة ثمان وثمانين (٣) و  
تسعمائة من هجرة النبي المصطفى
  - ب - صلّى الله عليه وسلم
  - ت - (١) هذا القبر الشريفة [؟] السعيدة السعدية (٢) ... بنت [؟] السلطان عبد الله [؟] بن السلطان  
(٣) علاء الدين رعاية شاه إبن السلطان
  - ث - على مغایة شاه بن شمس شاه بن منور شاه
- ##### - ٢ - أ -

## Épitaphe :

- I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D ; - I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B : Cette tombe est celle de la noble [?], de la bienheureuse, sous d'heureux auspices .... fille du [?] sultan 'Abd allâh [?], fils du sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh, fils du sultan 'Alî Mughâyat shâh, fils de Shams shâh, fils de Munawwar shâh, qui est décédé ... le lundi 28 du mois de sha'bân de l'année 988 de l'hégire du Prophète l'Élu - que Dieu le bénisse et le salue ! / 8 octobre 1580.

**TOMBE N°36** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf III.

Deux stèles à haut pinacle et à ailes.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 26) ; 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, un registre.
- II - Stèle nord : 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, un registre.

## Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1159, 1160, 1161 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- ١ - أ - (أ) - العَزِيزُ الدَّائِمُ الْعَزِيزُ الدَّائِمُ  
 - (ب) - (١) المخطى .+. .(٢) ذي الحجّة (٣) سنة إحدى و تسعمائة و تسعمائة من الهجرة  
 - ب - +++  
 - ت - (أ) - هذا القبر السعيدة السعدية  
 - (ب) - (١) .+. .(٢) .+. .(٣)  
 - ث - العَزِيزُ الدَّائِمُ الْعَزِيزُ الدَّائِمُ  
 ##### - ٢ -

## Épitaphe :

- I - C - (a) - (1-3) ; - I - A - (b) - (1-3) : Cette tombe est celle de la bienheureuse, sous d'heureux auspices, XXXXX qui pèche involontairement .X.X.X.X dhû l-hidjdja de l'année 991 de l'hégire / 16 décembre 1583 - 13 janvier 1584.

## Textes religieux :

- I - A - (a) : Puissance éternelle. Puissance éternelle. Puissance éternelle.  
 - I - D : Puissance éternelle. Puissance éternelle. Puissance éternelle.  
 - II - A - (a) ; - II - A - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - C - (a) ; - II - C - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - D : Šahāda (répétition).



Fig. 25 – Tombe 34,  
stèle sud, face sud (De Vink, vers 1912).



Fig. 26 – Tombe 36,  
stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

**TOMBE N° 40** du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004).  
D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf I.

Deux stèles cubiques trapues, à sommet en volutes croisées très développées. La stèle nord est entièrement abîmée.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 27); B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est.  
Partout trois lignes.
- II - Stèle nord : entièrement abîmée. A l'origine, partout trois lignes.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914).

- أ - (١) النبى المصطفى و الرسول (٢) المجتبى .. سلطان حسین شاه (٣) ابن علاء الدين رعاية شاه
- ب - (١) اللهم ++ (٢) رحمة تامة ... (٣) آمين رب العالمين بحرمة
- ت - (١) سيد المرسلين والأنباء (٢) والآئمة [؟] الطاهرين من (٣) الأولياء والأصفياء
- ث - (١) +++ الذي [؟] (٢) توفى [؟] ++ شهر +. في سنة (٣) ستة بعد الألف من هجرة

Épitaphe :

- I - D - (1-3) ; - I - A - (1-3) : xxx qui est décédé [?] xx mois de x.x. dans l'année 1006 de l'hégire du Prophète l'Elu et l'Envoyé le Choisi ... Sultân Husayn shâh, fils de 'Alâ' al-dîn Ri'âyat shâh / 1597-1598.

Prière :

- I - B - (1-3); - I - C - (1-3) : ... Ô mon Dieu ! xx (par la) miséricorde complète ... Amen, Seigneur des mondes, par la protection du seigneur des Envoyés, des Prophètes et des Imâms [?] purs parmi les hommes saints et les sincères.



Fig. 27 – Tombe 40, stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

*JELANI HARUN*<sup>1</sup>

## À la recherche de manuscrits malais en France, avec une mention toute particulière sur les lettres de Francis Light<sup>2</sup>

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Il existe en France une collection de manuscrits malais, venant numériquement en cinquième position après les Pays-Bas, l'Indonésie, la Grande-Bretagne et la Malaisie (Chambert-Loir, 1980a, p. 45)<sup>3</sup>. Ces manuscrits, sont, pour la plupart, conservés à Paris, principalement à la Bibliothèque nationale, mais aussi, en nombre beaucoup plus restreint, à Marseille, à Rouen et à Tournus. Lors d'une mission de recherche d'un mois en France, en juillet 2011, j'ai consulté les fonds de Paris et de Tournus. Dans cet article, je me propose de donner une vue générale de ces manuscrits. Je parlerai de la manière dont les collections ont été constituées, comment et par qui les manuscrits ont été répertoriés et où ils sont localisés. On verra que les premiers chercheurs et enseignants de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes<sup>4</sup> ont participé activement à la constitution et au catalogage des manuscrits malais de la Bibliothèque nationale et qu'ils en utilisaient certains, les publiaient, les étudiaient, les traduisent, s'en servant pour leur enseignement.

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2. Cet article est adapté par Monique Zaini-Lajoubert d'une communication en malaisien de l'auteur intitulée « Menjejaki Manuskrif Melayu dan Surat-surat Francis Light di Perancis », Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 6 mai 2014. <http://myrepositori.pnm.gov.my/xmlui/handle/123456789/1631>

3. Le nombre de manuscrits conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques du monde s'élève au « chiffre très approximatif » de 4000. Leur nombre, dans les cinq pays cités ci-dessus, est respectivement d'environ 1650 aux Pays-Bas, de c. 1000 en Indonésie, de c. 600 en Grande-Bretagne, « un peu moins de » 200 en Malaisie et de c. 130 en France (Chambert-Loir, 1980a, p. 45).

4. Aujourd'hui, l'École des Langues orientales vivantes est connue sous le nom d'Institut national des Langues et Civilisations orientales (INALCO).

On verra aussi comment plusieurs d'entre eux copiaient des manuscrits conservés dans des bibliothèques européennes, puis ramenaient en France ces copies. Je décrirai et analyserai enfin quelques-uns de ces manuscrits, en mettant l'accent sur ceux conservés à Tournus, et tout particulièrement sur les lettres de Francis Light, qui fonda la colonie britannique de Penang en Malaisie en 1786<sup>5</sup>.

### **Les manuscrits malais en France**

Les manuscrits malais en France ont été répertoriés dans plusieurs catalogues. Ceux de la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris l'ont été pour la première fois dans une liste de 95 manuscrits, publiée par Aristide Marre en 1879. En 1912, Antoine Cabaton publiait un inventaire plus complet des manuscrits malais de cette bibliothèque dans son *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens, indochinois et malayo-polynésiens de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Chambert-Loir et Fathurahman, 1999, p. 167)<sup>6</sup>. P. Voorhoeve révisa la partie de ce catalogue concernant les manuscrits malais pour en donner une version plus systématique, plus approfondie et plus complète, qu'il fit paraître dans *Archipel* 6 en 1973. Environ 130 manuscrits y sont enregistrés et décrits<sup>7</sup>, conservés dans leur grande majorité à Paris, dont le plus grand nombre à la Bibliothèque nationale<sup>8</sup>, mais aussi à Marseille, Rouen et Tournus. Ce nombre ne reflète pas cependant la réalité de celui des œuvres qu'ils contiennent, car très souvent, un manuscrit est en fait une compilation de plusieurs œuvres (de trois à cinq en ce qui concerne ceux de la Bibliothèque nationale). La Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (Bibliothèque nationale de Malaisie) a publié en 1991 un « nouveau catalogue » des manuscrits malais en France « beaucoup plus détaillé que les précédents » (Chambert-Loir, 1992, p. 315) et « le plus complet » (*yang terlengkap*) (Chambert-Loir et Fathurahman, 1999, p. 167). Dans ce catalogue, sont enregistrés les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, des Missions étrangères, des Bibliothèques municipales de Tournus, Marseille et Rouen. Il « comporte » cependant « des omissions et des erreurs qui rendent indispensable le recours à Voorhoeve » (Chambert-Loir, 1992, p. 315). On a également des indications sur les manuscrits malais en France

5. Francis Light était un « ancien officier de la Compagnie anglaise des Indes devenu marchand ». Voulant « donner une base à la Compagnie dans l'île de Pinang, appartenant alors au sultan de Kedah », il ne demanda l'accord ni de la Compagnie, ni du sultan, et « lança une expédition sur l'île dont il prit possession en 1786 » (Guillot, 1997, p. 154).

6. Avant la publication du catalogue d'Antoine Cabaton, Édouard Dulaury avait élaboré un catalogue manuscrit inédit des manuscrits malais de la Bibliothèque nationale, qui fut révisé en 1894, « sous la direction » d'Henri-Léon Feer à laquelle ce dernier ajouta une introduction contenant des explications relatives à la constitution de cette collection, qu'il publia en 1898, mais ce catalogue révisé resta inédit (Chambert-Loir, 1980a, p. 53), Henri Chambert-Loir (1980b, p. 94-98) a publié à nouveau une partie de cette introduction.

7. Chambert-Loir et Fathurahman, 1999, p. 167.

8. Elle en possèderait « un peu plus de 120 » (Chambert-Loir, 1980a, p. 52).

dans le catalogue d'Henri Chambert-Loir et Oman Fathurahman, déjà cité, des collections de manuscrits indonésiens dans le monde<sup>9</sup>.

C'est Paris qui compte le plus grand nombre de manuscrits malais. On y trouve la collection la plus importante de France, à savoir celle de la Bibliothèque nationale. Y sont présentes, par exemple, des œuvres célèbres de la littérature malaise, comme le *Bustan al-Salatin* (Le jardin des rois), *Undang-Undang Melaka* (Lois de Malacca), *Undang-Undang Laut Melaka* (Lois maritimes de Malacca), *Adat Raja-Raja* (Les coutumes des rois), *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* (Histoire de Muhammad Hanafiyyah), *Hikayat Isma Yatim* (Histoire d'Isma Yatim) ou *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* (Histoire d'Alexandre le bicornu). Signalons aussi des œuvres plus récentes, bien connues, comme *Hikayat Abdullah* (Histoire d'Abdullah) et *Syair Kampung Gelam Terbakar* (Poème de l'incendie de Kampung Gelam) d'Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi, ou moins connues, comme *Syair Dagang Berjual Beli* (Poème de l'étranger faisant du commerce) et *Syair Potong Gaji* (Poème sur la diminution du salaire) de Tuan Simi, et *Syair Tengku Perabu* (Poème de Tengku Perabu), d'un auteur inconnu. Ces trois derniers poèmes, qui ont fait l'objet d'une édition critique par Muhammad Haji Salleh (1994), entrent dans la catégorie des œuvres de « protestation sociale » (*protes sosial*) de la part de Malais de Singapour à l'époque de la colonisation anglaise au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (*ibid.*, p. 32 et 3)<sup>10</sup>.

D'autres institutions de Paris comportent aussi des manuscrits malais.

Le Musée Guimet, en compte une vingtaine<sup>11</sup>. Ils comprennent des œuvres bien connues, comme *Hikayat Indera Putera* (Histoire d'Indera Putera), *Syair Bidasari* (Poème de Bidasari), *Syair Ken Tambuhan* (Poème de Ken Tambuhan), *Hikayat Indera Bangsawan* (Histoire d'Indera Bangsawan), le *Bustan al-Salatin* et *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham* (Histoire du Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham). Ils comprennent aussi des œuvres qui le sont moins. Parmi elles, citons celles dans lesquelles il est donné des conseils, comme *Hikayat Ikan di dalam Air dengan Raja Gajah* (Histoire du poisson dans l'eau et du roi

9. Dans cet ouvrage (p. 167-168), sont également signalés un article de Harun Mat Piah (1982) qui « décrit 5 manuscrits d'histoires de Panji » (*memerikan 5 naskah cerita Panji*) de la Bibliothèque nationale et un catalogue de 1995 (cf. *Katalog* 1995) qui « mentionne 7 manuscrits avec la photo de chacun d'eux » (*mencatat 7 naskah dengan foto masing-masing*) conservés dans cette même bibliothèque. Y sont aussi notés l'ouvrage de Pearson (1971), qui indique la présence de deux manuscrits dans la Bibliothèque municipale de Marseille, un dans celle de Rouen et un dans celle de Tournus, l'article de Claude Guillot (1997), qui parle de quatre manuscrits se trouvant aux Missions étrangères, et l'ouvrage *Missions Etrangères et langues orientales...* (1997), qui cite six manuscrits présents dans cette institution.

10. Muhammad Haji Salleh a également publié un article les concernant dans *Archipel* en 1991. Signalons une étude assez récente (Proudfoot, 2001), du manuscrit de cette bibliothèque coté Mal.-pol. 70, « the oldest known manuscript of *Hikayat Pelanduk Jenaka* » (*ibid.*).

11. Ces informations sur les manuscrits malais au Musée Guimet proviennent de celles données par P. Voorhoeve (1973, p. 68-73).

des éléphants) (Mal.-pol. 266), que l'on ne trouve pas ailleurs. Citons aussi, dans le manuscrit Mal.-pol. 274, deux *syair*, rédigés dans un *jawi* artistique, intitulés *Syair Orang Dagang di Selangor* (Poème de l'étranger à Selangor) et *Syair Belalang dan Kumbang* (Poème de la sauterelle et du bourdon)<sup>12</sup>.

Aux Archives des Missions étrangères, sont conservés aussi quelques manuscrits<sup>13</sup>. J'ai eu l'occasion d'en consulter deux, à savoir une histoire de Panji (MS 1080) et *Hikayat Pelanduk Jenaka* (Histoire du cerf-nain drôle) (MS 1085). Le premier est daté de 1820 et a été copié par Syeikh Ali al-Din. Le deuxième, originaire de Malacca, est daté de 1237 de l'hégire (soit 1828 ère chrétienne), il fait 19,5 cm x 14,5 cm et a 78 pages, écrites avec de l'encre noire et rouge. Les manuscrits des Missions étrangères ont probablement été rapportés à Paris par des prêtres ayant séjourné en Malaisie<sup>14</sup>.

On trouve, toujours à Paris, un manuscrit à l'Institut national des Langues et Civilisations orientales (INALCO), à savoir une lettre de Raja Dompu (Sumbawa), datée de 1307 de l'hégire (soit 1889 ère chrétienne) (Chambert-Loir et Fathurahman, 1999, p. 168), que je n'ai pas consulté.

La Société asiatique a, pour sa part, abrité un manuscrit malais, intitulé *Teromba Pusaka*, édité et analysé par Édouard Dulaurier en 1845. Cependant, de nos jours, on a perdu la trace de ce manuscrit (*ibid.*).

Hors de Paris, les manuscrits malais sont beaucoup moins nombreux, et se trouvent dans les Bibliothèques municipales de Marseille (de 2 à 4, selon les auteurs) (Chambert-Loir et Fathurahman, 1999, p. 167), de Rouen (1 ou 2, selon les auteurs) (*ibid.*, p. 168) et de Tournus (1 à 5, selon les auteurs) (*ibid.*), dont j'étudierai le fonds plus loin.

On ne sait pas grand-chose de la valeur réelle de la grande majorité de ces manuscrits malais conservés en France, car ils ont été relativement peu étudiés, aussi bien du point de vue de leur contenu, que de l'authenticité des textes, des auteurs et des copistes.

**12.** Lorsque j'ai demandé à consulter quelques-uns de ces manuscrits, qui selon le catalogue de P. Voorhoeve (*ibid.*) constituent un « Dépôt du Musée Guimet », on m'a dit qu'ils étaient conservés au Musée Guimet. Lors de ma visite à la bibliothèque de ce Musée, je n'ai pas pu consulter ces manuscrits, car, selon le bibliothécaire, Monsieur Aroquiadasse Adeikalam, les données relatives à leur localisation sont incomplètes. Je n'ai donc pu les voir que sous forme de microfilms.

**13.** Leur nombre varie de 2 à 6 selon les auteurs (Chambert-Loir et Fathurahman, 1999, p. 168).

**14.** R. P. R. Cardon et J. B. Boucho pourraient faire partie de ces prêtres. En effet, dans ces mêmes Archives des Missions étrangères, se trouve un ouvrage intitulé *Le Roman de pelandok le chevrotain*, publié en 1935 à Bruges en Belgique. Il s'agit de la traduction française de *Hikayat Pelanduk Jenaka* (sans doute le manuscrit MS 1085 indiqué ci-dessus), réalisée par R. P. R. Cardon, un prêtre ayant séjourné à Penang. On y trouve aussi un ouvrage intitulé *Bahua Terteralah Kitab ini di Pulo Pinang dengan izin Terhormati Tuan J. B. Boucho* (Ce livre a été imprimé à Penang avec l'autorisation de l'honorables J. B. Boucho), publié à Penang en 1860, relatif à l'enseignement de la religion catholique. Le prêtre Jean-Baptiste Boucho (1797-1871), à lui aussi séjourné à Penang (Launay, 1916, p. 204), où il mourut (<http://archives.mepasie.org/annales-des-missions-etrangeres/le-diocase-de-bayonne-et-la-socia-c-ta-c-des>).

**Les enseignants et chercheurs français et les manuscrits malais au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle**

Les premiers enseignants de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes ont été très actifs dans la constitution et le catalogage de la collection des manuscrits malais de la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris. Ils sont également pionniers dans le domaine des études malaises<sup>15</sup> en France et plusieurs de ces manuscrits leur ont servi de documents pour leurs recherches et leur enseignement. Comme on l'a vu dans la section précédente, les premiers catalogues de cette bibliothèque ont été constitués par Aristide Marre, Édouard Dulauryer et Antoine Cabaton. Certains, tout particulièrement Édouard Dulauryer, et, dans une moindre mesure, l'abbé Pierre Favre, ont copié des manuscrits et/ou ont aidé à leur recueil<sup>16</sup>.

Je donne ci-dessous quelques exemples d'activités scientifiques de ces pionniers de l'enseignement et des études malaises en France à qui il convient de rendre hommage.

Édouard Dulauryer (1807-1881), le premier enseignant de malais à l'École des Langues orientales vivantes, est le « fondateur de la “malayologie française” » (Lombard, 1976, p. 3). Il a copié de nombreux manuscrits conservés dans des bibliothèques européennes (cf. Voorhoeve, 1973). On peut citer la copie d'*Hikayat Raja Pasai* (Histoire des rois de Pasai) (sans doute le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, coté Mal.-pol. 50), faite à partir du manuscrit en caractères arabes (*jawi*), datant de 1815, de la Royal Asiatic Society (RAS) de Londres (Raffles Malay 67). C'est au cours d'un voyage dans cette ville en 1838 qu'il réalisa cette copie, qu'il publia en 1849, constituant ainsi la première édition d'*Hikayat Raja Pasai* (Histoire 2004 et Zaini Lajoubert 2008). Parmi ses autres copies de manuscrits, on peut citer celles d'*Undang-Undang Melaka* et de diverses autres lois et coutumes malaises, d'*Hikayat Raja Banjar dan Kotaringin* (Histoire des rois de Banjar et de Kotaringin), de *Syair Perang Inggeris di Betawi* (Poème de la guerre des Anglais à Batavia), *Syair Selindung Delima* (Poème de Selindung Delima), *Syair Ken Tambuhan*, *Syair Bidasari*, *Hikayat Hatim Tai* (Histoire de Hatim Tai), *Hikayat Si Miskin* (Histoire du pauvre), *Hikayat Indera Putera*, *Hikayat Tuan Puteri Jauhar Manikam* (Histoire de la princesse Jauhar Manikam), *Hikayat Pencuri* (Histoire du voleur), de *Syair Dagang Berjual Beli*, de lettres relatives à Francis Light et de quelques autres œuvres encore. La copie

**15.** Dans cet article, on entend par « études malaises », aussi bien celles relatives à la Malaisie qu'à l'Indonésie. Remarquons qu'en France, les chercheurs sont généralement spécialisés, soit dans les premières, soit dans les secondes.

**16.** Dans le catalogue de P. Voorhoeve (1973), le nom d'Édouard Dulauryer est en rapport avec 24 manuscrits et celui de l'abbé Pierre Favre avec 5 manuscrits. Notons qu'Henri-Léon Feer (1830-1902), auteur de l'introduction de 1898 (cf. *op. cit.*, note 6), avait été lui aussi un enseignant de l'École nationale des Langues orientales vivantes, non pas de malais, mais de tibétain. Employé ensuite à la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris, il y termina « sa carrière comme conservateur adjoint au département des manuscrits orientaux » (Le Calloc'h, 1995, p. 270).

de manuscrits malais en *jawi*, comme le faisait surtout Édouard Dulaurier, était alors quelque chose d'assez exceptionnel, car les chercheurs européens utilisaient généralement les services d'écrivains ou de copistes malais pour faire ce travail compliqué, prenant beaucoup de temps. Édouard Dulaurier a même publié en 1843 un ouvrage dans lequel il explique son travail de recueil et de copie de manuscrits malais, tels que ceux provenant de collections de manuscrits conservées à Londres.

L'abbé Pierre Favre (1812-1887), le deuxième enseignant de malais à l'École des Langues orientales vivantes, a « forgé les instruments dont elle se servit pendant de longues années » (Lombard, 1976, p. 3), et est surtout connu pour son *Dictionnaire malais-français* (1875) et son *Dictionnaire français-malais* (1880)<sup>17</sup>. Dans le premier (1875, p. xxv-xxvi), il énumère quelques textes de littérature malaise qui lui ont servi de corpus pour réaliser son dictionnaire, ce qui montre qu'il avait connaissance d'une partie des principales œuvres malaises de l'époque. Ces œuvres sont *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (Histoire d'Amir Hamzah), *Hikayat Bispu Raja* (Histoire de Bispu Raja), *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, *Hikayat Abdullah*, *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Histoire de Hang Tuah), *Hikayat Isma Yatim*, *Hikayat Kalilah dan Daminah* (Histoire de Kalilah et de Daminah), *Syair Ken Tambuhan*, *Taj al-Salatin*, *Hikayat Seri Rama* (Histoire de Seri Rama), *Syair Bidasari*, *Hikayat Sultan Abdul Muluk* (Histoire du sultan Abdul Muluk), *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim* (Histoire du sultan Ibrahim) et *Sejarah Melayu* (Histoire malaise). L'abbé Pierre Favre est également à l'origine de copies de manuscrits malais (cf. Voorhoeve, 1973), bien qu'en moins grand nombre qu'Édouard Dulaurier. Il est également l'auteur de traductions en français, comme celle de *Syair Singapura Terbakar* (Poème de l'incendie de Singapour) d'Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi (cf. Favre, 1883).

Aristide Marre (1823-1918), le troisième enseignant de malais à l'École des Langues orientales vivantes, a traduit en français la copie en *jawi* d'*Hikayat Raja Pasai* que publia Édouard Dulaurier en 1849, dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus. Cette traduction, la première de ce texte malais, parut en 1874<sup>18</sup>. Aristide Marre a également réalisé des traductions d'autres œuvres malaises, comme celle du *Taj al-Salatin* (La couronne des rois) parue en 1878, de *Sejarah Melayu*, parue en 1896, et d'*Hikayat Jauhar Manikam* (Histoire de Jauhar Manikam), parue en 1897, qu'il réalisa avec Édouard Dulaurier (Cabaton, 1912, p. 225).

**17.** Voir l'analyse par Pierre Labrousse (1976) des dictionnaires de l'abbé Pierre Favre, qu'il compare à ceux de J. Pijnappel et de R. J. Wilkinson.

**18.** En 2004 (*Histoire*), les éditions Anacharsis de Toulouse ont réédité cette traduction présentée et annotée par Monique Zaini-Lajoubert.

Quant à Antoine Cabaton (1863-1942), le cinquième enseignant<sup>19</sup> de malais à l'École des Langues orientales vivantes<sup>20</sup>, il a été rattaché pendant plusieurs années à la Bibliothèque nationale, ce qui lui permit de rédiger son catalogue de 1912. Il publia dans la *Revue du monde musulman* « la partie la plus novatrice de ses œuvres, à savoir des études sociologiques de l'islam et des mouvements nationalistes indonésiens, ainsi qu'une chronique attentive de la recherche sur les Indes néerlandaises » (Labrousse, 1995, p. 238). « L'un de ses ouvrages majeurs » est *Les Indes néerlandaises* (1910) (*ibid.*, p. 239).

Parmi eux, seuls l'abbé Pierre Favre et Antoine Cabaton ont fait un séjour en Insulinde. L'abbé Pierre Favre est resté en Malaisie, à Penang et à Malacca, pendant dix ans environ (Lombard, 1976, p. 3-4). Antoine Cabaton a effectué une mission de deux ans en Indochine et réalisé pendant cette période « un voyage de reconnaissance » aux Indes néerlandaises (Lombard, 1983, p. 20), limité à Java et au nord de Bali, de quelques mois (d'août à octobre 1899) (Labrousse, 1995, p. 238).

Après avoir donné un aperçu général des manuscrits malais en France et des premiers chercheurs et enseignants français qui ont joué un grand rôle dans la constitution de la collection de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, je vais me consacrer maintenant à certains de ces manuscrits, à savoir les lettres relatives à François Light. Selon mes recherches, j'ai pu trouver qu'il en existe en France un certain nombre de copies : une centaine, à la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris, et 38, à la Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus. Il se peut que ces copies aient été réalisées à partir de certaines des 1200 « *Light Letters* » de la School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), qui abrite la plus grande collection de ces lettres.

Je vais donner ci-dessous une brève description de ces « *Light Letters* », puis me concentrer tout particulièrement sur celles de Paris, mais surtout sur celles de Tournus.

### **Les lettres relatives à Francis Light**

#### *À Londres*

Dans un article paru en 1987 dans *Indonesia Circle*<sup>21</sup>, Ulrich Kratz donne pour la première fois des informations sur les « *Light Letters* », conservées à

**19.** Le quatrième enseignant est Alfred Tugault (1825-1912). Il a eu un rôle beaucoup moins important que les quatre enseignants cités ici, pour ce qui est des premiers développements des études malaises en France. Voir la notice le concernant par Pierre Labrousse (1995, p. 236-237).

**20.** Pour de plus amples informations sur ces pionniers des études malaises en France, voir « DULAUER, Édouard », « FAVRE, Pierre, Étienne, Lazare », « MARRE DE MARIN, Aristide », « CABATON, Antoine », (Labrousse, 1995, p. 232-234, 234-235, 235-236, 237-239). Sur Pierre Favre, voir aussi Denys Lombard (1976, p 3-8).

**21.** À partir de 1997, la revue a pris le nom d'*Indonesia and the Malay World*.

la SOAS de Londres. Ces lettres sont réparties dans onze fascicules bleus de dimensions diverses et bien entretenus, ayant pour cote MS 40320. Elles ne sont cependant pas encore arrangées de façon systématique, mais, au contraire, mélangées dans ces onze fascicules.

On y trouve, entre autres, de très précieuses informations concernant les rapports entre Francis Light et les souverains malais, dans les domaines diplomatiques, commerciaux, relatifs aux relations conflictuelles et amicales, aux aides financières, à la sécurité, etc.

Ulrich Kratz explique que c'est William Marsden (1754-1836), qui a été employé de l'East India Company à Sumatra (vers 1771-1779), qui a fait don de ces lettres à la bibliothèque du King's College de Londres en 1835. À la fondation de la SOAS en 1916 (qui s'appelait alors School of Oriental Studies), elles ont été transférées à la bibliothèque de cette institution, où elles se trouvent encore aujourd'hui. On ne connaît pratiquement rien du contenu de ces lettres avant la parution de l'article d'Ulrich Kratz qui les étudie, en mettant tout particulièrement l'accent sur les relations commerciales de Francis Light avec les souverains malais. Il classe ces « *Light Letters* » en cinq catégories :

1. *Letters sent to Light* ;
2. *Letters sent to Light's business partner Scott* ;
3. *Originals, copies and drafts of letters sent by Light* ;
4. *Internal Malay correspondence* ;
5. *Other documents (bills, receipts, petitions, business contracts)*.

Si les quatre premières catégories sont les « *Light Letters* » proprement dites, la dernière (« *Other documents* ») n'en comprend pas moins des notes importantes sur la Penang d'autrefois, comme le texte de l'accord de 1791 entre Sayid Hussain Aidid et Francis Light. À signaler aussi une *Babat Suku Orang Kelang yang Anak Bini dalam Pekan Pulau Pinang* (Chronique d'une personne de la communauté de Kelang dont l'épouse se trouve dans la ville de l'île de Pinang), contenant une liste de noms des commerçants vivant à Penang, avec le nombre de boutiques, de membres de leur famille et de leurs esclaves.

Ces « *Light Letters* » sont très importantes pour l'histoire de Penang, tout particulièrement vers 1786-1794. Des recherches approfondies sur l'ensemble de ces lettres s'imposent donc. Elles demanderont cependant beaucoup de temps et d'efforts, d'autant plus que, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, elles ne sont pas encore classées de façon systématique.

### *À Paris*

Aucun des catalogues recensant les manuscrits conservés à Paris, dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus, ne mentionne la présence de lettres relatives à Francis Light. Lors de ma visite à la Bibliothèque nationale de France, j'ai pu constater que ces lettres étaient rassemblées dans le manuscrit coté Mal.-pol. 97.

Au sujet de ce manuscrit, P. Voorhoeve (1973, p. 59), parle d'une collection de lettres diverses, pas seulement malaises, mais aussi javanaises et bugis, et donne quelques informations sommaires les concernant. Voici comment il décrit ce manuscrit :

"Collection de lettres javanaises, bougui et malayes, provenant des portefeuilles de Marsden, de ceux de l'Académie de Delft et de différentes communications particulières." Copiées par Dulaurier. — Quelques lettres sont des originaux, un certain nombre sont autographiées. xix<sup>e</sup> siècle. Écritures neskhi, javanaise, latine et (p. 202/203, datées 1798/1799) bugis, 380 x 240 mm, 408 pages, nombre de lignes variable. Demi-rel. chagrin. Ancien numéro : Malais-Javanais 60.

Le catalogue de la Bibliothèque nationale de Malaisie (1991, p. 98) ne donne pas dans l'ensemble les mêmes informations au sujet de ce manuscrit. Il parle, par exemple, du type de papier, de son filigrane, de l'encre utilisée, de la reliure. Il cite deux destinataires de lettres : le « *Commander Charles Med di negeri Malbara* » (commandant Charles Med à Malbara (sans doute Malabar)) et « *Jan Corpse yang memerintah pesisir barat Padang* » (Jan Corpse, qui gouverne la côte ouest de Padang). Il indique que l'on trouve aussi « *pelbagai surat dari Sultan Melayu, di antaranya Sultan Selangor* » (diverses lettres de sultans malais, dont celui de Selangor) et que ces lettres ont été écrites entre 1781-1787. Il parle du copiste, mais contrairement au catalogue de P. Voorhoeve, en des termes vagues : « *surat yang ditulis oleh seorang jurutulis sebagai contoh surat-surat* » (lettres écrites par un copiste comme exemple de lettres).

Dans le passage consacré à la collection de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, dans Henri Chambert-Loir et Oman Fathurahman (p. 167-168), il n'est pas non plus fait mention de la présence de lettres relatives à Francis Light parmi ces manuscrits.

Selon mes recherches, le nombre de lettres, en grande majorité se rapportant à Francis Light, du manuscrit Mal-pol 97, s'élève à une centaine. Comme indiqué dans le catalogue de P. Voorhoeve, ce sont des copies, réalisées par Édouard Dulaurier. Ces lettres, échangées la plupart du temps avec des souverains et des hauts personnages malais, concernent diverses affaires de Francis Light quand il se trouvait à Penang. Dans la plupart d'entre elles, Francis Light est désigné par « *Gurnadur* » (Gouverneur) ou « *Sinyor Gurnadur* » (Monsieur le Gouverneur).

Mises à part les lettres relatives à Francis Light, on trouve aussi dans ce manuscrit des lettres de plusieurs fonctionnaires anglais à Sumatra (de Fort Malborough, à Bengkulu) échangées avec des souverains et des hauts personnages malais de Moko-Moko, de Bengkulu, d'Andalas et de Padang, ainsi qu'une lettre du Sultan Alauddin Mansur Shah d'Aceh au « *Raja Perancis yang nama Louis Phillip* » (Roi français du nom de Louis Philippe).

On ne sait pas très bien pourquoi Édouard Dulaurier a copié ces lettres, car aucun de ses écrits connus ne parlent explicitement de ces dernières. Je

ne peut que supposer qu'il aurait fait ces copies, dans les années 1840, à une époque où il copiait activement des manuscrits malais conservés à Londres, qu'il rapportait ensuite à Paris pour enrichir les documents historiques sur le monde malais, et pour les utiliser pour l'enseignement à l'École des Langues orientales vivantes. On ne sait pas non plus s'il a vraiment réalisé ses copies à partir de lettres conservées à la SOAS de Londres (MS 40320), dont je viens de parler ci-dessus. Seules des recherches plus approfondies sur les « *Light Letters* » permettront de répondre à cette question. Un indice cependant nous indique que tel pourrait être le cas. En effet, comme on l'a vu plus haut (p. 6), c'est William Marsden qui a fait don des « *Light Letters* » conservées à la SOAS. Or, dans sa description du manuscrit Mal-pol 97 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, où se trouvent les lettres relatives à Francis Light, P. Voorhoeve (1973, p. 59), parle d'une collection de lettres diverses, « provenant », entre autres, « des portefeuilles de Marsden » (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 7).

### *À Tournus*

Parmi les catalogues recensant les manuscrits malais de Tournus, dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus, l'un d'eux indique la présence de deux lettres qui pourraient être relatives à Francis Light, bien que son nom ne soit pas indiqué.

Dans sa description de ces manuscrits, P. Voorhoeve (1973, p. 75) ne fait aucune mention de lettres. Il ne parle que d'« une collection de contes du même genre que ceux qui sont intercalés dans la *Hikayat Bakhtiyar* », dont le début et la fin manquent et dont il n'a vu que deux fragments, ce qui ne lui permet pas de déterminer le titre. Il indique cependant qu'un « personnage qui joue un rôle dans le premier fragment s'appelle Alkas menteri ».

Le catalogue de la Bibliothèque nationale de Malaisie (1991, p. 178-182) donne plus de détails que celui de P. Voorhoeve, fait mention de l'existence de lettres et indique la présence de trois manuscrits cotés M 29, M 30 et M 31. Selon lui, le M 29 se compose de la *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, texte rédigé avec soin de 105 pages, incomplet (le début et la fin manquent), commençant par l'histoire d'Alqas Menteri qui tue Khoja Bahti, et se terminant par Landuhur, arrêté par le prince. Le M 30 comprend le *Syair Ken Tambuhan* et des lettres. Le *Syair*, de 137 pages, a été copié avec minutie le 5 avril 1820, sans doute par un copiste européen. Les lettres, de 7 pages, et copiées par le même copiste que le *syair*, sont au nombre de trois : une lettre de Datok Kaya Batu Behara au « *Sinyor Gornadur* »<sup>22</sup>, datée du 4 novembre ; une lettre d'Encik Longok de Perlis au « *Kapten Ascot* »<sup>23</sup> à Salang, datée du 17 mars 1785 ; une lettre de Tengku Kajuran Japura de Langkat au « *Sinyor Gornadur* », à Penang<sup>24</sup>.

22. Il s'agit sans doute de l'une des deux lettres qui pourraient être relatives à Francis Light.

23. Il s'agit sans doute du Capitaine James Scott.

24. Il s'agit sans doute de la deuxième lettre relative à Francis Light (cf. note 22).

Le M 31 se compose de lettres et de *Syair Burung Nuri* (Poème de la perruche à collier). Les lettres, de cinq pages, copiées avec soin par un copiste européen, sont également au nombre de trois : une lettre du sultan Ibrahim de Selangor au « *Jeneral* » au Bengale, datée du 7 décembre 1785 ; une lettre d'un homme à son frère (*saudaranya*), datée du 16 août 1792 ; une lettre du sultan Maki al-din, Raja Bacan, au « *Gurnadur* » Arin qui gouverne Ambon. Le *syair*, complet, de 43 folios, a été copié le 8 août 1827, sans doute par le même copiste européen que le M 30 et les lettres du M 31.

Dans le court passage relatif aux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus, dans Henri Chambert-Loir et Oman Fathurahman (p. 168), la présence de lettres relatives à Francis Light parmi ces manuscrits n'est pas indiquée.

Je me suis rendu à la Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus (en région Bourgogne), dont les locaux sont situés dans la cour du cloître de l'Abbaye Saint-Philibert, pour examiner ces trois manuscrits. Ceux-ci sont inventoriés à la page 387 du catalogue manuscrit de cette bibliothèque réalisé en 1886 par Jean Martin, qui en était alors le directeur, sous les cotes indiquées ci-dessus, soit M 29, M 30 et M 31, qui correspondent à trois fascicules, et dont on ne sait pas comment ils sont arrivés à Tournus. Ces manuscrits n'ont pas encore attiré l'attention des chercheurs et n'ont donc pas fait l'objet d'une étude spécifique.

Après avoir examiné ces trois fascicules, j'ai pu constater que c'est dans le M 30 que se trouvent les 38 lettres relatives à Francis Light. Avant de me pencher tout particulièrement sur celles-ci, je donnerai une description de ces trois manuscrits, qui j'espère pourront enrichir les informations les concernant enregistrées dans les catalogues existants que j'ai résumées ci-dessus.

Le manuscrit M 29 (25 cm x 19 cm), relié avec du papier cartonné, est écrit en *jawi* avec de l'encre noire et rouge. Il a 105 pages de 22 lignes chacune. Le papier, assez usé, a un filigrane représentant trois croissants de lune. Le manuscrit ne comporte ni introduction, ni colophon. Il contient 17 histoires et récits d'origine musulmane. Ces histoires et récits ont pour but de donner une connaissance et des conseils aux lecteurs sur les bons ou mauvais enseignements qu'il convient de suivre ou ne pas suivre dans la vie, un type de texte que l'on rencontre couramment dans des œuvres comme le *Taj al-Salatin* ou le *Bustan al-Salatin*. Le nom du copiste et la date de la copie ne sont pas indiqués.

Le manuscrit M 31 (22 cm x 17 cm), comporte 112 pages et est écrit en *jawi* avec de l'encre noire. Il contient la copie de deux œuvres, le *Syair Si Burung Nuri serta Si Bunga Chempaka* (Poème de la perruche à collier et de la fleur de frangipanier) (p. 1-52) et *Syair Ikan Tambara Berganding sama Kakap* (Poème du poisson tambara<sup>25</sup> côté à côté avec un barramundi) (p. 53-87). Le colophon du premier *syair* contient la date du 7 août 1728 et celui du deuxième, « *Rejab*<sup>26</sup> », année 1235 de l'hégire (soit 1826 ère chrétienne). Notons que

25. *Labeobarbus tambra*.

26. Septième mois de l'hégire.

la Bibliothèque nationale de France contient également une œuvre intitulée *Syair Nuri* (Mal-Pol. 92), originaire de Batavia (datée de 1827) (Voorhoeve, 1973, p. 58), et une autre appelée *Syair Ikan Tambara* (Mal-Pol. 88), une copie réalisée par Édouard Dulaurier, à partir du manuscrit conservé à la RAS (Raffles Malay 7), sans indication de date (*ibid.*, p. 44). On ne sait pas à partir de quels textes ont été copiés les deux *syair* de la Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus, peut-être à partir de ceux de la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris, ou de ceux conservés à Londres ou ailleurs. À la suite de ces deux *syair*, on trouve la copie d'une lettre du Sultan Ibrahim de Selangor au gouvernement anglais du Bengale (p. 90-91), d'une lettre de Raja Benchana (p. 93-95), de celle du Sultan Mansur Syah de Terengganu aux Anglais (p. 95-97), et de celle du commerçant Qamar al-Din au Gouverneur (*Gurnadur*) de Penang (p. 97-100). Il y a également la copie d'un extrait d'une *hikayat* contenant des éléments hindouistes (p. 100-103). Le manuscrit se termine par plusieurs strophes d'un *pantun* d'amour (p. 106-112). Le manuscrit M 31 est donc une compilation de plusieurs œuvres et de lettres de souverains malais aux caractéristiques diverses. Le style de l'écriture *jawi* est le même dans tout le manuscrit, ce qui laisse supposer qu'il est l'œuvre d'un seul et même copiste, une personne en tout cas ayant réalisé son travail de copiste avec grand soin, puisqu'on ne relève aucune erreur dans les œuvres ou les lettres qu'il a copiées.

Le manuscrit M 30 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus (22 cm x 17 cm) comprend 235 pages de 15 lignes chacune. Il est rédigé sur du papier sans filigrane et sa reliure est soignée. Il est écrit avec de l'encre noire, très soigneusement, avec grande attention et d'une manière assez artistique. Le style du *jawi* est le même dans l'ensemble du manuscrit, ce qui laisse supposer qu'il est l'œuvre d'un seul et même copiste. De même, le style du *jawi* du manuscrit M 31 est semblable à celui du manuscrit M 30 et il y a fort à parier que ces deux manuscrits aient été copiés par la même personne.

Le manuscrit M 30 comprend deux parties. La première se compose de la copie d'un *syair* de 137 pages, le *Syair Ken Tambuhan*. Il comprend une introduction et un colophon, daté du 20 *Jamadil*<sup>27</sup>, fin de l'année 1235 de l'hégire (soit 1826 ère chrétienne). Le nom du copiste et la provenance du *syair* ne sont pas indiqués. La Bibliothèque nationale de France possède deux copies du *Syair Ken Tambuhan* réalisées par Édouard Dulaurier, l'une (Mal.-pol. 71) à partir du texte de la SOAS (12914B), l'autre (Mal.-pol. 72), à partir de celui de la RAS (Raffles Malay 7) (Voorhoeve, 1973, p. 43-44). Il est probable que le manuscrit M 30 ait été copié d'après l'une des deux copies conservées à Paris ou même directement d'après le texte se trouvant à Londres.

La deuxième partie du manuscrit M 30 est celle qui se rapporte à Penang, et à Francis Light en particulier. Elle contient en effet 38 copies de lettres échangées entre Francis Light et des souverains, ainsi que des hauts

27. Cinquième mois de l'hégire.

personnages malais. Cette partie commence par le titre suivant : « Inilah segala surat dari Tanah Melayu » (Voici toutes les lettres du Pays malais) (p. 148). Ces lettres sont copiées avec soin et attention, sans aucune faute d'orthographe ou de grammaire. Le copiste n'indique pas leur origine. D'après mes recherches, l'ensemble de ces 38 copies de lettres relatives à Francis Light ressemble beaucoup à celles regroupées dans le manuscrit coté Mal.-pol. 97 de la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris. J'aurais même tendance à dire que la copie des lettres relatives à Francis Light du manuscrit M 30 de Tournus a été faite d'après celles de Paris. Il est intéressant en tout cas de constater qu'une personne, dont on ne connaît pas l'identité, consciente de l'importance des lettres concernant Francis Light, a jugé bon d'en copier quelques-unes. Je donne ci-dessous la liste, avec un résumé succinct, de ces 38 lettres :<sup>28</sup>

1. p. 152-155<sup>28</sup> : Lettre de Datu Kaya Batu Bahara au Gouverneur (*Gurnadur*) en charge du gouvernement de Penang (*Bandar Pulau Pinang*).
2. p. 155-157 : Lettre d'Encik Longok, résidant à Bandar Perlis Kota Indera Kayangan Negeri Kedah Dar al-Aman, au Capitaine James Scott (*Kapitan Askat*) de Salang (*Negeri Salang*). Lettre datée de 1199 de l'hégire (soit 1788 ère chrétienne).
3. p. 157-159 : Lettre de Tengku Kejuruan Muda, résidant à Langkat (*Negeri Langkat*), au Gouverneur (*Gurnadur*) résidant à Penang (*Negeri Pulau Pinang*).
4. p. 159-161 : Lettre de Raja Long Omar de Kedah Dar al-Aman au « Datuk Gurnadur » sage et avisé, qui exerce le pouvoir à Penang (*Bandar Pulau Pinang*). Dans cette lettre, il est demandé à Francis Light de se pencher sur le conflit commercial entre deux commerçants de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*) (cf. Annexe 3).
5. p. 162-163 : Lettre du souverain de Selangor au Capitaine Thomas Forrest, lui demandant d'aider Selangor à établir des relations amicales et commerciales avec les Anglais au Bengale (en Inde).
6. p. 163-165 : Lettre de Francis Light au Roi de Pidir (*Tengku Raja Pidir*), datée de 1203 de l'hégire (soit 1792 ère chrétienne), relative à l'escroquerie financière d'un capitaine néerlandais (cf. Annexe 1).
7. p. 165-167 : Lettre d'allégeance (*Surat sembah*) du commerçant Dato' Marikan Kandu, dans laquelle il demande à Francis Light de mettre un terme à son différend avec un commerçant de Kelang (cf. Annexe 2).
8. p. 168-169 : Lettre de Datuk Paduka Seri Indera, chef (*penghulu*) de Lima Laras, au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
9. p. 170-171 : Lettre d'Encik Piah de Selangor à la fille du « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
10. p. 172-173 : Lettre de Datuk Bayan au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).

**28.** Les pages indiquées dans cette liste correspondent à celles du fascicule coté M 30.

11. p. 174-176 : Lettre du prétendant au trône (*Raja Muda*) de Perlis Indera Kayangan au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*) concernant le commerce du soufre et demandant que soient réparées trois montres défectueuses.
12. p. 176-177 : Lettre de Datu Kaya Batu Bahara au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
13. p. 178-179 : Lettre de Mahmud au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
14. p. 180-181 : Lettre de Datu Batu Bahara au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
15. p. 182-184 : Lettre de l'Amiral (*Laksamana*) au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
16. p. 185-187 : Lettre du Chef du Port (*Syahbandar*) de Selangor à Monsieur le Gouverneur Light (*Sinyor Gurnadur Mister Light*), datée 1196 de l'hégire (soit 1786 ère chrétienne), concernant le commerce du tabac et du tissu à Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
17. p. 187-189 : Lettre du noble (*Orang Kaya*) Buluh China au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
18. p. 190-191 : Lettre de l'épouse du prétendant au trône (*Tengku Raja Muda*), représentant du Sultan Ibrahim Syah, en charge du gouvernement de Selangor (*Bandar Negeri Selangor*), au *Gurnadur* de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
19. p. 191-193 : Lettre au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*) au sujet des bateaux se rendant en Arabie.
20. p. 194-195 : Lettre de Tengku Langkat au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
21. p. 196-197 : Lettre au sujet du commerce de l'étain.
22. p. 198-200 : Lettre de Salang au Capitaine James Scott (*Kapitan Askat*).
23. p. 201-203 : Lettre d'un commerçant de Kelantan au juge (*hakim Bandar*) en poste sous l'autorité du « *Gurnadur* » à Penang (*Pulau Pinang*). Dans le colophon, il est noté : « *Ini surat daripada rahsia raja dari Negeri Kelantan* » (Ceci est une lettre confidentielle du souverain de Kelantan).
24. p. 203-205 : Lettre du souverain (*Paduka Maharaja*) de Kedah au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
25. p. 206-208 : Lettre du Prince (*Pangeran*) de Palembang au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
26. p. 208-210 : Lettre de Raja Ali au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*) écrite à Selangor.
27. p. 210-212 : Lettre du souverain de Selangor Badar al-Din au « *Gurnadur* » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*) concernant des dettes.
28. p. 212-214 : Lettre du Sultan de Selangor à Monsieur le Gouverneur (*Sinyor Gurnadur*) de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*), datée de 1201 de l'hégire (soit 1790 ère chrétienne), sur le fait que Sa Majesté désire rencontrer Francis Light pour parler de choses concernant le commerce.
29. p. 214-215 : Lettre de Francis Light au commerçant (*Tok Saudagar*) Nasar al-Din dans laquelle il lui est demandé d'envoyer de l'étain et du poivre à Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).

30. p. 215-216 : Lettre de Francis Light à « Tengku Raja Pidir », concernant des affaires commerciales (cf. Annexe 4).
31. p. 217-219 : Lettre de Long Ismail au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
32. p. 219-221 : Lettre de Batu Bahara au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
33. p. 221-222 : Lettre de Langat au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
34. p. 222-225 : Lettre du commerçant secret (*saudagar rahsia*) du souverain de Kelantan au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
35. p. 225-228 : Lettre du commerçant (*Datuk saudagar*) Nasar al-Din au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
36. p. 228-230 : Lettre d'Encik Khamas de Johor au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
37. p. 230-233 : Lettre du Chef du Port (*Syahbandar*), représentant du sultan, au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*).
38. p. 234-235 : Lettre de l'Amiral (*Laksamana*) de Perak au « Gurnadur » de Penang (*Pulau Pinang*), datée de 1206 de l'hégire (soit 1794, ère chrétienne).

La liste des lettres ci-dessus permet d'avoir quelques informations sur les relations entre Francis Light et des souverains, ainsi que des hauts personnages malais, surtout pour ce qui est des États de Selangor, Kedah, Perak, Kelantan, Johor et de quelques sultanats malais de Sumatra, comme Langkat, Batu Bahara et Palembang. Ces lettres concernent diverses questions commerciales, des demandes d'aide financière, des conflits commerciaux, mais aussi des choses plus amicales et personnelles. Bien que la colonisation anglaise de Penang soit alors encore récente, Francis Light exerçait déjà, semble-t-il, une grande influence sur des souverains malais, comme on le voit par les compliments dont il fait l'objet de la part de ces derniers et de hauts personnages malais. On en a un exemple dans l'introduction de la lettre de Raja Long Omar de Kedah à Francis Light (cf. la liste, p. 159-160), dont je donne ci-dessous la translittération en caractères latins et sa traduction en français (cf. l'original en *jawi* dans l'Annexe 3) :

*Al-Mustahaq  
Omar ibn Muhammad Taha*

*Surat kasih sayang tulus ikhlas daripada beta Raja Long Omar di Negeri Kedah Dar al-Aman sampai pada sahabat beta Dato' Gurnadur yang arif bijaksana dan yang mempunyai perintah di dalam Bandar Pulau Pinang serta yang amat mengasihani segala hamba Allah yang teranaya supaya jadi ramailah segala dagang masuk bermiaga ke dalam Pulau Pinang itu dengan sebab baik bicara dan tuah sahabat beta jadi makmurlah di dalam Bandar Pulau Pinang itu.*

**Traduction :**

*Al-Mustahaq*<sup>29</sup>

Omar ibn Muhammad Taha

Lettre d'affection et de dévouement, de moi, Raja Long Omar, de Kedah, pour mon ami, le Gouverneur sage et avisé, en charge du gouvernement de Penang, ayant un grand attachement pour tous les sujets persécutés d'Allah, souhaitant que les étrangers viennent commercer en grand nombre à Penang, car grâce à la sagacité et à la félicité de mon ami, Penang est prospère.

Comme on le voit, ces lettres sont pour la plupart adressées à Francis Light. Trois cependant sont des lettres de Francis Light destinées à des souverains ou des hauts personnages malais. Il s'agit de deux lettres pour Tengku Raja Pidir (cf. la liste, p. 163-165 et p. 215-216) (cf. Annexes 1 et 4) et d'une lettre pour le commerçant (*Tok Saudagar*) Nasar al-Din (cf. la liste, p. 214-215). Ces trois lettres montrent une convention d'écriture de la correspondance assez homogène, comprenant des paroles d'introduction agréables, chargées de compliments, suivies des propos de la lettre, puis des formules de politesse de fin de lettre, et enfin de la date. Il est sûr que Francis Light avait à son service un secrétaire expérimenté, l'a aidant à traiter avec des souverains et de hauts personnages malais.

On en a un exemple notable dans la lettre de Francis Light à Tengku Raja Pidir (cf. la liste, p. 163-165), dans laquelle ce dernier est complimenté, recevant le qualificatif de personne avisée et célèbre. Quand au contenu de la lettre, il concerne un capitaine néerlandais ayant escroqué Francis Light de 368 *riyal*, qui auraient dû être remis à Tengku Raja Pidir. La manœuvre de Francis Light est claire. Il promet de dédommager Tengku Raja Pidir et de condamner le capitaine néerlandais. En contrepartie, il demande à Tengku Raja Pidir d'aider le capitaine James Scott (*Kapitan Askat*) dans les affaires qu'il est en train de mener à Pidir. Cette lettre a certainement donné entière satisfaction à Tengku Raja Pidir, qui accorda tout de suite sa coopération pour ce qui est des affaires politiques et commerciales menées entre Pidir et Penang. La lettre date de 1203 de l'hégire (soit 1792 ère chrétienne), c'est-à-dire environ six ans après l'arrivée de Francis Light à Penang.

Dans cette collection de copies de lettres conservées à la Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus, on trouve aussi une lettre assez différente des autres pour ce qui est de sa rédaction et de son intention (cf. la liste, p. 165-167). L'expéditeur est un certain Marikan Kandu et elle est adressée à « qadam<sup>30</sup> Dato' Gurnadur ». Il s'agit en fait de Francis Light, mais son nom n'est pas mentionné (cf. Annexe 2). Dans cette lettre, Marikan Kandu se plaint d'une personne de Kelang, qu'il qualifie de « fakir Saba », qui l'a escroqué, qui

29. Mot généralement placé en tête de lettre pour indiquer que c'est une lettre « mustahak » (importante).

30. Sans doute *kadam* (« Ar. Sole of foot...a form of address to royalty ») (R.J. Wilkinson 1959).

refuse de payer ses dettes s'élevant à 210 *riyal*, malgré l'injonction du tribunal. Cette lettre non datée montre que les conflits commerciaux survenant à Penang devaient être réglés par l'intermédiaire du tribunal anglais. Il est assez intéressant de constater que le nom de l'expéditeur de la lettre, Marikan Kandu, donne une information importante, à savoir la présence de descendants de « Merican » ou de « Marican »<sup>31</sup> peu après la fondation de Penang. Le style de la lettre et le malais utilisés sont assez peu soignés, contrairement aux lettres de souverains ou de hauts personnages malais.

Les manuscrits malais en France sont enregistrés et décrits dans des catalogues, qui ne rendent pas toujours compte de leur nombre et de leur contenu réels. On le voit par exemple avec les lettres relatives à Francis Light que j'ai étudiées plus particulièrement dans cet article. En effet, même si certains indices laissent supposer qu'il s'agit de lettres le concernant, on ne peut en avoir la certitude qu'en allant sur place examiner ces manuscrits. Il en est de même pour s'assurer de leur nombre. Grâce à la mission de recherche que j'ai effectuée en France en juillet 2011, j'ai pu avoir une idée plus précise du nombre, de la forme et du contenu des manuscrits malais, en particulier des lettres relatives à Francis Light, conservés en France, tout particulièrement à Paris, mais surtout à Tournus. J'ai ainsi trouvé que la Bibliothèque nationale de France abritait une centaine de lettres le concernant et que la Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus en contenait 38. Je me suis surtout penché sur ces dernières, j'en ai dressé la liste, avec un résumé succinct, et fait l'analyse de certaines. J'ai également donné en annexe la translittération en caractères latins de deux de ces lettres et l'introduction de deux autres sous leur forme originelle en *jawi*. Les manuscrits malais en France, y compris les lettres relatives à Francis Light, sont encore largement inexplorés. Des recherches plus approfondies pourraient nous réservier certainement encore d'autres surprises et nous permettre ainsi d'enrichir l'histoire des études de la langue et de la littérature malaises en général et celle de Penang et de ses relations avec la France en particulier.

**31.** Selon R.J. Wilkinson (*ibid.*), *Marikan* ou *Merikan* signifie « A sort of title borne by Tamil Moslems of good position » ou « American ».

