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ARCHÉOLOGIE ET ÉPIGRAPHIE DE SUMATRA

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The French-Indonesian archaeological project
in Kota Cina (North Sumatra): the 2014-2015 excavations

For the last twenty years, the French-Indonesian archaeological cooperation has been particularly dynamic in the North Sumatra Province, activity related to intensive excavations and multidisciplinary studies conducted on several old settlement sites: on the west coast, Barus-Lobu Tua (1995-2000, 1000 m² excavated, dating from the ninth century until the end of the eleventh century CE), and Barus-Bukit Hasang (2001-2005, 470 m² excavated, dating from the twelfth century until the beginning of the sixteenth century CE); in the centre of the island (Padang Lawas region), Si Pamutung (2006-2010, 1092 m² excavated, dating from the ninth century until the thirteenth century CE).

Since 2011, another old settlement site has been studied in the framework of this co-operation⁷. This site is Kota Cina, located at 03°43' N and 98°39' E, in the *kelurahan* of Paya Pasir, *kecamatan* of Medan Marelan, today part of the northern suburbs of Medan, a city of over two million inhabitants, capital

1. École française d'Extrême-Orient, Jakarta.
2. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta.
3. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Indonesia, Balai Arkeologi Medan.
4. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Indonesia, Balai Arkeologi Medan.
5. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Indonesia, Balai Arkeologi Medan.
6. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Indonesia (retired).
7. This project, financially supported by the École française d'Extrême-Orient since 2011, is also funded by the *Commission consultative des recherches archéologiques à l'étranger* (Advisory Commission for Archaeological Research Abroad) under the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since 2014.

Archipel 91, Paris, 2016, p. 3-26

of the North Sumatra province. Kota Cina is also less than ten kilometres away from the harbour of Belawan on the Strait of Malacca. (fig. 1)

A review of the state of knowledge and hypotheses regarding the history of Kota Cina before the resumption of research in 2011, as well as several preliminary results obtained between 2011 and 2013, have been put forward in a previous contribution to this journal.⁸

The aims of the present article are to introduce the preliminary results of the 2014 and 2015 excavations, to refine comparisons between excavated areas at the site as well as comparisons with other more or less contemporary sites in North Sumatra as regards density of several types of finds, and finally to discuss research prospects based on the progress of the project.

General data on the ongoing project

Overall, fourteen excavations were conducted between 2011 and 2013, representing an area of approximately 190 m² with some 123 m³ of excavated soil. Thirty seven excavations were conducted in 2014 and 2015, resulting in a total excavated area of 384 m² since 2011 with some 343 m³ of excavated soil (fig. 2). Five areas have been explored during these two stages. From the north to the south: area H (excavations KC39, KC40, KC44: 33 m², 48.3 m³), situated between the southern tip of Lake Siombak and Parit Belatjang, the drainage ditch crossing the northern part of the site, and to the east of the road leading to the office of the Paya Pasir subdistrict (fig. 3); area D (fig. 4), situated to the south of Parit Belatjang, near its confluence with the drainage ditch bordering the site to the west (KC15, KC16, KC21, KC22, KC37, KC38, KC45, KC46, KC50: 40 m², 49.6 m³); area E (fig. 5), between area B –where a brick structure was excavated in 2013–, and area C, rich in brick remains (KC31, KC32, KC35, KC41, KC42, KC43, KC47, KC48, KC49, KC51: 61 m², 56.5 m³); area F (fig. 6), in the south part of the site, near the village of Kota Cina public school (KC19, KC20, KC24, KC25, KC29, KC30, KC33, KC34, KC36: 36 m², 39.8 m³); area G (fig. 7), which seems to represent the southern limit of the site (KC17, KC18, KC23, KC26, KC27, KC28: 24 m², 25.2 m³). Thus, eight areas have been excavated since 2011. Several areas excavated at the beginning of the project are no longer available for archaeological research, due to the rapid development of the site for private housing. Furthermore, as the site is situated just above sea level with a tidal water table approximately 0.50 metre below the present surface, the use of water pumps is necessary in most of the digs.

A preliminary recapitulation of the main types of finds collected in 2014 and 2015 yields the following figures:

8. See D. Perret et al., “The French-Indonesian Archaeological Project in Kota Cina (North Sumatra): Preliminary Results and Prospects”, *Archipel*, 86, 2013: 73-111.

	Earthenware (shards)	Stoneware and porcelain (shards)	Glass (shards)	Faunal and human remains	Coins
Quantity	97,815	32,187	554		388
Weight (g)	943,658	397,027		89,251	

A preliminary recapitulation of the main types of finds collected since the beginning of the project in 2011 yields the following figures:

	Earthenware (shards)	Stoneware and porcelain (shards)	Glass (shards)	Faunal and human remains	Coins
Quantity	133,138	43,885	683		698
Weight (g)	1,234,640	536,778		125,983	

A preliminary recapitulation of the remaining finds includes 829 artifacts or fragments of artifacts of iron, 105 of bronze, 39 of other metals, some 105 kilograms of iron slags and ferruginous concretions, 315 stone or glass beads, 26 shards of glazed earthenware, 202 fragments of cut or uncut wood weighting between a few grams and several kilograms, 171 fragments of artifacts made of stone, nearly a kilogram of *ijuk*⁹ (raw or strings), 6,600 grams of resins. To this list should be added terracotta fragments, which are not brick fragments, as well as fruits and seeds.

Density of religious buildings

The discovery of three sections of brick walls during the 2013 excavations conducted in area B raised the question of the density of structures made of permanent materials in the northern half of the site. In fact, excavations conducted in the 1970s revealed two relatively large brick structures: one near the confluence of Parit Belatjang and the western drainage ditch (estimated dim., 12.5mx13m); the other, a rectangular structure (14mx6.8m), divided by brick cross-walls into three separate sections, to the south of the later one. Both structures would therefore be located in our area D or area B¹⁰. Furthermore, in the 1970s, a brick and stone construction was noticed near Keramat Pahlawan and the small Chinese shrine still in use today in area C, some 40 metres to the east of the drainage ditch. It is perhaps a portion of this structure that was uncovered in 2010 by archaeologists from the Balai Arkeologi Medan. Therefore, the sector between the confluence of Parit Belatjang and the western drainage ditch on the one hand, Keramat Pahlawan

9. Fibres of sugar palm (*Arenga Pinnata*).

10. It should be noted that excavations conducted in the 1970s were not recorded on a topographical map of the site. It is thus impossible to pinpoint the exact location of these structures now.

and the Chinese shrine on the other hand, some 260 metres to the south, seems to shelter a high number of ancient structures using permanent materials. One of the objectives of the 2014-2015 fieldworks was to get a better grasp of this density. A simple method has been employed for this, i.e. soil borings using several iron rods to detect bricks. Wherever possible, these borings have been conducted at regular intervals (usually one metre), outside buildings, ponds, roads and pieces of land not accessible for archaeological research (fig. 8).

One of the first results of this survey has been to ascertain the basic plan of the brick structure excavated in area B in 2013 (see Perret et al. 2013). Made of three sections, it would have measured some 13 metres x 6 metres. According to these dimensions, it is not impossible that this construction is the same as the three-section building reported in the 1970s¹¹. Another interesting result was the delimitation of a 30 metres x 30 metres sector, very rich in bricks down to a depth of one metre, in the vicinity of Keramat Pahlawan and the small Chinese shrine. This is very probably a complex consisting of several structures enclosed within a brick wall, possibly the main religious complex of the site.

Most of area D has been similarly surveyed in 2015, ending with a negative result, as it did not reveal any trace of old brick concentration. However, thanks to information provided by a witness of the archaeological researches conducted in the 1970s, it has been possible to situate one of the brick remains excavated at that time. Today it is located right under a house (close to KC22), and thus impossible to dig anew. It is perhaps the three-section building remains reported at the time.

Surveys and excavations conducted since 2014 allow us to confirm that in former times the sector between the drainage ditch crossing the northern part of the site and the vicinity of the modern Chinese shrine, was not completely covered with structures using permanent materials, but sheltered various separate buildings.

Still in relation with buildings made of permanent materials, surveys and excavations have been conducted in 2014 and 2015 in area G, located in the south part of the site. Two stone images of Amitābha in a style dating to the end of the Cōla period (beginning of the twelfth century AD), were uncovered by chance by villagers during or soon after the Japanese occupation and in 1973. The excavation conducted at KC18 uncovered two clearly distinct levels of disturbed brick fragments, the deepest (85-110 cm) perhaps related to an occupation floor. Excavations KC23 and KC26 nearby, as well as a systematic survey conducted in 2014, did not yield conclusive evidence of the presence there of structures using permanent materials. Following information provided by villagers, a more detailed survey was carried out in the same sector in 2015.

11. However, the fact that the recent excavation in area B yielded a large number of artifacts lead us to think that this structure is different from the one uncovered in the 1970s.

A negative result came out, except close to a recently built house. Very probably, as in area D, most of what was left of the old structure has been destroyed during the recent construction or is still buried under this house, and is therefore out of reach for excavation in the decades to come.

Shell midden layers

At Kota Cina, two main types of features reveal traces of old settlement. There are shell midden layers, of various thickness, which represent accumulations of household waste, and wooden posts, traceable through remains of fragments or postholes (fig. 9). Here, we focus on the rate of occurrence of midden layers and concentrations uncovered since 2011.

None of the six excavations conducted in area G, near the south boundary of the archaeological site, as it is presently hypothesized, yielded midden layers or concentrations. Towards the north, of the nine excavations carried out in area F, two revealed midden layers (with a maximum thickness of 20 cm in KC33 – cf. fig. 10 –, and 10 cm in KC34), and three yielded midden concentrations (KC19, KC25, KC29). Of the six excavations carried out in area C, one revealed a midden layer (KC11) and one (KC6) midden concentration. In area E, seven of the ten excavations yielded midden concentrations (KC31, KC32, KC35, KC41, KC42, KC49, KC51). None of the five excavations conducted in area B yielded a midden layer or concentration. Six of the nine excavations carried out in area D revealed midden layers (with a maximum thickness of 20 cm in KC21, KC22 and KC46; 50 cm in KC37; 30 cm in KC45; 60 cm in KC50). Of the three excavations carried out in area A, only KC7 yielded midden layers. Among the three excavations conducted in area H, KC40 revealed a midden layer with a maximum thickness of 10 cm. In this area, it is chiefly excavation KC44 (25 m^2) which attracts attention, as its stratigraphy reveals three successive midden layers. The nearest to the present soil surface, with a maximum thickness of some 10 cm, covers almost the whole surface area of excavation at a depth between 50 and 60 cm. The middle layer, also with a maximum thickness of some 10 cm, appears clearly in the east and south stratigraphies, and covers approximately a third of the surface area of excavation. The deepest midden layer, approximately 5 cm thick, appears at a depth of some 110 cm, clearly visible in the stratigraphies of the southeast corner. However, its size could not be ascertained due to the constant flooding at the bottom of the excavation. As shellfish species in this deep layer look different from the species in the upper layer, their identification may reveal important indications regarding the environmental history of the site. In fact, KC44 is the first excavation of this project to have revealed a stratigraphy showing three very distinct midden layers. The only other occurrence of multiple midden layers was uncovered in KC7 (area A)¹².

12. See Y. Chabot et al., “Reconstitution paléoenvironnementale des dynamiques paysagères

These multiple layers indicate a dense but irregular occupation. KC7 and KC44 are located in the vicinity of the supposed northern boundary of the site, to the north of Parit Belatjang, the drainage ditch crossing the northern part of the site. Further excavations will be needed in order to check if this dense but irregular occupation is a common feature in this northern part of the site. A priori, the frequency and unmatched thickness of midden layers in area D indicate a dense and regular occupation. As these layers also yielded large quantities of finds, area D positions itself as one of the main, if not the main, site centres of occupation. It is certainly no coincidence that this area, as well as the neighbouring area B, have already yielded several structures made of durable materials. In the southern part of the site, based on the frequency in midden layers, F seems also to have been an important focus of occupation. By contrast, the absence of shells in area G would be an indication of a marginal occupation zone, probably located near the southern boundary of the site.

Wood remains at Kota Cina

The presence of wood remains figures among the features making of Kota Cina an exceptional archaeological site in the northern half of Sumatra whose humid environment (cf. fig. 11) allows for the preservation of organic remains such as wood. Based on a provisional tally, 200 wood fragments – most of them the remains of posts – were collected between 2011 and 2015. However, the year 2012 saw the discovery (in KC7) of a boat framing member which, by means of AMS radiocarbon dating, yielded a dating in the bracket mid 12th to mid 13th century AD¹³, while another boat framing member was uncovered in 2015, in area H, precisely in KC44 (cf. fig. 12). This find has yet to be dated.

This same area H also revealed remains of a wood structure. It was uncovered in excavation KC40, the stratigraphy of which revealed five layers, from silty at the top to sandy at the bottom. A midden layer, some 10 cm thick, covers virtually the whole square, at a depth between 55 and 70 cm. Approximately 50 cm below this layer, at a depth of about 120 cm, the excavation uncovered the upper part of a wood structure made of squared-off poles and pruned branches, as well as planks (cf. fig. 13), some of these elements still bearing *ijuk* cords, others still fitting together (cf. fig. 14). The constant flooding at the bottom of the excavation, combined with the collapsing of two sides of the square, prevented excavation below a depth of 140 cm.

One of the aims of the opening of a relatively large excavation, i.e. KC44 (5mx5m), very close to KC40, was to uncover a possible extension of this structure to the south. Albeit remains of poles and wood elements horizontally arranged with cords made of *ijuk* (cf. fig. 15) were uncovered in this square,

durant le dernier millénaire aux abords du site archéologique de Kota Cina (Sumatra-Nord, Indonésie): résultats préliminaires”, *Archipel*, 86, 2013: 122.

13. Perret et al. 2013: 94, 95, 96.

the low density in wood remains does not allow us to interpret these finds as an extension of the structure found in KC40. This unfortunately very damaged structure, the first of this kind uncovered so far during this project, was probably part of a pontoon or a path constructed above water or a wetland zone.

Intra-site comparisons

After five stages of excavations, which yielded a large quantity of finds, it is possible to make some preliminary comments regarding the distribution per area and per excavated cubic metre of three types of finds commonly found on the site: earthenware, stoneware and porcelain, faunal remains¹⁴. Earthenware, stoneware and porcelain are represented by some 175,000 shards weighting more than 1,700 kilograms. The total weight of faunal remains exceeds 120 kilograms (cf. Table 7).

Density related to the quantity of earthenware shards per area ranges from 93 to 869 (cf. Table 1 and Chart 1), that is approximately a ten times difference, while the mean density is 386. Areas C, D, E exceed this mean density, E showing the highest one. Density related to the weight (g) of earthenware shards per area ranges from 860 to 8599 (cf. Table 1 and Chart 2), that is exactly a ten times difference, while the mean density is 3546. Areas D and E exceed this mean density, E showing the highest one.

Density related to the quantity of stoneware and porcelain shards ranges from 29 to 267 (cf. Table 1 and Chart 1), that is a difference exceeding nine times, while the mean density is 125. Areas C, D, E exceed this mean density, E showing the highest one. Density related to the weight (g) of stoneware and porcelain shards per area ranges from 355 to 3020 (cf. Table 1 and Chart 2), that is a difference exceeding eight times, while the mean density is 1466. Areas D and E exceed this mean density, E showing the highest one.

The relative representativity per cubic metre of these two types of finds is a criterion that might relate to a variety of lifestyles (cf. Tables 2 and 3). As regards stoneware and porcelain, this representativity ranges from 19% to 37% for the quantity, and from 26% to 46% for the weight: roughly a twofold difference between maximum and minimum. As regards quantity, this proportion is remarkably stable in five areas (A, C, D, E, F), as it ranges from 22% to 26%. The three remaining areas may thus be considered as atypical, namely areas H, B, where the proportion of stoneware and porcelain equals or exceeds a third, and conversely G, where it is as low as 19%. The atypical nature of areas B and H appears also for weight, as the density in stoneware and porcelain represents almost half of the total weight of shards. An in-depth analysis of the finds, whether stoneware and porcelain or earthenware, will give us the opportunity to check if these atypical characteristics are related to a specific period of occupation, to the presence of a specific community, or to a specific activity.

14. Surface finds collected during surveys are not included in these comparisons.

Either in terms of quantity or weight, the maximum discrepancy in density of stoneware and porcelain, as well in earthenware, does not exceed ten times. The variability between areas is much higher for the faunal remains, as it exceeds 30 times. Indeed the density in weight (g) of faunal remains per cubic metre ranges from 17 to 528 (cf. Table 1), the mean density being 358. Areas A, D, E and H exceed this mean density, E showing the highest one.

Interestingly, A and H, which are located north of Parit Belatjang, do not feature among the areas exceeding mean densities in earthenware, stoneware and porcelain. Here, the identification of the faunal remains might help to explain this high density.

So far D and E are the only excavated areas to show densities above the mean density for each of the three types of finds considered in this study. Curiously, none of the ten excavations conducted in area E revealed midden layers, but only concentrations in seven of them. Area D shows a better correlation between density in artifacts, faunal remains and midden layers, as six of the nine excavations revealed midden layers. Therefore, with the current level of knowledge regarding the site, area D appears the best candidate as the main ancient occupation centre of Kota Cina.

Inter-sites comparisons

The preliminary results of these five stages of excavation at Kota Cina already offer the opportunity to compare densities of earthenware, stoneware and porcelain, as well as faunal remains, collected in three old settlements in North Sumatra, dating to between the ninth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century CE: Si Pamutung (mid-9th c. – end of 13th c. CE), Barus-Bukit Hasang (12th c. – beg. of 16th c. CE), and Kota Cina (so far dating to the end of 11th c. – beg. of 14th c. CE). For each type of find, if they are available, we consider densities in quantity and weight, per square and cubic metre, the density per cubic metre being obviously the most significant. As the Kota Cina project is not completed yet, comparisons provided here remain indicative as regards this site and need to be considered as trends.

For earthenware (cf. Table 4), excavations conducted in the 1970s and during the last five years at Kota Cina show the highest densities in weight, whether per square or cubic metre, with figures between 3500 g and 4000 g per cubic metre. They are higher than the density per cubic metre observed at Bukit Hasang, respectively 40% and 25% higher, and about three times higher than at Si Pamutung. If the factor “duration of the settlement” is taken into account to obtain a density per cubic metre per century of occupation, Kota Cina (2.5 centuries) is temporarily predominant with some 1400 g¹⁵,

15. This figure is obtained by the combination of results yielded by the excavations conducted recently with the excavations conducted in the 1970s.

while Bukit Hasang (4.5 centuries) records about 600 g, and Si Pamutung (4.5 centuries) reveals a figure lower than 300 g.

As regards stoneware and porcelain (cf. Table 5), with 125 shards per cubic metre¹⁶, Kota Cina ranks first, followed by Bukit Hasang and Si Pamutung. If the duration of the settlement is taken into account, Kota Cina shows the highest density per century (50), followed by Bukit Hasang (23), and lastly by Si Pamutung (9).

In quantity, the proportion per cubic metre of stoneware and porcelain shards against the total number of shards is identical in Kota Cina and in Bukit Hasang, with some 25% (cf. Table 6). This proportion is much lower for Si Pamutung, precisely 12%, that is about half the figures observed in Kota Cina and in Bukit Hasang. It would be interesting to compare these figures with other more or less contemporary settlement sites, whether in Sumatra or in Java, to see if such difference is typical of coastal sites versus inland sites.

The situation is again undoubtedly in favour of Kota Cina as regards faunal remains not including shells (cf. Table 7). If the two series of excavations at Kota Cina are combined, the resulting density in weight per cubic metre reaches 712 g, compared with just 25 g at Barus-Bukit Hasang, while the quantity is insignificant at Si Pamutung.

These statistics on three types of finds, put together as the Kota Cina project nears its completion as regards fieldwork, offer the opportunity to situate Kota Cina among the ancient settlement sites of North Sumatra, where extensive research has recently been conducted. Undoubtedly, Kota Cina appears to be the richest site, whether in earthenware, stoneware, porcelain, or in faunal remains.

Research Prospects

The rapid increase in modern constructions on the site, the stratigraphic complexity that becomes clearer with each season of archaeological excavation, as well as the results of the last two seasons encourage us to conduct further excavations.

The vicinity of the small Chinese temple, next to soil boring no. 70, between areas E and C, constitutes a priority investigation area. As the subsoil survey conducted in 2014 revealed a high density of bricks to a depth of one metre over an area some 30 metres x 30 metres wide, it probably shelters a large shrine, if not the major temple of the Kota Cina ancient settlement.

The stimulating results obtained in 2015 in area H, especially the discovery of remains of a complex wooden structure, of a boat framing member, as well as the uncovering of three midden layers in KC44, motivate to conduct further excavations in this area. This is all the more the case as soil borings carried

16. Figure based on the 2011-2015 excavations.

out in 2015 revealed the presence of artifacts and midden layers to the east and northeast of the 2015 excavations. Moreover, these excavations should also provide information on the northeastern boundary of the site.

The northern tip of the site yielded artifacts during a surface survey conducted in 2011. Therefore excavations are planned to the north of area A, where KC3 and KC4 were excavated in 2011.

Other excavations are planned to better define the eastern and southern boundaries of the settlement on still accessible land and out of the marshes bordering the site to the east. In the south, excavations conducted at KC27 and KC28 in 2014 yielded significant traces of ancient occupation. New excavations are therefore planned to the east and southeast of both squares.

Analyses of the finds constitute another major component of the project. The size of the stoneware and porcelain collection, amounting to some 44.000 shards today (weighting more than 530 kg), approximates the size of the largest terrestrial archaeological collection published to date for a Sumatran site, namely that of Barus-Bukit Hasang (46.000 shards). By weight, it already represents more than twice the weight of the collection examined following the excavation of a single square at Kota Cina (120 m^2 for a volume of about 120 m^3 , to the northwest of area D) in the 1970s and published 40 years ago.

It is very likely that after the 2016 excavation season, stoneware and porcelain shards uncovered at Kota Cina since 2011 will constitute the largest collection of finds of this type from a terrestrial site in Sumatra, and probably Indonesia as a whole. It can therefore be stated that Kota Cina will represent a major reference site in Indonesia, and more widely in Southeast Asia, for finds of this type between the second half of the eleventh and the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In the context of the site, the study of imported stoneware and porcelain will represent a key aspect, by reminding us that this type of artifact constitutes the main dating material for Southeast Asian settlement sites dating from the ninth century CE onwards. For the last fifty years, the discovery of kiln sites in China, of shipwreck cargoes including large quantities of ceramics, as well as the systematic study of collections, allow us to refine the dating of certain types. It can be expected that the analysis of ceramics from various areas of the site combined with progress on dating made during the last 40 years, will produce a new dating bracket for the occupation of the site. Beyond the overall dating bracket, this analysis will also allow us to examine whether it is still possible to distinguish successive occupation layers in one or several areas. Eventually, as in the case of research conducted previously at Si Pamutung and at Barus Bukit-Hasang, the study of stoneware and porcelain will offer the opportunity to suggest a pattern of spatial evolution of the settlement. It will also increase the possibilities to compare the supplies reaching various sites, not only among North Sumatran sites, but also across the whole of maritime Southeast Asia.

The current size of the earthenware collection (approx. 133.000 shards with a weight exceeding 1.230 kg) is larger than the size of the collection uncovered at Barus Bukit-Hasang (approx. 121.000 shards with a weight of some 1.060 kg). As regards quantity, the present Kota Cina collection is smaller than the collection uncovered at Si Pamutung in the Padang Lawas region (approx. 172.000 shards), but there shards are generally much smaller, since the weight of the latter collection is about 680 kg. Also in weight, the present Kota Cina collection is already two and a half times larger than the Kota Cina collection examined in the 1970s following the excavation of a single square (120 m² for a volume of about 120 m³, to the northwest of area D). It may be recalled that this pioneering study has never been published.

It is not over-optimistic to suggest that, by the end of the next season of excavation, work at Kota Cina since 2011 will have yielded finds which will make up the largest collection of earthenware from a terrestrial site in Sumatra ever studied. Once they, and the equally rich collection of stoneware and porcelain shards, have been studied, and hopefully the results published, Kota Cina will take its place as a major reference site in Indonesia, and more widely in Southeast Asia, for such finds for the period under consideration.

The wealth of the Kota Cina site in faunal remains has been amply confirmed through the 2014 and 2015 excavation seasons. The size and variety of this collection are probably unmatched regarding this period of time in Indonesia. Attention will be given to precise identification and distribution of these finds over the site.

Finally, it should be recalled that another important component of the project is underway. This is the paleo-environmental study for which a number of laboratory analyses are currently being conducted (cf. Chabot et al. 2013).

Area A 42.5 m ³	Earthenware		Stoneware & porcel.		Faun. remains
	qty	weight	qty	weight	
raw fig.	3,946	36,547	1,218	15,090	20,632
dens./m ³	93	860	29	355	485
Area B 18 m ³	Earthenware		Stoneware & porcel.		Faun. remains
	qty	weight	Qty	weight	
raw fig.	1,960	19,255	1,168	16,096	2,458
dens./m ³	109	1,070	65	894	137
Area C 62.95 m ³	Earthenware		Stoneware & porcel.		Faun. remains
	qty	weight	qty	weight	
raw fig.	28,815	216,429	8,179	74,589	13,344
dens./m ³	458	3,438	130	1,185	212
Area D 49.6 m ³	Earthenware		Stoneware & porcel.		Faun. remains
	qty	weight	qty	weight	
raw fig.	24,112	257,210	8,442	116,360	18,744
dens./m ³	486	5,185	170	2,345	378
Area E 56.5 m ³	Earthenware		Stoneware & porcel.		Faun. remains
	qty	weight	qty	weight	
raw fig.	49,149	485,888	15,117	170,665	29,849
dens./m ³	869	8,599	267	3,020	528
Area F 39.8 m ³	Earthenware		Stoneware & porcel.		Faun. remains
	qty	weight	qty	weight	
raw fig.	12,977	88,251	4,048	32,560	12,884
dens./m ³	326	2,217	101	818	323
Area G 25.2 m ³	Earthenware		Stoneware & porcel.		Faun. remains
	qty	weight	qty	weight	
raw fig.	4,506	35,007	1,105	12,073	430
dens./m ³	178	1,389	43	479	17
Area H 48.3 m ³	Earthenware		Stoneware & porcel.		Faun. remains
	qty	weight	qty	weight	
raw fig.	7,071	77,303	3,475	65,369	24,546
dens./m ³	146	1,600	71	1,353	508

Table 1 – Comparison between excavated areas at Kota Cina (2011-15): Earthenware, stoneware and porcelain, faunal remains (except shells). Weights in grams. Volume indicates the estimated volume of excavated soil

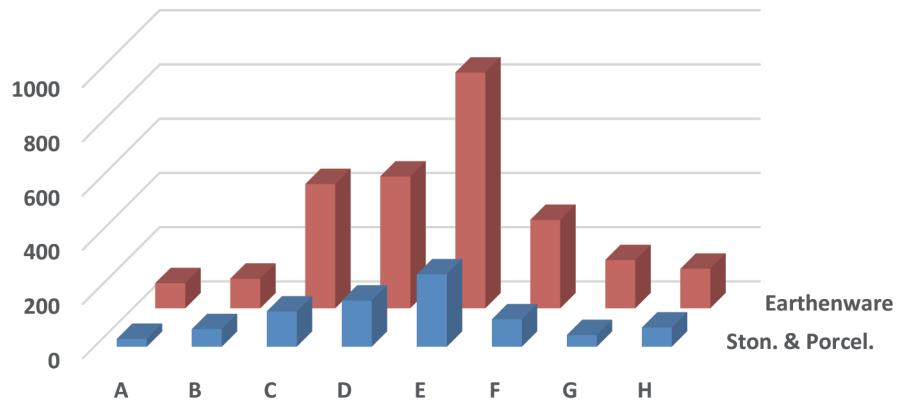


Chart 1 – Comparative density (per cubic metre per area) of earthenware, stoneware and porcelain (quantity of shards)

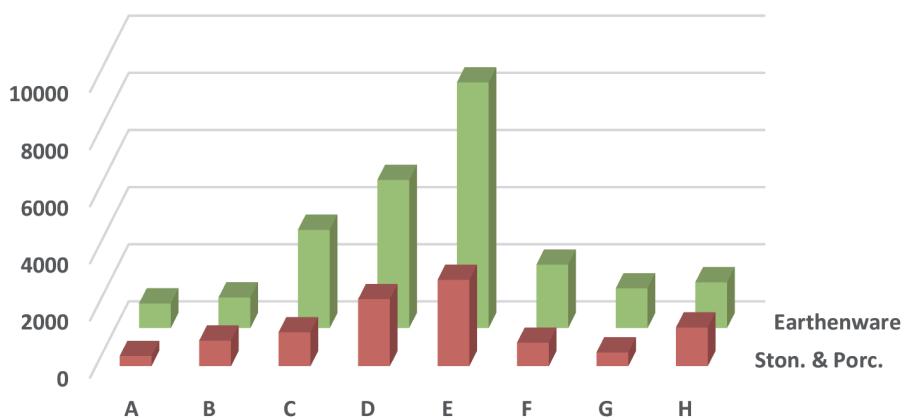


Chart 2 – Comparative density (per cubic metre per area) of earthenware, stoneware and porcelain (weight of shards)

Area	Stoneware & porcel.	Percent of total density	Earthenware	Percent of total density
A	29	24	93	76
B	65	37	109	63
C	130	22	458	78
D	170	26	486	74
E	267	23	869	77
F	101	24	326	76
G	43	19	178	81
H	71	33	146	67

Table 2 – Relative representativity (density per cubic metre per area) in stoneware/porcelain and earthenware (quantity of shards)

Area	stoneware & porcel.	percent of total density	earthenware	percent of total density
A	355	29	860	71
B	894	46	1,070	54
C	1,185	26	3,438	74
D	2,345	31	5,185	69
E	3,020	26	8,599	74
F	818	27	2,217	73
G	479	26	1,389	74
H	1,353	46	1,600	54

Table 3 – Relative representativity (density per cubic metre per area) in stoneware/porcelain and earthenware (weight of shards)

	KC1975-77	KC2011-15	BKH2001-04	PMTG2006-09
Surf. area (m ²)	120	384	470	1,092
Vol. exc. (m ³)	120	343	390	553
Shards nb.	-	132,536	121,107	172,404
Weight (g)	477,073	1,215,890	1,100,000	687,190
Qty/m ²	-	345	257	157
Qty/m ³	-	386	310	311
Weight/m ² (g)	3,975	3,166	2,340	629
Weight/m ³ (g)	3,975	3,544	2,820	1,242

Abbreviations: KC, Kota Cina; BKH, Barus-Bukit Hasang; PMTG, Padang Lawas-Si Pamutung

Table 4 – Comparison of densities among three sites of North Sumatra (earthenware)

	KC1975-77	KC2011-15	BKH2001-04	PMTG2006-09
Surf. area (m ²)	120	384	470	1,092
Vol. exc. (m ³)	120	343	390	553
Shards nb.	-	42,752	41,502	23,826
Weight (g)	260,664	502,802	-	140,501
Qty/m ²	-	111	88	21
Qty/m ³	-	125	106	43
Weight/m ² (g)	2,172	1,309	-	128
Weight/m ³ (g)	2,172	1,466	-	254

Abbreviations: KC, Kota Cina; BKH, Barus-Bukit Hasang; PMTG, Padang Lawas-Si Pamutung

Table 5 – Comparison of densities among three sites of North Sumatra
(stoneware and porcelain)

Site	stoneware & porcel.	percent of total density	earthenware	percent of total density
KC2011-15	125	24	386	76
BKH2001-04	106	25	310	75
PMTG2006-09	43	12	311	88

Table 6 – Relative representativity (density per cubic metre per site)
in stoneware/porcelain and earthenware (quantity of shards)

	KC1975-77	KC2011-15	BKH2001-04	PMTG2006-09
Surf. area (m ²)	120	384	470	1,092
Vol. exc. (m ³)	120	343	390	553
Weight (g)	207,000	122,887	9,825	189
Weight/m ² (g)	1,725	320	20	<1
Weight/m ³ (g)	1,725	358	25	<1

Table 7 – Comparison of densities among three sites of North Sumatra
(faunal remains, except shells)

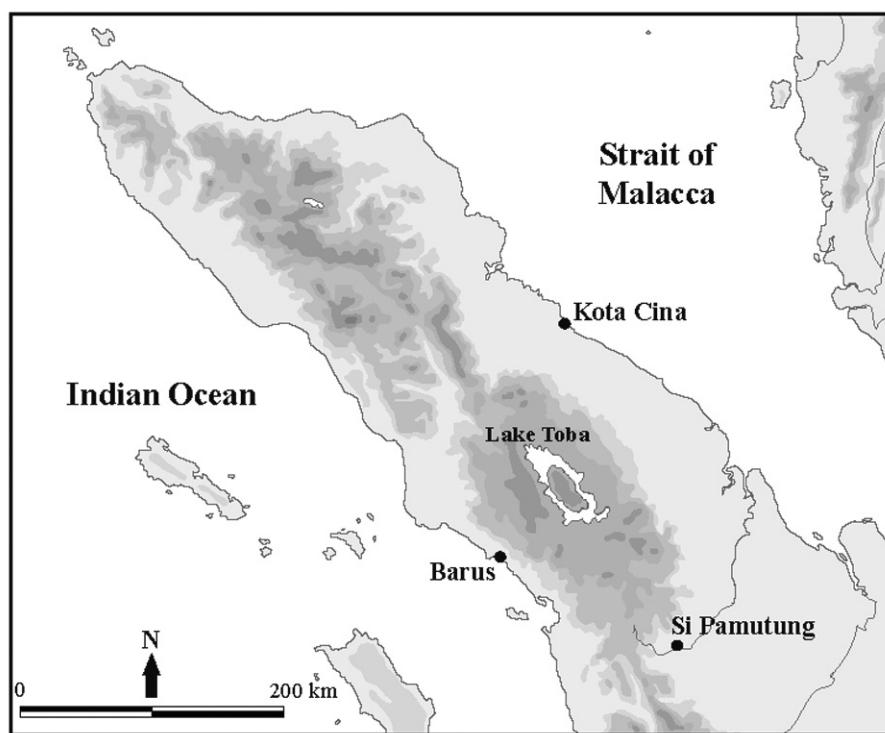
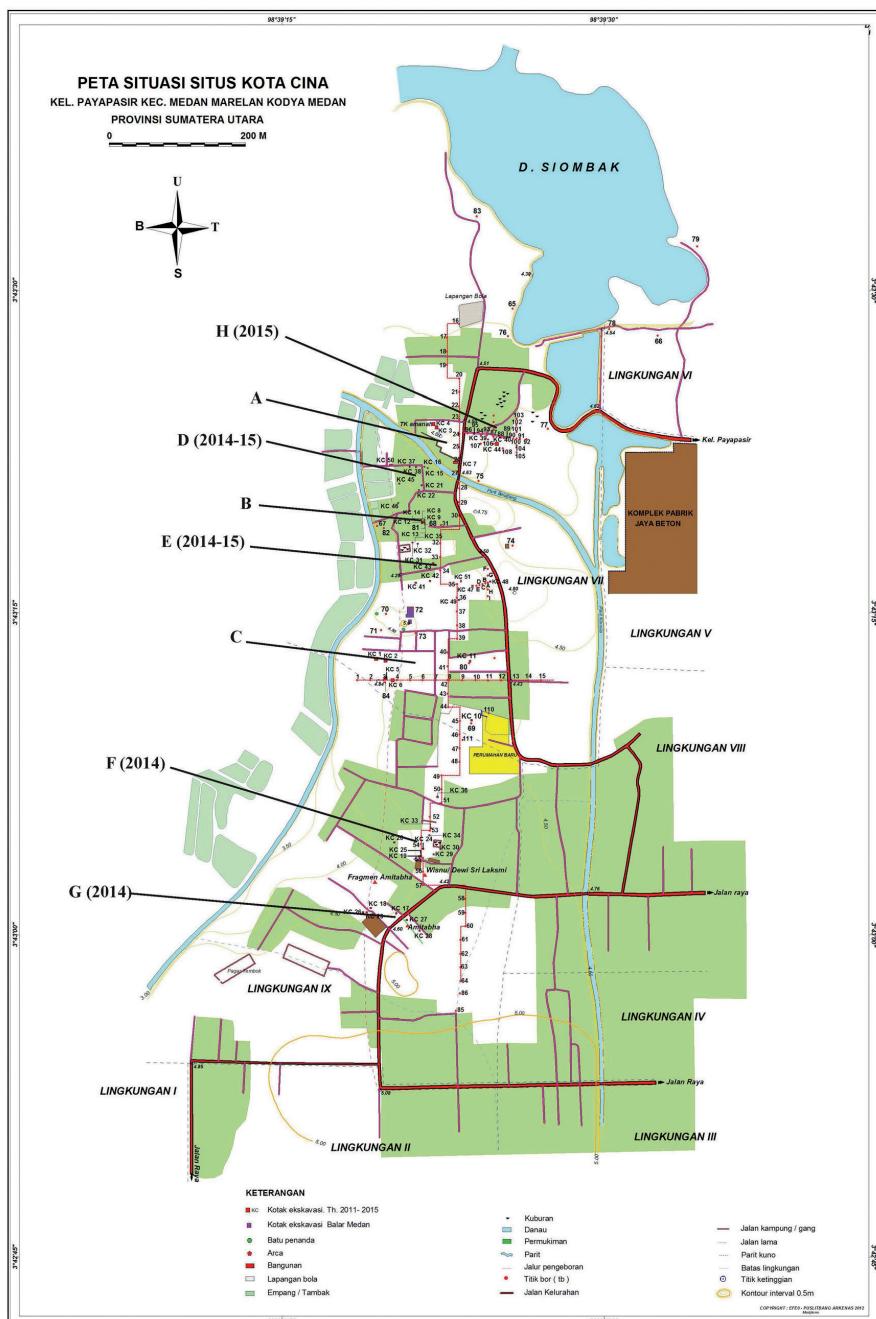


Fig. 1 – The main ancient settlement sites of North Sumatra (base map by Pierre Pichard).