**ANNEXES***Annexe 1*

**Translittération en caractères latins de la lettre en *jawi* de Francis Light à Tengku Raja Pidir [Source : Fascicule coté M 30, Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus, p. 163-165]**

*Al-qamr wa al-syams*

*Surat tulus ikhlas muafakat yang tiada berkesudahan selagi ada chakrawala matahari dan bulan daripada beta Gurnadur yang memerintahkan di kota Bandar Pulau Pinang, barang disampaikan Tuhan seru alam apalah kiranya kepada pihak sahabat beta Tengku Raja Pidir yang aqil bijaksana, telah masyhur gah kepujian sampai ke mana-mana.*

*Wa ba'du dari itu ahwal akan surat sahabat beta dibawa kerani itu sampailah kepada beta dengan sempurnanya. Maka akan perintah piutang Kapitan Belanda pada sahabat beta itu maka sudah beta periksanya akunya tiga ratus enam puluh dulapan riyal itu kepada sahabat beta serta dengan surat beta pun dibawanya sama pergi. Maka ini khabarnya ia sudah pergi ke Benggala.*

*Maka pasal riyal tiga ratus enam puluh dulapan riyal seperti akuan Kapitan Belanda itu betalah ganti bayar. Apabila ia datang dari Benggala boleh beta kerasi ambil riyal itu kerana ditipunya beta hendak pergi bayar kepada sahabat beta.*

*Sebermula Kapitan Askat pun beta suruh pergi ke Pidir, itu pun minta sahabat beta tolong barang sesuatu hal-ahwal mereka itu, boleh balik dengan segeranya. Amin.*

*Perbuat surat ini pada dua hari timbul bulan Rejab hari Ahad sanat 1203 tahun Ba. Tamat.*

*Annexe 2*

**Translittération en caractères latins de la lettre en *jawi* de Marikan Kandu à Francis Light [Source : Fascicule coté M 30, Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus, p. 165-167]**

*Ya Aziz*

*Ampun hamba Dato', Marikan Kandu sakai hamba yang teramat hina maklumkan sembah pada ke bawah qadam Dato' Gurnadur yang teramat mulia. Hamba Dato' maklumkan ahwal hal diri hamba Dato' duduk selama makan pagi sekalian anak-beranak hamba Dato' pun dengan 'asar rahim qadam Dato'.*

*Di dalam antara itu datang fakir Saba dari Negeri Kelang tanya pada hamba Dato' andak duduk dengan hamba Dato', maka modalnya pun tiada. Kemudian hamba Dato' kasihan sebab dia orang tiada modal, hamba Dato' ajak tiarah di dalam kedai, sekalian sambut-menyambut pada orang kapal atau kepada orang di negeri pun hamba Dato' seorang. Maka fakir Saba itu duduk di kedai sahaja.*

*Kemudian ia antar pergi ke Pidir dua ratus riyal pun dagangan kain-kain di kedai itu pun tiada ia beri tahu kepada hamba Dato', orang datang kata kepada hamba Dato', kemudian hamba Dato' tahu. Dan lagi beberapa pulak ia antar pergi ke Negeri Kelang itu pun tiada hamba Dato' tahu, kemudian hamba Dato' tahu.*

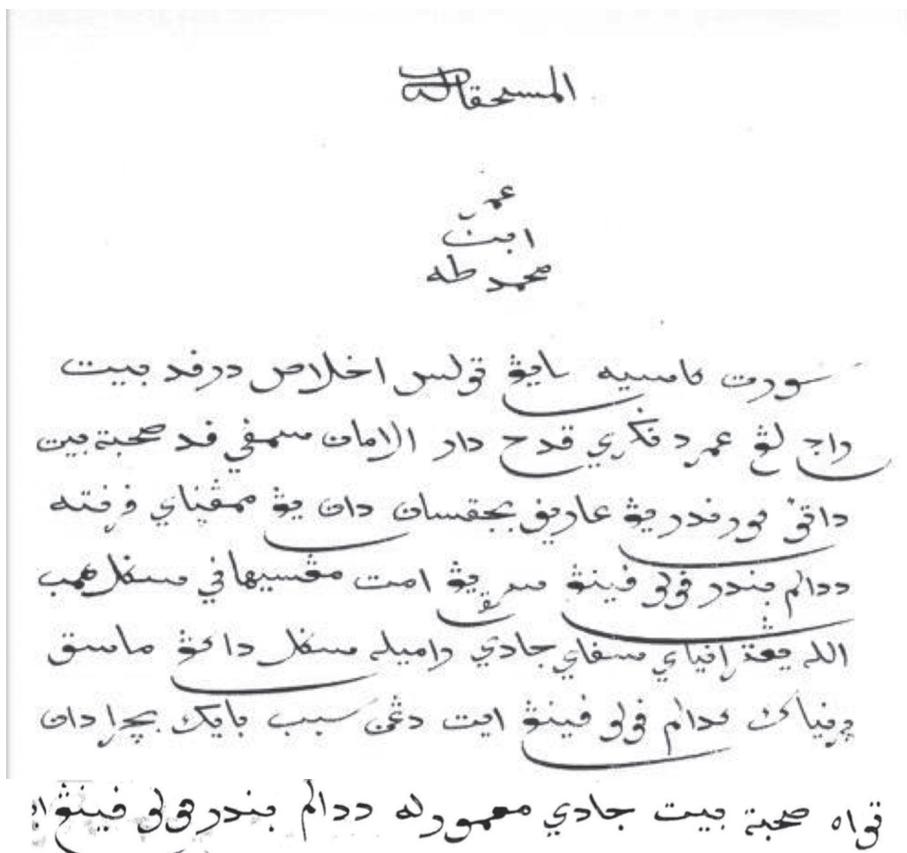
*Budi perangai fakir Saba hamba Dato' ajak selesaikan daftar berhadapan saudagar Banna Saba dan berhadapan Mira Lebai, selesai sekalian daftar tinggal lagi baki atas fakir Saba dua ratus sepuluh riyal. Maka sekarang ia pulak tengah duduk kiranya daftar banyak sangat pulasnya.*

*Sebab pun hamba Dato' teriak kepada qadam Dato' suruh selesaikan berhadapan nakhoda kapal Kelang itu pun Takdur Husin pun mau panggil sekalian nakhoda itu. Sebab pun hamba Dato' datang mari teriak pada ke bawah qadam Dato' jika dengan benar qadam Dato' pinta qadam Dato' suruh pada nakhoda kapal Kelang selesaikan daftar itu, kemudian boleh qadam Dato' tahu ia kepada salah benar hamba Dato'.*

*Adapun duduk hamba Dato' anak-beranak melainkan harap kepada qadam Dato'. Ahwal inilah hamba Dato' maklumkan pada ke bawah qadam Dato'. Tamat.*

*Annexe 3*

**Introduction de la lettre de Raja Long Omar à Francis Light** [Source : Fascicule coté M 30, Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus, p. 159-160] (cf. sa translittération en caractères latins et sa traduction française, *op. cit.*, p. 12 et 13).



*Annexe 4*

**Introduction de la lettre de Francis Light à Tengku Raja Pidir** [Source : Fascicule coté M 30, Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus, p. 215]

والقمر والشمس

سورة قاسم اخلاص موافقة يبغ قياد جركسداهني مسلكي  
دچکروال متھاري دان جون درف دیت کورندور بیخ  
مهم تنهکی دکوت بندر فلوفینیو بارغ د کمفتی خوشی  
سر و عالم افاله بیران کند فیهق صحابت بیت قنکو داج  
فیدر بیخ عاقل بحقسان قد مشهور کنوجین کے سفی

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## EMPRUNTS ET RÉINTERPRÉTATIONS

TOM HOOGERVORST<sup>1</sup>

### Detecting pre-modern lexical influence from South India in Maritime Southeast Asia<sup>2</sup>

#### Introduction

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the famous Malacca-born language instructor Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir documented the following account in his autobiography *Hikayat Abdullah* (Munšī 1849):

“[...] my father sent me to a teacher to learn Tamil, an Indian language, because it had been the custom from the time of our forefathers in Malacca for all the children of good and well-to-do families to learn it. It was useful for doing computations and accounts, and for purposes of conversation because at that time Malacca was crowded with Indian merchants. Many were the men who had become rich by trading in Malacca, so much so that the names of Tamil traders had become famous. All of them made their children learn Tamil.” (translation by Hill 1955: 48)

Roughly four decades later, a colonial official regretted the lack of financial transparency among the rajas of Aceh’s recently “pacified” coastal areas, complaining that administration records were either absent or kept in *Klingaleesch* (Scherer 1891: 298). A late 18<sup>th</sup>-century religious manuscript written partly in Tamil and partly in Malay (Tschacher 2009: 54) also points to the existence of a tradition of bilingualism at the crossroads of South India and Maritime Southeast Asia. While it is difficult to contextualise such isolated accounts, the importance of South Indian traders in Maritime Southeast Asia is well-attested historically (cf. Edwards McKinnon 1996; Christie 1998, 1999). This situation remains to be studied more thoroughly from a linguistic perspective. This article, hence, delves deeper into early interethnic contact

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between South India and Maritime Southeast Asia, focusing specifically on Tamil and other Dravidian loanwords in Malay, Javanese and other West-Malayo-Polynesian (hereafter WMP) languages.

South India and Maritime Southeast Asia have been in close contact for more than two millennia. Dravidian loanwords occur in the earliest Javanese literature, i.e. from the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE, following the establishment of Tamil as a literary language in India.<sup>3</sup> Commercial networks between the two regions, however, must have predated the textual evidence by several centuries. In the late 1<sup>st</sup> mill. BCE, interaction was frequent enough to account for large quantities of imported Indian beads, pottery and metal artefacts at several sites in Southeast Asia (cf. Ardika & Bellwood 1991; Bellina 2007). From the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Javanese inscriptions list different South Indian toponyms (or, perhaps, rather ethnonyms), such as *Klin* “Kalinga(?)”, *Sinhala* “Sri Lanka,” *Cwalikā* or *Drawiḍa* “Coromandel Coast,” *Panḍikira* or *Malyalā* “Malabar Coast” and *Karṇaṭaka* “Karnataka” (cf. Christie 1999: 247). From the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE, following the decline of Śrīvijaya and the expansive ambitions of the Cōla Dynasty, Tamil inscriptions indicate the presence of South Indian merchant guilds in North Sumatra and other parts of Southeast Asia (Edwards McKinnon 1996; Christie 1998; Karashima & Subbarayalu 2009; Francis 2012; Griffiths 2014). The Tamil settlements in North Sumatra are supported by recent archaeological research (cf. Guillot et al. 2003; Perret & Surachman, éd., 2009). South Indian communities also feature in the classical Malay literature and were documented in substantial numbers in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. Malacca Sultanate. By that time, they were typically referred to as *Keling*, a name presumably connected to the Kalinga State in present-day Odisha (hence also the Dutch *Klingaleesch*) but equally often applied to other Indian or Indianised communities (cf. Damais 1964; Mahdi 2000: 848; Hoogervorst 2013: 26 fn. 54). The scope of this study ends with the colonial period, during which policies of indentured labour introduced an entirely new episode of South India-Southeast Asia contacts, in particular in Rangoon, Penang, Medan and Singapore. Islamic connections across the Bay of Bengal also fall beyond the purview of this paper.<sup>4</sup>

This is not the first study on Dravidian loanwords in Southeast Asia. While a number of new hypotheses are added, it builds on a long strand of earlier scholarship. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch orientalist Herbert de Jager (1707: 36) first called attention to the presence of South Indian

3. There is some controversy over the antiquity of the earliest Tamil literature. Tieken (2008) argues that the *Caigam* (சங்கம்) poetry was produced at the time of the *Vēlvikkudi* (வேள்விக்குடி) and *Daļavāypuram* (தளவாய்ப்புரம்) inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas (8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> c. CE) and that claims to date the genre to earlier times—typically from the first centuries BCE to the first centuries CE—tend to be fraught with overtones of regionalistic pride. However, this remains a minority view within Tamil Studies (cf. Wilden 2002).

4. But see Tschacher (2009) for an overview.

(*Maalebarischen*) as well as Sanskrit loanwords in the high speech register of Javanese, while noting that the Javanese script originates from the same region. Tentative Tamil borrowings are also postulated at several places in Van der Tuuk's voluminous Old Javanese dictionary (1897-1912) and in a series of papers by Van Ronkel (see under references). Further lists of assumed Tamil loanwords in Malay are given in Hamilton (1919), Asmah (1966), Jones (2007) and Wignesan (2008), whereas Arokiaswamy (2000) focuses on the South Indian influence in Philippine languages. Valuable as they are, these works typically do not refer to the pioneering work of Van der Tuuk and Van Ronkel, nor to each other. They are also of a rather impressionistic nature; little if anything is written to satisfaction about the expectable or observed sound correspondences between the Dravidian and WMP languages under research. This matter is further complicated by the existence of Indo-Aryan loanwords in Dravidian languages, some of which also spread to Southeast Asia; the need to distinguish between direct Sanskrit, Middle Indo-Aryan or New-Indo-Aryan loans on one hand and those acquired through Dravidian languages on the other requires that the phonological history of all source languages is taken into account.<sup>5</sup> Cumulatively, these factors underscore the necessity for a novel contribution on this topic. This study addresses the question of which Indic loanwords entered pre-modern Maritime Southeast Asia from—or through—Dravidian sources and how this can be demonstrated phonologically.<sup>6</sup>

The corpus of this study largely consists of dictionaries, whose glosses have been translated and adjusted wherever considered necessary.<sup>7</sup> Fig. 1 presents a map of the languages mentioned in this study. Other potential corpora, such

5. Even then, it remains difficult to pinpoint the direct source of Indic loanwords in Southeast Asia. As I argue elsewhere (Hoogervorst forthcoming), plausible etyma of Malay words such as *bapak* “father”, *cəməti* “whip”, *curiga* “a broad-bladed short curved sword or dagger,” *kodi* “score” and *tiga* “three” are found both in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages and the exact pathways through which they spread across the Bay of Bengal often remain opaque.

6. I will not here focus on loanwords transmitted in the opposite direction, as this topic has already been addressed elsewhere (Mahdi 1998; Hoogervorst 2013).

7. The following sources are used: Acehnese (Djajadiningrat 1934), Angkola-Mandailing Batak (Eggink 1936), Balinese (Barber 1979), Bengali (Biswas 2000), Bugis (Matthes 1874), Cebuano (Wolff 1972), Cham (Aymonier & Cabaton 1906), Gayo (Hazeu 1907), Gondī (Burrow & Bhattacharya 1960), Hindi (Platts 1884), Ilokano (Rubino 2000), Javanese (Robson & Wibisono 2002), Kannada (Kittel 1894), Karo Batak (Joustra 1907), Konda (Krishnamurti 1969), Magindanao (Juanmartí 1892), Makasar (Cense 1979), Malagasy (Richardson 1885), Malay (Wilkinson 1932), Malayālam (Gundert 1962), Maranao (McCaughan & Al-Macaraya 1996), Marāthī (Molesworth 1857), Middle Indo-Aryan (Turner 1966), Middle Javanese (Zoetmulder 1982), Minangkabau (Moussay 1995), Ngaju (Hardeland 1859), Old Javanese (Zoetmulder 1982), Old Khmer (Jenner 2009), Old Mon (Shorto 1971), Ṣorīyā (Prahraj 1931-40), Pāli (Rhys Davids & Stede 1966), Persian (Steingass 1892), Sanskrit (Monier-Williams 1899), Sinhala (Clough 1892), Subanon (Finley 1913), Sundanese (Coolsma 1913), Tagalog (Noceda & Sanlucar 1860, Ferrer 2003), Tamil (*Tamil* 1924-36), Tamil (colloquial) (Asher & Annamalai 2002), Tausug (Hassan et al. 1994), Telugu (Brown 1903), Thai (Haas 1951-present), Toba Batak (Warneck 1977) and Tuļu (Männer 1886).



Fig. 1—Map of the source languages for this study.

as toponyms, onomastics and literary parallels, fall beyond the scope of the present study but merit a more comparative approach in future research.<sup>8</sup> The list of tentative borrowings presented here thus remains far from exhaustive. I am primarily concerned with the earliest loanwords. My focus on pre-colonial language contact raises the methodological problem of dating lexical transmissions. The Javanese literature is particularly helpful in proposing *termini ante quem* for the adoption of Dravidian loanwords into Maritime Southeast Asia. I therefore make an effort to mention the source texts in which loanwords are (first) attested. Another, less reliable, yardstick to assess the antiquity of a given lexical transmission is its geographical distribution. I am inclined to treat Dravidian loans established far beyond the Malay core area as pre-modern, as competition from well-organised Chinese and Indian merchant fleets greatly diminished the role of Malay shipping from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards (cf. Manguin 1993).

This paper is organised into three sections. The first, “Phonological integration”, addresses the phonological characteristics of Dravidian loans in WMP languages, focusing specifically on Tamil loanwords into Malay and Old Javanese. Doing so provides an idea of what to expect upon further investigating lexical borrowing between these languages. The second section, “Direct borrowings”, lists early Dravidian loanwords in WMP languages and indicates earlier sources of the postulated etymologies. The third section, “Indirect borrowings,” focuses on Indo-Aryan loanwords transmitted

<sup>8</sup>. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 755), for example, suggests that the Javanese name *Irawati* (also *Irəwati*) goes back to Sanskrit *Revati* through its Tamil form *Irēvati* (இரேவதி), as the prothetic /i/ is characteristic of Tamil. Other scholars have detected “Tamilisms” in the classical Malay literature (cf. Van Ronkel 1904; Muniandy 1995).

eastwards through Dravidian languages. It elaborates on the expectable sound changes in such a scenario and clarifies why certain loanwords do and others do not reflect Dravidian intermediacy. In the conclusion, the impact of Dravidian lexical influence in pre-modern Maritime Southeast Asia is assessed and some directions for further research are suggested.

### Phonological integration

Dravidian languages, including Tamil, Malayālam, Telugu and Kannada, typically display a wide range of internal varieties. Tamil, for example, consists not only of regional dialects (northern, western, eastern, southern, Sri Lankan), but also of sociolects (Brahmin, non-Brahmin, literary, colloquial). It may be expected that those who travelled eastwards spoke urban, coastal varieties. However, linguistic research on these and other specific varieties remains sketchy, with a preliminary but still relevant overview on the modern situation provided by Zvelebil (1964). Even less is known about historical varieties of Tamil and other Dravidian languages. Our understanding of Dravidian-WMP language contact is also complicated by the fact that the Tamil script does not clearly indicate the pronunciation of stops and affricates, although the position of these phonemes within a word provides some rule of thumb; they are predominantly voiceless in word-initial position and word-medially in geminated form, but voiced post-nasally and word-medially in non-geminated form. In the latter case, they are also fricativised (Andronov 2004: 23-30). Stops and affricates do not typically occur word-finally and require an epenthetic or “enunciative vowel.” However, these rules do not always apply to loanwords and depend on the speaker’s familiarity with the source language. This paper gives the indigenous spelling of Tamil (and the other Dravidian languages) along with a transliteration (Table 1).

Common Dravidian features such as phonemic vowel length, gemination and the presence of retroflex consonants are typically absent in Malay, although this may have been different in certain historical varieties or acrolects. Javanese maintains the distinctions /t/ vs. /ʈ/ and /d/ vs. /ɖ/ to date (as does Madurese). In certain WMP languages, the original presence of a retroflex or geminated consonant triggered schwa-substitution in the preceding vowel, e.g. Malay *pəti* “box, chest, case” from Hindi *petī* id. and *məta* “mad or rutting, wild or excited” from Sanskrit *matta* “excited with joy, in rut, insane,” although this sound correspondence is not consistent.<sup>9</sup>

The morphophonology of the recipient language(s) can also influence the phonological integration of loanwords. Old Javanese *mərəcu* ~ *mərcu*

<sup>9.</sup> Ras (1968) calls attention to an orthographic convention in Malay and Javanese in which the schwa—originally lacking a dependent vowel sign—can be indicated through gemination of the next consonant. As intervocalic consonants following a schwa are typically longer in several WMP languages, the author argues that this rule reflects Malay and Javanese phonology.

orthography	transliteration and phonetic transcription (between slashes)			
	word-initial	intervocalic	post-nasal	geminated
க	k /k/	g /x ~ ɦ/	g /g/	kk /k:/
ச	c /s ~ ʃ/ <sup>10</sup>	c /s/	j /dʒ/	cc /ʃ:/
ஞ	ʈ /ʈ/	ɖ /ʈ/	ɖ /ɖ/	ʈʈ /ʈ:/
ஃ	t /t/	d /ð/	d /ɖ/	tt /t:/
ஞ	p /p/	b /β/	b /b/	pp /p:/

Table 1 – transliteration of Tamil stops and affricates used in this paper.

“fire-ball (from the sky),” for example, appears to reflect Tamil *viricu* (விரிசு<sup>10</sup>) “a kind of rocket” (cf. Gomperts unpublished), from the root *viri* (விரி) “to expand; to open; to burst asunder.” In this case, the word-initial consonant has undergone nasalisation in accordance with regular morphophonological sound correspondences in WMP languages. While more common in transitive verbs, this development does not stand in isolation in other lexical categories.<sup>11</sup> A related process is back-formation. Tamil *mudukku* (முடுக்கு), a verb root denoting “to plough,” presumably gave rise to Javanese and Sundanese *muluku* in the same meaning.<sup>12</sup> If so, Old Javanese *waluku* ~ *wiluku* ~ *wuluku* “a plough” must be a hypercorrection, in which the word-initial /m/ was reinterpreted as a nasalised verbal prefix substituting an earlier /w/.<sup>13</sup> A similar process is seen in Old Javanese *waji* “wedge,” presumably derived from the Tamil verbal root *vaci* (வசி) “to split, to cut,” which displays the by-form *paji* (cf. Van der Tuuk 1897-1912/3: 599). The latter appears to be a back-formation of the derived verb (*a*)*maji* “to split, cleave (with a wedge),” as both /w/ and /p/ would yield /m/ through prenasalisation.

Semantic innovation of equal complexity is evidenced by the word *səmburani* ~ *səmbərani*, the legendary flying steed of Malay literature. Van Ronkel (1905) argues that this name originally referred to a horse breed of a sorrel or cinereous colour, denoted by the Tamil compound *cemburani* “red-

10. The exact pronunciation differs from one variety to another. According to Zvelebil (1964: 242-246), northern dialects incline towards /s/, western dialects to /ʃ/ and southern dialects to /ʃ̥/.

11. Cf. Middle Javanese *miñu* “wine” from Portuguese *vinho* id., Javanese *mau* “just now” from (*krama*) *wau* id. (ultimately from PMP \**bageRuh* “new, recently”), *muṣṭika* “bezoar; the most excellent, a jewel” from *puṣṭika* id. (reflecting Sanskrit *sphatika* “crystal, quartz” through metathesis), Malay *moyang* “great-grandparent” from an earlier \**puyang* (reflecting \**pu* + \**hiang* “Lord God; ancestor;” Adelaar 1992: 109), *mərpati* “dove, pigeon” from Sanskrit *pārāpatī* “female pigeon” (Gonda 1973: 165), and a set of Malay compounds beginning with *manca* “many,” reflecting Sanskrit *pañca* “five” (ibid.: 438-440).

12. The realisation of <ப> (ஞ) as a retroflex flap /ʈ/ in colloquial Tamil (cf. Andronov 2004: 25) suggests the pronunciation /muʈuk.u:/.

13. Malay *tənggala* “plough” has been formed through a similar process and presumably goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan \**naṅgala* id.; /t/ regularly corresponds to /n/ through prenasalisation (Hoogervorst forthcoming).

skinned” (இசும்புப்பணி).<sup>14</sup> In support of Van Ronkel’s etymology, later scholars have called attention to the Malay compounds *təmbaga səmbərani* “reddish bronze” (Van Leeuwen 1937: 274-275) and *batu səmbərani* or *bəsi səmbərani* “magnetic iron, loadstone” (hence Old Javanese *wəsi warani* “magnetic iron,” Karo Batak *bəsi bərani* “magnet, loadstone,” Tagalog *balanì* “magnetism, magnet, loadstone”), which is typically tinged with a reddish colour due to manganese and iron oxides (Gonda 1941: 163-164). This etymological derivation would imply that an existing reddish horse breed gradually evolved into a supernatural flying horse in the Malay perception.

Borrowings can also be re-borrowed, as demonstrated by Malay *candu*, Javanese *candu*, Makasar *candu* and Toba Batak *sandu* denoting a purified opium paste prepared for smoking. As the habit of smoking opium pellets was a European introduction, the meaning of *candu* in pre-colonial literature is nebulous. An early Malay dictionary defines *candu* as a “moisture thickened to a tough gel, prepared opium; tough, sticky soot; sugary exudation” (Von de Wall 1877-97/2: 37). The early 20<sup>th</sup> century Malay work *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* glosses it as “a resin made from opium, a kind of tree from West Bengal which is famous for its opium production” (Haji 1986/87: 349). As regards the word’s original meaning in Javanese, Berg (1927: 65 fn. 2) glosses it as a “kind of *boreh* (i.e. a fragrant cosmetic unguent of coconut-oil coloured with saffron)” based on its occurrence in the *Kidung Sunda* and Prijohoetomo (1934: 97) as a “gum” in the *Nawaruci*. Van Ronkel (1903f: 543-544) identifies Tamil *cāndu* (சாந்து) “paste; mortar, plaster; sandalwood” as the ultimate source of the word. However, we also find Tamil *cāndu* (சாந்டு) “a preparation of opium used for smoking,” Hindi *cāndū* “an intoxicating drug made of opium” and Bengali *candu* “an intoxicating preparation from opium.” It is unlikely that the latter forms gave rise to the WMP attestations (*contra* Jones 2007: 46), as we would then expect a retroflex /d/ in Javanese. Conversely, the above forms were presumably borrowed either directly from Malay or through Indian English “chandoo”. In other words, it seems most plausible that a word denoting an unidentified paste spread from South India to Maritime Southeast Asia in pre-modern times and was later re-borrowed in the opposite direction in the more specific meaning of “prepared opium.”

### Direct borrowings

The sound innovations and other historico-phonological processes addressed in the previous section enable a better analysis of the early Tamil borrowings into WMP languages postulated in Table 2, all of which are

14. Such a word remains unattested in the literature, but would evidently consist of the elements *ce-* (செ) “red” and *purani* (புரணி) “skin; anything that is outside.” Other scholars favour a Persian etymology of Malay *samburani* ~ *səmbərani* (e.g. Jones 2007: 281), which I find problematic on phonological as well as semantic grounds (Hoogervorst 2013: 17 fn. 17).

attested in pre-modern Javanese texts. Previous etymologies or etymological remarks are acknowledged in the rightmost column. I have adapted and updated these comments with additional data from other WMP languages, using the dictionaries listed in the introduction.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>cāndu</i> (சாந்து)	Malay <i>candu</i> “prepared opium,” Middle Javanese <i>candu</i> “a kind of unguent (also as a dye?),” Javanese <i>candu</i> “opium,” Makasar <i>candu</i> , Toba Batak <i>sandu</i> id.	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 543-544).
<i>cauttu</i> (செங்குத்து)	Middle Javanese <i>conto</i> “a sample,” <sup>15</sup> Javanese <i>conto</i> “example, model,” Malay <i>contoh</i> “sample, model, specimen,” Minangkabau <i>conto ~ cinto</i> “example, model”	Cf. Gomperts (unpublished). Both the insertion of a homorganic nasal and the addition of a word-final /h/ are attested in other loanwords in Malay. <sup>16</sup>
<i>cemburani</i> (செம்புறணி)	Malay <i>səmburani ~ səmbərani</i> “winged steed of romance,” Middle Javanese <i>samburani</i> “a winged horse of romance,” <sup>17</sup> Acehnese <i>samarani</i> “a legendary horse,” Minangkabau <i>samburani ~ samburani</i> “winged, flying,” Tausug <i>sambalani</i> “a white winged horse”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1905).
<i>ceppu</i> (செப்பு)	Malay <i>cəpu</i> “a flat round box of wood or metal,” Old Javanese <i>cupu ~ cupu-cupu ~ cucupu</i> “small pot,” Gayo <i>cərpū</i> “round box of silver or copper with cover”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 649), Zoetmulder (1982/1: 339).
<i>ilai</i> (இலை)	Old Javanese <i>həlay ~ hole</i> “piece (of cloth or a flat object; also of a lotus-stem?)” Malay <i>halai ~ olai</i> “a num. coefficient for tenuous objects such as garments, sheets, thread, blades of grass,” Minangkabau <i>alai</i> “classifier for flat or long objects”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 533-534), Jones (2007: 105). Mahdi (1998: 399) expresses concerns regarding the addition of a word-initial /h/ in Malay, which is indeed atypical. It does, however, not stand in isolation. <sup>18</sup>

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts)

15. Attested in the *Kidung Sunda* (Zoetmulder 1982: 333).

16. Compare, among many other examples, *cambuk* “heavy whip” from Persian *čābuk* (چابک) “a horse-whip,” *nənggara ~ nagara* “royal kettle-drum” from Persian *naqāra* (نقار) “a kettle-drum” and *məndali ~ mədali* “medal” from Dutch *medaille* id. on the former tendency and *gajah* “elephant” from Sanskrit *gaja* id., *səkolah* “school” from Portuguese *escola* id. and *teh* “tea” from Southern Min *tē* (茶) id. on the latter.

17. Attested in the *Rangga Lawe* (Zoetmulder 1982: 1636).

18. Cf. Malay *hong* “the Buddhist *om* (ओं)” from Sanskrit *om* “a word of solemn affirmation and respectful assent,” *handai* “companion; associate” from Tamil *āṇdai* (ஆண்டை) “master, lord, landlord,” *hablok* “piebald (of a horse)” from Hindi *ablak* “piebald; spotted; pepper-and-salt,” *hasidah* “meal-cake eaten at the *ashura* festival” from Arabic ‘*asīda* “a thick paste made of flour and clarified butter” and *haleja* “an Indian woven fabric of mixed silk and cotton” ultimately from Turkish *alaca* “multi-coloured”.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<b>kadai</b> (கடை) “shop, bazaar, market”	Old Javanese <i>gade</i> ~ <i>gadai</i> “pawn, pawning,” <sup>19</sup> Javanese <i>gade</i> “pawning,” Malay <i>gadai</i> “pledging, pawnning, mortgaging,” Minangkabau <i>gadai</i> “guarantee, warranty, bail, mortgage,” Toba Batak <i>gade</i> “a mortgage”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 706), Zoetmulder (1982/1: 470). The voicing of word-initial /k/ does not stand in isolation. <sup>20</sup> Also cf. <i>kadai</i> (கடை) in the meaning of “shop” (Table 4), which is presumably a lexical doublet. <sup>21</sup>
<b>kadalai</b> (கடலை) “chickpea ( <i>Cicer arietinum</i> L.)”	Middle Javanese <i>kadole</i> “soya bean ( <i>Glycine max</i> (L.) Merr.),” Javanese <i>kødele</i> ~ <i>dele</i> , Malay <i>kødalai</i> id. <sup>22</sup>	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/2: 145), Van Ronkel (1903f: 550), Jones (2007: 148).
<b>kärikam</b> (காரிக்கம்) “unbleached plain cotton cloth” <sup>23</sup>	Malay <i>kørikam</i> “coarse linen,” Middle Javanese <i>trikam</i> “a part. kind of fabric” <sup>24</sup>	The innovation *k > t/# in Javanese is irregular, but does not stand in isolation, especially before /t/ and /l/. <sup>25</sup>

**Table 2** – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts)

19. Attested in the Javano-Balinese *Adhigama* (Zoetmulder 1982: 762).

20. Other examples include Malay *kangsa* ~ *gangsa* “bell-metal” from Sanskrit *kañsa* “brass, bell-metal” and *gusti* “wrestling” from Persian *kušn* (کشنی) “fighting, wrestling.”

21. The differences in pronunciation and meaning between these two sets would suggest different pathways of borrowing, e.g. dispersal through Old Javanese *gade* ~ *gadai* “pawning” vis-à-vis Malay *kødai* “a shop.” However, Bugis *gade* “stall, store” and Makasar *gaðe* “booth, shop, stall” resemble the former series phonologically but the latter semantically.

22. The word may have previously denoted other pulses, as the soya bean originates from East Asia. The word *kadole* is first attested in the Middle Javanese poem *Sri Tañjung*, where Prijono (1938: 105) leaves it untranslated. Later textual attestations must be dated to colonial times. The word *kødalai* occurs once in the *Hikayat Abdullah*, translated by Hill (1955: 118) as “soy beans.” Von de Wall (1877-97/2: 500) glosses it as “k.o. gram, small tree.” Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/2: 145) as “pulse (soya)” and Wilkinson (1932/1: 526) as “mung-bean (*Vigna radiata* (L.) R.Wilczek); soya bean (*Glycine max* (L.) Merr.).” Mung-beans are currently known in Malay as *kacang hijau* (cf. Javanese *kacang ijo*), a term absent in early literature. It may be pointed out that both mung-beans and soya beans can be used to make different types of fermented bean cakes, such as *tempe*, *bongrek* and *oncom*; the two pulses may have been used interchangeably in the past. The “chickpea” is known in modern Malay as *kacang kuda* or *kacang Arab*.

23. Also *kärikkan* (காரிக்கன்) in the same meaning.

24. Attested in the *Wangbang Wideha* (Zoetmulder 1982: 2038).

25. Compare Javanese *talkun* “turkey” from Dutch *kalkoen* id. We may further call attention to fluctuation between *kəmənggə* ~ *təmənggə* “spider,” *kledek* ~ *tledek* “female dancer,” *kratəg* ~ *tratəg* “bridge,” *krətəp* ~ *trətəp* “decorative buckle” and *kropos* ~ *tropos* “rotten, porous, hollow.” Javanese *truwelu* ‘rabbit’ and Malay *tarwelu* (†*taruiulu*) ~ †*kuilu* go back to Portuguese *coelho* id. and in this case the fluctuation may be due to false association between the Malay verbal prefixes *tar-* and *ka-*, both expressing accidental passives.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<b>kati</b> (கட்டி) “a measure of weight” (the “catty”)	Malay <i>kati</i> , Old Javanese <i>kati</i> ~ <i>kaṭi</i> , Javanese <i>kati</i> , Acehnese <i>katso</i> , Toba Batak <i>hati</i> , Tausug <i>katti</i> , Cham <i>kati</i> id. (cf. Old Khmer <i>kaṭti</i> ~ <i>kaṭṭi</i> id.)	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 548-549). The dental consonant in the Old Javanese and Javanese attestations is possibly the result of Malay intermediacy, otherwise we would expect a retroflex consonant.
<b>kayappū</b> (கயப்பு) “aquatic flower”	Old Javanese <i>kayapu</i> “aquatic flower,” <sup>26</sup> Javanese <i>kayu apu</i> “water lettuce ( <i>Pistia stratiotes</i> L.),” Sundanese <i>kiapu</i> id., Malay (Malaysia) <i>kayu apung</i> id., <sup>27</sup> Balinese <i>kapu-kapu</i> “a species of water- cress,” Cebuano <i>kayapo</i> “water lettuce ( <i>Pistia stratiotes</i> L.),” Maranao <i>kayopo</i> , Tagalog <i>kiyapo</i> , Magindanao <i>kiyupu</i> id.	Cf. Hunter & Supomo (forthcoming). The Javanese and Sundanese attestations are taken from Heyne (1913: 160), the Philippine attestations from Madulid (2001: 239-240).
<b>kondi</b> (கொண்டி) “prostitute, concubine”	Malay <i>gundik</i> “secondary wife,” Old Javanese <i>gunḍik</i> “female attendant,” Javanese <i>gunḍik</i> “mistress, concubine,” Minangkabau <i>gundiak</i> “mistress, concubine,” Acehnese <i>gundeḍ</i> “secondary wife, concubine,” Gayo <i>gundik</i> “concubine,” Karo Batak <i>gundik</i> “a scapegoat”	See Adelaar (1992: 118-119) and Mahdi (2000: 850) on the addition of a word- final glottal stop, typically written as <k>. For the voicing of word-initial /k/, see under <i>kadai</i> (கடை) in this table.
<b>kulai</b> (குலை) ‘to become soft, mashy, pulpy, as well- cooked’	Old Javanese <i>gulay-gulayan</i> “curry- dishes,” <sup>28</sup> Malay <i>gulai</i> “wet-currying; currying in rich highly-spiced sauce,” <sup>29</sup> Acehnese <i>gule</i> “k.o. vegetable soup,” Gayo <i>gule</i> “meat-based side-dish with rice,” Karo Batak <i>gule</i> “meat, prepared meat as a side-dish,” Angkola- Mandailing Batak <i>gule</i> “side dish with rice,” Tagalog <i>gulay</i> “vegetable,” Maranao <i>golay</i> id.	For the voicing of word-initial /k/, see under <i>kadai</i> (கடை) in this table.

26. Glossed as such by Hunter & Supomo (forthcoming) and found in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century *Ghatoñacāśraya*.

27. Possibly rationalised as *kayu* “wood, tree” + *apung* “floating on water.” Analogously, Malay exhibits the synonym *kiambang*, which appears to be a portmanteau of an earlier \**kiapu* and *ambang* “to be afloat.”

28. Through reduplication and the addition of suffix *-an*. The form is attested in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* (Zoetmulder 1982: 551).

29. There is some semantic overlap with Malay *kari* “curry (prepared in the Indian way)” and Javanese *kare* “a dish of meat cooked in a spicy sauce, curry,” both presumably reflecting Tamil *kari* (கறி) “chewing, eating by biting; vegetables (raw or boiled); meat (raw or boiled); pepper,” either directly or through English “curry.” While largely similar, *gulai* and *kari* consist of slightly different spice mixtures; the latter often contains *daun kari* “curry leaves (*Murraya koenigii* (L.) Spreng.)”

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>kuvalai</i> (குவலை) “wide-mouthed vessel, cup”	Malay <i>kuali</i> “wide-mouthed cooking-pot,” Old Javanese <i>kawali</i> “cooking-pot,” Javanese <i>kuwali</i> “earthen or metal cooking pot,” Tagalog <i>kawali</i> “frying pan, skillet,” Tausug <i>kawali?</i> “a large iron pot”	Cf. Arokiaswamy (2000: 80). The rendering of /ai/ as /i/ at the word-final position implies a secondary distribution via an early Malayic language (cf. Wolff 2010/1: 480). <sup>30</sup>
<i>muri</i> (முறி) “piece of cloth, rough cloth”	Malay <i>muri</i> “plain white linen or cotton fabric,” Acehnese <i>muri</i> “fine fabric imported from India,” Middle Javanese <i>mori</i> “undyed cotton cloth,” <sup>31</sup> Javanese <i>mori</i> “white cotton fabric, unbleached plain cloth,” Cham <i>mrai</i> “cotton yarn” (cf. Thai <i>mōrī</i> (ມ້ອງ) “a kind of foreign cloth, a kind of silk”)	
<i>muḍukku</i> (முடுக்கு) “to plough”	Javanese <i>muluku</i> “to plough,” Sundanese <i>muluku</i> id.	As indicated in the previous section, I consider Old Javanese <i>waluku</i> ~ <i>wiluku</i> ~ <i>wuluku</i> “a plough,” Javanese <i>wluku</i> , Sundanese <i>wuluku</i> , and Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>luku</i> id. to be back-formations.
<i>padaku</i> (படங்கு) “small boat; dhoney, large boat” ~ <i>padavu</i> (படங்வு) “small boat” <sup>32</sup>	Old Javanese <i>parahu</i> “boat,” Javanese <i>prau</i> “ship, boat,” Malay <i>pərahū</i> “undecked native ship,” Toba Batak <i>parau</i> “boat, ship”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 159). The directionality of the transmission is uncertain; see Mahdi (1994/2: 462), Hoogervorst (2013: 83-84) and Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.) for a more detailed discussion and more reflexes than can be included here.
<i>paricai</i> (பரிசை) “shield, buckler”	Old Javanese <i>parisya</i> ~ <i>parise</i> ~ <i>paresi</i> “round shield,” Malay <i>parisai</i> id., Minangkabau <i>parisai</i> ‘shield’, Acehnese <i>purisə</i> ~ <i>prise</i> id., Karo Batak <i>porise</i> “k.o. shield,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>parince</i> “shield,” Balinese <i>paresi</i> ~ <i>presi</i> , Javanese <i>paris</i> id., Tagalog † <i>palisay</i> “k.o. shield used in dances”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 97), Van Ronkel (1902: 110), Jones (2007: 240). As the first author makes clear, modern Javanese <i>paris</i> “shield” goes back to an earlier * <i>parise</i> , subsequently reanalysed as the would-be stem <i>paris</i> + the possessive suffix -e “his shield, the shield”

30. While the proto-Austronesian word-final diphthong /ay/ had already become /i/ in proto-Malayic (Adelaar 1992), I would argue that the rule was still partly in force during an earlier developmental stage of Malay, as evidenced by loanwords such as *kalui* “a freshwater perch (*Osphronemus goramy*)” from Tamil *kalavai* (கலவை) “Indian rock-cod (*Mycteropterus acutirostris*)”, *malai* ~ *mali* “pendant flower ornament for the human head” from *mālai* (மாலை) “garland, wreath of flowers,” *mətərai* ~ *mətəri* “seal” from *muttirai* (முத்திரை) “seal, signet” and *sərunai* ~ *səruni* “a sort of clarinet” from Persian *surnai* (سرنی) “a clarion.”

31. Attested in the *Wangbang Wideha* (Zoetmulder 1982: 1148).

32. The colloquial pronunciations would have been /paṭahu/ and /paṭawu/ respectively.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<b>tandu</b> (தண்டு) “palanquin”	Middle Javanese <i>tando</i> “carried on a stretcher or chair on poles?,” <sup>33</sup> Javanese <i>tandu</i> “stretcher-like conveyance for transporting things or persons,” Balinese <i>tandu</i> “a stretcher (for carrying an injured person),” Malay <i>tandu</i> “a hammock-litter,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>tandu</i> “litter”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 542), Jones (2007: 312).
<b>undai</b> (உண்ணை) “ball; dice”	Old Javanese <i>undi</i> “ball?,” <sup>34</sup> Javanese <i>undi</i> “to decide by lot,” Malay <i>undi</i> “lot, die”	The innovation *ai > i/ # is addressed under <i>kuvadai</i> (குவடை) in Table 2. This Tamil etymon has also been connected to a set of ball-shaped sweetmeats (cf. Von de Wall 1877-97/1: 125; Van Ronkel 1902: 101; Jones 2007: 226). <sup>35</sup>
<b>vaci</b> (வசி) “to split, to cut,” cf. <b>vaci</b> (வசி) “cleft; point; pointed stake; sword”	Malay <i>baji</i> “quoin, wedge,” Old Javanese <i>amaji</i> “to split, cleave (with a wedge)” (from <i>waji</i> ?), Gayo <i>baji</i> “keg, wedge,” Toba Batak <i>bajit</i> “splitting wedge,” Karo Batak <i>basi</i> “wedge, keg (to split something),” Sundanese <i>baji</i> “the filling (e.g. while using a thin wedge),” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>baji</i> “wedge”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 538); Old Javanese <i>paji</i> “wedge” appears to be a backformation based on the verb <i>amaji</i> , presumably also yielding Balinese <i>paji</i> “wedge” and Tagalog † <i>parí</i> “to cut wood with wedges.”

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts).

33. Attested in the *Rangga Lawe* (Zoetmulder 1982: 1931).

34. So glossed by Zoetmulder (1982/2: 2120) on account of its occurrence in the *Ādiparwa* as a rendering of Sanskrit *vīḍā* “a kind of metal ball.” In the 15<sup>th</sup> c. CE *Tantu Panggolaran*, however, the form *hundi* definitely refers to a “lot (in a drawing).” In this text, the ruler Kandyawan decides which of his five sons is to replace him as a king: *Wəkasān ta sira magawē hundi halangalang; sing mandudut ikang winuntəlan, sira gumantyanana ratu* (Pigeaud 1924: 62), which I would translate as “Eventually he made lots of *alang-alang* grass; whoever pulled [the lot that was] rolled up, he would replace him as king.” Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 52) doubtfully glosses the word as “quiver.”

35. I would argue that attestations such as Malay *onde-onde* “ball-shaped cake, dumpling” and Javanese *onde ~ onde-onde* “a round fried cake made from rice flour filled with sweetened ground mung-beans sprinkled with sesame seeds” reflect Tamil *el-I-undai* (எல்-ஞுண்ணை) “pastry balls made of sesame,” whereas Javanese *ronde* “hot ginger-flavoured drink containing small round glutinous rice-balls” goes back to *urunḍai* (உருண்ணை) “mouthful of food in the shape of a ball.”

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>vannāra-</i> ("வண்ணாரா") "(relating to a) washerwoman" <sup>36</sup>	Malay <i>bənara</i> "laundryman," Old Javanese <i>bananton</i> ~ <i>walantan</i> "cloth washed or prepared in a special way," Javanese <i>wlantan</i> "to whiten, wash (clothes)" <sup>37</sup> (cf. Old Khmer <i>vannāra</i> "unidentified slave function")	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/3: 575, 4: 584). Old Javanese has <i>juru bananton</i> in the meaning of "laundryman" ( <i>juru</i> = "trained worker").
<i>viricu</i> (விறிசு) "a kind of rocket" <sup>38</sup>	Old Javanese <i>mərcu</i> ~ <i>mərcu</i> "fire-ball (from the sky)," Malay <i>mərcu</i> "pinnacle, highest point"	Cf. Gomperts (unpublished). Javanese <i>mərcan</i> "fireworks, firecrackers" consists of <i>mərcu</i> + the suffix <i>-an</i> through vowel contraction. It was presumably borrowed into Malay as <i>mərcun</i> "firework," Makasar <i>baraccung</i> "k.o. fireworks, firecrackers" and Bugis <i>bariccung</i> id. The otherwise irregular word-initial /b/ in the latter two attestations may reflect the /v/ of the Tamil precursor, suggesting an earlier * <i>bərəcu</i> .

Table 2 – Early Tamil loanwords in WMP languages (attested in pre-modern texts).

In addition to the loanwords postulated in Table 2, some Tamil borrowings feature in Old Javanese, but remain unattested in (modern) Malay. A well-known example is Old Javanese *pane* ~ *panay* "earthen vessel, pot" from Tamil *pānai* (பானை) "large earthen pot or vessel" (Van der Tuuk 1881: 56; Van Ronkel 1903f: 545; Gonda 1973: 80).<sup>39</sup> Gomperts (unpublished) postulates other tentative Tamil loans, including Old Javanese *kol* "measure of circumference: what can be encompassed with the arms extended" from *kōl* (கோள்) "taking, receiving, accepting, seizing, holding, enveloping," *wuṇkal*

36. Van Ronkel (1903b) discards this etymology, pointing out that Tamil *vannāra-* can only occur as the first element of a compound; the form reflects *vannān* (வண்ணான்) "washerwoman, a person belonging to the washerman caste, dhoby," plural *vannār* (வண்ணார்). However, there are several similar cases in which Malay has only adopted the first element of a Tamil (or other) compound, e.g. *kəndri* "a measure of weight" from *kunri-mani* (குந்றிமணி) "a standard weight for gold," (*batu*) *canai* "whetstone" from *cānai-k-kal* (சாணைக்கல்) "grindstone, whetstone, hone," *kəluli* "steel" from *kalluli-y-urukku* (கல்லுளியுருக்கு) "a kind of very hard steel used for cutting stones" and (Penang dial.) *sandərom* "necklace worn by women" from *cantira-mālai* (சந்திரமாலை) "a kind of necklace."

37. Substitution of the final syllable by the segment *-ntən* is common in Javanese and merits a more elaborate treatise elsewhere.

38. The *Tamil Lexicon* (1924-36) also lists the synonyms *viricu* (விறிசு) "rocket" and *purucu* (புருசு) 'a kind of rocket.'

39. Cf. Javanese (dial.) *pane* "large flat bowl for cooking," Ngaju *panai* "large earthen bowl," Makasar *panne* "plate made of porcelain," Cebuano *panay* "earthenware vessel, usually hemispherical but shallow, used to hold liquids." Also see Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.), who reconstruct PMP \**panay* "dish, bowl (of clay or wood)" and attribute the similarity to the Dravidian attestations to chance.

“boulder” from *uṇkal* (ුණ්කල) “limestone”<sup>40</sup> and perhaps *kori* “door” from *kōṭṭi* (ඁක්ටි) “gateway under a temple tower; door of a house.” To this list can be added Middle Javanese *berəm* “a part. k.o. fabric”<sup>41</sup> from Tamil *vayiram* (வயிரம்) “woollen cloth.” Several more examples may surface once the vast Javanese literature is examined more closely.

Alongside borrowings from Tamil, a set of loanwords presumably entered Southeast Asia through Malayālam, as postulated in Table 3.

Malayālam	WMP	comments
<i>kāccu</i> (കാച്ചു) “cutch (Areca catechu L.)”	Old Javanese <i>kacu</i> , Malay <i>kacu</i> id., Acehnese <i>kacu</i> “black Aloe extract,” Gayo <i>kacu</i> “gambir”	Tamil has <i>kācu</i> (காசு) in the same meaning, which would have yielded the unattested ** <i>kasu</i> . Both forms reflect the Dravidian root <i>காய</i> “to grow hot, burn; be dried up, etc.” (Burrow & Emenau 1984 #1458).
<i>malayāla</i> (മലയാള) “the Malabar Coast”	Old Javanese <i>malyāla</i> “a country in South India and its people; steel (a partic. kind of steel),” Javanese <i>malela</i> “steel,” Malay <i>malela</i> “dark, undamasked steel,” Sundanese <i>malela</i> “shining (steel),” Balinese <i>malela</i> “steel,” Acehnese <i>muulila</i> , Gayo <i>malela</i> , Toba Batak <i>malela</i> id., Karo Batak <i>malela</i> “a word often used in mantras”	Cf. Hoogervorst (2013: 25). Also compare the Karo Batak clan name <i>Maliala</i> “a subgroup of <i>Sembiring</i> ,” <sup>42</sup> which is presumably a lexical doublet of <i>malela</i> .
<i>panikkar</i> (പാനിക്കർ) “a title or last name in Kerala traditionally associated with teachers of martial arts” <sup>43</sup>	Malay <i>pandekar</i> “leader of a charge, fighter, swashbuckler,” Javanese <i>pandekar</i> “champion of a cause, skilled fighter,” Minangkabau <i>pandeka</i> “champion, master, expert (in silat),” Acehnese <i>panika</i> “agile, a fence master,” Karo Batak <i>pəndikar</i> “fence master,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>pandikar</i> id., Tausug <i>pandikal</i> “wise, having great mental ability, intelligent, genius”	In Malay, the insertion of a post-nasal epenthetic homorganic voiced stop is regular if followed by /r/ or /l/ in the lending language (Adelaar 1988: 65).

Table 3 – Malayālam loanwords in WMP languages.

40. Cf. Javanese *wungkal* “a flat grindstone.” In word-initial position, the rounded vowels /o/, /ō/, /u/ and /ū/ are preceded with an “automatic w-glide” in spoken Tamil (Schiffman 1999: 16).

41. Attested in the *Wangbang Wideha* (Zoetmulder 1982: 240).

42. Several other clan names in North Sumatra have South Indian origins (Joustra 1902).

43. Not attested in Gundert (1962), but glossed in Yule & Burnell (1903: 669) as “a fencing-master, a teacher (but at present it more usually means ‘an astrologer?’)”.

Malayālam	WMP	comments
<i>paravadāni</i> (പാരവദാനി) “a carpet”	Old Javanese <i>paramadani</i> “carpet, floor-rug, rug,” Javanese <i>prangwədani</i> “a carpet, floor rug (floral or embroidered with gold),” Malay <i>pormadani</i> “floor-rug,” Acehnese <i>purumadani</i> “rug,” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>sordamaudani</i> “rug, floor-rug”	From the root <i>parava</i> (പാരവ) “spreading,” Cham <i>parmadani</i> “rug, tapestry,” Tausug <i>palmaddani?</i> “carpet, rug, floor covering.” Javanese <i>pormadani</i> “carpet” and Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>parmadani</i> “rug” appear to be secondary borrowings from Malay.
<i>sarāmbi</i> (സരാമ്പി) “a house standing on four posts” <sup>44</sup>	Old Javanese <i>surambyan</i> “outer veranda, front porch,” <sup>45</sup> Malay <i>sorambi</i> “a Malay open veranda,” Acehnese <i>suraməɔ̄</i> “gallery of a house,” Toba Batak <i>surambi</i> “pillars under rice barn,” Karo Batak <i>surambih</i> “a kind of gallery or annex,” Ngaju <i>sarambi</i> “annex at the front or back of a house,” Tagalog <i>sulambí ~ sulambí</i> “eaves (the lower, projecting end of a roof); small annex to a house”	Cf. Wilkinson (1932/2: 446). Tamil has <i>cirāmbi</i> (சிறாம்பி) “a loft or platform for keeping watch.” If this word is indeed of Dravidian provenance, high-order Austronesian reconstructions such as proto-Hesperonesian * <i>surambiq</i> “eaves” (Zorc 1994: 556) and proto-WMP * <i>surambi</i> ~ * <i>surambiq</i> “extension to house” (Blust & Trussell 2014 s.v.) should be revised.
<i>tengara</i> (തെന്തകര്) “southeast”	Malay <i>tenggara</i> “southeast,” Acehnese <i>tungara ~ tunggara</i> , Javanese (dial.) <i>tunggarə</i> , Makasari <i>tunggara</i> id., Tausug <i>tunggara?</i> “the name of a wind that blows from the Southeast”	from <i>ten</i> (തെൻ) “south” + <i>kara</i> (കര) “shore,” also compare Tamil <i>ten</i> (தென்) “south” + <i>karai</i> (கரை) “shore of a sea” (Adelaar 1992: 115 fn. 161). <sup>46</sup>

Table 3 – Malayālam loanwords in WMP languages.

Most of the loanwords postulated thus far occur in pre-modern Javanese literature, testifying to their relatively early transmission. Alternatively, we may look at the geographical distribution of tentative Dravidian etyma. Several Tamil loanwords have been disseminated beyond the Malay core area, *inter alia* to Madagascar and the Philippines. While Malay is no longer spoken in these regions, the Italian scholar and explorer Antonio Pigafetta documented that it was used as a lingua franca when he visited the Philippines in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Wolff 1976: 345-346).<sup>47</sup> As argued in the introduction, I consider Tamil loans with a wide geographical distribution across Maritime Southeast Asia to be pre-modern borrowings, as postulated in Table 4.

44. Also *sarāmbi* (സരാമ്പി) ~ *srāmbi* (ശ്രാമ്പി) ~ *śrāmbi* (ശ്രാമ്പി). The word can also denote “a prayer-house of Māppilas (a Muslim community in Kerala)” or “small mosque.” A more specific definition is given by Yule and Burnell (1903: 181): “a gatehouse with a room over the gate, and generally fortified. This is a feature of temples, &c., as well as of private houses, in Malabar. The word is also applied to a chamber raised on four posts.” Upper class houses in Kerala were traditionally equipped with such a fortified gateway (Logan 2007: 82-83).

45. Consisting of *surambi* + suffix *-an*.

46. However, Tamil sailors use the term *Cōla kōṇḍal* (கோல கோண்டல்) for “southeast” (Arunachalam 1996: 265), making a Malayālam etymology more plausible.