Fig. 2 – The site of Kota Cina. Excavations and soil borings 2011-2015
(Kota Cina EFEO/PPAN Project, 2015) ►



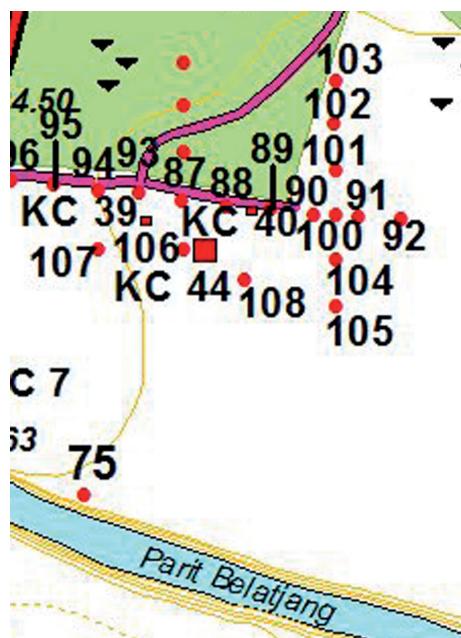


Fig. 3 – Map area H (excavations 2015 and soil borings) (Kota Cina EFEO/PPAN Project, 2015).

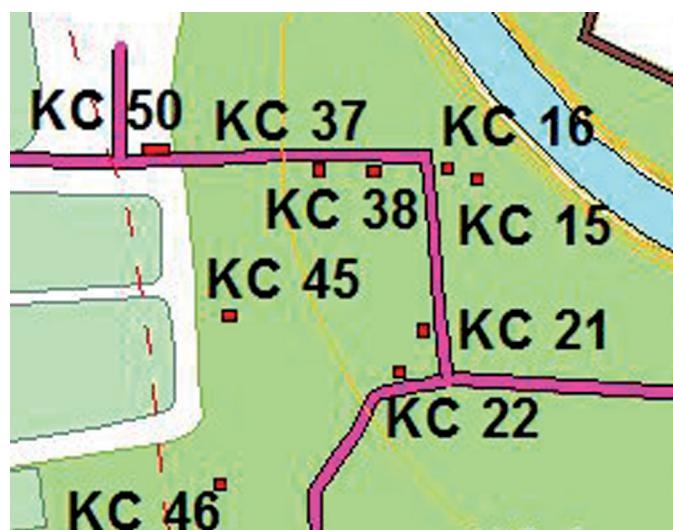


Fig. 4 – Map area D (excavations 2014-2015 and soil borings) (Kota Cina EFEO/PPAN Project, 2015).

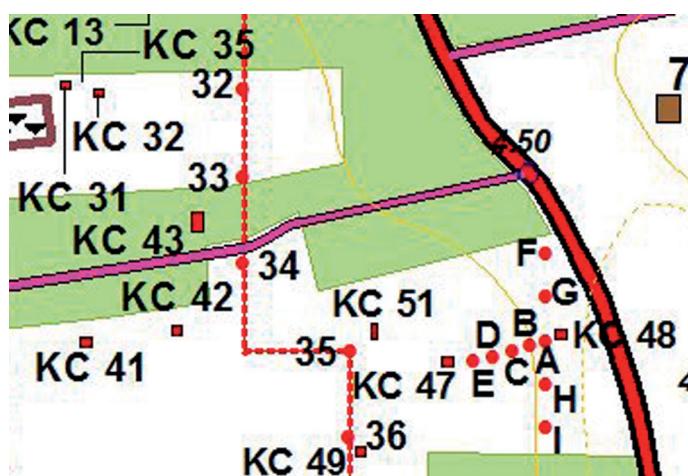


Fig. 5 – Map area E (excavations 2014-2015 and soil borings) (Kota Cina EFEO/PPAN Project, 2015).

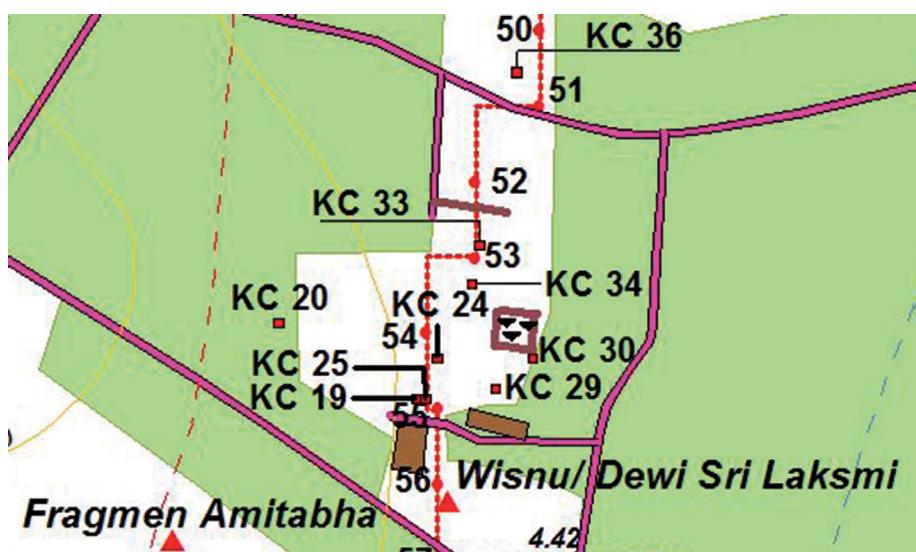


Fig. 6 – Map area F (excavations 2014 and soil borings) (Kota Cina EFEO/PPAN Project, 2015).

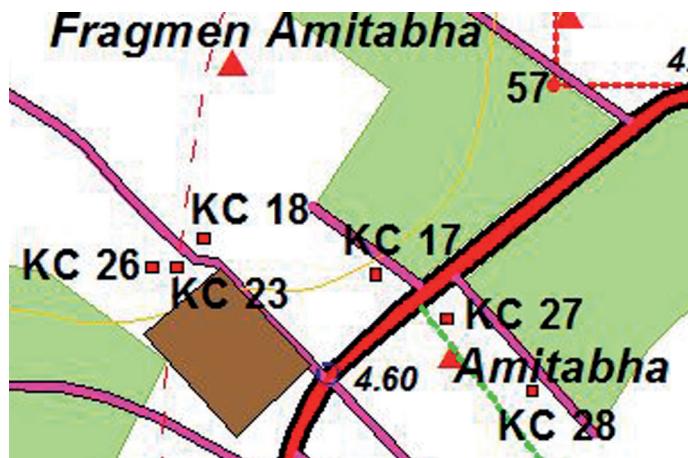


Fig. 7 – Map area G (excavations 2014 and soil borings)
(Kota Cina EFEO/PPAN Project, 2015).



Fig. 8 – Subsoil survey in area G (phot. D. Perret, 2014).



Fig. 9 – Midden layer and possible postholes in KC34 (phot. D. Perret, 2014).



Fig. 10 – Uncovering of a midden layer in KC33, area F (phot. D. Perret, 2014).



Fig. 11 – Underground water pumping in KC40 (phot. D. Perret, 2015).



Fig. 12 – Boat framing member in KC44 (phot. D. Perret, 2015).



Fig. 13 – Remains of a wood structure in KC40 (phot. D. Perret, 2015).



Fig. 14 – Example of joined pieces of wood in KC40 (phot. D. Perret, 2015).



Fig. 15 – Fragments of *ijuk* cords from KC44 (phot. D. Perret, 2015).

*BING ZHAO*¹

Étude préliminaire des tessons de céramique de style chinois trouvés à Kota Cina (fouilles franco-indonésiennes de 2011 à 2014)²

Le site archéologique de Kota Cina a été découvert dans les années 1970 à l'occasion de l'exploitation d'une carrière de sable dans le village actuel de Kota Cina³. Les principales prospections et études à cette époque ont été menées par E. E. McKinnon, qui a notamment publié dès 1977 un article sur la céramique chinoise collectée en surface⁴. De 2011 à 2013, l'équipe archéologique franco-indonésienne, placée sous la direction de Daniel Perret et Heddy Surachman a mené de nouvelles fouilles diagnostiques à Kota Cina, après des prospections et études préalables du site. Depuis 2014, la mission archéologique du site de Kota Cina a été officiellement lancée pour une durée de quatre ans⁵.

À l'occasion des prospections et des fouilles, les tessons de céramique ont été systématiquement lavés et classés en deux grands ensembles : « poterie » et « autres ». Ce dernier comprend pour l'essentiel de la céramique chinoise, raison pour laquelle les responsables de la mission nous ont confié son étude. Lors de la première mission d'analyses, qui a eu lieu dans les locaux du centre d'archéologie de Medan en mars 2015, nous avons intégralement traité le

1. Chargée de recherche, « Centre de recherche sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale », (UMR 8155 EPHE/CNRS/Collège de France/Université Paris 7)
2. Nous remercions Daniel Perret et Heddy Surachman pour la confiance qu'ils nous accordent en nous proposant d'effectuer l'étude du corpus de la céramique chinoise du site de Kota Cina.
3. Sur la position géographique du site, cf. Daniel Perret *et al.* dans ce numéro.
4. Edwards McKinnon, 1977.
5. Voir Daniel Perret *et al.* dans ce volume.

matériel des carrés 5000, 7000, 22000, 27000, 33000 et 35000. Distribués du nord au sud du site, ces carrés avaient fourni le plus grand nombre de tessons lors des campagnes de fouilles entre 2011 et 2014. Les 9449 tessons (comptage effectué avant remontage) issus de ces six carrés offrent donc un corpus supposé bien représentatif. L'objectif principal de cette première mission était d'identifier un maximum de types afin de préparer le travail de typologie.

Concrètement, nous avons commencé par traiter le matériel Carré par Carré. Pour chaque Carré, le travail a consisté successivement à effectuer le marquage des tessons, leur regroupement par catégorie, puis leur comptage par tesson et par NMI⁶. Le NMI comprend tous les tessons de bord, de fond, d'anse et les fragments de panse munis d'un décor. Nous avons préalablement éliminé les 230 tessons de la période moderne : 157 fragments de faïence et porcelaine européennes du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècle, 72 fragments de porcelaine blanche chinoise ou sud-est asiatique du XX^e siècle et un fragment de porcelaine japonaise du XX^e siècle. Nous nous sommes donc concentrée sur les 9218 fragments restants, qui donnent 2231 NMI⁷. L'étalement de l'ensemble du matériel des Carrés étudiés a permis d'effectuer de nombreux remontages entre unités de fouille (US) et entre Carrés. Après ces remontages, il ne subsiste que 1683 NMI. Ces derniers ont été ensuite sélectionnés pour la photographie, le dessin et la description en vue de l'étude typologique. La typologie étant en cours d'établissement, nous avons par conséquent choisi de nous limiter ici au corpus défini selon les grandes catégories. De manière générale, nous mettons l'accent sur la description et les comparaisons avec les données provenant des sites de production en Chine. Les comparaisons avec le matériel issu de sites sud-est asiatiques (épaves, sites d'habitat et sites funéraires) seront menées ultérieurement. Nous nous attacherons donc à exposer ici nos méthodes de travail, consciente de leurs limites du fait que les opérations de fouille ne sont pas achevées.

Jarre chinoise	Longquan	Grès vert-Chine du Sud	Grès brun-noir	<i>Qingbai</i>	Blanc du Fujian	Bassin	Grès gris	Terre cuite glaçurée	Jarre Asie du Sud-Est	Yue	Bleu-et-blanc
3810	2125	1123	774	684	389	163	77	72	44	3	3

Tableau 1 – Répartition des tessons selon les catégories.

6. Ce travail n'aurait pu être mené à bien sans la participation active de cinq étudiants indonésiens des universités de Sumatra-Nord (USU) et UNIMED de Medan. Nous tenons à citer plus particulièrement les noms de Devi Itawan et Wahyu Putra Kelana de USU, qui nous ont assistée durant toute la durée de l'étude.

7. Dans la suite de l'article, sauf mention contraire, il s'agit toujours du nombre de NMI avant remontages entre unités de fouille (US) et remontages entre Carrés. Par ailleurs, les pourcentages sont toujours calculés sur la base de la totalité des tessons et des NMI à l'exception de ceux de la période moderne.

Présentation du corpus par grandes catégories

Les grandes catégories sont traitées ici selon l'ordre décroissant de leur représentativité au stade actuel de traitement des données, qui rappelons-le, n'est que partiel (Tableau 1). Il convient cependant de préciser que les critères de classement par catégorie ne sont pas systématiques. En effet, les valeurs intrinsèques (pâte, couverte, décor et forme) jouent toutes un rôle pour chaque catégorie, mais à chaque fois avec des échelles de valeur différentes. Notre but principal est de faire ressortir des catégories pertinentes autant pour la datation que pour l'étude historique du site et du commerce maritime. Nous avons par exemple souhaité distinguer les jarres, une forme dite de contenant, des formes dites de vaisselle. Nous avons par ailleurs isolé les bassins, qui pouvaient servir aussi bien pour la cuisson que pour le repas. Il nous a paru nécessaire de distinguer ces deux catégories selon leur origine, chinoise ou sud-est asiatique, au regard des caractéristiques de la pâte. En ce qui concerne les autres fragments, qui appartiennent essentiellement à des formes dites de vaisselle, nous avons choisi de suivre la tradition des études menées en Chine et les avons classés selon la couleur de la couverte. Toutefois, ces dernières catégories comprennent également des formes dites de contenant telles que boîtes, pots, et bouteilles, dont les fonctions restent à être davantage précisées.

Les jarres chinoises

Nous avons comptabilisé 3 810 tessons, représentant 416 NMI de jarres chinoises. Il est important de rappeler que le taux de fragmentation d'une jarre est en général beaucoup plus élevé que celui d'un bol ou d'un plat, d'où le nombre élevé de tessons de jarres que l'on peut retrouver sur un site. Par ailleurs, parmi ces 416 NMI, il y a un nombre important de fragments de panse avec décor. Il convient donc de relativiser la quantité élevée des NMI de ces jarres. Un nombre relativement important de fragments de bord subsistent. Une typologie de ces bords est en cours de constitution. Nous pouvons livrer plusieurs observations à l'issue de cette première mission d'étude. Au regard des caractéristiques de la pâte et de la couverte, aucun fragment de jarre datée entre le VIII^e et le X^e siècle n'a été identifié pour l'instant à Kota Cina. Tous sont postérieurs au X^e siècle. En confrontant des éléments tels que diamètre d'ouverture, épaisseur de paroi et diamètre de la base, nous pouvons proposer une estimation des tailles de ces jarres. Selon nos évaluations, leur hauteur varie entre 20 et 50/60 cm, celles de petites ou moyennes tailles semblant être les plus nombreuses. En effet, nous n'avons comptabilisé que 37 NMI de jarres de grande dimension, c'est-à-dire d'une hauteur supérieure à 50 cm (fig. 1⁸).

Au stade actuel de l'étude, nous n'avons pu identifier que deux types de jarres chinoises. Le type 1 est une jarre de très petite taille. Il se caractérise

8. Toutes les photographies ont été réalisées par l'auteur.

par une petite forme oblongue se terminant par une large ouverture et un col court peu évasé. Au niveau de l'épaule, très peu saillante, quatre petites anses horizontales sont disposées à égale distance. La partie supérieure de la face externe montre une couverte brun-noir. La partie inférieure de la face externe, de même que toute la face interne, sans couverte, laissent apparaître un corps en grès de couleur beige (fig. 2). Ces jarres sont présentes en plusieurs tailles, mais nous n'avons pu déterminer une mesure exacte que pour l'une d'entre elles (fig. 3). Ce type 1 révèle deux groupes de pâte caractérisés par des grains très fins et très peu de dégraissant. La première est de couleur beige, la seconde de couleur brun clair avec un peu plus de dégraissant. Cette différence de pâte peut suggérer deux provenances distinctes. Retrouvées en quantité importante sur des sites en Indonésie et aux Philippines, ces petites jarres sont généralement identifiées comme des productions de fours de Cizao 磁灶 au Fujian⁹. Nous n'excluons cependant pas qu'il puisse s'agir de productions du Guangdong, au vu des caractéristiques de la pâte. Il est important d'avoir à l'esprit que parmi les fragments de panse de ce type de jarre, certains pourraient en réalité provenir de verseuses. Du fait que seuls deux fragments de bec en grès à couverte brun-noir ayant une pâte similaire ont été identifiés dans le corpus, nous en avons déduit que les jarres sont vraisemblablement plus nombreuses que les verseuses.

Le type 2 est une jarre d'assez grande taille (fig. 4), dont le diamètre d'ouverture dépasse 10cm. La pâte est constituée d'un grès de couleur gris clair à grains de taille moyenne avec du dégraissant fin en quantité importante. Sur la face intérieure, on note des traces d'un engobe brun. L'ensemble de la paroi externe comporte une couverte vert-olive en fine couche, très altérée, montrant ainsi largement le corps nu. La lèvre est roulée vers l'extérieur tandis que le col est très court et peu évasé. L'épaule très arrondie suggère une panse de forme ovoïde. Quatre petites anses horizontales sont placées au niveau de l'épaule. Ce genre de bord de jarre peut être associé à des fragments de panse à décor gravé, ou encore à décor estampé (fig. 5). Les jarres à décor gravé étaient communément produites au Guangdong, notamment dans les fours de Bijashan 筆架山 à Chaozhou 潮州, dans ceux de Guanchong 官冲 à Xinhui 新會, ainsi que ceux de Leizhou 雷州¹⁰. Les jarres ornementées d'inscriptions en caractères chinois ou de fleurettes estampées sont, quant à elles à ce jour, exclusivement identifiées sur le site de fours de Qishi 齊石 à Foshan 佛山 au Guangdong¹¹. Certains fragments de panse sont décorés d'éléments rapportés. Les pièces de comparaison des sites de production proviennent surtout des fours du Fujian, notamment ceux de Cizao et de Quanzhou 泉州¹².

9. Zeng Fan, 2001, p. 22, pl. 4. Fujian bowuguan, Jingjiang bowuguan, 2011, fig. 63-1 et 5.

10. Guangdong sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Xinhui shi bowuguan, 2000 ; Zeng Guangyi, 1985, p. 38 ; Qiu Licheng, 2008.

11. Foshan shi bowuguan, 1978, p. 196, 198. Zeng Yuangyi, 1985, p. 37.

12. Zeng Fan, 2001, pl. couleur 22-4.



Fig. 1 – KC35001.243 (diam. 24 cm)

Fig. 3 – KC5008.43
(h. 17 cm, diam. ouv. 8 cm)

Fig. 2 – KC35011.119 tesson à anse
(7 x 4,5 cm); autre (13 x 10 cm)



▲
Fig. 4 – KC5021.21 (diam. ouv. 11,5 cm)



▲
Fig. 5

Les grès à couverte verte des fours de Longquan

Nous avons décompté au total 2 125 fragments donnant 993 NMI pour les grès à couverte verte de Longquan. Ils représentent ainsi 23% de l'ensemble du corpus de tessons analysé, et 44% des 2 231 NMI. Selon le comptage des NMI, les grès à couverte verte de Longquan forment la catégorie la plus importante du corpus de céramique chinoise du site de Kota Cina, après les fragments de jarres chinoises.

Nous avons inclus dans cette catégorie deux types de bols dits « proto-Longquan ». Il s'agit de bols à décor gravé, parfois rehaussé au peigne, recouverts d'une couverte vert olive clair en fine couche. Ils sont datables entre le milieu du xi^e siècle et le début du xii^e siècle et ont pu être également produits dans les fours de Yue¹³. Ceci est à noter car dans l'état actuel des recherches, il reste difficile de distinguer les productions de la phase finale des fours de Yue de celles de la phase initiale des fours de Longquan¹⁴. Pour cette raison, nous avons décidé de classer ces tessons dans la catégorie des grès à couverte de Longquan. Il convient de préciser que les fragments de ces bols sont peu nombreux, ayant donné seulement 5 NMI après remontages.

Les fragments des fours de Longquan proviennent essentiellement de formes ouvertes (bols, coupelles, plats), mais des formes fermées sont également représentées, – en quantité beaucoup plus limitée cependant (petites jarres et petits pots). La majorité des tessons de cette catégorie présentent un corps et une couverte caractéristiques de la période allant des Song du Sud au début des Yuan, c'est-à-dire entre la deuxième moitié du xii^e siècle et le début du xiv^e siècle. Grâce aux tessons NMI, nous avons pu identifier 14 types de bols, dix types de coupelles et plats, trois types de petits pots, ainsi que deux types de couvercles de pots ou de bols. Il convient de donner ici quelques exemples. D'abord, les bols à décor gravé à motif de rinceau de lotus qui sont caractéristiques de la deuxième moitié du xii^e-début du xiii^e siècle. Ou encore les bols à décor gravé de motif dit « S » ou de nuages stylisés sur la paroi intérieure, qui sont datables fin du xii^e-début du xiii^e siècle (fig. 6)¹⁵. Il existe un très grand nombre de bols à pétales de lotus découpés sur la paroi extérieure, avec notamment des fragments de base présentant un pied annulaire fin et petit. Les pourtours du pied et de la base montrent une couverte épaisse et onctueuse. La plupart des fragments de bord présentent un bord droit aminci, dont certains ont bruni à la cuisson. Les profils de ces bols sont plus ou moins ouverts (fig. 7, 8). Les archéologues chinois proposent des datations variées

13. Pour une bouteille pourvue du décor au peigne des fours de Longquan trouvée dans une tombe datée de 1070, voir Liu Tao, 2004, p. 89, pl. 6-3.

14. Yamamoto, 1994 ; Zhejiang wenwu sheng kaigu yanjiusuo, 2005, pp. 404-405.

15. Pour une pièce de comparaison provenant du site de Duimengshan 對門山 dans la zone de fours dit Shantou 山頭 à Longquan, voir Zhejiang sheng wenwu kaigu yanjiusuo, 2005, p. 79, fig. 22-3, pl. couleur 9-3,4.

pour cette série d'objets. Certains les datent du dernier quart du XIII^e et du début du XIV^e siècle¹⁶. D'autres pensent que leur production remonterait au début de la période 1230-1250¹⁷. Signalons également la présence de bols moulés à paroi en forme de pétales de lotus dont la qualité de production est aussi exceptionnelle, bols datables de la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle (fig. 9). Des coupelles à panse carénée montrent aussi cette même qualité de production, de même que des plats à large bord et à pétales de lotus sur l'extérieur ou à décor rapporté sur le fond (fig. 10, 11). Ces deux derniers types datent du XIII^e siècle. Seuls 9 NMI sont datables du début du XIV^e siècle (fig. 12).



Fig. 6 – KC35001.5 (h. 7,5 cm, diam. base 6,3 cm, diam. ouv. 16 cm)

16. Beijing daxue kaoguxue yanjiu zhongxing, Zhedong Yue yao qingci bowuguan, 2013, pp. 44-47.

17. Zhejiang sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 2005, p. 405, pl. couleur 17-3, 18-1. Pour un bol de même forme trouvé dans une tombe datée de 1275, voir Zhejiang sheng bowuguan, 2000, pl. 218.



Fig. 7 – KC35007.13 (diam. base 3,5 cm)



Fig. 8 – KC27004.1 (h. 5,5 cm,
diam. base 5,3 cm, diam. ouv. 16 cm)



Fig. 9 – KC35008.10
(diam. ouv., env. 10 cm)



▲
Fig. 10 – KC35007.20
(diam. base 9,5 cm, diam. ouv. 17 cm)



▲
Fig. 11 – KC27006.5 (h. 4 cm, diam ouv. 12 cm)

▲
Fig. 12 – KC5012.5
(h. 9 cm, diam ouv. 36 cm)

Les grès à couverte vert ou vert jaune du Fujian/Guangdong/Zhejiang

Nous incluons dans cette catégorie 1 123 fragments, donnant 325 NMI, de grès à couverte verte produits dans les fours de Chine du sud (en particulier au Fujian et au Guangdong), en dehors de la région de Longquan. De ce fait, cette catégorie comprend une large palette de pâtes différentes ; la couverte varie sensiblement, allant d'un vert jaunâtre à un vert grisâtre, ou encore à un vert olive assez foncé. De manière générale, la pâte de ces grès est plus grossière, comparée aux grès à couverte verte de Longquan, mais elle varie sensiblement selon les types de production. Lors de cette première mission d'étude, nous avons pu inventorier sept types de bols et trois types de coupelles. Nous avons aussi noté la présence de bols à décor gravé, dont certains sont rehaussés au peigne et à couverte jaunâtre. Il y a également une série de coupelles à paroi oblique sans pied annulaire avec au fond un décor gravé à motif floral (fig. 13). Ce sont des productions des fours de Tong'an 同安 au Fujian, qui sont assez approximativement datées entre le milieu du XII^e et le XIII^e siècle.

Treize fragments, donnant 3 NMI, de grès à couverte verte dans le style des fours de Yaozhou ont également été identifiés. Un bol à profil archéologiquement complet a été reconstitué (fig. 14). Cette pièce présente une faible profondeur, une large ouverture, ainsi qu'une paroi mince avec une légère carène dans la partie inférieure de la paroi. À l'exception d'une bande de trois centimètres près du bord, la paroi intérieure est agrémentée d'un décor moulé à motif de rinceau fleuri dans une composition serrée. Cette production, probablement de la première moitié du XII^e siècle, a été identifiée comme provenant des fours de Xicun au Guangdong¹⁸.



Fig. 13 – KC35008.16 (h. 3 cm, diam. base 4,7 cm, diam. ouv. 12 cm)

18. Qiu Licheng, 2008.



◀ Fig. 14 – KC35011.11 (h. 4,5 cm, diam. base 6 cm, diam. ouv. 20 cm)

Les grès à couverte brun-noir

Nous avons comptabilisé 774 fragments de grès à couverte brun-noir. Parmi ceux-ci, la bouteille haute apparaît comme la forme la plus fréquente (461 fragments pour 37 NMI). Il s'agit d'un ensemble très cohérent de tessons qui présentent tous une pâte en grès à grains moyens de couleur gris clair, de texture très sèche, avec la présence de particules noires. La couverte brun-noir n'est présente qu'au niveau de l'ouverture et du col, laissant nues l'épaule, la panse et la base. Ces bouteilles ont une forme bien particulière, avec une ouverture à lèvre roulée vers l'extérieure, un col extrêmement court, une épaulure haute, une panse oblongue très haute, et enfin une base plate sans pourtour de pied (fig. 15). Des archéologues chinois ont mis au jour des pièces entières identiques sur le site de Jinjiaoyishan 金交椅山 à Cizao, et les ont datées du XII^e au XIV^e siècle¹⁹.



◀ Fig. 15 – KC5021.117
(h. actuelle 23,5 cm, diam. ouv. 2,5 cm)

19. Li Jian'an, 2005, pl. 12.

Les 313 fragments en grès à couverte en brun-noir restants proviennent de formes suivantes : trois types de petits pots, deux types de petits bols (dont l'un présente une couverte à stries violacées) (fig. 16), deux types de couvercle de bol ou de pot (fig. 17) et un type de bec de *kendi*. Des petits bols à profil peu ouvert ont été identifiés sur le site de Tuwei'an 土尾庵 à Cizao²⁰. Le corpus comporte également des petits pots qui ont tous une panse de forme ovoïde et une paroi peu épaisse. Ils se différencient par la forme des lèvres, de la base et par la qualité de la pâte. Des pièces similaires ont été retrouvées sur le site de Tuwei'an à Cizao²¹, ainsi que sur le site de Chayang 茶洋 à Nanping 南平²², tous deux au Fujian. D'autres ont été identifiées dans la cargaison de l'épave Nanhai n°1²³. Des verseuses et des *kendi* à décor rapporté dans la partie supérieure de la panse et au niveau de l'épaule ont été retrouvés en grande quantité en Asie du Sud-Est²⁴. Comme nous l'avons déjà précisé, il est parfois difficile de savoir si un fragment de panse appartient à une petite jarre, à une verseuse ou encore à un *kendi*.



Fig. 16 – KC35011.46 (h. 5,2 cm, diam. base 4,5 cm, diam. ouv. 9 cm)

20. Fujian bowuguan, Jingjiang bowuguan, 2011, fig. 59-5 et 7.

21. *Ibid.*, 2011, fig. 62-4, 65-1, 2, 4.

22. Li Lian'an, 2005, pl. 13.

23. *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

24. Brown, éd., 1989, cat. N°142.



Fig. 17 – KC35010.7
(h. 2,8 cm, diam. ext. 10 cm)

Les *qingbai*

Cette catégorie comprend 684 fragments donnant 295 NMI. Il s'agit de grès et porcelaines à couverte de couleur dite *qingbai*, c'est-à-dire blanc bleuté. Les grès sont des productions de qualité moyenne des fours de Chine du Sud, la majorité provenant des fours du Fujian. Les autres fragments présentent un corps en porcelaine dure et fine, certains étant presque translucides. Leur couverte est clairement bleutée. Il est important de noter que la pâte de ces *qingbai* fins est plus grasse, dure et surtout beaucoup moins crayeuse, comparée à la pâte de la catégorie des porcelaines blanches dites de Dehua. En effet, la conservation de la couleur originale de la couverte d'un tesson dépend aussi du contexte archéologique. Par exemple, une boîte avec une pâte très fine caractéristique des fours de Jingdezhen au Jiangxi présente aujourd'hui une couverte de couleur crème-ivoire, proche de celle de la catégorie des Dehua. Or, à l'origine, la couverte devait être d'un *qingbai* très bleuté (fig. 18). Par ailleurs, les tessons dessinés étant systématiquement pesés, nous pourrons à terme avoir recours au critère de poids pour mieux distinguer les *qingbai* fins des Dehua.

À ce jour, cette catégorie *qingbai* a révélé dix types de bols, quatre types de boîtes, trois types de petites coupelles, un type de bouteille et un type de verseuse. Les bols comprennent des pièces à décor au peigne ou à décor gravé rehaussé au peigne (fig. 19). Il s'agit des types les plus anciens, datés entre la deuxième moitié du XI^e et le début du XII^e siècle. Le corpus comprend également un ensemble de bols en porcelaine fine et translucide à bord aminci et à décor de fines incisions

avec ou sans fond pointillé (fig. 20)²⁵. Ces pièces de qualité exceptionnelle ont été produites dans au moins deux régions du Jiangxi, à savoir Jingdezhen et Nanfeng 南豐²⁶. Cependant, nous n'excluons pas une origine du Fujian. En effet, bien que la plupart des chercheurs pensent que les *qingbai* fins étaient produits au Jiangxi et les *qingbai* de qualité moyenne au Fujian, ces types de bols de grande qualité ont été récemment découverts sur plusieurs sites de production au Fujian, notamment sur ceux de Nan'an et de Guangze 光澤²⁷. Enfin, grâce aux éléments de comparaison provenant de tombes datées²⁸, la production de ces bols est placée très précisément dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle. Ajoutons que les tessons datables antérieurs au milieu du XII^e siècle sont peu nombreux, alors que la majorité des *qingbai* datent du XIII^e siècle. C'est le cas des bols à décor moulé en faible relief sur la paroi interne en porcelaine fine revêtue d'une couverte *qingbai* d'un ton très bleuté, qui peuvent être datés assez précisément de la deuxième moitié du XIII^e siècle (fig. 21). De même, tous les types de boîtes, coupelles, et verseuses sont postérieurs au milieu du XIII^e siècle (fig. 22).