47. This development may be connected with the expansion of the Brunei Sultanate in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century CE and perhaps with commercial contacts, if not slave trade, in earlier times.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<b>appam</b> (அப்பம்) “round cake of rice flour and sugar fried in ghee; thin cake, wafer, bread”	Malay <i>apam</i> “steamed rice flour cake,” Javanese <i>apam</i> “a rice flour cake usually served as a ceremonial food,” Gayo <i>apam</i> “k.o. pastry,” Karo Batak <i>ampam</i> “k.o. cake,” Makasar <i>apang</i> “k.o. rice cake,” Maranao <i>apang</i> “pancake,” Tausug <i>apam</i> id.	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 330), Van Ronkel (1902: 101), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).
<b>kappal</b> (கப்பல்) “ship, sailing vessel”	Malay <i>kapal</i> “decked ship,” Javanese <i>kapal</i> “ship,” Toba Batak <i>hopal</i> id., Acehnese <i>kapay</i> “large ship,” Makasar <i>kappala?</i> “big ship,” Cham <i>kapal</i> “boat, ship with quadrangular sail,” Tausug <i>kappal</i> “a ship (of modern times, with iron hull)”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/2: 301), Van Ronkel (1902: 111-112), Jones (2007: 143), Hoogervorst (2013: 86).
<b>kađai</b> (கடை) “shop, bazaar, market”	Malay <i>kađai</i> “shop,” Minangkabau <i>kadai</i> “shop,” Acehnese <i>kuude</i> “shop, booth, stall,” Tausug <i>kadday</i> “a restaurant, eatery, small refreshment stand”	Cf. Jones (2007: 148); also cf. <i>kađai</i> (கடை) in the meaning of “pawning” (Table 2), which could be a lexical doublet.
<b>kāval</b> (காவல்) “watchman, guard”	Malay <i>kawal</i> “watchman, patrol, guard,” Javanese <i>kawal</i> “to guard, escort,” Karo Batak <i>kawal</i> “guard,” Tagalog <i>kawal</i> “soldier; warrior; troops”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 111), Jones (2007: 148). Possibly from Hindi <i>qarāval</i> “guard, watchman,” of ultimate Turkish origins.
<b>kommatikkāy</b> (கொம்மட்டிக்காய்) “unripe water melon” <sup>48</sup>	Malay <i>kəməndikai</i> “watermelon ( <i>Citrullus lanatus</i> (Thunb.) Matsum. & Nakai),” Minangkabau <i>kamandiki</i> , Karo Batak <i>mandike</i> , Makasar <i>mandike</i> id.	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903e). Malay also displays <i>təmbikai</i> through metathesis.
<b>māmpalam</b> (மாம்பழம்) “mango fruit” <sup>49</sup>	Malay <i>məmpəlam</i> “mango ( <i>Mangifera indica</i> L.),” Javanese <i>pələm</i> , Acehnese <i>mamplam</i> , Minangkabau <i>marapalam</i> id., Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>marapolom</i> “a smaller type of mangga with a more refined and sweeter taste,” Maranao <i>mampalang</i> “red-fleshed mango,” Tausug <i>mampallam</i> “a small variety of mango,” Subanon <i>mapalam</i> “mango”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 407-408), Van Ronkel (1902: 115), Jones (2007: 199). The first author glosses Old Javanese <i>hampləm</i> “small type of mangga, about the size of a goose egg, with a very thin and easily removable yellow peel” (not attested in Zoetmulder 1982), implying that the word originally referred to a specific mango variety.

Table 4 – Widespread Tamil loanwords in WMP languages.

48. This form is absent in the dictionaries consulted, but would evidently consist of *kommati* (கொம்மட்டி) “a small water-melon, climber (*Citrullus*); country cucumber, climber (*Cucumis melo* L.)” + *kāy* (காயு) “unripe fruit.” The WMP attestations suggest that the segment <tt> (ட்டி) in the envisioned Tamil precursor may have been voiced, at least in a particular variety. This is supported by Telugu *gummadi* (గుమ్మడి) “a gourd, a pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima* Duchesne)” and Konḍa *gumenḍi* “a pumpkin (*C. maxima*; *C. pepo* L.).”

49. The form consists of *mā* (மா) “mango” + *palam* (பழம்) “fruit, ripe fruit.” Colloquial Tamil has *ma:mbazam* “mango (ripe),” displaying regular voicing of post-nasal stops. However, the WMP attestations suggest that the <p> (பு) was voiceless in the Tamil variety through which the word has spread eastwards.

Tamil	WMP	comments
<b>māṅgāy</b> (மாங்காய்) “unripe mango fruit,” (colloquial) <b>ma:yga:</b> id.	Malay <b>mangga</b> “mango ( <i>Mangifera indica</i> L.),” Maranao <b>manga?</b> , Tagalog <b>manggá</b> id., Tausug <b>mangga</b> “common Cebu mango” <sup>50</sup>	Cf. Jones (2007: 193). This word may have originally referred to an introduced cultivar. Wild mango populations occur naturally in Maritime Southeast Asia and of proto-Malayo-Polynesian * <b>pahuq</b> “mango” are widespread.
<b>mettai</b> (மெத்தை) “bed, cushion; quilt stuffed with cotton”	Malay <b>metai</b> “a thin cushion-quilt for sitting on,” Tagalog † <b>mitay</b> “mattress”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 115), Jones (2007: 201).
<b>mīcāi</b> (மிசை) “moustache”	Malay <b>misai</b> “moustache;” Acehnese <b>mise</b> id., Karo Batak <b>mise</b> “moustache, pointed beard, goatee;” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <b>mise</b> “moustache,” Tagalog <b>misay</b> , Tausug <b>misay</b> id.	Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 116), Jones (2007: 204).
<b>murungai</b> (முருங்கை) “horse- radish tree ( <i>Moringa oleifera</i> Lam.)”	Malay <b>morunggai</b> Tagalog <b>malunggáy</b> , Ilokano <b>marunggáy</b> , Tausug <b>kalamunggay</b> id. (cf. Swahili <b>mlonge ~ mronge</b> id.)	Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 115), Jones (2007: 200). Malay also displays <b>rəmunggai</b> through metathesis.
<b>puttu</b> (புட்டு) “a kind of confectionery” <sup>51</sup>	Malay <b>puttu</b> “gen. for a number of sweetmeats,” Javanese <b>putu</b> “cylindrical dumpling of rice flour in a sauce of salted coconut milk with a lump of brown sugar in the centre;” Acehnese <b>putu</b> “a sweetmeal;” Tagalog <b>puto</b> “k.o. white cake made from rice flour,” Ilokano <b>píto</b> “rice cake made with eggs, grounded sugar, rice, water and coconut,” Tausug <b>putu</b> “a confection made by steaming grated cassava”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903f: 547), Jones (2007: 256), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).
<b>tālam</b> (தாலம்) “eating-plate, porringer (usually of metal)”	Malay <b>talam</b> “platter, tray (without pedestal),” Javanese <b>talam</b> “serving tray, platter,” Acehnese <b>talam</b> “big, round tray,” Cham <b>talam</b> “plate,” Subanon <b>talam</b> “a brass serving platter,” Tausug <b>talam</b> ‘a brass tray (without legs)’	Van Ronkel (1902: 105), Jones (2007: 311).
<b>vagai</b> (வகை) “kind, class, sort; goods; property; means of livelihood”	Malay <b>bagai</b> “kind, variety, species;” Acehnese <b>bagə</b> id., Angkola- Mandailing Batak <b>bage</b> “various, etcetera,” Tagalog <b>bagay</b> “thing; object, article,” Bikol <b>bágay</b> “things, stuff; item, matter, object”	Cf. Van Ronkel (1903d), Jones (2007: 30), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).

Table 4 – Widespread Tamil loanwords in WMP languages.

50. Also known as “Carabao mango” (*Mangifera indica* L. cultivar *Carabao*).51. The more common form is **pittru** (புட்டு).

Tamil	WMP	comments
<i>vadi</i> (வடி) “sharpness,” cf. Telugu <i>vadi</i> (వడి) ~ <i>vādi</i> (වාඩි) id.	Malay <i>badi</i> “k.o. dagger,” Sundanese <i>badi</i> ~ <i>badi-badi</i> “k.o. cut-and-thrust weapon (from Sumatra),” Acehnese <i>bade?</i> “k.o. knife,” Cham <i>padaik</i> “short poniard, Malay <i>kəris</i> ,” Makasar <i>badi?</i> “k.o. thrusting weapon,” Cebuano <i>bari</i> “k.o. sickle”	Cf. Hoogervorst (2013: 22). If this etymology is correct, the reconstruction of PMP * <i>badiq</i> “dagger” must be revised (cf. Mahdi 1994: 173-175, Blust & Trussell 2014 s.v.); iron metallurgy is not indigenous to Maritime Southeast Asia.
<i>vari</i> (வரி) “paddy”	Malay <i>kadut bari</i> “dried pulut-rice,” Bugis <i>kado?</i> <i>bari</i> “cooked, sun-dried rice,” Malagasy <i>vary</i> “rice” (cf. Swahili <i>wali</i> “cooked rice”)	Cf. Hoogervorst (2013: 42-43). Malay <i>kadut</i> = “sack-cloth; glutinous rice dried but uncooked.” Further attestations from Bornean languages are given in Adelaar (1989: 26).
<i>vedil</i> (வெடில்) “explosion”	Malay <i>bədil</i> “firearm,” Acehnese <i>buude</i> , Toba Batak <i>bodil</i> , Makasar <i>ba?dili?</i> , Bugis <i>balilt?</i> id., Tagalog <i>baril</i> “gun,” Cebuano <i>baril</i> “shoot someone or something with a gun,” Bikol <i>badil</i> “gun, shotgun, piece of artillery”	Cf. Kern (1902), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).
<i>vilanigu</i> (விலங்கு) “fetters, shackles, manacles”	Malay <i>balanggu</i> “fetters, shackles for the feet,” Minangkabau <i>pitanggu</i> id., Acehnese <i>blangku</i> “shackles,” Ilokano <i>bilánggo</i> “bailiff,” Tagalog <i>bilanggô</i> “prisoner, captive,” Maranao <i>bilanggo?</i> “jail, prison,” Tausug <i>bilanggu?</i> “a chain, shackle, fetter”	Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 1010), Van Ronkel (1902: 103), Jones (2007: 36), Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.).

Table 4 – Widespread Tamil loanwords in WMP languages.

### Indirect borrowings

In addition to the direct loans from Tamil and Malayālam addressed in the previous section, this section calls attention to Indo-Aryan vocabulary that reached Southeast Asia through Dravidian sources. Such “northern loanwords,” known as *vadamoli* (வடமலூபி) in Tamil, are prone to phonotactic conditioning. In the case of Tamil this often involves the addition of a gender suffix—i.e. female *-ai*, male *-an* or neutral *-am* (cf. Van Ronkel 1902: 102)—to loans displaying a word-final /a/. In addition, word-initial and geminated stops are usually devoiced, whereas word-medial and post-nasal consonants are voiced, in accordance with Tamil phonology (cf. Table 1). Other characteristics hinting at Tamil intermediacy are the insertion of epenthetic vowels (*svarabhakti*) in certain consonant clusters and the rendering of <c>, <ch>, <j>, <jh>, <s>, <sh>, <ss> and <z> to <c> (ֆ).<sup>52</sup> Table 5 lists Indo-Aryan

52. As indicated before, its exact pronunciation differs across the Tamil varieties. In varieties spoken by Brahmins, Sanskrit loanwords tend to be pronounced more authentically (cf. Zvelebil 1964: 253-256).

loanwords in WMP languages whose transmission presumably took place via Tamil or other Dravidian languages based on these sound innovations.

Indo-Aryan	Dravidian	WMP
Hindi <i>bāzār</i> “market, market-place, bazar, mart” (or directly from Persian <i>bāzār</i> (بازار) “a market; a market-day”)	Tamil <i>pacār</i> (பசார்) “bazaar, permanent market or street of shops”	Malay <i>pasar</i> “bazaar; market; fair,” <sup>53</sup> Middle Javanese <i>pasar</i> “market, bazaar,” Karo Batak <i>pasar</i> “big road,” Cham <i>pasa</i> ~ <i>pasar</i> “market” (cf. Old Mon <i>pṣā</i> ‘market, market place’)
Hindi <i>turś</i> ~ <i>turuś</i> “sour, acid” (or directly from Persian <i>turš</i> ~ <i>turuš</i> (ترش) “acid, tart, sour”)	Tamil <i>turuci</i> (துரசி) “blue vitriol” <sup>54</sup>	Malay <i>torusi</i> “copper vitriol; copper sulphate; bluestone,” <sup>55</sup> Javanese <i>trusi</i> ~ <i>prusi</i> “verdigris; an ointment made from verdigris for healing sores,” Sundanese <i>trusi</i> “green mineral, verdigris,” Balinese <i>trusi</i> “green vitriol (iron sulphate),” Acehnese <i>turusī</i> “copper vitriol”
Hindi <i>vijay</i> “conquest, victory, triumph” (from Sanskrit <i>vijaya</i> ‘contest for victory, victory’)	Tamil <i>vicai</i> (விசை) “victory”	Malay <i>tbisai</i> “gallant, victorious”
Kāśmīrī (Dodī dial.) <i>jōrō</i> “pair of shoes,” Sindhī <i>joro</i> “pair, pair of shoes,” Kumaunī <i>joro</i> “pair,” Gujarātī <i>jorū</i> “pair, a shoe” (Turner 1966 #10496)	Tamil <i>cōdu</i> (கூடு) “pair, couple, set,” Malayālam <i>jōdu</i> (ജോട്ട്) “a pair, match, couple; a pair of shoes,” Kannada <i>jōdu</i> (ಜೋಡು) “a pair or couple, a match,” Tulu <i>jōdu</i> (ಜೋಡು) “a pair, match, couple,” Telugu <i>jōdu</i> (జోడు) “a pair, a couple”	Malay <i>jodoh</i> “twin-soul, affinity, second self, match,” <sup>56</sup> Acehnese <i>judo</i> “pair, couple,” Javanese <i>jodo</i> “marriage partner; the right match (for); etc.,” Karo Batak <i>jodu</i> “a pair”
Sanskrit <i>bandha</i> “binding, tying, a bond”	Tamil <i>pandam</i> (பந்தம்) “tie, attachment, link; torch, flambeau; lamp”	Middle Javanese <i>pandam</i> “lamp,” Javanese (lit.) <i>pandam</i> “light, lamp,” Malay <i>pandam</i> “fixing in resin,” <sup>57</sup> Acehnese <i>panam</i> “mixture of resin with wax and oil”
Sanskrit <i>gañja</i> “hemp ( <i>Cannabis sativa</i> L.)”	Telugu <i>gañjāyi</i> (గంజాయి) id. (cf. Oriyā <i>gañjēi</i> id.)	Old Javanese <i>guñje</i> ~ <i>guñjay</i> , Javanese <i>gənje</i> id. <sup>58</sup>

Table 5 – Indo-Aryan borrowings transmitted through Dravidian languages.

53. Cf. Adelaar (1996: 697).

54. Also written as *turicu* (துரிசு) ~ *turucu* (துருசு).

55. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 105), Jones (2007: 321).

56. Van Ronkel (1903c) argues that Malay *jodoh* is a Telugu loan, apparently unaware that the etymon is attested in all major Dravidian languages. In fact, even Tamil *cōdu* (கூடு) may have given rise to the WMP attestations if it was pronounced as /dʒo:dju/ ~ /dʒo:tlu/ in the lending variety; this level of phonetic detail cannot be indicated in the script.

57. Cf. Gonda (1973: 161), Van Ronkel (1903f: 545-546), Jones (2007: 232).

58. Malay *ganja* id., on the other hand, must have been borrowed either directly from the Sanskrit etymon or through Hindi *gāñjā* id.

Indo-Aryan	Dravidian	WMP
Sanskrit <i>ghoṭa</i> “horse”, Hindi <i>ghorā</i> , Marāṭhi <i>ghoḍā</i> id.	(Cf. Gonḍī <i>kōḍa</i> id.) <sup>59</sup>	Malay <i>kuda</i> , Toba Batak <i>hoda</i> , Subanon <i>guda</i> , Tausug <i>kura?</i> id.
Sanskrit <i>mālika</i> “a palace” <sup>60</sup>	Tamil <i>maligai</i> (மாளிகை) “palace; temple; mansion; house”	Malay <i>maligai</i> “palace; princess’s bower,” <sup>61</sup> Javanese (lit.) <i>malige</i> “throne,” Gayo <i>malige</i> “palace,” Acehnese <i>muligae</i> “palace, royal residence,” Cham (Vietnam dial.) <i>molagai</i> “palace, royal residence, house of a prince, etc.,” Bugis <i>malige</i> “palace,” Subanon <i>maligai</i> “spirit house”
Sanskrit <i>manda</i> “drunken, addicted to intoxication; etc.”	Tamil <i>mandam</i> (மந்தம்) “drunkenness; etc.”	Malay <i>mandam</i> “intoxication,” Javanese <i>məndəm</i> “drunken, intoxicated”
Sanskrit <i>nīla</i> “dark-blue; dyed with indigo; the sapphire, etc.”	Tamil <i>nīlam</i> (நீலம்) “blue, azure or purple colour; blue dye, indigo; sapphire”	Malay <i>nilam</i> “sapphire,” <sup>62</sup> Makasar <i>nilang</i> , Magindanao <i>nilam</i> id.
Sanskrit <i>parikhā</i> “a moat, ditch, trench or fosse round a town or fort”	Tamil <i>parigai</i> (பரிகை) “moat, ditch; mound within a rampart”	Malay <i>pərigi</i> “well, spring,” Old Javanese <i>parigi</i> “low encircling wall of stones, paved bank or slope,” Tausug <i>paligi?</i> “an area of wet, filthy and soggy ground,” Malagasy <i>farily</i> “a pool, a pond, a lake” <sup>63</sup>
Sanskrit <i>pattra</i> “the blade of a sword or knife; a knife, dagger”	Tamil <i>pattiram</i> (பத்திரம்) “small sword”	Malay <i>patəram</i> “a small kris used by women,” <sup>64</sup> Old Javanese <i>patrəm</i> “dagger, kris (prob. a small variety),” Javanese <i>patrəm</i> “a small dagger”

Table 5 – Indo-Aryan borrowings transmitted through Dravidian languages.

59. The Tamil Lexicon gives the rather uncommon forms *kōḍai* (கோடை) and *kōḍaram* (கோடரம்) ~ *kōḍagam* (கோடகம்), the latter undoubtedly reflecting Sanskrit *ghoṭaka* “a horse, a mare.” Kern (1889: 281) speculates that a form \**kōḍa* may also have existed in some undocumented variety of Tamil, giving rise to the WMP attestations. The most common Dravidian word for “horse,” however, is (Tamil) *kudirai* (குதிரை), presumably derived from the root *kudi* (குதி) “to jump” (Burrow & Emenau 1984 #1705, #1711), whose similarity with the WMP attestations is probably fortuitous. Also refer to Bhattacharya (1966: 38) for superficially similar Austro-Asiatic attestations.

60. Glossed as such in Benfey (1866: 704); the meaning of “palace” is absent in Monier-Williams (1899: 813).

61. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 114), Jones (2007: 191).

62. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 117), Jones (2007: 220).

63. The Indic origins of this word were already postulated by Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 131) and Zoetmulder (1982/1: 1298). Conversely, Mahdi (1994/1: 441-453) supports an Indonesian origin. Along similar lines, Blust & Trussell (2014 s.v.) reconstruct proto-WMP \**paRigi* ‘artificially enclosed catchment for water: well, ditch’.

64. Cf. Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/4: 184), Van Ronkel (1902: 109-110), Gonda (1973: 162) and Jones (2007: 236).

Indo-Aryan	Dravidian	WMP
Sanskrit <i>śāstri</i> “versed in the <i>śāstras</i> , learned; a teacher of sacred books or science, a learned man”	Tamil <i>cāttiri</i> (சாத்திரி) “one versed in the <i>sāstras</i> , learned man; a title, especially of <i>smārta</i> brāhmīns” <sup>65</sup>	Malay <i>səntəri</i> “seminarist; divinity student,” Javanese <i>santri</i> “a student of Islam living in a school; one who adheres strictly to Islamic rules,” <sup>66</sup> Tausug <i>santili?</i> “a beggar (someone esp. an old man who comes to one’s house and asks blessing from God for the family and in return is given rice or money)”
Sanskrit <i>śigru</i> “horse-radish tree ( <i>Moringa oleifera</i> Lam.)”	Tamil <i>cikkuru</i> (சிக்குரு) id.	Old Javanese <i>cikru</i> id., <sup>67</sup> Karo Batak <i>cingkəru</i> “Job’s tears ( <i>Coix lacryma-jobi</i> L.),” <sup>68</sup> Toba Batak <i>singkoru</i> id.
Sanskrit <i>śuci</i> “shining; clear, clean, pure”	Tamil <i>cuci</i> (சுகி) “cleanliness purity, ceremonial purification”	Malay <i>cuci</i> “to cleanse, the act of cleaning” <sup>69</sup>
Sanskrit <i>vajra</i> “diamond, etc.,” Middle Indo-Aryan <i>vaira</i> id.	Tamil <i>vairam</i> (வைரம்) “diamond”	Malay <i>†beram</i> “red diamond,” <sup>70</sup> Acehnese <i>biram</i> id., Sundanese <i>buurum</i> “red” (cf. Thai <i>bairāñ</i> (ไบรำ) “gem, jewel; precious stone”)
Sanskrit <i>vāṇṭha</i> “a javelin”	Tamil <i>vandam</i> (வண்டம்) “a weapon”	Old Javanese <i>bandəm</i> ~ <i>pandəm</i> missile (or the throwing of such?), <sup>71</sup> Javanese <i>pandəm</i> “missile, object hurled”
Sanskrit <i>vāśī</i> ~ <i>vāśī</i> “a sharp or pointed knife or a kind of axe, adze, chisel”	Tamil <i>vacci</i> (வட்சி) “adze” <sup>72</sup>	Malay <i>banci</i> “adze,” <sup>73</sup> Acehnese <i>baci</i> “axe (small type)” Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>bangsi</i> “a large adze,” Makasar <i>banci</i> “a tool to cut stones,” Bugis <i>banci</i> “k.o. adze”
Sanskrit <i>veda</i> “the Vedic books and hymns”	Tamil <i>vēdam</i> (வேதம்) id.	Malay <i>†widam</i> “prayer, incantation (in hikayats and poetry),” <sup>74</sup> Magindanao <i>wedam</i> “the Vedic books”

Table 5 – Indo-Aryan borrowings transmitted through Dravidian languages.

65. More commonly spelled *cāstiri* (சாஸ்திரி).66. First proposed by Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/3: 37). The insertion of a homorganic stop is addressed under *cauttu* (செனத்து) in Table 2.

67. Given as such in Van der Tuuk (1897-1912/1: 606), but absent in Zoetmulder (1982).

68. Cf. Edwards McKinnon (1996: 95).

69. Cf. Gonda (1973: 169).

70. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 104), Jones (2007: 36).

71. See *vaci* (வட்சி) in Table 1 on the hypercorrection of word-initial /b/ to /p/ in loanwords; Old Javanese displays the derived verb *amanḍəm* ~ *umānḍəm* “to throw at and hit (with st.).”72. Also written as *vāyeci* (வப்புச்சி) or *vāṭci* (வபட்சி).

73. Cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 103), Jones (2007: 32).

74. So glossed in Von de Wall (1877-97/3: 231); cf. Van Ronkel (1902: 117) and Jones

Since some Sanskrit loanwords in WMP languages display voicing of intervocalic consonants, it has been argued that speakers of Tamil were involved in their transmission (cf. Gonda 1973: 161-166; Tadmor 2009: 694). I would argue, however, that the observed process of voicing intervocalic consonants – as well as devoicing word-initial consonants – cannot always be explained through Dravidian intermediacy. If the would-be Dravidian etyma are either unattested or display additional phonological innovations unreflected in the recipient WMP languages (typically the addition of gender endings), we are urged to look for alternative explanations. In some cases, the transmission may have taken place through Middle Indo-Aryan languages, some of which also show voicing of intervocalic stops (cf. Hoogervorst forthcoming). In others, the fluctuation between voiced and voiceless consonants appears restricted to Malay attestations, as demonstrated in Table 6.

Sanskrit	WMP	comments
<i>cañcala</i> “moving to and fro, unsteady, shaking”	Old Javanese <i>cañcala</i> “to move to and fro, shake; uneasy, unsteady,” Javanese <i>cancalɔ̄s</i> “to shake violently; to unsettle,” Malay <i>cancala</i> ~ <i>janjala</i> “loose-tongued; over-talkative”	Cf. Tamil <i>cañalam</i> (சஞ்சலம்) “unsteadiness; rapid motion; trembling”
<i>candāla</i> “an outcast, man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes”	Old Javanese <i>candāla</i> “of low birth; mean, despicable (conduct); trader, merchant,” Malay <i>candala</i> “low, mean, ignoble, depraved” ~ <i>jandala</i> “low, mean, scoundrelly”	Cf. Tamil <i>candālam</i> (சண்டாளம்) “baseness; demon” ~ <i>candālan</i> (சண்டாளன்) “low, degraded man; person of the degraded caste”
<i>ghaṭikā</i> “a period of time”	Malay <i>katika</i> “period of time, season,” <sup>75</sup> Toba Batak <i>hatiha</i> “point in time,” Karo Batak <i>katika</i> “a time obtained by calculation,” Maranao <i>kotika?</i> “astrology, season, moment”	Cf. Tamil <i>kadigai</i> (கடிகை) “Indian hour of 24 minutes; time”

Table 6 – Sanskrit loanwords displaying fluctuation between voiced and voiceless consonants.

(2007: 341). The word-initial /v/ of Tamil loanwords is typically reflected as /b/ in Malay, as other examples in this study demonstrate. Its pronunciation as /w/ in the case of *†widam* may point to a later acquisition, when the presence of /w/ in the word-initial position no longer violated Malay phonotactics. In this regard, we may also compare Malay *†wopalai* ~ *†wepalai* “k.o. tree whose leaves are placed between papers to repel insects” (Klinkert 1947: 1018), presumably derived from Tamil *vēpillai* (வேப்பாலை) ~ *vēppalai* (வெப்பாலை) “conessi bark (*Holarrhena pubescens* Wall. ex G.Don).” It has further been pointed out that this rule does not apply to Arabic loanwords, whose authentic pronunciation is religiously motivated (Adelaar 1988: 62-63).

75. The presence of Malay *bintang katika* “stars that tell the time, the Pleiades” would suggest that *katika* constitutes a blend of Sanskrit *ghaṭikā* and *kārtika* “the twelfth month of the year, when the full moon is near the Pleiades,” cf. Pāli *kattikā* “the month October-November” and Old Khmer *kattika* ~ *kāttika* “the twelfth lunar month, corresponding to October-November.” In the latter meaning, the word was presumably also borrowed into Malagasy (dial.) as *hatsiha* “the name of one of the months.”

Sanskrit	WMP	comments
<i>guñjā</i> “a bunch, bundle, cluster of blossoms”	Malay <i>kuncah</i> “bale, bundle (measure of capacity for things made up in bales or trusses such as bundles of straw,” Acehnese <i>gunca</i> “measure of capacity”	Cf. Tamil <i>kuñjam</i> (குஞ்சம்) “bunch of flowers; tassel, cluster of grass; a measure in the width of cloth”
<i>jīrṇa</i> “old, worn out, withered, wasted, decayed”	Old Javanese <i>jīrṇa</i> “old, worn out, decayed; digested; satisfied (with water), refreshed,” Javanese (lit.) <i>curna</i> “broken to pieces, smashed, wrecked, crushed,” Malay <i>carna</i> “assimilation or digestion (of food)”	Cf. Tamil <i>cīraṇam</i> (சிரணம்) “digestion; decay, ruin, spoilt condition”
<i>krakaca</i> “a saw”	Malay <i>gargaji</i> “a saw, to saw,” Acehnese <i>gr̥gajə</i> “a saw,” Javanese <i>graji</i> , Makasar <i>garagaji</i> , Toba Batak <i>garagaji</i> , Angkola-Mandailing Batak <i>garagaji</i> , Cebuano <i>lagádi</i> id., Tagalog <i>lagári</i> “carpenter’s saw,” Ilokano <i>ragádi</i> id., Maranao <i>garogadi</i> “file (a tool),” Tausug <i>gawgari</i> id.	The substitution of word-final /a/ by /i/ in Indic loanwords borrowed into WMP languages does not stand in isolation (Gonda 1973: 427-430; De Casparis 1988: 53; Hoogervorst forthcoming).
<i>sac-chattra</i> “with an umbrella”	Malay <i>sajahtora</i> “peace, tranquillity, ease”	The Sanskrit compound has been explained as a metaphor for “under government protection” (Poerbatjaraka 1953: 41). <sup>76</sup>
<i>uccar</i> “to emit (sounds), utter, pronounce”	Old Javanese <i>ujar</i> “words, speech, talk,” Malay <i>ujar</i> “utterance, speech, saying”	
<i>wicaksana</i> “conspicuous; clear- sighted, sagacious, clever”	Old Javanese <i>wicaksana</i> “sagacious, clever, wise, versed in, familiar with, expert in,” Javanese <i>wicaksna</i> “endowed with wisdom,” Malay <i>bijaksana</i> “practical wisdom or skill”	

Table 6 – Sanskrit loanwords displaying fluctuation between voiced and voiceless consonants.

Most of the above examples of fluctuation between voiced and voiceless affricates are restricted to Malay. Rather than attributing such changes to acquisition from speakers of Dravidian languages, it would thus be more fruitful to consider this a definable tendency within the Malay language. While it is by no means a regular phonological innovation, the following Malay lexical doublets substantiate this claim.<sup>76</sup>

- *bucuk* ~ *bujuk* “murrel (*Channa* sp.)”
- *cakat* ~ *jagat* “world” (from Sanskrit *jagat* “the world, earth”)
- *cicik* ~ *jijik* “disgust”
- *cogan* ~ *jogan* “metallic standard or emblem” (from Persian *čaugān*

76. Along similar semantic lines, Old Javanese *ekacchattra* “supreme (sovereign) ruler” reflects Sanskrit *ekacchattra* “having only one (royal) umbrella, ruled by one king solely.”

- *cokar ~ jogar* “a stick carried as an ensign of royalty” (چوگان)
- *congkah ~ jongkah* “sticking out at the point or jagged at the edge”
- *corong ~ jorong* “a funnel”
- *cuai ~ juai* “of little account”
- *curang ~ jurang* “ravine”
- *kəracang ~ kərajang* “gold foil”
- *picit ~ pijit* “pinching, compression in the hand, a form of massage”

The above examples lend support to the aforementioned hypothesis that fluctuation between voiced and voiceless affricates reflects internal developments in Malay, which may include interdialectical transmission and infrequent usage of the words involved.

### Concluding remarks

Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir was hardly exaggerating when he insisted that the study of Tamil was a worthwhile investment in the multi-ethnic environment of his childhood. Two millennia of intermittent contact between South India and Maritime Southeast Asia have left a considerable and lasting lexical imprint. This study called attention to some tentative Tamil, Malayālam and perhaps other Dravidian borrowings into WMP languages, illustrating the interconnectedness of the speech communities inhabiting both sides of the Bay of Bengal. To better understand these patterns of language contact, I have made an effort to demonstrate why certain loanwords in WMP languages can be identified as Dravidian or Dravidian-mediated, whereas others cannot. In doing so, the following definable (yet inconsistent) tendencies of sound change in Malay and other WMP languages have surfaced:

- The monophthongisation of /ai/ to /i/ (also in inherited vocabulary), as evidenced in Malay *pərigi* “well, spring” from Tamil *parigai* (பரிகை) “moat, ditch; mound within a rampart,” *kuali* “wide-mouthed cooking-pot” from *kuvalai* (குவலை) “wide-mouthed vessel, cup” and *undi* “lot, die” from *uṇḍai* (உண்டை) “ball; dice”
- The voicing of word-initial /k/ to /g/, as evidenced in Malay *gadai* “pledging, pawning, mortgaging” from Tamil *kaṭai* (கடை) “shop, bazaar, market,” *gundik* “secondary wife” from *kondi* (கொண்டி) “prostitute, concubine,” *gulai* “wet-currying; currying in rich highly-spiced sauce” from *kulai* (குலை) “to become soft, mashy, pulpy, as well-cooked” and *gərgaji* “a saw, to saw” from Sanskrit *krakaca* “a saw.”
- The insertion of a word-medial homorganic nasal, typically before geminated consonants, as evidenced in Malay *banci* “adze” from Tamil *vācci* (வாச்சி) id., *contoh* “sample, model, specimen” from *cauttu*

- (செளத்து) “pattern, sample, model,” *kamandikai* from *kommaṭṭikkāy* (கொம்மட்டிக்காய்) “unripe water melon” and *səntəri* “seminarist; divinity student” from *cāttiri* (சாத்திரி) “one versed in the *sāstras*, learned man; a title, especially of *smārta* brāhmins.”
- The addition of word-final /h/, as evidenced in Malay *contoh* “sample, model, specimen” from Tamil *cauttu* (செளத்து) “pattern, sample, model,” *jodoh* “twin-soul, affinity, second self, match” from a Dravidian reflex of *jōḍu* “a pair, a couple” and *kuncah* “bale, bundle” from Sanskrit *guñjā* “a bunch, bundle, cluster of blossoms.”

It was further argued that the voicing of intervocalic consonants and the devoicing of word-initial consonants, observed in Indo-Aryan loanwords adopted into Malay, cannot be unambiguously associated with Dravidian intermediacy; this process partly reflects internal developments within Malay, predominantly attested in affricates. On the other hand, I contend that proto-WMP \**paRigi* “artificially enclosed catchment for water: well, ditch,” \**surambiq* ~ \**surambi* “extension to house” and proto-Malayo-Polynesian \**badiq* “dagger” and \**panay* “dish, bowl (of clay or wood)” were in fact early South Indian borrowings, rather than inherited forms.

While this study provides an overview of the remarkably scattered earlier scholarship and postulates a number of new etymologies, it does not claim to present a comprehensive list of Dravidian loanwords in Southeast Asia. For the Malay language, Jones (2007) remains the best resource. Tamil and Malayālam loanwords restricted to specific regions, such as North Sumatra, Java or the Malay Peninsula, merit a more extensive research beyond the constraints of this paper. Of equally keen interest is the introduction of Persian and Arabic loanwords into Southeast Asia and the plausible role played by Indian speech communities in this process.

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MICHELE STEPHEN<sup>1</sup>

## **Sūrya-Sevana: A Balinese Tantric Practice<sup>2</sup>**

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Every morning the Balinese *pedanda siwa*,<sup>3</sup> who is usually termed in the Western literature a “high priest” or a “Brahmana priest,” performs a series of rituals known to Balinese and to Western scholars alike as “surya-sevana”.<sup>4</sup> These important rituals, which form the basis of the *pedanda*’s practice,<sup>5</sup> have been interpreted by Western scholars in widely divergent ways. Some scholars have regarded the rites as constituting a cult of sun worship (e.g. Brunner 1967:409-410). They have been judged to be a truncated version of Indian

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3. There are two kinds of *pedanda*, the *pedanda siwa* and the *pedanda buddha* (Hooykaas 1973:13-14, 1973a), both of Brahmana status. This article is concerned only with the *pedanda siwa* and his rituals, the *pedanda buddha* have their own liturgy (Hooykaas 1973a).

4. I will refer here to the rituals as “surya-sevana” and to Hooykaas’ (1966) text of the practitioner’s manual as “Sūrya-Sevana”.

5. I have often heard knowledgeable Balinese say that the *surya-sevana* rituals are the most important of those rites performed by *pedanda*. This importance was impressed upon me during rituals I witnessed in 2010 to install Ida Pedanda Istri Keniten at the Griya Ketewel Sukawati. At the very end of the proceedings as he was leaving, the *nabe* (the initiating guru) stopped in front of the new *pedanda*, and announced “You now have the right to perform *surya-sevana*.” This indicates that the right to perform *surya-sevana* is conferred only through the installation ceremonies, which appropriately are termed *dikṣā* or initiation.

rituals (*ibid.*:412). They have even been considered “a classic case of a ritual without religion” (Staal 1995:31). On the other hand, the same rituals are said to achieve a “unity with Paramaśiva, the deepest ground of existence” (Bakker 1993:27), to involve the incarnation of the Supreme God Siwa on earth (Barth 1993:196), and to induce a trance state enabling the deity to enter the body of the priest and act through it (Covarrubias 1994:300). In this article I argue, primarily on the basis of Hooykaas’ (1966) translation of the priest’s manual,<sup>6</sup> that the *surya-sevana* rituals can be better understood as part of the daily yogic *sādhanā* of a Tantric adept, rather than the recitation of a priestly liturgy or the worship of a deity.

Studies of Balinese ritual in the past have been hampered by an under-developed scholarly interest in Tantrism generally. It is only comparatively recently, partly provoked by popular interest in Western culture in yoga and Eastern mysticism (Urban 2003:203-207), that serious Tantric studies have come to the fore. A little over twenty years ago, Goudriaan (1990:1) observed that Tantric studies were only just coming of age. More recently, Hatley (2010) describes a blossoming of Tantric studies. Now Indologists and philologists (e.g. Acri 2008, 2011, 2011a; Sanderson 2003-2004; Nihom 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997) are demonstrating that Southeast Asian texts, including those from Java and Bali, have important light to throw on the early history and development of Tantrism in South Asia. Furthermore, new attention to the language used in Balinese and Old Javanese texts indicates that what in the past Western scholars assumed were texts cast in faulty Sanskrit by Indonesian scribes in fact employ Tantric forms of the language (Schoterman 1979; Acri 2006:116).

6. Although my aim in this article is not to critique Hooykaas’ text, some comments on it seem in order for readers not familiar with his work. Given the regional variations in culture and ritual throughout Bali, and the fact that the text deals with esoteric knowledge, in what sense can it be regarded as representative of such rituals in general? Throughout his extensive oeuvre, Hooykaas was always meticulous in basing his research on as many sources as possible. As he explains in his Introduction (Hooykaas 1966:12, 14-19, tables 34-37), he consulted over a score of manuscripts from different regions of Bali held in the Gedong Kirtya Lontar Library Bali, the Library of the University of Leiden, and his own private collection. His Balinese friend, I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka, from Tabanan assisted him throughout and interviewed *pedanda* for him (*ibid.*: 7). He explains that the version he offers is a composite constructed from several sources; while recognizing that this is less than ideal (*ibid.*:14), it serves to show some of the many variations. Given the practical difficulties of dealing with manuscript sources in Bali, I consider his text as rigorous a scholarly production as we can reasonably expect. Until such time as a more satisfactory version becomes available, what it does provide is a basis for discussion from which others might work. With regard to the esoteric nature of the material, in the past under colonial rule some *pedanda* were prepared to allow access to their texts to important international visitors such as French scholar Sylvain Lévi (*ibid.*:11-12), thus enabling the formation of the collections of manuscripts Hooykaas consulted. An Indonesian translation of *Surya-Sevana* (Hooykaas 2002) was published in 2002, making its contents widely available now to Balinese and Indonesians generally. It needs to be kept in mind, however, that Hooykaas’ text represents in no sense any kind of official manual, each *pedanda* possesses texts and knowledge inherited through family ties and can be expected to practice versions that are unique to his or her situation, and to hold their own individual interpretations of the rites.

Yet despite these developments, the prevailing scholarly view concerning Tantric influence in Bali is, I think, clearly stated by well-known anthropologists Boon (1990:xiii), who observes that such influences “are not doctrinal, seldom corporate, not coherent or even necessarily cultic, and possibly contrary to several orthodoxies” and Barth (1993:262), who supports Boon in observing that in Bali “Tantric theory, whatever that might be, does not underwrite a coherent system of knowledge”. The arguments to be presented in this article challenge such well-established opinions.

Traces of Tantric influences on the *pedanda*’s role have been noted by various scholars,<sup>7</sup> but as yet Tantric aspects of the *surya-sevana* rituals have attracted little systematic commentary, even though Hooykaas’ text of the practitioner’s manual has been available for more than forty years. I have previously identified *Surya-Sevana* as a Tantric yoga text, but without examining it in detail (Stephen 2005:109). Rubinstein (1991, 2000) has described mystical and yogic aspects of the *pedanda*’s role, while making only passing references to *Surya-Sevana*. Lovric (1987:32, 321) refers to yoga, including *kundalinī* yoga, performed by *pedanda* but does not refer to the *surya-sevana* rituals from this perspective. Zoetmulder (1974:179) briefly identifies *Surya-Sevana* as a Tantric yoga text, noting that the study of such works had only just begun. Gonda (1975:52) observed Tantric influence in the mantras of *Surya-Sevana* but his comments went little beyond a summary of Hooykaas (1966). More recently Sanskritist Frits Staal (1995) has drawn attention to Tantric aspects of *Surya-Sevana* but provides little evidence to support his assertions, as Howe (1997:873) points out in a review of *Mantras between Fire and Water*.<sup>8</sup> Staal (1995:10) states that Balinese mantras are “typically Tantric”, without providing further clarification or evidence, and observing that the rituals of Tantrism in general remain “only very imperfectly known” (*ibid.*:40). Yet he further states that “Surya Sevana looks like a purely Balinese ceremony, with Indianization and convergence affecting several details” (*ibid.*:21).

Hooykaas (1966) was presumably not unaware of the Tantric nature of his text, yet he does not comment on it. He always clearly strived to present his material in a manner that avoided prejudicing a particular line of interpretation.<sup>9</sup>

7. Korn’s (1960) detailed study of the rituals to create a new *pedanda*, based on information collected in the 1920s, makes no mention of Tantrism, although many of the features he describes can now be identified as characteristic of Tantric initiation. I have discussed the *pedanda*’s initiation (*dikṣā*) elsewhere (Stephen n.d.).

8. I share Howe’s view that Staal’s (1995) interpretations offer little of interest to the anthropologist or help to the general reader attempting to penetrate the mysteries of Hooykaas’ text. On the other hand, some, such as Guermonprez (2001:277), see fit to support Staal’s (1995) assertions.

9. Hooykaas was well known for avoiding interpretations of his texts. I can only share the regret expressed by Ricklefs (1975:192) in a review of another work that Hooykaas is “so reluctant to explain his texts to those who know little of Balinese religion, who comprise virtually the whole of his potential readership. ... In giving his readers texts and assuming that they can interpret

Few of the Tantric parallels I discuss here were explicitly identified as such by him. Indologist Brunner (1967: 417) concurred with Hooykaas that the source of the Balinese rituals are the Śaiva āgamas, thus revealing their Tantric origins. However, where *Sūrya-Sevana* diverges from the South Indian sources with which she was familiar, Brunner assumed the Balinese text or Hooykaas' translation must be faulty. The literature on Tantrism in Bali in general and questions of definition have been reviewed by me previously (Stephen 2005:81-97).

Recent important work by Acri (2006, 2011, 2011b) is demonstrating the Tantric nature of the Balinese *tutur* texts generally, of which *Sūrya-Sevana* is one. Acri (2011b:152) has sought to identify a group of key Balinese texts, while drawing attention to the puzzling, long standing reluctance of philologists and anthropologists alike to engage with the mystical and philosophical works that constitute nothing less than the basis of Balinese scriptural authority (ibid.:143-144, and more recently Acri 2013). He points out that until such sources are properly understood, much about Balinese ritual and religion will remain an enigma.

I am not a textual scholar and my aim here is not to critique or attempt to revise Hooykaas' text and translation; rather I wish to use the rich data he offers as a means of gaining access to an esoteric ritual still performed daily in Bali.<sup>10</sup> What I hope to do is offer a reading of the text from the perspective of a cultural anthropologist who seeks to understand a conceptual structure within a comparative context of related ideas and practices. My point is that a careful re-reading of Hooykaas' text *as it stands* that places it in the broader context of present understandings of Tantric philosophy and ritual can shed some new light on the *pedanda*'s role. The more general point to be made is that texts, if one engages with them, can reveal much about ritual in Bali today.<sup>11</sup>

### The *Surya-sevana* Rituals

The *pedanda siwa*'s daily morning rites, "surya-sevana", take approximately 50 minutes to an hour to carry out and are performed in the house-temple of the *pedanda*'s residence (*griya*) on a special pavilion called the *bale pawedaan* (see fig.1 to 7). The *pedanda* sits cross-legged in a *padma āsana*, not moving

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them as well as he, Hooykaas overestimates his colleagues". Acri (2011b:note 10) points out that Hooykaas was quite honest in admitting his discomfort in dealing with Indian (especially Śaiva/Tantric) matters, which he felt himself ill-equipped to handle.

**10.** Like all aspects of Balinese religion, the role of the *pedanda* is undergoing change as it is adapted to the modern world (Stephen n.d.). However the arguments presented here are not concerned with changes but rather continuities. I base my arguments on observations of current ritual practice in Bali today.

**11.** The notion that the extraordinarily rich ritual life of Bali has little or no connection with textual sources seems to have become firmly entrenched among many anthropologists and Bali scholars, as Acri (2011b:147-149 and also 2013) has pointed out.

from this position through out, but performing elaborate hand movements (*mudrā*), ringing a hand bell, and manipulating various cult objects and materials, such as flowers, rice, incense and water. The practitioner's eyes are closed, while words are continuously muttered inaudibly under the breath. He, or she,<sup>12</sup> appears to be in a self-absorbed trance state, paying no attention to what is going on around them. The rite culminates with the *pedanda* creating holy water (*tirta amerta*), which he uses first to sprinkle on his own head and face and then gives the container to an assistant, who administers it to others present, or to those who have requested it to take home with them. The *pedanda* then rises and leaves the *bale pawedaan*, the ritual is over. These actions are plainly visible to any visitor who has access to the *griya*, and may be observed today all over Bali.<sup>13</sup>

While the aim of the ritual and how it is achieved are hardly transparent to an outside observer, almost any Balinese present can explain that the aim is to produce holy water and that this is achieved through the mystical power of the *pedanda*'s words and actions (more knowledgeable might say through his "yoga"), although precisely how is not known. Hooykaas (1966:9) notes that the term "surya-sevana" actually means "worship of the sun", and thus is rather misleading since both text and rite are concerned with the production of holy water rather than sun worship.<sup>14</sup> My observations of the rituals in many communities,<sup>15</sup> and my questioning of informants, confirm that providing holy water constitutes the *pedanda*'s most important ritual function in the eyes of ordinary people. Several types of holy water are made by the *pedanda*, the most important of which are *tirta amerta*, *tirta panglukatan* and *tirta pangentas*. The methods of preparing the first two are described in *Sūrya-Sevana*; the third, which is used in the death ceremonies, is not. I will focus my discussion here on *tirta amerta* which is used at temple festivals and many other occasions. *Tirta panglukatan* is used for purification and to remove sickness and misfortune.

12. Women may be initiated and act as *pedanda* in their own right, but more usually husband and wife are initiated together, with the wife acting as her husband's assistant. On her husband's death, however, the *pedanda istri* may act in his stead.

13. Hooykaas (1966:10) gives a description of a public performance which is still recognizable today and tallies with my observations here, although he was writing over forty years ago.

14. Although *Sūrya-Sevana* does not describe a cult of sun worship—Śiva is the principal deity addressed—its references to Śiva as the Sun, Śiva-Āditya, along with the title may be linked to a cult of Śiva as the Sun, the practitioners of which were called Sauras, known from rare Tantric sources from the Subcontinent. I thank Andrea Acri (personal communication) for this information.

15. Most of my field observations, beginning in 1996 and continuing to the present, were made in communities close to Ubud. I have consulted *pedanda* in *griya* in Padang Tegal, Tebasaya, Peliatan, Pejeng, Ketewel, Sukawati, Batuan, Blahbatuh, Payangan, Bangli, Klungkung, Sidemen, Denpasar and Tabanan. I thank the Australian Research Grants Council (1996-1999) and La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, Australia (2001-2004), for funding ethnographic fieldwork on which this article draws.

According to many Balinese I have spoken with, *pedanda* in the past rarely attended public ceremonies in person, but instead provided holy water prepared in the morning rituals to those people who came to the *griya* formally asking for it. Vessels containing the precious liquid were then carried home or to the temple to be used there without the presence of the *pedanda*. In recent years, however, the many Balinese who can afford to hold much larger and more expensive ceremonies than in the past seek the presence of one or more *pedanda*, largely as a matter of status. Many *pedanda* are thus today invited to attend in person to make the holy water that previously was prepared in private. The conducting of these rituals is however little different from that observed in the *griya*, the only obvious difference being the more elaborate costume worn on public occasions which serves to represent the transformation the *pedanda* undergoes during the rite.

Over several years, I have attended many public and private performances. What action there is to observe is confined to hand movements (*mudrā*) and manipulations of the cult instruments and materials.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, it is hardly possible to question the practitioner, who is lost in deep contemplation. It must also be taken into account that the essence of what is taking place constitutes esoteric knowledge available only to initiated *pedanda*. I have often had my questions to *pedanda* concerning the rites deftly avoided with a polite demur that further information could not be disclosed to uninitiated persons.<sup>17</sup> Without Hooykaas' text, it would be virtually impossible for an observer to gain much idea of the nature or meaning of the rites. No matter how rigorous an anthropological scrutiny they might be subjected to, without knowledge of the text the rites remain impenetrable, or at best a matter of disconnected sense impressions—sight, sound and smell. In these circumstances, the ethnographer, I think, must make use of texts where such are available, or fail to gain any sense of the deeper import of the external actions he or she can observe.

When we turn to the *Sūrya-Sevana* text we find it reveals that while seated in self-absorbed trance for fifty minutes or so, the practitioner is immersed in a complex sequence of visualizations, recitations of mantras and displays of *mudrā* that have strikingly parallels with yogic practices described in South Asian sources. In short, these visualizations involve a yogic transformation of the physical body of the *pedanda* into a mantra body of power identical

16. The hand gestures (*mudrā*) and the cult instruments in use were described and sketched by Tyra de Kleen (n.d.) in the 1920s, more recently Staal (1995) has published a series of Balinese sketches of the *mudra*, but with little explanation. This material provides some basis for connecting the actual performance of the rituals with the manual, but a complete record of the complex sequence could, I think, be obtained only by actually filming the rituals as they take place.

17. Although the rituals of *Sūrya-Sevana* were in the past esoteric knowledge confined to initiated *pedanda*, the publication of Hooykaas' English translation in 1966, and more recently the publishing of an Indonesian translation of Hooykaas' work (Hooykaas 2002), can leave little doubt that an account of the rituals is widely available to all interested, including Balinese.

with that of the god Śiva. The practice begins with a series of extensive purifications, following which the adept removes his own soul from his body and unifies it with Śiva. Then, having transformed his body into a body of mantra power, he conducts the soul, now unified with Śiva, down into his heart. As he meditates on Śiva in the form of *Ardhanareśwari* (Half lord, half lady/Śiva united in one body with his Śakti),<sup>18</sup> the essence of that union permeates the ordinary water in the holy water container transforming it into *tirta amerta*. Following extensive praising and honoring of the divine *amṛta*, the practice concludes with the deity being dissolved in the heart of the adept, who is thereby returned to a normal human condition. Readers familiar with the Tantric literature from the Subcontinent will recognize many parallels, but such have been largely overlooked by Bali specialists to date.

Hooykaas does provide a detailed comparison with contemporary Śaiva Siddhānta temple ritual in South India, revealing many similarities, even to the extensive use of the same *mudrā*, mantras and hymns of praise (Hooykaas 1966:143-144).<sup>19</sup> Although he points to minor variations between the two, nevertheless the similarities are striking. Furthermore both rites demonstrate a virtually identical structure—that is, up to a certain point. The complex purifications which begin the rituals, the removal of the soul and its unification with Śiva, the creation of the body of mantras, the conducting of the deity to the heart of the worshipper, are all features common to both. Yet despite these many parallels, Hooykaas argues that the South Indian Śaiva Siddhānta rituals have a distinctly different aim, which is to bring down the deity into the heart of the priest and then to transfer it to a specially prepared *liṅga*, where the god can be served and worshipped. In contrast, the aim of the Balinese rites is to transfer the essence of the union with Śiva to a container of water which thereby becomes “*tirta amerta*.” Although praise and thanks is offered, there is no comparable “worship” of the holy water or comparable service, such as the offerings of food, clothing, and entertainments that are given to the *liṅga* in the South Indian rite. Furthermore, as already noted, holy water is usually prepared by the *pedanda* in private in his house-temple, and only occasionally at public rituals by invitation, unlike the South Indian rites which take place daily as part of public temple worship.

**18.** According to Zoetmulder (1982:123), “ardhanāreśwara” means “the lord who is also half female”, while the form “ardhanāreśwari” means “the mistress or queen who is half male”. The Balinese texts, such as *Sūrya-Sevana* invariably seem to use the latter form “ardhanareśwari”, although why the emphasis on the female aspect prevails is not clear to me. Hooykaas employs various spellings, although always with the “i” ending. See also *Kamus Bali-Indonesia* 1978:54, “arda narèsvari”.

**19.** According to Hooykaas (1966:143-144) the mantras common to both traditions and used repeatedly throughout *Sūrya-Sevana* include the *Mūla* mantra, the *Kūṭa* mantra, the *pañca brahmamantra*, the *sad aṅgamantra* and the formula *utpatti-sthiti-pralaya* (coming forth, maintenance, dissolution). This indicates that the best known and most efficacious Śaiva mantras are employed in this text.

A similar pattern can be discerned in other South Asian examples: I have selected three well-known and easily accessible examples as a basis for comparison. Richard Davis (1991) has described and interpreted a medieval Śaiva-Siddhānta temple ritual which closely resembles the early sections of *Sūrya-Sevana*, with its extensive purifications, the removal of the worshipper's soul, the creation of a mantra body, the union with Śiva and the conducting of the soul unified with the deity down into the heart; but diverges at the point where the deity is transferred to the *linga*. Likewise the Tantric Śākta *pūjā* described in detail by Gupta (1979:139-145) follows much the same sequence, with the deity here being transferred from the heart of the practitioner to a *yantra*. Also the well known Tantric text, the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* (Woodroffe 1972:70-87) describes a morning worship resembling all those just described, significantly varying from the Balinese rituals only at the juncture where the deity is transferred from the adept's heart to a *yantra* to be given worship.

Indologist Hélène Brunner (1967), from the perspective of contemporary South Indian practices and texts, argued in a review of the book appearing shortly after its publication that Hooykaas' text was faulty in many respects, especially where it diverged from possible Indian sources. Similarities between rites, she maintained, can provide useful comparisons, but where differences arise it is far safer scholarly practice to follow the better known and more intensively studied Indian texts. She thus offered an alternative reading of Hooykaas' text that would bring Balinese practices into line with Indian models, observing that the Balinese text might have been copied from an incomplete Indian source (*ibid.*:412), and that the Balinese focus on the preparation of holy water to the exclusion of a proper worship of the cult deity was the result of error.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that a significant part of the *Sūrya-Sevana* rituals so closely parallels a range of South Asian practices, including medieval Śaiva-Siddhānta texts, Śākta Tantric *pūjā*, and the morning rites described in the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, seems highly significant suggesting that they are closely related; clearly they belong to a common core of Śaiva belief and ritual.<sup>21</sup> The divergence of the Balinese practice at the point where preparation of holy

**20.** Brunner's (1963, 1973) seminal work, a multi-volume translation and commentary on an 11<sup>th</sup> century Śaivasiddhānta ritual manual from South India, the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, especially Parts 1 and 3, provides a rich compendium of information on Śaiva ritual. It demonstrates so many parallels with *Sūrya-Sevana* that it is not difficult to see why Brunner was convinced the Balinese text was misconstrual of an Indian original. However, the precise relationship between the Indian and Balinese texts can only be demonstrated through an extensive philological study beyond the aims of this article.

**21.** In a recent study of the Tantric body, Flood (2006) has argued that a basically similar ritual structure underlies the varying theology, doctrines and cultural symbolism of the different traditions of Tantrism. He demonstrates his argument by examining the Pāñcarātra, Śaiva-Siddhānta and Trika Traditions. The Balinese rituals conform to his schema up to the point where worship is transferred to an external deity (*ibid.*: 121).

water commences becomes all that more remarkable and perhaps gives support to Hooykaas' (1965-1966:387) suggestion that it arises from an Indonesian or Balinese innovation that lends a distinctly different cast to the whole. Or it may be that Brunner was right and the so-called innovation is merely the result of faulty textual transmission. I will return to these questions later after examining Hooykaas' text in more detail.