Une dizaine de tout petits fragments, soit 5 NMI, de petites coupelles moulées, sont datables entre la fin du XIII^e siècle et la première moitié du XIV^e siècle. Ils représentent les éléments les plus tardifs du corpus des *qingbai*.

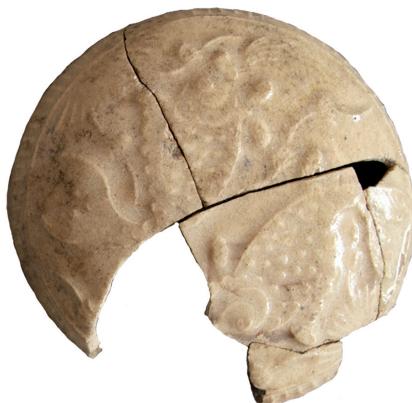


Fig. 18 – KC27006.8 (h. 2,4 cm, diam. 7 cm)

25. Pour une pièce de comparaison exhumée d'une tombe datée de 1109, voir Peng Shifan & Fan Fengmei, 1998, pl. 27.

26. Pour une pièce de comparaison du site de Hutian à Jingdezhen, voir Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogusuo & Jingdezhen minyao bowuguan, 2007, vol. 1, fig. 69-3, 70-6 ; Pour une pièce de comparaison du site de Baishe 白舍 à Nanfeng, voir Jiangxi sheng wenwu gongzuodui, Nanfeng xian Wenhuaquan, 1985, fig. 4-5, 7, 7-4.

27. Pour les données du site de Guangze, voir Huang Fulian, 2003, p. 41. Lors d'une mission effectuée en 2008, nous avons pu observer ces productions fines sur plusieurs sites du Fujian.

28. Pour une pièce retrouvée dans une tombe datée de 1109, voir Liu Tao, 2004, p. 100, fig. 7-18.



Fig. 19 – KC35009.12 (h. 5,5 cm, diam. base 5 cm, diam. ouv. 13 cm)



Fig. 20 – KC35023.1
(tesson en bas: diam. ouv. 24 cm,
11,2 x 9,2 cm)



Fig. 21 – KC7005.6 (h. 8 cm, diam. base 5,5 cm, diam. ouv. 21 cm)



◀ Fig. 22 – KC33011.5
(h. 2,3 cm, diam. 8 cm)

Les blancs du Fujian

Cette catégorie des grès et des porcelaines à couverte blanche des fours du Fujian, datée du xi^e au xiv^e siècle, comprend 389 tessons donnant 237 NMI. Les productions les plus connues viennent de la région de Dehua. De récentes recherches archéologiques ont révélé que d'autres régions du Fujian en ont aussi produit. Il convient de rappeler que la distinction entre les blancs et les *qingbai* fait encore débat. Pour nous, comme nous l'avons expliqué dans la partie consacrée aux *qingbai*, les blancs du Fujian présentent une pâte plus crayeuse et moins grasse comparée à celle de la porcelaine *qingbai*.

Dans le corpus de Kota Cina, la forme la plus fréquente est la boîte. Nous avons inventorié quatre types de fond et quatre types de couvercle (fig. 23). Les fragments de bol sont moins nombreux, et peuvent être répartis en trois types. Par exemple, selon la typologie établie en 1982 dans le rapport des fouilles, les bols à deux rangées de pétales de lotus de forme longiligne moulés sur la paroi extérieure dateraient de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle (fig. 24)²⁹. Plus récemment, des pièces similaires ont été identifiées dans la cargaison de l'épave de Jepara, qui est datée de la première moitié du XII^e siècle³⁰. Nous datons cependant les pièces de Kota Cina de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle. Le corpus comporte aussi des bols à paroi fine et à petite base plate sans pied annulaire et fin présentant un décor moulé en relief dans une composition serrée sur l'ensemble de la paroi interne. Ceux avec un tout petit pied annulaire présentent en général un bord en biscuit. Ils sont datables de la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle ou du début du XIII^e siècle. Sur le fond de certains de ces bols, on observe des cicatrices de pernettes : ce sont des productions du XIII^e siècle (fig. 24, 25).

Les bassins

Le corpus comprend 163 fragments donnant 103 NMI de bassins. On sait que les fours côtiers du Fujian et du Guangdong ont commencé cette production dès le IX^e siècle et que celle-ci a perduré jusqu'au XIX^e siècle. Ces bassins présentent un bord roulé, des parois peu arrondies, ainsi qu'un fond plat sans pied annulaire. Dans le corpus de Kota Cina, nous avons distingué trois types de pâte, dont l'une est plus particulièrement grossière avec un dégraissant parfois très gros. Selon nous, au regard des caractéristiques de la pâte, ces bassins sont des productions d'Asie du Sud-Est (fig. 27). E. E. McKinnon avait déjà suggéré une origine vietnamienne pour certains bassins à pâte grossière, bien qu'aucun élément de comparaison provenant des fours vietnamiens ne soit publié³¹. La paroi interne de ces bassins est entièrement décorée d'une couverte alors que ce décor est parfois très partiel sur la paroi externe. Les bassins produits au Guangdong sont généralement munis d'un décor estampé sur le fond, tandis que ceux du Fujian présentent le plus souvent un décor peint en brun de fer sous couverte vert olive ou jaunâtre. Le corpus de Kota Cina comprend 89 fragments donnant 3 NMI d'un type de grand bassin. Il présente un fond rond, un bord épais et un diamètre d'ouverture supérieur à 50 cm. La paroi interne de l'un des 3 NMI présente un décor peint en brun de fer (fig. 28).

29. Fujian Dehua Qudouyao yizhi fajuedui, 1979, p. 23. Fung Ping Shan Museum, 1990, pl. 88.

30. Djuana, A. & Edwards McKinnon, E., 2005, fig. 18.

31. Edwards McKinnon, 1977, p. 76.



Fig. 23 – KC22019.22 (h. 3,5 cm, diam. base 10 cm, diam. ouv. 15 cm)

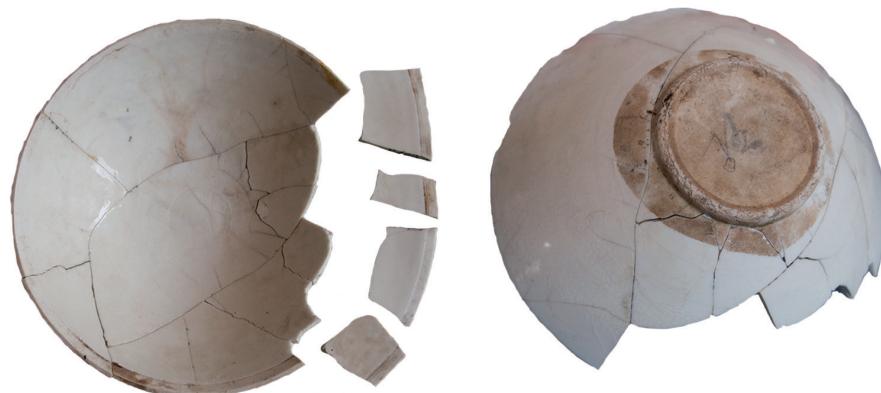


Fig. 24 – KC35011.78

Archipel 91, Paris, 2016



▲
Fig. 25 – KC35010.22 (diam. base 10,5 cm, diam. ouv. 30 cm)



▲
Fig. 26 – KC22018.24 (h. 5,5 cm, diam base 5,8 cm, diam. ouv. 17 cm)



▲
Fig. 27 – KC35009.27 (diam. ouv. 32 cm)



**Fig. 28 – g. KC35011.130
d. KC35011.129 (diam. ext. 56 cm, h. act. 11,5 cm)**

Les grès à couverte gris clair du Fujian

Soixante dix-sept fragments, représentant 26 NMI, montrent une pâte en grès à grains plutôt fins, de texture compacte revêtue d'une couverte gris clair en fine couche d'une grande transparence laissant voir des particules noires dans la pâte. Deux types de bols à paroi épaisse et pied annulaire large et bas, ont été identifiés. Le premier présente un anneau nu sur le fond, tandis que l'autre montre quatre ou cinq traces de pernettes (fig. 29). Très occasionnellement, nous avons repéré 38 fragments, soit 5 NMI, constituant des éléments de bouteilles. Les fragments de col présentent des lignes circulaires et les fragments de bord suggèrent une ouverture en forme de pétales de fleur ou de trompette. Ces productions sont connues comme provenant de la région de Putian au Fujian, et notamment des fours de Zhuangbian. Elles sont présentes dans la cargaison de l'épave de Nanhai n°1. Quant à leur datation, les archéologues du Fujian proposent la période allant du milieu du XIII^e siècle au début du XIV^e siècle³².

Les terres cuites à glaçure plombifère

Nous avons identifié 72 fragments, soit 26 NMI, de terre cuite à glaçure plombifère verte ou jaune, ou encore bicolore vert/jaune. Nous avons reconnu au moins trois types de pâte dans cette catégorie, d'une texture plus ou moins fine. La glaçure verte domine, les glaçures jaune ou bicolore vert/jaune étant également représentées. Les formes sont essentiellement des petits bols et des petites boîtes sans décor, ainsi que quelques boîtes à décor moulé (fig. 30).

³². Li Jian'an, 2012, fig. 13.

Le corpus comprend également des petites jarres, des verseuses, ainsi que vraisemblablement des *kendi*³³. Toutes ces productions proviennent sans doute du Fujian, et plus précisément des fours de Quanzhou³⁴, Chayang³⁵ et Cizao³⁶. Selon Ho Chuimei, la production des terres cuites à glaçure plombifère aurait débuté au Fujian dans les années 1140-1150³⁷, alors que les archéologues chinois datent ces objets de l'époque des Song et des Yuan, c'est-à-dire de 960 à 1368. Il faut noter l'absence dans notre corpus des terres cuites à décor peint en brun de fer sous glaçure verte, un type présenté par E. E. McKinnon dans sa publication de 1993. Celui-ci les avait alors attribués aux fours de Cizhou au Henan en Chine du Nord³⁸. Mais des fouilles récentes ont mis au jour des productions similaires sur le site de Cizao au Fujian³⁹. Concernant ces objets nous penchons donc pour l'hypothèse d'une origine du Fujian.

Les jarres d'Asie du Sud-Est

Quarante-quatre fragments, soit 5 NMI, présentent une pâte à grains grossiers avec de grosses particules noires et un dégraissant grossier, qui est caractéristique des productions sud-est asiatiques. Sept fragments de panse présentent un décor de chevron estampé. Leur datation s'échelonne du XII^e au XVI^e/XVII^e siècle.

Les grès à couverte verte des fours de Yue

Le corpus comprend trois fragments, donnant 2 NMI, de bol ou coupelle en grès à couverte verte des fours de Yue au Zhejiang. Ils présentent tous une pâte en grès très dense aux grains fins et serrés de couleur brun moyen. La couverte de couleur vert foncé décore en général toute la surface des objets. Deux types de formes ont été repérés. Le premier est représenté par un fragment de bord d'une forme ouverte, probablement un bol ou la partie inférieure d'un brûle-parfum. C'est un fragment à lèvre et paroi presque droites avec des pétales de lotus gravés superposés sur la paroi extérieure (fig. 31). Ce type de pièce a été produit à partir du milieu du X^e siècle et vraisemblablement jusqu'au tout début du XI^e siècle⁴⁰. Le second fragment, sans décor, est un bord de bol à paroi

33. Notre corpus ne contient qu'un seul fragment de bec. Le corpus présenté par E. E. McKinnon propose une pièce à profil archéologiquement complet (Edwards McKinnon, 1977, pl. 48).

34. Hughes-Stanton & Kerr, 1980, pl. 175.

35. Zeng Fan, 2001, p. 40, pl. 5.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 21, pl. 4-6.

37. Ho Chuimei, 2001, p. 246.

38. Edwards McKinnon, 1993, p. 168.

39. Chen Peng, 1986.

40. Pour une comparaison des sites de production, voir Zhejiang sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Beijing daxue kaogu wenbo xueyuan, Cixi shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, 2002, pl. couleur 188 et 196, fig. 23-3. Pour un exemple retrouvé dans une crypte du temple de Lingshi 靈市 à Huangyang, crypte datée de 998, voir Zhejiang sheng bowuguan, 2000, pl. 198. Pour des exemples comparables de la cargaison de Cirebon, voir Liebner, 2014, fig. 2.2-13.

fine et à lèvre légèrement évasée. Le dernier fragment de paroi et le fragment de bord appartiennent sans doute à la même pièce. Il est très difficile de dater ces fragments, du fait de l'absence de décor et de la taille extrêmement réduite des tessons. Mais les caractéristiques de leur pâte et de leur couverte laissent supposer qu'ils datent du XI^e siècle.



▲ Fig. 29 – KC7016.1 (diam. base 10,5 cm)



▲ Fig. 30 – KC27008.23



Fig. 31a – KC35009.23
(diam. ouv. 15 cm, 5 x 3,7 cm)



Fig. 31b –
KC35009.23 (section)

Les porcelaines bleu et blanc

Le corpus comprend trois tout petits fragments de bol (un bord et deux parois) en porcelaine bleu et blanc avec une fine paroi, y compris deux peints en bleu de cobalt sur les deux faces de la paroi. Le fragment de bord présente une lèvre évasée. Les caractéristiques de la pâte, de la forme et du décor suggèrent une pièce datable fin xv^e-début xvi^e siècle.

Quelques questions soulevées par cette étude préliminaire

En se fondant sur l'étude de tessons de céramique chinoise collectés à la surface du site, E.E. McKinnon avait en 1977 émis l'hypothèse d'une occupation du site de Kota Cina s'étendant sur une période allant du milieu du xi^e à la fin du xiv^e siècle⁴¹. Plus récemment, en 1993, puis en 2010, il était revenu sur cette première datation, proposant une nouvelle fourchette allant de la fin du xi^e au début du xiv^e siècle⁴². En effet, l'un des objectifs de l'étude des tessons de céramique chinoise et de l'Asie du Sud-Est trouvés sur un site archéologique d'Asie du Sud-Est est de contribuer à mieux dater le site. Certes, la céramique chinoise présente la fourchette de datation la plus serrée parmi les objets retrouvés sur les sites de l'océan Indien. Cependant, un tesson de céramique chinoise, même s'il est précisément daté, ne peut constituer à lui seul un indicateur chronologique pertinent. Ainsi, nous nous interrogeons sur la pertinence en tant que référence de datation du site des trois fragments provenant des fours de Yue, et plus précisément à propos de celui qui peut être daté entre la deuxième moitié du x^e et le début du xi^e siècle⁴³.

41. Edwards McKinnon, 1977.

42. Edwards McKinnon, 1993 et 2003.

43. Edwards McKinnon a affirmé l'absence de cette production dans la région de Sumatra-Nord (1977, p. 70).

Leur présence révélée par les récentes fouilles nous invite à réévaluer le début de la période d'occupation de Kota Cina. Par ailleurs, il est important de noter que les tessons du XI^e siècle et de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle, bien qu'ils soient peu nombreux, sont tout de même présents dans le corpus. Ce dernier comprend cependant une majorité de tessons datables des XII^e-XIII^e siècles. L'étude complète et quantitative de l'ensemble du corpus devrait nous permettre de proposer une nouvelle hypothèse sur cette question essentielle de la chronologie du site de Kota Cina.

Par ailleurs il nous faut revenir ici sur la méthodologie des études entreprises par assemblage et quantification. Lors de la première mission d'étude du corpus de grès et porcelaines du site de Kota Cina, nous avons décidé d'adopter trois méthodes de quantification. Pour les deux premières, qui ont été systématiquement appliquées à chaque US et à chaque carré, il s'agissait de dénombrer les tessons et NMI par grandes catégories. Pour les 9 288 tessons de fragments de Kota Cina, nous avons ainsi comptabilisé 2 231 MNI. Ces méthodes de comptage ont pour objectif de proposer, en plus d'une échelle chronologique, un classement susceptible d'être pertinent à la fois pour l'étude des réseaux commerciaux et de productions, ainsi que pour l'étude des modes de vie des habitants du site de Kota Cina.

Le travail carré par carré a abouti à un comptage de 2 231 NMI. Après remontages entre US et entre carrés, il ne subsiste que 1 683 NMI. Nous avons décidé ensuite d'appliquer une troisième méthode de comptage (selon la taille des objets) aux six groupes suivants :

1. Les formes ouvertes (bols, coupelles, plats) de petite et moyenne tailles, dont le diamètre d'ouverture est inférieur à 35 cm ;
2. Les formes ouvertes (bols et plats) de grande taille, dont le diamètre d'ouverture est supérieur à 35 cm ;
3. Les boîtes ;
4. Les pots, les jarres de petite et de moyenne tailles, les bouteilles, les verseuses, *kendi* ;
5. Les grandes jarres dont la hauteur dépasse 50 cm ;
6. Les bassins.

Le tableau 2 représente la répartition de ses six groupes. Il convient de préciser que notre grille de lecture est ici multiple. À titre d'exemple :

– la taille des plats et des bols augmente progressivement à partir de la fin du XIII^e siècle. Dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle, plats et bols de grande taille (diamètres supérieurs à 35 cm) occupent une part très importante, encore mal quantifiée à ce jour malheureusement. Il nous a paru donc nécessaire de séparer les bols et les plats de grande taille de ceux de petite et de moyenne tailles parce que leur quantité pourrait constituer

en elle-même un critère de datation supplémentaire. Il est ainsi intéressant de noter que notre corpus ne comporte que neuf plats de grande taille, ce qui laisse à penser que le XIV^e siècle est extrêmement peu représenté ; – nous avons décidé de regrouper le comptage des fragments de jarre de petite et de moyenne tailles, de pots, de bouteilles, de verseuses, et de *kendi*. C'est-à-dire toutes les formes fermées, à l'exception des grandes jarres et des boîtes, qui ont été décomptées séparément ; – nous avons choisi d'isoler les boîtes du reste du corpus. En effet, les boîtes constituaient une des formes les plus fréquentes sur les marchés de l'Asie du Sud-Est, alors que celles-ci sont rares, voire absentes, au Moyen-Orient⁴⁴. Nous constatons cependant qu'à Kota Cina le pourcentage des boîtes par rapport à l'ensemble des tessons de grès et porcelaines est bien inférieur à celui par exemple du site du temple du Mebon occidental à Angkor au Cambodge, que nous avons récemment étudié⁴⁵. Nous souhaitons donc dans les études ultérieures effectuer des comparaisons systématiques portant sur la quantité des fragments de boîtes trouvés sur d'autres sites archéologiques en Asie du Sud-Est. En menant une telle étude, il devrait en effet être possible de déterminer les particularités régionales relatives à la consommation de grès et porcelaines.

Bol/coupelle/plat	Jarre de petite et de moyenne tailles /bouteille/verseuse/kendi	Boîte	Bassin	Grande jarre	Grand bol/Grand plat
1291	212	88	43	37	9

Tableau 2 – Répartition des NMI après remontages

Références

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LUDVIK KALUS¹ ET CLAUDE GUILLOT²

Cimetières d'Aceh, Varia I [Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 10]

Dans cette dernière livraison sur la ville d'Aceh, nous n'allons plus trouver de cimetières ni de sultans ou de descendants royaux mais devrons nous intéresser à des tombes isolées, dispersées sans protection au milieu des maisons. Certaines ont été découvertes par le plus grand des hasards au cours de notre recherche tandis que d'autres, répertoriées par De Vink au début du xx^e siècle, n'ont pas pu être retrouvées, perdues ou déplacées pour permettre la construction de nouvelles demeures. Faute de localisation précise, il est malheureusement impossible de savoir à quelle catégorie appartient chaque tombe.

Le premier très petit cimetière, celui dit de « Tuan Meurah » se trouve au nord de la ville, à l'aval de la rivière d'Aceh, dans le *kecamatan* de Kutaraja, *gampong* de Peulanggahan, près de la rue Tgk. Dianjong. Lors du tsunami de 2004, sa position près de la mer et du fleuve lui a occasionné de graves dommages avec des tombes déracinées, renversées ou même cassées. Cet ensemble est intéressant parce qu'il est certainement à mettre en relation avec les « grands cadis » ou « qâdî al-qudât » du pays, ceux que localement on appelait encore *malik al-'âdil*, avant que cela ne corresponde plus tard qu'à un simple titre féodal.

En effet, on a maître Shams al-dîn (1/3) qui est qualifié de *qâdî al-qudât* et de *al-malik al-'âdil* ; une fille de Hamza Fuâd (Quwwâd) (1/1), lui aussi titré *qâdî al-qudât* et *al-malik al-'âdil* ; une tombe au nom illisible (1/5)

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où l'on peut simplement lire « fille de... *malik al-âdil* ». Enfin, on a deux épigraphes dont l'une (1/4), « Sûrî, fille du shaykh Fuâd (Quwwâd) », peut éventuellement, d'après le nom du père, s'interpréter comme la fille du *malik al-âdil* du numéro 1/1 et dont l'autre « Ahmad, fils de Shams allâh (?) » (1/2) renvoie vraisemblablement à un père dévoué à la religion.

Dans celui de « Ba Asan I », dans le *gampong* Jawa, on trouve une fille d'étranger, restée sur place comme souvent (3/11b), mais qui a tenu à le déclarer, puisqu'elle est décrite comme « fille de *khawâdjâ* Mahmûd, fils de *khawâdjâ* Sayf al-dîn ».

Dans le même cimetière, un cas curieux apparaît, un certain « al-Malik al-Zâhir, fils du prince parfait Muhammad, fils de 'Alâ' (?) al-dîn » a péri le 23 septembre 1585 (3/14). Ce nom, qui rappelle les rois de Pasai et semble anachronique à Aceh, attire l'attention et on peut s'interroger sur l'identité de celui qui le porte, surtout qu'on le dit petit-fils d'un 'Alâ' al-dîn, un nom qui n'est connu à Aceh que comme un nom royal. Il se trouve que l'*Hikayat Aceh* le cite comme un commanditaire, avec un certain Maharaja, de la fin du sultan Zainal. Celui-ci était jugé, par les deux hommes, trop généreux en gratifications « en or et argent et en habits précieux » envers tous ceux qui venaient se présenter en audience devant lui, sans penser aux nécessités du royaume. Cet homme, trop conscient de l'État, qui a réussi à chasser le sultan, ou plutôt à l'assassiner, n'était pas n'importe qui puisque son père, Muhammad, était surnommé « le prince très illustre » (*malik al-adjall*) et son grand-père était vraisemblablement 'Alâ' al-dîn surnommé al-Qahhâr, le même que celui du sultan Zainal, c'est-à-dire qu'ils étaient cousins. Néanmoins, il fut tué lui aussi puisque l'épitaphe nous dit qu'il « a péri » le 23 septembre 1585, la même année que le sultan Zainal, d'après l'*Hikayat*.

À très peu de distance de là, se trouve une autre tombe de quelqu'un (6/2) portant le même nom et dont le père, Muhammad, est qualifié de *malik al-umarâ* (prince des émirs).

On a l'épitaphe – rare il faut bien le dire – d'un *shahbandar*, un étranger comme il est d'usage, appelé Khân Ma'zul fils de Khân Fâlî (9/1) et celles de deux religieux vénérés, qualifiés de « shaykh instruit » (11/14) pour l'un, et pour l'autre (14/3) de « shaykh initié, parfait, vertueux, auguste, vénéré... ».

Pour finir, on rencontre quand même une dame de la noblesse (11/5) puisqu'on l'appelle « Sitt Ubî shah » et qu'elle est la fille du grand sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn al-Qahhar et la petite-fille du sultan « 'Alî Mughâyat ».

I. Cimetière de Tuan Meurah

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Peulanggalan (Meunassa Kg. Djawa). Complex Toean Meurah ».]

La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004, certaines tombes ont été déracinées, renversées ou même cassées.

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

Deux stèles à grand pinacle et à ailes, trapues.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 1) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un petit cartouche, registre ; (b) dans les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre ; (c) plus bas, dans un grand champ, trois lignes. B et D : dans un champ, une ligne. E- sommet, un registre en deux lignes.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un petit cartouche, registre ; (b) dans les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre ; (c) plus bas, dans un grand champ, trois lignes. B et D : dans un champ, une ligne. E- sommet, un registre.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ) - هذه المقبرة
- (ب) - (١) الركبة الكريمة التي حلّت (٢) قضات [؟] المسلمين النافذات [؟] ..
- (ت) - (١) فيها الحرة [الحريمة؟] السعيدة (٢) والriximma الرشيدة (٣) حمزة [؟] فواد [فؤاد؟]
- قاضى
- ب - إلى الناس
- ت - (أ) - أجمعين الحمد [؟]
- (ب) - (١) الأكرمين الأفضل تون ... (٢) والعشرين من شوال عام خمسة وثمانين
- (ت) - (١) بنت القاضى ملك (٢) العادل توفيت (٣) يوم الخميس الثانى
- ـ ث - و تسعمائة < ١ >
- ج - (١) ... الدارس سبع عشر بعد (٢) ...
- ٢ - أ - (أ) - و لا يحيطون
- (ب) - (١) إلّا ياذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم (٢) والأرض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو
- (ت) - (١) يشى من علمه إلّا بما شاء (٢) وسع كرسيّته (٣) السموات
- ب - العلي العظيم (= قرآن، ٢، ٦٥٢/٥٥٢)
- ـ ت - (أ) - الله
- (ب) - (١) لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيوم (٢) و ما في الأرض من ذا الذي
- (ت) - (١) لا تأخذه سنة (٢) و لا نوم له ما في (٣) السموات
- ـ ت - يشفع عنده
- ـ ج - لا إله إلّا الله محمد رسول الله

<1> « - I - » devrait être lu dans l'ordre suivant : - I - A - (a) ; - I - A - (b) - (1fin) ; - I - A - (c) - (1-3) ; - I - A - (b) - (1début) ; - I - A - (b) - (2) ; - I - B ; - I - C - (a) ; - I - C - (b) - (1) ; - I - C - (c) - (1-3) ; - I - C - (b) - (2) ; - I - D.



Fig. 1 - Cimetière de Tuan Merah, tombe 1, stèle sud, face sud (De Vink, vers 1912).

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (a) ; - I - A - (b) - (1fin) ; - I - A - (c) - (1-3) ; - I - A - (b) - (1début) ;
 - I - A - (b) - (2) ; - I - B ; - I - C - (a) ; - I - C - (b) - (1) ; - I - C - (c) -
 (1-3) ; - I - C - (b) - (2) ; - I - D : Cette sépulture est celle dans laquelle a fait
 halte la dame libre (objet des désirs ?), la bienheureuse, vertueuse, honorable,
 compatissante, bien dirigée, (fille de) Hamza [?] Fu'âd (Quwwâd ?), qâdî
 qudât (le grand juge) des musulmans... vers la totalité des gens,... (?), les
 très honorables, pleins de mérites. (Il s'agit de ?) tun..., fille du qâdî Malik
 al-'Âdil. Elle est décédée le jeudi 22 shawwâl de l'année 985/2 janvier 1578.
*D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 22 shawwâl 985 tombe effectivement
 un jeudi.*

- I - E : ... 17 après...

Coran :

- II - C - (a) ; - II - C - (b) - (1) ; - II - C - (c) - (1-3) ; - II - C - (b) - (2) ; - II - D ;
 - II - A - (b) - (1) ; - II - A - (a) ; - II - A - (c) - (1-3) ; - II - A - (b) - (2) ; - II - B.

Textes religieux :

- II - E : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

TOMBE N° 02 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VII.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) cubique à pinacle qui a disparu.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest (fig. 2) ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Trois lignes partout.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (١) الرابع من (٢) شهر رمضان [؟] سنة (٣) إثنين وألف
- ب - (١) غفر الله ذنبه (٢) كلها و ... (٣) يوم الحساب
- ت - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) شمس الله [؟]
- ث - (١) قد توفي ... (٢) المرحوم الملقب . (٣) ... أحمد



Fig. 2 - Cimetière de Tuan Merah, tombe 2, stèle sud, face ouest (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

Épitaphe :

D - (1-3) ; C - (3) ; A - (1-3) ; B - (1-3) : Est décédé... le digne de miséricorde, surnommé... Ahmad (fils de ?) Shams allâh [?], le 4 du mois de ramadân [?] de l'année 1002 - que Dieu pardonne la totalité de ses péchés... le Jour du Jugement/24 mai 1594.

À déterminer :

- I - C - (1-2).

TOMBE N° 03 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2004). D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf V.

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

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 3) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Deux lignes partout.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Deux lignes partout.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- ١ - أ - (١) هذ القبر الذي (٢) حل في قاضي -
- ب - (١) القضاة مولا [كنا ؟] (٢) شمس (الدين لشهر [؟] الـ ٤) [؟]
- ت - (١) الملك (العادل) (٢) ألحقة الله
- ث - (١) بغفارنه (٢) الشامل
- ٢ - أ - (١) العلم قائما (٢) بالقسط (= قرآن، ٣، ١٨/١٦)
- ب - (١) ذلكم الله (٢) فائني توفكون (= قرآن، ٦، ٩٥)
- ت - (١) شهد الله أنه (٢) لا إله إلا
- ث - (١) هو الملائكة (٢) وأولوا

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (1-2) ; - I - B - (1-2) ; - I - C - (1-2) ; - I - D - (1-2) : Cette tombe est celle dans laquelle a fait halte le qâdî al-qudât (le grand juge), maître [?] Shams al-dîn... al-Malik al-'Âdil - que Dieu l'atteigne par son pardon complet !

Coran :

- II - B - (1-2) : VI, 95.
- II - C - (1-2) ; - II - D - (1-2) ; - II - A - (1-2) : III, 16-18.



Fig. 3 – Cimetière de Tuan Merah, tombe 3, stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

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

Deux stèles à très 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 lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne. E- sommet, un registre en deux lignes.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 4) ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire, une ligne. E- sommet, un registre en deux lignes.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- ١ - أ - (١) ذنوبها كلّها و (٢) أجعل منه رحمة في (٣) قبرها برحمتك يا -
- ب - أرحم الراحمين
- ت - (١) هذ القبر التي (٢) حلّت فيها .. (٣) سورى بنت شيخ فواد [؟]
- ث - غفر الله
- ج - (١) لا كلّ شئ ماحلا الله باطل وكلّ (٢) نعيم لا محالة زائل الدنيا فناء و (الآخرة)
(الآخرة) بقاء
- ٢ - أ - (١) ... و لا له ... (٢) اللهم ... (٣) .. الله ال
- ب - محمد رسول الله
- ت - (١) لله جل جلاله (٢) لا لله لا (٣) لا إله إلا
- ث - لله ...
- ج - (١) شهد الله أنه لا إله إلا هو والملائكة و (٢) أولوا العلم قائما بالقسط لا إله إلا هو العزيز
الحكيم [؟] (= فرآن، ١٨، ٣)



Fig. 4 – Cimetière de Tuan Merah, tombe 4, stèle nord, face nord (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

Épitaphe :

- I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D ; - I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B : Cette tombe est celle dans laquelle a fait halte... Sûrî, fille du shaykh Fu'âd [Quwwâd ?] - que Dieu pardonne la totalité de ses péchés et fasse de Sa grâce la miséricorde dans sa tombe ! Par Ta miséricorde, Ô le plus clément des miséricordieux !

Coran :

- II - E - (1-2) : III, 16/18.

Hadîth :

- I - E - (2 fin) : Ce bas monde est le néant et la vie future la durée.

Textes religieux :

- II - B : Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

- II - C - (3, 1, 2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu - que Sa majesté soit glorifiée ! Il n'y a de divinité que (Dieu).

Prière :

- II - A - (2) : Ô mon Dieu !...

Morceaux poétiques :

- I - E - (1-2 début) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ?

À déterminer :

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

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

Tombe à l'origine sans doute à deux stèles, à très grand pinacle et à ailes. Actuellement, il ne reste qu'une stèle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 5) ; 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 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ) الدنيا دار الغرور
- (ب) - (١) هذا نشان [؟] (٢) المرحومة (٣) بنت [؟] المسمى [؟] ..
- ب - بغرانه
- ت - (أ) الدنيا [كنا] دار التور
- (ب) - (١) ملك (٢) العادل (٣) تغمدتها
- ث - ...



Fig. 5 – Cimetière de Tuan Merah, tombe 5, stèle sud, face nord (De Vink, vers 1912).

Épitaphe :

- I - A - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - C - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - B : Ceci est le signe [?] de la digne de miséricorde, fille [?] du nommé [?]... Malik al-'Âdil - que Dieu la couvre de Son pardon !

Hadîth :

- A - (a) : Ce bas monde est la demeure de l'aveuglement.
- C - (a) : Ce bas monde [sic] est la demeure de la lumière.

À déterminer :

- D.

II. Cimetière de Blang Lam Ujung, Peulanggahan.

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Peulanggahan (Meunassa Kg. Djawa). Complex Blang Lam Oedjoeng ».]

La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004, certaines tombes ont été déracinées, renversées ou même cassées.