### **The Sūrya-Sevana Text (Part I)**

Hooykaas presents his text in two parts: Part 1, which he numbers in sections A to Z, culminating in the preparation of *tirta amerta*; and Part II, sections A' to Z', that deals with the releasing of the deity from the body of the adept. For clarity I have added my own subdivisions and headings, but the following discussion will include reference to most of Hooykaas' sections represented by upper case letters, and many of the sub-sections denoted by lower case letters, in order to reveal the narrative progression of the rite as a whole. Hooykaas' sections are identified here by letters in brackets, for example (Ac) to enable the reader to check my interpretations against his text. This close attention to detail makes for somewhat tedious reading, but is essential to my aim of demonstrating that the text constitutes a meaningful whole as it stands.

#### **a) Initial Purifications (Hooykaas' sections A to H)**

The first sections (Aa to Ac) of the text are concerned with various purifications, beginning with actual washing and cleansing of the physical body of the practitioner, followed by instructions to sit carefully in the lotus *āsana* in front of the cult instruments and the tray of perishable materials to be used, consisting of rice grains, flowers and incense. The tray is uncovered and various formulae are recited to purify them (B). Then the adept's hands are symbolically cleansed twice with mantras and flowers (C and D). Next are purified the cult instruments, consisting of a brazier, a lamp (which represents the fire of Śiva, Agni), a tripod and a vessel (*śivambha*) into which clean water is poured that will later be changed into Holy Water (Ea and Eb).

The initial purifications outlined for morning practice in the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* offer many parallels. They also begin with washing and bathing (Woodroffe 1972:65-66), the practitioner is then instructed to put on two pieces of clean cloth, as is the *pedanda* (Hooykaas 1966:35). Uttering various mantras, the Indian practitioner rinses his mouth and washes his hands (Woodroffe 1972:68). Then attention is turned to the vessel to contain the "oblation". First the vessel is "washed" with the *Astra* mantra; then purified with the heart mantra as it is filled with water, then "throwing flowers and perfume into the water", the "holy rivers are invoked into it"; then "Fire, Sun and Moon" are worshipped in the water, followed by *mudrā* (ibid.:71). This

closely resembles the Balinese *pedanda*'s purifications, where the holy water vessel is purified by reciting the *Astra* mantra and holding it over the lamp (Eb 1-4), then as it is filled the holy rivers are invoked (Eb 19-20). Perfume, flowers and rice grains are offered to the vessel (Eb 24) and the "Three Spheres" are assigned to the vessel – Fire, Sun and Moon (Gb 1-10).

Although the *pedanda*'s purifications of the vessel involve additional steps, the basic sequence is the same and the shared detail seems too rich to be mere coincidence. Gupta (1979:134-136) and Davis (1991:39) describe similar purifications, while Hooykaas (1966:141-144) points to correspondences with contemporary South Indian Śaiva-Siddhānta.

### **b) Purification by fire and water (I-L)**

The next step is to subject the body of the practitioner to a deconstruction by fire and water through a process that resembles *kundalinī* yoga.<sup>22</sup> The adept begins with *prāṇāyāma* (I and J). Instructions are given to employ three steps of yogic breathing, *kumbhaka*, *recaka* and *pūraka*, which are identical with those used in awakening the *kundalinī* energy in yogic practice (Gupta 1979: 168-169), even to specifying inhaling and exhaling through different nostrils, and then reversing the order (*ibid.*:169). Following *prāṇāyāma*, the *pedanda* must visualize conducting his soul from the heart to 12 fingers' breadth above the crown of the head, using the Seven *Oṁ* formula (J). With the soul safely removed from the body, the text commands the practitioner to "burn away all corporeal impurities" by visualizing fire rising from the navel and sweeping upwards "through the inward channel *Suṣumnā*" (Hooykaas 1966:61). The connection here with *kundalinī* yoga is evident as the *suṣumnā* channel is that travelled by the *kundalinī* energy. In the Balinese text no mention of the term "*kundalini*" is made;<sup>23</sup> instead "fire" (San Hyān Agni) is said to be generated by the *prāṇāyāma*. However, the *kundalinī* energy, as is well known, is virtually synonymous with heat and fire (Eliade 1970:246-247).

Following this conflagration of the body, the adept is instructed to "IMAGINE that evil and impurity have finally turned into ashes" (Ka 17); and is then enjoined to wash away the ashes of the body with the *amṛta* (ambrosia) that flows from a "crystal sphere filled with Ambrosia emanating from Holy Śiva-in-the-Sky" (Hooykaas 1966:63). The ambrosia is visualized as flowing down the adept's throat and extinguishing the ashes of the body (La 4-5). The next three lines of the text (La 6-8) state that the *Oṁ-kāra* is the Supreme Knowledge, the source of ambrosia and is turned downwards, having the color of mother-of-pearl and rock crystal. The adept "should place it at the root of the throat, because from there it sheds Ambrosia, on the joints of all the limbs"

22. Pott (1966:132) observes that this section of *Surya-Sevana*, *ngili-atma*, resembles the *ṣaṭcakrabheda* (piercing the six *cakra*) of the Indian esoteric Buddhist master (*vajrācaryā*).

23. Acri (2006) points out that the term *kundalinī* does not occur in the early Sanskrit *tantra* either.

(Hooykaas 1966:65). This instruction brings to mind the *khecarī mudrā* of *kundalinī* yoga (Flood 1996:100; White 1996:254) which involves turning the tongue back and inserting it into the throat, the “saliva secretion thus produced is interpreted as celestial ambrosia (*amṛta*)” (Eliade 1970:247). If we were to assume that the Balinese adept is unaware of the Tantric identity of *amṛta* as the combined sexual substances of the Divine pair, the next three lines of *Sūrya-Sevana* (La 9-11), remove any doubt on this point:

What is born from the union of Husband and Wife, is known as Life:  
One should know that Agni is Prakṛiti, and that Vāyu is Puruṣa;  
their Union produces Life, Death comes through Separation. (Hooykaas 1966:65)

*Kuṇḍalinī* yoga aims at arousing the *kuṇḍalinī* energy at the base of the spine, equated with fire, and the feminine principle, to unite with Śiva (consciousness) located in the *sahasrāra* cakra in the crown of the head, thus flooding the practitioner with bliss visualized in the form of *amṛta* (Eliade 1970:245-26; Gupta 1979:170-172; Brooks 1990:56-58). Clearly the *Sūrya-Sevana* text, although the term *kuṇḍalinī* is not used, is describing just such a yogic union at this juncture. However this is not the climax or culmination of the ritual, but merely the final stage of the purifications to create a totally pure physical body which can now be transformed into a body of divine power.

The steps just described, from the commencement of the *prāṇāyāma* (I), through the removal of the soul, and then the purifying of the body by burning it into ashes with fire and finally washing the ashes away, are paralleled in the South Asian rituals described earlier, where such practices are termed *bhūtaśuddhi*, or the purification of the elements (Flood 2000:509-511). The purifications by fire and water described in *Sūrya-sevana* precede the construction of the mantra body and the subsequent conducting of the deity into the adept’s heart. Thus their function and their position within the sequence of rites can leave little doubt that they constitute the process of *bhūtaśuddhi*, even though this term is not employed in the Balinese text.<sup>24</sup>

*Bhūtaśuddhi* is an essentially Tantric practice, and as Gupta (1979:135) points out, a highly important one. David Gordon White (1996:272) gives a clear idea of its Tantric nature and significance, describing how the body of the practitioner is:

... burned up before being cleansed with water and flooded with “nectar”, processes which, identified with the dissolution of the mundane self, constitute the first step towards the creation of a new divinized self.

Gupta (1979:136) explains that following *bhūtaśuddhi*, the practitioner “now has a body made of pure substance (*sāttvika*) identical with that of the deity’s”.

24. The terms *kara śodhana* and *kara śuddhi* are used (Hooykaas 1966:48, 50).

### c) *The Nyāsa – The Imposition of the Mantra Body (M-N)*

In *Sūrya-sevana* (as in all the South Asian examples so far discussed) the purification by fire and water is followed by *nyāsa*, a process of transforming the body of the practitioner into a body of mantra-power.<sup>25</sup> Characteristic of Tantric ritual (Brooks 1990:270), *nyāsa* involves touching with the hands the appropriate parts of the body and investing them with specific mantras. White (1996:179-180) describes *nyāsa* as a means by which the practitioner’s “body is divinized” and emphasizes the importance in Tantric practice of the linked processes of *bhūtaśuddhi* and *nyāsa*.

In *Sūrya-Sevana* the *nyāsa* are preceded by the imposition of mantras on the hands, beginning with the thumb of the right hand and *Īśāna*, and ending with the little finger and *Sadyojāta* (*Ma*), exactly as described by Davis (1991:49) for the medieval Śaiva-Siddhānta practice. By imposing the *brahmamantras* and the *āngamantras* on to his hands “the worshipper literally makes them similar to Śiva” (Davis 1991:49). Thus from this point on, the practitioner is using divinized hands to impose the mantra powers on his own body.

The sequence of *nyāsa* in *Sūrya-Sevana* opens with another imposition of the five *brahmamantras* and the six *angamantras* (*Na*). According to Davis (ibid.:48) these mantras, along with the *Mūla* mantra, constitute “the most frequently employed and efficacious of all Śaiva mantras”. They occur repeatedly throughout the Balinese text, so frequently I will not attempt to document them here. The five *brahmamantras*, based on Śiva’s five aspects, *Sadyojāta*, *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuṣṭa*, *Aghora* and *Īśāna*, are employed to invest the body of the practitioner with the five cosmic functions of Śiva—emission, maintenance, veiling, reabsorption and grace (ibid.:48). The six *āngamantras* encapsulate Śiva’s six limbs or instruments of power: *Netra* (eye), *Hṛd* (heart), *Śiras* (head), *Śikhā* (topknot), *Kavaca* (armor) and *Astra* (weapon), and are used in a set to invest the practitioner with all Śiva’s powers and capacities. They may also be used individually, for example *Kavaca* (armour) to protect something (ibid.:48-49), as is frequently the case in *Sūrya-Sevana*.<sup>26</sup>

The assignment of the Three *Tattva* (*Śiva-tattva*, *Vidyā-tattva* and *Ātmā-tattva*) is undertaken next (*Nb*); and is followed by the construction of the divine throne or seat (*Nc*, *d*, and *e*), a process which again closely resembles that described by Davis (ibid.:124-125). The first stage is the throne of “*Ananta*” (*Nc*) where the Balinese text specifies “you make *ANANTĀSANA* in the Holy Water and at the same time in your own body” (Hooykaas 1966:69). The next stage is the square lion throne (*siṅhāsana*) (*Nd*). The four

<sup>25</sup>. Staal (1995:21-23) identifies the *nyāsa* procedures in *Sūrya-Sevana* as Tantric but reduces them to a meaningless touching of the body “especially with water”; as we find “demonstrated by one of our close associates in the animal world: the cat”. This seems an especially disappointing comment coming from a Sanskrit expert.

<sup>26</sup>. Compare the discussion here with Brunner (1967:412).

powers assigned to the corners of the throne—each of which are stated to be “lion-shaped” (*simha-rūpāya*) (Nd 2-5)—are identical with those described by Davis (ibid.:124), namely *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya* and *aiśvarya*. Davis observes that the *yogāsana*, the yoga throne that follows, is often omitted and the ritual moves directly to the construction of the lotus throne; and such is the case with the Balinese text which moves directly from the lion throne to the lotus throne (*padmāsana*) (Ne).

Although the parallels are striking, the important difference emerges here that the Balinese practitioner constructs the ascending levels of the throne in his own body and in the holy water (Hooykaas 1966:71), whereas the South Asian adept constructs and imposes the same throne on a *linga* (Davis 1991:124).<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the explanation of the significance of the throne given by Davis (ibid.:124), seems equally applicable to the Balinese situation:

The worshipper himself ascends towards Śiva as he prepares the divine throne. Before he can honor Śiva directly, he must first worship the differentiated aspects of Śiva’s power, the forms through which Śiva acts upon our cosmos. Following the order of reabsorption, which is always the route to approach Śiva, the ritualist passes through all levels of manifest reality and does homage along the way to all manifestations of Śiva’s sovereignty. As each upward stage of the divine throne is constructed, the worshipper reaches closer to the place where the highest Lord can be summoned.

The process of *nyāsa* continues in *Sūrya-sevana* with the assignment of various powers to the lotus throne (*padmāsana*) beginning with the imposition of vowels and consonants on the petals of the lotus (Nf), then the nine *śakti* (Ng), another assignment of the *Brahmāṅga* and the *Śivāṅga* mantras (Nh), assignment of gods, sages and ancestors (Ni), the four *Sandhyā* (Nj), the eight planets (Nk), the *Try-Akṣara* mantra and the imposition of the *Tri-Samaya* (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśvara) (Nl). Finally the god’s presence is announced with the *Deva-Pratiṣṭhā* mantra (Nm), and the *nyāsa* are brought to a close with the imposition of the *Kūṭa* mantra. Although these lengthy *nyāsa* do not precisely match with those Gupta lists for a Tantric *pūjā* of the goddess, they are close and the aim of the adept, as explained by Gupta (1979:136) “to house the entire cosmos within his body, by conceiving it to be a divine mansion wherein all the attendant deities and the entire galaxy are present” evidently sums up aptly the intent of the Balinese ritual.

The *nyāsa* in *Sūrya-Sevana* culminates with the unification of the adept’s soul with Śiva (Nm). Following an offering of water as to a newly arrived guest (O), the soul now unified with the deity is conducted down to the heart of the adept (P). This unification and the placing in the heart also takes place in the four South Asian examples discussed previously,<sup>28</sup> but from here on the

27. Brunner (1967:414) sees this as anomalous based on her assumption that the Balinese rituals should focus on the worship of the cult deity, as do the South Indian.

28. The South Indian rituals described by Hooykaas (1966: 144); the Tantric *pūjā* described by Gupta (1979:136-137); the medieval Saiva Siddhānta texts described by Davis (1991:108) and

Balinese rituals focus on the Holy Water, whereas the Indian rituals transfer the deity either to a *linga* if the deity is Śiva, or to a *yantra*, if the goddess, where worship and service is offered.

After very closely following the procedures described in the South Asian examples, so closely that a common or linking group of texts seems only logical regardless of whether such texts have yet been identified, the Balinese rite diverges at this point in a manner that seems sufficiently radical to support the idea of an Indonesian/Balinese innovation or addition. Nevertheless, when examined in detail, the remaining sections of *Sūrya-Sevana* seem just as Tantric in nature, intent and spirit, if not more so, than the earlier parts that so clearly parallel Indian practices.

#### **d) The Preparation of Holy Water (Q to Z)**

Having conducted the soul unified with the deity to the heart (P), the next section of *Sūrya-Sevana* (Q) turns attention to the holy water container. The adept is instructed to write the sacred syllable “*Om*” on the surface of the water it contains. Having recited the God’s Presence mantra, the adept is to visualize or meditate on “the united God Śiva and the Goddess Umā” (Hooykaas 1966:85). It is at this point, according to Hooykaas’ (*ibid.*) Balinese informant, that “Śiva descends into the Holy Water vessel”. It is specified that Śiva united with his consort as “Ardhanareśvari” (Hooykaas 1966:84) is visualized in the Holy Water container. Following this comes a hymn of praise to the Goddess Gaṅgā as a form of *amṛta* (R).

*Amṛta*, as is well established in the South Asian Tantric literature, is nothing less than the sexual substances produced by the union of Śiva and the Goddess (White 1996:138). As we noted earlier with respect to section (Lb 8-11), this esoteric understanding is clearly indicated in the Balinese text. Elsewhere Hooykaas (1964:139) discusses in some detail the esoteric significance of *amṛta* as the substances flowing from the union of god and goddess as Ardhanareśvari. He quotes another text:

Hence a rain of nectar pours down, therefore on all the limbs & junctions, born from the meeting of Husband & Wife, this is proclaimed to be the Real Life.

Hooykaas explains that Husband and Wife refer to Śiva and Umā, who are together referred to as “*amṛta-karaṇī*” or the cause or means of obtaining *amṛta*. Thus the significance of Śiva as Ardhanareśvari (half lord/half lady)<sup>29</sup> being visualized in the holy water container is clear. Śiva as Ardhanareśvari becomes present in the holy water container (*śivambha*) and the sexual substances, *amṛta*, flowing from the divine pair infuse the water therein

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the *Mahānirvāna Tantra* (Woodroffe 1972:87).

29. See Note 18.

with life-giving and purifying powers—powers that the text then goes on to celebrate in the next several sections.

In his extensive study of the use of body substances, especially sexual ones, in Tantric, yogic and Indian alchemical rites, White (2003:135) quotes Hooykaas' description of the Balinese production of holy water as a classic example of Tantric concepts and understandings concerning such substances. Surprisingly it seems for an expert in the Tantric literature, Brunner (1967) gives no indication in her review of Hooykaas' work that the Balinese "holy water" has this esoteric significance, continuing to insist that the proper aim of the ritual is to offer worship to a deity.

The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, although not concerned with the preparation of holy water, refers to the presence of God and Goddess in the ritual wine in a manner strongly resonating with the Balinese *pedanda* contemplating the divine presence in the holy water.

Then, meditating upon the union of Deva and Devī in the wine, and thinking that the same is filled with the ambrosia of such union, japa should be made over it of the Mūla-Mantra twelve times. Then, considering the wine to be the Devatā, handfuls of flowers should be offered with japa of the Mūla-Mantra. Lights and incense-sticks should be waved before it to the accompaniment of the ringing of a bell. (Woodroffe 1972:99-100)

Similarly, the Balinese adept, after visualizing the presence of "the united God Śiva and the Goddess Umā" (Q5) in the water, takes "a flower, perfume, unblemished rice grains" and holds the brazier, while offering praise to the Goddess Gaṅgā as *amṛta*. Then, as in the *Mahānirvāṇa* rite, he takes up the bell, ringing it continuously. The bell, the Balinese text explicitly states, represents the sound *Om* and *nāda*:

The sound of the bell is the utmost good,  
It is loudly proclaimed as being the syllable OM;  
it represents *ardha-candra*, *bindu* [*nāda* and] and *nādānta*,  
it is a spark of fire and it has the quality of Śiva. (Hooykaas 1966:87, S8-9)

The sound of the bell has a special significance in Tantrism. Hoens (1979:93-94) explains that one of the "most essential traits of Tantrism is its conception of a phonic plane of existence parallel to, even basic to, the objective world". The phonic plane represents a very subtle level of cosmic evolution, and it is represented in the mystic syllable *Om*, which is composed of various elements, the first to emerge and most subtle of which is *nāda*. Often translated as "resonance", *nāda* is explained in Tantric texts as emanating "from Śakti as a consequence of her contact with Śiva" (*ibid.*:94). The resonance of the bell rung after meditating on Śiva and Umā in the wine, and on Śiva and Umā in the water, thus symbolizes, or from the practitioner's point of view realizes, the primordial sound generated by the union of god and goddess. From this point on in *Sūrya-Sevana*, until the preparation of holy water is complete (Z), the bell is rung almost continuously, as I have myself observed at performances of the

ritual; the text mentions the bell at (T2), (Tb), (Xa), (Yb).

The remainder of Part 1 (T-Z) is concerned with praising the divine essence now present in the holy water container. Section (T) and (Tb) implore forgiveness from the god in the water. Section (Tc) identifies the Five Syllables, *Pañcākṣaram*, with the holy water now present in the vessel. Section (Ua) is a consecration of the water. Section (Ub) starts with the Divine Presence mantra and then instructs the adept to imagine/meditate on the deity as “Half Lord-Lady/Śiva-Pārvatī” (for the second time). Then follow lengthy instructions to identify with the deity (Uc1-23). In the next section (Va) the Goddess Gaṅgā is conducted to “the depth of the holy water”, suggesting that the water in the container is now becoming fully infused with *amṛta*. The next three sections (Vb, Vc, and W) seem to relate to imbuing the adept with *amṛta*. The concluding sections (Xa, Xb, Xc, Ya, Yb, Yc) consist of hymns of praise to the holy water as the Goddess Gaṅgā (V, W, X) and to Śiva as Victor over Death (Ya, Yb, Yc). The final lines (Za) and (Zb) announce the end of the preparation of Holy Water and instruct the adept to sprinkle his own body with the newly prepared Holy Water and to sprinkle it in the air towards Sūrya/Āditya (Śiva as the sun).<sup>30</sup>

### **The *Sūrya-Sevana* Text (Part II)**

The second part of *Sūrya-Sevana* is devoted to releasing Śiva from the adept’s heart. Just as the installation of the deity was a complex undertaking, so He cannot be easily disengaged from the specially prepared body with which He has previously been unified. The process occupies the whole of Part II.

#### **a) Conducting Śiva from the Heart (A'- F')**

Part II begins with instructions to remove the deity from the adept’s heart to the space twelve fingers’ breadth above the fontanel (Section A’). This is to be effected with the Seven *Om* formula. The three thrones—Ananta, Lion and Lotus thrones—are envisaged (B’, C’, D’). The god’s presence is announced (E’) and the *Kūṭa* Mantra recited (Eb’) followed by the *Utpatti* and *Sthiti* formulas (F’). On the topmost throne, the *Padmásana*, the adept must visualize the god and goddess as Ardhanareśvarī, lying together asleep, with their feet to the west and he (the worshipper) at their feet (G’a 2-4). This, I think, is not a naïve or quaint detail, but rather has the Tantric significance that the divine couple lie exhausted after the erotic ecstasy of their union. They must now be awakened and allowed to return to their proper abode.<sup>31</sup>

30. See note 14.

31. Brunner (1967:415) questions this awakening as it makes no sense in her reading of the text.

The removal of the deity from the heart of the adept to the *Śiva-dvāra*, and the construction of the three thrones, mirror the actions in Part I in Sections Nc, d and e. They are enacted here again, I suggest, in order to return to the place where the union of the adept's soul with the Divine Presence first took place.<sup>32</sup> The aim now being to separate the soul of the adept from the deity, this needs to be carried out at the point of original unification. It is not clear to me from the text how the separation is effected but it may be that the specific statement that the god and goddess are lying fast asleep on the lotus throne with the adept at their feet serves to announce that the Divine ecstasy of union is over.

### **b) Awakening and Reabsorption (G'a –T"g)**

Now the adept is instructed to awaken the divine pair (G'a). This is achieved via various formula and offerings (H', I', J' K'), especially water offerings (*tarpana*) (Sections L', M', N' and O'), and hymns of praise to Śiva as the Sun and as Ardhanareśwari (P' and Q'). The next several sections of Hooykaas' text, pages 113 to 119, constitute an interpolation to the main text,<sup>33</sup> which resumes again with Section T'a. This begins with the Five Mountain Formula, referring to the five directions and then offers a hymn of praise to "Samhāra", which Hooykaas translated as "contraction" but which might be more meaningfully rendered "reabsorption" (See Davis 1991, glossary).

At this point in the text, it becomes clear that the ritual is following what Davis terms the path of "reabsorption", according to the principles whereby the universe is emitted in orderly stages, and then drawn back into the originating unity. The *Samhāra* (Reabsorption) Mantra occurs at (T"f), line 7. Following this, lines 13 to 19 refer to the goddesses of the nine directions, concluding with an assertion of the contraction (*samhāra*) of "Śrī-Devi", followed by "Divine Contraction Gestures", presumably indicating that the several manifestations of the goddess have been reabsorbed back to the center. The next section (T"g) invokes the *Tri-Puruṣa* mantra, "homage to Brahmā in the south, Viṣṇu in the north, and Īśvara in the east", again suggesting a movement or reabsorption of aspects of the god (Śiva) to the center.

### **c) Dissolution in the Heart (U"-Z")**

The next step is to conduct the "Divine ŚIVA-SUN (-SOUL)" from the Lotus Throne back to the heart of the adept (U"3). As previously, this is achieved by the Seven *Om* Syllable mantra. When completed, homage is given to the heart

32. Brunner (ibid.:415) also questions this return to the Throne as it serves no purpose in her reading.

33. This section describes the method to prepare *tirta panglukatan*, which is used for purification to remove sickness, misfortune and sin.

“containing the Supreme Śiva-Sun” (U”13). Following the Rosary Formula, the adept is instructed to concentrate on the “God’s ONEness” (W”2). The section concludes with the mantra:

om Husband-and-Wife are DISSOLVED, in my heart; homage;  
om am homage to Ardhanareśvarī. (Hooykaas 1966:125)

Śiva’s “oneness” is celebrated again with homage to “Ekatvam Parama-Śivah” in Section (X”6) and the essential unity of Parama-Śiva with the god and goddess in union is stated, homage being given:

To the original Union of the God and Goddess,  
(to Him Who from the beginning is united with the God and Goddess),  
To Supreme Śiva. (Hooykaas 1966:127)

At this point, having dissolved (or reabsorbed) Śiva as Ardhanareśvarī (Śiva and the Goddess united), into Parama-Śiva, one task only remains—the dissolution of this Supreme Śiva. Finally the “Dissolution” (*Pralīna*) of Śiva-Āditya in the heart of the adept is achieved and announced through the appropriate mantras (Z”a). The remaining few lines of the text (Z”b) bring the ritual to closure with the adept being told to sprinkle holy water on himself, beginning with the fontanel, through which the deity entered and left the adept’s body. He sips the holy water from the holy water vessel, and wipes his face with it three times, and then sprinkles it three times again, offering it to the *Ātma*, *Vidyā* and Śiva-tattvas. Finally he adorns himself with a flower. In these concluding actions, the holy water, the preparation of which has been the whole reason for the complex ritual, seems to be used as a means of demarcating the boundaries of the adept again as the recipient rather than the agent of the God’s grace, a human being once more.

*Surya-Sevana*’s final dissolution of Śiva in the heart of the adept is paralleled in the Tantric *pūjā*. Gupta describes, the deity being removed from the *yantra* where she has been placed during the ritual and then returned to the heart (Gupta 1979:156). Also in the *Mahānirvāna Tantra*, the Devī is conducted from the *yantra* to the heart at the end of the worship (Woodroffe 1972:135). The *Jñānasiddhānta* (Soebadio 1971:87-107), an Old Javanese-Sanskrit Śaiva text found in Bali, explains in a chapter on the yogic art of dying that the space in the heart, like the sky, has no boundaries (*ibid.*:89), and that “in the cavity of the heart it is one with the sky which is visible for all men.” Thus the soul must be conducted to the heart, via the *Oṃ* formula, at the time of death and there dissolved into the divine. The text further explains:

It is indeed like the interior of a split bamboo. The cavity mentioned above [in the heart] is the airy space within (the bamboo), (which then) returns to become one with (the air in) the sky, which is its destination. (Soebadio 1971:89)

The heart is also the place where the resonance (*nāda*) is heard (Gupta

1979:174; Eliade 1970:390-39). Thus the use of the bell at Z”a, the sound of which is understood as *nāda* as noted earlier, signifies the presence of the deity in the heart, from whence he can merge back into the infinite space of the sky/cosmos.

### A Tantric *Sādhanā*

The preceding section by section examination of the text can leave little doubt, I think, that *Sūrya-Sevana* describes a Tantric ritual incorporating key Tantric concepts, symbols and practices. These, we have seen, include:

- I. *bhūtaśuddhi/kuṇḍalinī yoga*
- II. *nyāsa*,
- III. the best known Śaiva mantras
- IV. Tantric *prāṇāyāma*,
- V. Tantric concepts concerning divine sexual unions and substances,
- VI. Tantric theories of sound and the significance of *nāda*,
- VII. furthermore, all these elements are organized according to the ritual logic provided by the doctrines of the emission and re-absorption of the cosmos based on Śaiva and Sāmkhya philosophy (Davis 1991; White 1996:263; Flood 2006:126-128).

We are now able to appreciate that the ritual brings together mantras, hymns of praise, sound, gestures, visualizations, and offerings of flowers, rice, perfume, light, heat, and water, in order to create a powerful *inner* experience wherein the adept achieves union with the Divine. The adept’s soul is unified with Śiva in a meeting of divine erotic joy that is the very essence of Tantra. Silburn (1988:6) quotes Abhinavagupta:

Śiva, conscious, free, and of transparent essence is always vibrating, and this supreme energy reaches to the tip of the sense organs: then he is nothing but bliss and like him the entire universe vibrates.

White (1996:138) likewise describes the Tantric universe as nothing other than “the endless cosmic orgasm of the divine”.

Although praise and thanks are given throughout, *Sūrya-Sevana* is not worship or service offered to a god, as a king is served by his courtiers in the manner of Indian temple worship (Hooykaas 1966:153-154). It orchestrates an inner rapture of union with the divine visualized and brought about in specific images, formulas, and symbolic gestures known from the world of Tantra. The mantras are not “prayers”; they are words of power intended to create changes in consciousness and being, the *mudrā* likewise. Hooykaas’ text depicts a yogic *sādhanā* of a Tantric adept not a church liturgy or worship of the sun—even though he himself does not explicitly recognize it as such in his commentaries on it.

Even the focus throughout on Śiva-Āditya, Śiva as the Sun, which at first sight might appear anomalous, reflects classic Tantric themes, as the following passage from Woodroffe's introduction to the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* (quoting the *Gāyatrī-Vyākaraṇa* of Yogi Yājñavalkya) indicates:

... the Āditya-devatā ... is to the Sun what our spirit (*ātmā*) is to our body. Though he is in the region of the sun in the outer or material sphere He also dwells in our inner selves. He is the light of the light in the solar circle, and is the light of the lives of all beings. As He is in the outer ether, so also is He in the ethereal region of the heart. In the outer ether He is Sūryya, and in the inner ether He is the wonderful Light which is the Smokeless Fire. In short, that Being whom the *sādhaka* realizes in the region of his heart is the Āditya in the heavenly firmament. The two are one. (Woodroffe 1972:xci)

In fact this description of the identity of the Sun with the Divine light in the heart of the *sādhaka*, occupying both the outer and inner ethereal regions, might easily serve as a summary statement of the Balinese rituals and text discussed here.<sup>34</sup>

According to Gupta, the *tāntrika*'s *sādhana* consists of two parts: worship and yoga. Both worship and yoga are combined in *Sūrya-Sevana*, but the aim as a whole is clearly a yogic one – union with the divine (Gupta 1979:163).

### A Balinese Innovation or a Truncated Text?

The means and the concepts expressed in the *Sūrya-Sevana* text are essentially Tantric, as we have seen. What stands out as differing from Śaiva Siddhānta rituals as described by Hooykaas, Brunner and Davis, the Śākta practice described by Gupta, and the rites of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, is the creation of *amṛta* (*amerta*) in a form that can be conferred on other people. Here, unlike the Indian examples, Śiva is not invited to enter a *liṅga* or the goddess a *yantra*, where they receive service and worship that is felt to benefit the congregation as a whole. Instead, the essence of the divine union achieved by the Balinese adept in yogic visualization is transferred to the holy water, where the benefits of *amṛta* (*amerta*) then reside.<sup>35</sup> Thus ordinary Balinese

**34.** A reviewer of this article has suggested that the sun as referred to in *Sūrya-Sevana* might represent the igneous principle found in the yoga of the *rwa-bhineda* (Stephen 2005:104-109), while the holy water (*tirta*) it aims to produce might be connected with the “cooling water” referred to in this practice. However, this seems unlikely to me for the following reasons. As explained earlier in this article, the *tirta amṛta* (water of immortality) described in *Sūrya-Sevana* is composed of the mixed sexual fluids resulting from the union of Śiva and Uma. In Bali the feminine principle in such a union is always associated with the element fire, the color red, and the syllable *ANG* and is located in the lower trunk of the body; whereas the masculine principle is linked to water, to the color white, the syllable *AH*, and is located above in the head (ibid.). White (1996:243) notes in Indian alchemical texts the same identification with above “male semen, moon, *soma*, nectar, Śiva, fluidity and coolness ... below, female uterine blood, sun, fire, energy, the Goddess, dessication and heat ...” If the sun is Śiva, then it cannot also represent fire and the syllable *ANG*, which are the characteristics of the Goddess. Yet it must also be acknowledged that there are always many possible permutations of such imagery.

**35.** At this point the important issue arises: What might be the relationship between the

worshippers, without any knowledge or capacity for rigorous yogic practice of their own, are able to receive through the medium of holy water the blessings of the adept's yoga. The bliss of unification with Śiva becomes *tirta amerta*. That is to say, the divine union, the aim of all Tantric yoga, is here transubstantiated or invested into a physical medium that may be received by others.<sup>36</sup>

In view of the large number of texts—both Tantric Indian and Balinese (Davis 1991:9-10; Acri 2006)—which have yet to be investigated systematically, it seems too early to assume that a textual prototype for *Sūrya-Sevana* will not be discovered at sometime in the future. Even the continuing absence of such a text would not conclusively prove that such never existed. But more importantly, I think, the whole, including the significant divergences from South Asian prototypes, is so much a part of the conceptual world of Tantrism that if it is Nirartha's invention, as Hooykaas (1965-1966:387) suggests or that of some other Balinese sage, then such involves a variation on well established Tantric themes rather than radical innovation.

It could also be argued that the “divergence” might be a local development in harmony with the “internalized” aniconic mode of worship of Balinese Hinduism/Saivism, as opposed to the emphasis on image (*mūrti*, *linga*, etc) of (South) Indian Hindu/Śaiva ritual. This may very well not be a local innovation but rather an orthogenetic development from a strand of Indian Śaiva sources that were already gnostic and meta-ritualist in nature, i.e. which emphasized visualization, yoga and internal ritual rather than “gross” forms of worship. Acri (2011) in his introduction to the *tutur/tattva* class of texts in his book, *Dharma Pātañjala*, has argued that the mainstream form of Javanese and Balinese Śaivism derived from a gnostic form of Śaivasiddhānta, which put

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rituals described in *Sūrya-Sevana* and those yoga texts I have discussed previously (Stephen 2005:104-109 and 2014) which are based on the *rwa-bhineda* (ANG AH) and the *dasaksara* (SA BA TA I NA MA SI WA YA)? This is a complex question because although there are many similarities, there are also important differences. All these works belong to the group of Javano-Balinese texts that Acri (2006, 2011:8-16, 2013) has identified as “*tuturs*,” and are practice-oriented, assuming knowledge of abstract, philosophical concepts to be found in the *tattva* texts (ibid.). All are concerned with inner, meditative visualizations that I have described as “yoga”. All draw upon concepts familiar from Indian Tantric texts, such as *Kundalinī* yoga. All aim to produce holy water (*tirta*) of various kinds. Yet *Sūrya-Sevana* is much longer, more complex, and employs many more Sanskrit mantras and other Sanskritic elements than any of the other texts known to me. The most significant difference is that practices based on the *rwa-bhineda* and the *dasaksara* focus on visualizing the meeting of mystical elements (fire and water) present in the body of the practitioner, whereas *Sūrya-Sevana* involves a total transformation of the adept into Śiva in the form of Ardhانareśwari (Śiva and Sakti combined in one body). As knowledgeable Balinese have commented to me, “The *pedanda* becomes Siwa (Śiva).” Since nothing less than an apotheosis is involved, it is perhaps not surprising that *surya-sevana* is a practice restricted to fully initiated *pedanda*. A more comprehensive comparison of these different practices must await future work.

**36.** As White (1996:272) has shown, this capacity of the *yogin* to transfer his powers to other beings, and to exert magical powers over others, is found in classic South Asian Tantric texts and is by no means confined to Bali.

less emphasis on ritual than its Indian counterpart (that is, the one we know from Saïdhāntika manuals and present-day ritual worship).<sup>37</sup>

Despite the garbled or obscure passages, many of which are pointed out by Brunner (1967:418ff), the reading I have offered here of *Sūrya-Sevana* demonstrates that the text possesses its own sense, purpose, and coherence—all of which are quintessentially Tantric in nature. Brunner (*ibid.*:412) based her reading of the Balinese text on the assumption that it should match the South Indian manuals which it closely follows in the initial stages. She assumed that the purpose of the Balinese ritual must be to worship and serve the cult deity, since that is the purpose of the South Indian rituals—and we might add, an aim readily accommodated with Western understandings in general concerning the nature of religious ritual. She passes over Hooykaas' explanations that the Balinese *pedanda* is not a temple priest and usually performs his rituals in private at his house temple and thus plays a role in society very different from that of the South Indian priest. She also makes no reference to the role of Ardhanareśwari in the Balinese text, which as we have seen occurs at the climatic junctures. Nor does she seem to recognize that it is not Śiva in the holy water but rather the mystical sexual effusions of Śiva and Śakti.<sup>38</sup>

### Conclusion

The *surya-sevana* rituals cannot usefully be regarded as truncated versions of South Asian rituals based on flawed texts, as I have argued above. Nor can they be described as “rituals without religion”—not unless one totally ignores the text of the practitioner’s manual which reveals a complex Tantric philosophy, theology and symbolism, as I have shown. Despite the title, *Sūrya-Sevana* is primarily concerned with the production of holy water, not sun worship.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the text reveals that this “holy water” possesses a deep Tantric significance, being composed of the sexual fluids of Śiva and Uma in mystical union. Views quoted earlier that the intention is to bring about unity with Paramaśiva, or the incarnation of the Supreme God Siwa on earth, or to induce a trance state enabling the deity to enter the body of the priest, seem closer to the mark in that they recognize that the central aim

**37.** Lovric (1987:321) notes that according to certain Balinese traditions, Nirartha is believed to have acquired while in Bali special esoteric yogic knowledge leading to the preparation of *tirta amerta*. For this reason I have not assumed the innovation is Javanese in origin, although it may well be. The Balinese traditions seem to recognize the unique nature of the preparation of holy water by presenting it as Nirartha’s innovation based on yogic revelation. Thus *Sūrya-Sevana* may represent a compilation based on textual sources drawn from the existing Javanese-Balinese *tutur* corpus but refashioned in the light of a Balinese sage’s unique inner revelations via a process I have elsewhere described as ‘autonomous imagination’ (Stephen 1989, 1995).

**38.** Indeed Brunner’s commentary on *Sūrya-Sevana* as a whole seems to provide a classic example of the very negative attitudes of philologists and anthropologists towards the Balinese *tutur* texts that Acri (2011b:144–147) documents.

**39.** See Note 14.

is to achieve a temporary union with the divine, but are nevertheless subtly misleading in that they fail to recognize the distinctively Tantric nature of this conjunction and of the means used to achieve it.<sup>40</sup>

The rituals to make *tirta amerta*, as Hooykaas (1964; 1966:9; 1973:10-11) often stated, are the central mystery of Balinese religion. The outward, observable forms of the rites, however, reveal little or nothing of the inner mystery that is taking place—the unification of the adept with Śiva in a mystic union wherein Śiva and Śakti meet, and the divine *amerta* (*amṛta*) flows from their contact.<sup>41</sup> Such one might say is a central mystery of Tantric Śaivism in general. Here we find Tantric philosophy and yogic ritual at the very heart of the Balinese *pedanda siwa*'s practice, one might even say—at the heart of Balinese orthodoxy.<sup>42</sup>

The Tantrism revealed in *Surya-Sevana*, however, is one of internalized, symbolic sexual unions, symbolized sexual substances and a refined aestheticism. The latter characteristic has been independently evidenced in Zoetmulder's (1974) and Rubinstein's (2000) extensive studies of Balinese *kakawin* poetry composition. Indeed the aesthetic theories and refined philosophy of Abhinavagupta's Tantrism (Sanderson 1988; Flood 2006:165-168) are brought to mind, rather than the coarsely sexual, grotesque, violent and antinomian features that have in the past been identified as Tantric by writers on Bali (e.g. Boon 1990; Barth 1993:261-262; Ramseyer 2002:36, 38).<sup>43</sup> The evidence presented here shows that Tantrism in Bali needs to be

**40.** Bakker's (1993:27) view that the union is with Paramaśiwa is not convincing because no union can take place with the highest form of the deity except *mokṣa*—i.e. complete and final liberation from worldly existence and rebirth. The union described in the text is with Ardhanareśvarī, or Sadāśiva, that is Śiva and Śakti. It is the mystical sexual co-joining of the divine pair that produces the divine *amṛta* sought by the adept. This is a quintessential Tantric notion, as has been pointed out often here, but is obscured by Bakker's interpretation. Likewise Barth's (1993:196) idea of "an incarnation of the Supreme God Siwa on earth" does not acknowledge or recognize the Tantric significance, thus interpreting the rites in a way that makes them appear more comprehensible in terms of Western and Christian notions. Finally Covarrubias' (1994:300) statement that the *pedanda* is in a trance state allowing the deity to enter his body and act through it not only misses the Tantric union which is the crux of the rite, but also fails to take account of the classic Tantric rituals the practitioner undertakes to transform himself limb by limb into Śiva; he is not a mere vehicle for the deity, as in trance-possession. Covarrubias' description thus tends to link the *pedanda*'s ritual with other well-known examples of trance possession in Bali (e.g. Belo 1960), which made good sense at the time—he was writing of what he observed in the 1930s, long before Hooykaas' text was available, and before present understandings of Tantrism had emerged.

**41.** In my opinion this does remain a key esoteric secret not divulged to the uninitiated. Even despite the availability of the Indonesian translation of Hooykaas' book, no ordinary Balinese person I have spoken with seems aware of the mystical nature of the *amṛta* as divine sexual substances. Indeed, only a very close reading of Hooykaas' text, such as I give here, is likely to reveal this inner mystery.

**42.** In a previous article (Stephen 2010) I have shown the extent to which Tantric ritual and philosophy provide the conceptual underpinning of the Balinese mortuary rituals (*pitra yadnya*).

**43.** Future historical research may be able to identify in these extreme features remnants of earlier

appreciated as a more broadly defined and more subtle phenomenon,<sup>44</sup> and not, as in the past, reduced to a mere concatenation of a few notorious elements such as the “five Ms.”<sup>45</sup>

While they challenge prevailing views on Tantrism in Bali, my conclusions are in keeping with philologist Acri’s (2006, 2011, 2013) recent findings concerning the essentially Tantric basis of the Balinese *tutur* literature as a whole. Future research by textual scholars will hopefully expand and fill out details of the resemblances I trace here but in outline. If up to the present Tantrism has been perceived by most Western scholars as inhering in mere fragments or remnants, I believe that in the future it might well come to be understood as a unifying principle underlying the apparent disorder and bewildering diversity of Balinese ritual.

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Bhairava or *vāma-mārga* (left hand path) cults, which may well have been in opposition to or contrary to the established Tantric orthodoxies such as that represented in the *pedanda*’s practice.

**44.** Such as indicated in the nuanced definitional summaries provided by Brooks (1990:55-72) and Goudriaan (1979:7-9), the “working definition” given by David Gordon White (2000:7-9), and in Flood’s recent study (2006) of the Tantric body. I also have discussed definitional issues concerning Tantrism in Bali and the need for a broader view (Stephen 2005:73-97).

**45.** The five forbidden substances said to be used in Tantric rites (Urban 2003:40): meat (*māṃsa*), fish (*matsya*), wine (*madya*), parched grain (*mudrā*), and sexual intercourse (*maithuna*).

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**Scenes from a *surya-sevana* ritual performed on 17/12/2014  
at the Griya Sanur, Pejeng by Ida Pedanda Wayahan Bun**



**Fig. 1** – The *pedanda*, fresh from his bath, approaches the *bale pawedaan* from the west, where he finds two clean rectangular pieces of white cloth which he wraps around the upper and lower parts of his body (See Hooykaas 1966:35).



**Fig. 2** – Next the *pedanda* sits on the edge of the *bale* facing the west and washes his feet, his hands and rinses his mouth (*ibid.*).



**Fig. 3** – He then turns to the east and sits in the lotus *āsana*, facing his tray of cult implements and begins to recite mantras and display *mudrā* (symbolic hand gestures). The circular tray immediately in front of him contains the lamp, bell, brazier and water vessels he will need, as well as rice grains, flowers and incense (*ibid.*). The practitioner will remain seated in this position throughout the ritual, while deeply immersed in mantras, visualizations and *mudrā*.



Fig. 4 – The practitioner begins *prāṇāyāma* (breath control), closing one nostril and breathing through the other in turn (*ibid.*:36).



Fig. 5 – Approximately half way through the rituals, the practitioner takes up the bell (*ghantā*), which is rung almost continuously from this point onwards (*ibid.*:87, S 8-9).



Fig. 6 – The bell and lamp (*dīpa*) are manipulated in unison.



Fig. 7 – Finally, the practitioner touches the holy water vessel (*śivambha* or *argha*), which now contains *tirta amerta*, and the rituals are brought to a close.

## **IDENTITÉS À BORNÉO**

*BERNARD SELLATO<sup>1</sup>*

### **Sultans' Palaces and Museums in Indonesian Borneo: National Policies, Political Decentralization, Cultural Depatrimonization, Identity Relocalization, 1950-2010<sup>2</sup>**

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After fighting an independence war in the 1940s and several armed rebellions in outer provinces in the 1950s, the unitary and centralized Indonesian state abolished the country's remaining kingdoms and seized their assets. From 1970 onward, in the framework of its sweeping nation-building policies and successive five-year development plans, it undertook the establishment of museums in all 26 provincial capital cities, a task completed by 1985.

The sultans' confiscated palaces were turned into state museums, the collections of which derived in part from the palaces' collections. The patrimonized buildings themselves—the central topic of this essay, which does not concern itself with the details of their architectural features, possibly the topic of another paper—were viewed as part of the nation's architectural heritage, with their collections meant to represent regional cultures. Museums were then assumed to constitute tools both for preserving and developing these regional traditions and for modernizing and unifying the country, not to mention their increasingly important role as tourist destinations.

After providing succinct background information on the colonial and post-colonial history of Kalimantan (see fig. 1), this essay reviews the development

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2. This is an expanded version of a paper given at the conference on "Cultural Tourism in East and South-East Asia: Perspectives and economic, political and identity stakes," organized by CEFURDS (Center for Urban and Development Studies, Ho Chi Minh City), CAPAS (Center for Asia and Pacific Studies, Academia Sinica, Taipei), Département d'Etudes Asiatiques (Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence), IRSEA (Institute for Research on Southeast Asia, Marseille), and Maison Asie Pacifique (Université de Provence & CNRS, Marseille), in Dalat, Vietnam, 3-5 January 2011.

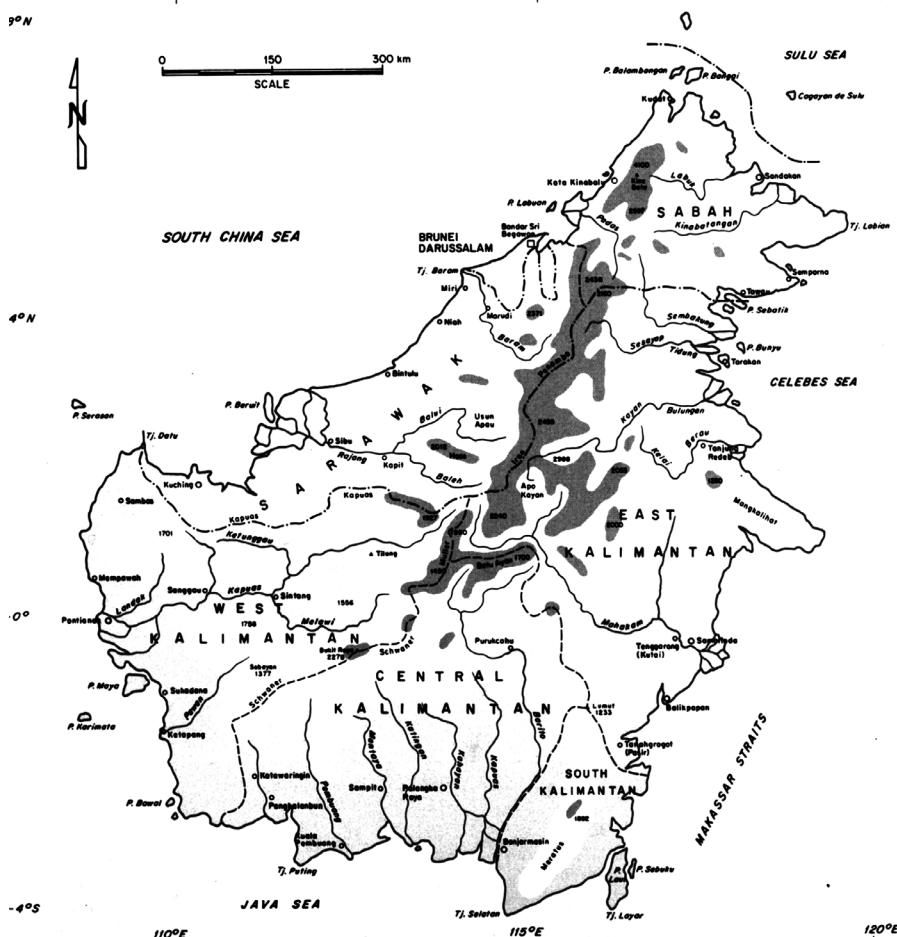


Fig. 1 – Map of Borneo. Location of places mentioned in the text.

of second-generation museums (state museums) in independent Indonesia, and the state's policies regarding culture and museums. It then focuses on the specific case of Kalimantan, during the New Order period (1965-1998) and after the rapid decentralization that followed the demise of President Soeharto's regime. Then the advent of a third generation of museums in the early 2000s is described, as well as a process of depatrimonization of the palaces and their collections subsequent to the restoration of the former kingdoms. Finally, it briefly considers the future role of these palaces in the regions' cultures and increasingly lively political scenes, and discusses the "new museum" concept, meant to involve local communities, as applied to Kalimantan.

### Kalimantan: historical framework in a nutshell

In pre-colonial and colonial times, virtually all of Borneo's river basins were controlled by trading polities, whether powerful sultanates or petty polities, whose seats were located at river mouths and the confluences of major tributaries. Among some 300 such polities, small and large (see Hägerdal 2003, RAI 2012), in the territory that is now Indonesia, Kalimantan alone, up to the end of the nineteenth century, had over 25, forming a circular chain of relations of subordinates to overlords all around the island's coastline and a similar chain, with a hierarchy of subordination, along river axes between the coast and the far hinterland (see Sellato 2013).

During Dutch times, particularly in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, some of these polities fought against Dutch control (e.g., Banjarmasin) and were obliterated, while others collaborated (e.g., Kutai) and were left, until the 1930s, with a semi-autonomous status (*Zelfbesturen*, *Swapraja*, or Special Region; see Van Klinken 2006, Cribb 2000, 2010). On the island's east coast, the Dutch discovered petroleum, and sultans' cooperation was secured through the payment of royalties.

In post-Independence times, after 1949, the unitary Indonesian state, focusing on nation building, waged wars against rebel provinces, which favored a federal state. This culminated, in the 1950s, in the abolition of most of the country's semi-autonomous sultanates (Yogyakarta being an exception) and the appropriation by the state of their assets, privileges, and revenue. The same policy of building an Indonesian nation was pursued during General Soeharto's stretched New Order, from the mid-1960s to the late 1990s, leaving little initiative to provinces, especially outside Java (regarding Kalimantan, see a discussion in Sellato n.d.; also, Sellato 1998).

When the New Order came to an end in the late 1990s and the *Reformasi* period began, a policy of decentralization (*Otonomi Daerah*, regional autonomy), initiated earlier, was fully implemented, devolving some political power and much economic autonomy to provinces and districts (also called regencies). With a sudden afflux of financial means from local revenue, especially to districts, a more localized identity emerged, or re-emerged, everywhere.

### A brief history of museums in Indonesia

While traditional societies in Indonesia, whether states or tribes, had long practiced the collecting and preserving of cultural artefacts in relation with local concepts of *pusaka* (cultural heritage with a valuable, spiritual, or sacred character; see Damais 1992, Kreps 2003, 2006, Guerreiro 2011, Njoto 2015, and below), Western ideas about museums and conservation of cultural artefacts were first expressed there in the mid-seventeenth century with the Dutch naturalist Georg Eberhard Rumpf's (Rumphius) Ambonese *cabinet de curiosités* (*Amboinsche Rariteitkamer*). In 1778, the Bataviaasch

Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) was established in Batavia (now Jakarta), on the initiative of Dutch scholars, complete with a library and museum—it was well cared for by Thomas Stamford Raffles, the lieutenant-governor of Java, during the short British interregnum of the early nineteenth century.

### ***From the Bataviaasch Genootschap to the Directorate of Museums<sup>3</sup>***

In 1862, the Batavian Society was housed in a new building, where it remained till after the country's independence. Around the turn of the twentieth century, some Javanese princes and regents began establishing their own private museums, as in Surakarta in 1890, Surabaya around 1900, and Mangkunegaran in 1918, to accommodate their *pusaka* articles, various collections, or local antiquities (see Njoto 2015). Starting in 1915 (or earlier?) and till 1941, the Dutch colonial government set up other museums, some of which were located outside of Java, in regions inhabited by demographically powerful ethnic communities with a robust regional cultural identity (Aceh, Batak, and Minangkabau in Sumatra, and Bali), and collections of objects from the Society were transferred there (DM 2011).

In 1925, as the Royal Batavian Society, it was reorganized as a center of “all cultural sciences” in Indonesia—i.e., “oriental studies,” as they were then conceived—and contributed much to the study of Indonesian life and culture (UNESCO 1985). A law on cultural property, the Monumenten Ordonnantie (Monument Ordinance) No. 238, was enacted in 1931 (ICOM 2010).

Sixteen museums established by the Dutch were in existence on the eve of World War II (DM 2011)—none of which, apparently, was in Kalimantan (but see below)—or maybe as many as 24 to 26 by the end the war (Sutaarga 1990, cited in ICOM 2010; *History* 2014). Possibly not accounted for were several local museums that had, in the 1930s, been established, usually privately, by concerned civil servants and Christian missionaries—who had recognized the fading of indigenous material culture, “a gradual process of cultural impoverishment” (*History* 2014), as a detrimental consequence of colonization, as well as, probably, Islamization—but, praiseworthy as they were, such museums often lacked expertise and resources, and were often short lived (Rath 1997, *History* 2014).

After independence, in 1950, the Society became the Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia (Indonesian Cultural Institute). The state soon established cultural offices in several provinces (1952), then a Bagian Urusan Museum (Service of Museums, 1957), successively renamed Lembaga Museum-Museum Nasional, Direktorat Museum, and Direktorat Permuseuman in 1975 (DM 2011, *History*

<sup>3</sup>. Data for this section were compiled from the literature and various official sources: UNESCO 1973, 1985, ICOM 1976, 2010, Soemadio 1987a, DM 2011.

2014). Meanwhile, in 1962, the old Batavian Society was handed over to the state, and its museum became the Museum Pusat (Central Museum, or National Museum), now considered one of Asia's oldest museums; the library attached to it, with its renowned collection of manuscripts, is now a part of the National Library in Jakarta.

As of late 2014, after various structural reshuffling episodes (see Kreps 2003, DM 2011), there is a Directorate of Conservation of Cultural Assets and Museums (Direktorat Pelestarian Cagar Budaya dan Permuseuman) under a Directorate-General of Culture (Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan), itself under the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan; Kemdikbud 2013), with "Tourism" having transferred to another ministry. Military museums, it may be noted, are supervised by the Defense Ministry (*History* 2014).

Benefitting from the powerful economic impetus of the early 1970s, museum development gained momentum and the Directorate of Museums began a broad campaign to renovate some colonial monuments and upgrade the condition and numbers of provincial museums (Njoto 2015), the latter based on the European and American model, with professional staff trained in Western countries, and following the International Council of Museums' definitions and standard guidelines (Kreps 1994)—Indonesia joined ICOM in 1970 (Kreps 2003: 25). So, as early as in the first five-year plan (Pelita I, 1969/1970 to 1973/1974), the Directorate undertook the building and/or renovation of museums. Soon, in 1975, the "Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park" (Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, TMII), a theme park focused on regional architectural styles, was built in a Jakarta suburb to put the nation's cultural diversity on public display (see Guerreiro 2007; on provincial styles, see Sellato 1998).