TOMBÉ N° 03 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf III.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existe plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à l'origine sans doute à deux stèles, cubiques et à grand pinacle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 6) ; D- face est. Partout : (a) sur la grande face, dans un compartiment rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés ; (b) sur le socle, quatre cartouches juxtaposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ)-(١) العمر ... (٢) ... (٣) ... ألا إيمانا الدنيا
- (ب)-(١) العزّ الدائم (٢) العزّ الدائم (٣) العزّ الدائم (٤) العزّ الدائم
- ب - (أ)-(١) كمنزل راكب .. عشيّاً (٢) و هو في الصبح راحل (٣) دمت [؟] الدنيا و نعيمها
دائم
- (ب)-(١) العزّ الدائم (٢) العزّ الدائم (٣) العزّ الدائم (٤) العزّ الدائم
- ت - (أ)-(١) هذـا) القبر السعيد المغفور (٢)ـ...ـ المعـلم حـسـن [؟] (٣) توفـي يـوم الأـثـئـين
عشـرون [؟]
- (ب)-(١) العزّ الدائم (٢) العزّ الدائم (٣) العزّ الدائم (٤) العزّ الدائم
- ث - (أ)-(١) خـمسـةـ أـيـامـ خـلـتـ مـنـ شـهـرـ جـمـادـىـ (٢)ـ الـآـخـرـةـ الـمـدـفـونـ (٣)ـ ...ـ الـمـغـفـرةـ
- (ب)-(١) العزّ الدائم (٢) العزّ الدائم (٣) العزّ الدائم (٤) العزّ الدائم

Épitaphe :

- C - (a) - (1-3) ; D - (a) - (1-3) : Ceci est la tombe du bienheureux, digne de pardon, ... le patron Hasan [?]. Il est décédé le lundi alors que vingt-cinq jours se sont écoulés du mois de djumâdâ II (= 26 djumâdâ II). Enterré... le pardon.

Prière :

- A - (b) - (1-4) : Puissance éternelle ! (répétition 4x)
- B - (b) - (1-4) : Puissance éternelle ! (répétition 4x)
- C - (b) - (1-4) : Puissance éternelle ! (répétition 4x)
- D - (b) - (1-4) : Puissance éternelle! (répétition 4x)

Morceaux poétiques :

- A - (a) - (3) ; B - (a) - (1-2) : Ce bas monde n'est-il pas comme un logis pour le voyageur : il s'y installe le soir et en repart le matin.
- A - (a) - (1-2) ; B - (a) - (3) : [Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaincante et tout délice nécessairement passager, à l'exception du jardin du Paradis ?] où la vie de délices est durable ? [?]

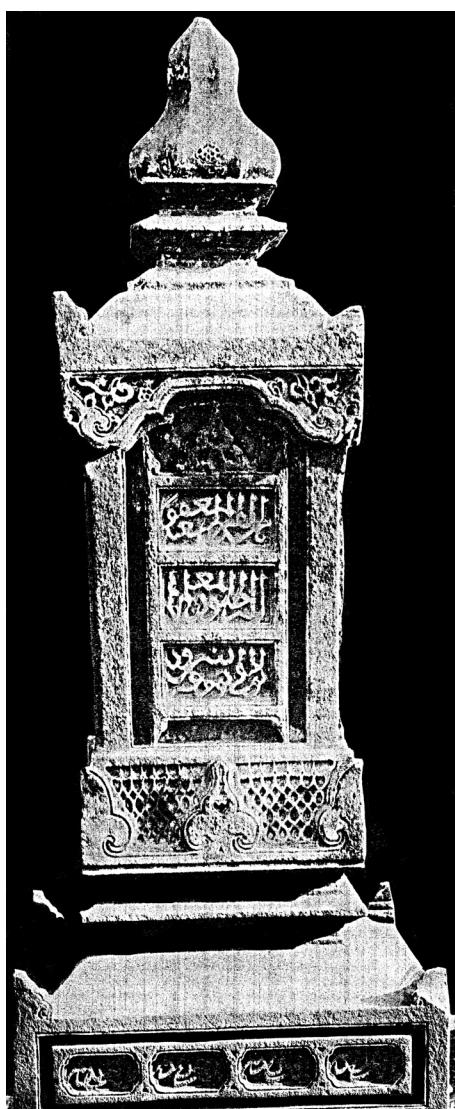


Fig. 6 – Cimetière de Blang Lam Ujung, tombe 3, stèle sud, face nord (De Vink, vers 1912).

III. Cimetière de Tungku Ba Asan I, Jawa.

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Djawa (Meunassa Kg. Djawa). Complex Teungkoe Ba Asan I ».]

La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004, certaines tombes ont été déracinées, renversées ou même cassées.

TOMBE N° 01 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf I.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existant plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à l'origine sans doute à deux stèles, cubiques et à grand pinacle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : dans un compartiment rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (٢) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ (٣) وَالصَّلَاةُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ
- ب - (١) ۴۴۴ (٢) ۴۴۴ (٣) >
- ت - (١) وَآلِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ ... اللَّهُ (٢) (٣) + + + ... + + +
- ث - (١) اللَّهُمَّ إِرْحِمْ صَاحِبَ [؟] (٢) هَذَا الْمَرْقَدُ الَّذِي (٣) اخْتَارَ مَظْلُومٌ [؟]

<1> - B - (1-3) : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

Textes religieux :

- A- (1-3) ; C - (1) : Au nom de Dieu le Clément, le Miséricordieux. Louange à Dieu, Seigneur des Mondes, et bénédiction sur Son Envoyé et à la totalité de sa famille... Dieu.

Prière :

- D - (1-3) : Ô mon Dieu ! Accorde Ta pitié à celui qui se trouve dans ce lieu de repos, celui qui a préféré... opprimé [?] !

À déterminer :

- B - (1-3).

TOMBE N° 02 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf II.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existaient plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à une ou à deux stèles.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

Aucune des photos de cette tombe, prises par De Vink vers 1911, ne se trouve actuellement (en 2009) ni à Jakarta, ni à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Leyde.

TOMBE N° 09 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf IX.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existaient plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à une ou à deux stèles.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915). Aucune des photos de cette tombe, prises par De Vink vers 1911, ne se trouve actuellement (en 2009) ni à Jakarta, ni à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Leyde.

TOMBE N° 10 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf X.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existaient plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à l'origine sans doute à deux stèles, cubiques et à grand pinacle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : dans un compartiment rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - <1> ﴿٢﴾ ﴿٣﴾ ﴿٤﴾ ﴿٥﴾ (١) .. رمضان سنة أربع وثمانين (٢) وتسعمائة
ب - (١) الذى توفى لله [؟] فى يوم الإثنين (٢) .. رمضان سنة أربع وثمانين (٣) وتسعمائة
من هجرة النبوة ..
ت - <2> ﴿٢﴾ ﴿٣﴾ ﴿٤﴾ (١) ..
ث - <2> ﴿٢﴾ ﴿٣﴾ ﴿٤﴾ (١)

<1> - A - (1-3) : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

<2> - C - (1-3) et - D - (1-3) : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

Épitaphe :

- B - (1-3) : Celui qui est décédé à Dieu le lundi... ramadân de l'année 984 de l'hégire du Prophète... / 26 novembre, ou 3, ou 10, ou 17 décembre 1576.

À déterminer :

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

TOMBE N° 11a du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XI.

Mais il semblerait, d'après l'analyse des photos de De Vink à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus, que sous le n° 11 seraient classées deux tombes différentes : la présente fiche concerne la tombe n° 11a du cimetière.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existe plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à deux stèles, cubiques et à grand pinacle (le pinacle manque sur la stèle nord).

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (pas de photos) ; B- face ouest (pas de photos) ; C- face nord ; D- face est (pas de photos). Partout : (a) au sommet du pinacle, dans un cadre rectangulaire, registre ; (b) sur la grande face, deux niveaux de deux paires formées de segments juxtaposés, chaque segment étant rempli d'un registre (1-4) ; (c) au-dessous, en bas de la grande face, dans un cadre rectangulaire, registre ; (d) sur le socle, dans un compartiment rectangulaire allongé, une ligne.

- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (pas de photos) ; B- face ouest (pas de photos) ; C- face nord ; D- face est (pas de photos). Partout : (a) au sommet du pinacle, dans un cadre rectangulaire, registre ; (b) sur la grande face, deux niveaux de deux paires formées de segments juxtaposés, chaque segment étant rempli d'un registre (1-4) ; (c) au-dessous, en bas de la grande face, dans un cadre rectangulaire, registre ; (d) sur le socle, dans un compartiment rectangulaire allongé, une ligne.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1135, 1136 (?) (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- ۱ - ۱ - ۹۹۹۹ -

- ب - <۱> ۹۹۹۹ -

- ت - (أ) الموت كأس و كل الناس شاربه

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

(ت) الله لا إله إلا هو الحي

(ث) لا إله إلا الله عند [؟] كل ... لا إله (ا) لا (ا) الله عند [؟] ..

- ث - ۹۹۹۹ -

- ۲ - ۱ - ۹۹۹۹ -

- ب - <۲> ۹۹۹۹ -

- ت - أ - (أ)

+++++ (٤) +++. (٣) +++. (٢) +++. (١)

(ت) (

(ث) لا إله إلا الله الموجود في كل زمان لا إله إلا

- ث - <۲> ۹۹۹۹ -

<1> - I - A - et - I - B - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

<2> - I - D - ; - II - A - et - II - B - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

<3> - II - D - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

Hadîth :

- I - C - (a) : La mort est une coupe dont tout le monde boit.

Textes religieux :

- I - C - (c) : Dieu - nulle Divinité excepté Lui -, est le Vivant.

- I - C - (d) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu auprès de [?] tout... Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu auprès de [?].

- II - C - (d) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui existe de tout temps. Il n'y a de divinité.

À déterminer :

- I - B ; - I - C - (b) ; - I - D ; - II - A ; - II - B ; - II - D.

TOMBE N° 11b du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XI.

Mais il semblerait, d'après l'analyse des photos de De Vink à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus, que sous le n° 11 seraient classées deux tombes différentes : la présente fiche concerne la tombe n° 11b du cimetière.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existant plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à l'origine sans doute à deux stèles, à très grand pinacle et à ailes. Actuellement, il ne reste qu'une stèle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 7) ; B- face ouest (pas de photos) ; C- face nord (pas de photos) ; D- face est (pas de photos). Partout : dans le grand champ, trois registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1137, 1138 (?) (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (١) هذا القبر عبدة (عبدة؟) الله الملك (٢) بنت خوجه محمود بن خوجه سيف الدين توفيت يوم الخميس بعد (٣) الظهر إثنا عشر [وعشرين؟] من شهر الله رجب المظفر الله

- ب - ٩٩٩٩

- ت - ٩٩٩٩

- ث - < ١ > ٩٩٩٩



Fig. 7 – Cimetière de Tungku Ba Asan I, tombe 11b, stèle sud, face sud (De Vink, vers 1912).

<1> B - D : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

Épitaphe :

- A - (1-3) : Cette tombe est celle de la servante de Dieu, le Roi... fille de khawâdjâ Mahmûd, fils de khawâdjâ Sayf al-dîn. Elle est décédée le jeudi, après midi, le 12 [ou 22 ?] du mois de Dieu radjab - que Dieu le rende victorieux !

À déterminer :

- B ; C ; D.

TOMBE N° 13 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XIII.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existe plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à l'origine sans doute à deux stèles, trapues, à pinacle et à ailes. Actuellement, il ne reste qu'une stèle.

Stèle sud : A - face sud ; B - face ouest ; C - face nord ; D - face est. B et C : deux registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

<1> ۹۹۹۹ - أ -

- ب - (۱) بنت محمد (۲) شاه بن

<۲> ۹۹۹۹ - ت -

- ث - (۱) يوم الثلاثاء (۲) ست و عشرون

<1> - A - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.
<2> - C - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

Épitaphe :

- B - (1-2) ; D - (1-2) : Fille de Muhammad shâh, fils de... le mardi 26.

À déterminer :

- A ; C.

TOMBE N° 14 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XIV.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existe plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à l'origine sans doute à deux stèles, cubiques et à grand pinacle. Actuellement, il ne reste qu'une stèle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est (fig. 8). Trois lignes partout.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (١) الملك الظاهر بن [؟] الملك (٢) الأجل ... محمد بن علاء [؟] الدين (٣) فات يوم

الثلاثاء ثمان وعشرين من شهر

- ب - (١) رمضان المتن من سنة ثلث و تسعين و تسعماة (٢) من الهجرة النبوية اللهم [؟] ...

(٣) فجعل ...

- ت - (١) ٤٤٤٤ (٢) ٤٤٤٤ (٣) < ١ >

- ث - (١) فضلا ... (٢) محمد البشير ... العادل (٣) صلى الله



Fig. 8 – Cimetière de Tungku Ba Asan I, tombe 14, stèle sud, face est (De Vink, vers 1912).

<1> - C - (1-3) : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

Épitaphe :

- A - (1-3) ; B - (1-2début) : al-Malik al-Zâhir, fils de [?] al-Malik al-Adjall... Muhammad, fils de 'Alâ' [?] al-dîn. Il a péri le mardi 28 du mois de ramadân le Solide de l'année 993 de l'hégire du Prophète / 23 septembre 1585.

D'après les Tableaux de Wiistenfeld, le 28 ramadân 993 tombe un lundi.

Textes religieux :

- D - (1-3) : Muhammad l'Annonciateur... al-'Âdil (le juste)... - que Dieu Bénisse !

Prière :

- B - (2 fin-3) : Ô mon Dieu ! [?]... et fais que...

À déterminer :

- C - (1-3).

IV. Cimetière de Tungku Ba Asan II, Jawa.

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Djawa (Meunassa Kg. Djawa). Complex Teungkoe Ba Asan II ».]

La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004, certaines tombes ont été déracinées, renversées ou même cassées.

TOMBE N° 07 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VII.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existant plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Tombe à l'origine sans doute à deux stèles, trapues, à pinacle et à ailes. De Vink n'a photographié qu'une seule stèle, disparue (?) depuis.

Stèle sud (?) : A- face sud (fig. 9) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est ; E- sur le sommet. 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. E : un registre allongé.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ) ... توفيت يوم
- (ب)-(أ) الخميس من شهر ذى (٢) الحجّة سنة ألف من هجرة (٣) النبوة عليه أفضـل
- ب - الصلاة وأركـى
- ت - (أ) - ألا كلـ شيء ما خـلا
- (ب)-(أ) الله باطل و كلـ نعيم (٢) لا محالة زائل سوى (٣) جنة الفردوس فإن [؟] نعيمها
- ث - لا إله إلا الله
- ح - هذه القبرة السعيدة المغفورة ...



Fig. 9 – Cimetière de Tungku Ba Asan II, tombe 7, stèle sud, face sud (De Vink, vers 1912).

Épitaphe :

- E ; A - (a) ; A - (b) - (1-3) ; B : Cette tombe est celle de la bienheureuse, digne de pardon... elle est décédée le jeudi du mois de dhû l-hidjdja de l'an 1000 de l'hégire du Prophète - sur lui la meilleure bénédiction et la plus pure (salutation) !

Textes religieux :

- D : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

Morceaux poétiques :

- C - (a) ; C - (b) - (1-3) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager, à l'exception du jardin du Paradis où la vie de délices (est durable) ?

V. Quelque part dans le Kampung Jawa, le long de la rivière d'Aceh

La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004.

TOMBE déracinée, vue partiellement enterrée le long de la rivière d'Aceh, par Guillot/Kalus en 2004, avant le tsunami de 2004.

Une stèle à accolade polylobée. À l'origine, la stèle faisait probablement partie d'une tombe à deux stèles.

Stèle sud (?) : A- face sud (?) (fig. 10) ; B- face ouest (?) ; C - face nord (?) ; D- face est (?). Trois lignes partout.

- أ - (١) أَلَا كُلَّ شَيْءٍ مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ بِا (٢) طَلْ (باطل) وَ كُلَّ نَعِيمٍ لَا مَحَالَةٌ زَائِلٌ (٣) ...

- ب - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...

- ت - (١) ... (٢) ... سَبِّحَنَ اللَّهَ ... (٣) أَلَا كُلَّ شَيْءٍ مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ

- ث - (١) بَاطِلٌ وَ كُلَّ نَعِيمٍ (٢) لَا مَحَالَةٌ زَائِلٌ [؟] ... (٣) ... اللَّهُ ...



Fig. 10 – Kampung Jawa, tombe déracinée, stèle sud (?), face sud (?) (Guillot/Kalus 2004).

Textes religieux :

- C - (2) : Gloire à Dieu !

Morceaux poétiques :

- A - (1-2) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ?
- C - (3) ; D - (1-2début) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ?

À déterminer :

- A - (3) ; B - (1-3) ; C - (1) ; D - (2fin-3).

VI. Quelque part dans le Kampung Jawa, dans une allée perpendiculaire à la rivière, deux stèles placées au bord de la route. La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami.

STELE N° 1 (de deux stèles). Vue par Guillot/Kalus en 2004, avant le tsunami de 2004.

Une stèle cubique. À l'origine, la stèle faisait probablement partie d'une tombe à deux stèles.

Stèle nord (?) : A-D : quatre faces (A = fig. 11). Trois lignes partout.

أ - (١) الأرض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده (٢) إلّا يإذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم (٣) و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٦ / ٢٥٥)
ب - (١) (٢) +++++ (٣) +++++
ت - (١) (٢) +++++(٣)< ١ >
ث - (١) الله لا إله إلّا هو (٢) الحي القائم لا تأخذه سنة (٣) و لا نوم له ما في السموات و ما في

<1> B et C : Lors de l'enregistrement de la stèle par Guillot/Kalus, les deux faces étaient illisibles. Mais à l'origine, elles contenaient sans doute la suite du Cor. II, 256/255.

Coran :

- D - (1-3) ; A - (1-3) : II, 256/255.



Fig. 11 – Kampung Jawa, tombe 1, face A
(Guillot/Kalus 2004).

Quelque part dans le Kampung Jawa, dans une allée perpendiculaire à la rivière, deux stèles placées au bord de la route. La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004.

STELE N° 2 (de deux stèles). Vue par Guillot/Kalus en 2004, avant le tsunami de 2004.

Une stèle cubique. À l'origine, la stèle faisait probablement partie d'une tombe à deux stèles.

Stèle sud (?) : A-D : quatre faces (A = fig. 12). Trois lignes partout.

أ - (١) الملك الظاهر بن ملك (٢) الأمراء .. محمد بن .. الحاج [؟] (٣) .. يوم الثلاثاء ..
عشرين جماد ..
ب - (١) .+.+. (٢) هي ... (٣) ...
+++++ (٣) +++++ (٢) +++++ (١)
ت - (٣) +++++ (٢) +++++ (١)
ث - (١) +++++ (٢) +++++ (٣)



Fig. 12 – Kampung Jawa, tombe 2, face A
(Guillot/Kalus 2004).

Épitaphe :

- A - (1-3) : al-Malik al-Zâhir, fils du prince des émirs... Muhammad, fils de... le pèlerin [?]... le mardi... 20 djumâdâ ..

À déterminer :

- B - (1-3).

VII. Quelque part dans le Kampung Jawa, dans la cour de la maison de Mme Murni (en 2004). La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004.

Vue par Guillot/Kalus en 2004, avant le tsunami de 2004.

STÈLE cubique (dont le sommet est abîmé). À l'origine, la stèle faisait probablement partie d'une tombe à deux stèles.

Stèle nord (?) : A-D : quatre faces (A = fig. 13). Trois lignes partout.

- أ - (١) هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ (٢) هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي (٣) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ

- ب - (١) .+.+ .(٢) .+.+ .(٣)

- ت - (١) .+.+ .(٢) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا (٣)

.+.+ .(٣) .+.+ .(٢) .+.+ .(١)

- ث -



Fig. 13 – Kampung Jawa, tombe 3, face A
(Guillot/Kalus 2004).

Textes religieux :

- A - (1) : Il est le Clément, le Miséricordieux.
- A - (2-3) : Il est Dieu à l'exception duquel il n'y a de divinité.
- C - (2) : Il n'y a de divinité que.

VIII. Quelque part dans le Kampung Jawa, dans la cour de la maison de Mme Kasuma (en 2004). La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004.

Vue par Guillot/Kalus en 2004, avant le tsunami de 2004.

STÈLE à accolade. A l'origine, la stèle faisait probablement partie d'une tombe à deux stèles.

Stèle sud (?) : A-D : quatre faces (B = fig. 14). Trois registres superposés partout.

- أ - (١) ... (٢) العادل ... سيد الأنبياء (٣) ... ألطاف [؟]
- ب - (١) إنما الدنيا فناء (٢) و الآخرة الدنيا [؟] [٣] دار ...
- ت - (١) القضاء [الفضائل] [؟] ... (٢) المؤمن [مولى] [؟] .. القبر . (٣) ...
- ث - (١) الآخرة .+...+. (٢) .+...+. (٣) .+...+. (٤) .+...+. (٥) .+...+. (٦)



Fig. 14 – Kampung Jawa, stèle à accolade, face B (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

Épitaphe :

- A - (2-3) : al-‘Adil (le juste)... le seigneur des Prophètes...

Hadîth :

- B - (1-2 début) : Ce bas monde est le néant et la vie future (la durée).
- B - (2fin-3) : Ce bas monde est la demeure...

À déterminer :

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

IX. Quelque part dans le Kampung Jawa, ensemble funéraire au milieu des maisons. La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004.

TOMBE. Une seule tombe vraiment inscrite a été retenue. Vue par Guillot/Kalus en 2004, avant le tsunami de 2004.

Dalle rectangulaire (à l'origine peut-être pourvue à une extrémité, ou aux deux extrémités, d'une ou de deux stèles).

Sur la surface supérieure de la dalle, dans un cartouche de forme presque circulaire et polylobé, cinq lignes (fig. 15).

(١) هنا (٢) تراب نشان (٣) شهيدندر معتبر (٤) خان معزول ابن لفسيمان [لقميمان]؟ (٥) خان
فالى



Fig. 15 – Kampung Jawa, tombe
(Guillot/Kalus 2004).

Épitaphe :

- (1-5) Cette poussière est le signe de l'estimé shahbandar (chef de la douane) khân Ma'zûl, fils de... khân Fâlî.

X. Cimetière de Tungku Glompang, Jawa

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Djawa (Meunassa Kg. Djawa). Complex Teungkoe Glompang ».]

La zone a été bouleversée par le tsunami de 2004, certaines tombes ont été déracinées, renversées ou même cassées.

TOMBE N° 01 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf I.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existant plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Stèle en forme de colonne façonnée verticalement en huit faces ; la base de la colonne s'élargit pour former un socle.

Huit faces (A-H) (E = fig. 16). Partout : (a) dans trois cartouches superposés et reliés verticalement, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un cartouche, registre ; (c) en bas, sur le socle, dans un étroit cartouche allongé horizontalement, registre.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ-(أ)-(١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ... الأَحَد شَهْر رَجَب سَنَة ٩٩٧
 - (ب)- العَزِيز الدَّائِم // اللَّهُ مُحَمَّد
 - (ت)- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- ب-(أ)-(١) ... (٢) ... (٣) بْنُ أَحْمَدَ غَفَرَ اللَّهُ ...
 - (ب)- اللَّهُ مُحَمَّد // العَزِيز الدَّائِم
 - (ت)- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- ت-(أ)-(١) أَلَا كُلَّ شَيْءٍ مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ بَاطِلٌ (٢) وَ كُلَّ نَعِيمٍ لَا مُحَالَةٌ زَائِلٌ (٣) سُوَى جَنَّةَ الْفَرْدَوسِ فَإِنْ نَعِيمُهَا دَائِمٌ [؟]
 - (ب)- اللَّهُ مُحَمَّد // العَزِيز الدَّائِم
 - (ت)- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- ث-(أ)-(١) قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ [٤٤٤] ... (٢) ... الْمُؤْمِنُ ... (٣) ...
 - (ب)- العَزِيز الدَّائِم // اللَّهُ مُحَمَّد
 - (ت)- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- ج-(أ)-(١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
 - (ب)- اللَّهُ مُحَمَّد // العَزِيز الدَّائِم
 - (ت)- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- ح-(أ)-(١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
 - (ب)- اللَّهُ مُحَمَّد // العَزِيز الدَّائِم
 - (ت)- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- خ-(أ)-(١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
 - (ب)- اللَّهُ مُحَمَّد // العَزِيز الدَّائِم
 - (ت)- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
- د-(أ)-(١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
 - (ب)- اللَّهُ مُحَمَّد // العَزِيز الدَّائِم
 - (ت)- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

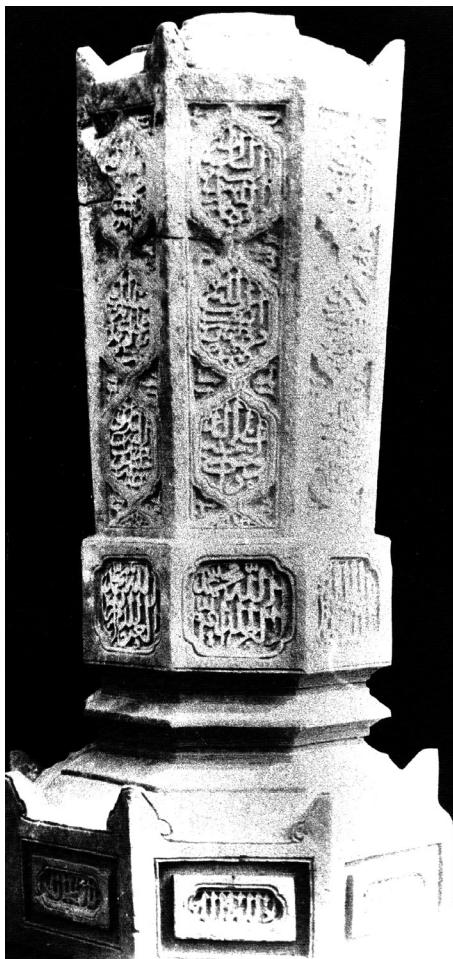


Fig. 16 – Cimetière de Tungku Glompang, tombe 1, face E (De Vink, vers 1912).

Épitaphe :

- I - B - (a) - (3) ; - I - A - (a) - (3 fin) : ... ibn Ahmad - que Dieu (lui) pardonne !
... dimanche du mois de radjab de l'année 997 (= 6 ou 13 ou 20 ou 27 radjab)
/ 21 ou 28 mai ou 4 ou 11 juin.

Hadîth :

- I - D - (a) - (1début) : Il a dit - le salut soit sur lui ! : ...

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (b) : Puissance éternelle. // Dieu, Muhammad.
- I - A - (c) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - B - (b) : Dieu, Muhammad. // Puissance éternelle.

- I - B - (c) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - C - (b) : Dieu, Muhammad. // Puissance éternelle.
- I - C - (c) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - D - (b) : Puissance éternelle. // Dieu, Muhammad.
- I - D - (c) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - E - (b) : Dieu, Muhammad. // Puissance éternelle.
- I - E - (c) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - F - (b) : Dieu, Muhammad. // Puissance éternelle.
- I - F - (c) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - G - (b) : Dieu, Muhammad. // Puissance éternelle.
- I - G - (c) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - H - (b) : Dieu, Muhammad. // Puissance éternelle.
- I - H - (c) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

Morceaux poétiques :

- I - C - (a) - (1-3) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager, à l'exception du jardin du Paradis où la vie de délices est durable ? [?]

À déterminer :

- I - A - (a) - (1-3début) ; I - B - (a) - (1-2) ; - I - D - (a) - (1fin-3) ; - I - E - (a) - (1-3) ; - I - F - (a) - (1-3) ; - I - G - (a) - (1-3) ; - I - H - (a) - (1-3).

XI. Cimetière de Blang Tutung, Pande

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Pandé (Meunassa Baroe). Complex Blang Toetoeng ».]

TOMBE N° 04 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf IV.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existant plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) à pinacle et à ailes, sur socle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 17) ; D- face est. A et C : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois lignes. B et D : dans un compartiment rectangulaire vertical, deux lignes.

Reproduction :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (١) أفضل الصلوات وأركى [؟] التحيّة (٢) حكم المنية في البرية جار [؟] (٣) و ما هذه الدنيا بدار قرار
- ب - (١) الدنيا ساعة (٢) فاجعلها طاعة
- ت - (١) هذه القبرة المغفورة التي ... (٢) ... يوم الثلاثاء [؟] (٣) .. سبع من شهر صفر [؟]
من سنة ستّ [؟] و خمسين
- ث - (١) و تسعمائة من هجرة (٢) النبي [النبيّة؟] عليه



Fig. 17 – Cimetière de Blang Tutung, tombe 4,
stèle sud, face nord (De Vink, vers 1912).

Épitaphe :

- C - (1-3) ; D - (1-2) ; A - (1) : Cette tombe est celle qui est digne de pardon, celle qui... le mardi [...]... 7 du mois de safar [...] de l'année 956 [...] de l'hégire du Prophète - sur lui les meilleures bénédictions et la plus pure [...] salutation ! / 7 mars 1549.

D'après les tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 7 safar 956 tombe un jeudi.

Hadîth :

- A - (2-3) : L'ordre du trépas concernant la créature s'exécute. Qu'est-ce qu'il est, ce bas monde, par rapport à la Demeure de stabilité ?
- B - (1-2) : Ce bas monde n'est qu'un moment, passe-le dans l'obéissance !

TOMBE N° 05 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf V.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existaient plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) à pinacle et à ailes, sur socle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 18) ; 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 quasi rectangulaire, un registre.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ) فجعلها طاعة
- (ب)-(1) بنت السلطان (2) علاء الدين بن (3) السلطان على
- ب - مقابة
- ت - (أ) الدنيا ساعة
- (ب)-(1) هذا القبر (2) السعيدة السعدية (3) المسمى ست اوي
- ث - شاه

Épitaphe :

- C - (b) - (1-3) ; D ; A - (b) - (1-3) ; B : Cette tombe est celle de la bienheureuse, sous d'heureux auspices, nommée sitt Ubî shâh, fille du sultan 'Alâ' al-dîn, fils du sultan 'Alî Mughâya.

Hadîth :

- C - (a) ; A - (a) : Ce bas monde n'est qu'un moment, passe-le dans l'obéissance !



Fig. 18 – Cimetière de Blang Tutung, tombe 5, stèle sud, face nord (De Vink, vers 1912).

TOMBE N° 07 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VII.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existe plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) à accolade polylobée.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois registres rectangulaires superposés.

Reproduction :

Coll. De Vink nos 1098, 1099, 1100, 1001 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (١) مضى الدهر والأيام والذنب حاصل وجاء رسول الموعة [كذا] (٢) والقلب غافل تعتمل في الدنيا غرور وحشره وعيشك في الدنيا (٣) محال وباطل ألا إنما الدنيا كمتزل راكب
- ب - (١) أرى طالب الدنيا وإن طال عمره (٢) ونال من الدنيا سروراً وأنعمها كبانٍ بني [؟] (٣) بنيانه فأقامه فلما استوى ماقد بناه تهدم [؟]
- ت - (١) هذ القبر ... الحبيب الملقب [؟] .. (٢) توفى إلى رحمة الله يوم الثلاثاء ... (٣) سنة إحدى وخمسين [؟] وتسعمائة [؟] من هجرة النبي المصطفى عليه سلام
- ث - (١) أرى طالب الدنيا وإن طال عمره (٢) ونال من الدنيا سروراً وأنعمها كبانٍ بني (٣) بنيانه فأقامه فلما استوى ماقد بناه تهدم [؟]

Épitaphe :

C - (1-3) : Cette tombe (est celle du)... au lignage connu, surnommé [?]... Il est décédé (pour partir) vers la miséricorde de Dieu le mardi... de l'année 951 [?] de l'hégire du Prophète, l'Élu - le salut soit sur lui ! / 1544-1545.

Morceaux poétiques :

- A - (1-3début) : Le temps et les jours se sont écoulés et tu n'en as tiré que péché. À la venue de l'envoyé de la mort, ton cœur reste insouciant. Tu t'abandonnes, dans ce bas monde, aux vanités et aux repentirs et ta vie ici-bas est absurde et vaine.
- A - (3fin) : Ce bas monde n'est-il pas comme un logis pour le voyageur ?
- B - (1-3) : Celui qui, sa vie durant, à la recherche de ce bas monde s'y accroche et en obtient de la joie et des richesses, est comme celui qui bâtit sa maison pour y demeurer : quand tout est achevé, s'écroule sa construction. [?]
- D - (1-3) : Celui qui, sa vie durant, à la recherche de ce bas monde s'y accroche et en obtient de la joie et des richesses, est comme celui qui bâtit sa maison pour y demeurer : quand tout est achevé, s'écroule sa construction.

TOMBE N° 14 du cimetière, d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XIV.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semblerait que le cimetière n'existe plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) à accolade polylobée.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 19) ; D- face est. A et C : trois registres rectangulaires superposés. B et D : pas de photos disponibles.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n° 1102 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (١) ٩٩٩ (٢) ٩٩٩ (٣) ٩٩٩

- ب - <١> ٩٩٩

- ت - (١) هذ القبر المصنون ... الشیخ العاقل المشهور تون [؟] (٢) توفی إلى رحمة الله يوم الجمعة الناسع من شهر ذی الحجّة سنة ثلاثين و (٣) و تسعمائة من انتقال خیر البشر [؟]
المصطفیة عليه الصلوات و التحیة

- ث - <٢> ٩٩٩



Fig. 19 – Cimetière de Blang Tutung, tombe 14, stèle sud, face nord (De Vink, vers 1912).

<1> - A - (1-3) et B - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

<2> - D - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

Épitaphe :

- C - (1-3) : Cette tombe bien gardée (appartient à)... le shaykh instruit, célèbre, Tun [?]. Il est décédé (pour partir) vers la miséricorde de Dieu le vendredi 9 du mois de dhû l-hidjdja de l'année 930 de l'émigration du meilleur du genre humain, l'Elu - sur lui les bénédictions et la salutation !

À déterminer :

- A - (1-3) ; B ; D.

TOMBE N° 24 du cimetière, d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf XXIV.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus entre 1999 et 2008. Il semble que le cimetière n'existe plus déjà avant le tsunami de 2004.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) cubique à pinacle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout (?) trois registres rectangulaires superposés.

Reproduction :

Coll. De Vink n° 1103 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Zevende lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

أ -	؟؟؟ (٣) ？؟؟ (٢) ？؟؟ (١)
ب -	؟؟؟ (٣) ？؟؟ (٢) ？؟؟ (١)
ت -	غفر اللہ لها (٣) ... (٢) ... (١)
ث -	<١> ？؟؟ (٣) ？؟؟ (٢) ？؟؟ (١)

<1> - A - ; - B - ; -D - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus lors du déchiffrement.

Épitaphe :

- C - - que Dieu lui pardonne !

À déterminer :

- A - (1-3) ; B - (1-3) ; D - (1-3).

XII. Cimetière de Jarat Raya, dans Kampung Brawe (?)

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Djarat Raja ».]

TOMBE N° 08 du cimetière, d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VIII.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2004.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) cubique à pointes dans les angles supérieurs et à pinacle (cassé).