By the end of Pelita III (1984), as many as 26 museums, one in each province's capital town, had been upgraded or established (to which a 27<sup>th</sup> was added in Pelita VI in East Timor). In 1990, there were some 140 museums, either public or private, in the country (Kreps 1998: 6). And by 2000, there were 262 (Kreps 2003: 25), including one *Museum Nasional* (Jakarta), 26 *Museum Negeri Provinsi* (provincial state museums), four *Museum Khusus* (special museums, under the same Ministry), and 231 "other museums," unaffiliated to the Ministry (DM 2011). As of 2014, the number of provinces in Indonesia has soared to 34—although all probably do not yet have their own state museum, now called *Museum Umum Provinsi* (public provincial museum)—and Indonesia has almost 300 museums (Asosiasi 2013), of which some 80 are labelled as "state museums" (*museum negeri*; *History* 2014).

Historically, the dividing line between private and public museums seems to have been rather hazy. Since Indonesia's independence, a general trend has been for private museums to be taken over, for supervision, direct

management, and funding, by state agencies, at varying administrative levels, in the same way that private schools, e.g., those founded and run by religious organizations, were progressively integrated into the state's standard educational system (*dinegerikan*). It may be assumed that scores of the "other museums" mentioned above benefitted, at provincial level, from some form of assistance, technical or financial, from state agencies.

In the course of time, the Directorate of Museums released various documents on legal and administrative aspects of the management of its museums (e.g., DM 1989, 2009c), as well as various "handbooks" or "directives" (*pedoman*), regularly updated, for use by provincial museums' heads and staffs (DM 1979/1980, Soemadio 1987b, DM 1989/1990, 1995, 1998, 2008). Altogether, although more recently established museums have already achieved higher standards, the increase in numbers of museums has yet to be matched by a progress in quality (*History* 2014).

### **National Policies on Museums**

Following the abolition by the centralized state of almost all kingdoms and sultanates in Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s, a number of the former rulers' palaces (*keraton*), taken over by the state, were turned into museums—likewise, minor local museums were also taken over by the state. As Rath (1997) noted, it was important for the state to, at the same time, appropriate the supernatural power—as well as the dynastic regalia—associated with the *keraton*, and consolidate state power over the regional culture (see also Taylor 1994b, Kreps 2003, Njoto 2015). This was the case of the palace of the sultan of Kutai—which became the Museum Mulawarman, the state museum of East Kalimantan—as well as of other palaces, such as those in Pontianak and Ternate.

The Indonesian state's cultural policy, from the start, was part and parcel of its all-encompassing nation-building policy. Much has been written about this, and it will not be elaborated on here. Regarding culture, the 1945 Constitution's Paragraph No. 32 stated that "the government will promote the Indonesian national culture", and clarified it as follows: "The national culture is the culture which arises as the fruit of the entire Indonesian people" (ICOM 2010). Regarding museums, as early as 1950, Ki Mohd. Amir Sutaarga stressed that the new nation's museums were thoroughly neglected, and called for their being put to use for social-educational purposes (DM 2011). Sutaarga (1928-2013), the first head of the Museum Nasional (1962-1975) and of the Directorate of Museums (1966-84), and the pioneer of a Museology curriculum at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, was instrumental in defining Indonesia's ideological and political agenda regarding museums, as well as in establishing, by 1984, the country's 26 provincial state museums (Asosiasi 2013; see also Sutaarga 1957, 1977). Later on, several new laws were passed, including Law No. 5 of 1992, dealing with cultural property and meant to replace the 1931 Monument Ordinance (ICOM 2010).

In the context of the New Order's imperious "Development" (*Pembangunan*) policies of the 1970s, legislators asserted that the "best features" (i.e., those in line with the national ideology) of regional cultures should be "preserved and developed," so that they could contribute to the emergence of an "Indonesian national culture", as per the nation's motto, "Unity in Diversity" (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*; see, e.g., Sellato n.d., Taylor 1994a, Kreps 2003, Hitchcock et al. 2010). Then, cultural development being viewed as inseparable from overall national social-economic development, museums were conceived of as both symbols of modernity and tools of modernization (*modernisasi*), and as participating in the nation's development through their role as non-formal educational institutions—apart from providing local communities with recreational outlets (Kreps, 1994, 1998). So, in the 1970s, the importance of the diverse regional material cultures being recognized, provincial museums were meant as tools for unifying the country and for affirming local cultures.

However, as P.M. Taylor (1994a: 2) remarked, the "Unity in Diversity" motto's "obvious contradiction between the unity of a national culture and the diversity of local indigenous traditions reflect[ed] policies that sometimes crush[ed] and sometimes encourage[d] local traditions". Indeed, the state endeavored to carefully sort out the "good cultural traits" from the "bad," and promote the former while stamping out the latter. In its action over the first three five-year Plans (1973/1974 to 1979/1984) to establish provincial state museums, the state thus had a strongly normative character (as the "handbooks" mentioned above attest—and updated regulations on the preservation and utilization of museum collections were released till the late 1990s, e.g., Regulation No. 19 of 1995 (DM 1998, ICOM 2010).

From 1984 onward, however, subsequent to the new Plan Orientation of 1983 (RI 1983), new policies refocused the role and function of museums toward research and "education about culture and identity" (DM 2011). In practice, the focus shifted away from the preservation of culture toward the conservation of objects, or basic cataloguing, thus discouraging local cultural practices, customs, and traditions viewed as possible challenges to the state (see Rath 1997).

Later, the 1991 "Visit Indonesia Year" program motto, "Let's Go Archipelago," again emphasized the country's cultural diversity, albeit for more concrete purposes of promotion of tourism (Sellato 1998), which in the 1980s had become a crucial currency earner (on the uncomfortable relationship of tourism, nation building, and regional cultures, see Picard 1993, 1997). Indeed, the "Culture" component, for decades under the Ministry of Education and Culture, later was moved to a Ministry of Culture and Tourism, to return to the Ministry of Education in 2009 (DM 2011), and finally to a new Ministry of Education and Culture.

Altogether, considering that citizens construe and articulate anew what the state attempts to impress upon them, the role of museums in the Indonesian



**Fig. 2 –** The Borneo Museum, in Banjarmasin, was created by the Dutch in 1907 in the typical Banjarese high-ridged house (*rumah bubungan tinggi*) style, the only noteworthy museum in Dutch Borneo (the photo dates from the 1920s or 1930s). Plundered during the Japanese occupation, it was replaced in 1955 by a Kalimantan Museum, soon destroyed by fire, and later (1967) by a Museum Banjar. (Source: Tropenmuseum TM-60018759).

nation-building enterprise was really a complex one, as Adams (1999) correctly noted.

Although certain recent legal texts on the development of culture and tourism (RI 2005, 2009) do not even mention the word “museum”, the Ministry of Education and Culture, following a 2010 presidential decree (RI 2010), has set up a “Strategic Program” (*Rencana Strategis*) for the 2010-2014 period, which features an energetic *Revitalisasi Museum* campaign, along with a cute “I Love Museums” national movement (*Gerakan Nasional Cinta Museum*), in order to upgrade the public image of museums and boost their frequentation (DM 2011). The year 2010 was coined “Visit Museum Year” (*Tahun Kunjung Museum*), and various booklets were published to support the campaign (e.g., DM 2009a). The *Revitalisasi Museum* targets the “revitalization” of 36 museums in 2011, and of a total of 80 by the end of the five-year period (Intan Mardiana, pers. com.).

#### Museums in Kalimantan and decentralization<sup>4</sup>

In colonial times, collections of material culture from Kalimantan were generally accommodated in the museum of the Batavian Society, and still constitute the bulk of the present-day National Museum’s Kalimantan holdings. Large collections, however, whether natural history or cultural artefacts, were shipped to various museums, in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Western countries.

4. Data for this section were extracted from the available literature and various Internet sources, the most important listed under “Internet Sources” at the end of the Reference List.

### **Museums in Kalimantan before Decentralization**

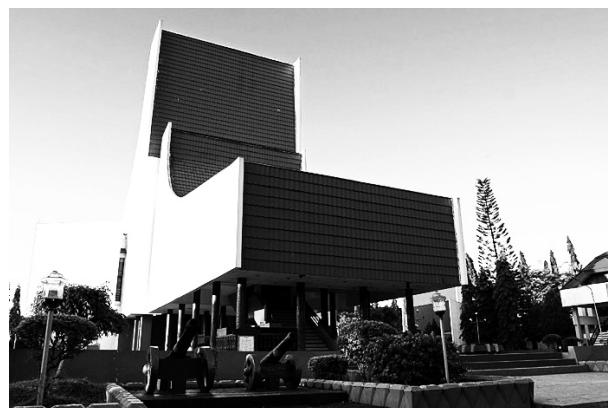
It seems that the first and only important museum in Kalimantan during colonial times was the Borneo Museum (fig. 2), founded by the Dutch in Banjarmasin in 1907—though it does not appear in the lists cited above. The Dutch colonial administration is also reported to have, in 1922, established in Sintang, West Kalimantan, in collaboration with the Tropenmuseum of Amsterdam, a Sintang Cultural Center (see IS Sintang; and more below).

The Borneo Museum was later looted during the Japanese occupation. A new one, the Kalimantan Museum, was built in Banjarmasin in 1955, but was soon destroyed by fire. Another museum, Museum Banjar, was created by the governor of South Kalimantan in 1967, and later transferred to several successive locations.

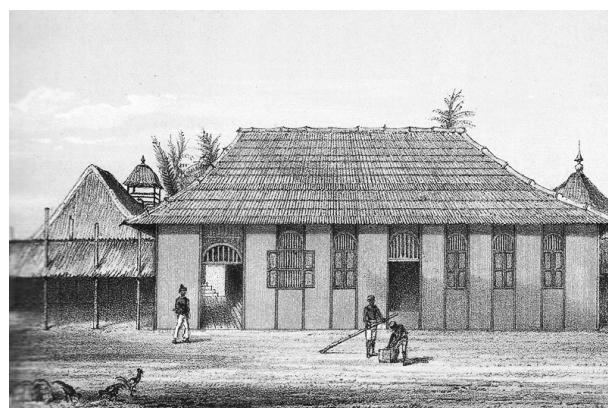
As mentioned above, a second generation of museums, the independent Indonesia's state museums (*museum negeri*), was in the process of being established in the four Kalimantan provinces during Pelita II (1974/1975 to 1978/1979). By the end of Pelita III, Kalimantan already had two completed and operational state museums: the Museum Lambung Mangkurat in South Kalimantan and the Museum Mulawarman in East Kalimantan (out of ten nation-wide; UNESCO 1985).

In Banjarmasin, the city no longer having a royal palace (see below), the collections of the Museum Banjar were finally transferred to the new Museum Lambung Mangkurat (fig. 3), a modern building reminiscent of a traditional Banjarese house, located at Banjar Baru, some 30 km away from the city, and inaugurated in 1979. It houses an important collection of Banjarese and Dayak artefacts and a good selection of archaeological objects. In 2008, it received over 45,000 visitors (IS Banjarmasin).

In East Kalimantan, the sultans' old wooden palace in Tenggarong (fig. 4) was replaced, by the turn of the twentieth century, by a new one, also built of wood, and also known as Keraton Kesultanan Kutai Kartanegara ing Martadipura (fig. 5). This latter palace, damaged by fire, was dismantled and replaced in 1932, by a building made of concrete and in Art Déco style (fig. 6) by a Dutch architect named Estourgie, to be handed over in 1936 to Sultan Aji Muhammad Parikesit. After the sultanate was abolished in 1960, the palace was requisitioned during the Confrontation with Malaysia, as East Borneo sultans were then suspected of intending to join the Malaysian Federation (D.P. Tick, pers. com.). It was turned into a museum in 1971 by the East Kalimantan military commander, and finally transferred by the provincial government to the then Ministry of Education and Culture in 1976. It became a state museum, Museum Negeri Mulawarman, in 1979 (IS Kutai). The old mosque and the royal graveyard, both renovated, are located nearby, while a grand new mosque (Masjid Agung) has recently been built, along with a new royal palace (fig. 7), which is in a style reminiscent of the early-twentieth-century wooden palace and only used for official functions.



**Fig. 3** – The Museum Negeri Lambung Mangkurat's main building at Banjar Baru, some 30 km to the southeast of Banjarmasin, and just off the road from Banjarmasin to Martapura. Building started in 1974, and the Museum was inaugurated in January 1979. Its architects gave the building a shape reminiscent of the typical Banjarese house. It houses collections of Banjar and Dayak artefacts and archaeological objects from Kalimantan. (Source: purnamatravel.files.wordpress.com; <http://www.indonesia-tourism.com/forum/showthread.php?520-Lambung-Mangkurat-Museum-Banjarbaru-South-Kalimantan&s=d5167cad49b6301662278009d08376d5>).



**Fig. 4** – The palace compound of the sultan of Kutai at Tenggarong, East Kalimantan (source: Bock 1882: 24, plate 1). Bock was in Kutai in 1879, in the times of Sultan Aji Muhammad Sulaiman Khalifat al-Mukminin, “one of the most intelligent rulers in the Malay archipelago” (1882: 31). He described “a large, square, wooden building, approached through a long covered courtyard, with two openings for doorways, and covered with a corrugated galvanized iron roof.” Inside, “this Pandoppo ... had large side galleries,” “occupied by fat-tailed sheep,” ... “and another facing the door over a large platform; while part of the floor was occupied by subdivisions, or ‘rooms.’ There were “a few lamps, suspended from the lofty roof, which was supported by massive pillars of iron-wood.” “I looked in vain, however for chairs or seats of any kind” (1882: 32).



**Fig. 5** – The Keraton Kesultanan of Kutai in the times of Sultan Aji Muhammad Alimuddin (r. 1899-1910). Alimuddin, who replaced Sultan Sulaiman, built a new palace, facing the river, also of ironwood, but with two stories. Around 1930, it was badly damaged by fire, and later dismantled, while a new palace made of concrete was built for Sultan Parikesit. (Source: [http://kesultanan.kutaikartanegara.com/index.php?menu=Keraton\\_Kutai](http://kesultanan.kutaikartanegara.com/index.php?menu=Keraton_Kutai)).



**Fig. 6** – The “colonial” Kutai Palace, built in concrete by a Dutch architect for young Sultan Aji Muhammad Parikesit at Tenggarong. Decorated in Art Nouveau style, it faces the Mahakam River across vast front grounds. Started in 1932, it was handed over to the sultan in 1936. After the abolition of the sultanate (1960), the palace was turned into a museum by the military commander of East Kalimantan (1971), then became a state museum, Museum Negeri Mulawarman, in 1979. The obelisk disappeared, but all sorts of fancy new monuments appeared on the front grounds, including a large replica of the winged Lembu Swana, the kingdom’s symbol. The museum houses royal paraphernalia, court costumes, archaeological objects, historical documents, a large collection of ceramics, and an ethnographic section of Dayak artefacts (Photo: Bernard Sellato, 2010).



**Fig. 7** – The new palace, Kedaton Kutai Kartanegara, of Sultan H.A.M. Salehuddin II, Kutai's new sultan since 2001, was built by the government of Kutai Kartanegara District, in the style of Sultan Alimuddin's palace (Photo: BS, 2010). The aisle walls of the Throne Hall display scores of historical documents and photographs, as well as portraits of earlier sultans. (More information: [http://kesultanan.kutaikartanegara.com/index.php?menu=Keraton\\_Kutai](http://kesultanan.kutaikartanegara.com/index.php?menu=Keraton_Kutai)).

In Pontianak, West Kalimantan, the royal family—now headed, since 2004, by Syarif Abubakar Alqadri, the new and ninth sultan—continued to live in the sultan's palace, Keraton Kadriyah (fig. 8), originally built in 1771 by Syarif Abdurrahman Alqadri, a trader of Arab origin, who started the Kadriyah dynasty. The palace, reportedly in rather sad condition, houses the thrones and some regalia, a wooden *mimbar*, a few cannons, ceramic jars, as well as historical portraits and documents. Nearby stands the old Masjid Jami' Sultan Abdurrahman. The state established a Museum Negeri Propinsi Kalimantan Barat (fig. 9), built in a “mixed traditional and modern style” (see Sellato n.d.; on modern architecture in Kalimantan, see Sellato 1998), which was inaugurated in 1983 and became a state museum in 1988, during Pelita IV. Its exhibits include ethnographic collections, as well as an extensive collection of ceramic jars (see Lombard 1984, IS Pontianak).

In Palangkaraya, the capital city of Central Kalimantan, a new province created in 1957, where no sultanate or palace ever existed, the Museum Balanga (fig. 10) was first established as a regional museum (*Museum Daerah*) in 1973 by community members concerned about the preservation of their province's cultural heritage (Kreps 1998: 6; 2003: 26). It was designated as a state museum in 1989 and, as such, its 5,000-item collections include general-interest themes such as “geology, biology, numismatics, and philology” (see SEK 1989-90, IS Palangkaraya). The bulk of its regional-interest collections and its scenography (fig. 11), however, are rooted in the local Ngaju Dayak culture, as described in detail by C. Kreps (2003: 26, 2012).

Government policies regulated the contents (collections and displays) of state museums and, for a part, provided them. They attempted to balance contents between “general interest”, focused on the Archipelago and national values and meant to boost national unity and identity, and “regional interest”, focused on local cultures. Collections, as in the Museum Lambung



**Fig. 8** – The Keraton Kadriyah of Pontianak in 1990. This sturdy, squat palace was originally built by the first sultan, Syarif Abdurrahman Alqadri, in 1771, on the bank of the Kapuas River, next to the Kampung Arab. The broad protruding reception area is a later extension. The royal family was massacred by the Japanese, along with the whole provincial intelligentsia, in the Peristiwa Sungkup (now called Tragedi Mandor). The last sultan, Hamid II, was jailed in 1950, and the sultanate abolished. It was restored in 2004 (Photo: Bernard Sellato, 1990).

Mangkurat, included the following categories: Prehistory, Archaeology, Coins, Ceramics, History, Manuscripts, Modern Arts, Contemporary Crafts, Geography, Astronomy, Geology, Paleontology, Zoology, Botany, Herbarium, and Ethnography. Initially, the local collections often were limited to articles originating from palaces' collections, and therefore mainly reflected Malay-Javanese court cultures, but since the 1980s museum programs concentrated on documenting "tribal" (non-Malay) cultures and building basic (Dayak) ethnographic collections.

Such programs, known as *proyek*—variously called, e.g., "Inventory and Documentation of Regional Culture," "Inventory and Promotion of Cultural Values," or "Museum Development"—initiated and underwritten by the Ministry, gave birth in all provincial state museums to a number of publications (including catalogues) focused on specific local museum



**Fig. 9** – The Museum Negeri of West Kalimantan, in Pontianak, in mixed traditional and modern style (partly standing on stilts), was inaugurated in 1983 and is now considered one of the five best museums nationwide. Its exhibits include ethnographic collections (clothing, masks, weapons, brassware, basketry), models of traditional houses, archaeological objects, some 600 ceramic jars, manuscripts and historical documents, as well as collections of rocks and animals. (Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=473704&page=5>).



**Fig. 10** – The Museum Negeri Balanga, Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan (c. 1985). In a provincial capital with no historical palace, the Museum Balanga was founded in 1973 as a regional museum (*Museum Daerah*) by community members concerned about their province's cultural heritage. Built in a "mixed Dayak and modern" style, it was designated as a state museum in 1989 and inaugurated in 1990. (Source: <http://mahakam24.blogspot.fr/2014/02/museum-balanga-palangkaraya-kalimantan.html>).

collections, or other cultural features, such as traditional architecture (see a review in Sellato in press). Considering that museum staff (civil servants) may or may not comprise participants in the local cultures, such publications are of varying quality. They also are very poorly distributed. Moreover, I never heard that local community members had a say in, or were consulted about what "regional-interest" collections should include.

Regarding "general-interest" collections, the Museum Mulawarman, for example, used to display a collection of traditional costumes of all provinces of Indonesia; miniatures of Java's Borobudur and Prambanan temples; textiles from Sumatra; traditional Indonesian weapons and musical instruments; and a superb collection of Asian and European ceramics, probably originating from the sultan's collection. But several "regional-interest" rooms were dedicated to displays of selected features of the various Dayak cultures, such as wooden sculpture, textile weaving, blowpipes, and basketry.

The Kutai Palace's most precious objects, viewed as part of the "national heritage," were transferred to the National Museum in Jakarta, such as some of the sultans' regalia (e.g., ancient gold objects, such as the two-kilogram gold crown, *ketopong*) or important archaeological pieces (e.g., the famous fifth-century-AD inscribed stone *yupa* steles). Some of these, however, may have been recently returned to Tenggarong. Other important objects of the palace's paraphernalia were not removed, such as the sultan's throne (*singgasana*, created by the Dutch maker Van der Lube in 1935), the Lembu Swana statue (a winged mythical animal and the kingdom's symbol,



**Fig. 11** – The Museum Negeri Balanga, renovated after 2008. It includes a 5,000-item mixed collection, covering both general-interest themes, as provided for by the state, and local-interest, ethnographic themes, as initiated and emphasized by the founders. (Source: <http://mahakam24.blogspot.fr/2014/02/museum-balanga-palangkaraya-kalimantan.html>).

manufactured in Burma in the 1850s), a gamelan orchestra (presented by the sultan of Yogyakarta in 1855), ritual umbrellas, various historical documents and photographs, and official and court costumes and uniforms.

Interestingly, the transformation of a palace into a museum had not quite erased the spiritual and temporal aura of the sultans' offspring, who still lived next to, and sometimes in the palace. “Although the museum is officially owned by the state and thus intended to function as a public museum, [...] the royal family still use the palace and some of the collection for royal functions and ceremonies. [...] The sultan’s family also has considerable say in museum matters” (Kreps 2003: 57). A similar situation pertained to the palace of the sultans of Ternate in the Moluccas (Taylor 1994b). We shall see below how these royal offspring achieved their return to power.

I shall briefly describe here a few minor palaces-museums, which are not state museums and are managed by district (*kabupaten*) culture offices. These museums really are local history museums, and keep echoing the former kingdoms, which still have much sway over the local population. The physical buildings themselves, as former seats of power, still contribute to uphold strong local feelings of identity.



**Fig. 12** – Sintang, the only kingdom of some importance in the far interior of Borneo, at the confluence of the Melawi with the Kapuas, in West Kalimantan, became a sultanate in the late seventeenth century, which was abolished in 1959. Replacing earlier palaces, the present Istana al-Mukarramah is located across the Kapuas River from the town of Sintang, at a place called Kampung Raja. It was built in 1937 by the Dutch for the new sultan, Panembahan Muhammad Jamaluddin, and comprised three main buildings, with ironwood pillars sunk in concrete blocks and an asbestos ceiling under an ironwood shingled roof. Nearby is the royal graveyard (Makam Kerabat Istana) and, right downstream, is an old wooden mosque, Masjid Jami' Sultan Nata. The palace's central building was turned by the state into the Museum Dara Juanti (c. 1970), and renovated in 1985. It displayed a Garuda (the kingdom's symbol), weapons, brassware, ceramic jars, painted and photo portraits of past kings and, on its grounds, bronze cannons and a coarse stone lingga called Batu Kundur. (Photo: Bernard Sellato, 1979).

Sintang, an important kingdom of interior West Kalimantan, probably was established before the fifteenth century. Successive palaces, Istana Kerajaan of the late seventeenth century, Istana Panembahan of the 1860s, and Istana al-Mukarramah built in 1937 (see Enthoven 1903, Lontaan 1975) were large wooden houses on stilts, in "Malay" style, generally with a broad veranda serving as a meeting hall. The kingdom was abolished in 1959, and the palace (fig. 12) turned into the Museum Dara Juanti in the early 1970s (Goenadi et al. 1977). Managed by the local government as a cultural heritage monument, the museum displays the former ruler's collections (a gamelan, ceramic jars, cannons, photographs), and some ethnographic objects (see IS Sintang). The palace has recently been renovated (fig. 13).

Pasir, an early (fourteenth century?) coastal polity of East Kalimantan, settled at Paser Belengkong in the sixteenth century under the name Sadurengas. It later became a sultanate, ruled by Bugis or Banjarese overlords. The present palace, actually a not-so-large wooden platform house quite superbly called Kuta Imam Duyu Kina Lenja, with elegant Bugis-style carvings and finials, was built in the mid-nineteenth century and formerly surrounded by ironwood fences (see *Handleiding* 1884: II, 149-151). In 1908, the sultan handed authority over Pasir to the Dutch, and was later arrested and banished (1918; see Eisenberger 1936: 89-98, cited in Bakker 2008: 154). The Dutch built a new administrative town at Tanah Grogot, leaving Belengkong a backwater place. The palace later became the Museum Sadurengas (fig. 14), with its adjacent old mosque, graveyard, and old cannons, and its collections (fig. 15-16) include ceramic jars, royal outfits, and domestic utensils. It was completely renovated between 2008 and 2010 (fig. 17; and see IS Pasir).



**Fig. 13** – The Sintang sultanate was restored (2003) and Muhammad Ikhsani Shafieuddin, in 2005, became its new king, Panembahan Kusuma Negara V, and occupied the recently renovated palace. The museum's collections were moved to the side buildings. Soon after this, the district government of Sintang initiated administrative procedures toward the creation of a new province, Kapuas Raya, to be carved out of West Kalimantan. (Source: <http://melayuonline.com/ind/history/dig/431/istana-al-mukarrammah-sintang>).

Kotawaringin, a Malay principality, was established on Borneo's south coast before the fourteenth century, then Islamized and taken over, as Kasultanan Kota Ringin, by the Banjarese sultan in the sixteenth century. A palace, Istana al-Nursari, was built in Banjarese style at Kotawaringin Lama, on the Lamandau River, in the late sixteenth century, and probably rebuilt several times. Its old mosque (Mesjid Kyai Gede, now renovated) and royal graveyard can still be seen there. In the early nineteenth century, Sultan Imanuddin moved his capital to Sukabumi Indra Sakti (later known as Pangkalan Bun), on a side stream and closer to the coast, where he built a



**Fig. 14** – The palace of the sultan of Paser Sadurengas, at Paser Belengkong, Paser District, East Kalimantan (in 2010, before the end of renovation work). Built in the mid-nineteenth century by Sultan Aji Tenggara (1844-1873), and named Kuta Imam Duyu Kina Lenja, it is a wooden house on stilts, of relatively modest proportions, with elegant roof finials, surrounded by an old wooden mosque, a royal graveyard, and an enclosure with sacred cannons. Now a museum, Museum Sadurengas, it houses collections of ceramic jars, royal outfit, domestic utensils, and historical documents (Photo: Bernard Sellato, 2010).



**Fig. 15** – Inside the Museum Sadurengas, Paser: part of historical collections: uniform, photographs, brass trays (Photo: Bernard Sellato, 2010).



**Fig. 16** – Inside the Museum Sadurengas, Paser: part of ethnographic collections, mostly basketry artefacts (Photo: Bernard Sellato, 2010).

new palace (fig. 18), with the glorious title of Keraton Lawang Agung Bukit Indra Kencana (but usually called Istana Kuning; see *Handleiding* 1884: II, 111-115, Pijnappel 1968, Gazali 1994, Vita & Rita 1994: 10-11, Suwedi 1994/1995: 15-20, and IS Kotawaringin). The Istana Kuning was renovated by the state as a museum between 1980 and 1985, damaged by fire in 1986, and rebuilt. Recently renovated again (fig. 19), it houses collections of ancient weapons, ceramics, costumes, and documents.



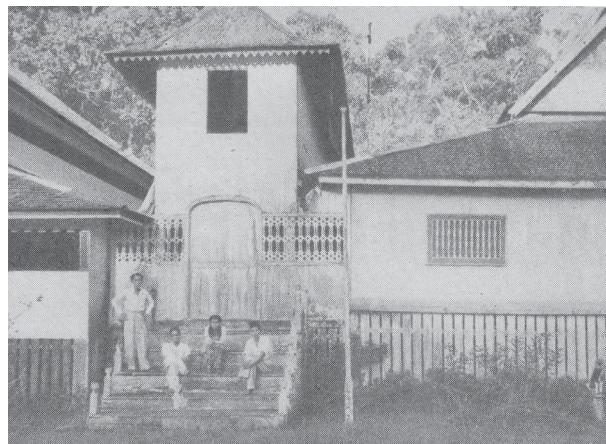
**Fig. 17** – Inside the Museum Sadurengas, Paser: the reception hall, with elevated platform and two winged creatures (Photo: Bernard Sellato, 2010).

Apart from such museums, rooted in local minor kingdoms' histories, small museums with a narrow thematic focus have recently emerged, like the Museum Waja Sampai Ka Puting (a.k.a. Wasaka, the motto of the local independence struggle) in Banjarmasin, housed in a converted traditional Banjarese house and inaugurated in 1991, with collections of some 400 objects related to the history of the independence war in South Kalimantan (see IS Banjarmasin).

#### ***Decentralization, the Museum Boom, and Depatrimonization***

In the first decade of the new century, in the more open, more liberal context of decentralization, the restoration of a number of sultanates was wrested from and officially recognized by the Indonesian state—e.g., Kutai (2001), Sintang (2003), Pontianak (2004)—while Banjarmasin long remained the object of a dynastic dispute. Subsequently, a law was passed (c. 2008) to the effect that the traditional kingdoms' cultural heritage should be protected (D.P. Tick, pers. com.). Subsequent to such restorations, descendants of sultans everywhere in the country—and even in the tiniest former local polities—were enthroned, and some demanded the restitution of their forebears' palaces and property, and sometimes “territories” (on the Pasir case, see Bakker 2008), and these new kings now endeavor to also restore for themselves a focal position in the current increasingly lively and localized cultural and, quite importantly, political setting.

The post-New Order political and administrative decentralization laws also devolved much “cultural” autonomy to lower administrative levels (*daerah*: province and district; see RI 2000, 2004, 2007), whereby regional



**Fig. 18** – The Istana Kuning, at Pangkalan Bun, Central Kalimantan, before 1950. An ancient kingdom mentioned in the *Nāgara-kertāgama*, Kota Waringin became a sultanate in the sixteenth century. The sultanate was abolished in 1959 but, in 2010, Pangeran Ratu Alidin Sukma Alamsyah was installed as its fifteenth sultan. This palace, also called Keraton Indra Kencana, was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by the ninth sultan, Pangeran Ratu Imanuddin (r. 1805-1841), after he moved his capital from Kota Waringin Lama, on the Lamandau River, to Pangkalan Bun, on the Arut River. Made of ironwood, it is said to combine stylistic influences from Java, Banjar, Malay, and Dayak. The Istana Kuning was renovated by the state as a museum between 1980 and 1985, damaged by fire in 1986, and rebuilt. Recently renovated again, it houses a collection of ancient weapons, oars, jewelry, costumes, ceramics, and portraits, as well as a seventeenth-century Dutch cannon. (Source: *RIK* 1953: 434).



**Fig. 19** – The Istana Kuning, after renovation. The three main buildings, and the entrance and tower in the background. (Source: <http://aditya-pbun.blogspot.fr/2013/07/kesultanan-islam-pertama-di-kalimantan.html>).

governments now have authority over policies of cultural development, including the establishment of “regional museums” (*museum daerah*).

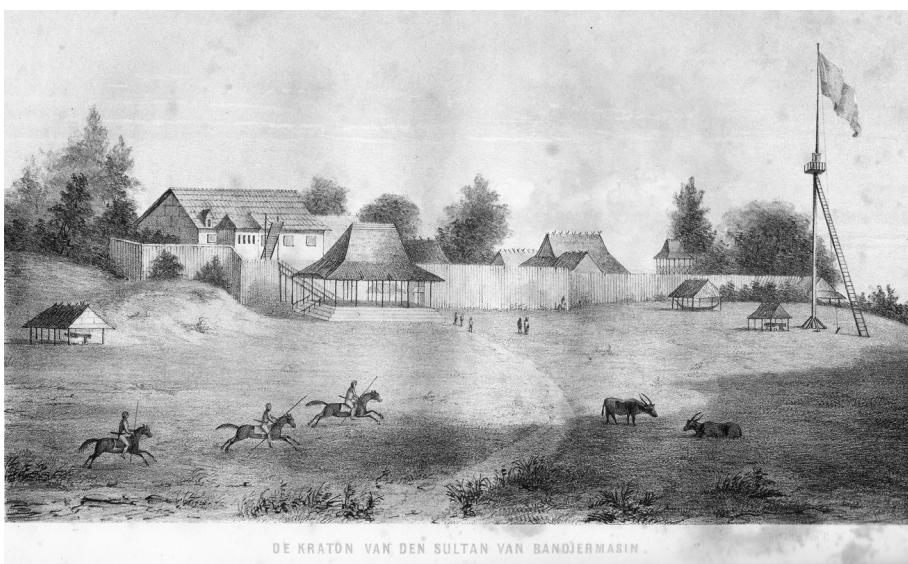
At provincial level, in the framework of the post-2000 “new paradigm,” state museums are now fully run by the provincial government, practically by a “technical executive unit” (UPT, Unit Pelaksana Teknis) of the Section of Museums and Antiquities (Bidang Permuseuman dan Peninggalan Sejarah) of the provincial Office (Dinas) of the Ministry of Education and Culture (DM 2011). Due to the recent centrifugal trends, however, administrative authority over state museums, as well as over policies, may be devolved to districts, and may vary with provinces, and even with districts. In any event, with increased economic affluence, provincial or district governments (PEMDA, *Pemerintah Daerah*), now in charge of keeping and displaying cultural collections, seem to spend much more liberally on “their” museums than did the state before decentralization.

In the first decade of this century, with an increasingly inward-focused cultural and political life at province (formerly *propinsi*, now *provinsi*) and district (*kabupaten*) levels, a strengthened local identity, and greater financial means, both museums and sultans’ palaces have become important stakes. A third generation of museums, initiated and subsidized by local governments, newly enthroned sultans (or pretenders), as well as, most probably, corporate donors, is blooming, on a much larger scale than their predecessors.

In Kutai, a huge new museum has just been built, next to, and meant to replace, the old Mulawarman palace cum state museum. Next to the old mosque, Masjid Jami’ Aji Amir Hasanuddin, said to have been built upon the coming of Islam to Kutai in the seventeenth century, the recently collapsed minaret was replaced by a modern-style tower. An ostentatious new palace, called Kedaton Kutai Kartanegara (fig. 7), was also built for the new sultan, Aji Muhammad Salehuddin II, who, on 24 November 2010, invited sultans from all over Indonesia to celebrate in grand style the 1,660th anniversary of the kingdom of Kutai (purportedly founded by Maharaja Sri Kundungga in 350 AD), thus establishing nationwide seniority among fellow sultans (*Kaltim Post* 2010).

In South Kalimantan, due to frequent moves of the seat of power, a war lost to the Dutch (1859–1865), and the subsequent official extinction of the sultanate (1905; see Van Rees 1867, Idwar 1958, 1975, 1982/1983), the old palace of the 1850s (fig. 20–21) was ruined and no new palace was ever built. As of 2012, no new sultan had yet been enthroned, but for Prince Khairul Saleh, then a leading wannabe sultan and a district head in Banjarmasin (*RAI* 2012), the city bought land and underwrote the construction of a new palace. Eventually, Khairul Saleh became sultan of Banjarmasin, district head of Banjarmasin City (and head of the Council of Borneo Sultans; D.P. Tick, pers. com.).

Interestingly, Banjarmasin architects had to turn to mid-nineteenth-century Dutch engravings for inspiration (e.g., Schwaner 1853–54), and the new sultan

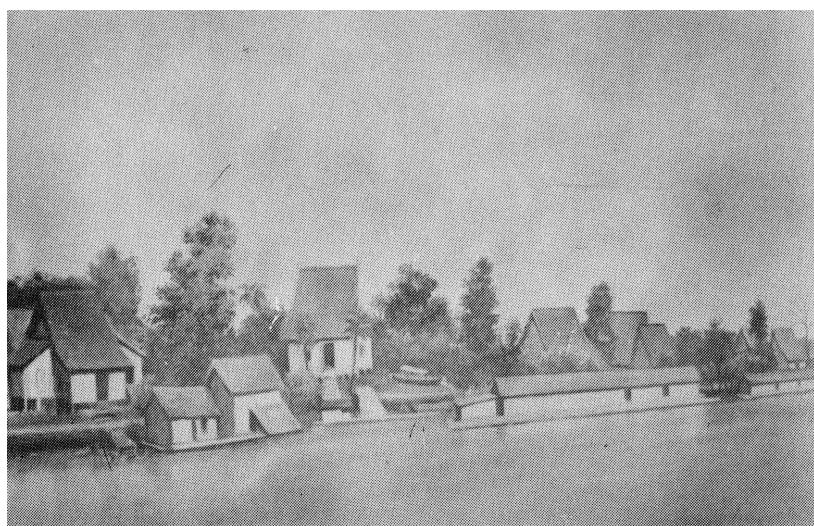


**Fig. 20** – The Keraton (or Dalem) of Martapura, the palace compound of the sultan of Banjarmasin at Martapura, c. 1845 (source: Schwaner 1853-54). C.A.L.M. Schwaner travelled in the area between 1843 and 1847. This plate is probably one of the 27 tinted lithographs made by C.W. Mieling (see also Buddingh 1867).

of Landak, West Kalimantan, used Dutch archive documents to design his new palace in the old ‘Malay’ style (D.P. Tick, pers. com.)—in Brunei Darussalam, as De Vienne (2012) reports, architects resorted to old British engravings (e.g., Marryat 1848) to rebuild the sultan’s *lapau* ceremonial hall, which had been destroyed during World War II.

The restoration of sultans involves important stakes for the political factions competing for power at provincial or district level. In South Kalimantan, long affected by dynastic disputes, one faction successfully lobbied for Khairul Saleh’s choice as sultan, while another was supporting another claimant and had a new palace built for him in another town upriver. In Kutai, the faction that had supported Sultan Aji Muhammad Salehuddin II apparently became dissatisfied with his later, more independent stance and prompted, as a political alternative, the comeback of another dynastic line, that of Kutai Martadipura, a kingdom conquered and abolished by Kutai Kartanegara in the eighteenth century (D.P. Tick, pers. com.).

In this increasingly prestigious setting, for both sultans and local governments, customary “tribute remittance” festivals like the Erau in Kutai or Birau in Bulungan, which traditionally were held annually for hinterland tribes to renew their allegiance to sultans, have now been turned into huge, high-profile touristic events, with dance and music performances, handicraft



**Fig. 21** – A waterfront view of the last palace of the Banjar sultans, at Sungai Mesa, c. 1857. This was Sultan Tamjid's (Tamjidillah's) palace, from where he tried to rule, from 1857 to 1859, before he was exiled to Bogor. It was standing across the Martapura river from the Dutch resident's office (source: Idwar Saleh 1982/1983: 39; Museum Negeri Lambung Mangkurat, Inv. No. S. 3559). This scene was possibly reproduced by the Museum from Werdmüller von Elgg's *Schetsen uit Bandjarmasin* (1863).

sales, blowpipe contests, and longboat regattas, to boost regional status and local governments' revenue. Provincial and district tourism agencies (Dinas Pariwisata) endeavor to promote such events—as well as their museums, among other “touristic items” (*obyek pariwisata*)—to national and international customers, now through websites.

In smaller towns, mostly district capitals, the palaces of minor sultanates have recently been renovated—or, sometimes, totally rebuilt—and house small non-state museums. In coastal East Kalimantan, a Museum Kesultanan Bulungan (fig. 22-23) has been established, and both the twin and rival Sambaliung and Gunung Tabur sultanates' palaces in Berau were renovated, the latter housing the Museum Batiwakkal. In the southeast, Bugis principalities of the Tanah Bumbu area are now in the process of reinstalling themselves (D.P. Tick, pers. com.). In West Kalimantan, the Matan Palace (fig. 24-25), the Mempawah Palace (fig. 26-27), and the Sanggau Palace (fig. 28) were renovated or rebuilt, each including a small museum. Palaces in Sekadau, Sambas, Mempawah, and Tayan, all in West Kalimantan, also were renovated, while the six minor principalities in Kapuas Hulu District very recently showed some signs of revival, initiated by the local government (D.P. Tick, pers. com.).

Such local museums, which may be visited, display regalia, old weapons, and historical documents and photographs. They also attest to the converging interests of impoverished royal families in quest of resources and affluent



**Fig. 22** – The palace of the sultan of Bulungan, at Tanjung Palas, across the Bulungan (or Kayan) River from Tanjung Selor, the capital of Bulungan District, East Kalimantan, c. 1950. After the death of Sultan Jalaluddin (1958), the sultanate suffered the 18 July 1964 “Tragedi Bultiken,”<sup>33</sup> in which an Indonesian army unit massacred and abducted royal family members, and looted and burnt the palace. (Source: <http://www.bulungan.go.id> ; in <http://muhammadzarkasy-bulungan.blogspot.fr/>).

district governments in quest of spiritual aura (see below) and legitimacy (and, possibly, tourism revenue). Interestingly, renovated palaces of ancient Indianized kingdoms often were painted a rich golden yellow, while those of more recent (or historically Bugis- or Makassar-controlled) sultanates were painted green.

In Sintang, Kesuma Negara V (installed in 2005 as *panembahan* and in 2006 as sultan; *RAI* 2012) and his family now occupy the old Istana Al Mukarramah’s main building, and only side buildings housing the Museum Dara Juanti remain open to visitors (fig. 13). A renovation project by the



**Fig. 23** – The new Museum Kesultanan Bulungan was built in c. 2000 at Tanjung Palas, in a style reminiscent of the old palace, “but in [much] smaller size.” Old cannons are set on the front grounds, facing the Kayan River. Collections include what was salvaged from the looting and destruction: some furniture, Malay krisses, ceramic jars, and photographs. A new sultan, Maulana al-Mamun Ibni Muhammad Maulana Jalaluddin, was inaugurated in 2013. (Source: <http://springocean83.wordpress.com/author/springocean83/page/2/>).



**Fig. 24** – The Matan Palace, called Istana Matan Tanjung Pura or Istana Mulya Kerta, at Ketapang, in the southwest of Kalimantan, in the early 1970s. It was built in the second half of the nineteenth century by Muhammad Sabran, fourteenth *panembahan* of Matan, totally rebuilt in the early twentieth century, in “a more European style,” by the Western-educated Panembahan Gusti Muhammad Saunan, and recently renovated. While the tower was meant as a watch post, a cannon called Meriam Padam Pelita is set on the grounds. (source: Lontaan 1975: 92; <http://syawalcueexs.blogspot.fr/2013/08/kerajaankeraton-matan-tanjung-pura.html>).

Sintang district government, in the early 2000s, was abandoned, probably due to the sultan's averseness. Instead, a new project, the Sintang Cultural Center (Pusat Kebudayaan Sintang; fig. 29), was jointly initiated in 2004 by the Sintang district government and the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) of Amsterdam, as part of a “New Museum” program (C. Kreps, pers. com.; see also Fienieg 2007). Its museum cum library, Museum Kapuas Raya, was inaugurated in 2008. This center is conceived of as an educational and recreational cultural focal point for local residents. Ecumenically representing the region’s three peoples (Dayak, Malay, and Chinese), its collections include



**Fig. 25** – The Matan Palace in 2010, after renovation. Collections include thrones, furniture, batik and other textiles, and portraits and photos. (Source: <http://liveinbalikpapan.blogspot.fr/2012/09/kerajaan-tanjungpura.html>).



**Fig. 26** – The Mempawah Palace, called Istana Amantubillah Mempawah, on Borneo's northwest coast (c. 1930). It was built c. 1770 by Panembahan Adiwijaya Kesuma, a successor to the Bugis founder of the Amantubillah sultanate (c. 1750). The last sultan died in 1944 at the hands of the Japanese, but a new prince, Mardan Adijaya, took the throne in 2002. The palace was damaged by fire in 1880, renovated in 1922, and again very recently. (Source: KOI in <http://dedy-afriyanto.blogspot.fr/>).

ceramics, weapons, daily utensils, musical instruments, and old photographs (fig. 30; and see IS Sintang).

Other rich districts, in their turn, are now funding the creation of local museums, sometimes in relation to particular regional economic or cultural features, as with the Museum Kayu Tuah Himba in Tenggarong (see IS Kutai), dedicated to forests and forestry, and a museum project in Sangatta, East Kalimantan, focusing on the history of the region's coal exploitation and on the more recent palm oil industry (A. Guerreiro, pers. com.). One may imagine that local business corporations contributed heavily to the funding. More often than not, foundations (*yayasan*) are established to raise funds



**Fig. 27** – The Mempawah Palace c. 2010, after renovation. The main building serves as a museum, exhibiting regalia, a large set of weapons, documents, portraits, and photos. Located nearby are an old mosque and the royal graveyard. (Source: <http://www.wisatakalbar.bl.ee/index.php/history-tourism>).



**Fig. 28** – The Istana Kuta of Sanggau, West Kalimantan, c. 2010 (after renovation). An old kingdom, claimed to date back to the early fourteenth century, Sanggau is located some distance up the Kapuas River from Pontianak. This is Istana Kuta, the older of two palaces, as Sanggau, since c. 1740, has had two royal branches, Istana Kuta and Istana Beringin, alternating in the sultan's position. The Istana Kuta was originally built by Sultan Zainuddin (r. 1722-1741). The sultanate was abolished in 1960, and the palace was found in a sorry state of decay in the 1980s. Now called Keraton Surya Negara, it was renovated in 2009, as Pangeran Ratu H. Gusti Arman Surya Negara was installed as the new sultan of Sanggau. The compound comprises several buildings (Rumah Laut, Rh. Balai, Rh. Penghulu, Rh. Wredhana, etc.). In its Rumah Darat are kept historical collections, including royal costumes, umbrella, krisses, royal seals, musical instruments, manuscripts and photographs. Although the palace may be visited, it is not a public museum. (Source: catur prasetyo sp, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/28009151>).

and run these projects. Another project, also in Sangatta, focuses on recent archaeological discoveries in nearby caves (Chazine in press). In Amuntai, South Kalimantan, a Museum Candi Agung was recently established around a fifteenth-century Hindu temple, most probably involving expertise from the National Archaeological Center and funding from Jakarta.

The central Directorate in Jakarta, anticipating a continuing explosion in the numbers of local museums and wishing to mediate as a guide and referent in their establishment, has recently issued a booklet of advice to interested parties: “How to Start a Museum” (DM 2009b).

However, beyond an obvious quest for prestige, as expressed in the new museums’ often grand physical buildings, regional governments’ true long-term commitment—with follow-up funding for staff development, collection acquisition, and proper maintenance—may be questioned, as well as their continuing pursuit of the central state’s earlier explicit, though ambiguous, policy of “preserving and developing regional cultures.”

### New trends and the palaces’ future

Sultans’ palaces in Indonesian Borneo have experienced a long period of progressive patrimonization in the course of a half century of nation-building policies (1950/2000), and are now being reverted to the descendants of their



**Fig. 29** – The new Sintang Cultural Center (SCC). The Dutch administration, in collaboration with the Tropenmuseum of Amsterdam, reportedly established, as early as in 1922 a Sintang Cultural Center. In September 2004, a new project, the Sintang Cultural Center (Pusat Kebudayaan Sintang), was jointly initiated by the Sintang district government and the (Catholic) Kobus Foundation, and implemented by the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) of Amsterdam. The SCC is an educational and recreational structure, meant as “a symbol of peace, harmony and tolerance in an area where ethnic violence was once strongly felt,” complete with archives, library, and exhibition space. (Source: [http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Pusat\\_Kebudayaan\\_Sintang](http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Pusat_Kebudayaan_Sintang)).

former owners in a rather abrupt process of depatrimonization over about a decade, subsequent to extensive decentralization and regional autonomy.

### ***Palaces and Power***

Sultans' palaces had been turned into museums, and their contents—their owners' somewhat private familial and historical heritage and collections—appropriated by the state, removed, studied, catalogued, and exhibited to the public. During that period, palace buildings were properly maintained (or not) by relevant state agencies, renovated or left to collapse, and their collections were (or were not) properly and securely cared for. Meanwhile, sultans' descendants, usually large extended families, having also lost a hefty portion of their traditional revenue, were left politically powerless and economically impoverished—but sometimes only relatively so.

With the reversion of palaces to these sultans' offspring, we have come to realize that sultans' power has never been totally lost, and that the spiritual aura of the palace, albeit as a “democratic museum,” has never really waned in the minds of the local population. Moreover, the existence of an ancient “royal graveyard” (*makam raja*), as well as of special sites or objects (e.g., old cannons) viewed as sacred (*pusaka* or *keramat*), located in the vicinity of a palace, adds to its spiritual aura. With palace restitution and sultan enthronement, the re-creation of the sultan-palace symbolic pair is tantamount



**Fig. 30** – Inside the Sintang Cultural Center, the Museum Kapuas Raya Inaugurated in 2008, it is meant to represent the three local ethnic cultures (Melayu, Dayak, and Chinese) and to strengthen and revitalize them. These groups were involved in the making of the museum, and staff was trained in Sintang and the Netherlands. In its three fine main exhibition rooms are collections of ceramics, costumes, ikat textiles, weapons, musical instruments, domestic utensils, ritual objects, documents, and photographs. (Source: <http://kerajaan-indonesia.blogspot.fr/2008/12/opening-museum-of-kapuas-raja-of.html>).

to resurrecting the sultanate. As Van Klinken, in his excellent “Return of the Sultans” article (2007), writes: “The sultans play a symbolic role in an emerging local dynamic in which the stakes include bureaucratic power and control over land.” We now see sultans’ descendants rather easily gaining access to modern positions of power, for instance, as district heads, and in any case wielding much influence, directly or offstage, over regional politics.

Throughout the Indonesian republic’s history, modern leaders, including presidents, consistently strived to attain the status of, and be regarded as, traditional leaders—i.e., “kings” or sultans—complete with the required spiritual inspiration (*wahyu*) and collections of *pusaka*, whether ceramic jars or old portraits. With the reversion of their palaces, the sultans’ descendants ipso facto recovered that power in the eyes of “their” people, who now often are their constituency. Many new sultans had books published, illustrated with historical documents and photos, to strengthen their legitimacy and their kingdom’s stature, prestige, and antiquity, and exalt its spiritual aura (e.g., Bilfaqih 2006).

Today, therefore, with depatrimonization, palaces are starting a new life—or, rather, somehow resuming their pre-colonial life—as the focal points of power and of local and regional political and cultural life and identity. It does not matter, actually, whether it is the old palace or a new one, provided that all the necessary rituals are carried out to make it spiritually efficient, and that all the important, potent historical *pusaka* are present.

#### ***Palaces as both Traditional and “New Museums”***

Over the last few decades, scholars and the civil society alike have stressed the need to involve the local people in the elaboration of the museums

meant to represent them (see Tan 2010). The “New Museology” movement, intended to help “decolonize” museums, promotes community-based museum development: Museums should grow out of the communities in which they exist, and their purposes and meanings should be determined by these communities, in the process of defining themselves (see Kreps 1998). This is, indeed, how community members initially established the Museum Balanga of Central Kalimantan (Kreps 1998, 2003; see another case study in Andini 2011). Features of this new model of museums seem to have, in Indonesia, been endorsed readily by the Directorate of Museums, which stresses that a museum must be a forum and a “contact zone” (DM 2011).

Students and promoters of “non-Western models of museums” envision certain traditional practices, such as collecting and storing valuable objects, which tell us about what local people view as important, as alternative curatorial practices. Such curatorial-type behavior, focused on traditional forms of heritage management, is a cross-cultural phenomenon of great historical depth, as Kreps (1998) noted.

The descriptions provided above of the collections housed in sultans’ palaces are explicit enough: ceramic jars, gamelan orchestras, precious regalia articles, royal paraphernalia (throne, ritual umbrellas), bronze cannons, state insignia, and the like. Some are permanently exhibited to visitors, others are only visible during royal rituals, other still, as “private” collections, are stored away in back rooms.

Investigating the “collections” of ceramic jars and bronze or brass gongs of the tribal Kenyah Dayak in the remote interior, C. Kreps saw the Kenyah family rice barn as “functionally analogous to the museum both in terms of a place to store and protect valuable property and a structure that embodied conservation principles and techniques” (Kreps 2003: 132; see also 2005). Such collections, however, are never exhibited (Kreps 2006: 457), although individual items may serve as bridewealth goods or to pay ritual fines.

In both the sultanate’s and tribal society’s cases, these collections are *pusaka*—although there is no such term in Kenyah languages—and almost solely comprised of imported prestige articles, procured through trade with the coastal polities and following their example, at the exclusion of all types of locally manufactured objects. While they clearly are the result of an indigenous selection of “what is important,” it may be argued that they hardly reflect the indigenous culture. In fact, they rather reflect the view of these societies’ elite classes, the nobility and wealthiest families in both cases.

So, what we are considering here is “court arts”, in its broadest sense, even in the case of Kenyah granary, not “folk arts and crafts.” Contrasting the Mulawarman Palace and the Museum Balanga, then, is revealing enough. The Yogyakarta *keraton* or Buckingham and Versailles palaces are not meant for displaying folk arts. Where, then, should folk arts and crafts be displayed,

both for regional cultural “conservation and development” and for the local younger generations’ education? Will modern educated elites now in regional government spheres at some point come to recognize that a carved wooden spoon or a bamboo fishing basket is as important, if not more, than a Ming dynasty ceramic jar in the maintenance of regional cultural traditions, and start building ethnographic collections revealing daily-use artefacts and techniques?

It should be noted here, with Njoto (2015), that the concept of “heritage” translates differently as *warisan* in state agencies’ legislation and publications and as *pusaka* among heritage NGOs, which promote the use of the latter word in their endeavor to protect the Indonesian heritage, as in their 2003 “Indonesian Heritage Year” (*Tahun Pusaka Indonesia*; Njoto 2015). While *pusaka* (from Sanskrit) and *warisan* (from Arabic) are close synonyms, the former tends to refer to heirloom as treasure, often with a spiritual component, whereas the latter appears more mundane. The choice of terms by either party, then, is probably not totally innocent (for discussions of *pusaka*, see Damais 1992, Soebadio 1992, Kreps 2003: 50-56, Njoto 2015).

To conclude with an open-ended question, it appears, twenty years after Kreps’ (1994) remark, that what actually constitutes “culture” and how it should be developed, on both the national and regional levels, is and will continue to be a matter of debate in Indonesia.

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<http://onvacationtour.wordpress.com/2010/12/16/wasaka-museum/>; <http://www.wisatanesia.com/2010/09/museum-wasaka.html>

*IS Kotawaringin*

[http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerajaan\\_Kotawaringin](http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerajaan_Kotawaringin);

[http://kotawaringinbaratkab.go.id/pde/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=90&Itemid=56](http://kotawaringinbaratkab.go.id/pde/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=90&Itemid=56)

*IS Kutai, Museum Mulawarman*

<http://www.kutaikartanegara.com/>

<http://museumku.wordpress.com/2010/04/24/museum-negeri-provinsi-kalimantan-timur-mulawarman/>;

[http://kesultanan.kutaikartanegara.com/index.php?menu=Keraton\\_Kutai](http://kesultanan.kutaikartanegara.com/index.php?menu=Keraton_Kutai)

<http://museumku.wordpress.com/2010/05/13/museum-kayu-tuan-himba/>

*IS Palangkaraya, Museum Balanga*

<http://museumbalanga.comuf.com/museumbalanga.php>

<http://centralborneo.net/palangkaraya/museum-balanga/>

*IS Pasir, Museum Sadurengas*

<http://museumku.wordpress.com/2010/04/24/museum-sadurengas/>; [http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kesultanan\\_Pasir](http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kesultanan_Pasir)

*IS Pontianak*

<http://disbudpar.kalbarprov.go.id/obyek-wisata/58-museum-negeri-pontianak.html>; <http://www.pontianakweb.com/blog/kota-pontianak/item/35-museum-kalimantan-barat.html>;

[http://www.museumindonesia.com/museum/44/1/Museum\\_Provinsi\\_Kalimantan\\_Barat\\_Pontianak](http://www.museumindonesia.com/museum/44/1/Museum_Provinsi_Kalimantan_Barat_Pontianak)

*IS Sintang*

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<http://asosiasimuseumindonesia.org/organisasi/anggaran-rumah-tangga/2-single-articles/270-museum-dara-juanti.html>;

[http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Pusat\\_Kebudayaan\\_Sintang](http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Pusat_Kebudayaan_Sintang);

[http://www.sintang.go.id/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=228:museum-kapuas-raya&catid=85:rokstories2&Itemid=44](http://www.sintang.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=228:museum-kapuas-raya&catid=85:rokstories2&Itemid=44).

DANNY WONG TZE KEN<sup>1</sup>

## The Name of Sabah and the Sustaining of a New Identity in a New Nation<sup>2</sup>

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### Introduction

On 16 September 1963, the former state of North Borneo became part of Malaysia. Among the major changes in the new state was the change of name from North Borneo to Sabah (Fig. 1). The term “North Borneo” had been used since the setting up of the British North Borneo Company administration in 1879, when the Provisional Association of North Borneo Company was established. From that time, the newly constituted territory was known as North Borneo (Borneo Utara in Malay), designating the northern region of the state on the island of Borneo. Its people were called North Borneans; and a flag was designed along with a coat of arms. In 1963, this new name of Sabah, a new flag and a new coat of arms marked the beginning of an era when the state and its people assumed a new identity, and thus began a period of adjusting to the notion of being citizens of the new Federation of Malaysia as well as the new identity of being a Sabahan (*vis-à-vis* a North Bornean). Yet, the name of Sabah is not new; neither was the effort to foster a new identity of Sabahan. This paper will look at the provenance of the name “Sabah,” and how this old name was given a new interpretation and meaning at the time when the state was heading for independence. The paper will then turn its attention to the efforts to foster and sustain this Sabah identity after 1963; and its relation to the national identity of being a Malaysian.

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2. The author would like to thank the comments and suggestions by the reviewers which are now incorporated in the text.

### The Provenance of the Name “Sabah”

There have been several suggestions about the origins of the name “Sabah.” In one of the earliest historical documents signed between the rulers of the territories that would become North Borneo, the title of “Maharaja of Sabak” was conferred on Baron Gustave von Overbeck in 1877 by Sultan Abdul Mumin of Brunei. The term “Sabak” was found in the Jawi version of the appointment, whereas “Sabah” was used in the English translation of the appointment of Baron von Overbeck as Rajah of Gaya and Sandakan and Maharajah of Sabah on 29 November 1877. Baron von Overbeck was a former Austrian Consul in Shanghai who took over the original concession of the territory that constitutes most of present-day Sabah, and who attracted British interest through the trading house of the Dent Brothers (Alfred and Edward Dent) of London. It was the Dent Brothers who went on to obtain British endorsement for their establishment of a government in North Borneo, which came in the form of a royal charter and which eventually led to the establishment of the North Borneo Company rule over the territory.

The term “Sabah” was first used in a book entitled *The New Ceylon, Being a Sketch of British North Borneo, or Sabah* by Joseph Hatton,<sup>3</sup> the father of Frank Hatton, the pioneering scientist who worked for the North Borneo Company, and who later lost his life in a rifle accident in 1881.

Allen R. Maxwell argues that the term “Sabah” is to be found in one of the terms of a Brunei system of directional orientation.<sup>4</sup> However, he reckoned that the correct original name should be “Saba,” without “t” nor “h.” But somehow, the English spelling became “Sabah” has a final “h.”<sup>5</sup>

However, the term was never used on any map referring to present-day Sabah.<sup>6</sup>

There have been differing views on the actual meaning of the word “Saba” or “Sabah”. According to Lee Yong Leng,<sup>7</sup> the word is of Dusun origin referring to the most northerly part of Borneo. Jasni<sup>8</sup> argues that the word is of Brunei Malay origin, deriving from the term “seberang.” Jasni also suggests another possibility, again of Malay origin, “sabak,” which roughly translates

**3.** Joseph Hatton, *The New Ceylon, Being a Sketch of British North Borneo, or Sabah*, London: Chapman & Hall Ltd, 1881.

**4.** Allen R. Maxwell, The Origin of the Name “Sabah”, *Sabah Society Journal*, Vol. 7, Part 2, 1981/82, p.91.

**5.** Ibid., p.93.

**6.** The most recent publication of maps pertaining to Malaya and Borneo, does not contain any map published before 1963 with the name of Sabah. See Frédéric Durand & Richard Curtis, *Maps of Malaya and Borneo: Discovery, Statehood and Progress. The Collections of H.R.H. Sultan Sharafudin Idris Shah and Dato’ Richard Curtis*, Kuala Lumpur: Jugra Publications & Editions Didier Millet, 2013.

**7.** Lee Yong Leng, *North Borneo (Sabah), a Study in Settlement Geography*, Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1965.

**8.** R.M. Jasni, *Sejarah Sabah*, Penang: Saudara Sinaran Berhad, 1965.

as “the act or place of boiling down sugar palm juice or sap.”<sup>9</sup> But how it was linked to the territory is not explained. It is also clear that the act of boiling down sugar palm juice or sap was not confined to the natives in Sabah.

The next possibility also came from Jasni, who suggested that the word came from the Arabic word for “seven,” “sab’at” or “sab’a.” Jasni, however, did not explain how it is associated with the territory.<sup>10</sup> Finally, some speculated that the term came from the Arabic name of the Biblical country of Sheba, “Saba” or ‘Saba.’<sup>11</sup> All these were mere suggestions by the respective authors, based on their personal observations but without concrete evidence. Thus, it is perhaps one word for which we will never find a plausible explanation.

Alan Maxwell, however, was convinced that the word’s Brunei Malay origin is the most plausible explanation for the origin of the name of the state. He argued from the etymological aspect of the word “Sabah”. According to Alan Maxwell, the Brunei Malay term of “saba” refers to “down-stream” or “waterwards” or “seawards” in the Kedayan language.<sup>12</sup> The Kedayans, along with the Brunei Malays, are the largest ethnic group in Brunei.<sup>13</sup> The term “Saba” is semantically equivalent to the Kedayan term of “lawt” (sea). Thus, a directional reciprocal term to “saba” would be ‘upstream’ or “ulu.” According to Maxwell Hall,

Thus if we were to orientate ourselves at a point along the Brunei River, below the bend between Pulau Ambuk and Pulau Sibungur, where it curves sharply upstream to Bandar Seri Begawan, the direction ‘Saba’ would designate a more or less straight course to the Island of Muara Besar, across Brunei Bay, over the Klias Peninsula, and continuing on roughly parallel to the whole northwest coast of Sabah.<sup>14</sup>

In relation to this, Maxwell simply put “Sabah” as “north”—in this case, the northern part of Borneo.

All these suggestions, whether plausible or mere fanciful, seemed to indicate that “Sabah” is a very old local Malay name, one used by the natives—either indigenous or Brunei Malay—referring to the northwest coast of Borneo, north of Brunei, and northern Brunei. Thus, when the North Borneo Company took over, the local name of the territory was “Sabah”, at least for the western part.

However, it must be remembered that the term, as Maxwell argues, was more directional, referring to a territory lying north of Brunei, in other words,

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Cyril Alliston, *In the Shadow of Kinabalu*, London: The Adventure Club, 1961; Allen Maxwell, *The Origins of the Name “Sabah”*, p.93.

12. Kedayan is the name of a Muslim Dusun tribe who lived mainly on the southwest coast of Sabah and Brunei Bay. The Kedayan language borrows heavily from Brunei Malay.

13. Other than the census of 1960 in which they were listed separately, the Kedayans have been listed together with the Brunei Malays.

14. Maxwell, *The Origin of the Name “Sabah”*, pp.94–95.

with Brunei as the centre. That the territory was of a specific size or extent was yet another issue altogether as the territory was nominally under the Brunei sultan (and part of the northern portion was under the Sulu sultan).<sup>15</sup> It was only after the advent of the British North Borneo Company administration that the actual extent of the territory of “Sabah” was determined.

This argument is most plausible if one were to take the Royal Genealogy of the Rulers of Brunei (*Silsilah Raja-Raja Berunei*) and the *Syair Awang Simawn*. In the *Silsilah* edited by Amin P.L. Sweeney in 1968, the term *Saba* is mentioned at least six times, each time denoting the direction in opposite of Brunei proper. For instance, “sepenampang arah ke *Saba*, dan pakerman besar dan pakeman damit dan hawang hawang bersembah sepenampang arah kekulu,” “Dan bermula hawang hawang tanah huku dan tanah *Saba*,” “seluroh tanah Bajau disebelah *Saba*,” “ra’yat Sultan Muhiuddin, orang disebelah pehak hulu; dan akan ra’yat Sultan Abdul Mubin, orang disebelah pehak *Saba*,” “kenegeri Kinarut disebelah *Saba*,” “Negeri disebelah *Saba*, iaitu negeri Kimanis.”<sup>16</sup> While each of these six instances could denote different meanings, either as direction opposite to Brunei, or “downstream or seawards” from Brunei, or “down the Brunei River” and specific names found in present-day Sabah, the term generally refers to the territory that constitutes present-day Sabah. By drawing on this Brunei Malay evidence, Maxwell seemed to have managed to put the case to rest. Well, at least for a time. But it was the North Borneo Company and the subsequent rulers which eventually made the term synonymous with the territory or the new state of Sabah.

The notion of Sabah being referred to as direction is also alluded to by Sultan Muhammad kanzul Alam of Brunei when he wrote to Farquhar in Singapore in July 1821:

[...] Sultan Muhammad Kanzul Alam negeri Brunei. Wabadahu daripada itu barang takrif kiranya sahabat beta maka adalah beta melayangkan warkat yang aziz yang dilayangkan angin *nasîm al-sabâh* ini tiadalah dengan sempurnanya daripada akan jadi ganti beta bersambutan kalam *al-ihsan* dengan sahabat beta saja, serta menyatakan tulus dan ikhlas di dalam cermin kertas [...].<sup>17</sup>

Logically, the expression *angin nasîm al-sabâh* would refer to a specific wind, because in Arabic, *nasîm* نسيم is “breeze, zephyr,” whereas *al-sabâh* is not a borrowing from the Arabic (the meaning of سباه is quite different). So the above expression would mean “breeze called sabah”, perhaps “breeze from downstream” or “sea breeze”. While these interpretations are pure guesses,

15. The etymology of the word “Sabah” in the Sulu language has never been established.

16. Amin P.L. Sweeney, *Silsilah Raja-Raja Berunei*, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 41, Part 2, 1968, pp. 1–82, and *Silsilah Raja-Raja Berunei*, errata and a short note, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 42, Part 2, 1969, pp.222–224.

17. Letter from Sultan Muhammad Kanzul Alam of Brunei to Farquhar, 8 July 1821. Wbrn 8:3. *Warkah Brunei* in Malay Concordance Project ([mcp.anu.edu.au](http://mcp.anu.edu.au), accessed on 30 March 2015).

it nonetheless concurs with the idea that the term “Sabah” or “al-Sabah,” actually refers to a certain direction—and in this case, more likely to be heading toward northeast.

There are also instances where the name Sabak or Sabba, is found in the map of the state of Selangor, in the Malay Peninsula. The area referred to is in the northern part of the state, bordering the state of Perak. Today, it is known as Sabak Bernam, which in the local Malay language refers to “Sahabat Berenam” or six friends, who were the pioneering settlers who opened up land in the area. They were reputed to have originated from Sumatera in the 1880s.<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to ascertain this information collected from oral tradition. A map produced in 1882 by D.D. Daly clearly shows the name “Sabba” and “Ulu Bernam,” suggesting an earlier origin.<sup>19</sup>

There are also suggestions that the term “Sabah” could have a Filipino origin. While both Tagalog and Visayan languages have the word “Sabah” in their vocabulary, they however carry meanings that do not refer to a place name. Rather, the name “Saba” refers to a variety of banana in both Tagalog and Visayan, whereas the same word in Visayan refers to “noisy.”

Curiously, the Chinese, who had long been associated with the land did not have a very specific name referring to the territory that is known as “Sabah” today. They used the name of “Poni” (Po Ni) to refer either to the entire island or part of the island of Borneo. They also used the same name when referring to the city or Sultanate of Brunei. Even though there have been instances of speculations of Chinese presence on the east coast of Sabah (North Borneo), including the existence of place names such as “Kinabatangan” and “Kinabalu,” and archaeological traces, including Chinese ceramics shards. After the establishment of the British North Borneo Company administration, the Chinese adopted the British name of “British North Borneo” or “Ying Shu Bei Po Luo Zhou” 英属北婆罗州, as well as the more colloquial name of “Bei Mu Niang” 北慕娘 which is a phonetic name transliterated from “North Borneo.” The more colloquial nature of “Bei Mu Niang” is evident as many Chinese businesses in North Borneo actually registered their company names using “Bei Mu Niang” instead of “Bei Po Luo Zhuo” 北婆罗州. Interestingly, one example of such usage occurred in 1943 when a Chinese made an offering to the Gedung Batu at Semarang, on Java Island, claiming to belong to Mu Niang 慕娘 or to Mu Niangzi 慕娘治子.<sup>20</sup> We are not sure regarding the origin of Mu Niang here but it could be referring to North Borneo or present day Sabah.

18. <http://www.selangor.gov.my/sabakbernam.php/pages/view/51> (Selangor State Government Sabak Bernam District Office website. Accessed on 10 March 2015).

19. Map No. 90, in Frédéric Durand and Richard Curtis, *Maps of Malaya and Borneo*, p.10.

20. Wolfgang Franke, Claudine Salmon & Anthony Siu (eds.), *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia*, III(1), Singapore: South Seas Society, 1988, p.326.

Thus far, discussion on the origins of the name “Sabah” have been focusing on two broad areas, namely, the way the state, especially the West Coast, being referred to, either as a direction, in this case, from Brunei, or as a wind direction. The second area refers to a similar name being found in other places, but essentially referring to something else. Yet, for the local people, the name “Sabah” was perhaps known only to those who were residing on the West Coast of the state, especially those linked to Brunei. Despite its unclear and contestable origin, the name began to gain ascendancy during the rule of the British North Borneo Company.

### The British North Borneo Company’s Sabah

When Overbeck and Alfred Dent set up the Association of North Borneo Company in 1879, the preferred term for the territory was the straight-forward English term of “North Borneo.” The term “Sabah” was not used. Even though Wright argues that “Sabah” was the name preferred by the British North Borneo Company for its territory,<sup>21</sup> the term was, however, never used officially. Neither was the term used in the publication by the chief apologist of the Company’s rule, Owen Rutter, nor in the two major publications of the Company – the *Handbook of British North Borneo* of 1929 and 1934.<sup>22</sup> However, during the early days of the Company rule, the name “Sabah” was used freely in the *North Borneo Herald*, which was the official journal of the Company.

The first issue of the *Herald* of 1 March 1883 included the name of the pioneering plantation company, China-Sabah Plantation Company. In the same issue, an official notice was issued:

#### GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION

The following notification respecting Royalties in the Sabah West Coast District is published for general information.  
By the Governor's Command,

E. G. HILLIER,  
Private Secretary,  
Kudat, 26th February, 1883

(Source: *British North Borneo Herald*, 1 March 1883)

Officers like Hillier, who was in the centre of authority, chose to use the term “Sabah” over North Borneo. In the same way, the government was known as the “Sabah Government” during the initial period of the North

21. L.R. Wright, *The Origins of British Borneo*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1970.

22. Owen Rutter, *British North Borneo: An Account of Its History, Resources and Native Tribes*, London: Constable & Co. Ltd, 1922; and British North Borneo Company, *Handbook of British North Borneo* of 1929 and 1934.

Borneo Company rule, commonly known as Chartered Company rule, as popularised later by Professor K.G. Tregonning. The use of the term was especially common in various literary works submitted to the *British North Borneo Herald*. In a poem entitled, “Borneo’s National Anthem,” a reference was made to “The Lion of Sabah, the Bravo Union Jack.”<sup>23</sup> The lion refers to the red lion on the side of the official flag of North Borneo, which had a British Union Jack in the upper left-hand corner, and a navy blue background with the red lion by the lower right-hand corner.

The frequent use of the term Sabah, including in the official realm, alarmed some in the state, especially in the upper echelons of the administration, who preferred the state to be known only by its official name of British North Borneo. In a letter to the editor of the *British North Borneo Herald* by someone who used the pen name of “Growler,” “I noted some time ago that instructions were issued that this territory should be designated British North Borneo and not North Borneo or Sabah.”<sup>24</sup> Despite Growler’s assertion of the official name of British Borneo, the name of “Sabah” remained popular in the *Herald*. One could find many commercial companies with “Sabah” in their official names, including Sabah Mutual Supply Association, a company dealing mainly with provision and supplies of hardware and liquor;<sup>25</sup> and the Sabah Steamship Company.<sup>26</sup> Then in the news, one finds references to the “Large Pythons are found in Sabah,” “Big Game Shooting in Sabah,” “A discussion on coal seam on the Island of Labuan and in Sabah,” “The Future Prosperity of Sabah,” and “The Lion of Sabah,” just to name a few.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps the last official reference in the *North Borneo Herald* on Sabah was a notice issued in 1890 giving notice of Governor V. Creagh’s decision to change the colour of the ensign (naval flag) for government vessels; the term “Sabah Red Ensign” was used.<sup>28</sup>

After 1900, the use of the name Sabah was somehow discontinued in the official documents or notices published in the *Herald*. In fact, it was also quite rare for the name to be found among those literary contributions. Perhaps the last mention was in a poem entitled “The Deuce,” a reference to the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. The poem was written in response to the Italian aggression in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) which began in 1934. In the poem, Sabah was found in the verse, “Sabah’s Might Unfurled upon Benito’s Wretched Pate.”<sup>29</sup> The contributor’s obvious displeasure against Mussolini is evident. But that also signalled the last time the term was used in the *Herald*.

23. *British North Borneo Herald*, 1 November 1884.

24. *British North Borneo Herald*, 1 June 1885.

25. *British North Borneo Herald*, 1 May 1883.

26. *British North Borneo Herald*, 1 August 1900.

27. *British North Borneo Herald*, 1 May 1883; 1 April 1885; 1 December 1885; 1 April 1890.

28. *British North Borneo Herald*, 1 November 1890.

29. *British North Borneo Herald*, 16 December 1935.

The name of “Sabah” however, still existed in the local shipping scene when the Sabah Steamship Company built a ship that was named, *S.S. Sabah*. The ship was built in 1903 by the company at its shipyard at Sandakan, and was considered one of the best-built ships at the time. It was fitted with electric lights and comfortable accommodation. The ship was originally operated by the South Philippines Trading Company, and later became the yacht for the Governor of Mindanao before the Sabah Steamship Company used it for local coastal run, plying between the ports and wharfs of North Borneo.<sup>30</sup> *S.S. Sabah* was in service until 1924 when it was replaced by *S.S. Kedah*, a slightly newer ship.<sup>31</sup> With *S.S. Sabah* decommissioned and laid up, the name Sabah also slowly faded with limited visibility, except through the Sabah Steamship Company.

Apart from that, there was a pony named “Sabah Jack” which was owned by E.P. Hills. It was active in the local pony races during the 1920s.<sup>32</sup>

In 1910, some Dusun (present-day Kadazandusun community) from Papar submitted a petition to Governor Sir John Anderson, who was also British Agent for British North Borneo, expressing their grievances about the loss of land to rubber companies and the railway. While the petition was written in Malay, it was translated into English. The original is no longer available. However, the original Malay version of subsequent petitions that were submitted in August 1912 survived. There were four separate petitions submitted by Dusun from Membakut, Bongawan, and Papar (two). Interestingly, the word “Sabah” was used in three of them to refer to the state, and used intermittently with the term “North Borneo”:

#### **Petition from Membakut:**

*Fasal ini perintah Sabah selalu mau bikin susa sama kami orang kampong*  
(Translation: Because this Sabah Government always creates trouble for us villagers)

*Saya orang negeri tida buleh tahan lagi di dalam ini negeri Membakut. Sebab ini perintah Sabah punya okom (Hukum) tida patut di dalam ini pulau British North Borneo*  
(Translation: We the people of this state can no longer bear it in the state of Membakut. Because the law of the Sabah Government is unjust in this island of British North Borneo)

#### **Petition from Bongawan:**

*Sahaya Batindam dan Yanggar dan Sogara Dusun Bongawan di dalam Pulau British North Borneo Compani Sabah*

(Translation: We, Batindam, Yanggar and Sogara, Dusun from Bongawan in the island of British North Borneo, Sabah Company)

*Ini perintah Sabah, dia ambil saya orang Dusun punya nene moyang punya tanah, ...*  
(Translation: This Sabah Government, took the land of the ancestors of us the Dusun)

30. *British North Borneo Herald*, 3 January 1910. See also 16 September 1924.

31. *British North Borneo Herald*, 16 August 1924.

32. See *British North Borneo Herald*, 1 March 1924 & 17 March 1924.

**Petition from Papar:**

*Sekarang ini tana di jual oleh Tuan perintah Sabah kepada Tuan Kabun gata*

(Translation: Now this land is being sold to the owner of the rubber estate by the Government of Sabah)

*Saya orang tida buleh tahan lagi ini sekarang, di dalam ini pigangan Compani Sabah, British North Borneo*

(Translation: We cannot stand it any more, in this land that's ruled (held) by the Sabah Company, British North Borneo)<sup>33</sup>

This is the only written evidence we have of the pre-war usage of the term “Sabah” by locals, which in this case refers to both the state of Sabah, as well as being associated with the name of the North Borneo Company, as in *Compani Sabah*. But apart from this fragmentary information, we have no further evidence to suggest that the term “Sabah” had been used.

When the Japanese occupied the state at the end of 1941, they re-named it *Kita Boruneo* or North Borneo.<sup>34</sup> There is no indication that they ever sought out the name of “Sabah” to use it as the name of the state or territory. Instead, the Japanese divided the state into two provinces, the West Coast and East Coast provinces. When the guerrilla troop was formed in June 1942, they chose the name of “Kinabalu,” after the name of Mount Kinabalu, the highest mountain in the state and also one of its symbols; hence, the Kinabalu Guerrillas, and not the “Sabah Guerrillas.”

With the name getting rare in the public sphere, it is a wonder that its existence was kept alive and sustained by the local population. There is no clear indication on how the name has survived through the days of the Chartered Company rule and the war. What is obvious is that the usage of the name had been discouraged in the official sphere, which also included the *North Borneo Herald*. But somehow, after the war the name was brought back into the public sphere almost effortlessly. And it was later accepted as the preferred name for the new state.

There is also another more fundamental question—was the general public actually conscious of the name “Sabah,” or was its usage confined to a certain region, in this case, the west coast of the state? Then was it also the efforts of merely a few individuals who had kept the idea alive and who took the trouble to promote it as the new name of the state? If that is so, what then were the motives behind such a move?

33. Petitions from Membakut, Bongawan and Papar to Sir John Anderson, High Commissioner in Singapore over Loss of Land, 5<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> August 1912, CO531/4/34569 (National Archives, London). For a study on this incident, see Danny Wong Tze Ken, The Papar Land Case, 1910–1911, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 3, October 2012, pp.422–440.

34. In fact *Kita Boruneo* refers not merely to the state of North Borneo, but to the entire British territories on Borneo island – North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak.

### The Colonial Era and the Name of Sabah

When the war ended in 1945, North Borneo underwent a transition from the rule of a Chartered Company (The North Borneo Company) to the Colonial Office. The declaration made on 15 July 1946 named the territory of North Borneo a Crown Colony. Even though the name “Sabah” was not used officially as the name of the state, it was during this period that it began to gain ascendancy and, perhaps, acceptance. The effort, however, came from various, somehow uncoordinated, initiatives.

The first major establishment that used the name of “Sabah” was the Radio Sabah. This was an off-shoot of the Information Office set up by Ronald Brooks, a former Chartered Company officer who returned to serve in North Borneo after the war.<sup>35</sup> The idea of establishing the Information Office was to echo the calls made by the Colonial Office,

urging Colonial Government to establish Public relations or Information Offices for the purpose of disseminating the British Government’s views and attitudes in the complex attitude of growing world opinion towards Colonial territories and their governments.

Out of the need to reach out to a wider spectrum of people, Brooks decided to use radio broadcasting. Thus Radio Sabah was born in 1952. The initial broadcasts were very crude and actually a wire-recorder, replaying news from the British Broadcasting Corporation and some local news bulletins and comments. Later, as Radio Sabah got its own building and its own programmes, more programmes were introduced including news and programmes in the vernacular languages and various Chinese dialects. For the first time, the identity of “Sabah” referring to the state was broadcasted to the general population. It must have caught the imagination of the public as there was no objection to the name. Through the efforts of the Information Office, the cooperation of the Royal Air Force, and support from the Colonial Development and Welfare scheme, heavy transmitters were ferried and distributed to the interior and hard-to-reach places,<sup>36</sup> reaching out to many who otherwise would not have the opportunity to get news – and through the process, the name of “Sabah” surely caught on, and was popularized.

In 1953, a local newspaper named *Sabah Times* was established by Donald Stephens who later became the first Chief Minister of the state. At that time he was a budding reporter eager to establish himself. Donald Stephens who would later become leader of the Kadazan people, was of mixed parentage. His grandfather was a New Zealander who married a local Dusun woman.

35. Like many who served during the Chartered Company days, Brooks was interned by the Japanese Army at the Batu Lintang Prisoner-of-war Camp in Kuching. After the war, he chose to return to serve in North Borneo.

36. Ronald J. Brooks, *Under Five Flags, the Story of Sabah, East Malaysia*, Durham: The Pentland Press Ltd., pp. 191–197.

Donald Stephens was brought up locally and had developed a strong sense of pride for the state. He later became a member of the State Legislative Council before becoming the leader of his state.<sup>37</sup> The newspaper, the first English paper on the west coast, became an immediate success with his readers, who represented the educated and urbanised section of the population. Until the establishment of *Sabah Times*, the main English newspaper in the state was the *North Borneo News* published in Sandakan, reaching out to a very small readership. But with the establishment of the *Sabah Times* on the West Coast, the number of English-speaking readers was much larger, and with it, the name of "Sabah" as the identity of the state or territory became much more acceptable. In 1954, Donald Stephens, with the help of some friends, including Yeh Pao Tzu, bought over *North Borneo News*.<sup>38</sup> They decided to merge the two newspapers of *North Borneo News* and *Sabah Times* to become *North Borneo News and Sabah Times*.<sup>39</sup> The name of "Sabah" could now reach out to even wider areas, and along with it, readers from Sandakan.

It must be said that together, these two institutions were instrumental in bringing back the name of "Sabah" to the general public. Perhaps the issue here is less of "bringing back" or "revive," and more of introducing the name of "Sabah" to a public who was used to the name of British North Borneo or North Borneo.

If the *North Borneo News and Sabah Times* was reaching out to the adult readers, there was another effort actually reaching out to the young people of North Borneo. In 1956, it fell upon Ronald Brooks, the Chief Information Officer, to start a newspaper or newsmagazine called *Anak Sabah*, with the target group being young people of North Borneo. According to Brooks,

In May [1956] the first number of *Anak Sabah*, a monthly newspaper in English designed to interest adolescents, particularly those still at school, was produced. It aimed at helping young readers to improve their English, to take an interest in their country and the activities of their fellows, and at encouraging young people to write, particularly about Borneo. A circulation of about 1,000 was originally anticipated, but the paper was received with enthusiasm, particularly in schools, and the circulation rose rapidly to 2,500 and has been maintained at that level.<sup>40</sup>

*Anak Sabah* was produced from 1956 to 1966. During this ten-year period many young people were unconsciously being exposed to the name of "Sabah," and began to associate North Borneo with Sabah. This was an

37. For a biography of Donald Stephens, see P. J. Granville-Edge & Rajen Devadason, *The Sabahan: the Life and Death of Tun Fuad Stephens*, Kuala Lumpur: The Writers' Publishing House, 1999.

38. Yeh Pao Tzu was a native of Sarawak. Trained in journalism at Fudan University, he came to North Borneo after the war with some money to buy over the only Chinese newspaper in Jesselton at that time, the *Hua Chiao Jit Pau (Overseas Chinese Daily News)*, established in 1936.

39. P.J. Granville-Edge & Rajen Devadason, *The Sabahan*, p.85.

40. Brooks, *Under Five Flags*, p.198.

important development considering that *Anak Sabah* was a government publication. More importantly, the publication helped to reinforce the use of the name “Sabah” amongst the younger generation of North Bornean as “Anak Sabah” means “Children of Sabah.” This was yet another strong endorsement from a colonial administration that was increasingly conscious of the changing atmosphere of Britain heading towards decolonization.

Brooks seemed to be a most tireless person. In an effort to improve the broadcasting services of Radio Sabah, he hoped to get the programmes of Radio Sabah published. This was when he decided to publish a weekly *Radio Sabah Calling*, after the fashion of the popular BBC *London Calling* that had been published since 1939. It was yet another very successful story.<sup>41</sup> *Radio Sabah Calling* contained not only radio programmes, but also many other forums including a penpal column, interviews of local celebrities or even star students, and also pictorial stories. More importantly, the use of the name “Sabah” once again helped to strengthen the locals’ sense of identification with “Sabah” as the other name of the state, and that the people were known as “Sabahan.”

It was clear that the three initiatives of Radio Sabah, *Anak Sabah* and *Radio Sabah Calling* did much to cultivate the name of “Sabah” amongst the people of North Borneo during that time. It was also an indication of the beginning of the forging of a new identity for the people of North Borneo. Instead of calling themselves North Bornean, they were encouraged to use the new name of “Sabahan.”

In December 1959, Donald Stephens took it upon himself to propose a change of name of the state from “North Borneo” to “Sabah”. Stephens, who was then a member of the Executive Council, submitted a memorandum to the State Executive Council dated 12 November 1959. Governor Roland E. Turnbull, in his capacity as President of the Council, allowed for the debate but advised Stephens to withdraw the motion before it was put to a vote in the December 1959 meeting. He was hoping for the matter to be referred back to the State Executive Council for consideration in detail.<sup>42</sup> According to a biography of Donald Stephens he felt that

the name of North Borneo was ‘not only cumbersome but gave the impression that it was a promontory or lighthouse and of use only to the mariners. Being a West Coast boy, he was enamoured of the old accepted name for west coast, Sabah.’<sup>43</sup>

Now, where did Donald Stephens conjure up the idea that the name “Sabah” was an old accepted name for “west coast?” Perhaps it was true that the name

41. Ibid., pp.198–199.

42. Minutes of the North Borneo Executive Council, 25 November 1959, CO648/46.

43. Edge-Granville, *The Sabahan*, p.105.

could have lingered on in the minds of many on the west coast, but was not popularly used. The only printed evidence would be the petitions of the Dusun from Membakut, Bongawan and Papar back in 1912, as mentioned earlier. But perhaps it could also be that the name was only stuck in the imagination of some individuals. However, it was these individuals who were able to make a difference and had their views expressed and heard. Certainly, Donald Stephens was one such person.

The efforts by Stephens to champion for the change of name was frowned upon by Governor Turnbull and other officials who wanted to reduce its significance or usage—giving reason of usage—targeting Government officials who decided otherwise. But Stephens' opportunity came when the Malaysia idea was floated and when North Borneo was destined to be part of this new federation. Once again, Donald Stephens put forward the suggestion.

P.J. Rivers relates how Donald Stephens came to put the name forward. Apparently, it was at the suggestion of K.G. Tregonning, who later became the Raffles Professor of History at the University of Malaya at Singapore. Tregonning was in correspondence with Donald Stephens at a time when

there was a tendency to foster a local identity and not only among the locals. Indeed, when North Borneo was nearer to merger with Malaya, Professor Tregonning wrote to Donald Stephens, who by then was already a leading voice of the people, and suggested the elimination of colonial non-indigenous names for those towns named by the (North Borneo) Company, and indeed for the state itself. "Sabah was a suggestion of mine," he said.<sup>44</sup>

But Tregonning's assertion perhaps neglects the fact that Donald Stephens started to champion for the name of Sabah several years before the idea of Malaysia was even floated. Furthermore, his *Sabah Times* also started during the early 1950s.

Following the announcement of the Malaysia proposal by Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of Malaya, in May 1961, there was an urgency in North Borneo for the formation of political parties. It is interesting to note that in this regard the use of "Sabah" in the name of the political parties was accepted. For instance, the United Sabah National Organisation (USNO).

Following the negotiations that took place in the Inter-Governmental Committee (IGC), the name of the state of North Borneo was finally accepted as "Sabah", and in the report of the IGC, this became one of the Twenty Points—the name of the state was "Sabah." The Twenty Points were items agreed to safeguard the interests of the locals agreed upon in the pre-independence Inter-Governmental Committee negotiations. In the Malaysia Agreement signed in July 1963, the name of the state of North Borneo is given as "Sabah", and a separate State Constitution for Sabah was also agreed upon. Thus with the

44. P.J. Rivers, The Origins of Sabah and a Reappraisal of Overbeck as Maharajah, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 77, No. 1, 2004, p.1.

name firmly inscribed in the two utmost important documents that define the nature and rights of the states, the name became the permanent feature of the state that is now known as Sabah.

### **Embracing the New Identity in the New Nation**

The previous section tries to explain how the name of Sabah was reintroduced as the new name of the new state, replacing the colonial name of North Borneo. This section will look at how this term was being embraced by the very people for whom it was decided upon by those who were in the position of authority. However, for the next fifty years, from 1963 until 2013, reaction has been mixed. On one hand, the people of Sabah have no issue with being known as ‘Sabahan’; in fact they are extremely proud of it. Some probably have no qualms in introducing themselves first as Sabahan and then as Malaysian. For many, it is the second part which created perceptions which continue to divide opinions and positions.

When Sabah was granted self-government by Britain on 31 August 1963, there was a small article in the *Sabah Times* entitled “Sabah Athletes Bag 6 Golds,” highlighting the Sabah athletes’ achievements in the first triangular international in Singapore.

Sabah stars competing with “Sabah” emblazoned across their chests and with new *National Flag* [italic mine] fluttering among the Malayan and Singapore national colours under a bright sky at the Farrer Park Stadium put up an excellent show.<sup>45</sup>

The emphasis here was the new name of the state, Sabah, and that it was a new state with its own national colours! Such coverage in the news would definitely have had some bearing on the way the people in this new state were looking at themselves—an independent state with its own national colours, at least during that sixteen days leading up to 16 September 1963.

When the State Anthem was played and sung for the first time, the lyrics again are reflective of a mood that provided much room for imagination:

*Sabah Tanah Air-Ku  
Negeri Kita Yang Tercinta  
Pemuda-Pemudi,  
Semua Marilah  
Bangunlah Bersatu Semua  
Marilah Bersama serta Maju Jaya  
Merdeka Sepanjang Masa  
Bersatu Sekarang Bangsa Sentosa  
Sabah Negeri Merdeka*

**45.** *Sabah Times*, 3 September 1963.

**Translation:**

Sabah, My Homeland  
Our Beloved State  
Young Men and Women, Come  
Arise All Together  
Join Together and be Successful  
Independent Forever  
Unite All, and the Nation Prospers and Peaceful  
Sabah, the Independent State

The reiteration of the word “Negeri Merdeka” (Independent State) probably provided ideas and notions that North Borneo was granted independence before joining Malaysia. Indeed, this has been a point of contention for many who felt that Sabah formed one of the four components in the new federation—Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. Whereas, the Malaysia Agreement actually spells out the states of the Federation as:

The States of Malaya, namely, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Malacca, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Penang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor and Trengganu; and  
The Borneo States, namely, Sabah and Sarawak; and  
The State of Singapore<sup>46</sup>

In many ways, the identity of the state of Sabah and its people depended much on how they perceived their relationship with the federation or within the federation. The idea of being a “Sabahan” vis-à-vis of “Malaysian” has been in existence for as long as the new federation. Many continue to question the perceived loss of state rights or erosion of them as a result of the actions of the federal government. Much attention has been given to the Twenty Points. Questions have been raised as to why some of the points have been surrendered or abolished.

Others raise questions about how Sabahans were wrongly perceived. For instance, statements and questions uttered by West Malaysians to Sabahans, such as “Do you live on trees?,” “Welcome to Malaysia,” “All Malaysia, including Sabah and Sarawak,” “Your money is bigger than ours?” etc. All these, coupled with those state rights issues raised by political parties, form part of the grievances that cloud the federal—state relations—and in the process, add a burden to the notion of being a Sabahan or being a Malaysian.

Various mechanisms and efforts have been used to try to address such perceived divides. The recruitment of Sabahans into the Malaysian civil service, the Royal Malaysian Police Force, and the Malaysian Armed Forces, the setting up of the Universiti Malaysia Sabah, which receives a sizeable number of West Malaysian students. Likewise, many Sabah students

**46.** *Malaysia: Agreement Concluded between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore*, London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, Cmnd. 2094, July 1963, p.2.

studying in universities in West Malaysia, have probably helped to reduce the misconceptions about one another while, at the same time, improving personal ties. Many marriages have also taken place between Sabahans and West Malaysians (and Sarawakians). There have also been efforts from the commercial sector, including the Ferry Malaysia, launched in 1986, which was a cruise ship named “Cruise Muhibbah” (Friendship Cruise), plying the major ports of Sabah, Sarawak and Peninsular Malaysia. The national carrier, Malaysia Airlines, has been in operation since 1963 (earlier known as Malayan Airways Limited from 1947–1972) and has, in some ways, helped to foster relationships between the two sides of the divide. More recently, the introduction of the budget airline AirAsia in 1996 has changed the human-to-human ties between Sabah and West Malaysia quite dramatically. Its publicity slogan of “Everyone Can Fly” and its no-frills competitive fares have certainly allowed more people from both sides to move between the two regions and, therefore, get to know each other better.

It is clear that the name “Sabah” was no longer an issue after 1963. The name is widely received and deemed to be most suitable, replacing the colonial name of North Borneo, which could be a mouthful. In fact, all traces of the name North Borneo have disappeared, except perhaps in history textbooks, historical publications, or on old stamps among the philatelic societies. It is the name of Sabah, which entered the memories and imagination of the post-1963 generations, and that is the only name known to them as the official name of the state. The post-1963 issue then was no longer the use of the name, but rather the defence of the new identity and the perceived rights and positions that came with the idea of being a Sabahan vis-à-vis West Malaysia. The year 2013 marked 50 years of the founding of the Federation of Malaysia, and 50 years of Sabah as part of Malaysia. Yet, the idea of Sabah being different, being one of the four entities that formed Malaysia, continues to have its proponents. In fact, as recently as 2014, a columnist in the popular English newspaper *The Star* raised the question of this continuing issue, calling it “A Historical Blackhole for Sabah.” The columnist, Philip Gelingai, began with the statement, “There is still debate about whether North Borneo was a country, a state or a self-government in transition during the first couple of weeks of independence [...]”<sup>47</sup> Gelingai went on to deal with the subject of self-government by quoting from old newspaper clippings on the status of Sabah during that two weeks of self-government leading up to the formation of Malaysia. Philip Gelingai’s article highlights the confusions that Sabahans and Malaysians alike are experiencing over the actual status of Sabah and Sarawak in 1963. But what is clear is that the terms “Sabah” and “Sabahans” became the source of pride for those who came from the state.

47. Philip Gelingai, A Historical Black Hole for Sabah, in One Man’s Meat Column, *The Star*, 6 September 2014.

### Concluding Remarks

This paper sets out to look at the origins of the name of Sabah and how this name was sustained over different eras to become the name of the new state of Sabah within the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. The idea of having an original name referring to the territory that became Sabah was championed by certain quarters during the colonial era to the point that the name eventually became the official name of the state. The last part of this paper looks into the way Sabahans looked at their state identity vis-à-vis their brethren from the Malay Peninsula and Sarawak. This paper concludes that even though the identity of being a Sabahan was readily embraced by the people in Sabah after 1963, there are definitely different notions about how and what it should be. In a way, this exercise of trying to trace the origins of the name of Sabah and how it is being adapted in the larger sense of the Malaysian nation is yet another way of embracing or understanding the notion of being a Sabahan.

It is interesting to see how the name of Sabah, which originated as the name of a place that was based on the manner the Bruneians pointed their directions during earlier times, became the name of a modern state in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This transformation was partly made possible by the manner some locals remembered the existence of the name behind the facades of the colonial name of North Borneo. Later, it was also partly due to the efforts of some colonial officials, especially in the face of decolonization, that the name Sabah was reintroduced to the mainstream of public life, especially through the establishment of Radio Sabah, and the two publications of *Anak Sabah* and *Radio Sabah Calling*. This late colonial intervention helped to foster this new sense of identity that had not been experienced before, especially when the name Sabah was almost being obviated from public domain during the North Borneo Company administration era. Then came Donald Stephens and his *Sabah Times*, and also his calls for the renaming of the state from North Borneo to Sabah. Since then, the name struck as the name of the state and the new identity of being a Sabahan became the rallying identity of a people who probably had very little notion of the meaning behind the name of “Sabah,” yet passionately proud of this identity.

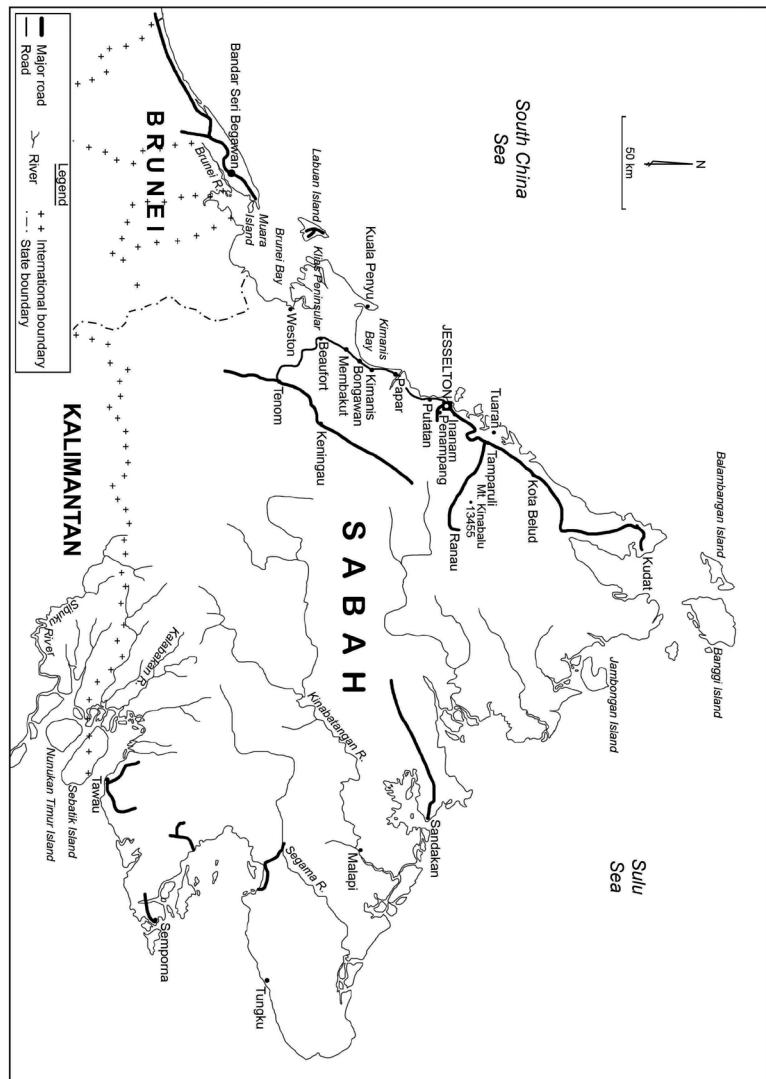


Fig. 1 – Map of Sabah

## L'ARCHIPEL AU PRÉSENT

DANA RAPPOPORT<sup>1</sup>

Sulawesi, 20 ans après

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Après vingt ans, me voici de retour dans les montagnes du sud de Sulawesi avec le but que je m'étais fixé : restituer aux Toraja mes résultats de recherche dans leurs langues (toraja et indonésien) portant sur leur liturgie musicale éradiquée par la christianisation (fig. 1)<sup>2</sup>. La tâche se révèle à la fois ardue et plaisante. Ardue, car enfin, comment rendre ? À qui ? Dans quelles conditions ? Comment rapporter un savoir musical et poétique ancien dans une société christianisée aujourd'hui rompue à la musique pop ? Tâche plaisante néanmoins, car restituer un savoir est une occasion trop rare dans nos vies de chercheurs pour ne pas en dire un mot ici. Plaisante enfin, car vingt ans après, je découvre une société renouvelée, enthousiaste, en pleine introspection.

1. Centre Asie du Sud-Est, UMR 8170 CNRS/EHESS, Paris

2. Financée par la Ford Foundation Jakarta et l'EFEO, cette mission de lancement d'ouvrage s'est déroulée du 18 octobre au 16 décembre 2014. L'ouvrage multimédia *Nyanyian Tana Diperciki Tiga Darah: Musik Ritual Toraja Dari Pulau Sulawesi* (traduit de *Chants de la terre aux trois sangs : musiques rituelles des Toraja de l'île de Sulawesi, Indonésie*, Paris : Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009) est une publication KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia) en coopération avec l'EFEO, la Ford Foundation et le Forum Jakarta-Paris. Il a d'abord été présenté à Jakarta le 21 octobre 2014 puis en Pays toraja, à plusieurs reprises de novembre à décembre 2014.

## Un souffle démocratique : Jokowi et la KPK

À mon arrivée en Indonésie, le lundi 20 octobre 2014, Jakarta fête l'investiture de Jokowi au palais présidentiel, dans une liesse populaire exceptionnelle. Élu en juillet 2014 pour un mandat de cinq ans, le duo du président Joko Widodo (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDI-P) et de son vice-président, Jusuf Kalla, déclenche un immense espoir de changement. Il promet un meilleur accès aux soins grâce à la création d'une carte de santé, l'amélioration de l'éducation, une aide aux agriculteurs, aux pêcheurs, aux commerçants et surtout la lutte contre la corruption. À Makassar, dimanche soir 26 octobre, je regarde à la télévision la nomination des 34 ministres choisis pour le gouvernement Jokowi-JK (*Kabinet Kerja*). Les 34 se présentent vêtus de blanc, signe que la Commission anti-corruption, la KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi), ne les a pas retenus sur sa liste rouge. Les trois couleurs – blanc, jaune et rouge – vont du meilleur vers le pire. Les 34 sont-ils vraiment vierges de toute affaire ? Pas si sûr... Mon collègue de Makassar me pointe deux ministres au passé douteux, Jokowi ayant dû négocier avec Jusuf Kalla l'entrée de ces personnalités au gouvernement. La commission anti-corruption s'active en tous points de l'archipel. Le 5 décembre 2014, en Pays toraja, le secrétaire régional du département Toraja Nord (Pa' Sekda Torut, Sekretaris Daerah Kabupaten Toraja Utara<sup>3</sup>) est arrêté et mis en prison à Makassar ; ce noble toraja, Drs Ek. Lewaran Rantela'bi', est suspecté de détournement de fonds lors de la construction d'un hôpital à Tallung Lipu. Dans l'Indonésie entière, les têtes tombent... Un autre changement concerne l'investiture d'un protestant d'origine chinoise nommé gouverneur de Jakarta, le 19 novembre 2014, après avoir été gouverneur adjoint. Qu'un chrétien arrive ainsi au pouvoir est un fait remarquable. Ahok (de son vrai nom Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, né en 1966), qui n'a pas sa langue dans sa poche, évoque notamment la possibilité de supprimer la mention de l'affiliation religieuse sur la carte d'identité.

## Trafics : sitor, ojek, bis, bbm naik

Malgré la création d'une quatre voies entre Makassar et Paré-Paré, il faut toujours plus de 9 heures de route pour parcourir les 350 km qui séparent Makassar du Pays toraja, une durée adoucie par le confort des nouvelles compagnies de bus (Prima Donna, Metro Permai...). L'amélioration des voies de communication n'empêche pas la saturation des axes. La croissance du nombre de véhicules est exponentielle. À Rantepao, localité principale du Pays toraja, à 700 mètres d'altitude, l'air est devenu irrespirable. Le petit pont de Malango, qui relie la région sud à la région nord, est constamment embouteillé,

<sup>3</sup>. Depuis 2008, l'ancien département Tana Toraja a été divisé en deux départements (*kabupaten*) : Toraja Utara et Tana Toraja.

chargé d'imposantes voitures privées, de *truk* remplis de festoyeurs, de processions funéraires motorisées, de centaines de *sitor* (acronyme de *taksi motor*) – nouveaux cyclo-pousses à moteur (fig. 2). En ville comme à la campagne, plus personne ne se déplace à pied. Le deux roues est un must, et même les femmes s'y sont mises. Utiliser ses jambes est désormais considéré comme un signe de pauvreté, d'absence de réussite. En plus des *sitor*, une nouvelle classe de transports a vu le jour : le moto taxi (*ojek*). Les anciens chemins ayant été goudronnés, les véhicules peuvent dorénavant pénétrer loin dans les montagnes. De plus, pas de semaine sans que défilent des processions funéraires motorisées : en cortège funèbre, des centaines de motos escortent une ambulance, dont la sirène résonne d'une manière alarmante. Tous les morts reviennent au pays. Les motards accompagnent le transport des défunt qui arrivent de loin (de Makassar ou d'ailleurs). Ils se donnent rendez-vous au portail de la région toraja (à 40 km au sud) et défilent ainsi jusqu'au village d'origine. Ces cavalcades funèbres, motorisées et sonores, annoncent la mort d'une nouvelle manière, les sirènes des ambulances et les klaxons des motos remplaçant à présent le gong et le tambour d'autrefois.

La clé du trafic, c'est le carburant. Or le 18 novembre 2014, le président annonce l'augmentation du prix de l'essence de 2 000 Rp portant le litre à 6 600 Rp au sud de Sulawesi, soit l'équivalent de 50 centimes d'euro. À Makassar, cette décision déclenche des violences de rue de grande ampleur, menées par des étudiants qui incendent et immobilisent des quartiers de la ville, inquiétant les parents toraja dont les enfants suivent des études dans la capitale de la province. La population ressent sa première déception.

### Diaspora Toraja

La plus grande partie des Toraja vit maintenant en diaspora (plus d'un million contre moins de 500 000 personnes sur place, aux dires de mon collègue Stanislaus Sandarupa en 2014 – aucun chiffre fiable n'existant sur le sujet). Dans la famille de Lumbaa, mon père adoptif qui habite près de Pangala' (Toraja Utara) (fig. 3), sur huit enfants, ne reste pour l'instant qu'une seule fille, les autres ayant migré hors de la région : Kalua', Runa et Sampe (tout récemment décédé du paludisme) sont à Sorong (Papua), Kombong à Palu (Sulawesi), Lembang à Samarinda (Kalimantan), Sulle à Rantepao (Sulawesi), et Upak s'apprête à partir en Papua rejoindre ses sœurs aînées. Une (voire deux) génération est manquante dans les villages. Si le phénomène, commencé dès le milieu du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, n'est pas nouveau (De Jong 2013 : 72), il s'est accru considérablement ces dernières années. Malgré cet éparpillement spatial, les Toraja apparaissent plus que jamais regroupés, et tout d'abord, virtuellement, grâce à Facebook (que les Toraja nomment FB) et aux smartphones (l'Indonésie est le quatrième utilisateur mondial de FB). Même les professionnels de l'Église s'y sont mis. FB n'est pas seulement un

outil de communication, il est devenu pour eux une manière de construire leur appartenance familiale et locale en projetant une image d'eux-mêmes, une façon de conserver l'idée de groupe familial élargi (Adams 2015). Le rassemblement toraja n'est pas seulement virtuel. Les communautés en diaspora, à Kalimantan Timur (Balikpapan, Nunukan, Samarinda) ou en Papoua (Sorong, Jayapura, Timika), se soudent notamment par leurs régions d'appartenance, par leurs églises et leurs organisations, et par le maintien de la danse funéraire *badong* en émigration.

Pendant mon séjour, le mot Papoua revient dans toutes les bouches. L'actuel préfet du département Toraja Utara, Pa' Sorring, très décrié, a fait toute sa carrière en Papoua avant de revenir sur sa terre natale pour se faire élire. Dans les villages toraja, des habits de la compagnie Freeport (mines d'or et de cuivre), sont suspendus dans les maisons. On me glisse : « Cette maison en construction, c'est l'argent de Papoua... Ce buffle, c'est la Papoua ». Parce que là-bas, les salaires y seraient doublés voire triplés : un fonctionnaire (PNS) gagnerait 10 millions de roupies en Papoua contre 4 millions à Sulawesi. 20 millions, c'est ce que peut gagner un employé à Freeport. De plus, les faits de corruption seraient beaucoup plus élevés en Papoua que dans le reste de l'archipel. Vrai ou faux ? En tout cas, les circuits ont changé. Kalimantan Timur et Papoua sont désormais les deux grandes destinations d'émigration des Toraja alors qu'il y a 20 ans, l'émigration se faisait plutôt vers d'autres régions de Sulawesi (Luwu', Makassar), et vers la Malaisie (Kota Kinabalu, Tawau). Makassar et Java restent comme destinations des étudiants toraja issus de la classe noble de la région sud (Tana Toraja), plus influencée par la colonisation. Aras Parura, le tenancier du café Aras de Rantepao, ironise en avançant l'idée de l'émergence d'une nouvelle classe dans la stratification sociale traditionnelle toraja : la classe Papoua (en toraja, *tana' Papua*) vient s'ajouter aux trois ou quatre classes sociales existantes. La migration, on le verra plus bas, a des conséquences économiques déterminantes sur la vie de la région puisque les émigrés reviennent temporairement au pays lors de célébrations familiales et à ces occasions, réinjectent des sommes d'argent conséquentes.

### Constructions et reconstructions

Le paysage a changé, l'œil ne s'y trompe pas. À Rantepao, une nouveauté saute aux yeux : une croix géante (*salib raksasa*), de 33 mètres de haut, a été érigée au sommet de la colline dominant la ville (fig. 4). D'un coût de 5 milliards de roupies, elle a été achevée en 2013 à l'occasion de la célébration du centenaire de l'arrivée de l'Évangile en Pays toraja (1913-2013). En guise de réplique, à Makalé, une statue monumentale du Christ (Patung Kristus Raja) est en chantier. Le plus grand Christ du monde ! (Kompas.com, 30/08/2014). Ces nouveautés indisposent certains. Lors du lancement de mon livre à la préfecture (6/12/14), un guide apostrophe vivement l'attaché à la culture

et au tourisme à ce sujet : « La croix, on l'explique comment aux touristes, Monsieur le Responsable ? Parce que nous, nous ne savons pas l'expliquer ».

Autre changement dans le paysage : les sépultures. Traditionnellement, les os des défunt étaient conservés dans des cercueils placés dans des rochers évidés ou dans des falaises (fig. 5). Encore visibles à l'air libre, les cercueils les plus anciens, en bois gravé, dateraient du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle selon une datation récente (Akin Duli, c. p., 2014) (fig. 6). Pourquoi conserver les défunt dans la roche ? L'inhumation et l'incinération restent abhorrées des Toraja, qui souhaitent conserver un accès aux os de leurs défunt. D'ailleurs, le rituel *ma'nene* ou *ma'tomatua* (« faire les ancêtres »), longtemps proscrit par l'Église, est quasiment réhabilité. Il consiste à rouvrir les cercueils, à changer les linceuls, à sortir les os, à invoquer les ancêtres en les conviant à partager les offrandes, afin d'obtenir leur faveur. Depuis les années 1980, de nouveaux types de sépulture – des tombeaux en forme de petites maisons rectangulaires en ciment (*patane*) –, ont été construits, probablement liés à la christianisation et au manque de place dans les rochers. Aujourd'hui, ces petites maisons mortuaires ne suffisent plus. Les Toraja bâtissent maintenant de grands pavillons mortuaires (fig. 7) aux allures de mausolées (fig. 8). On raconte même que certains défunt y sont placés avec leur moto. Toutes ces nouvelles sépultures restent conformes à la règle traditionnelle pré-chrétienne, exigeant que le défunt repose dans une « maison sans fumée » (*banua tang merambu*), cette maison étant le pendant de la maison d'habitation.