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest (fig. 20) ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) dans le champ principal, quatre registres rectangulaires superposés ; (b) à droite et à gauche du champ principal (a), une ligne verticale ; (c) sur le socle, dans quatre cartouches juxtaposés, registre.

Reproduction :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Achtste lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ) - (١) (٢) سنة خمس و تسعين و تسعمائة يوم الأحد (٣) (٤) الدنيا فنا و الآخرة بقا
- (ب) - (١) لا فنا إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقر ... (٢) لا فنا إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقر ...
- (ت) - (١) (٢) (٣) (٤)
- ب - (أ) - (١) (٢) (٣) (٤)
- (ب) - (١) لا فنا إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقر ... (٢) لا فنا إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقر ...
- (ت) - (١) ألا كلّ شيء ماحلا (٢) الله باطل (٣) وكلّ نعيم (٤) لا محالة زائل
- ت - (أ) - (١) (٢) (٣) (٤)
- (ب) - (١) لا فنا إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقر ... (٢) لا فنا إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقر ...
- (ت) - (١) رسول الله (٢) ... عليه ... (٣) لو كانت الدنيا (٤) تدوم لأهلهما لكان
- ث - (أ) - (١) (٢) (٣) (٤) الدنيا فنا و الآخرة بقا
- (ب) - (١) لا فنا إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقر ... (٢) لا فنا إلّا على لا سيف إلّا ذو الفقر ...
- (ت) - (١) الدنيا دار ... (٢) (٣) لدنيا دار ... (٤)

Épitaphe :

- A - (2) : L'année 995, dimanche / 1586-1587.

Hadîth :

- A - (a) - (4) : Ce bas monde est le néant et la vie future la durée.
- D - (a) - (4) : Ce bas monde est le néant et la vie future la durée.

Textes religieux :

- A - (b) - (1) ; A - (b) - (2) ; B - (b) - (1) ; B - (b) - (2) ; C - (b) - (1) ; C - (b) - (2).
- D - (b) - (1) ; D - (b) - (2) : Il n'y a de héros que 'Alî, il n'y a de sabre que dhû l-fiqâr... (répétition).

Morceaux poétiques :

- B - (c) - (1-4) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ?
- C - (c) - (3-4) : Si ce bas monde était durable pour les hommes, alors (l'Envoyé de Dieu y serait vivant).

À déterminer :

- A - (a) - (1) ; - A - (a) - (3) ; A - (c) - (1-4) ; B - (a) - (1-4) ; C - (c) - (1-2) ; D - (a) - (1-3) ; D - (c) - (1-4).



Fig. 20 – Cimetière de Jarat Raya, tombe 8, stèle sud, face ouest (De Vink, vers 1912).

XIII. Cimetière de Cot Ba Beum, dans Kampung Brawe

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Tjot Ba Beum (Kampong Brawe) ».]

TOMBE N° 02 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf II.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2004.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) cubique à pointes dans les angles supérieurs et à pinacle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 21) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : (a) dans le champ principal, quatre registres rectangulaires superposés ; (b) à droite et à gauche du champ principal (a), une ligne verticale.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Achtste lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ) - (١) ... اللهم اغفره (٢) و اسحقه و اجعل العبرة .. (٣) في ... إلى يوم القيمة (٤) ...
- (ب) - (١) ... خلق ... (٢)
- ب - (أ) - (١) الذي توفي في يوم (٢) الثلاثاء السابع (٣) وعشرين من شهر رمضان (٤) ...
- (ب) - (١) مقرأ بالذنوب قد دعاكما فإن تغفر فأنت لذاك أهل وإن تطرد فمن يرحم سواكما (٢)
- ت - (أ) - (١) سنة سبع و ثمانين (٢) و تسعمائة من هجرة النبي (٣) صلى الله عليه وسلم (٤) و على آله و أصحابه [؟] (ب) - (١) (٢)
- ث - (أ) - (١) هذا المرقد و .. (٢) الأعظم اوري [سرى؟] عكيكا [؟] (٣) .. راج فهاق [فهاؤ؟ فهالو؟] ... (٤) الهمي عبدك العاصي أتاكا (ب) - (١) ... بالرحمة ... صاحب كل (٢) ..

Épitaphe :

- D - (a) - (1-3) ; B - (a) - (1-3) ; C - (a) - (1-4) : Ceci est le lieu de repos et... très grand Urî [srî?] ‘Akîkâ [?]... raja Pahâq [Pahâv? Pahâlû?]..., qui est décédé le mardi 27 du mois de ramadân de l'année 987 de l'hégire du Prophète - que Dieu le bénisse et le sauve, (ainsi que) sa famille et ses compagnons [?] ! / 17 novembre 1579.

D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 27 ramadân 987 tombe effectivement un mardi.

Prière :

- A - (a) - (1-3) : Ô mon Dieu ! Pardonne-lui et... [?] et fais les larmes [?]... jusqu'au jour de la résurrection.
 - D - (a) - (4) ; B - (b) - (1) : Mon Dieu, Ton désobéissant serviteur est venu vers Toi reconnaissant ses péchés et il T'a prié. Si Tu (lui) pardones - Tu en as la qualité -, et si Tu (le) rejettes, alors en qui, à part Toi, peut-il mettre son espoir ?

À déterminer :

- A - (a) - (4) ; A - (b) - (1-2) ; B - (a) - (4) ; B - (b) - (2) ; C - (b) - (1-2) ; D - (b) - (1-2).



Fig. 21 – Cimetière de Cot Ba Beum, tombe 2, stèle sud, face sud (De Vink, vers 1912).

TOMBE N° 05 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf V.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2004.

Une stèle trapue (à l'origine deux ?) à pinacle et à ailes, sur socle.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un petit cartouche, registre ; (b) dans les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre ; (c) plus bas, dans un grand champ, trois registres superposés. B et D : (a) sur le côté de l'aile, un registre rectangulaire ; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire, registre.

Reproduction :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Achtste lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ) - قال الشاعر
- (ب) - (1) لو كانت الدنيا تدوم لأهلها لكان رسو (2) ل الله فيها حيَا و باقيا ...
- (ت) - (1) قد ارتحلت من دار الفنا... دار (2) البقا يوم الجمعة ثلاث [?] و العشرين
(3) رمضان من سنة ست [?] و خمسين [?] و تسعمائة
- ب - (أ) - لا إله إلا الله لا إله لها
- (ب) - غفر الله لها
- ت - (أ) - قال الشاعر
- (ب) - (1) ألا كلّ شيء ما خلا الله باطل و كلّ (2) نعيم لا محالة زائل قال الشاعر
- (ت) - (1) إنما الدنيا فناء و الآخرة بقاء [?] ... (2) الدنيا ظالمة و الآخرة ... (3)
الدنيا ساعة و الآخرة ...
- ث - (أ) - لا إله إلا الله لا إله لها
- (ب) - غفر الله لها

Épitaphe :

- A - (c) - (1-3) ; B - (b) ; D - (b) : Il s'est transporté de la demeure du néant... (vers) la demeure de la durée le vendredi 23 [?] ramadân de l'année 956 [?]/15 octobre 1549 - que Dieu lui pardonne !, que Dieu lui pardonne !

D'après les tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 23 ramadân 956 tombe un mardi.

Hadîth :

- C - (c) - (1) : Ce bas monde est le néant et la vie future la durée. [?]. . .
- C - (c) - (2) : Ce bas monde est cruel et la vie future... . . .
- C - (c) - (3) : Ce bas monde n'est qu'un moment et la vie future... . . .

Textes religieux :

- B - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. L-A-A.
- D - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu. L-A-A.

Morceaux poétiques :

- A - (a) ; A - (b) - (1-2) : Le poète a dit : « Si ce bas monde était durable pour les hommes, alors l'Envoyé de Dieu y serait vivant. »... . . .
- C - (a) ; C - (b) - (1-2) : Le poète a dit : « Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vain et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ? » Le poète a dit.

TOMBE N° 06 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VI.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2004.

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) à pinacle, sans ailes.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 22) ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un petit cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un grand champ, trois registres superposés. B et D : (a) sur le côté du pinacle, un registre rectangulaire ; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire, trois registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Achtste lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (أ) - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [؟]
- (ب) - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) اللهم ...
- ب - (أ) - ... الحسبيه الكريمه ...
- (ب) - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) اللهم ارحم لها [؟]
- ت - (أ) - الرحيمين [؟]
- (ب) - (أ) اللهم ... سبحان من لا إله إلا هو (٢) ... (٣) كل [؟] ما صنع ...
- ث - (أ) - الراجية إلى رحمة الله ...
- (ب) - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ... الكتاب

Épitaphe :

- B - (a) ; D - (a) : ... au lignage connu, honorable... qui espère en miséricorde de Dieu.

Textes religieux :

- A - (a) ; C - (a) : Au nom de Dieu, le plus clément des miséricordieux ! [?]
- C - (b) - (1fin) : Gloire à celui qui « il n'y a de divinité que Lui » !

Prière :

- A - (b) - (3) : Ô mon Dieu !...
- B - (b) - (3) : Ô mon Dieu ! Aie pitié d'elle ! [?]
- C - (b) - (1début) : Ô mon Dieu !...

À déterminer :

- A - (b) - (1-2) ; B - (b) - (1-2) ; C - (b) - (2-3) ; D - (b) - (1-3).

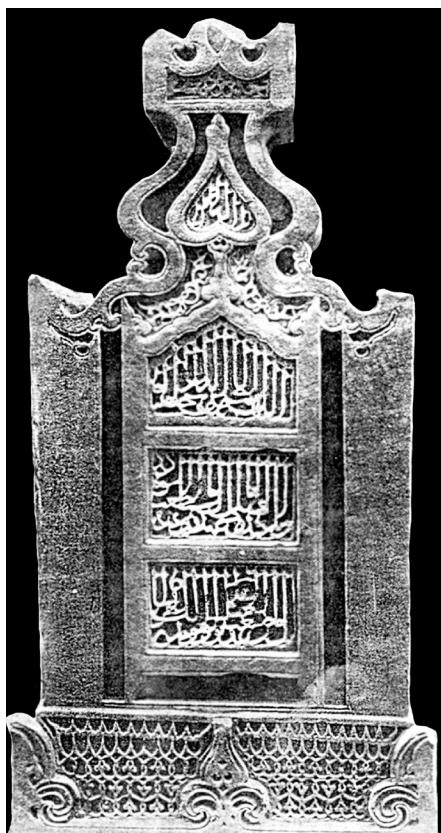


Fig. 22 – Cimetière de Cot Ba Beum, tombe 6, stèle sud, face nord (De Vink, vers 1912).

XIV. Cimetière de Tuan Siah, dans Kampung Pango

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Toean Siah (Kg. Pango) ».]

TOMBE N° 03 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf III. La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2004 et en 2006.

Haute stèle en arc en accolade.

Face A : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un grand champ, six registres superposés.

Face B (fig. 23) : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un grand champ, six registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1233, 1234 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Achtste lijst van foto's uit Atjeh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- أ - (١) للشيخ العارف الكامل (٢) الفاضل المعظم ... المكّم قدوة المحبوبين مرشد على طريق (٣) السالكين مصباح هذ(٤) (هذا) البلد من أقطاب العالمين .. (٤)..الأولياء .. مفتاح كنوز الأسماء و الدنيا (٥) نور الحق السحان .. (٦) . المسيح .. المطاهرين (٧) . الله .+.+.+.+.
- ب - (١) مع . (٢) ... المذكور المغفور المنصور ... شيخ ... طهّرهما الله بمياه (٢) المغفرة و الغفران و أدخلهما .. الجنة .. الرضوان (٤) كما قال الشاعر قطب الدين ... (٥) (٦) و سمع مخلص ... توفى الشيخ المغفور (٧) +++++++ الهجرة

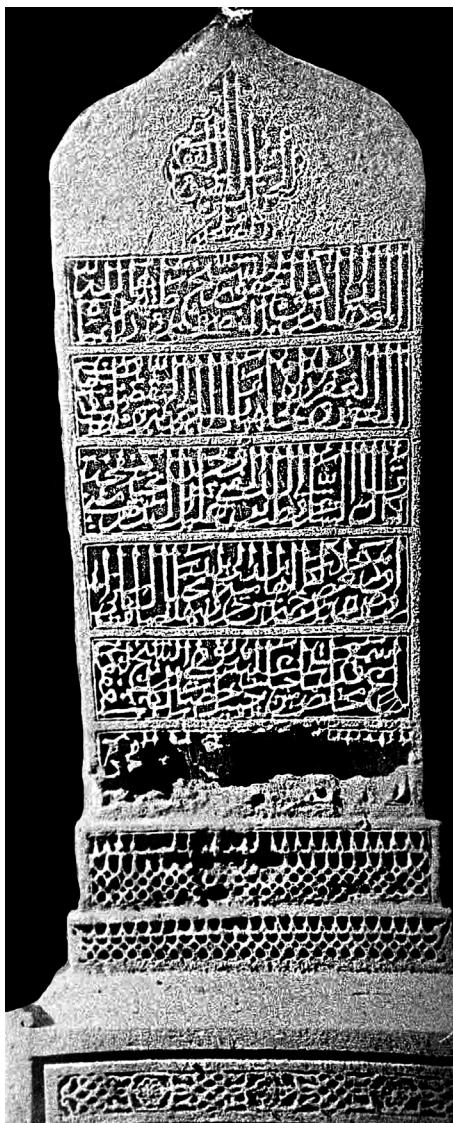


Fig. 23 – Cimetière de Tuan Siah, tombe 3, face A
(De Vink, vers 1912).

Épitaphe :

- A - (1-7) ; B - (1-7) : Pour le shaykh initié, parfait, vertueux, auguste... vénéré, le modèle des bien-aimés, le guide sur la voie de ceux qui suivent la voie des mystiques, lanterne de ce pays parmi les pôles des savants... des hommes saints... la clé des trésors des cieux [des noms ?] et de ce bas monde, la lumière de la Vérité - gloire à Lui !... qui prie Dieu... ceux qui purifient. Dieu x.x.x.x. ... le susdit digne de pardon, le vainqueur... shaykh... - que Dieu les purifie les deux par les eaux du pardon et de la grâce et les fasse entrer les deux... au Paradis... la satisfaction. Comme a dit le poète Qutb al-dîn... Le shaykh digne de pardon est décédé xxxxxxxx de l'hégire.

TOMBE N° 04 du cimetière. D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf IV.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Guillot/Kalus en 2004 et en 2006.

Deux stèles en forme de colonne façonnée verticalement en huit faces, à haut pinacle (manque sur la stèle I).

Sur les deux colonnes (I et II), sur chaque deuxième face des huit faces (A-D), dans quatre compartiments superposés (1-4), registre.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Achtste lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans *Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch-Indië, Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1915).

- ١ - أ - (١) اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ (٢) إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَقُّ (٣) الْقَيْمَنُ لَا تَأْخُذْهُ سَتَةٌ (٤) وَ لَا نُومٌ لَهُ مَا فِي
- ب - (١) السَّمَاوَاتُ وَ مَا فِي (٢) الْأَرْضِ مِنْ ذَا الَّذِي (٣) يَشْفَعُ عَنْهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ (٤) يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ
- ت - (١) وَ مَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَ لَا (٢) يَحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ (٣) إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ (٤) وَسْعٌ كَرْسِيَّهُ
- السَّمَاوَاتُ
- ث - (١) وَ الْأَرْضُ وَ لَا (٢) يُؤْدِهِ حَفْظُهُمَا وَ هُوَ (٣) الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ (قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٥١٢٥٦) (٤) صَدِيقُ اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ
- ٢ - أ - (١) إِنْتَهُوكَلْ [؟] (٢) (٣) مُحَمَّدٌ (٤) ... الْجَلِيلُ [؟] يَوْمَ
- ب - (١) الْإِثْنَيْنِ تَاسِعٌ مِنْ رَبِيعٍ (٢) الثَّانِي [؟] مِنْ عَامِ إِثْنَيْنِ (٣) وَ تَسْعِينَ وَ تَسْعِمَةً مِنْ هَجَرَةٍ (٤) خَيْرُ الْبَرِّيَّةِ اللَّهُمَّ
- ت - (١) اغْفِرْ [؟] ... (٢) الْمُشْرِفُ ... (٣) إِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ ... (٤) اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْهُ وَ اغْفِرْ لَهُ
- ث - (١) ... وَحْدَهُ (٢) يَحْكُمُ مُحَمَّدُ النَّبِيُّ ... (٣) وَ أَكَّهُ وَ أَصْحَابَهُ (٤) الطَّاهِرِينَ ...

Épitaphe :

- II - A - (1-4) ; - II - B - (1-4début) : À trépassé [...]... Mahmûd... l'illustre [...], le lundi 9 rabî' II [...] de l'année 992 de l'hégire du meilleur de la Créature/20 avril 1584.

D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 9 rabî' II tombe un vendredi.

Coran :

- I - A - (1-4) ; - I - B - (1-4) ; - I - C - (1-4) ; - I - D - (1-3) : II, 256/255.

Textes religieux :

- I - D - (4) : Dieu Immense est véridique.

Prière :

- II - B - (4fin) ; - II - C - (1-3) : Ô mon Dieu ! Pardonne [...]... jusqu'au Jour...
- II - C - (4) ; - II - D - (1-4) : Ô mon Dieu ! Pardonne-lui et accorde-lui
Ta pitié !... par la vérité de Muhammad le Prophète... sa famille et ses
compagnons purs...

XV. Petit cimetière dans la région de Kampung Pango (Pango Raya)-Kec. Ulee Kareng, Tuan Siah (fig. 24)

Trouvé en 2006 par Guillot/Kalus lors de leur recherche, vaine, des tombes de Kampung Pango signalées par De Vink vers 1911.



Fig. 24 – Cimetière dans la région de Kampung Pango, vue d'ensemble (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

TOMBE N° 01 du cimetière, d'après le classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006.
Deux stèles trapues à accolade polylobée.

- I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est ; E- sur le sommet. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres. E : registre rectangulaire.
- II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est ; E- sur le sommet. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres. E : registre rectangulaire.

Les inscriptions de plusieurs faces ont été reprises à la couleur noire, ce qui rend leur lecture plus difficile, voire impossible.

- ١ - أ - لا إله إلا الله
 -(ب) - (١) ألا كل شيء ما خلا الله (٢) باطل و كل نعيم لا محالة زائل (٣) ألا كل شيء ما خلا
 الله
 - ب - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
 - ت - أ - ألا كل شيء ما خلا الله باطل و كل نعيم
 -(ب) - (١) (٢) (٣)
 - ث - (١) ... (٢) الله لا (٣) إله إلا الله
 - ج -
 - ٢ - أ - أ - الله لا إله إلا الله ...
 -(ب) - (١) (٢) (٣)
 - ب - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
 - ت - أ -
 -(ب) - (١) (٢) (٣)
 - ث - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
 - ج - ++++++

Textes religieux :

- I - A - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- I - D - (2-3) : Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
- II - A - (a début) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

Morceaux poétiques :

- I - A - (b) - (1-3) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ?
- I - C - (a) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas (vaine) ?

À déterminer :

- I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (b) - (1-3) ; - I - D - (1) ; - I - E ; - II - A - (b) - (1-3) ;
- II - B - (1-3) ; - II - C - (a) ; - II - C - (b) - (1-3) ; - II - D - (1-3) ; - II - E.

TOMBE N° 02 du cimetière, d'après le classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006.

Deux stèles cubiques à grand 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 ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois lignes.

Les inscriptions de plusieurs faces ont été reprises à la couleur noire, ce qui rend leur lecture plus difficile, voire impossible.

ب - (١) (٢) (٣) ... لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
..... (٣) (٢) (١)
..... (٣) (٢) (١)
..... (٣) (٢) (١)
..... (٣) (٢) (١) - أ - ٢ - عَمَّا يَشْرِكُونَ ...
(٣-١) - ؟(٣-١) - ؟(٣-١) - ؟(٣-١) -

Coran :

- II - A (3début) : LIX, 23 (fin).

Textes religieux :

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

À déterminer :

- I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3 début) ; - I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D - (1-3) ; - II - A - (1-2).

*DANIEL PERRET¹, LUDVIK KALUS²,
HEDDY SURACHMAN³, REPELITA WAHYU OETOMO⁴*

Deux inscriptions islamiques inédites de Barus, Sumatra-Nord

Barus, sur la côte ouest de Sumatra-Nord, occupe une place particulière dans l'épigraphie de Sumatra. C'est là d'abord qu'a été retrouvée l'inscription tamoule la plus ancienne de l'île (1010 Śaka, soit 1088 EC)⁵. Par ailleurs, Barus a livré un ensemble de bagues et de pierres de bagues inscrites sans équivalent dans l'île. Enfin, à l'échelle de Sumatra, avec douze stèles funéraires musulmanes portant des inscriptions anciennes à caractère historique (dataables entre le milieu du XIV^e siècle et la fin du XVII^e siècle), Barus se place en troisième position derrière le site de Samudra-Pasai, près de Lhokseumawe, et Banda Aceh, du point de vue du nombre d'inscriptions de ce type. La présente note livre deux documents inédits qui viennent enrichir d'une part le corpus de bagues inscrites de Barus et d'autre part le corpus de stèles funéraires musulmanes portant des inscriptions à caractère historique. C'est également l'occasion de réfléchir sur cette spécificité de Barus à propos des bagues et de revenir sur les acteurs qui ont contribué à la construction du corpus épigraphique de Barus.

1. École française d'Extrême-Orient, Jakarta.

2. Université de Paris IV Sorbonne, Paris.

3. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Jakarta.

4. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Balai Arkeologi Medan.

5. Y. Subbarayalu. « The Tamil Merchant-Guild Inscription at Barus. A Rediscovery », in C. Guillot (éd.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra. Le site de Lobu Tua. I : Études et Documents*. Paris, Association Archipel, *Cahier d'Archipel* 30 : 25-33.

La bague n° 1376 du musée de Batavia

L'histoire de la recherche épigraphique à Barus commence par la collecte de pierres de bagues et d'une bague au milieu du XIX^e siècle. Dès le milieu des années 1840, le défrichement du site de Kotta Toewa (connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de Lobu Tua) pour y aménager des plantations de poivriers livre, entre autres, des tessons de poteries, des ornements en or et en argent, ainsi que des monnaies également dans ces deux métaux⁶. C'est justement à cette époque que Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824-1894)⁷ séjourne à Barus, précisément de 1851 à 1857. Dans une lettre à la Société Biblique d'Amsterdam, datée de l'année 1856, il écrit⁸ :

Hiernevens zend ik u eenige steentjes, die hier op een plaats waar vermoedelijk een Hindoesche colonie gestaan heeft, gevonden zijn. Drie steentjes bevatten schrift: één Javaansch en twee Sanscritisch. Die steentjes zijn de overblijfsels van ringen waarvan het goud of zilver reeds versmolten is. Er zijn ook twee muntjes bij met geen kenbaar opschrift [...] Gisteren kocht ik een ring met Sanscritsch opschrift [...]

La même année, la Société Batavienne des Arts et des Sciences (Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) signale que Hendrik Jan Jacob Gout (?-1860) détient un certain nombre d'objets antiques dont des monnaies trouvées près de Barus, qui seront publiées prochainement dans le journal de la société savante⁹. Gout est contrôleur du district de Barus (Résidence de Tapanuli) entre 1852 et 1854, année durant laquelle il est remplacé par Alfred Johannes Cornelis Coets van Baggen (Groeneboer, ed., 2002 : 157, 220, 224). Il est donc probable que cette collection soit composée d'objets trouvés à

6. G.J.J. Deutz. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 22, 1875 : 159.

7. Formé à l'arabe, au persan et au sanskrit aux Pays-Bas, Van der Tuuk est engagé comme spécialiste de langue par la Société Biblique Néerlandaise (Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap) basée à Amsterdam. En 1849, il est envoyé en mission à Sumatra, précisément en pays batak pour y traduire la bible en langue locale. Il revient à Sumatra, dans les districts de Lampung en 1868-1869, puis va à Bali où il reste jusqu'en 1873. Cette année-là, il est engagé comme fonctionnaire chargé de l'étude des langues locales (Kees Groeneboer, ed., *Een Vorst onder de taalgeleerde: Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk*, Leiden, KITLV Uitgeverij, 2002 : 2-29). Traducteur de textes religieux, expert en manuscrits et langues de diverses régions, Van der Tuuk est l'un des pionniers de la linguistique et de la philologie de l'archipel. Par ailleurs, il est sans doute le premier chercheur à avoir associé le site de Lobu Tua, près de l'actuel Barus, avec le Barus/Fansur des sources étrangères anciennes (H.C. Millies. *Recherches sur les monnaies des indigènes de l'archipel indien et de la péninsule malaie*. La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1871 : 65). Membre correspondant de la Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen dès 1869, Van der Tuuk en est membre d'honneur dès 1881 au moins.

8. « Je vous envoie ci-joint quelques petites pierres qui ont été trouvées ici à un endroit où une colonie hindoue était probablement installée. Trois petites pierres portent une inscription : une javanaise et deux sanskrates. Ces petites pierres sont ce qu'il reste de bagues dont l'or ou l'argent ont déjà été fondus. Il y a également deux petites monnaies sans inscription reconnaissable [...] Hier j'ai acheté une bague avec une inscription sanskrite [...]. » (Kees Groeneboer, ed., 2002 : 320).

9. E.N. (probablement Elisa Netscher). Gouden hindoe-munt van Sumatra. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 5, 1856 : 485.

Barus en 1854 au plus tard. On sait grâce à la correspondance de Van der Tuuk que ce dernier et Gout se connaissaient.

En 1858, Rudolph Hermann Theodor Friederich (1817-1875)¹⁰ publie une étude sur douze objets, dont une bague et dix gemmes gravées provenant de Barus. Une note précise que ces objets trouvés dans le sol ont été réunis par Gout et qu'un certain nombre ont été donnés à la Société savante. La bague porte une inscription en sanskrit (*tamasi wara kuru*) qui amène Friederich à suggérer qu'elle a appartenu à un mineur indien venu chercher fortune dans les mines d'or de Sumatra. Quant aux dix gemmes, cinq portent une inscription¹¹.

En 1872, J.J. van Limburg Brouwer¹², alors à Natal, envoie à la Bataviaasch Genootschap une bague accompagnée d'un courrier précisant¹³ :

Ik heb de eer Uwe Directie hierbij aan te bieden een ring met inscriptie en eenige agaten koralen, gevonden onder den grond bij Loeboe-toewa onder Baros. [...] Gelijk daar staat vermeld heet de geheele streek om de rivier van Baros, en vooral dat gedeelte wat aan de overzijde van het tegenwoordige Baros ligt (ook Loeboe-toewa), bij de inlanders Pantjoer, en zonder twijfel behooren deze voorwerpen in den tijd van het bewuste Hindoe rijk te huis. [...] De inscriptie wijkt in letterschrift af van de onlangs door 't Genootschap afgebeelde en getranscribeerde Kawi opschriften en Kawi oorkonden van Java.

10. Formé à l'arabe et au sanskrit à Bonn, il s'engage dans l'armée néerlandaise en 1844, s'embarque la même année pour Batavia, apprenant le malais et le javanais au cours du voyage. Il est recruté comme bibliothécaire-adjoint par la Bataviaasch Genootschap fin 1845, puis comme fonctionnaire chargé des langues locales (*taalambtenaar*) de 1851 à 1869. C'est de retour d'une permission aux Pays-Bas qu'il s'attelle à la mission confiée par le gouvernement, à savoir la collecte des inscriptions sur les vestiges antiques de Java, Bali et de Sumatra, afin de créer un *Corpus Inscriptorum*. Dans sa tâche, il est accompagné de quatre militaires formés au Musée Royal des Antiquités de Leiden à la réalisation de moulages, estampages, dessins et prises de mesures. On sait qu'il se rend notamment à Sumatra, sans information supplémentaire cependant. En 1870, il dispose d'une collection d'empreintes en papier mâché de 70 inscriptions (*Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië (ENI)*, I, 1917 : 725-6 ; Hans Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden: Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1778-1867*, Leiden, VKI 243, KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009 : 417-423 ; K. Groeneboer, éd., 2002 : note 13 p. 523).

11. Over eenige inskriptien op ringen en gesneden steenen (meest afkomstig van Sumatra). *TBG* 7, 1858: 141-147.

12. Membre de la Bataviaasch Genootschap depuis les années 1850, il est nommé directeur du musée et secrétaire de la Société en 1869 (*Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-Vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (NBG)*, 7, 1869 : 34, 51). Nommé inspecteur de l'Éducation pour Sumatra et Bornéo, basé à Padang, il quitte ces fonctions en février 1872 (*NBG X*, 1872 : 1 ; Elisabeth E. Graves. *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch colonial rule in the nineteenth century*, Singapore, Equinox Pub., 2010 [1^{re} éd., Cornell, 1981] : 140, 181). Ce poste à Padang explique pourquoi il s'est rendu à Barus.

13. « J'ai à offrir à Votre Direction une bague avec une inscription et quelques cornalines, trouvées dans le sol à Loeboe-toewa près de Barus. [...] Doit être également mentionné le fait que toute la zone de la rivière de Baros, et avant tout la partie sur la rive opposée de l'actuel Barus (ainsi que Loeboe-toewa), est appelée Pantjoer par les locaux, et ces objets appartiennent sans doute à l'époque du royaume hindou disparu. [...] Du point de vue des caractères, l'inscription se distingue des légendes en Kawi récemment reproduites et transcrives par la Société et des documents en Kawi de Java. » (*NBG X* 1872 : 81-2).

Dans l'inventaire provisoire des antiquités des possessions extérieures (toutes les îles de l'archipel sauf Java et Madura) de 1914, la notice concernant Barus indique que 17 bagues en or (*gouden ringen*) gravées d'inscriptions en caractères « Nāgarī et Kawi » ont été retrouvées aux environs de Barus. L'une d'entre elles a été envoyée au musée de Leiden, la plupart des autres étant conservées au musée de Batavia¹⁴.

Si Friederich et Krom sont étonnamment vagues sur le nombre d'objets répertoriés dans les collections du musée de la Bataviaasch Genootschap à Batavia, une chose paraît claire néanmoins, c'est que le premier traite d'une bague et de cinq gemmes inscrites, alors que le second ne mentionne que des bagues en or inscrites. Rien ne permet de dire si la bague lue par Friederich et celle envoyée par Limburg Brouwer font partie des 17 bagues mentionnées par Krom. En admettant qu'elles en fassent partie, le nombre de bagues et gemmes inscrites signalées comme provenant de Barus jusqu'en 1914 serait donc de 26 unités. Elles se répartiraient comme suit :

- huit gemmes : trois recueillies par Van der Tuuk et envoyées à la Société Biblique à Amsterdam, cinq recueillies par Gout et données en partie ou en totalité au musée de Batavia ;
- dix-huit bagues : une recueillie par Van der Tuuk dont le destin est inconnu ; 17 signalées dans l'inventaire de 1914, dont une au musée de Leiden (dès 1885 au moins)¹⁵ et une partie ou toutes les autres au musée de Batavia.

Ces données ne correspondent malheureusement pas au catalogue du musée de Batavia publié en 1887¹⁶ et aux listes annuelles d'entrée officielle dans les collections publiées dans les *Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-Vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* entre 1887 et 1914. Il faut noter l'étonnante absence dans le catalogue des pièces publiées par Friederich trente ans auparavant dans la revue de cette même société

14. N.J. Krom. Voorloopige Lijst van Oudheden in de Buitenbezittingen. *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1914 : 113.

15. La notice du catalogue de Juynboll indique : 2265) petite pierre taillée (cornaline) d'une bague (?) ou d'un autre bijou [...] *dara* (?) gravé en caractères Kawi. Vraisemblablement originaire de Baros (Sumatra) (H.H. Juynboll. *Catalogus van 's-Rijks Ethnographisch Museum te Leiden, deel 5*, Leiden, Brill, 1909 : 185). Elle figure dans les collections depuis 1885 au moins, puisque Krom indique la référence M488a pour cette bague dans le catalogue de Leemans qui date de cette année-là.

16. W.P. Groeneveldt. *Catalogus der archeologische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen / door W. P. Groeneveldt met aanteekeningen omtrent de op verschillende voorwerpen voorkomende inscripties en een voorloopigen inventaris der beschreven steenen, door J. L. A. Brandes*. Batavia, Albrecht & co, 1887. Le catalogue précédent de la collection archéologique du musée, réalisé par W.R. van Hoëvell et R. Friederich, publié dans les *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (VBG)* XXI (1847) pour le volume 1 et VBG XXIII (1850) pour le volume 2, ne décrit que la collection de statues en pierre.

savante, alors que Groeneveldt ne pouvait ignorer cette publication. Toujours est-il que, selon cet inventaire et ces listes, une seule bague inscrite provenant de Barus fait partie des collections du musée en 1914.

L'objet apparaît dans le catalogue de 1887 sous la cote 1376, malheureusement sans date d'entrée dans la collection, décrit comme suit¹⁷ :

Ring, met een platten, kleurloozen steen (phenakit), waaronder, in het goud, eene tweeregelige inscriptie. – Loebroe Toea, Baros (Sumatra's Westkust).

En note, Groeneveldt précise :

[...] de letters achter een stuk phenakit en relief op de plaat van den ring zijn ingelegd [...].

Examinant le positif de l'inscription, Groeneveldt suggère que l'écriture est de l'arabe stylisé (*gefigureerd arabisch*) et qu'il serait nécessaire de faire appel à des spécialistes de langues autres que ceux qui travaillent sur les langues et écritures de l'archipel (1887 : note 86 p. 282, note 93 p. 292). Ce qui en dit long sur la situation de l'épigraphie islamique dans l'archipel à l'époque¹⁸. L'inscription ne sera en fait jamais étudiée. Heureusement, Karel Frederik Holle (1829-1896)¹⁹ a eu la bonne idée, dix ans auparavant, d'en publier une copie dans ses tables paléographiques²⁰. Hormis le précieux texte de l'inscription, cette initiative de Holle révèle que la bague est à Batavia au moins dès 1877.

S'agit-il de la bague récupérée par Van der Tuuk en 1856 ? C'est peu probable dans la mesure où Van der Tuuk a une solide formation en arabe, ce qui lui aurait permis d'identifier immédiatement l'écriture, alors que dans son courrier à la Société Biblique, il précise bien que l'inscription de sa bague est en sanskrit. Il ne s'agit pas non plus de la bague inscrite publiée par Friederich

17. « Bague, avec une pierre plate et incolore (phénacite), sous laquelle, dans l'or, une inscription de deux lignes. – Loebroe Toea, Baros (Côte Ouest de Sumatra). », « les lettres sont taillées en relief sur le plat de la bague, derrière un morceau de phénacite. » (Groeneveldt 1887 : 292, note 93 page 292, note 86 page 282) Merci à Véronique Degroot pour la confirmation de la traduction.

18. La première mention publiée de l'existence de stèles funéraires musulmanes inscrites à Sumatra semble être un courrier envoyé en mars 1884 par le gouverneur du territoire d'Atjeh en Onderhoorigeden à la Bataviaasch Genootschap, à propos de tombes situées à « Blangmeh » près de l'embouchure de la rivière Pasai, ainsi qu'à « Samudra » (NBG 22 1884 : 52-53).

19. Holle arrive aux Indes néerlandaises en 1844 et travaille comme employé au Service foncier de Cianjur (Preanger). Passé ensuite à la Direction des cultures, il quitte la fonction publique en 1856 et devient administrateur de plantation de thé avant de créer sa propre plantation près de Garut, dans les Preanger, en 1862. Grand connaisseur de la culture sundanaise, il est nommé conseiller du gouvernement pour les affaires indigènes en 1871. Il publie de nombreux textes sur la question dès 1857, y compris en épigraphie (dès 1869), ainsi que des tableaux paléographiques comparatifs des écritures de l'archipel (1877, 1882). Il est membre de la Bataviaasch Genootschap depuis 1860 (ENI II, 1918 : 102-3 ; Groeneboer, éd., 2002 : 22, 465, 635-6 ; Groot 2009 : 485-491).

20. *Tabel van oud- en nieuw-Indische alphabeten uitgegeven voor rekening van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, C. Lang te Buitenzorg, 1877 : 48.

en 1858, puisque ce dernier donne la translittération d'un texte en sanskrit et que le facsimilé publié en annexe de l'article n'a rien à voir avec celui publié par Holle. S'agit-il de la bague envoyée de Natal par Limburg Brouwer en 1872 ? C'est possible, dans la mesure où, en tant qu'ancien directeur du musée de la Bataviaasch Genootschap, Limburg a certainement eu en main des bagues inscrites et les détails fournis dans sa lettre laissent à penser que les caractères sont inhabituels. Toutefois il ne signale pas la position très particulière du texte sous la pierre transparente.

À ce stade, il faut donc rester prudent et admettre que le pourvoyeur reste inconnu, que l'objet entre dans les collections du musée au plus tard en 1877, et qu'il s'ajoute peut-être aux dix-huit bagues inscrites considérées gravées de caractères indianisés. Cette profusion de bagues et de gemmes inscrites à Barus interpelle, car elle est unique à Sumatra. Ce corpus reflète-t'il une véritable spécificité de Barus dans l'histoire ancienne de Sumatra ou est-ce pure coïncidence liée à la présence à Barus, lorsqu'ils ont été découverts, de personnes conscientes de l'intérêt historique de ces objets (Van der Tuuk, Gout, Limburg Brouwer, etc.) ? On sait que Java a livré de nombreuses bagues gravées d'inscriptions courtes comme sur les gemmes de Barus publiées par Friederich. Ainsi, ce corpus ne serait-il pas un indice supplémentaire permettant de suggérer la présence d'une communauté javanaise de taille significative à Barus-Lobu Tua entre la fin du IX^e siècle et la fin du XI^e siècle²¹. Seule la redécouverte et l'examen des inscriptions inédites permettraient de renforcer cette hypothèse.

Nous reproduisons ci-dessous le texte de la bague no. 1376, tel qu'il est exécuté, « en relief », dans l'or et tel qu'il a été publié par Holle en 1877. Puisqu'il s'agirait d'un sceau, ce texte est naturellement exécuté à l'envers (en négatif).

21. Sur cette question des rapports entre Lobu Tua et Java, voir C. Guillot, Heddy Surachman, Daniel Perret, Marie-France Dupoizat, Untung Sunaryo. *Histoire de Barus. Le Site de Lobu Tua. II: Étude archéologique et Documents*. Paris, Association Archipel, *Cahier d'Archipel* 30, 2003 : 55-56.

Iusr. op ring.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
حَسَانٌ تَقِيٌّ

Texte en négatif, tel qu'il est sur la bague.

Texte en positif, telle que serait son empreinte.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
حَسَانٌ تَقِيٌّ

L'objet étant actuellement introuvable, il faut donc se fier au dessin qui pourrait comporter des imperfections. L'élément qui reste douteux est, à la fin de la première ligne, le trait vertical avec le petit crochet en bas, qui pourrait ne pas faire partie du texte et représenter un défaut dans l'exécution de l'inscription. Deux arguments peuvent étayer cette hypothèse. Premièrement, on voit que le style de ce trait ne correspond pas vraiment au style du reste du ductus. D'autre part, le texte de la fin des deux lignes devrait rimer (ou il devrait s'y manifester une assonance) ce qui devrait se refléter également dans la graphie : les dernières lettres devraient être quasi identiques et cela devrait se remarquer aussi visuellement.

La formule de ce petit texte en langue arabe est assez courante, elle a une connotation religieuse ce qui n'est pas du tout surprenant. Le schéma en serait le suivant :

La confiance de *xy* (nom du propriétaire du sceau ou de la bague) est *xxx* (le plus souvent Dieu, qui peut être désigné par un de ses Beaux noms)

D'après le dessin, on peut compléter avec certitude la deuxième ligne en obtenant :

La confiance de *xy* (nom du propriétaire du sceau ou de la bague) est 'Hasan al-Taqī' ou 'Hasan al-Naqī'

Le mot « Dieu » ou l'un de ses Beaux noms serait ainsi remplacé ici par le nom d'un des imâms shi'ites. Deux imâms shi'ites duodécimains portent le nom de Ḥasan : le deuxième et le onzième. Le qualificatif al-Taqī (le Pieux) est normalement donné au neuvième imâm dont le nom est Muḥammad et le qualificatif al-Naqī (le Pur) est donné au dixième imâm dont le nom est 'Alī et qui était le père du onzième qui s'appelait donc Ḥasan. C'est le onzième imâm qui serait sans doute celui du texte, les qualificatifs n'étant pas toujours respectés à la lettre, mais cela n'a finalement pas d'importance. Nous pouvons tout simplement affirmer qu'un imâm chi'ite était « la confiance de » xy.

C'est la lecture du nom du propriétaire du sceau qui nous pose des problèmes. Si on envisage la lecture sans le « signe » final, alors on pourrait lire البرى (al-Barī), mais il n'y a pas de rime. Si en revanche on tient compte du 'signe' final alors il faudrait y voir le plus probablement un yā' final. Dans ce cas, la seule possibilité de lecture semblerait être البرزى (al-Barazī).

On aurait donc deux possibilités de lecture, la première ayant notre préférence :

La confiance d'al-Barī
est Ḥasan al-Naqī

ثقة البرئ

حسن النقى (النقى)

ou

La confiance d'al-Barazī
est Ḥasan al-Naqī

ثقة البرزى

حسن النقى (النقى)

D'après le style des lettres arabes, qui se caractérise par la remontée des boucles du yā', du rā et du nūn, on pourrait dater l'objet du xi^e ou du xii^e siècle EC.

Cette bague fait donc partie des plus anciens objets en métal portant une inscription en caractères arabes trouvés dans l'archipel. Rappelons ici qu'elle n'est pas le seul petit objet du genre retrouvé à Lobu Tua. En effet, le site a livré en 1997 un sceau-talisman islamique datable du x^e ou du xi^e siècle²². Les deux objets pourraient donc être vaguement contemporains.

^{22.} Ludvik Kalus. La plus ancienne inscription islamique du Monde malais ? *Archipel* 59, 2000 : 23-24.

Une nouvelle stèle funéraire de Patupangan

Le sous-district (*kecamatan*) actuel de Barus compte plusieurs cimetières musulmans abritant près de 300 tombes qui permettent de suivre l'évolution de l'art funéraire dans la région entre le milieu du XIV^e siècle et le début du XX^e siècle. Pratiquement toutes les tombes antérieures au XIX^e siècle constituent les cimetières de Tuan Maqdom, Tuan Ibrahim Syah, Tuan Ambar, Papantinggi ou encore Mahligai, qui font partie, ou sont voisins, du site d'habitat ancien de Bukit Hasang, occupé entre le XII^e siècle et le début du XVI^e siècle²³. Administrativement, ils appartiennent aujourd'hui aux villages de Gabungan Hasang, Pananggahan et Aek Dakka, au pied de la chaîne des Bukit Barisan sur le contrevent qui surplombe l'étroite plaine côtière de Barus.

Depuis les travaux pionniers de Hasan Muarif Ambary des années 1970-1980 sur l'épigraphie et l'art funéraire islamiques de Barus²⁴, des travaux récents sont venus enrichir et préciser à la fois le corpus d'épigraphie islamique de Barus et l'histoire de son art funéraire²⁵. C'est en décembre 2014 qu'une nouvelle stèle funéraire inscrite a été découverte à Barus, précisément à proximité du cimetière appelé Tuan Ambar²⁶, dans le hameau de Pananggahan, Desa Bukit Hasang. Aujourd'hui, ce cimetière clôturé comprend 29 tombes, mais dès le début des années 2000, deux autres stèles funéraires inscrites avaient déjà été retrouvées à proximité, y compris la stèle portant le millésime le plus ancien identifié à Barus pour l'instant, à savoir 751 H / 1350 EC²⁷.

La stèle découverte en 2014²⁸ est en tuf, matériau courant pour les stèles funéraires anciennes de Barus. Il s'agit d'une dalle haute de 93 cm, d'une largeur maximale de 35 cm et d'une épaisseur de 14 cm. Il faut noter que la section de sa partie inférieure est hexagonale. Elle se présente en deux parties :

23. Daniel Perret & Heddy Surachman, éd. *Histoire de Barus-Sumatra. III: Regards sur une place marchande de l'océan Indien (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e s.)*. Paris, EFEQ/Archipel (cahier d'Archipel 38), 2009.

24. Hasan Muarif Ambary. L'art funéraire musulman en Indonésie des origines au XIX^e siècle. Paris, Thèse de troisième cycle, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1984.

25. Ludvik Kalus. « Les sources épigraphiques musulmanes de Barus », in C. Guillot et al. 2003 : 303-338. Daniel Perret, Heddy Surachman & Ludvik Kalus. « Six siècles d'art funéraire musulman à Barus », in D. Perret & H. Surachman (éd.), *Histoire de Barus-Sumatra. III: Regards sur une place marchande de l'océan Indien (XII^e-milieu du XVII^e s.)*. Paris, EFEQ/Archipel (cahier d'Archipel 38), 2009 : 473-506.

26. Les coordonnées du cimetière Tuan Ambar sont : 02°01'53" N, 98°24'56" E (WGS-84).

27. Daniel Perret, Heddy Surachman & Ludvik Kalus 2009 : 485-7. La stèle a été transférée au Balai Arkeologi de Medan fin 2014.

28. Conservée au Balai Arkeologi de Medan depuis fin 2014.

- le corps sur lequel une face comporte un rectangle sculpté (30 x 26 cm) divisé en quatre panneaux inscrits horizontalement et délimités par des bordures (hauteur : env. 6,5 cm), les espaces entre les inscriptions ayant été évidés. Le texte apparaît ainsi en léger relief ;
- la tête, haute de 25 cm environ et d'une largeur maximale de 34 cm, comporte une moulure à la base. Cette moulure est surmontée d'un motif floral en relief. La partie supérieure de la tête présente une forme arrondie coiffée au centre d'un renflement à décor floral aujourd'hui cassé.

La lecture proposée ici est basée sur des photographies directes de l'inscription, ainsi que sur des photographies de frottis.

(١) وفات

(٢) في يوم الاثنين في أول يوم من المحرم

(٣) هجرة النبي [كذا] ثمانمائة وستين خمس عشر (عشرين؟) [؟] سنة

(٤) غفر الله له ما تقدم من ذنبه و ما تأخر

- (1) Décès de
- (2) eut lieu le lundi 1^{er} muharram
- (3) de l'ère de l'hégire du Prophète en l'année 865 / 17 octobre 1460 (ou 815 ? / 13 avril 1412 ou 825 ? / 26 décembre 1421)
- (4) que Dieu lui pardonne ses premiers et ses derniers péchés !

La lecture comporte plusieurs lacunes. La plus regrettable est la difficulté de lire, dans la première ligne, la partie qui se trouve après le mot « *wafât* », car elle doit contenir le nom du défunt. Rien de crédible n'a pu être tiré de ce qui reste comme caractères. Dans la troisième ligne, dans la lecture de la date, il y a un ou deux mots/nombres de trop. Ainsi, il est impossible de les intégrer dans la structure habituelle du nombre exprimant l'année et c'est la raison pour laquelle nous sommes obligés de présenter plusieurs propositions.

Même si le nombre d'inscriptions funéraires islamiques anciennes à caractère historique n'est pas négligeable à Barus, elles sont suffisamment rares pour rendre chaque découverte précieuse. Le nom du défunt ou de la défunte reste pour l'instant illisible, mais une lecture directe de l'inscription pourrait s'avérer fructueuse. En attendant, c'est le millésime qui fait l'intérêt de ce texte. Il s'agit de la septième inscription islamique à millésime identifiée à Barus pour la période comprise entre 1350 et 1566, et plus précisément de la seconde inscription datée du xv^e siècle. L'autre est la stèle sud du mémorial à Sayh Mahmûd de Papantinggi.

Jusqu'à maintenant, une seule stèle du cimetière de Tuan Ambar avait livré une information à caractère historique, à savoir la stèle n° 10 dans la publication de 2003 (Kalus in C. Guillot *et al.* 2003 : 315), qui correspond à la

stèle TA19n de Tuan Ambar dans la publication de 2009 (Perret, Surachman & Kalus 2009: 474). Cette tombe abrite un personnage portant le titre *al-šayh* dont le nom est malheureusement illisible et l'inscription ne comporte pas de date. Plusieurs éléments permettent de suggérer que ce *al-šayh* fait partie des figures importantes de l'histoire ancienne de Barus : le titre lui-même, la taille de la stèle dépassant largement celle des autres stèles du même cimetière, un type de pierre très particulier à Barus (une sorte de granite de couleur grise et de texture grossière) puisqu'il ne concerne que quatre stèles, enfin une eulogie pratiquement identique à celle de l'inscription arabe de la stèle sud du mémorial à Šayh Maḥmūd de Papantinggi, personnage qui a probablement joué un rôle majeur dans l'islamisation de Barus.

Or, du point de vue typologique, la stèle nouvellement découverte est proche des stèles de la tombe TA19. Par ailleurs, les tailles sont très voisines, puisque TA19 est haute de 90 cm, large de 40 cm et épaisse de 13 cm. En 2009, nous avons distingué les stèles dont le matériau, et probablement une partie de la fabrication, sont extérieurs à la région de Barus, ce qui serait le cas des stèles en granite, et les stèles en tuf de fabrication locale. Dans le cas du cimetière de Tuan Ambar, les deux stèles en granite de la tombe TA19 marqueraient la tombe du personnage le plus important et auraient été imitées localement par des stèles en tuf. La stèle présentée ici serait par conséquent inspirée des stèles de la tombe TA19. Sa taille étant très voisine des stèles de TA19, il est concevable qu'elle abrite un personnage de semblable réputation, peut-être même un disciple du *šayh*. Il ne s'agit pas de la première imitation de TA19 repérée à Barus. En effet, deux monuments du cimetière de Tuan Ambar même, deux monuments du cimetière de Mahligai, un monument du cimetière de Maqdom et une tombe isolée d'aspect ancien à Bukit Hasang appartiennent à cette catégorie.

La stèle récemment découverte est la seule de ce corpus comportant un millésime. Elle offre du même coup un ancrage chronologique pour le type concerné²⁹ et un Terminus ante quem pour la tombe du *šayh* de Tuan Ambar.

29. L'hypothèse que nous avions émise en 2009 à ce sujet, à savoir une datation du milieu du xv^e siècle (Perret, Surachman & Kalus 2009 : 489), se trouve ainsi confirmée.



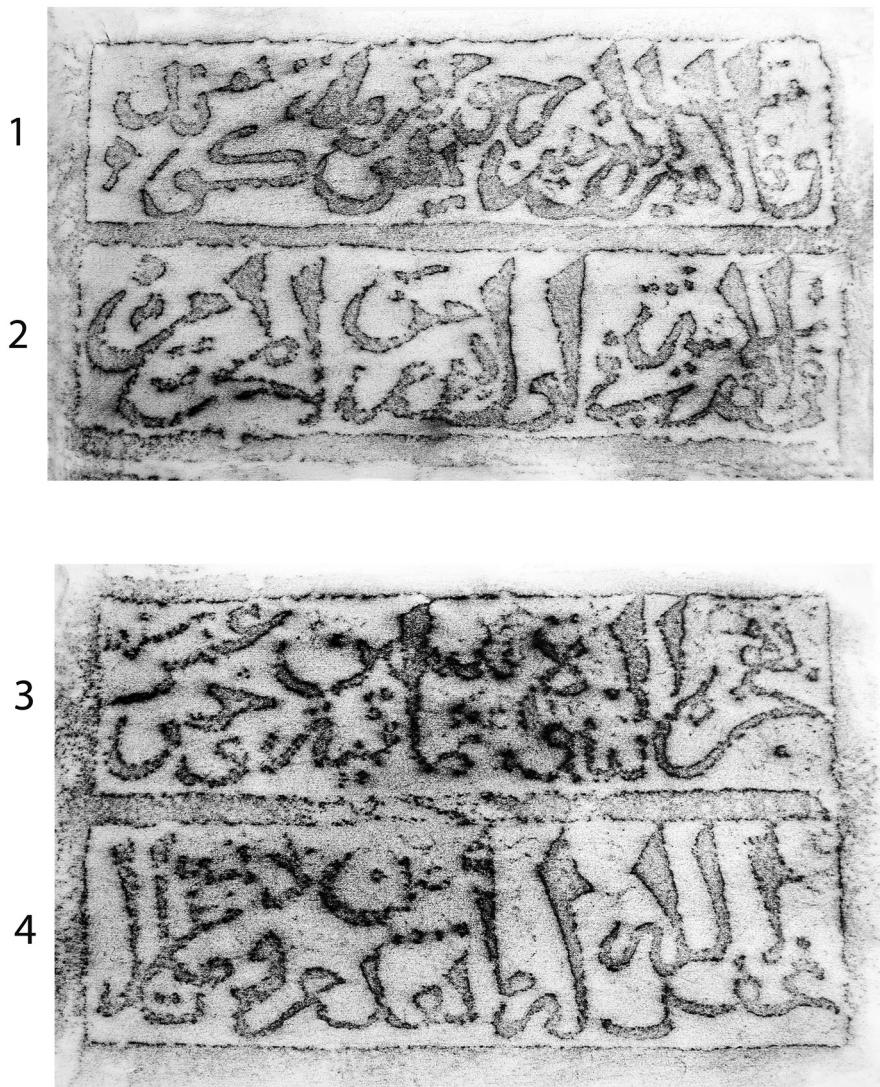
Stèle de Pananggahan (2014)



Inscription de la stèle de Pananggahan



Stèle sud, tombe TA19, Cimetière de Tuan Ambar



Frottis de l'inscription de la stèle de Pananggahan

LITTÉRATURE D'EXIL

HENRI CHAMBERT-LOIR¹

Locked Out: Literature of the Indonesian Exiles Post-1965²

Borderlines

There are many kinds of exile. People can be exiled or exile themselves. Abroad or in their own country. As a result mainly of political or economic causes, but for many different reasons too. One can even exile oneself metaphorically from one's family, one's milieu or one's own self. The word covers all kinds of diasporas, migrations, expatriations, alienations.

What has however been coined Indonesian "exile literature" (*sastra eksil*) refers specifically to the writings of Indonesian authors constrained to live in foreign countries for political reasons after the putsch³ of September 30, 1965. During the night of the 30th of September (actually the early morning of the 1st of October), six senior Army generals and one lieutenant were abducted and killed by an army team that proclaimed a revolution, but it was so badly organised that it was overpowered in one day. Under the command

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 2. I wish to express my gratitude towards Ibaruri Putri Alam, Asahan Alham and Kusni Sulang for the information they shared with me and for their encouragement. I also wish to express my heartfelt thanks to my colleague Ernest Thrimbe for commenting on this article and offering editorial suggestions.
 3. The so-called "movement of the 30th of September" (Gerakan 30 September, abbreviated as G30S), albeit 'revolutionary', was not a coup, as its aim was not to topple the government but to protect it against a coup supposed to be in the making. The word "putsch" sometimes refers to military actions aimed at imposing a will on the government rather than toppling it. Moreover, the G30S "movement" was referred to as a "putsch" by President Soekarno himself on the 6th of October.

Archipel 91, Paris, 2016, p. 119-145

of General Soeharto, who was about to seize power and become president for the following 32 years, more than half a million people were slaughtered, about one and a half million were arrested, hundreds of thousands were jailed and tortured, about 12,000 were sent to a labour camp on Buru Island in the Moluccas, and hundreds were stranded in foreign countries. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI, Partai Komunis Indonesia) was banned, together with the teaching or dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, while any kind of relationship with communism or with “leftist” thinking became a reason for being jailed or sent to a prison camp.

Among the various victims of those tragic events, the “exiles” are the ones who happened to be in foreign countries at the time of the putsch and were condemned to remain abroad for decades. Therefore, ex-prisoners who chose to live abroad after their release, like Sitor Situmorang, Siauw Giok Tjhan and Hersri Setiawan, who spent many years in the Netherlands by their own choice after years in jail or in Buru, are not part of the “exiles” from the point of view of *sastrak eksil*⁴.

This definition of *sastrak eksil* is arbitrary. Other definitions could be considered, e.g. to regard as one literary category the works of both the authors exiled abroad and those “exiled” to Buru Island, or to broaden the definition to include exiles from the past, inside or outside the Indonesian archipelago, like for instance Prince Diponegoro in Sulawesi and Tan Malaka in the Netherlands. The present definition, however, is perfectly appropriate because the literary production so defined does represent a particular chapter of Indonesian literature, which differs from various other anterior or contemporary “exilic” works and also differs from the literature produced by ex-political prisoners, who are designated as “*tapol*” (an abbreviation of “*tahanan politik*”). This exile literature (*sastrak eksil*) is not supposed to be a literary genre. This article will show that indeed it is not a genre, but rather a collection of works (more than a hundred) that share several characteristics precisely due to the condition of their authors as exiles.

The Fracture

Almost all of these authors, on the 30th of September or immediately after, were in socialist countries, mainly in China and the USSR, but some in Albania, Vietnam, Cuba, Rumania, and others. They were prevented from going back home, either because their passports were automatically invalidated by the local Indonesian embassy or because they chose not to go back, knowing that they would certainly be jailed, tortured or even murdered. Most were members of the PKI or mass organisations close to it. Some “nationalists” or ‘Soekarnoists’ had

4. It may be useful to note that Hersri Setiawan agrees with this definition. About himself he writes: “as a non exile” (“sebagai bukan seorang eksil,” in Setiawan, “Some Thoughts on Indonesian Exilic Literature”).

no link with it but were labelled ‘leftist’ all the same. The PKI was extremely powerful in Indonesia at that time (it claimed to have 3,5 million members and 23,5 million sympathisers) and highly regarded abroad: as numerically the third communist party in the world, it was courted by the two great socialist countries, the USSR and China. Moreover, President Soekarno’s foreign policy favoured cooperation with socialist countries. As a consequence, on the eve of the putsch, there were more than 2,000 Indonesians in the USSR, half students and half military personnel in training.⁵ Several hundred of them didn’t go home. Residents in China were fewer, but about 500 Indonesians happened to be in Beijing, in anticipation of the celebration of the sixteenth anniversary of the People’s Republic, on the 1st of October 1965.

The number of people who were, in the course of 1966, deprived of their nationality in that way and reduced to the status of political refugees is around 500.⁶ Considering their origin (mostly students, journalists, intellectuals and Party cadres) they belonged to the educated fringe of society, which explains the propensity of some of them to write. Those who belonged to the Party’s network quickly got organised: as soon as February 1966, a “Delegation of the Central Committee of the PKI,” located in Beijing and claiming to act in the name of the Party, summoned all communists to gather in China, and most complied. Concurrently, the Soviet Communist Party encouraged the creation of a “Foreign Committee of the PKI,” sitting in Moscow and charged to handle the community that stayed behind in the USSR, including the very few who made the reverse trip, from Beijing to Moscow, as was the case of two writers mentioned below, Utuy Tatang Sontani and Agam Wispi, in 1971.

With the passing years, the antagonism between China and the USSR only grew stronger. The refugees in the USSR, under the leadership of the Foreign Committee and the Soviet CP, limited themselves to a political campaign against the new Indonesian government (the “New Order,” Orde Baru). They were well treated, as long as they abided to the directives of the Committee. Otherwise, they were ostracised (like Ali Chanafiah) or sent to a remote city with difficult material conditions (like Waruno Mahdi). Refugees in China had a totally different life: on the one hand, they were subjected to the heavy demands of the Cultural Revolution, including a perpetual indoctrination of the thought of the Great Helmsman, self-criticism, and “rehabilitation” in the countryside; on the other hand, they were preparing themselves to bring revolution to Indonesia in order to restore the PKI and to set up a socialist regime. This implied a heavy political education and military training performed in China and in Vietnam.

5. Hill, “Indonesian political exiles in the USSR.” Literature on the putsch, its background and its consequences is immense. That on the exiles, on the contrary, is extremely limited. The two above-mentioned articles by Hill are among the main sources of information of this introduction.

6. See Hill, “Indonesia’s exiled Left as the Cold War thaws.”

The refugees were not prepared for this confrontation with the reality of socialist regimes and most of them suffered from the conditions they were living in, mainly the psychological conditions caused by the political propaganda and the excesses of the Cultural Revolution. Many chose to emigrate in the 1980s, in order to flee from those circumstances. The Cold War was coming to an end; international socialist solidarity was crumbling away; the refugees were becoming a burden for the USSR as well as China, while the eventuality of a communist revolution in Indonesia was obviously becoming more and more utopian. Then it is the authorities (the Delegation and the Chinese government on one side, the Foreign Committee and the Soviet CP on the other) that encouraged the process of emigration to other countries.

Europe

A very few refugees chose to seek asylum in socialist countries (one example is the interesting case of Cuba)⁷. Most chose to move to capitalist countries in Western Europe, especially the Netherlands, France and Sweden. A majority chose the Netherlands because of the historical relations between the two countries (the Netherlands had subjugated the Indonesian territory little by little, from the early 17th century until the colonisation of the entire archipelago, completed in the early 20th century). Thus an ambiguous relationship, which was felt by some as conflictual ("the one country in the world I hated the most until then," wrote one of the immigrants)⁸, but a relationship of familiarity for those who were born in the 1920s and 1930s as Dutch subjects of the Netherlands Indies, and who had learned Dutch at school.

In all known cases, this immigration wave in Europe was an easy process. The new refugees certainly experienced material difficulties: none of them found employment corresponding to their education and competence, but all found a political asylum in the country of their choice, were supported by the local government, and after a variable period (mainly from five to fifteen years) obtained the nationality of the host country. This doesn't mean that they considered themselves as Dutch or French. "And now that I have this French passport, do I feel French?" asks Ibarruri Putri Alam. "Honestly, like most of my comrades in fate, I don't feel flesh-and-blood French. I am merely an adopted child."⁹ In addition to their visceral belonging to the Indonesian nation, they were too old to adapt easily to a new society, a new culture, and a new language. Whatever the case, the dream of an armed return to Indonesia was definitely abandoned. If there was a possibility to go back, it would be through a legal way.

7. See Hearman, "The last men in Havana."

8. Siregar, *Tragedi Manusia dan Kemanusiaan*, p. vi.

9. *Anak Sulung D.N. Aidit*, pp. 377-8. Waloejo Sedjati, who was naturalised in 1994, writes in 2010: "until now I have never felt like being French" (*Bumi Tuhan*, p. 327).

The discovery of Western democracies, after the experiment of applied socialism, was for many a revelation. Waruno Mahdi, the only one among exiles who lends himself to an ideological self-analysis, states:

Even though I had been aware earlier that dialectical materialism, as the philosophical basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching, was applied in a very inconsistent way in concrete communist teaching and the many varieties of its political practice, the conclusion I reached in the West was most unpredictable. Gradually it became more and more obvious to me that the most consequent political manifestation of dialectical materialism was none other than liberal democracy!¹⁰

Having arrived in Europe by successive waves in the 1970s and 80s, the refugees found themselves gathered in the same cities, confronted with the same problems, and in contact with the same social agents. They more or less knew each other, they recognized each other, but a certain distrust existed. Asahan Aidit, who arrived in the Netherlands in 1984 from Vietnam, was surprised to see that the many exiles he met by chance showed themselves cold, distant and indifferent.¹¹ Syarkawi Manap, who arrived in Sweden in 1986 from China, was surprised to discover in Ali Chanafiah, who had been there for three years, a “honest and open” man, whereas he had the reputation of being a *remo*, a “modern revisionist.”¹²

In fact, the exiles do not a priori constitute an homogeneous group. They formerly belonged to various organisations that had their discords before 1965, and their way of thinking was further modelled on their experience in the two big socialist countries, which were at the peak of antagonism. Seen from the opposite camp, the pro-China were ‘adventurers’ and the pro-USSR “revisionists.” Ancient and new friendships and ideological dissensions divided them into small groups in distrust of one another. However, they shared the label “communist,” imposed from outside, and the status of refugees. Networks took shape, meetings were organised, journals were published (notably *Kreasi* and *Arena*, run by Abdul Kohar Ibrahim from Brussels). Sobron Aidit has depicted several times these meetings and this solidarity. As years passed though, individuals disappeared one by one, and the “comrades” met most often in a cemetery to bid one of them farewell.

Tragically, the place where most Indonesians often meet, in the Netherlands, is the cemetery. A comrade cynically remarked that the abbreviation PKI [Partai Komunis Indonesia] actually means Perkumpulan Kematian Indonesia [Indonesian Death Association]. Because we always gather, all of us, coming from various places, in order to pay respect to the dead who needs to be accompanied to his last abode. There is indeed some sense in these sarcastic words, which express bitterness, anger and sadness, but addressed to whom? All of us feel the loss. This didn’t happen two or three times, but a dozen times or more. We get older, weaker, more and more unhealthy, and well, yes, where is this going to end?¹³

10. “Melancong ke Dunia Marxisme-Leninisme,” p. 65.

11. Asahan Alham, *Alhamdulillah*, pp. 353-4.

12. *Kisah Perjalanan*, p. 187.

13. Sobron Aidit, *Cerita dari Tanah Pengasingan*, chap. 5.

The cynical pun about the Indonesian Communist Party's acronym having come to mean the Indonesian Death Association, is also inscribed on a painting by the famous painter exiled in the Netherlands Basuki Resobowo (see a description in Setiawan, "Situasi dan Kondisi Sastra Eksil Indonesia") and is found again in a poem by Soepriadi Tomodihardjo: "We only meet before a grave, taking leave of a friend who has passed away".¹⁴ The pun has a long range because it is not only the community of exiles who familiarises itself with death; it is the PKI itself and Indonesian communism with it that are dead and buried.

Visiting Home

Thanks to their new passports and the protection of their host country, the exiles could go back to Indonesia as visitors, starting in the 1990s, when Soeharto's government was still in place and anti-communist propaganda was still active. Sobron Aidit has remarked in several of his books that the exiles "only have the right to pay a visit, not to go home and stay."¹⁵ He also relates how, at the time of his first visit, in 1992, one of his brothers advised him against going to the village of his birth-place in order to visit relatives and pray on the grave of his father, because he would endanger his family and friends: people mixing with an ex-communist incurred major problems with the regime. He renounced. The following year, he visited his home village on Belitung Island, in the south-east of Sumatra, but he stayed in a hotel: none of his parents and friends could take the risk to have him visit their homes.¹⁶

Nevertheless, going back was everyone's obsession. *Sastran eksil* texts express in countless ways the fascination for the home country, the fatherland of "land and water" (*tanah air*), the "land of spilled blood" (*tanah tumpah darah*). Contacts with the families were practically impossible from China and the USSR; now they could take the risk to call from Europe. Communications were established. Relatives and friends living in Indonesia came to Europe on visits. Many exiles took part in social and political activities for the benefit of various victims of the Indonesian New Order, particularly the political prisoners (*tapol*). Umar Said, who was among the first immigrants in Europe, in 1974 (he was already 46 years old), and who was apparently gifted with uncommon energy and power of conviction, spent a considerable amount of time and effort to set up structures designed to help *tapol*, by collecting funds and political support for them and creating the Tapol Committee, as well as an East Timor Committee.¹⁷

14. "Si anak hilang," in *Di Negeri Orang*, p. 183.

15. *Catatan Spiritual*, p. 11.

16. *Razzia Agustus*, chap. 15.

17. See his *Perjalanan Hidup Saya*, pp. 155-160.

After 32 years of dictatorship, the Soeharto regime came to an end: confronted with an economic crisis and popular wrath, Soeharto climbed down from his throne in May 1998. The exiles' situation changed rapidly. The president in charge at the end of 1999, Abdurrahman Wahid, familiarly known as Gus Dur, a man eminently liberal and democratic, stated that New Order's opponents residing abroad were welcome to come back to Indonesia. Further on, in January 2000 he sent the Minister of Justice to Europe in order to discuss the modalities of their return. These initiatives, however, remained without effect. Gus Dur also declared publicly his desire that the 1966 decree of the Parliament pronouncing the banning of the PKI and the interdiction of the diffusion of Marxism-Leninism be revoked. The only result of these declarations was to provoke a violent reaction from various anti-communist movements, particularly Moslem organisations, and to prove that the hatred of communism had not abated with the end of Soeharto's regime. Various incidents have occurred since then, coming from the authorities as well as the masses, proving that the anti-communist feeling is still very much alive, always more emotional than rationalised, and that Indonesian society is not yet ready for a process of reconciliation, not even for an examination of the facts that led to the slaughters of 1965-1966.

In these conditions, most exiles in Europe remained in their host countries, thus becoming definite exiles. As they came from the generation who was already of adult age (many were born in the 1920s and 30s), or on the verge of becoming adult in 1965, that is fifty years ago, they were becoming old in their situation as exiles. Half of them passed away before having the possibility of settling back home, and most of the others decided not to do so. They had acquired a foreign nationality, together with social advantages (pension and welfare). All or most of them still felt Indonesians in their heart, but the hatred roused by their past didn't lure them to settle back in an Indonesia that was cruelly different from the country they had left half a century before.