Malgré le développement du bâti en ciment comme lieu de résidence des défunt et des humains, l'habitat traditionnel en bois n'est pas abandonné pour autant. Les *tongkonan*, grandes maisons sur pilotis en bois gravé en quadrichromie, sont activement rénovées. Elles représentent le lieu de fondation du groupe de parenté (le *rapuan* ou ramage). Pourquoi les maisons sont-elles rénovées alors qu'elles restent inhabitées la plupart du temps, les Toraja préférant maintenant résider dans d'autres types de maisons plus grandes (fig. 9) ? D'une part, il importe pour les familles en diaspora de continuer à affirmer le statut de leur groupe de parenté au sein de la communauté ; d'autre part, les maisons traditionnelles permettent aussi d'accueillir la grande famille qui revient au pays au moment des cérémonies familiales. L'argent de la diaspora permet aux familles de poursuivre la rénovation des maisons et la construction des sépultures, toutes plus grandes qu'autrefois (fig. 10). Autre nouveauté : les champs de mégalithes ont retrouvé la vie, l'Église tolérant dorénavant leur érection (fig. 11).

Enfin, il y a d'autres petits changements que l'œil perçoit au détour des ruelles : les élevages de coqs de combat se sont multipliés à Rantepao. Des cages superposées accueillent les coqs par dizaines, certains venant des Philippines (les meilleurs). Ils sont dopés pour augmenter leur agressivité et leur intrépidité. Les combats (de coqs ou de buffles) sont autorisés s'ils sont

effectués dans le cadre des funérailles. Du fait que des funérailles ont lieu presque chaque semaine, autant dire que les occasions de jouer sont fréquentes. Début novembre, un jeune garçon de 14 ans meurt par accident près de mon *homestay*. Durant un mois, avant que le corps de l'enfant ne soit déplacé de sa maison vers son village d'origine, la rue est bloquée par des tentes et des chaises et tous les jours et toutes les nuits, des hommes viennent jouer, gagner ou perdre des sommes importantes. Des centaines de moto emplissent et désemplissent la rue. À midi, combats de coqs très animés, la nuit, jeux de cartes jusqu'au petit matin. Des désapprobations émergent : alors que l'Église s'oppose à ces jeux d'argent, un pasteur vient tout de même officier ici. Car dit-on, le père du garçon est de rang noble et influent. Une critique sourde pèse sur l'Église accusée au fond de favoriser les nobles.

### L'inflation cérémonielle

Tous les six jours (*sangpasa'*, unité temporelle toraja), les marchés ont lieu en différents points du Pays toraja. Un seul, le Pasar Bolu, réservé aux animaux, est spécialisé dans les buffles et les cochons, principales unités d'échange de la vie cérémonielle toraja. On y trouve les dix espèces de buffles dont les Toraja ont besoin pour leurs rituels. Désormais, la plupart sont importés d'autres régions, et d'autres îles de l'archipel tant la demande est forte (fig. 12). L'inflation du prix du buffle semble outrée, le prix moyen variant de 100 millions à 800 millions de roupies (de 7.000 à 53.000 € environ). L'espèce la plus chère, le buffle albinos (*saleko, bonga*), endogène au Pays toraja, est vendue 800 millions de roupies. Quand je leur demande ce qui permet de tels achats, tous répondent : Papua.

Malgré les effets de la christianisation massive qui a proscrit le cycle de transformation des défunts en ancêtres, deux types de rituels perdurent : les funérailles et les fêtes de maison. Ces rituels ont pris une nouvelle tournure, sensible à première vue par l'exubérance des dépenses animales, par l'absence des officiants, par la disparition des offrandes et par l'ambiance sonore, inouïe il y a 20 ans. Lors de la fête de consécration de maison à laquelle je me rends fin novembre, à trois kilomètres de Rantepao, je suis sidérée par le son de la fête, comparable à un festival pop sur fond de lance-flammes (pour brûler la peau des cochons). Dans une saturation sonore quasi ininterrompue, un à deux milliers de personnes au moins sont assises en train de déjeuner dans des loges en bambou, ou sur les greniers à riz pour les plus nobles, tout autour de la maison coutumière. D'autres s'activent à découper les animaux tués. Un cochon en marche pisse le sang et arrose des invités, mes sandales s'en retrouvent ensanglantées. La fête est nommée « ensanglanter la maison » (*mangrara banua*) ou pour certains « transpercer à la lance » (*merok*) ou encore *bua'sarani* (« *bua'* chrétien ») ; ainsi, trois noms de rituels pré-chrétiens sont avancés pour un rituel chrétien dont personne ne sait plus bien expliquer les

enjeux si ce n'est que tous les membres de la famille doivent apporter un cochon et repartir avec des parts de viande, pour consacrer le statut de la famille. « Ensanglanter » – le terme reste adéquat : trois cents cochons, à plus de 10 millions de roupies chacun, sont tués et partagés dans la journée, au son d'une musique moderne amplifiée (fig. 13). Je repars en moto avec mon hôte chargé de plusieurs kilos de parts de viande, de quoi manger pendant de nombreuses semaines.

Une nouvelle coutume a vu le jour : le mariage en grande pompe. Autrefois intime et simple (le mariage consistait à tuer un cochon devant un officiant), cette cérémonie chrétienne aussi est devenue démesurée. Sous des allures de « réception princière » (*pesta ala kraton*), elle s'étend sur deux jours et une nuit, impliquant des frais conséquents : impression de luxueuses invitations, décoration de la voiture, de la cour de la maison, construction de la scène nuptiale et des loges des invités, abattage de cochons, animations musicales à la mode (K-pop), location d'un orchestre avec orgue électrique, frais d'électricité, maquillage et coiffure des mariés, parures des familles, caméraman. La musique y est résolument moderne – quoique de courts spectacles « traditionnels » puissent être insérés telle une courte résurgence d'un passé englouti. Qui règne ici en maître ? Le *sound system*. Il permet aux orateurs de déclamer un discours « à la manière ancienne » (« *Puang é !...* », incipit de tous les discours, hurlé au micro), le *sound system* permet aussi au groupe électro, composé de filles en tenues légères et de musiciens à la mode urbaine, d'animer les deux jours de fête. Ceux qui le souhaitent peuvent venir pousser la chansonnette une fois les obligations terminées lors du « programme libre » (*acara bebas*). Que font les invités ? Après l'office à l'Église, ils déjeunent ensemble, assistent aux discours, rendent hommage aux mariés en procession, et la nuit, dansent le *dero*, ronde arrivée récemment en Pays toraja, empruntée à la région centre (Sulawesi Tengah). Cette ronde mixte se danse sur une musique moderne mais sur des paroles en toraja. La danse amène un vent nouveau : le pas est rebondissant, les jambes décontractées. Les VCD de cette nouvelle danse se vendent comme des petits pains sur les étals de Rantepao.

### **La visibilité, l'exhibition du statut, la lutte des élites**

Ces cérémonies se regardent à la télévision une fois rentré chez soi. À Rantepao, le soir, mon logeur regarde les chaînes toraja, des chaînes locales câblées privées. Depuis quand existent-elles ? Moins de dix ans ? Les programmes de ces chaînes diffusent en continu des événements de la vie locale : des rituels familiaux (funérailles, mariages et fêtes de maison), des rituels chrétiens (messes de mariage, anniversaires, consécration des personnels de l'Église), et des cérémonies gouvernementales. Les rituels des grandes familles sont les plus appréciés : combats de buffles, parures, décos, surabondance d'invités. L'édition filmique des rituels est montée

en coupant le son direct, remplacé par une musique pop indonésienne. Le plaisir des téléspectateurs vient de la reconnaissance des personnes, de l'appréciation esthétique et de l'évaluation du statut. Les signes de la richesse sont exhibés dans une ambiance anesthésiée, liée à la lenteur des travelings et à la musique aseptisée. Les Toraja aiment se regarder. L'exhibition du statut par la performance cérémonielle est dorénavant reproductible à loisir, grâce aux moyens technologiques, une première fois pour le groupe de parenté (lors de l'exécution réelle), une seconde fois à la télévision locale pour un public local, et une troisième fois, pour tous, par clips diffusés sur internet via FB ou YouTube, ce qui permet d'étendre un peu plus son influence. L'hagiographie chantée, pourtant interdite, ne disait-elle pas : « Qui lui est comparable ? Qui est à sa hauteur ? »

Multidimensionnelle, la visibilité passe notamment par la réactivation des marqueurs de statut : les mégalithes, la forme des cercueils, le temps des cérémonies, les discours distinguant les classes, autant de choses réhabilitées dans un milieu chrétien. L'exubérance et l'inflation cérémonielles constituent un combat pour son statut. Les « nouveaux riches » (OKB, *Orang Kaya Baru*), n'appartenant pas à la classe noble, utilisent les marqueurs de la noblesse alors qu'ils n'en ont pas la légitimité. En abattant plus de cent buffles à l'occasion de funérailles, ils montrent leur réussite sociale. L'abattage rituel surnuméraire sert, entre autres, à tenter d'élever son statut au sein de la communauté. Or la classe noble ronchonne à ce sujet, indisposée par ces nouveaux riches qui pratiquent les rituels avec démesure sans avoir pour autant ni la connaissance du savoir traditionnel ni le rang adéquat.

### **Sono, musik *elekton* et MC sur fond de potlatch**

Au cœur des grands rituels collectifs, une scène est construite, sur laquelle est disposée un *sound system* : ensemble d'enceintes, amplificateurs, et autres appareillages, table de mixage, système de micro sans fils. La place de cette scène n'est pas anodine. Lors des funérailles, elle est placée sous la tour où repose le défunt pendant le rituel (*lakkean*), un lieu particulièrement chargé. Qui a la légitimité pour parler sur ces nouvelles scènes ?

Depuis une vingtaine d'années, Marten R., instituteur, arrondit ses fins de mois, comme orateur grâce à ses dons de diction et son goût pour la langue. Il se dit « gorge assise » (*gora-gora tongkon*), un titre attribué autrefois aux personnes dotées d'un talent oratoire et d'une connaissance de la coutume mais n'ayant pas le droit de faire les offrandes et les prières, fonctions réservées aux officiants (« ceux qui savent » *to minaa*). Les « gorges assises » restaient souvent assises à côté des officiants pour parler de la coutume. Avec la relégation des officiants, liée à la christianisation, des nouveaux orateurs, désormais appelés MC (*Masters of Ceremony*) et même plus « gorges assises », chrétiens depuis leur naissance, ont pris aujourd'hui une place prééminente

au point de se coiffer du turban *passapu'* et de se faire appeler « ceux qui savent » (*to minaa*), usurpation abusive du titre, car leur connaissance de la coutume n'est que partielle et, contrairement aux officiants traditionnels, ils ne constituent pas les intercesseurs entre les humains et les entités invisibles (divinités *deata*, ancêtres *nene'*). Que font ces nouveaux orateurs dans les rituels ? Ils proclament des louanges amplifiées, diffusées dans l'ensemble de l'espace cérémoniel, afin d'annoncer l'entrée des « groupes familiaux » (*rombongan*, « groupe ») sur le champ cérémoniel tout en clamant leur statut selon des expressions poétiques appropriées à leur rang. Cette parole, disent-ils, est risquée car une seule faute peut engendrer des conflits entre familles si, par exemple, la hauteur de rang n'a pas été correctement formulée. Ces MC que tout le monde s'arrache sont grassement rémunérés : Marten R. touche 1 million de roupies pour une prestation de deux heures à un mariage tandis que Sam Barumbun, 42 ans, se fait payer un buffle pour un service de paroles aux funérailles (qui durent plusieurs jours). Ce dernier ne se déplace pas si le *sound system* n'est pas adéquat à son attente.

La scène amplifiée est aussi destinée à la « *musik elekton* », une musique moderne commune à l'Indonésie entière, appréciée des Toraja. La « *musik elekton* » désigne un groupe composé d'un seul instrument, un orgue électronique (*organ tunggal, keyboard*), qui accompagne deux à trois chanteurs, le tout relié à un système d'amplification performant. Le nom « *musik elekton* » vient de l'usage de l'orgue électronique Electon, créé par Yamaha dans les années 1960. Lors de la fête de la maison de Limbong, le 21 novembre 2014, la famille a loué le *sound system* de Jonatan, qui a proposé son groupe de « *musik elekton* » par la même occasion. Ce professeur de chant (*guru vokal*), lunettes noires, cheveux longs en queue de cheval, pantalon moulé, vêtements cintrés, est embauché comme animateur pour tout type de fête. Ses chants langoureux divertissent les invités pendant l'éventration et la découpe des cochons. Cet emprunt à la modernité est-il une façon pour les Toraja de ne pas se sentir relégués dans leur monde ancien, une façon de rester à la mode nationale ? En préférant la scène amplifiée, la « *musik elekton* » et les MC au détriment des chœurs et des officiants debout, les valeurs d'exhibition et de marchandisation de la musique et de la parole sont privilégiées. Que perdent-ils en chemin ? Nombreuses sont les personnes m'ayant témoigné leur regret de la perte du sacré (*sakral*). Face au déclin des formes musicales traditionnelles, le gouvernement local du département nord a pourtant choisi de subventionner certains chœurs villageois. La famille qui fêtait la rénovation d'une maison à Poton le 28 décembre 2014 a invité trente chanteurs de *simbong* et de *dandan* du village voisin, payés 5 millions, le même prix qu'un groupe de « *musik elekton* ».

La scène amplifiée sert aussi l'expression des différents pouvoirs en place : prêtres, pasteurs, chefs de village (*to parengnge', kepala lembang*)

et surtout, chefs de famille qui, au micro sans fil, gèrent pendant des heures, la comptabilité des offrandes animales en public, fait nouveau, histoire de remettre chacun à sa place devant ses capacités économiques et morales : « À qui est ce cochon ? À qui est ce buffle ? » (*Minda bai te? Minda tedong te?*).

### **Crise identitaire toraja**

On ne compte plus les publications locales parues récemment abordant le problème : *Solusi Membangun Toraja* (2014), *Aluk to Dolo Menantikan Kristus* (2014), *Toraja Ma'Kombongan: Proyeksi Toraja 100 tahun ke Depan, Era Pembaruan dan Transformasi* (2013)... Toutes abordent le problème d'une crise à tous les niveaux : culturel, pédagogique, environnemental, économique, touristique, politique. Face à cela, l'Église et le gouvernement s'unissent pour réfléchir.

À l'occasion du lancement de mon livre le 6 décembre 2014, la discussion s'anime. Un jeune orateur renommé, Sam Barumbun, prend la parole en toraja :

« Nous ne sommes pas fiers d'être toraja parce que nous ne savons pas qui et comment sont les Toraja. À peine passée la frontière de notre région, la rivière des courageux, on dit [*en jakartanais*] “*kaki lu'injak goé, enak aja lu !*” (“Marche moi dessus, te gêne pas”). *On ne veut pas être appellés Toraja.* »

Un autre participant (Papa Era) renchérit :

« Beaucoup de Toraja, garçons et filles, ne sont pas fiers que leur région soit maintenant labellisée région touristique. Pourquoi ? Ils ne savent plus ce qu'est la règle rituelle (*aluk*) ni ce qu'est la coutume (*adat*), ni ce qui relie cette terre à leur corps. C'est un non-sens de dire que les chrétiens peuvent aller au Paradis s'ils ne connaissent pas leurs ancêtres. Perdus dans leur maison, comment pourraient-ils entrer au paradis ? Te perdre dans ta propre maison, c'est impossible ! Tu te fatigues à courber ton corps pour prier alors que tu ne connais pas même tes propres ancêtres ! »

Il ajoute :

« Parce qu'aujourd'hui, nous ne sommes plus unis dans nos villages. Nous ne savons plus qui sont les pères et les mères (ndlr : les chefs) parce que maintenant, ceux qui deviennent les chefs, les gens des partis politiques, sont devenus « les pères » dans les villages, et selon moi, si on veut maintenir les savoirs locaux, ceux qui devraient rester les pères, ce sont plutôt les vieux. »

Il dénonce ici la fabrication de nouvelles élites, dépourvues du savoir rituel. Le démantèlement des élites traditionnelles, concurrencées par l'intrusion de nouveaux pouvoirs, déstabilisées par l'émigration et l'apparition des nouveaux riches s'ajoute à la relégation des détenteurs du savoir ancestral ; tout cela contribue à la perte de repères chez les jeunes Toraja qui, bercés depuis l'enfance par une liturgie chrétienne occidentale, n'ont pas connu les rituels anciens. C'est peut-être la raison pour laquelle la restitution de mon ouvrage

est, à ma grande surprise et contrairement à mes craintes, accueillie comme un rayon de soleil, permettant de leur faire découvrir un pan de leur identité qu'on leur aurait cachée et dont ils sont assoiffés, un miroir reflétant une image d'eux-mêmes à laquelle ils voudraient en vain ressembler à nouveau.

### Activistes et contre-pouvoirs

Coup de fouet. À Rantepao, j'assiste avec surprise à la remise en cause frontale de la religion monothéiste, l'un des cinq piliers du *Pancasila*. Lors du lancement de mon livre, des voix s'élèvent, accusant violemment la religion chrétienne de tuer la coutume, condamnant les gens des Églises à passer leur temps à théoriser sur l'inculturation et la contextualisation, à se chamailler et se détester, allant même jusqu'à dire que la religion chrétienne a blasphémé la coutume ancestrale. L'Église, disent-ils, doit demander pardon. Ces mêmes voix dénoncent, en outre, l'incurie du gouvernement et son alliance avec le pouvoir chrétien. L'ouvrage que je leur rapporte est utilisé par ces activistes comme arme de contestation envers les pouvoirs en place :

« Tout se passe comme si en ce jour, le gouvernement se glorifiait de l'arrivée du livre *Chants de la terre aux trois sangs*. Cela fait aujourd'hui la fierté du gouvernement. Mais c'est une gifle pour le gouvernement en place, incapable d'aider les jeunes Toraja à développer une quelconque intention sacrée pour construire la coutume et la culture. En vérité, c'est une vraie gifle ! » (Daud Arung Pangarungan, activiste, 6 décembre 2014).

Ces voix-là sont celles de contre-pouvoirs, composés d'un petit nombre de gens, souvent issus de la classe noble toraja, quelquefois actifs au parti PDI-P et dans différents mouvements (GMKI, Gerak Masyarakat Kristen Indonesia). Ils se disent activistes (*aktivis*), guides, orateurs, hommes de savoir. Ils n'hésitent pas à lancer des manifestations, à apostrophier le gouvernement, à dénoncer la corruption – même celle des pasteurs (l'un d'eux a été accusé de corruption après avoir détourné des fonds issus de la vente de gazinières). Ces activistes, volontiers vêtus en *sarong*, valorisent la coutume ancestrale qu'ils n'ont pas vraiment bien connue et qu'ils idéalisent avec nostalgie :

« Beaucoup de gens construisent du monumental pour dire leurs origines, mais nous les Toraja (de la coutume), il nous suffit d'un brin de rotin de la natte tout en buvant du vin de palme et nous pouvons réciter les origines de nos ancêtres du ciel jusqu'à nous. Or, dans les autres pays, aux États-Unis par exemple, ils creusent à 100 mètres sous la terre mais sont incapables de nommer leurs ancêtres. »

Le contenu de leurs discours coïncide avec des revendications nationales, propagées dans la presse et dans les séminaires. Dans l'hebdomadaire national *Tempo*, le dossier *Yang Lokal, Yang Tersisih* (« Ce qui est local, ce qui est relégué ») aborde la discrimination des religions locales d'Indonésie :

« Depuis des dizaines d'années, les religions locales d'Indonésie ont été discriminées et mises de côté. Les lois sur la Prévention des Déviations et/ou des Profanations Religieuses

ont constraint les adhérents de ces religions locales à rejoindre l'Islam, le Protestantisme, le Catholicisme, le Bouddhisme ou l'Hindouisme. Le président Soeharto a immédiatement décidé que les religions locales prendraient le statut de croyances. Actuellement, 239 organisations sont listées, avec environ 12 millions de personnes. Toutes ces organisations n'étant pas recensées, elles n'ont donc pas accès à la reconnaissance, telles que la mention sur la carte d'identité, l'éducation religieuse, et les cérémonies de mariage. » (Extrait de l'introduction au dossier sur les religions locales, *Tempo*, 27 octobre-2 novembre 2014, par Erwin Zachri et Karana Wijaya Wardana)<sup>4</sup>.

Dans le même temps, face à la relégation des religions locales, un mouvement national s'oppose à la domination de la religion dans la sphère publique. Un débat est organisé par l'Eglise Toraja le 1er novembre 2014, sur le thème du multiculturalisme, avec pour titre : « Fertilisation du multiculturalisme à l'école et dans la famille. Perspectives et défis pour l'enseignement multiculturel »<sup>5</sup>). À cette occasion, le sociologue Trisno Sutanto (« Activiste et Observateur de l'Enseignement Multiculturel », *Aktivis dan Pemerhati Pendidikan Multikultural*) et la pédagogue Ibu Retno Listyarti (de la « Fédération Unie des Professeurs Indonésiens », Federasi Serikat Guru Indonesia), invités de Jakarta, insistent sur l'importance de séculariser l'école. Alors qu'en 1965, il n'y avait pas d'obligation d'enseignement religieux à l'école, sous les mandats de Suharto, l'intensification de la religion à l'école a produit des extrêmes, menant par exemple certains élèves chrétiens de Padang (Sumatra Ouest) à se voiler en classe, tant la norme musulmane y est impérieuse.

### **Dans la nébuleuse chrétienne**

Alors que les terres toraja forment depuis 1913 un fief calviniste dirigé par l'Église Gereja Toraja (issue de l'Église Néerlandaise Réformée), ce monopole est aujourd'hui fissuré. Il se voit menacé par l'apparition de nouvelles congrégations protestantes gagnant du terrain, telle l'Eglise Pentecôtiste (GPDI, Gereja Pentekosta di Indonesia), qui inclut plusieurs courants (GBI Gereja Bethel Indonesia, GTI Gereja Tiberias Indonesia et Kibaid, Gereja Kerapatan Injili Bangsa Indonesia). Bien que ces courants soient minoritaires, leurs églises, blanches et neuves, omniprésentes, rythment le territoire. Dans le village de ma famille adoptive, l'Église Pentecôtiste est majoritaire. Elle interdit à ses fidèles la participation aux rituels coutumiers considérés comme

**4.** *Sejak berpuluhan tahun lampau, agama-agama lokal Indonesia didiskriminasi dan terpinggirkan. Undang-undang tentang pencegahan penyalahgunaan dan penodaan Agama 1965 mengharuskan penganutnya bergabung dengan Islam, Protestan, Katolik, Buddha atau Hindu. Presiden Soeharto lantas memutuskan status agama lokal sebagai aliran kepercayaan. Kini terdata ada 239 organisasi dengan sekitar 12 juta penghayat. Belum semuanya terdaftar dan mendapat pelayanan dasar semacam kartu tanda penduduk, pendidikan agama, dan upacara pernikahan (...).*

**5.** *Memupuk nilai multikultural di sekolah dan keluarga. Prospek dan tantangan pendidikan multikultural.*

contraires à l'Évangile qui, me disent-ils, proscrit la consommation de viande issue de bête égorgée. Les prohibitions sont plus strictes encore pour les fidèles de la mouvance Advent (Gereja Masehi Advent Hari Ketujuh). Ce refus est peu apprécié des fidèles de Gereja Toraja : « *Il y a certaines personnes qui veulent faire disparaître la culture, nombreuses sont celles qui veulent faire disparaître l'histoire. Une grande nation doit connaître son histoire* », me dit Paulus Batti, chef du canton de Rindingallo, le 11 novembre 2014.

Au contraire des Evangélistes, l'Eglise calviniste (Gereja Toraja), majoritaire, s'ouvre désormais activement à la coutume pré-chrétienne, fait nouveau par rapport aux années 1990. Depuis les années 1930, le vent a tourné. *Aluk* « règle rituelle toraja, religion », *adat* « coutume » et *kebudayaan* « tradition culturelle » ont été les trois mots autour desquels l'Eglise a constamment réfléchi. Comment conserver la coutume (*adat*) tout en supprimant son contenu sacré (*aluk*) ? Comment départager ce qui relève du religieux ou de la coutume ? Tout au long du XXème siècle, la religion et la coutume toraja ont été séparées par l'interdiction d'un grand nombre de pratiques rituelles. Or, depuis 2013, l'Eglise veut revenir en arrière : maintenant que les détenteurs de la religion ancienne (*aluk nene*) ont à peu près tous disparu, elle désire retrouver les valeurs de l'Évangile dans l'ancienne religion (*nilai injil dalam aluk*), pour faire vivre une théologie contextuelle (*teologi kontekstual*). La crise identitaire serait liée, selon elle, à la séparation entre les valeurs religieuses et coutumières :

...la crise multidimensionnelle que nous vivons à présent, c'est la séparation de la règle rituelle (*aluk*) avec la coutume (*ada'*) ; les Toraja ont été déracinés de leurs racines traditionnelles et religieuses, les valeurs culturelles qui s'enracinaient dans la règle rituelle ont été considérées comme païennes et elles ont été écarteres, alors que le christianisme qu'on s'est employé à ériger en nouvelle norme coutumière, était alors en réalité encore incapable de remplacer l'ancienne règle. Or quand l'harmonie, comme valeur supérieure et centrale (core value) est abandonnée sans substitut, alors surgit la disharmonie dans tous les domaines. (Traduit de l'indonésien, Pemerintah Daerah Tana Toraja dan Toraja Utara, *Toraja ma'kombongan*, 2013 : 43)<sup>6</sup>

Ces réflexions ne sont pas propres à l'Église Calviniste. De longue date bien plus ouverte à la coutume que l'Eglise Protestante, l'Église Catholique, bien que minoritaire (22 prêtres en poste dont 12 seulement sur le terrain), est extrêmement active dans l'inculturation. Les prêtres catholiques que je rencontre s'apparentent en un sens à des chercheurs en ethnologie : ils notent les coutumes, cherchent à comprendre les valeurs, rédigent des livres. Ils

**6.** ...*krisis multidimensi yang kita alami sekarang ini adalah pemisahan aluk dari ada'; orang Toraja dicabut dari akar tradisi dan religiositasnya, nilai-nilai budaya yang berakar dalam aluk dikafirkan dan disingkirkan, sementara kekristenan yang diupayakan menjadi aluk baru bagi adat ternyata belum mampu menjadi aluk yang efektif bagi aluk yang sudah disingkirkan. Dan kalau harmoni sebagai nilai utama dan sentral (core value) ditinggalkan tanpa adanya elemen penganti, maka yang terjadi adalah disharmoni di segala bidang* (Pemerintah Daerah Tana Toraja dan Toraja Utara, *Toraja ma'kombongan*, 2013, p. 43).

viennent d'ailleurs de créer une maison d'édition, les Presses Batu Silambi', à l'École Supérieure de Science Catéchétique et Pastorale (Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Kateketik dan Pastoral) pour publier les résultats de leurs réflexions.

Le 18 novembre 2014, je suis invitée à exposer mes résultats dans la nouvelle École Supérieure de Théologie Protestante (STAKN), créée en 2009, une université qui forme plus de 1000 étudiants, pasteurs et professeurs de religion. Alors que je leur présente la place de la musique dans leur société non chrétienne, l'accueil est singulièrement enthousiaste. Les pasteurs, les enseignants et leurs étudiants disent avoir besoin de la connaissance des valeurs toraja pour officier dans les paroisses. Je comprends alors pourquoi dans cette université, les programmes de master incluent un travail de terrain. Je découvre par ailleurs à quel point l'offre universitaire toraja reste exclusivement chrétienne. Sur place, les étudiants toraja ont le choix entre l'Ecole Supérieure de Théologie (STT, Sekolah Tinggi Teologia), l'Université Protestante d'Indonésie (UKI, Universitas Kristen Indonesia) et l'Ecole Publique Supérieure de Religion Protestante (STAKN, Sekolah Tinggi Agama Kristen Negeri). Les étudiants se retrouvent au sein de mouvements de jeunesse chrétiennes telle la Fédération des Jeunesse de l'Eglise Toraja (PPGT, Persekutuan Pemuda Gereja Toraja), le Mouvement des Etudiants Protestants d'Indonésie (GMKI, Gerakan Mahasiswa Kristen Indonesia) pour construire une identité chrétienne indonésienne, dans le but d'influer au niveau national.

### **Revitaliser, Recontextualiser, Réinterpréter**

Trois termes clés sont en vogue dans les nombreux séminaires auxquels j'assiste : « Revitalisasi, Rekontekstualisasi, Reinterpretasi ». Ces termes sont pronés dans un manifeste écrit par Tallu Batu Lalikan (« Trois Pierres à chaque coin »), nom d'un nouveau comité composé de l'alliance entre le gouvernement local, l'Eglise, et AMAN (Alliance des Communautés Coutumières, une nouvelle organisation qui se dit au service de la coutume et que je présenterai plus bas). *Revitalisasi* signifie ici un retour à la culture locale par le biais de l'art matériel (tissus, effigies, mât, sculptures...), des rituels et des valeurs. *Reinterpretasi* consiste à réinterpréter les valeurs de la culture toraja. L'harmonie est érigée par ce comité comme la valeur centrale bourgeonnant en trois branches (*tallu lolona*) que chacun interprète à sa façon et pour ses besoins. *Reaktualisasi* serait une mise à jour des valeurs toraja combinées à l'Evangile.

Sur le terrain, cela donne différentes expériences. Tout d'abord, une volonté chrétienne de retour à la culture, affirmée dans les discours, tel celui d'un prêtre lors du lancement de mon livre à Rantepao :

« J'ai été spécialement missionné pour l'inculturation, l'indigénisation de la foi chrétienne dans la culture toraja. Ce problème est très important, car d'abord, nous les jeunes, ne

voyons plus la tradition orale des vieux. Nous souhaitons l'étudier dans ce qui est conservé, mais ce qui est conservé dans les écrits est très limité. (...) Nous avons abandonné ce que nous nommions païen. Or en fait, nous, les chrétiens, avons parlé des divinités néfastes et des esprits mauvais. Mais après avoir discuté avec les officiants (*to minaa*), on constate qu'il n'y a pas de divinités néfastes. Les divinités sont bonnes et miséricordieuses. Elles correspondent à notre foi, à Dieu le miséricordieux, Dieu le très bon, Dieu d'amour, Dieu plein d'amour. Je crois qu'il est très important pour nous de conserver l'héritage culturel de nos ancêtres. C'est pourquoi, ce qu'il y a dans l'ouvrage de Dana, nous l'utiliserons dans une équipe de réinterprétation de la coutume, de revitalisation, de réactualisation, de réinterprétation qui s'accorde complètement avec ce livre. Et je pense que dans le comité Batu Lalikan, ce livre va vraiment nous aider à faire revivre ce qui a disparu, et à la fois aussi, à revitaliser, réactualiser pour que cela ait un sens dans notre vivre ensemble toraja, et je crois que ce que nous devons promouvoir c'est ce que va devenir toraja, dans la paix, la paix sur la terre, la paix au ciel. » (Pater Yohanis Manta', Rantepao, 6 décembre 2014)

Pentecôtistes exceptés, tous les Toraja souhaitent que leurs rituels familiaux soient réalisés selon la coutume ancestrale, dans sa version chrétienne. Les funérailles s'effectuent par exemple avec un grand nombre d'actions et d'objets autrefois interdits par l'Église : construction et érection de mégalithes, fabrication d'effigies. Dans les fêtes de maison, les familles chrétiennes veulent ériger le mât cérémoniel *bate*, prononcer la grande invocation au buffle (*somba tedong*), etc. Mais à la place de l'officiant *to minaa*, c'est un rhéteur (MC) qui profère une version revisée de cette invocation au buffle avant son exécution, une parole probablement survalorisée aujourd'hui, érigée en norme, lire d'après la version écrite et étudiée par le linguiste missionnaire Henrik Van der Veen (1965). Les chrétiens se réapproprient donc les mots, les objets, les actions, les noms des rituels et jusqu'au titre des experts traditionnels pourtant évincés de ces fêtes. Les plus grands rituels sont recopiers mais blanchis des éléments critiques qui pourraient faire entorse au dogme (tels les récits hagiographiques, les offrandes, la relation avec les entités invisibles...). Aux officiants traditionnels se sont donc substitués les pasteurs et les nouveaux orateurs. Ce grand renouveau s'accompagne de la nécessité de connaître les paroles rituelles des officiants. Le prêtre Yohanis Manta' vient de publier un livre de paroles, empruntées à la rhétorique de l'ancienne religion, un corpus que les chrétiens peuvent dorénavant prononcer dans les rituels (*Recueil des paroles des officiants pour les rituels du Levant et du Couchant, Kumpulan-kumpulan kada-kada to minaa dalam rambu tuka'-rambu solo*', 2011, Percetakan Sulo). La récupération des traits de la religion pré-chrétienne reste partielle et surtout, la signification des signes réutilisés, réactualisés, reste, pour presque tous, complètement opaque.

Depuis 1999, une nouvelle organisation de protection des droits indigènes toraja est née, c'est l'Alliance des Communautés Coutumières Toraja (AMAN Toraya, *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara, Toraya*)<sup>7</sup>. A sa tête, une noble

7. AMAN est une organisation nationale créée en 1999. Elle est active dans 21 régions d'Indonésie incluant Java, Bali, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Maluku, NTB. <http://www.aman.or.id>

de Rantepao bien introduite dans les réseaux politiques, fille du défunt Bapa' Palimbong. AMAN Toraya viserait à protéger la coutume. Mais laquelle ? Et qui dans la coutume ? Cette organisation est-elle vraiment représentative de la coutume, des villageois, si peu unifiés d'une région à l'autre, d'un village à l'autre ? Certains disent qu'elle a pour but de maintenir le système féodal toraja, en souhaitant consolider la stratification. En 2001, elle a obtenu du parlement local (DPR-D) la restitution de la division territoriale coutumière que l'administration indonésienne avait gommée depuis 1950. Les communes (*desa*) ont été remplacées par le terme traditionnel « vaisseau » (*lembang*). Il a été acté, par le gouvernement local, que seuls les membres de la noblesse toraja peuvent être élus comme chefs de *lembang* – étrange avancée en démocratie (Klenke 2013 : 162). En revenant au terme *lembang*, l'organisation est-elle revenue à la signification de ce terme qui impliquait de chanter ensemble l'union de territoires coutumiers, autrefois nommés « lieux du chant » (*penanian*) (Rappoport 1996 : 61-64) ? Pas sûr. AMAN Toraya reçoit des fonds à différents niveaux, y compris de la part du gouvernement local. Elle a notamment pour mission de dresser les cartes des régions coutumières et d'en consigner les us et coutumes. Un matin de novembre 2014, me voici par hasard au bureau local de cette organisation : la responsable confie à un habitant de Sapan (village au nord) un petit enregistreur. Elle lui montre une carte et lui dit :

« Avec cela, va voir les vieux et recense les frontières de ton territoire coutumier, les coutumes, l'histoire, la structure sociale, la culture, les savoirs locaux, le système de droit et reviens nous rapporter tout cela d'ici trois mois. »

Autre exemple. *Bate' Toraya* fait partie d'un projet national de revitalisation des techniques textiles. Au café Aras, le 3 novembre 2014, je rencontre Pak William Kwan Hwie Lwong, grand amateur de batik, ami de la ministre du tourisme de Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Il a été missionné sous le mandat de l'ancien président, quand le tourisme et la culture n'étaient qu'un seul ministère, le Ministère du tourisme et de l'économie créative, *Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif*, ou *Parikrav*, tel qu'il est abrégé. Il s'agit d'activer l'économie locale en stimulant l'activité créatrice. Les buts sont l'apprentissage de techniques disparues, la conservation et la vente. Pak William est venu dans le cadre du *Training Product Design* : réapprendre aux gens la technique du batik que les Toraja auraient maîtrisé autrefois, comme en témoigne la présence des *sarita*, cotonnades cérémonielles blanches et bleues, longues et étroites, suspendues sur les maisons lors des rituels. Le projet global de Pak William consiste à revitaliser cinq cultures locales indonésiennes par le textile, dans des régions qui produisaient des batiks autrefois mais qui ont perdu les techniques (Toraja, Manggarai), ou bien des régions produisant des

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batiks mais dont les motifs et les techniques d'origine ont disparu. Il a choisi cinq régions, trois à Java (Magelang, Batang, Pacitan), Flores (Manggarai), Sulawesi (Toraja). En Pays toraja, six Javanais viennent donc animer des ateliers pour apprendre aux gens à fabriquer des *sarita* et pour les stimuler à créer d'autres cotonnades avec des motifs de leur choix, qui pourraient être vendues sur les marchés, local et national. Ils disent apprécier l'ouverture des Toraja qui ne considèrent pas ce projet comme une javanisation de l'archipel, contrairement à d'autres régions.

### **Budaya adat ou « la culture » à toutes les sauces**

Chaque mois de décembre, les deux départements Toraja Utara et Tana Toraja s'agitent pour l'organisation du Lovely Desember, une série d'animations financées par la province, afin de stimuler le tourisme local et national, au moment du retour saisonnier des émigrés toraja. Dans le bourg de Makalé, en plus des feux d'artifice quotidiens, un grand nombre de compétitions sont organisées : courses de vélo, concours de chœurs d'église, de discours en indonésien, de pêche, de bateaux, de chants *kidung Natal* et *lagu daerah*, de cuisine, de photo, d'artisanat, de littérature et puis un Jazz music festival et Music Entertainment, des performances de motos (Yamaha Riders Federation Event, Byonic Toraya), un Street Festival etc., tout cela du 1<sup>er</sup> au 25 décembre. Au total, 25 événements sont prévus. L'un d'eux, prévu dans tous les villages, s'appelle « cérémonie traditionnelle » (*upacara adat*). Ainsi, les rituels traditionnels sont programmés au même titre qu'une course de vélo ou que le jazz music festival... Toute cette agitation correspond en fait à l'Avent, et c'est pourquoi l'Église prend activement part à ces animations.

Le 3 novembre 2014, j'assiste au défilé d'un *drumben* (*drumband*) d'une école primaire (Tagari), accueilli par le préfet Sorring, devant le siège de l'Église Toraja (Badan Pekerja Sinode). Cet orchestre va concourir à Makassar dans une compétition de musique scolaire d'Indonésie de l'Est. Le groupe est composé de trois groupes d'instruments : tambour, mélodica et métallophones, avec porteurs de drapeaux. Drum Band et Marching Band sont monnaie courante chez les instituteurs toraja. Militaire à souhait et anti-local.

Sanggar Seni Toraya. Des groupes de musique folklorique (*sanggar budaya*) sont invités pour animer certaines cérémonies non rituelles. Le 19 novembre 2014, lors du lancement de la présentation *Eksplorasi Bate' Toraya*, deux groupes sont invités. Le premier est composé de cinq jeunes filles et de trois garçons au tambour et à la flûte. Les filles dansent le *gellu'* de manière formatée. Flûte latérale (apportée par les missionnaires, dite flûte obligatoire ou *suling wajib*) sur des airs en mode majeur occidental. Un second groupe se présente : des femmes âgées frappent des bambous évidés à terre, de différentes tailles, accompagnées de petites guitares jouées par des hommes. Le présentateur indique que cette musique « originelle » a disparu avec

l'arrivée des trompes *pompang* du Minahassa (Célèbes Nord). Ils chantent un air folklorique toraja, sur un mode occidental, que j'ai déjà entendu il y a 20 ans. Invention d'un passé musical imaginaire.

Enfin, depuis 2013, un festival (<http://torajainternationalfestival.com/>) a été mis en place par le ministère du tourisme, impulsé par un Javanais, Franki Raden, missionné pour l'organisation de *International Art Festival* à Ke'te Kesu' (en décembre 2013, puis en août 2014). Y furent invités des musiciens de différents pays qui ont mêlé leurs voix aux chœurs toraja (*dandan, simpong*) dans une sorte de grand opéra pop, pour les touristes et les jeunes locaux.

Ces programmes, multiples et ponctuels, sont insufflés par des urbains au pouvoir dans l'administration, qui promeuvent des formes sonores déconnectées de leur substance, pour les besoins de l'animation, de la marchandisation et du tourisme. La valeur exhibition a pris le pas sur la valeur rituelle. Dans ce processus, une petite partie des formes artistiques est sélectionnée, décontextualisée, vidée de sa substance, de ses lieux, de ses groupes pour être utilisée à des fins marchandes de spectacles. Cette vitrine-là devient la référence commune des jeunes générations.

### Réappropriation

Pourtant, des chemins de traverse se dessinent. En avril 2014, Marsel Lembang, un inconnu, me contacte par Facebook pour connaître la date de parution de mon ouvrage, puis me recontacte à plusieurs reprises à l'automne pour s'en procurer plusieurs exemplaires. Ingénieur supérieur en électricité dans une entreprise d'extraction de mineraux, à Sangatta (Kutai Timur, Kalimantan), il est amateur de chant et souhaite accroître son répertoire de chants funéraires pour les mettre en pratique lors des funérailles. Il étudie les chants de mon ouvrage récemment acquis, il les corrige, s'étonne de la traduction littérale choisie par le traducteur Stanislaus Sandarupa, ne comprend pas que l'octosyllabe ne soit pas stable. Il se penche sur l'hagiographie, interroge son sens, s'émerveille devant la richesse des paroles et cherche à saisir les variations dialectales. Grâce au disque de plus de quarante heures de musique, il réécoute les chants pour traquer les erreurs, comprendre les variations. Le 11 janvier 2015, il m'écrit :

« En fait, ce n'est pas seulement moi qui m'intéresse au *badong* [ronde funéraire traditionnelle] mais tous les gens qui souvent chantent le *badong* et le *dondi'* [chants de veille funéraire assis] à Sangatta (Kalimantan Est) et qui sont très contents du livre et du CD parce qu'on y trouve une nouvelle connaissance et un complément à la collection de rondes funéraires *badong* qu'on peut chanter. À présent, je viens d'être nommé "Coordinateur artistique et culturel de l'union des familles Toraja de Kutai Timur". »

Marsel Lembang n'est peut-être pas un cas unique. L'engouement des Toraja pour cet ouvrage multimédia sur leur liturgie musicale disparue laisse-t-il présager une réappropriation active ?

En attendant un bus, je rencontre aussi Maria Badong. Elle est surnommée

ainsi pour son goût de la danse funéraire *badong*, davantage réservée aux hommes. Émigrée à Kalimantan depuis plus de quarante ans, petite grand-mère très tonique, elle revient en Pays toraja pour régler un conflit foncier. D'après elle, la musique toraja est dorénavant davantage pratiquée en diaspora. Très gaie, après trois heures d'attente d'un bus auquel il manque des passagers pour démarrer, la mémé chanteuse décide finalement d'enjamber un taxi moto pour rejoindre son village, Perangian « L'écoute ».

Je repars de mon côté vers Makassar avec un sentiment partagé, à la fois déconcertée par la disparition de l'oralité traditionnelle, le vide des villages, l'incurie du gouvernement local envers la sauvegarde de la liturgie ancestrale, le délabrement des bibliothèques locales, l'instrumentalisation de la tradition par les anciennes élites mais aussi stupéfiée par la vitalité de la contestation qui s'ensuit, la prise de conscience d'une minorité de personnes déplorant le perte de sacralité, les processus de réappropriation, de revitalisation, la naissance de nouveaux types d'oralité et la formidable énergie des Toraja, capables de s'adapter à la modernité et à l'éparpillement tout en maintenant leurs relations par une vie cérémonielle intense. La musique, au cœur de mon travail en Indonésie, devient maintenant un enjeu politique d'un autre niveau.

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**Fig. 1 – Restitution de mon livre dans un village,  
To' Nangka (Rindingallo), 10 novembre 2014. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)**



**Fig. 2 – Sitor, taksi motor à deux places, Rantepao, 13/12/2014. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)**



**Fig.3** – Ne'Lumbaa, mon père adoptif (à droite), son petit-fils et son voisin, sur son grenier à riz, Lempo Poton, 8/11/2014. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.4** – En arrière-plan, vue de la croix sur la colline de Rantepao, 20/11/2014 (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.5** – Sépultures dans la roche (canton de Rindingallo, Toraja Utara), 1993. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.6** – Cercueils en bois (*erong*), sur le site de sépultures à Lombok Parinding, (Canton Sesean, Toraja Utara), novembre 2014. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.7 – Sépulture patane (Pangala', canton de Rindingallo, Toraja Utara),**  
11 novembre 2014. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.8 – Sépulture patane (Pangala', canton de Rindingallo, Toraja Utara),**  
11 novembre 2014 (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.9 – Village toraja.** La maison traditionnelle côtoie désormais d'autres types d'architectures, deux maisons bugis sur pilotis et une maison de plein pied. (canton de Sesan, Toraja utara), 2014.  
(Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.10 – Maison traditionnelle (tongkonan) en construction,** Lempopoton, 13/11/2014.  
La maison tongkonan représente le lieu de fondation du *rapuan*,  
groupe de filiation cognatique orienté vers un ancêtre commun. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.11** – Champ de mégalithes (canton de Sesean, Toraja Utara), 11/12/2014.  
(Cliché : D. Rappoport)



**Fig.12** – Marché aux buffles, au *pasar Bolu*, près de Rantepao, novembre 2014. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



Fig.13 – Rituel de célébration de maison, Tallung Lipu, 21/11/2014. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)



Fig.13 – Célébration de mariage à Bokin, 25/11/2014. (Cliché : D. Rappoport)

## COMPTES RENDUS

Zhou YUNZHONG 周运中: *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao* 郑和下西洋新考. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2013. Series “Xiamen daxue Renwen xueyuan qingnian xueshu wenku” 厦门大学人文学院青年学术文库. 6 + 2 + 431 pages, illustrations. ISBN 978-7-5161-3392-7 (paperbound).

Chinese scholarly works on the history of the early Ming voyages led by Zheng He 郑和 and other court eunuchs abound and many books on this subject merely repeat what is already known. The present work, in short characters, is very different. Its author, Zhou Yunzhong, a young scholar now with Xiamen University in Fujian, has published a large number of excellent articles which often deviate from the standard repertory of maritime history because they investigate new topics and explore hitherto poorly known sources. The same may be said in regard to the finely printed book which is under review here. It is on Zheng He and his times, but it deals with various neglected aspects and offers fresh ideas.

The first section discusses the possible motives behind Zheng He's voyages. Zhou refutes many of the well-known arguments one can easily find in past research, concluding that a mixture of political and economic factors such as the court's desire to reactivate the tribute system should best explain the early Ming expeditions. He also tries to relate the deeper meaning of the term Yongle 永乐—the reign title of the emperor under whom Zheng He began his first “round trip”—to important events in the early fifteenth century. Paradoxically, this period was not characterized by “eternal happiness,” as the combination “Yongle” might suggest; rather, these were years of war and rigorous “dictatorship.”

One remarkable feature of the early Ming expeditions was the installation of the so-called *guanchang* 官厂, or government warehouses / stations, that served to store trade goods and perhaps also to coordinate the logistics of major voyages. This is briefly discussed as well. Functionally, the early Ming *guanchang* certainly differed

*Archipel* 89, Paris, 2015, p. 205-218

from the colonial posts of the Europeans. Another theme is the end of the maritime programme in the 1430s. There are different explanations in the literature and these explanations are reviewed one by one. But the more exciting part is the section on the various shipyards involved in constructing the early Ming fleets. Four such locations were in the area of modern Nanjing. Here readers may also be referred to the standard monograph by Hans Lothar Scheuring, *Die Drachenfluß-Werft von Nanking. Das Lung-chiang ch'uan-ch'ang chih, eine Ming-zeitliche Quelle zur Geschichte des chinesischen Schiffbaus* (Frankfurt a.M. 1987). The part on the ship building programme concludes the discussion of the general setting of Zheng He's voyages. What comes next is a detailed appreciation of the so-called Mao Kun 茅坤 map or *Zheng He hanghai tu* 郑和航海图, which in fact forms the major theme of Zhou's book.

The Mao Kun map, widely known to European scholars through the studies by J. V. G. Mills, is available in several very similar editions. The version in *Wu bei zhi* 武备志 is most common and has formed the basis of many works on Chinese nautical knowledge, but one ought to compare it with the map in *Nan shu zhi* 南枢志, which bears a number of different readings. Zhou Yunzhong provides a systematic comparison between these prints (including the modern edition called *Xinbian Zheng He hanghai tuji* 新编郑和航海图集, Beijing 1988), listing dozens of variant terms and orthographs some of which are important for a better understanding of certain toponyms and the interpretation of regional contexts.

This is followed by a detailed investigation of all segments of the map. The analysis comprises more than three hundred pages in all and, until today, is perhaps the most thorough work of its kind. It clearly surpasses past research by Xu Yuhu 徐玉虎, Xiang Da 向达, Zhang Jian 张箭 and many others, who have dealt with the same subject. One recurrent feature of Zhou's study is that it offers new views on "unusual" place names, occasionally rejecting, for example, the suggestions found in Chen Jiarong 陈佳荣 et al., *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi* 古代南海地名汇释 (Beijing 1986). Furthermore, Zhou also juxtaposes the nautical instructions and toponyms found on the Mao Kun map to the data included in *Shunfeng xiangsong* 顺风相送. This makes his study a very valuable compendium with important comments on geographical issues related to Zheng He and his times. Put differently, scholars writing on the early Ming voyages should definitely take Zhou's book into consideration because it does have many things to say.

Some examples pertaining to individual parts of the map may show why Zhou's study is so unique. One complex case is the coast of eastern Guangdong, the Pearl River estuary, the area now called Hong Kong and the western section of Guangdong with Hainan. To identify the relevant place names and to understand why certain sites are depicted in particular ways, Zhou has consulted various earlier chronicles and also some later texts, including local gazetteers such as the ones related to Xiangshan 香山 county (the area around modern Macau). This enables him to draw a full panorama of the complicated island world near Hong Kong. Indeed, Zhou's analysis is perhaps the first full-scale exploration of the Hong Kong region on the Mao Kun map. Readers interested in these "micro issues" will be able to compare the results with the brief descriptions provided by such modern encyclopedias such as *Guangdong sheng haiyu diming zhi* 广东省海域地名志 (Guangzhou 1989) and *Guangdong sheng jingu diming cidian* 广东省今古地名词典 (Shanghai 1991).

Other details investigated by Zhou Yunzhong pertain to the Southeast Asian sections of the Mao Kun map. Here again, the author makes use of various “parallel” sources as, for example, in the case of the coasts of Hainan and Vietnam, where he quotes the *Haiguo wenjian lu* 海国见闻录 (Qing period) in which one finds a curious observation related to one of the birds under the *Dicruridae* family (*D. paradiseus* or, possibly as well, *D. macrocercus*). This avian creature occurs in the context of the so-called Qizhouyang 七洲洋 (p. 146), i.e., a stretch of water mainly near Hainan. Hainan chronicles, one may add, also list such birds in their chapters on local products and one may find them in the *Shunfeng xiāngsōng* as well, as Zhou explains.

Furthermore, there is a very elaborate examination of the region around the Anambas and Natuna groups and, indeed, of the entire sea space between the eastern side of the Malay peninsula and the western shore of Kalimantan. As far as I can tell, no one else has investigated this part of the Zheng He map in such a detailed manner. Another terrain is the area near modern Singapore. Zhou makes use of several studies, including Lin Woling’s 林我玲 famous monograph *Longyamen xin kao* 龙牙门新考 (Singapore 1999), to disentangle the data pertaining to this geologically very complex zone. It is very likely that the waterways through that region were different in the late medieval period from what they are now, mainly due to geological changes. Several English language studies may be read together with Zhou’s work for additional information.

The various sailing routes along the shores of Sumatra form another theme that takes up much space in Zhou’s book. One interesting segment is the channel between Bangka and the Sumatran mainland. It rarely emerges in nautical texts of the pre-European period. Special attention should also be drawn to the connection from the Sunda Strait via the Sumatran west coast to the camphor-growing region of Barus and beyond. This sea lane poses a series of difficult questions. Zhou has tried to solve these issues as best as he could and although certain conclusions remain conjectures, the final impression is that he has made a great leap forward here. At least, from his study it becomes evident that Chinese sailors were familiar with the western side of Sumatra and some of its offshore islands. Possibly this knowledge derived from earlier informants.

With respect to the coast of Bengal, Zhou cites a fairly unknown source suggesting the existence of a *guanchang* in the area of modern Chittagong. This leads him to reconsider the history of diplomatic contacts between the early Ming and Bengal. European scholars may of course read these parts along with the relevant sections in the well-known works by Haraprasad Ray, Tansen Sen and others. The Andaman and Nicobar segments of the map are also discussed in great detail. From Bengal the map “turns to” Orissa, Sri Lanka, Malabar, the Maldives and Gujarat, and then to Hormuz, the Arabian peninsula and East Africa. Again, in all these cases, readers learn many new things. One toponym is Shili’er 失里儿. Some scholars have proposed to identify this name with Ash Shihr or Ras Salif, but Zhou shows that on the Mao Kun map it should stand for the Suleil region east of Ras Salif and north of Hodeida (in Yemen). A further example is Silong liu 已龙溜. Zhou thinks this should be the southern rim of the Maldives. The islands shown to the south / southwest of that zone, he believes, could point to the Seychelles. He also provides evidence for direct navigation from South / Southeast Asia to the Chagos group and beyond, in the general direction of Madagascar and the Comoro Islands, suggesting, once again, that Chinese sailors

knew of these spaces. Archaeological evidence seems to support his view.

Another recurrent topic concerns the coast “opposite” of Sumatra and the Maldives. Several scholars have argued this part of the map might show Australia, but Zhou states that one should better associate it with Madagascar or the African mainland. This is followed by a thorough examination of the names Bila 比剌 and Sunla 孙刺 and some general comparisons between the depiction of Africa on the Mao Kun chart and the beautiful Ming world map of 1389, which follows the cartographic tradition of Zhu Siben 朱思本 (Yuan dynasty).

Finally, Zhou believes the Mao Kun map was originally drawn at some point between the sixth and seventh Zheng He voyage and not in the middle of the Ming period. However, the author of the map remains unknown and it is also not clear whether and how one should relate his work to Wu Pu’s 吴朴 *Du hai fang cheng* 渡海方程 and other nautical treatises. This is discussed in chapter 7 of Zhou’s book.

The remaining parts (chapters 8 to 10) read like appendices. Chapter 8 concerns a number of individuals travelling with Zheng He or on their own, as special envoys dispatched by the Ming emperor. In recent years scholars have discovered many references to such individuals in local chronicles, genealogies and epigraphic material. One famous example is the case of Hong Bao 洪保, whose biography is reviewed in a separate section. Chapter 9 deals with the impact of Zheng He’s expeditions on the province of Zhejiang, the island world of which constitutes a major segment of the Mao Kun map. This chapter also looks at a number of “spectacular” animals imported to Ming-China or described in Ming sources: for instance, ostriches, cassowaries, hornbills, Arabian horses, etc. Zhang Jian, Zhang Zhijie 张之杰, A. C. Moule, Sally Church and others have dealt with such creatures as well. But certain zoological terms are still difficult to explain. One term is the combination *huoji* 火鸡, literally “fire chicken,” which also occurs in the context of Hainan and continental South China; in these contexts it could perhaps relate to one of the *Tragopan* birds or, as far as Hainan is concerned, to *Arborophila ardens*, i.e., the Hainan hill partridge. Chapter 10 deals with the novel *Xiyang ji* 西洋记. Zhou Yunzhong shows that Luo Maodeng 罗懋登, usually thought to be the author of this long narrative, was very familiar with Nanjing and other locations inside China. Furthermore, Zhou comments on the *zaju* 杂剧 play *Xia Xiyang* 下西洋, arguing that it was probably written by someone from the Taicang 太仓 region near modern Shanghai. All these sections, one may add, are based on articles which Zhou has published separately. Generally, they are well-written works that deserve careful attention.