In short, the exiles' community, which is less and less numerous and less and less a community, has not overcome the fate designed for it by the New Order. Among the victims of that regime, the exiles are those who have not been reintegrated. It is necessary to note, however, that they reject the appellation of "victims" (*korban*) because of the negative connotations of the word implying a state of weakness, defeat and culpability. They don't like the term "refugees" (*pelarian*) either; they prefer to use the word "exile" (*eksil*) and above all the two terms generally attributed to Gus Dur (President Abdurrahman Wahid): "*orang kelayaban*," "the wanderers," and "*yang terhalang pulang*," "those prevented from going home."

Sastra Eksil

"Exile literature" (*sastra eksil*) is regarded (here) as everything written by those "wanderers," not only the works of a "literary" nature. There is no

bibliography and no survey of it, only a very few articles on specific works or authors.¹⁸ A bibliography is difficult to compile because the relevant works are poorly distributed and difficult to trace, also because the very notion of publication has become blurred nowadays. Exiled authors first published, in the years 1980s and 90s, articles, poems and short stories in journals (*KreasI*, *Arah*, *Arena*, *Tanahair*, *Kancah*, *Mimbar*, *Pembaruan*, and others), blogs and other kinds of private distribution. Those various “publications” are ephemeral and difficult to trace systematically. After the change of regime in Indonesia, exiles’ works started to appear in Indonesia as books, but distribution over the Net (e.g. on Facebook) still has an important role. At the same time a considerable amount of books on the history of the New Order and the 1965 putsch, as well as testimonies of victims of the regime, especially memoirs by political prisoners (*tapol*), were published. From that point of view, exiles’ works are part of a bigger historical phenomenon, which is the sudden multiplication of works challenging the picture of 20th century Indonesian history imposed during three decades by the New Order.

Sastrak eksil is exclusively in Indonesian. If we take into account printed books only, it represents about 120 volumes. Exiles thus have acquired access to a forum. Their books are printed, distributed, read, reviewed. Some small publishers are famously dedicated to this domain, particularly Ultimus in Bandung, Ombak in Yogyakarta and Hasta Mitra in Jakarta, but some books have been distributed by well-established publishing houses like Gramedia and Pustaka Jaya in Jakarta. And yet they remain rather marginal, if one considers the great difficulty to find them on the Indonesian market.

According to a provisional bibliography, exile authors have produced some 133 books, eleven of them still unpublished, namely 37 essays or collections of essays, 30 collections of poetry, 3 dramas, 6 collections of fiction short stories, 15 novels and 42 autobiographical texts (16 memoirs and 26 collections of autobiographical short stories). The proportion of autobiographical texts (a third of the total) is striking. Considering that the number of exiles is infinitely inferior to that of the ex-*tapol* (political prisoners), it is clear that the number of autobiographical texts they have produced is exceptionally high (there seems to be less than 25 ex-*tapol*’s memoirs). This has to do with the fact that exiles were educated persons, and this incidentally corroborates the idea that by slaying its ‘left’, Indonesia deprived itself of a great part of its intelligentsia.¹⁹

18. Namely the articles of Alex Supartono (2001) and C.W. Watson (2006) on the works of Utuy Tatang Sontani and D.T. Hill (2012) on Ibarruri Putri Alam’s and Asahan Aidit’s memoirs. See a tentative bibliography in the same volume.

19. Hersri Setiawan was taken to Buru Island on a ship, in August 1971, amid 850 prisoners, 500 of whom, on arrival, were settled in Unit XIV Bantulareja. Among those 500 men, seven only had had a tertiary education, while most had been to elementary or junior high school (SD or SMP) only, and “not a few could barely read” (Setiawan, *Memoar Pulau Buru*, p. 97).

Still, the very high number of those autobiographical texts is evidence that the exiles felt an urgent need to speak out.

Among the *sastras eksil* authors, a few had acquired a modicum of fame before 1965, like the three poets Sobron Aidit, Agam Wispi and Kusni Sulang. Most, however, started writing once in exile. The authors of the 133 books above are 36 in number. It is striking that among them, and among the most prominent of them, are three members of the family of D.N. Aidit, the general secretary of the PKI, namely his two younger brothers Sobron Aidit and Asahan Aidit, and his eldest daughter, Ibarruri Putri Alam. The three of them have published memoirs, in which they talk about him in moderate terms (there is no panegyric), but with great esteem and affection. There are only three women among the 36 authors (two and a half actually, as one of them only gives a very limited contribution to the memoirs of her husband). It is true that women are a minority among the exiles; another reason is that, before 1998, women were not used to write and didn't have an important place in Indonesian literature (this changed spectacularly after the end of the New Order regime).

The essays (the first category above) are historical, political and sociological. Most aim at presenting a version of history and a historical attitude different from those of the New Order: notably the monumental works by A.R. Siregar, Imam Soedjono and Suar Suroso on the history of the PKI, but also more modest essays like those of Sobron Aidit on his brother D.N. Aidit, of A.M. Hanafi on the seizing of power by general Soeharto, and of Tatiana Lukman on her father, M.H. Lukman. From this point of view, essays share with the literary works of *sastras eksil* the will to make heard a voice different and until then muzzled.

There are no less than thirteen poets. Most are newcomers in literature, at a mature age and without experience, because poetry is the favourite medium of emotion. Poetry is a haven: "Poetry, to you only I can go home"²⁰. The collection of about 150 poems published in Jakarta in 2002, under the title *Di Negeri Orang* ('Abroad'), is representative of this poetic production. Themes are very diverse, of two major types: first, those common to the whole of Indonesian, or even universal, poetry, that is, mourning, absence, faith, everyday joys and sorrows, mother's image, remembrance of past love, departures, dreams, age, friends, solitude...; in that register there is little amorous passion, probably because the authors were already too old and few of them experienced a new passion in their host country. Second, themes peculiar to exile: denunciation of the New Order (cruelty, dictatorship, greed, dishonesty, corruption, with a particular obloquy against Soeharto), nostalgia, alienation, fear for relatives.

This second category is more combative than autobiographical texts. Referring to the hornbill as a symbol of majesty of his birth island, Borneo, the poet Magusig O. Bungai states his readiness to fight until his last breath:

20. Agam Wispi, *Di Negeri Orang*, p. 32.

We are the young hornbills chased away from their forest, flying from one jungle to another, from one land to another, the wounds on our breasts and wings redden heaven and earth, but don't you cry o fellow villagers, our tribes and our nation never bow their head, the song of your young hornbills still sounds deafening and will not be silenced (p. 118).

The New Order regime is the target of criticism and abuse: "When the principle of One Omnipotent God, and that of humanism, have become gum, chewed by the agents of the State" (Z. Alif, *Di Negeri Orang*, p. 226). But the prime target is always Soeharto: "In Bali and Yogyakarta, people kill mad dogs. Dogs in uniform covered with decorations, hunt and attack in Aceh, Papua and East Timor, they hunt and attack, for Cendana's supreme dog" (Z. Alif, p. 220-221. Cendana is the name of the Jakarta street where Soeharto had his house, and it has become a kind of substitute name for the President and his family). The poet Chalik Hamid addresses a prayer to the President: "Pak Harto, I pray with all my heart, that you don't die too fast, because the masses still need you, in order to judge you for your crimes" (from another collection).

There is no joy, no passion, no exaltation. This is a poetry sad but courageous, pessimistic but never tearful. Poems relating to the time spent in socialist countries are rare. A favourite theme is exile itself; exiles have led a life of unceasing wandering: "I am always on the road, I am the man away from home who always forget when to go back" (Asahan Alham, p. 65). Authors express the pain of exile: "I never thought I would live abroad, so long, so tiresome" (Mawie Ananta Jonie, p. 135), but also their gratitude towards asylum lands: "Paris, I never gave you a thought, and now I flow in the blood of your veins, I have made my nest in your heart" (Sobron Aidit, p. 174). Is life a perpetual failure, asks Satyadharma about the death of another exile's son:

O friend, what are we, what is man, if the secret of life remains closed, without the slightest gap, old age mercilessly makes fun of us, as the path we went through bravely, with ardor and faith, transpires to be a failure (pp. 213-214).

There are seven published novels only, most of them very short—and impossible to find. Five unpublished novels by Utuy Tatang Sontani are briefly commented upon by Alex Supartono (2001). The sole long novel, *War and Flowers (Perang dan Kembang)* by Asahan Alham (the new name of Asahan Aidit), written in Vietnam in 1983 and published in Jakarta almost twenty years later, in 2001, draws upon the reality of the author's experience in Vietnam during the years 1966-1983, so that it actually has the same documentary value as the volumes published by the same author with the appellation of "novels-memoirs" (*roman memoar*) or "short stories-memoirs" (*cerpen memoar*).

Collections of fiction short stories are equally very few.

Selfwriting

The most important and most significative category of *sastera eksil* is thus that of selfwriting. Memoirs have a relatively recent history in the Malay

World, starting in the first half of the 19th century. Those of Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsyi (1849), P.A. Achmad Djajadiningrat (1936), Tan Malaka (1948), Hamka (1951-1952), or Soekarno (1965) are a few among the main landmarks of this history. But this history does not really constitute a tradition, of which our authors would be the heirs, because there is no real continuity or filiation in it: authors of memoirs never quote their predecessors and most of them have not read them. Indonesian memoirs show a certain coherence, some common features (among others, a reserve about private life, sex, and religion, and the absence of introspection) because they are conditioned by common social features, not because authors take example from their elders. Pramoedya Ananta Toer's and Hersri Setiawan's narratives about their years in the labour camp of Buru Island owe nothing to the prison memoirs of Tan Malaka and Mochtar Lubis.²¹ Even exiles' memoirs do not constitute a tradition of its own in the sense of a legacy relayed from one author to the next, as each of them seems to reinvent the genre without consideration for previous writings: it is clear for instance that Ibarruri Putri Alam did not model her narrative on those of her uncles Sobron Aidit and Asahan Aidit, neither on those of Ali Chanafiah or any other exile who had written before her.

Autobiographical writings were not numerous in Indonesia until the 1960s. They became a real fashion with the New Order, as one of the products of the glaring narcissism generated by the regime: narcissism of the ruling class, proud of the development (*pembangunan*) and order (*kertiban*) it had succeeded to establish in replacement of the poverty and the instability of Soekarno's era, and convinced of acting on the basis of a superior culture (a kind of Neo-Javanism) and ideology (Pancasila).

The New Order's memoirs, often written by ghost-writers, are success stories: success of the regime and of individuals who pride themselves on having played a significant role in the life of the nation. Paradoxically, the New Order also provoked the writing of numerous memoirs (almost seventy) that relate the experience of two categories of victims of the regime: the political prisoners (*tapol*) and the exiles. The exiles' memoirs are in no way success stories, in no fashion narratives of lives useful to the nation. They are stories of repeated failures, narratives of a radical separation from the nation. "As a powerless micro-creature, I have been crippled and shattered in this cruel battle of life. [...] May some profit be taken out of my stories, especially of my failures," writes Waloejo Sedjati.²² Many memoirs, and this is true of those written by *tapols* too, were explicitly written as a kind of admonition:

21. Ibrahim Isa (*Kabar dari Negeri Seberang*, p. 50) states that his first awakening to political consciousness was caused by reading Tan Malaka's memoirs (*Dari Penjara ke Penjara*), but his own memoirs (*Kabar dari Negeri Seberang*, 2013) have obviously been in no way influenced by them.

22. *Bumi Tuhan*, p. xxvi.

this is what should never happen again. Some were written for the sake of the authors' families, as some sort of justification. As a rule, the exiles' memoirs appear as an endeavour to find a coherence, a rationale in lives shattered by the events of 1965-1966 and that consequently went through rare turbulence independently of the individuals' control.

Nineteen exiles (or more, or less, according to the definition one uses) have produced autobiographical writings. These belong to two main different genres: more or less systematic autobiographies (Ibarruri Putri Alam, Ali Chanafiah, Francisca Fanggidaej, Syarkawi Manap, Umar Said, Waloejo Sedjati) and short narratives relating to particular periods (Asahan Aidit, Sobron Aidit—Sobron has written more than 250 stories of this kind—, A.M. Hanafi, Ibrahim Isa, Mawie Ananta Jonie, JJ. Kusni, Tatiana Lukman, Waruno Mahdi, Utuy Tatang Sontani, Soeprijadi Tomodihardjo). These two categories, however, are far from defining precise types of texts. The six authors of autobiographies above have produced texts extremely different from one another, while the "short narratives" are alternatively presented as authentic memories, or short stories, or "fictionalised memories," that is, semi-fictions. All these texts unquestionably belong to the category of self-writing, but Sobron Aidit's, Ali Chanafiah's and Utuy Tatang Sontani's texts (for instance) display so many differences that they can hardly be regarded as belonging to the same genre.

The term "*cerpen memoar*" ("short stories-memoirs") is used by Sobron Aidit and Asahan Aidit.²³ Therefore, these texts are designated as short stories inspired by the lives of their authors, that is, autobiographical stories. The term "*cerpen memoar*" is new in Indonesian literature, but the genre is not. A great number of Indonesian short stories are in fact autobiographical stories, more or less elaborated and fictionalised in order to make them literary works. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Mochtar Lubis, Sitor Situmorang, Ajip Rosidi, A.A. Navis and many others have contributed to this genre. For that reason, the term "*cerpen memoar*" does not underscore the fictitious aspect of the stories, but on the contrary their realism: they are short stories ("*cerpen*"), that is, literary works, but they are also "*memoar*," autobiographical texts. Sobron has called his other collections: "short stories" (*cerpen*), "stories" (*cerita*) or "narratives" (*kisah*),²⁴ but he has given the subtitle "*memoar*" to the three collections of stories published in 2002-2005: *Gajah di Pelupuk Mata*, *Surat kepada Tuhan*, and *Penalti tanpa Wasit*, respectively subtitled *Memoar Sobron Aidit 1, 2, 3*, even though all of those "stories" are as realistic as one another.

Things are different with the designation "*roman memoar*" and "*roman biografis*" respectively used by Asahan Aidit (*Alhamdulillah: Roman Memoar*)

23. Respectively: *Romantika Orang Buangan: Kumpulan Cerpen Memoar*, and *Cinta, Perang dan Ilusi: Kumpulan Cerpen Memoar*.

24. See the titles *Razzia Agustus*, *Selikur Cerita Seputar Resto*, *Kesempatan Kesekian*, *Cerita dari Tanah Pengasingan*, *Kisah Intel*.

and Ibarruri Putri Alam (*Anak Sulung D.N. Aidit: Roman Biografis*). In these two cases the designated literary genre is the novel, that is, a form defined as fiction, but a fiction inspired by the biography of both authors. The insistence here is thus on fiction, but fiction is not at all the same for the two authors. Both are conscious that “no autobiography will ever be totally free from fiction and fantasy.”²⁵ Ibarruri is conscious that a written description, in the same way as for instance a painting, is not an exact reproduction of reality, and she called her narrative a “biographical novel” in order to prevent the accusation of invention that readers could be tempted to make.²⁶ Her aim is to narrate what really happened, but she invokes fiction out of fear of involuntarily deviating from it. On the contrary, Asahan Aidit revendicates his right to invent:

Every human life is a film shot according to two scenarii: one by himself, one by others. Two thirds of my life have followed the scenario of others, while my collaboration varied between voluntary, semi-voluntary, forced, semi-forced, unconscious, stupid, naïve, ignorant, and a mix of adventurism and conviction. At an age approaching half a century, I want to complete this alien story with a scenario of my own, with new adventures at my own cost, not that of the government or the party.²⁷

And further: “I don’t want to be dictated by anybody, even by life itself”.²⁸

Compared to the stories by Sobron Aidit, Ibarruri or Syarkawi Manap, who only express extremely moderated criticism towards the ideological instruction they received in China or the excess of the Cultural Revolution, Asahan’s fiction is eminently subversive: during eighteen years he suffered from his submission to a more or less vague and distant authority, that of the Delegation of the PKI, of the Chinese and Vietnamese communist parties, of socialism in general; he now frees himself from that submission by inventing adventures, most often amorous ones, that he finally may allow himself on paper. This doesn’t mean that his narratives (novels and short stories) have less historical value than those of his colleagues. Asahan does not provide more precise information than others on the conditions of his stay in China and Vietnam, but he utters loud and clear what none other dares to say: his disappointment with communism after he experienced it in the USSR, China and Vietnam: “The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is indeed an exact political term in the real sense: a dictatorship aimed at oppressing the proletariat and also the non-proletariat in the name of the proletariat.”²⁹ And further:

25. Asahan Aidit, *Alhamdulillah*, p. 12.

26. Personal communication, September 2014. It is significant that Ibarruri accepted the suggestion of the publisher of the second edition (Penerbit Ledalero in Maumere) to change “roman biografis” in the title with “Kisah Pengembawaan” (“Account of the Wanderings”; pers. comm. March 2015).

27. *Alhamdulillah*, pp. 10-11.

28. *Alhamdulillah*, p. 162.

29. *Alhamdulillah*, p. 198.

The Party educated me with the means of emotion, because without emotion it would be impossible to admire Lenin or Mao Tse Tung. Marxism-Leninism or Mao Tse Tung's thought are also emotional, this is why people can get fanatical about them, can become dogmatic and faithful without limit. Anybody who would endeavour to use their brain in studying those three mega-isms would undoubtedly switch to opposing them, they would become reactionary, counter-revolutionary or at least revisionists.³⁰

To Write Back

Asahan (in the Netherlands) writes for himself, or so does at least the narrator of his "fictional" writing:

I want to see myself in what I think, what I fantasise about, what I immortalise; and so I write about what I may not find quickly in one go, I may have to write again and again, all my life perhaps, until I do or do not find it. This is important for me, as I am running against time, before my fragile self simply disappears. I still wish to see myself, who I am, not only what it feels to become myself.³¹

Other writers have a different purpose. Ali Chanafiah and his wife Salmiah Pane (in Sweden) write (together) for their grand-children, and they use pronouns that signify respectively "grandpa" and "grandma." He writes for instance: "Grandpa was convinced that fate had decided we would live together and found a family."³² They clearly explain their intention:

We have not written these memoirs for the general public, but for our grand-children and their own grand-children after them. These memoirs are in some way our justification to them of the reasons why we did what we did, why we spent dozens of years away from our relatives and from our homeland, why is it that from our teen age we took part in the struggle for independence and later on we took part in defending it and giving it a content.³³

Umar Said (in France) writes for his family too:

These notes, or this text, are a "report" to them, a complement to what they have known until now. [...] May these stories about my childhood, my youth and my life in exile help my wife, my children and my closest relatives (my younger brothers and sisters, and others) better understand my personality, what I did, and why the path of my life has turned into what it is.³⁴

However, these three authors ultimately had their text published like the other authors of autobiographies, with the consequence that all have been addressing the Indonesian public at large.

All memoirs, as well as the whole of *sastra eksil*, are written in Indonesian. Writing during the reign of Soeharto, the exiles have not written (or infinitely little) in a foreign language (English, French, Dutch), in order to inform

30. *Alhamdulillah*, p. 364.

31. *Alhamdulillah*, p. 163.

32. *Perjalanan Jauh*, p. 86.

33. *Perjalanan Jauh*, p. 426.

34. *Perjalanan Hidup Saya*, pp. xvi-xvii.

international opinion about what was happening in Indonesia. Their writings go against the general common ideas about political refugees in the world and thus raise questions. One would expect a political action of denunciation and resistance, intending to alert the local opinion of the host country or international opinion about the abuses of power in the country of origin. It is for instance what Argentinian exiles in France did in the 1970s and 80s, at the time the Indonesian refugees were getting settled in France. This tendency of the Indonesian exiles is not accepted by all of them; Tatiana Lukman for instance writes angrily:

Until today, all organisations created abroad in order to defend the interests of the victims of the 1965 national tragedy in which I happened to be involved have refused to accept as their main objective the disclosure and condemnation of the crimes of Suharto's military regime and United States' imperialism, and the publicizing of the victims' claims to the international world, by creating a network of progressive international organisations. Like frogs under a half-coconut! (*Panta Rhei*, p. 109).

Besides the fact that their number is considerably lower than that of the Argentinians, the aim of the Indonesian exiles is different. All write in Indonesian because they consciously and deliberately address their fellow-citizens, to whom they have decided to present a "report," a kind of "justification" of their lives. A text of that nature is supposed to answer implicit questions, a template tacitly shared. C.W. Watson has insisted upon the way political prisoners' autobiographies are "framed" or even "dictated" by the demands and expectations they ascribe to their readers, to the point of presenting some sort of "worrying uniformity" in the construction of the narratives: "There seems to be an almost dictated version of events which writers are required to observe."³⁵

In the case of the exiles, one may ask what questions they think they are answering, as their narratives avoid most of the major questions the reader asks herself. The paradox of all these narratives is that the authors are confronted with constraints that forbid them to relate a major part of their experiences. A single author (Francisca Fanggidaej) only speaks about her life prior to the 1965 putsch. Others, as we have seen, write a more or less complete autobiography until the time when they write, once settled in Europe: Umar Said, Ali Chanafiah and Ibarruri starting from childhood, Syarkawi Manap and Waloejo Sedjati from the time they are about to go abroad, but in no way do their narratives follow a linear structure. Ali Chanafiah and Ibarruri for instance describe in great detail their lives before 1965, but are far more vague about the following periods when they lose control over their destinies as they are submitted to a foreign authority. Other writers limit themselves to memories of specific periods. Many of them have gone through the same experiences, sometimes together. They write about their lives in Cuba, the USSR, China, North Korea, Burma, Macao, the Netherlands, France and Sweden.

³⁵. *On Self and Injustice*, pp. 6-7, see also p. 76.

Most talk with a moving tone of sincerity and humility. There is an evident literary effort with two authors only: Utuy Tatang Sontani and Asahan Aidit. In a narrative the size of a short story, Utuy Tatang Sontani relates his first years in China. It is clear that he doesn't seek to recount the facts in their continuity and their logic, and not even to give precise information about dates, places, events and persons. The narrative is focused on his relation to a woman, on the background of the atmosphere that filled the milieu of the refugees and that induced him to, more and more, stand aside; but it is difficult to say what is the true object of the tale: the background or the woman. As for Asahan Aidit, he relates in three novels and one collection of short stories his experience in Jakarta, Vietnam, China and the Netherlands, while constantly mixing fiction with reality and using a narrative logic that substitutes itself to the historical one.

This doesn't mean that the other texts have no literary quality or are not the result of a literary effort (there are poignant pages in Waloejo Sedjati's memoirs), but the primary impression they give is that of spontaneity, sometimes even a certain ingenuousness. The autobiography of the couple Ali Chanafiah and Salmiah Pane presents the particularity of a twin authorship (unfortunately unbalanced as Salmiah only wrote three chapters out of twenty-one), in which can be seen a difference of sensibility (he is more factual, she more emotional) if not of style. Moreover, the book has a slight novelistic twist because of the angelic character of the two protagonists: they are perfect, entirely devoted to a cause, without the slightest trace of selfishness or personal ambition and without the faintest feeling of animosity towards anyone, even the Dutch and their stooges. They ignore doubt. At the age of twenty they appear as the guides of the population of Bengkulu, to whom they show the way to progress and they advise on everything including private life. This is not the effect of excessive pride: the authors are not the least boastful, but they recreate for themselves and for the sake of their grand children the idealised image of a pre-disaster period, at a time when political ideals and conflicts could be lived in some kind of human, reasonable and logical order.

Sobron Aidit, who writes very fast, sometimes two stories a day, gives the impression of never worrying himself with literary intent. He writes stories as he would write letters to a friend, to tell an anecdote and share an emotion. The writing of these memories in the form of short stories has the effect of giving a large place to the emotional and the picturesque, little place to reflexion and analysis, and no place at all to a systematic and rational description. These stories have the freshness of spontaneity, sincerity and humour. There is little art and grand thoughts, but there is the pleasure to share the joys and sorrows of a man of an extreme simplicity and a rare modesty, who has lived uncommon things. But beyond this candour, there are rules and limits: Sobron is very reserved on his private life and says nearly nothing about his political life. He talks about France, China and his childhood in a disorder that cannot be but deliberate.

The narratives are never plaintive or doleful; they never try to arouse pity; coming from people who have gone through so many sufferings and disappointments, they even show a striking energy and optimism. However, compared to the success stories of the New Order's parvenus, they appear as failure stories, or at least stories of successive failures: failure of the PKI in 1965, of the training in socialist countries, of the adaptation in Europe,³⁶ and finally of the return home. However, Umar Said's narrative reminds us that those stories are precisely meant to show that the various failures have been in some way overcome. Umar Said's memoirs end on an appreciation of the whole course of his life, the continuity and coherence of which, from childhood to old age, he perceives clearly, in spite of the accidents of history. This allows him to draw a positive conclusion because, in spite of all vicissitudes, he has realised the ambition of his parents, that of "becoming someone," not somebody wealthy and powerful, but someone good and respectable.³⁷ All authors are not so optimistic, some insist more on bitterness and disappointment, but as a whole the moral of their stories is still that life goes on and, for some, the struggle goes on too.

The Art of Secrecy

All texts are the consequence of exile: exile is at the centre of all narratives. Whether they address their family, their friends or the Indonesian audience in general, the authors relate the story of their exile.³⁸ They were separated from their homeland in 1965-66 because they were accused of being communists, then they lived the more or less twenty following years as communists in communist countries. This is why they write and why people read them: people want to know how and why they became communist, what did it mean in their life, in Indonesia before the putsch and further on in foreign countries, what was their experience of communism in the two socialist countries par excellence, the USSR and China, what remains of their convictions after those dozens of years of tribulations outside their country. Answers to these questions are numerous and varied; they are also most vague and uncertain.

As most Indonesian autobiographies, these are much reserved about the intimate and family life of the authors. Ali Chanafiah and Salmiah Pane's reader is much surprised to learn on page 128 that the couple has three children, the eldest one being eleven years old, while their birth was not even mentioned, whereas the authors have been quite open about the blossoming of their love

36. The non-adaptation in Europe is a kind of failure, but a deliberate one: they do not wish to adapt, they wish their stay in Europe to be provisory and quickly forgotten, they want to go home.

37. *Perjalanan Hidup Saya*, p. 260.

38. With the exception of F. Fanggidaej. Her book (*Memoirs of a Revolutionary Woman*) is the only one among the texts discussed here which has been written by somebody else (no else than Hersri Setiawan) on the basis of interviews, and it is not known who decided to limit it to the period prior to 1965.

and their marriage. The same reserve applies to religious life: it is impossible to guess the religious feelings of both authors, perhaps very strong, perhaps non-existent. When Syarkawi Manap relates, near the end of his narrative³⁹ that he has been on the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1997, at the age of 57, once settled in Sweden, about which he insists on the religious tradition of his family, the reader realises that Islam has had practically no place previously. Wherever he was during twenty years of tribulations, religion was not invoked either as a practice or a guide of conduct. The sole author who talks about his religious life in some detail is Sobron Aidit (he wrote a 77-page booklet about it: "Spiritual notes behind the man Sobron Aidit") and he happens to be the one who converted (from Islam to Protestantism). No intimate life, no religion, no introspection either: Waruno Mahdi is the unique example of an exile who writes an intellectual autobiography ("On a tour to the world of Marxism-Leninism").

Moreover, the exiles' autobiographies avoid talking about politics: people like Francisca Fanggidaej and Ali Chanafiah, who were both members of the parliament and had functions in the Party, don't say a word about their joining the Party or their communist convictions. F. Fanggidaej presents a very interesting testimony about the meaning of independence to her. Because of her peculiar family situation, she had no place in the colonial society of the Netherlands Indies, and the revolution offered her that identity she was lacking: "With the revolution I was going home. A home of identity within a setting. There was my place, where I could 'become somebody'."⁴⁰ But about the PKI, she gives the impression she joined by chance, as a consequence of the evolution of groups and parties she was mixing with at the time.

The unique author who talks about his joining the Party is Utuy Tatang Sontani, precisely, it seems, because he is among the ones disappointed with socialism, and his explanation (addressed to the woman who haunts these memories) is surprising:

So, if you ask me why I joined the party, the answer is clearly that what attracted me was not the party. What attracted me was its communism, because I saw communism as something beautiful. That is one thing; secondly, the person who introduced me to communism as something beautiful was himself a beautiful being. [...] Njoto. He was beautiful to my heart and to my eyes because he was the only one at the PKI leadership who tried to show his existence as a politician and a man of culture at the same time.⁴¹

Before or after 1965, the other writers tend to avoid political matters. The experience of living in socialist countries is described in some detail. If one took the trouble to collect and organise the information scattered over the few thousand pages written by the exiles, one would probably obtain a relatively dense image

39. *Kisah Perjalanan*. p. 205.

40. *Memoar Perempuan Revolucioner*, p. 57.

41. *Di Bawah Langit Tak Berbintang*, p. 81.

of what they lived: moving from place to place; military, political and ideological instruction; conditions of private and collective life; experience of the Cultural Revolution..., but none of them draws the picture, none allows himself an account of the system that govern them, a criticism of their condition or an analysis of practical socialism. A few authors justify this lack of systematic description and analysis by the fact that they do not pretend to write history: "But this is a matter of past history, which I cannot expose in detail here. I'm going straight to my own story;"⁴² "Once again, I am not a journalist, even less a war journalist. I have my own story, which has not much to do with war and peace;"⁴³ "It needs to be stated here that this text is not a historical dissertation about specific periods."⁴⁴

For most of them the years in socialist countries were very hard, even more so because they coincided with the Cultural Revolution. Many make cautious hints at the excess of the Cultural Revolution, the political indoctrination and the cult of the Great Helmsman. But part of them have the greatest esteem for the Cultural Revolution.⁴⁵ And they are also grateful to have been accepted and taken care of during all these years. Sobron Aidit, who is among the most cautious and civil writers, expresses this gratitude:

Our life was supported by our host, who provided food, clothing, recreation, summer visits to other provinces, and pocket money too. For all our material needs, our host was most responsible and attentive. Verily, and I am talking for myself only, my opinion is, how well and thoroughly our host took care of us, and how much we owe him.⁴⁶

Writers are led to this paradox of "saying without saying" because of two censorship filters: that of the Party and that of the audience. The first is the duty of secrecy regarding all their "revolutionary" activities and everything related to the Party. This is a strict and general rule dictated by the Party; it is also a rule of solidarity towards comrades. It is out of the question to disown the past or to challenge the political line of the PKI before 1965, even though, in actual life, this is precisely the subject of unending discussions, disputes and frictions, even after having moved to Europe. Refugees in socialist countries between 1965 and 1985 are "at war." Secrecy is so important that it seems without limits. Writing memoirs and describing this period of "war" equals the risk of betraying at every moment, or at least the risk of being accused of betraying.

To live with the obligation of keeping secrets has almost become an instinct, besides being one major teaching. Among the many secrets we have to keep are everything we learn apart from language, everything else we do, where we stay and how long we will be in Vietnam. Will all these remain secret all our life? Only time will answer.

42. Asahan Alham Aidit, *Cinta, Perang dan Ilusi*, p. 130.

43. *Idem*, p. 215.

44. Umar Said, *Perjalanan Hidup Saya*, p. xvi.

45. See for instance the three books by Tatiana Lukman: *Panta Rhei*, pp. 130-1, *Pelangi*, pp. 81-82, and above all *Alternatif*, pp. 128-62.

46. Sobron Aidit, *Cerita dari Tanah Pengasingan*, p. 9.

This comes from Asahan,⁴⁷ who is precisely the one who decided to take the highest risks with the spirit of secrecy under the mask of fiction. Secrecy produces hazy narratives where characters are designated by initials, places are unclear and actions are described (such is the aim of autobiography) as much as they are concealed (such is the law of secrecy).

The second self-censorship is caused by caution. Exiles write for the general Indonesian public, that is, for the average Indonesian, who has undergone thirty years of New Order's indoctrination, with all the prejudices, the common places and the myths that this implies. Communism is still demonised. It is impossible to talk about it without creating misunderstanding or even violent reactions, to the point of putting relatives and friends in danger and to arouse new hatred. It is necessary to temporize, to progress cautiously, to keep secrets.

There are other conspicuous silences. One regards cultural life. There are mentions of reading books, for instance, back in Indonesia before 1965 (Ali Chanafiah trades books with Soekarno in Bengkulu in the late 1930s: he gets Lenin's collected works in Dutch and H.G. Wells' *History of the World* in exchange for the original edition of *Das Kapital*)⁴⁸ and after the move to Europe (Ibaruri reads Russian books at the Pompidou Library in Paris in the 1980s),⁴⁹ but in the long period of wandering in socialist countries, Asahan may be the only one to mention any reading at all, viz. spending whole days reading in a public library in Hanoi. He is also the only one to talk, lengthily and eloquently, about music, and again about songs and dances.⁵⁰

Narratives are also surprisingly poor in descriptions of foreign countries. Except for a few pages by Syarkawi Manap on Cuba (before 1965) and various passages by Asahan Aidit on Vietnam (in *Alhamdulillah* and *Cinta*) and the USSR (in *Cinta*), most writers say nothing about foreign countries that goes beyond their personal experience, so that there is little to learn in all that literature about the USSR, China, Vietnam, Burma, North Korea or European countries. Sobron Aidit may have written almost a thousand pages about his experience in France without really talking about France ever.

In other words, the narratives are characterised by silences, what is absent from them, as much as what is in them. The most remarkable silence is that of any indictment. The narratives avoid talking about 1965-66 and only allude mildly to the slaughters, jailings and all other tragic consequences of the "events." The sole character personally incriminated is General Soeharto.

47. Asahan Alham Aidit, *Cinta, Perang dan Ilusi*, pp. 148-9.

48. *Perjalanan Jauh*, p. 436.

49. *Anak Sulung*, p. 317.

50. See for instance *Perang dan Kembang*, pp. 218-221 and 440-443, for his experience as a violinist, and pp. 83-86, 137-140, 216, for Malay songs and dances performed in Vietnamese military camps.