As was explained, *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao* is in a class of its own. Scholars wishing to conduct further research on the Mao Kun chart will definitely need to consult this study, which provides new insight into navigational issues and the nature of certain toponyms. All parts of Zhou’s monograph were prepared with utmost care and are highly reliable. In sum, this is a most refreshing and intellectually stimulating item that will be of great help to historians working on the early Ming, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, and the maritime world of the Indian Ocean during the late medieval and early modern periods.

Roderich Ptak

Heinz SCHÜTTE, *Dialog, Kritik, Mission Franz Magnis-Suseno, Ein indonesischer Jesuit aus Deutschland*, Regiospectra Verlag, Berlin, 2013, 225 mm x 155 mm, xii + 447 p., ill. ISBN 978-3-940132-61-1

This biography of Fr. Franz Magnis Suseno SJ, an Indonesian Jesuit from Germany was written by Heinz Schütte, a German social scientist at the suggestion of Franz Xaver Augustin, the regional director of the Goethe Institutes in South-East Asia. Although Fr. Magnis has lived more than fifty years in Indonesia and is an important public figure, so far no biography had been written about him. The University of Bonn only wanted to collect his papers and publications as research material for its students. Fortunately Schütte has taken it upon himself to read the thousands of letters of Fr. Magnis and to interview friends and members of his family. The result is a vivid picture of this extraordinary man who devoted his entire adult life to his adopted country, Indonesia.

Franz Magnis-Suseno was born in 1936 in Silesia (then Germany, now Poland) as Franz Count von Magnis, the eldest son of a noble family. The whole family had to flee from Silesia at the end of World War II and settled in West Germany under rather difficult circumstances. Franz went to a Jesuit boarding school and decided to become a Jesuit at the age of 10. After his novitiate and the study of philosophy, he decided in 1961 to join the Jesuit mission in Indonesia. It was love at first sight. He started by learning Javanese and immersed himself in the Javanese culture. He learned Indonesian later when he spent some time in Jakarta. From 1964 to 1968 he studied theology in Yogyakarta, where most of his classmates were Javanese. During this time the events of 1965 occurred—the military putsch and the ensuing massacre. Although Magnis was appalled by the killing of hundreds of thousands of alleged communists, he felt that as a non-Indonesian he could do little about it. He noticed, however, that in central Java many people converted to the Christian faith, since the church started to take care of political prisoners and their families from 1966 on. Magnis baptized many people and taught catechism in a prison. In July 1967 Magnis was ordained as a priest in Semarang and in August he held his first sermons in Javanese in Yogyakarta. After finishing his studies of theology he was sent to Jakarta to organize the new Jesuit University of Philosophy, the *Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat (STF) Driyarkara*, named after the philosopher and Jesuit Nicolaus Driyarkara (1913-1967). From the very beginning its aim was to become a platform for a dialogue between different religions and worldviews. Fr. Magnis spent three years organizing the new college and teaching. Then in 1971 he went to the University of Munich to prepare his doctorate. Since his earlier studies he had been fascinated by Marxism and wrote his doctoral thesis on “Normative Presuppositions in the thought of the young Marx”, demystifying Marx. This dissertation was published in Germany in 1975, but never translated into Indonesian. Upon his return to Indonesia Fr. Magnis was considered as a specialist in Marxism, which since the events of 1965 was a taboo. But in 1975 an institute close to the government and the military, the CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies), asked him to write an article about Marxism and Communism for their journal *Prisma*. It was published only in English, because it was considered too controversial for the Indonesian edition. It was later integrated into Magnis’ course on “Social Philosophy in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Germany.” Copies of it

circulated among the students and some were sentenced to prison for owning it. Later in 2001 radical Muslims burned his books on Marxism. Fr. Magnis condemned this on TV and in newspapers, likening it to the burning of books by the Nazis in 1933. He found it rather foolish, because the students burnt books that were actually critical of Marx. They couldn't distinguish between leftists and people analyzing leftist ideas.

In 1977 Fr. Magnis became an Indonesian citizen and added Suseno to his name. Suseno is part of the Javanese *wayang* tradition and this change of name shows the willingness of Fr. Magnis to adapt to the culture of his adoptive country. He was especially fascinated by the Javanese tradition and published in 1981 his first book on *Javanese Wisdom and Ethics*. From the very beginning of his stay in Indonesia he had admired the relaxed politeness and graciousness of the Javanese, but also wondered about their reserved and mysterious behavior. He wanted to understand the ethic norms of the Javanese and compare them with European traditions. Fr. Magnis' description of Javanese culture and ethics is an important contribution to our knowledge of Javanese culture and to intercultural dialogue. At the same time it opened the eyes of many Javanese intellectuals to their own culture and their ideas of a Good Life. But the social harmony it describes seems to be an ideal prototype, because there has been a lot of violence in Indonesian history. And the question remains open whether it can really be applied to all the diverse cultural groups of Indonesia and to a changing Indonesian society.

The biographer interrupts the flow of the biography of Fr. Magnis with sketches of other people more or less close to him, like his aunt Gabriele who helped Jews and communists under the Nazi regime, or his youngest sister Bernadette who, as a student in Bonn, became a Maoist. Two other sketches are about Jesuits who chose a different approach to the problems of Indonesia: Fr. Josephus Beek, a Dutch Jesuit who became a kind of grey eminence under the Soeharto regime and trained cadres for important positions in the society of his authoritarian corporatist government. The other is Fr. Werner Ruffing, a German Jesuit who chose to live amongst the most disadvantaged people, first in a leper colony and then volunteered to live as a missionary among the political prisoners on the remote island of Buru in the Moluccas. Because he openly criticized the terrible living conditions there, the Indonesian government declared him a *persona non grata*. He died in Brazil in 1984.

Maybe Schütte wanted to show the life of these people as a contrast to the brilliant academic career of Fr. Magnis, who has written about 30 books and more than 500 articles while teaching for more than 40 years and administering the STF Driyarkara. But Fr. Magnis is not an aloof academic. He has lived in Indonesia from 1961 up to now and experienced the "Guided Democracy" of president Sukarno, the coup of 1965 and the ensuing massacre, the "New Order" of president Soeharto from 1966 to 1998, the short-lived presidencies of Habibie, Gus Dur, of Megawati Sukarnoputri, the presidency of Yudoyono (2004-2014) and now the newly elected president Joko Widodo. If at the beginning Fr. Magnis was only a prudent observer, he has become more and more a sharp-minded analyst of Indonesian society and politics, and now he is quite outspoken, but always with a profound sympathy for the country and its people.

Magnis has considerable experience not only in the area of intercultural, but also of religious dialogue. He was the first Jesuit in Indonesia who, in the wake of Vatican Council II, sought contact with Muslim intellectuals. In 1973 he asked the student

leader and theologian Nurcholish Madjid to teach Islamology at the STF Driyarkara. Nurcholish demanded a secularized Islam and developed an integrative theology. Fr. Magnis also befriended Abdurrahman Wahid, the leader of Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia's largest Muslim organization, who called himself Gus Dur, and the scholar Djohan Effendi. In 1991 he got involved in the "Democratic Forum", which brought together Muslims, Catholics, Protestants, Hindus and Buddhists, in a discussion on how a democratic society could be realized in Indonesia. Fr. Magnis has turned into a public intellectual who takes part in seminars, lectures and discussions on TV. He wants to promote dialogue, democracy and the recognition of cultural and religious differences in Indonesia. Even after his retirement from administrative duties at the STF Driyarkara he continues teaching and is still responsible for the post-graduate program.

Schütte has painted a portrait of Fr. Magnis not only as an intellectual and a man of faith, but also as a human person with a love of mountaineering and good food. But Schütte's tendency to project himself into the biography of Fr. Magnis with his own problems diverts the reader's attention from the subject. Schütte confesses towards the end of the biography "Ich habe dieses Buch in erster Linie zu meinem *plaisir* geschrieben—eine Sache des Sicherkennens über den Umweg der Entdeckung eines Anderen." ("I have written this book mostly for my own pleasure, to become conscious of myself—a way of knowing oneself by the detour of discovering somebody else.") Another shortcoming of the book is that Schütte, as he admits himself, is not a specialist on Indonesia. His interest in Indonesia is quite recent and he cannot read the many publications that Fr. Magnis has written in Indonesian. It would be good if someone more qualified—maybe an Indonesian—could throw light on this aspect of Fr. Magnis work and put it into an Indonesian context.

Marlies SALAZAR

Frédéric DURAND in collaboration with Richard CURTIS, *Maps of Malaya and Borneo: Discovery, Statehood and Progress. The Collections of H.R.H. Sultan Sharafudin Idris Shah and Dato' Richard Curtis*. Kuala Lumpur: Éditions Didier Millet / Jugra Publication, 2013, 264 p., Liste des cartes, glossaire, bibliographie, index, 27 x 28,6 cm (ISBN: 978-983-44773-7-0), 32 x 34 cm. ISBN: 978-967-10617-3-2.

C'est probablement une coïncidence qui a fait que *Maps of Malaya and Borneo* a été publié l'année même du cinquantenaire de la formation de la Fédération de Malaisie, concrétisée par le rattachement de Sarawak et de Sabah à la Fédération de Malaya en septembre 1963. Deux ans plus tôt, Paul Wheatley avait fait paraître à Kuala Lumpur *The Golden Khersonese* (University of Malaya Press, 1961), étude majeure de géographie historique sur la péninsule malaise ancienne, qui fait encore référence.

Si son propos est différent, à sa manière, *Maps of Malaya and Borneo* fait également figure d'ouvrage pionnier. C'est en effet, semble-t-il, la première fois qu'un ouvrage est consacré spécifiquement à des collections de cartes relatives à la Malaisie. Les deux corpus présentés ici, initiés à la fin des années 1970, appartiennent respectivement à l'actuel sultan de l'État de Selangor et à l'un des hommes d'affaires

les plus en vue de l'État de Sarawak, fils d'un haut fonctionnaire de l'administration coloniale britannique en Malaisie. Comportant 161 cartes issues de ces collections, qui couvrent la période 1513-1969, l'ouvrage est en réalité plus riche que ce qu'annonce le titre, puisqu'il est aussi illustré de cinquante cartes, conservées dans une vingtaine de fonds essentiellement publics, malaisiens et étrangers.

À la suite d'une introduction liminaire par Frédéric Durand (p. 14-21), l'ouvrage est agencé en deux parties principales : une introduction historique et une description des cartes appartenant aux deux collectionneurs. L'introduction de Frédéric Durand (p. 24-69) comporte treize courts chapitres retracant les grandes étapes de la cartographie de la région.

La difficulté avec ce genre de corpus, c'est comment lui donner un sens, dans la mesure où les collectionneurs ont certainement enrichi leurs collections au gré des opportunités d'achat plutôt qu'en fonction d'une thématique particulière. La partie descriptive et commentée des collections (p. 71-239) est ainsi divisée en huit thèmes : premières cartes imprimées occidentales (14 cartes), influences néerlandaises, françaises et anglaises initiales (22 cartes), approfondissement de la connaissance cartographique (13 cartes), chartes nautiques (35 cartes), cartes de l'intérieur (30 cartes), cartes d'atlas et d'encyclopédies (14 cartes), cartes montrant l'économie, la culture et les communications (17 cartes), cartes urbaines (16 cartes).

Peut-être par souci esthétique ou parce que l'histoire en est considérée comme bien balisée, la partie introductory du volume ne comporte pas d'appareil critique. Si l'on peut comprendre que cet ouvrage s'adresse d'abord au grand public, on pourra regretter que ce choix éditorial laisse aux seuls spécialistes d'histoire de la cartographie la possibilité d'apprécier les approches et idées nouvelles livrées par Frédéric Durand, l'un des rares experts français de l'histoire de la cartographie de l'Asie du Sud-Est.

Sans surprise, les collections montrent une histoire de la cartographie largement dominée par les Occidentaux. On notera en particulier les contributions de fonds français et les passages concernant les cartographes français (p. 47-8, 50). Curieusement, la cartographie exacte des contours de Bornéo (années 1880) semble achevée avant celle de la péninsule (début xx<sup>e</sup> s.) (p. 16-17).

Frédéric Durand signale utilement que le nom de « Melacha » pour désigner l'actuelle Melaka apparaît sur une carte occidentale dès 1459 (p. 27), quelques décennies après les cartes chinoises élaborées lors des expéditions maritimes Ming (1405-1433) (p. 28). L'existence d'une cartographie locale (javanaise et malaise ?) dès le début du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, dont malheureusement pratiquement rien ne subsiste, est également rappelée (p. 32, 52).

Plusieurs documents inédits sont à signaler, en particulier une carte partielle de Sarawak des années 1890 (doc. n° 97 p. 175) et un plan de Victoria (Labuan), c. 1911 (doc. n° 158, p. 236). Certains documents auraient mérité un plus grand format, voire une double page, telles les exceptionnelles cartes sud-est asiatiques (p. 57, 59).

Il semble assez étonnant que les deux collections ne comprennent que trois cartes de Kuala Lumpur, la plus ancienne étant datée de 1925, alors que la ville compte déjà plus de 40 000 habitants à la fin du siècle précédent. Par ailleurs, il ne semble pas exister de cartes japonaises de la région avant les années 40.

Rejoignant l'ouvrage de Paul Wheatley mentionné plus haut, les cartes les plus anciennes soulèvent toujours de nombreux problèmes de localisation toponymique.

Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, le *Barussae insulae* de la carte de Ptolémée, placé à proximité de la péninsule, qui est généralement identifié avec Barus sur la côte ouest de Sumatra Nord (p. 25). Or, une autre interprétation est possible : il pourrait s'agir de l'archipel des Maldives, dans la mesure où l'une des îles de l'atoll de Malé s'appelle Baros.

Nous n'avons relevé qu'une erreur : Sabah et Sarawak intègrent la Fédération en 1963 et non pas 1964 (p. 19).

Cet ouvrage donne indéniablement envie d'en savoir plus : ces deux collections représentent quel pourcentage des cartes connues ? Quels sont les grands fonds publics de cartes sur la question ? Pour les plus anciennes, combien d'exemplaires en sont recensés aujourd'hui ?

Il inspire également deux réflexions plus générales. Si la question de la cartographie des terres émergées du globe semble aujourd'hui réglée, la disparition d'un avion de la Malaysian Airlines en mars 2014 amène à constater que c'est loin d'être le cas pour la cartographie des fonds marins, quelque trois siècles après l'apparition des premières indications de profondeurs bathymétriques sur les cartes de la région (*cf.* carte de Pierre vander Aa, 1719, p. 108). Par ailleurs, c'est paradoxalement au moment où la sortie de cet ouvrage va immanquablement sensibiliser nombre de Malaisiens à un aspect jusque-là négligé de leur patrimoine, qu'on est en droit de s'interroger sur l'avenir de l'édition de la carte imprimée seule, une tradition qui naît au milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

On ne peut que saluer cette initiative des collectionneurs et de Frédéric Durand, qui a su mettre en valeur avec clarté et concision la richesse du corpus dans un livre splendide illustré, avec une mise en page très soignée.

Daniel PERRET

Rui GRAÇA FEIJÓ (coord.), *O semi-presidencialismo Timorense. História, política e desenho institucional na trajectória de uma jovem democracia. Depoimentos e análises*, [Le semi-présidentialisme timorais. Histoire, politique et cadre institutionnel dans la trajectoire d'une jeune démocratie. Témoignages et analyses], Coimbra, Almedina/CES, 2014, 264 p. ISBN : 978-972-40-5492-6.

Ce livre est coordonné par Rui Graça Feijó, chercheur associé au Centre d'études sociales (CES) de l'université de Coimbra (Portugal), qui a déjà publié, entre autres, *Timor-Leste: Paisagem Tropical com gente dentro* (Lisbonne, 2006). Le livre est divisé en deux parties : témoignages et analyses. La première partie réunit la transcription d'entretiens réalisés par Rui Feijó entre 2009 et 2011 avec trois personnalités politiques est-timoraises majeures : Xanana Gusmão, ex-leader de la résistance pro-indépendance (1975-1999), président de la République (2002-2007), Premier ministre (2007-2012 ; 2012-2015) ; José Ramos-Horta, ex-dirigeant de la résistance en exil (front diplomatique), Prix Nobel de la Paix (1996), ministre des Affaires étrangères (2002-2006), Premier ministre (2006-2007), président de la République (2007-2012) ;

*Archipel* 89, Paris, 2015

et Mari Alkatiri, membre fondateur en 1974 du ASDT/Fretilin — l'un des principaux partis historiques pro-indépendance —, Secrétaire général du parti depuis 1999, Premier ministre (2002-2007). La deuxième partie est constituée de sept articles émanant de chercheurs spécialistes de la politique est-timoraise et / ou du semi-présidentialisme : Rui Feijó, avec les trois articles suivants : « O espelho de Clio. Compreender o debate constitucional sobre o sistema de governo », « Semi-presidencialismo e consolidação da Democracia » et « Semi-presidencialismo, Poder Moderador e Governação inclusiva » ; Benjamim Reilly (Université Murdoch/Australie) « Semi-presidencialismo e Desenvolvimento Democrático na Ásia Oriental » ; Damien Kingsbury (Université Deakin / Australie) « O sistema Político de Timor-Leste: Semi-presidencialismo ou República Parlamentar ? » ; Lydia M. Beuman (université de Dublin) « O Perigo do Semi-presidencialismo para a estabilidade democrática » ; Armando Marques Guedes (IESM, IDN, ISCPSSI / Portugal) « De Novo o Repertorio Político Performativo e as Aguas Revoltas do Semi-presidencialismo Timorense – Mas agora *Redux* ».

L'objectif de l'ouvrage est d'évaluer la contribution du système de gouvernement semi-présidentiel est-timorais au processus de consolidation de la jeune démocratie est-timoraise. Ainsi plusieurs auteurs, tels Rui Feijó et Benjamim Reilly, reprennent la définition donnée par Robert Elgie (2011), selon laquelle sont qualifiés de semi-présidentiels les régimes qui possèdent un « président élu au suffrage universel pour un mandat déterminé, lequel cohabite avec un premier ministre et son gouvernement responsables devant le parlement ». Des définitions et critères complémentaires ou alternatifs sont avancés. La formation du semi-présidentialisme est également rappelée par la plupart des auteurs : cette notion, typique du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, née de l'influence de la Constitution française de 1958, a été véhiculée par Maurice Duverger dans son livre *Echec au Roi* (1978). La relative nouveauté de ce système politique explique son adoption par des démocraties récentes d'Europe Centrale et de l'Est, d'Afrique et d'Asie, pour concerner, en 2010, 52 pays dans le monde (Elgie et Moestrup 2007, Elgie 2010, cités par Rui Feijó).

Les entretiens, qui apparaissent ouverts et francs, permettent aux trois personnalités interrogées de livrer leur propre analyse sur les pouvoirs présidentiels et sur le système semi-présidentiel en vigueur. Dans la deuxième partie, les auteurs procèdent à l'analyse des principaux événements politiques post-indépendance qui ont affectés le système politique et démocratique national à la lumière du régime politique en vigueur. Bien que ce dernier ait été calqué sur le modèle portugais, Xanana Gusmão, José Ramos-Horta et Mari Alkatiri défendent la pertinence du choix du semi-présidentialisme et sa bonne adaptation au contexte est-timorais. Les chercheurs, quant à eux, présentent des appréciations beaucoup plus contrastées, voire contradictoires entre elles : l'argument principal de Rui Feijó (*Semi-presidencialismo e consolidação da Democracia*) est que Timor-Leste a réussi à faire face aux situations troublées et conflictuelles sans avoir recours à des moyens inconstitutionnels, la Constitution n'ayant jamais cessé d'être en vigueur et respectée. À l'inverse, Benjamim Reilly et Lydia Beuman voient dans le semi-présidentialisme un système favorisant les crises politiques et les « démocraties non consolidées ». Damien Kingsbury démontre que le régime de Timor-Leste pourrait être plutôt qualifié de République parlementaire, tandis que Armando Marques Guedes suggère l'hypothèse que le semi-présidentialisme constitue davantage une

façon de partager le pouvoir qu'une réelle troisième voie politique alternative au « présidentialisme » et au « parlementarisme ».

Parallèlement au débat de nature conceptuelle, ce livre offre une analyse de l'architecture du pouvoir à Timor-Leste. Dans un registre anecdotique mais qui a son importance, les trois personnalités illustrent ce que cela a signifié, concrètement, d'établir des organes étatiques « à partir de zéro ». Xanana Gusmão rappelle par exemple qu'au sein de l'embryon d'État constitué par l'administration transitoire des Nations Unies (UNTAET, septembre 1999-mai 2002), rien n'ayant été prévu pour la création de la présidence de la République, il a dû organiser cette dernière avec des ressources humaines, financières et matérielles extrêmement limitées. Il en fut de même pour le Ministère des Affaires étrangères établi par Ramos-Horta. Concernant le thème central de l'ouvrage, tant les entretiens que les analyses soulignent combien le choix et les modalités du semi-présidentialisme ont été étroitement liés aux personnalités des hommes politiques alors aux commandes. Le contexte du tournant de l'indépendance (1998-2002) laissait présager l'établissement d'un régime présidentiel, tout comme il était évident que Xanana allait devenir Président. C'est pourtant finalement un système semi-présidentiel qui a été retenu, influencé par Mari Alkatiri — dirigeant du Fretilin et pivot essentiel de la rédaction de la Constitution par l'assemblée constituante en 2000-2001 — afin de diluer les pouvoirs présidentiels et, ce faisant, de Xanana Gusmão. Il est d'ailleurs rappelé quelques points de rupture initiaux comme, en 2000, la sortie du parti Fretilin du Conseil national de la résistance de Timor-Est (CNRT, une plateforme apolitique créée par Xanana Gusmão en 1998 pour fédérer toutes les composantes politiques du pays), laquelle allait donner ses bases à des dissensions ultérieures. Comme Rui Feijó le mentionne dans les questions posées à Ramos-Horta et à Gusmão, il est ainsi significatif que ce dernier (pas plus que le premier) n'ait été impliqué dans l'Assemblée constituante en charge de la rédaction de la Constitution. Bien qu'utilisant des arguments différents, Alkatiri, Ramos-Horta et Gusmão soulignent ainsi que les crises politiques survenues depuis l'indépendance ont été provoquées, non par le système politique, mais par les hommes qui en étaient les rouages majeurs. Tous remettent en perspective les difficultés rencontrées, durant le premier gouvernement (2002-2007), par le couple Xanana Gusmão (Président) / Mari Alkatiri (Premier ministre) du fait d'une défiance entre les deux hommes. Les tensions personnelles ont été encore accentuées par un appareil politique (Gouvernement + Parlement) alors presque totalement dominé par le Fretilin, contribuant à marginaliser le Président. Ce dysfonctionnement a eu plusieurs conséquences importantes, parmi lesquelles le choix de Gusmão de préférer, lors de l'exercice suivant (2007-2012), assumer la charge de Premier ministre le plaçant en position de « gouverner ». À l'inverse, le couple José Ramos-Horta (Président de la République) et Xanana Gusmão a su créer de bonnes conditions de coopération entre le gouvernement et la présidence du fait des relations de confiance tissées de longue date entre les deux hommes. Ce nouveau contexte a joué un rôle crucial dans une situation tendue par la crise de 2006 et alors qu'il s'agissait d'éteindre les foyers d'instabilité. Il a également joué au bénéfice de la présidence de la République, Ramos-Horta ayant largement profité de ses pouvoirs pour mettre en place divers projets de nature sociale (promotion de la paix, lutte contre la pauvreté). A ce titre, s'il ne fait aucun doute que celui qui gouverne réellement est le Premier ministre, et que le Président, en dépit des pouvoirs

qui lui sont attribués<sup>1</sup>, a un rôle surtout symbolique, entretiens et analyses mettent en avant l'importance de la fonction présidentielle en tant qu'élément consensuel et fédérateur fondamental. La relative liberté d'expression et de prise de position quant au fonctionnement des institutions dont le Président bénéficie est également soulignée. Ces deux qualités, pouvoir unitaire et liberté d'expression, sont permises par l'indépendance politique — non affiliation politique — qui a marqué à ce jour les trois premiers présidents de la République, et à laquelle les Est-Timorais semblent être attachés.

La lecture de ce livre qui permet l'analyse de l'évolution politique de Timor-Leste à la lumière de l'étude de son système politique est stimulante, et la publication des entretiens inédits et assez longs avec trois acteurs majeurs de la vie politique est-timoraise constitue un apport indéniable. On regrettera seulement que la compilation de cinq articles (sur sept) déjà publiés sur ce thème par ailleurs enlève un peu de force au projet en entraînant d'inévitables répétitions.

*Christine CABASSET*

Frédéric DURAND, *Timor-Leste. Premier État du 3<sup>e</sup> millénaire*, Paris, Éditions Belin/La Documentation française, coll. Asie Plurielle, 2011, 127 p., ISBN : 978-2-7011-5409-1.

Ce livre s'inscrit dans la collection Asie Plurielle des Editions Belin/La Documentation française qui, sous la forme de monographies nationales, permet à des non spécialistes de bénéficier de clés de compréhension fondamentales pour une première approche d'un pays. Le géographe Frédéric Durand, maître de conférences à l'université Toulouse II - Le Mirail, est l'auteur français qui a produit le plus d'ouvrages, notamment historiques, sur Timor-Leste. On lui doit notamment *Timor-Lorosa'e, pays au carrefour de l'Asie et du Pacifique. Un Atlas géo-historique* (2002, PUMV/Irasec), un livre de référence sur le pays et dont est issu ce présent ouvrage, plus succinct. Ce dernier est structuré en trois parties et dix chapitres au total. La première partie pose les premiers jalons géographiques et présente l'histoire du territoire jusqu'au référendum d'autodétermination d'août 1999 par lequel le pays allait accéder à l'indépendance officielle en mai 2002. La deuxième partie traite de la période post-indépendance avec la mise en place du nouvel État. La troisième partie souligne les principaux enjeux actuels, qu'ils soient économiques, démographiques et diplomatiques notamment.

Dans la première partie « Éveil et souffrance d'une mosaïque humaine », le chapitre 1 pose les fondements géo-historiques de l'ensemble de l'île de Timor à laquelle le territoire appartient, et s'attache à mettre en lumière quelques éléments distinctifs de la partie orientale, Timor Est. Les chapitres deux à quatre placent les

1. Commandant suprême des forces armées, promulgation des textes législatifs, droit de véto, nomination du Premier ministre, déclaration de la guerre et de la paix, dissolution du Parlement en cas de crise grave, nomination et investiture des membres du gouvernement, du chef d'état-major des forces armées et autres chefs militaires, etc.

grands repères historiques jusqu'à 1999. L'auteur remet en perspective la colonisation portugaise (chapitre 2), des premiers contacts datés aux alentours de 1515, à l'apre lutte avec les Hollandais pour le contrôle de l'île de Timor et de ses ressources (le bois de santal en particulier), pour aboutir au partage de l'île entre les deux puissances par les traités de 1851 et de 1914 principalement. L'auteur souligne aussi, d'une part, qu'il n'est en fait possible de parler de colonisation qu'assez tardivement, à partir de la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'autre part, combien l'investissement du Portugal dans le développement du Timor portugais est resté limité. Le processus de décolonisation du Timor portugais, permis par la Révolution des Œillets du 25 avril 1974 qui met fin à la dictature salazariste et au système colonial, est ensuite présenté (chapitre 3), mettant en lumière ce que ce changement induit dans un territoire où l'activité politique était jusqu'alors interdite. Cette dernière, et la préparation à l'indépendance qui la motive, est rapidement (en moins d'un an) contrariée par une Indonésie inquiète de voir le « communisme » à ses portes et qui, soutenue par les grandes puissances dans le contexte spécifique de la guerre froide, en vient à envahir Timor-Est le 7 décembre 1975. L'invasion, puis l'annexion du territoire au titre de 27<sup>e</sup> province de l'Indonésie l'année suivante, ne seront jamais reconnues par les Nations Unies. Cette première partie s'achève sur le bilan terrible au plan humain de la présence indonésienne (chapitre 4), rappelant les événements principaux liés aux campagnes militaires ou à une montée en puissance des mouvements de la résistance civile, clandestine et diplomatique, pour aboutir à l'accord crucial signé le 5 mai 1999 entre l'ONU, l'Indonésie et le Portugal, concernant l'organisation d'un référendum d'autodétermination qui aura lieu le 30 août 1999.

La deuxième partie est dédiée à « La difficile construction d'un nouvel État au début du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle ». En trois chapitres assez courts, l'auteur explore quelques-unes des difficultés à émerger aujourd'hui en tant que nouvel État, difficultés qui ont pu peser dans les crises que le pays a connues depuis son accession à l'indépendance en 2002. L'auteur évoque les « Errances et contradictions de l'ONU » (chapitre 5) pour laquelle ce mandat de construction d'un État était le premier d'une telle nature, mais aussi les questions posées par les effets limités sur le terrain de l'aide internationale en dépit de montants pourtant très élevés, lesquels ont fait de « Timor-Leste la nation la plus aidée par habitant dans les périodes post-conflits contemporaines ». D'autres difficultés, plus endogènes, sont présentées (chapitre 6), tel le « casse-tête linguistique » dans un pays qui a adopté le portugais comme l'une des deux langues officielles alors que seule une minorité de la population le parle, telles l'enveloppe et l'exécution budgétaires dans les deux premiers gouvernements, ou encore les tensions nées des débuts de la vie démocratique. Cette partie se clôture sur les tensions post-indépendance (chapitre 7), notamment sur la crise qui a touché le pays en 2006.

La troisième partie « Les enjeux d'un horizon surdéterminé de l'extérieur » explore les enjeux actuels et à venir du pays, notamment les enjeux économiques. Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet d'une économie largement dominée par les ressources pétrolières, l'auteur déroule une analyse intéressante concernant la fluctuation des chiffres du PIB du pays selon les sources et les années, soulignant les effets de ces informations sur l'image du pays, notamment sur l'aspect de la pauvreté (chapitre 8). Les défis démographiques, de réconciliation — nationale, ainsi qu'entre l'Indonésie et Timor-Leste —, et de développement économique dans une société encore très

traditionnelle, sont d'autres enjeux présentés par l'auteur (chapitre 9). Cette partie, et le livre, s'achève sur les relations internationales (chapitre 10), en premier lieu avec les deux pays voisins : l'Indonésie, avec laquelle Timor-Leste s'est employé à restaurer rapidement les liens politiques et économiques, et l'Australie dont l'intervention à la tête de la force onusienne d'interposition en septembre 1999 lui a permis de compenser son soutien permanent à l'Indonésie entre 1975 et 1999. L'activité diplomatique avec le Portugal, ancienne puissance coloniale et alliée de Timor-Est dans la lutte pour le droit à l'autodétermination, est également évoquée.

Ce livre, synthétique et efficace, permet au lecteur d'appréhender le pays dans ses grandes lignes, géographique, historique, culturelle, politique et économique. La lecture et la compréhension sont de surcroît soutenues par de nombreuses illustrations, dont 11 cartes (Evolution des frontières coloniales au Timor (1636-1914) ; proportion de maisons détruites en septembre 1999 ; principaux gisements d'hydrocarbures en mer de Timor ; principales zones agricoles, etc.). Certaines analyses personnelles auraient cependant demandé quelques développements. Ainsi en est-il par exemple de la supposée erreur de jugement, et conséquences négatives inhérentes, de la communauté internationale (notamment les Nations unies), sur un pays qu'ils auraient construit « à partir de zéro » (p. 10, 53). Certes, il est intéressant, comme le fait à juste titre l'auteur, de mettre en relief l'épaisseur historique, culturelle et politique du territoire, notamment grâce à la présence de leaders est-timorais expérimentés, ou encore les « errances et contradictions de l'ONU » comme facteurs importants ayant joué dans la construction nationale lors de l'administration transitoire par les Nations Unies (1999-2002). Cependant, il aurait été aussi pertinent d'évoquer la difficulté réelle qu'a représenté le processus : la mise en place d'organes étatiques (présidence, gouvernement, parlement, armée, police, etc.), effectivement « à partir de zéro », pour la première fois à échelle nationale et dans un contexte de pays indépendant, a représenté un défi important, tant en terme absolu (ressources humaines, matérielles et budgétaires) que compte tenu des différents legs de l'histoire récente, que les principaux dirigeants est-timorais ont été les premiers à reconnaître. Cela étant, ces quelques remarques n'enlèvent en rien à l'intérêt de ce livre qui remplit son rôle de divulgation scientifique, servie de surcroît par des illustrations éloquentes.

*Christine CABASSET*

## RÉSUMÉS – ABSTRACTS

**Ludvik Kalus**, Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, Paris & **Claude Guillot**, CNRS, Paris

### *Cimetière de Uleè Luëng, Puni [Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 9]*

Dans la suite de notre Épigraphie musulmane d'Aceh n° 9 est traité cette fois-ci le cimetière de Puni. On y trouve principalement les tombes, pendant un siècle, des membres de la famille de « 'Abd allâh le roi évident » ou plutôt de son fils 'Inâyat shâh.

### *The cemetery of Uleè Luëng, Puni [Muslim Epigraphy of Aceh. 9]*

Following in our Acehnese Islamic epigraphy series, no. 9 deals with the cemetery of Puni. Over a period of a century for the most part one finds there the tombs of the members of the family of " 'Abd allâh, the evident king" or rather of his son 'Inâyat shâh.

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### *À la recherche de manuscrits malais en France, avec une mention toute particulière sur les lettres de Francis Light*

Les manuscrits malais en France sont conservés en grande majorité à Paris, essentiellement à la Bibliothèque nationale. On en trouve aussi, en nombre beaucoup plus restreint, à Tournus, à Marseille et à Rouen. Ils sont relativement peu explorés. Cet article concerne principalement les manuscrits de Paris et de Tournus, que l'auteur a consultés lors d'une mission de recherche en France, en juillet 2011. Il s'intéresse tout spécialement aux lettres relatives à Francis Light, qui fonda la colonie britannique de Penang en Malaisie en 1786. Il donne tout d'abord une vue générale des manuscrits malais en France et des catalogues dans lesquels ils sont répertoriés, et quelques informations concernant les premiers enseignants et chercheurs français en études malaises, qui, au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ont participé activement à la constitution et au catalogage de la collection de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale. Il se concentre ensuite sur la centaine de lettres relatives à Francis Light de cette bibliothèque, copiées par Édouard Dulauryer, peut-être à partir de certaines des 1200 « Light Letters » de la SOAS de Londres, mais surtout sur les 38 lettres concernant Francis Light de la Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus. Il est possible que ces 38 lettres, qui n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'une étude spécifique, aient été copiées par un copiste inconnu, à partir de certaines des lettres de la Bibliothèque nationale. L'auteur dresse la liste de ces 38 lettres, avec un résumé succinct de chacune d'elle, en analyse certaines, et termine son article en donnant en annexe quatre de ces 38 lettres, deux en translittération en caractères latins, deux en caractères arabes (jawi).

### *Searching for Malay manuscripts in France, with particular attention to Francis Light's letters*

Most of the Malay manuscripts in France are kept in Paris, mainly in the Bibliothèque nationale. A more limited number are also found in Tournus, Marseille and Rouen. They have not been

thoroughly studied so far. This article focuses on the manuscripts in Paris and Tournus the author had the opportunity to examine during his research mission in France in June 2011. He pays particular attention to the letters related to Francis Light, who founded the British Colony of Penang (present Malaysia) in 1786. The article begins with an overview of the Malay manuscripts in France and the catalogues recording them. It provides also information on the earliest French lecturers and researchers in Malay studies who, in the 19th century, participated actively in the formation and the cataloguing of the manuscripts' collection at the Bibliothèque nationale. He further focuses on about a hundred letters related to Francis Light, in this library, copied by Édouard Dulaurier, perhaps from among the 1200 "Light Letters" at SOAS in London. He then examines the 38 letters related to Francis Light kept at the Municipal library in Tournus. These documents have never been studied and could be copies made by an unknown copyist from some of the letters kept at the Bibliothèque nationale. A list of these letters is given with a brief summary of each of them. Several are analysed and the texts of four documents are provided in appendix: two transliterations in Roman characters, two in Arabic characters (jawi).

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#### *Detecting pre-modern lexical influence from South India in Maritime Southeast Asia*

Commercial and cultural links between South India and Maritime Southeast Asia have been strong and regular since antiquity. This paper adds a linguistic dimension to our understanding of ancient interethnic contact in the region through an exploration of the hitherto poorly understood lexical contributions from Dravidian languages, such as Tamil and Malayālam, to the languages of Maritime Southeast Asia. First, the sound changes are addressed that loanwords undergo upon their adoption into West-Malayo-Polynesian languages. The paper continues by postulating examples of respectively Tamil loans attested in the Old Javanese literature, loanwords from Malayālam, and Tamil loans not attested in early literature but borrowed across a wide geographical range, including the Philippines and Madagascar, which would attest to their pre-colonial transmission. The paper then examines the issue of Indo-Aryan loanwords in the languages of Southeast Asia that were transmitted through speakers of Dravidian languages, addressing the sound correspondences we may expect in such a scenario. Cumulatively, it is argued that linguistic influence from South India was considerable, providing a novel line of evidence to reconstruct the past of the Bay of Bengal.

#### *Déetecter l'influence du lexique pré-moderne de l'Inde du Sud en Asie du Sud-Est maritime.*

Les liens commerciaux et culturels entre l'Inde du Sud et l'Asie du Sud-Est insulaire ont été forts et réguliers depuis l'antiquité. Cet article ajoute une dimension linguistique à notre compréhension des anciennes relations interethniques dans la région, à travers une exploration des contributions lexicales jusqu'ici mal comprises des langues dravidiennes, telles que le tamoul et le malayālam, en faveur des langues d'Asie du Sud-Est maritime. Tout d'abord, les changements sonores sont abordés afin de montrer que les emprunts subissent une altération dès leur adoption dans les langues malayo-polynésiennes occidentales. Ensuite, cette contribution fournit des exemples de mots empruntés du tamoul que l'on retrouve dans la littérature en vieux javanais, mais aussi des mots empruntés du malayālam et du tamoul qui n'ont pas été retrouvés dans la littérature ancienne, mais puisés dans une vaste étendue géographique, dont les Philippines et Madagascar, ce qui témoigne d'une transmission pré-coloniale. Cette recherche examine ensuite la question des emprunts indo-aryens dans les langues de l'Asie du Sud-Est qui ont été transmis par des locuteurs de langues dravidiennes, en s'intéressant aux

correspondances sonores auxquelles on peut s'attendre dans un tel scénario. Au final, l'auteur avance que l'influence linguistique de l'Inde du Sud a été considérable. Cette influence fournit une nouvelle source de données pour reconstituer le passé de la baie du Bengale.

**Michele Stephen**, Independent scholar living and writing in Bali

**Sūrya-Sevana: A Balinese Tantric Practice**

Traces of Tantric elements in Balinese culture and religion have often been noted by Western scholars, but the prevailing opinion is that such are random and haphazard, rather than systematic. Tantric influences on the role of the *pedanda*, the Brahmana or high priest, have been occasionally acknowledged, but rarely examined in detail. The daily rituals, *surya-sevana*, performed by the *pedanda siwa*, the Śaiva high priest, have been known to Western scholars for nearly fifty years through Hooykaas' translation and commentary (1966). In this article I argue that when approached from the perspective of more recent understandings of Tantrism, the *surya-sevana* rituals can be seen to incorporate classic Tantric philosophies, symbols and rituals forming a whole that strikingly resembles the *sādhanā* of a Tantric adept as known in the South Asian literature. This places Tantric teachings and rituals at the very center of Balinese religious and spiritual authority, challenging the view that such influences are peripheral, consisting merely of scattered and unrelated elements. Once the Tantric elements are recognized for what they are, the *surya-sevana* rituals emerge as having a clear structure and meaning which, although seemingly unique, are evidently and distinctively Tantric in nature.

**Sūrya-Sevana: une pratique tantrique balinaise**

Des traces d'éléments tantriques dans la culture balinaise ont été fréquemment relevées par des chercheurs occidentaux, l'opinion dominante étant toutefois que celles-ci sont fortuites et incohérentes, plutôt que systématiques. Les influences tantriques dans le rôle du *pedanda*, Brahmana ou grand prêtre, ont été reconnues de manière occasionnelle, mais rarement examinées en détail. Les rituels quotidiens, *surya-sevana*, accomplis par le *pedanda siwa*, le grand prêtre sivaïte, sont connus des chercheurs étrangers depuis presque cinquante ans grâce à la traduction et au commentaire de Hooykaas (1966). Dans cet article, j'avance qu'en approchant les rituels *surya-sevana* dans la perspective des connaissances récentes sur le tantrisme, ceux-ci dévoilent l'incorporation de philosophies tantriques classiques, symboles et rituels formant un tout qui ressemble fortement au *sādhanā* de l'adepte du tantrisme tel qu'il est connu dans la littérature sud-asiatique. Ceci place les enseignements et rituels tantriques au cœur de l'autorité religieuse et spirituelle balinaise, remettant ainsi en cause l'idée selon laquelle de telles influences sont périphériques, consistant simplement en éléments épars et non reliés. Une fois que les éléments tantriques sont reconnus pour ce qu'ils sont, les rituels *surya-sevana* montrent une structure et une signification claires qui, bien qu'apparemment uniques, sont à l'évidence et distinctement de nature tantrique.

**Bernard Sellato**, Centre Asie du Sud-Est, CNRS & EHESS, Paris

**Sultans' Palaces and Museums in Indonesian Borneo: National Policies, Political Decentralization, Cultural Depatrimonization, Identity Relocalization, 1950-2010**

In the context of Indonesia's nation-building policies of the 1950s, the centralized state abolished the archipelago's sultanates, large and small, which had been granted special political status by treaties with the Dutch colonial administration. In Kalimantan (Borneo), as elsewhere in the country, sultans' palaces became property of the state, which after 1970 turned some

of them into museums. These second-generation museums housed permanent exhibits of a national and educational nature, along with others of local historical and cultural significance. Decentralization policies implemented after the fall of President Soeharto in 1998 devolved much political and economic autonomy to the regions, and a number of offspring of sultans managed to reinstate themselves to the throne of their forebears, and now claim the reversion of their property and endeavor to restore their focal position in the regions' bubblier, more localized cultural and political life. The last decade witnessed the advent of a third generation of museums, initiated by various local stakeholders and/or run by regional governments.

***Musées et palais à Kalimantan: construction nationale, décentralisation politique, décolonialisation culturelle et relocalisation identitaire (1950-2010)***

La politique de construction nationale de l'État centralisé indonésien, dans la décennie 1950, le conduisit à abolir les sultanats de l'archipel, qui avaient bénéficié sous l'administration coloniale néerlandaise d'un statut spécial négocié par traité. À Kalimantan (Bornéo), comme ailleurs dans le pays, les palais des sultans furent appropriés par l'État qui, après 1970, en transforma certains en musées. Ces musées de seconde génération exposaient des collections à teneur nationale et éducative et d'autres plus centrées sur l'histoire et les cultures locales. Après le retrait du président Soeharto en 1998, les lois de décentralisation accordèrent une large autonomie politique et économique aux régions. Dans de nombreuses régions, des descendants de sultans parvinrent à récupérer le trône de leur lignée et, aujourd'hui, demandent la restitution de leurs biens et tentent de se repositionner au cœur de la vie culturelle et politique, désormais plus intense et plus localisée, de leur région. La dernière décennie a vu l'apparition d'une troisième génération de musées, à l'initiative de diverses parties prenantes locales et/ou sous la gestion de l'administration régionale.

**Danny Wong Tze Ken**, Department of History, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur

***The Name of Sabah and the Sustaining of a New Identity in a New Nation***

When North Borneo achieved its independence through Malaysia on 16 September 1963, it changed its name to Sabah. The change of name was proposed as it was thought that the name was the original name of the state prior to western colonialisation. However, the origin of the name Sabah was not popularly known and the provenance of the name continues to be discussed even until present day. Yet, when the name was introduced in 1963, it was embraced by the people of the state whole-heartedly, and without opposition. It also provided the people of the state a new identity, an identity which they became proud of. The paper will examine the many ideas proposed earlier behind the name of Sabah by examining various evidence. The paper will also trace the evolution of the use of the name over the past 130 years beginning with the Chartered Company era from 1881 to 1942 during which the use of the name was discouraged. The Japanese used another name for the state. It was during the Colonial Era starting 1946 that the term was gradually reintroduced, first, by some quarters in the colonial administration which saw the need to provide the locals with a rallying name, as part of the preparation for eventual self-government. The name was also actively promoted by a rising local leader, Donald Stephens, who believed that the name is the original name of the state. The final part of the paper looks at how the name has inspired new local/state identity within the new nation of Malaysia.

***Le nom de Sabah et le soutien d'une nouvelle identité dans une nation nouvelle***

Au moment où North Borneo devient indépendant en intégrant la Malaisie le 16 septembre 1963, le territoire change son nom pour devenir Sabah. Ce changement de nom reposait sur

L'idée que Sabah était le nom de l'Etat avant la colonisation occidentale. Cependant, son origine n'était pas largement connue et elle continue d'être discutée aujourd'hui. Néanmoins, lors de l'introduction du nom en 1963, il est adopté avec enthousiasme et sans opposition par les habitants de l'État. Il leur procure alors une identité nouvelle, identité dont ils deviendront fiers. Cet article vise à examiner les nombreuses idées avancées jusque là à propos du nom de Sabah à travers diverses sources. Il retrace également l'évolution de l'usage du nom durant les 130 dernières années, à partir de la période de la Chartered Company (1881-1942) durant laquelle cet usage est déconseillé. Quant aux Japonais, ils utilisent un autre nom. C'est durant la période coloniale, à partir de 1946, que le terme est réintroduit progressivement, tout d'abord par certains milieux dans l'administration coloniale qui ressentent le besoin de procurer un nom rassembleur aux habitants, en préambule à l'autonomie politique. Le nom est également activement promu par Donald Stephens, un leader local en pleine ascension, qui est persuadé qu'il s'agit du nom originel de l'Etat. La dernière partie de la contribution s'intéresse à la façon dont le nom a inspiré une nouvelle identité locale/étatique dans le cadre de la nouvelle nation de Malaisie.

**Dana Rappoport**, CNRS, Paris

*Sulawesi, 20 ans après*

Cette chronique, illustrée de 14 photographies, relate les changements observés par l'ethnomusicologue, de retour 20 ans après sur les hautes terres toraja de Sulawesi, à l'occasion de la restitution d'un ouvrage multimédia multilingue. Ces changements sont de plusieurs ordres : démographique, architectural, économique, rituel, religieux, musical, politique. Ils permettent de saisir deux mouvements opposés : d'un côté, un goût pour l'innovation et l'adaptation à la modernité, une créativité par hybridation et emprunt (*musik elekton*, scènes amplifiées, mariages à l'occidentale, programmes télévisuels) ; de l'autre, un désir collectif affirmé de retour aux valeurs de la tradition religieuse pré-chrétienne, une volonté de se réapproprier les marqueurs du passé, pourtant éradiqués par les conversions chrétiennes. Le lancement de l'ouvrage fut l'occasion d'intenses débats grâce à la mise en présence de plusieurs groupes de personnes aux intérêts divers.

*Sulawesi, 20 years later*

Illustrated by 14 photographs, this chronicle recounts an ethnomusicologist's return to the field, after a gap of 20 years, for a book launching. It tells of various kinds of change : demographic, architectural, economic, ritual, religious, musical and political. The changes invite us to grasp two contrary developments: on one hand, a taste for innovating, for adapting to modernity, for creativity through borrowings (*musik elekton*, sound systems, western weddings, television programs); on the other hand, a strong desire to come back to the values of the ancient religious tradition, and a will to reappropriate a past largely destroyed by Christian conversions. The book launching proves to be an awakening that provokes intense debates between new generations of social actors.



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Portrait de groupe d'intellectuels  
vietnamiens dans le siècle  
franco-vietnamien (1858-1954)

## Introduction

Trinh Van Thao  
Les « passeurs ». Portrait de groupe d'intellectuels  
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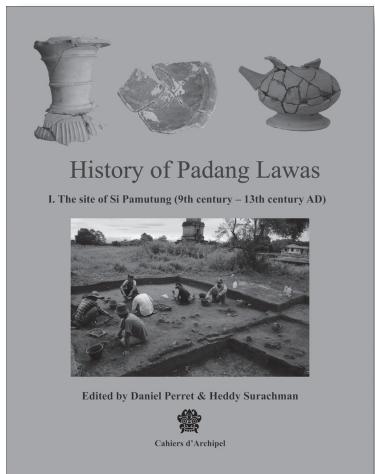
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**Daniel Perret & Heddy Surachman (ed.)**

***History of Padang Lawas I. The site of Si Pamutung (9th century - 13th century AD)***

**Cahier d'Archipel n° 42, Paris, 2014, 21 x 27 cm,  
517 pages, ISBN 978-2-910513-69-6**

For the last century and a half, the name of Padang Lawas, in the present province of North Sumatra, Indonesia, has been associated with a number of isolated Hindu-Buddhist remains located in the middle of the island. These remains are all the more remarkable because they form the largest Indianized archaeological complex yet to be seen in the northern half of Sumatra. This book is the latest contribution to the accumulation of knowledge on the ancient history of Padang Lawas. The fifteen studies brought together here present the main results of the archaeological research programme conducted from 2006 until 2010 by the École française d'Extrême-Orient in cooperation with the Indonesian National Centre for Archaeological Research. This programme was focused on one of the sites known in this region, namely Si Pamutung, presently located near the confluence of the Barumun and Batang Pane Rivers. These contributions are devoted firstly to the directly visible features of Si Pamutung, namely its environmental setting and its Hindu-Buddhist remains made of brick and stone. A second set of studies examines the results of surveys and excavations conducted on this site, which covers an area of approximately 80 hectares. It includes the findings of a GPR survey, a still pioneering technique for archaeological research in Sumatra. A contribution on structures, features and stratigraphies offers a detailed report of the excavations conducted in 28 different sectors covering more than 1,000 m<sup>2</sup>. A study of the distribution of some 13,000 precisely dated Chinese shards offers an outline of the spatial evolution of occupation between the mid-ninth century and the end of the thirteenth century AD. The third set comprises ten papers providing a comprehensive catalogue of the material. More than a thousand finds are described, including earthenware, Chinese stoneware and porcelain, glass, metal, lithic material and faunal remains. It is supplemented by the results of laboratory analyses on sixteen earthenware samples and ninety-six glass samples. These archaeological investigations bring new perspectives on the economic, religious, cultural and social dimensions of the Si Pamutung site, which reveals itself as a real proto-urban site.

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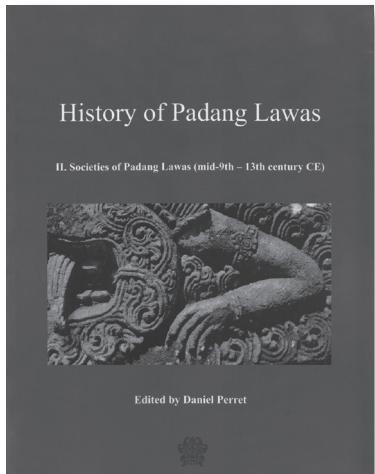
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**Daniel Perret (ed.)**

***History of Padang Lawas: II. Societies of Padang Lawas (mid-9th – 13th century CE)***

**Cahier d'Archipel n° 43, Paris, 2014, 21 x 27 cm,  
422 pages. ISBN 978-2-910513-70-2**

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For the last century and a half, the name of Padang Lawas, in the present province of North Sumatra, Indonesia, has been associated with a number of isolated Hindu-Buddhist remains located in the interior of the island. These remains are all the more remarkable because they form the largest Indianised archaeological complex known so far in the northern half of Sumatra.

This book follows the recently published volume on archaeological researches conducted at the Si Pamutung site from 2006 until 2010. Its two main purposes are firstly to present and reappraise all the available sources for the ancient history of the region and, secondly, to provide an initial synthesis of the history of Padang Lawas between the mid-ninth and the end of the thirteenth century CE.

As no comprehensive inventory of sculptures and other artefacts reported since the mid nineteenth century had been published, the first chapter attempts to fill this gap by providing descriptions of 264 items. It is followed by four systematic studies on dozens of these items, whether stone or bronze artefacts. Furthermore, the thirteen ancient inscriptions from Padang Lawas are systematically reinvestigated or are deciphered for the first time. To this epigraphic study is associated a historical study on the indigenous writing system.

Two chapters present on the one hand the main results of recent archaeological research conducted in two other sites of the Barumun River Basin and, on the other a panorama of archaeological data on the Mandailing-Natal region situated west of Padang Lawas, in order to get a comprehensive and updated overview of the knowledge currently available of the area between both coasts of this part of Sumatra. In addition, the epigraphic study on Padang Lawas is supplemented with a reappraisal of inscriptions from Mt Sorik Merapi in this Mandailing-Natal region, and inscriptions from the site of Muara Takus on the banks of the upper reaches of the Kampar River.

The historical essay presented at the end of this volume is based on all these data. Its first part examines the economic potential of Padang Lawas in ancient times, covering nature, potential and location of natural resources, agricultural resources, tracks and waterways. Its second part seeks to characterise the political, economic and religious systems adopted by the Padang Lawas societies within as precise as possible a chronological perspective. Its last part is an attempt to identify the origins of the people living in Padang Lawas at the time, to look for indications and suggest hypotheses for significant relations woven over time between these populations and other regions in Sumatra, in the archipelago, in Southeast Asia, in the Indian Ocean, and in the China Sea.

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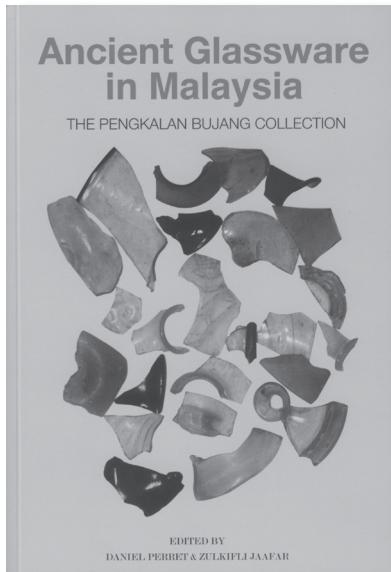
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**Daniel Perret & Zulkifli Jaafar (ed.)**

***Ancient Glassware in Malaysia:  
The Pengkalan Bujang Collection***

Kuala Lumpur, Department of Museums  
Malaysia, École française d'Extrême-Orient,  
2014, 205 pages, bibl., index.

ISBN 978-967-0372-10-5

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Pre-European glassware is a type of artefact present on more than forty sites in Southeast Asia. Usually found in much smaller quantities than earthenware, stoneware or porcelain, this material nevertheless has drawn the curiosity of archaeologists due generally to its fineness, the beauty of its colours and the many questions related to its presence in Southeast Asia.

In fact, in this region, the history of the study of pre-European glass-vessel remains started some 150 years ago, in the Malay Peninsula, precisely in Lembah Bujang, Kedah. This book provides a brief up-to-date review of this history.

In its collections, the Archeological Museum at Lembah Bujang keeps thousands of glassware shards gathered during surveys and excavations conducted in the Lembah Bujang region from the 1970s to 2006. Among these glassware remains, those found at the Pengkalan Bujang site, a prominent international trading centre during the twelfth – thirteenth centuries AD, are the most numerous. Today, with close to 6,000 shards, this Pengkalan Bujang collection figures among the largest ancient glassware collection ever studied in Southeast Asia.

A catalogue, which includes descriptions of a selection of glass fragments, illustrated in photographs and drawings, as well as comparisons using full reference to the scholarly literature, supplemented with an analysis of chemical compositions, constitutes the main part of this book.

As indications of glassware production in Southeast Asia prior to the sixteenth century are still lacking, this material is evidence of direct or indirect contact with regions as far as the Mediterranean, to the west, and China, to the east. As such, glassware constitutes another side of the far-reaching networks operating in the region in former times. Like other foreign productions, its presence thus raises the questions of its origins and of the people involved in its circulation. And perhaps more than any other foreign artefact, the questions related to its users and purposes in Southeast Asia appear to be more challenging.

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