How could I forgive the man who killed my family, my friends and my comrades? He killed my brother, and we don't even know where his grave is. How could I be able and willing to forgive him? God knows what I feel.⁵¹

Putting the blame solely on Soeharto allows forgiveness for everyone else. The major message of the narratives is a message of peace and reconciliation. Ibarruri is the one who expresses this in the most spectacular terms. In one of the many musings that occupy the last part of her memoirs, she argues that political prisoners and other victims of the New Order turn away from grudge, hatred and revenge because they refuse cruelty: to hate and to take vengeance would mean to be as fiendish as their torturers. Victims are thus reduced to, or voluntarily led to, a silent resistance:

In everyday life, at every moment, they oppose a mute resistance. [...] That is how humanism defeats barbary and life defeats death. That is how nature, in its own way, restores the balance broken by man and revivifies the values that have been trampled upon by man.⁵²

For her, people responsible for the slaughter are the generals and the government, while the masses are victims of an immense brain washing that created fictitious hatred. The masses (*rakyat*) have to reconcile:

Only if we go to the roots of the matter shall we be able to achieve peace with ourselves, with our conscience, and from there a genuine peace will be born on this beautiful earth. We will have the opportunity and the freedom to build the world of our own choice. We, together, will be able to bury the remains of the bodies of the fathers and mothers, the brothers and sisters, the friends whom we have slaughtered ourselves.⁵³

Ibarruri is the daughter of the general secretary of the PKI, who was among the first victims (he was assassinated in November 1965) and who is the symbol of the physical destruction of the PKI and the massacre of hundreds of thousands of people. That she is able to write "[those] we have slaughtered ourselves" is quite phenomenal.

Reception

Going back to the "silences" in exiles' autobiographies, they are a cause of misunderstanding, both from people prejudiced against the exiles and people close to them. The publisher of Umar Said's text had the unfortunate idea to request a foreword from Rosihan Anwar, a famous journalist and polygraph well known for his anti-communist stance, who has no sympathy and no esteem for Umar Said, who invokes the past with irony and condescension, and who allows himself to call Umar Said a "petit-bourgeois":

51. Sobron Aidit, *Catatan Spiritual*, p. 28.

52. *Anak Sulung*, p. 333.

53. *Anak Sulung*, p. 371.

"The values he displays look more like the beliefs of a petty noble, they disclose a *kleinburgerlijk*, a petit-bourgeois world, far away from the '*vive le principe, perisse le monde*' (live the principles perish the world) philosophy that the communist fighters liked to shout out in the past."⁵⁴

This judgement is unfair and biased because Umar Said's numerous political actions, in France, in favour of the East Timorese, the *tapol* (political prisoners) and other categories of victims of the New Order are in no way "petit-bourgeois," but Rosihan Anwar's sarcasm is made possible because the text and the very life of Umar Said lose a great part of their meaning when deprived of any ideology.

Hersri Setiawan, who has personally known the political refugees in Europe one by one and who has interviewed a number of them in the frame of a politically oriented oral history project,⁵⁵ has remarked on their shyness, their tendency to keep a low profile and their reluctance to present themselves as a group of political opponents. He regards this attitude as a flaw and quotes the word of the ever provocative Pramoedya Ananta Toer: "Our comrades are still lying flat!". For Hersri, *sastra eksil* should be a literature of opposition:

According to their nature and origin, the works born of political exile [...] should have opposition as inspiration and contents. Thus exile literature too should be a literature of opposition. But it is not the case of the Indonesian *sastra eksil*.⁵⁶

This is actually only true of the works considered here, that is, the books and mainly the autobiographical ones, published in Indonesia after 1998, while the many articles published in journals, in Europe, in the 1980s and 1990s, as well as essays (like e.g. Tatiana Lukman's *Alternatif*, 2013, and the seven volumes published by Suar Suroso during the last fifteen years) certainly belong to a "literature of opposition." In any case, the exiles never lost interest in the political situation in Indonesia. Many of them take part in social and political action in favour of New Order's victims and human rights, many participate in the movement for the establishment of a more equitable society. They have not abandoned their hopes for the future of Indonesia. But this is not to be found in their autobiographical writings. Those have a different purpose, which has to be read between the lines.

The central motive of these writings is the exiles' identity. Rejected by their government, deprived of their citizenship, they have spent fifteen to twenty years of their life as stateless individuals locked up in a utopian bubble without a way out. Throughout that period, while their identity was buried under a

54. *Perjalanan Hidup Saya*, foreword, p. xiii.

55. The archives of the program, called "In Search of Silenced Voices: Indonesian Exiles of the Left," are kept at Amsterdam's International Institute of Social History (IISH). A second oral history program was conducted by the Yayasan Lontar in Jakarta. Those two extremely valuable documentations have been virtually unexploited until now.

56. Setiawan (2011).

succession of pseudonyms,⁵⁷ they have been trained, educated, indoctrinated, in the uncertain aim, constantly postponed and finally abandoned, to go back to their country as revolutionaries. During all that period they have been treated like interchangeable matriculant numbers. Talking about the way he is handled by the authorities (the unnamed Delegation), Asahan remarks bitterly:

Actually, I have long been regarded as street garbage that awaits the garbage collector to pick it up and throw it onto the garbage dump. This is part of the scenario written by someone else. It means that all pieces of scattered garbage have to wait submissively in specific dumps belonging to one garbage collector, they may not move freely. Political garbage if one cannot say political victims.⁵⁸

Then they have been naturalised Europeans (Dutch, French, Swedish and others), often under new names again. During thirty years (when they started writing) or fifty (until now), their identity has been constantly denied. They have been identified as “communists” and thus undesirable, pariahs, disposable. Alluding to the “smiling General” (President Soeharto), the poet Satyadharma writes:

Underneath his smile, dogs are trained to bite, and bark more loudly than their master. Underneath his smile, lie my comrades’ bodies, dead for an unknown fault. Underneath his smile, my people have been cast to the level of pariahs.⁵⁹

Whatever their political convictions at the twilight of their lives they want to get rid of that label ‘communist’ which has become an icon of evil and has nothing more to do with their past ideology, and above all they want to recover their Indonesian identity. They want to be accepted as the individuals they are, one by one, to be recognized as Indonesian citizens, to be authorised to go home, to be accepted without reproach and rancour. Ibarruri has a revealing sentence about this: “There, in France, we were truly anonymous and free. Anonymous, that is, people didn’t know who we really were. In that country, only a few people knew.”⁶⁰ ‘Anonymous’ here is not a matter of name but of labelling. Ibarruri is the last person to hide her origins. She called her autobiography “The eldest child of D.N. Aidit,” a most provocative title, even eight years after the demise of Soeharto’s regime. But for her, freedom comes with the liberation from labels, being “anonymous.”

During all the years of wandering (they are the “*orang kelayaban*,” the wanderers), the political refugees have always believed that the day would come when they would be able to go back to Indonesia. The idea of going back home, of being accepted back into Indonesian society, of living as

57. Sobron Aidit and Kusni Sulang have both been using dozens of different pennames during the New Order years.

58. *Alhamdulillah*, p. 11.

59. “Senyum,” in *Di Negeri Orang*, p. 204.

60. *Anak Sulung*, p. 316.

Indonesian citizens, of taking part in Indonesian social and political life, has been a life obsession and it is the fundamental reason why they write their life-stories. This idea is so common, so unanimous, that it obliterates the possibility of a different attitude. This is why the case of the exiles in Cuba is, by contrast, interesting: those few individuals (five families only) didn't ask for naturalisation, more or less assimilated into local society, and deliberately chose not to go back and settle in Indonesia.⁶¹

Ibarruri, who likes to use comparisons with the *Mahabharata*⁶² compares the period of her exile in France with the end of the exile of the Pandawa brothers, the epic's heroes condemned to a twelve-year exile and one more year of anonymity after the eldest had lost his goods, his family, his wife and himself in a game of dice. Hersri Setiawan has used the same comparison a few times (a.o. 2001, 2010). For Ibarruri, the period of wandering ends once she is in France:

The time of wandering was used by the Pandawas to get more powerful and stronger. Here in France I started being a human being again, the period of wandering in the forest had come to an end. I could bear my original name again and live in the open, without having to hide, under the protection of the state here. We could take steps to get in touch with friends and comrades in the homeland. In France, for the first time, I was able to make contact with my mother and my younger brothers, later on to meet my family, and to undertake various activities in order to directly help friends in the homeland.⁶³

To compare oneself with the Pandawa brothers is quite romantic. It means that the period of exile is closed. Moreover the end of the story is well known: the Pandawas will be the victors of the great war. While in reality, for the Indonesian exiles, exile never ended; for most of them, exile became a permanent status, many already died in exile, and they certainly didn't come out as victors.

Conclusion

Exile status is not transmitted to the second generation. The latter, having chosen Indonesia or the host country, has its own status, which often is of a mestizo nature. *Sastrak* is thus limited in time to one generation and an odd half-century. Only a few more works will be published; the corpus is almost complete already. This corpus, however, is part of a larger category,

61. see Hearman, "The last men in Havana."

62. The Indian epic *Mahabharata* has had a life of its own in Java, where it became one of the main sources of the shadow theatre (*wayang kulit*) stories and gave birth to a quantity of new episodes. Ibarruri was nourished with *wayang* stories in her childhood, first by the family maid, then by reading, as she started reading very early and soon knew the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* stories by heart, especially through comics very popular at the time (*Anak Sulung*, p. 25, 34). Ibarruri gives a summary of the Pandawa brothers' exile twice (pp. 109, 312-3) and alludes to it twice more (pp. 151, 272-3).

63. *Anak Sulung*, p. 313.

that of the testimonies produced by all the victims of the 1965-1966 tragedy: exiles, people jailed and those sent to the labour camp on Buru Island, and it is in that context that it will have to be studied, both as a literary category and as a documentation in order to write this tragic episode in the history of contemporary Indonesia.

The books of the exiles are published, the testimony is audible, but is it heard? Not really, because the problem of the exiles, as well as that of the *tapol* is far from being solved; it is a social and historical problem that lies beyond literature: how does a nation absorb a trauma like that of the 1965-1966 slaughter?

Contrary to what could be expected, there is not much to glean in the exiles' memoirs about the September 30 putsch, PKI's history, the ideological debates inside the Indonesian left, the links between the exiles' community in Europe and the political activists in Indonesia before and after 1998, and other topics one would think exiles should be likely to talk about, but on the other side, this literature is a unique documentary source on the military and ideological training camps in China and in Vietnam, on the presence of Indonesian refugees in the USSR and Burma, or again on international socialist solidarity during the last decade of the Cold War. This documentary aspect is also to be found in academic writings (e.g. the articles by D. Hill and A. Supartono quoted above contain a wealth of information on the life of the refugees in the USSR), but the exiles' memoirs are irreplaceable because they are personal and emotional testimonies on the way the events of 1965-1966 and their sequels were lived and perceived.

One of the peculiarities of this literature, for the reasons mentioned above, is its relation to history. The rationale of memoirs world wide, their very essence, is to explicate the relationship between an individual destiny and that of the nation, to reveal the logical link between the life of a man or a woman and the course of history. In the case of *sastra eksil* memoirs, that relationship is never clearly established: it is always outside the text, in a historical limbo, while the events that led the exiles to wander from one country to another are dictated by obscure forces. *Sastra eksil* needs to be studied from a political point of view (is it a literature of opposition?) and a literary one (what is its place inside Indonesian literature, what is its specificity compared to the works of the *tapols*?), but it also deserves to be studied in a larger scope, together with the diverse literatures of diasporas and by comparison with the works that tell us about human beings living through one of history's tragedies.

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Ideology as a Transmitted Disease: the World of Asahan Alham

Asahan Alham is an Indonesian writer who has published, under slightly different names, four books defined as belonging to different genres. Those books can be read in different ways according to the prior knowledge (or total ignorance) that one has of the author's biography and according to the objectives and inclinations of each reader. They are books of adventures; some are novels of love (or rather stories of love affairs); they are also documentary sources about various political contexts, in Indonesia, in the USSR, and in Vietnam. The aim of this article is to show that these four books, beyond considerable formal differences, constitute above all the intimate autobiography of a man swept along in the political turmoil of Soekarno's and Soeharto's Indonesia, and that this autobiography is unique with respect to the norms of that genre in Indonesia.

First, the author published under the name of Asahan Alham the "novel" *Perang dan Kembang* (*War and Flowers*, 2001), then under the name of Asahan Aidit the "memoirs novel" *Alhamdulillah* (*Thank God*, 2006), then under the name of Asahan Alham Aidit the "collection of memoirs-short stories" *Cinta, Perang dan Ilusi: Antara Moskow dan Hanoi* (*Love, War and Illusions: Between Moscow and Hanoi*, 2006), and lastly again under the name of Asahan Alham the "novel" or "memoirs" *Azalea: Hidup Mengejar Ijazah* (*Azalea: Living in Search of Diplomas*, 2009).

He had previously published two collections of poetry under the respective names of Asahan Aidit (*Perjalanan dan Rumah Baru, Travel and A New*

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House, 1993) and Asahan Alham (23 *Sajak Menangisi Viet Tri, 23 Verses to Grieve Viet Tri*, 1998).

The explanation of those various names is simple: The author was born as Asahan Aidit and changed his name to Asahan Alham (abbreviation of *alhamdulillah*, “Thank God”) in 1984, when he settled in the Netherlands. We can see, however, that he kept using his original name long after having chosen a new one.²

The four prose works are thus presented as belonging to the following genres: *roman*, *memoar*, *roman memoar*, and *cerpen memoar* (*cerpen* is short story). The categories *roman*, *cerpen*, and *memoar* are well established in Indonesia, but the mixed ones (*roman memoar* and *cerpen memoar*) do not exist. One can immediately guess that they are hybrid genres which can be defined as literary texts (novels and short stories) inspired by the life of the author, or as memoirs mixed with fiction, according to the emphasis one wishes to give to the fictional or the authentic element in them.

The four books have been published by four different publishers: the first (*War and Flowers*) by a known one, Pustaka Jaya, with a print-run of 3,000 copies³ and the other three by small publishers (Lembaga Sastra Pembebasan, Lembaga Humaniora, and Klik Books respectively) with, in the last three cases, various flaws in printing and presentation, and with probably limited circulations. Reviews have been very few (as is almost always the case in Indonesia) and it is impossible to ascertain what the readership of the books has been. The fact that the books are not commented upon on the Indonesian Goodreads website is an indication that their popularity was very limited.⁴ One of them, *Cinta, Perang dan Ilusi*, has been discussed by David T. Hill (“Writing lives in exile”), who mainly reviews the political context of the stories.

It is indeed tempting to look in the four books for a testimony on the events that the author experienced: he was 22 in 1965 and, if those “semi-memoirs” are truthful, he has lived through rather extraordinary adventures in the USSR, in Vietnam, and in the Netherlands. But is that how an Indonesian audience reads them? Asvi Warman Adam read the manuscript of *Alhamdulillah* in

2. According to Asahan Alham himself, it is his publishers who chose among his two names without asking his opinion (pers. comm.). I am extremely grateful to Asahan Alham for his patience and his kindness in answering my numerous and insistant questions throughout 2015. His explanations have been most helpful and his friendly humour most rewarding. My interpretation of his books changed altogether in the course of our correspondance. I don't exclude, however, the possibility that there may have been elements of fiction in his answers, as this would be consistant with his view on how the past has to be recalled. I also wish to express my heartily thanks to my colleague Ernest Thrimbe for commenting on this article and offering editorial suggestions.

3. I thank Ajip Rosidi for this information and other comments on this novel.

4. The website <www.goodreads.com/group/bookshelf/345-goodreads-indonesia> is entirely devoted to books published in Indonesia and constitutes an excellent source on the way books are received and interpreted.

2000, before its publication, and wondered whether it was a Vietnamese novel translated into Indonesian.⁵ This means that he, as a historian specialized in contemporary history and more especially the 1965 events and their aftermath, had seen no Indonesian reality behind the novelistic facade. Even more so, the young Indonesian reader, who knows virtually nothing of those events, is most likely to read the book as mere fiction.

Even more likely to be considered as fiction is *War and Flowers* (*Perang dan Kembang*). This big book (484 pages) is the first written by Asahan Alham: according to the data on the last page, it was written in Nha Trang, Vietnam, in 1983. It is defined (in the blurb written by the publisher) as a “novel”; the title itself suggests a novel. No preface is there to dispute this. The cover illustration is a drawing representing a soldier dreaming about women.⁶ What does this fiction tell us?

The narrative starts with the evocation of a threefold exotic setting: Vietnam, war, and the military milieu. The novel starts with the sentence: “This small village that I had recently discovered was a few dozen kilometers away from the capital Hanoi, on a quite high plateau, its hard and reddish paths uncovered by asphalt.”

The protagonist, who also is the narrator (he uses the pronoun “*aku*”), is a Malaysian whose name (once quoted as Abdul Salam bin Baheramsyah Ja’far Fatillah) is abbreviated into Salam; his comrades call him Lam. So, there is identity between protagonist and narrator but not with the author.

For unstated reasons, Salam lives and works in a Vietnamese military base, a few dozen kilometers from Hanoi. He is part of a comedic troupe which travels from one base to another, entertaining soldiers. He has affairs with several local women and he occasionally recalls other affairs with various women. These episodes occupy a very important place; perhaps they are the main subject of the novel.

This “first part” of the novel takes place in 1968. In the second part, three years later, Salam is posted to the navy in Haiphong. New affairs, new memories of affairs, new anecdotes about Vietnam in war. The stay in Haiphong is interrupted by a trip of several months to China, where Salam is the guest of the government, royally treated at first, coldly later, and where he meets one of his brothers. In the third part, after his return to Vietnam, he remains in Haiphong for a while, then is transferred to Hanoi, where he teaches Malay to a small group of apprentice interpreters. When the final victory of Vietnam is imminent, he is told to resume his studies at the university; he works on a dissertation about Southeast Asian tales and proverbs.

5. See his preface to the book published in 2006.

6. See the reproduction of the covers of the four books at the end of this article.

He defends his dissertation after a few years. War is over, he has no more work, he asks to leave the country, but the Communist Party, in a new change of policy, organizes his wedding with the girl he is in love with. So he seems to be definitively settled in the country.

This action as a whole occupies the years 1968 to 1978, but in a sporadic way. The Vietnamese context is very present: there is no systematic discourse on the country, but the various scenes that are the setting of the novel's action, little by little, build a picture of it: war, population, food, landscapes, festivals... Salam's gaze is always sympathetic; he speaks Vietnamese fluently and could be totally integrated into the local society if the government, or the Party, did not keep him resolutely on the sidelines, notably by forbidding him to find a job by himself and to have a relationship with a local woman. There is no other Malay or Indonesian character in the novel (except one in a flashback episode) and the male Vietnamese ones are very few. Therefore Salam is the almost unique protagonist amidst ten women or so, with all of whom he has a sexual and in some cases sentimental relationship. Those affairs are very short lived (one night or a little more) but four of them are described as representing a profound love.

In the first pages, Aku has an adventure with a young woman, Kim. He marries her at the end of the novel, the last pages of which are devoted to her. The skeleton of the novel is there, in this adventure that marks the beginning and the end, and the very long interval of which (about ten years) is filled by fleeting adventures with eight other women, which in some way give its rhythm to the narrative, marking its stages. Some more or less artificial links between a few of these women, as well as regular new evocations of one or the other, help to underscore that structure.

The women are five Vietnamese and four foreigners. The latter are one Indonesian (Gerda), one Polish (Lena), both belonging to the past, one Chinese (Chiau Sen) and one French (Christine). Aku is not in love with them; they stand outside the love competition; they are only passing through. The Vietnamese, on the contrary, are all potential wives, and it so happens that they are physically eliminated. The first one is discarded in various ways: she belongs to the past (she is featured in the novel in a flashback episode); Aku had not been in love with her; she is a half-foreigner (Vietnamese of Chinese origin); but she is also eliminated in a more radical way: she is killed by the Vietnamese coast-guards whilst trying to flee the country at the same time as hundreds of thousands of "boat-people." The second one, Hai Van, is killed by a bomb shortly after her adventure with Aku. Another one, Mai Lan, is the victim of a concussion from bomb-blast and reduced to a vegetative state. Remains Loan, the only one who is not physically damaged; she exits the love competition because her family arranges her marriage with another man.

Some readers will take exception to a certain complacency for the macho fantasies of the protagonist (or the narrator) or the number of implausibilities,

but other readers on the contrary will enjoy that complacency, those implausibilities, and the casualness of the narrator when eliminating women. Asahan Alham in private denies any implausibility. Do Indonesian readers value verisimilitude?⁷

Thus, from a first reading, we have a dense novel dominated by eroticism and exoticism. However, what is Aku doing in Vietnam in wartime?

In fact, we know the author. The biographical sketch at the front of *War and Flowers*, which is all the more significant as it was written by the author himself,⁸ informs us that the author actually is an Indonesian who left Jakarta for Moscow in 1961 to study humanities and obtained a masters degree in 1966. At the end of that year, he left for Vietnam, where he did further studies in various domains: journalism, military matters (*kemiliteran*), Vietnamese language and literature. At Hanoi State University, under the supervision of Professor Vu Ngoc Phan, he wrote, in Vietnamese, a dissertation on a comparative study of some aspects of Vietnamese and Nusantarian proverbs, which he defended, with honours, in 1978. He lived seventeen years in Vietnam, and then emigrated to the Netherlands, where he adopted Dutch nationality under the family name Alham (from the word *alhamdulillah*).

Everything is clear then: the author is a scholar who made brilliant studies in foreign countries. He learned Russian and Vietnamese, wrote theses in those two languages, obtained a masters degree in Moscow and a PhD in Hanoi. He is a man of letters with multiple interests, who followed teachings not only in philology, but also journalism and military matters. He spent a long time in Vietnam: seventeen years, which suggests that he worked there in his own domain, before moving for uncertain reasons to the Netherlands. This invites us to a second reading, according to which the book could be labelled “*roman memoar*”: it is a story, perhaps partially fictitious, inspired by the personal experience of the author. He did not work in universities but in the army and the navy. The authority of the Vietnamese government over him can be ascribed to his military status.

This is correct, but the biographical sketch is intended to mislead the reader for reasons we will see later. There is a third reading.

The book *Alhamdulillah*, again a big volume of 420 pages excluding the appendices, has a totally different appearance. The cover itself, on which the title *Roman Memoar Alhamdulillah* introduces the idea of veracity, and the

7. In his foreword to the novel *Alhamdulillah* (2006: vi), Asvi Warman Adam writes: “Another of Asahan’s striking strong points is his faculty to depict love scenes. In the book *War and Flowers* the narrator tells several times about his amorous experiences at the beginning of the war. Those evocations don’t seem artificial but authentic.”

8. Except for details, it is identical with the one in *Love*. In personal communication Asahan Alham explains that he wrote it together with A. Kohar Ibrahim, another exile settled in Brussels, where he published journals and books in great numbers.

name of the author, Asahan Aidit, is, for initiates, an historical indication, also contains a family portrait (six men and two children, all standing in two rows) with a no less than nine line caption, informing us that the six men are Abdullah Aidit and his five sons (DN, Murad, Basri, Sobron, and Asahan), while the two children are the eldest daughter and son of DN Aidit. The reader is thus informed: this “*roman memoar*” certainly deals with authentic facts. Moreover, a very short blurb signed by a popular author (Ayu Utami) and forewords by two known intellectuals (Eep Saefulloh Fatah and Asvi Warman Adam) underscore the political dimension of the novel. Lastly, at the end of the book, twenty nine black-and-white pictures that mostly show the author among his family and friends serve as a confirmation: the book deals with reality—but in a novelistic way as the predicate “*roman memoar*” indicates.

This book is written in the first person too, but the pronoun used (“*saya*”) is different from the preceding one. The narrator is, throughout the narrative, alternatively a guest of the Vietnamese Communist Party and a student; in the first case he is called Nguyen van Ai (as an abbreviation of Aidit), in the second, Sulai. There is no character whose temperament is analyzed or even described in any detailed way. Even Tam and Binh (in Nha Trang) or Nga (in Hanoi), who have a relatively intimate relationship with the narrator, remain vague persons. None of the many Vietnamese characters, let alone other Indonesian refugees, has a face or a temperament. This results in an amplification of the narrator’s isolation: he lives in an extravagant, illogical world, where he is alone among phantoms.

Women were many and occupied a large part of the plot in the preceding book; their place here is trivial, and nothing disastrous happens to them. The narrator has short and inconsequential adventures with four women. One, an affair with a young Moroccan woman, while Sulai lives in the Netherlands as a bachelor, has also been told by the author in a very different way in a short story (“Halimah”), which underlines the lability of fiction. Another of the adventures has nothing to do with seduction: the narrator lends himself to the demands of a woman who wishes to become pregnant. In another case, his lover, a Vietnamese interpreter, leaves him following the order of the Party and he feels some pain (“So we parted. As simple as a leaf is loosed from the tree and drifts down lightly to earth. Does earth feel pain? I did,” p. 231). There are, however, no great surges of love and no wedding plans as in the preceding book, neither is there any device of elimination or degradation of the female characters, and this underlines the artificiality of this device in *War and Flowers*.

There are in the narrative a few passages that betray fiction, in particular an unbelievable episode where Sulai is kidnapped by two Russians wearing fake beards who want to assassinate him but are eventually killed by Vietnamese police who also die in the gun fight... But those evidently fictitious passages

are few, and the book gives, on the contrary, the impression—perhaps erroneous—of great veracity.

On another level, however, this book shows more literary elaboration than the two other novels: *War and Flowers* and *Azalea* are built according to a chronologically linear thread, even though the narrator allows himself many flashbacks. *Alhamdulillah*, on the contrary, is conceived according to a complex temporal structure. The first sentence of the narrative (“I left Saigon at dusk.”) locates the beginning of the narration at the time when the protagonist leaves Vietnam definitively for Europe—where he lands on page 329. The major part of the text, that is, the totality of the sojourn in Vietnam, is thus somehow recalled by the narrator at the moment of leaving the country. But this narration is far from being linear: it is divided into two parts, the first of which (the sojourn in Nha Trang) is posterior to the second (the sojourn in Hanoi, a few years before). Moreover, the first part is mainly a narrative, while the second one is partly made of reflections on life in exile. A third part, half the length of the other two, relates the vicissitudes of settling down in the Netherlands.

The narrative is not only composed contrary to chronology, it is far from covering what can be surmised as one or two decades of residence in Vietnam, in the 1960–1980s. Temporal landmarks are rare and very vague, the temporal thread extremely irregular, so that, be it memoirs or fiction, the narrative is typically discontinuous, with the consequence that it is difficult to grasp its logic. By presenting events in an apparent disorder, the narrator has chosen to erase the cause-and-effect logic inherent to chronology, the postulate that what follows is in some way the consequence of what happened before. There is no more cause and effect; there are isolated events, without logical links between them, which all depend on omnipotent, faraway and irrational forces. The protagonist cannot oppose those forces; he cannot even negotiate with them: exchanges are rare and deprived of any effort at conciliation. The protagonist finds himself in a Kafkaesque situation that no morals and no philosophy can make acceptable.

The third book, *Love, War and Illusions* (henceforth *Love*), is much shorter than the others (the 267-page text is printed in large characters with wide margins, maybe comprising only half of the text contained in the 292 pages of *Azalea*). The title suggests a fictional or even romantic theme; the subtitle (*Between Moscow and Hanoi*) introduces a realistic setting; the generic indication (“collection of memoirs-short stories”) confirms this double orientation; the author’s composite name (Asahan Alham Aidit) is mysterious. The cover is illustrated with a drawing of three Vietnamese soldiers, including a woman, beside an anti-aircraft battery, with two typically Russian buildings in the background. A preface by the publisher presents the book as sweet and sour memories of Asahan Alham Aidit, a student in the USSR and in Vietnam who

witnessed the severity of the “authoritarian” regimes prevailing in those two countries. A more detailed preface by the editor Harsutejo presents the author as the younger brother of DN Aidit and as a member of the Communist Party, exiled after 1965; a voluntary refugee in Vietnam where he “learned the revolution” and writing his memoirs with a sincerity that earned him much criticism. At the end of the book are biographical sketches of the author and the two editors, Harsutejo and H.D. Haryo Sasongko. Lastly, on the back cover, a message in English by A. Teeuw (a renowned Dutch professor) praises the literary talent of Asahan Alham, and a short ironic quotation of Pramoedya Ananta Toer (who had not read the book) brings the reader back to politics (“Someone bored with socialism—good, one side of man’s character is boredom”). The reader is thus amply advised: these “stories” (*cerpen*) are autobiographical.

The narrator talks in the first person; he uses the pronoun “*saya*”, like in *Alhamdulillah*. In Vietnam, in the second part of the book, the protagonist’s comrades call him Asahan and rarely Ai (abbreviation of Aidit). Thus, exceptionally, there is a nominal identity between author, narrator and protagonist.

The book is divided into two parts: “Studying in Lenin-Stalin’s country” (twelve stories) and “Wandering in the Vietnam war” (sixteen stories). The very first story evokes the protagonist’s departure from Jakarta with a group of students, on August 30, 1961, an eminently important date in the life of the narrator (the first sentence of the book is: “In one’s private life some years are difficult to forget.”). This narrative is therefore the immediate sequel to the period covered in the following novel, *Azalea*. As in *Alhamdulillah*, this book only shows very few traces of evident fiction and gives the impression of memories told with simplicity, without any historical pretension: we are dealing with an album of authentic anecdotes, not memoirs. It is clear that the author has not wished to write a fragment of autobiography: anybody who knows his biography can see that he has omitted elements that would have been present in an autobiography. However, the link between the stories is coherent enough for the book to give the impression of a monograph in 28 chapters rather than a collection of 28 stories. The author frequently refers to earlier events, related to his childhood in Belitung and his adolescence in Jakarta, as well as later events (e.g. his discovery of Solzhenitsyn when already settled in the Netherlands).

The narrative thread is chronological, but with some inconsistencies (e.g. he is a bachelor after being married) and a very irregular temporal thread (e.g. the last two stories are far in time from the preceding one and without any logical link to it). These memories involve a number of girls, students and others, but there is no amorous adventure. There is no friendship either, no other character than the narrator himself.

We find again the *War and Flowers* macho fantasies, implausibilities and elimination of women in the novel *Azalea*. The title is vaguely reminiscent of

War and Flowers (in both cases flowers refer to female protagonists), but in a cryptic way because the publisher suppressed the introductory poem that stood as a justification of the title! The sub-title (“Living in search of diplomas”) is a kind of private joke that the reader is not supposed to understand.⁹ Diplomas are the last preoccupation of Sulai, but he wants to please his father; see this quote at the very end of the novel, when he is about to fly to Moscow: “I’ll try to realize my father’s ambition and obtain the university diploma he is dreaming about for me. This is probably the only thing I can do for his happiness and not out of my own desire.” (p. 291). By their respective connotations, title and sub-title suggest two different genres: one a novel, the other memories. The cover illustration is a drawing of a used sport shoe, the link of which with the contents of the book is impossible to guess! The book contains no preface and no biographical sketch that could orientate the reader. However, three quotes on the back cover introduce the notions of “memoirs, novel, history, fiction.”

The book is written in the first person (“aku”). The protagonist’s name is Sulaiman (abbreviated as Sulai). The book is signed “Hoofddorp, The Netherlands, 2001 – 2009,” which concerns the author, while the narrator situates himself much earlier, at the time he leaves Indonesia for the USSR, that is (but the reader does not know it), in 1961. The text starts with this sentence: “A few years back, when I was still in the second year of college, Maya, whom I had to call Miss Maya when she was teaching in front of the students, was to make a strong impression on my life.”

The book appears to be a mixing of intimate memories (the feelings of the protagonist and his relationship with his family) and love adventures; there is very little action between these two poles. Little by little the course of the narrative imposes the conviction that it is a novel, or at least that the part of fiction is important, considering the abundance of dialogues (perhaps a quarter or a third of the text), the number of love adventures (which are almost always absent from Indonesian memoirs), the number of implausibilities, and above all the absence of the fundamental elements of autobiographical texts: paucity of temporal landmarks, absence of personalities (the only two personalities are not named), insignificance of the protagonist at the national, historical or social level. A definite indication of the book being a novel is the fact that the narrator relates events he is not supposed to know, namely the very long dialogue between Mira and Octaviana (pp. 177-204), the quote from Mira’s private diary (pp. 72-73), and the mention of an activity of Octaviana unknown to Sulai (piano lessons, p. 195). We are thus in a novel in which episodes of a great factual banality but high psychological intensity may appear realistic, that is, autobiographical.

9. This sub-title is an allusion to the title of Ajip Rosidi’s memoirs, *Life without Diplomas (Hidup tanpa Ijazah)*, Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2008). (Pers. comm. from Asahan Alham, 20 April 2015).

The amorous adventures present several similarities with those of *War and Flowers*. All happen with girls of his age or slightly older, who are pretty and smart. It is often the women who take the initiative of the sexual relationship. The encounters are made possible by God (e.g. "I am convinced that what made me meet Mira is the Omnipotent, not chance. Chance is only a word used to avoid mentioning the one who organizes things and makes them happen," p. 39; see also pp. 256, 269). Aku is almost systematically in love and several times considers a life together. Afterwards, women are physically eliminated or degraded (rape, abortion, forced marriage, lethal accident). The relationship may last some time, but we only know it through incidental remarks later on in the narrative; only the first intercourse is described (in a few lines or a few words), which means that what matters is not the amorous relationship but its commencement.

Asahan Alham handles dialogues in a particular fashion: he does not use the universal formulas as "he answered; added my cousin; whispered Khadijah with a smile," which serve as indicators of who is speaking while suggesting the attitude and feelings of the interlocutors; he limits himself to simply quoting the utterances one after the other, as in a pure and simple transcription, and those dialogues are so well devised (whatever the quality of their contents) that there is rarely confusion about who pronounces this or that line. Thus, contrary to the usual dialogues in novels, there is here no intervention of the narrator.

The importance of dialogues here seems to underline the fact that the major theme of the book is the negotiation of relationships between the characters. Even more so as those dialogues are most often debates, particularly between Sulai and girls, as a prelude to amorous relations. The point is to convince, to win. The sexual act which results is evoked in one or a few lines, after pages and pages of (sometimes exhausting) dialogue. This is not only the effect of auto-censorship or natural prudery; it is the sign that conquest is more important than its fruits. The first aim of Sulai is neither to satisfy a sexual desire nor to have female partners, but to seduce.

The women relate to each other: Maya and Octaviana, who have been raped on the same occasion, become lovers; Octaviana and Mira become close friends, have a threesome experience with Sulai, and die together. A distinction has to be made between the three Jakarta women and the three from Belitung; the latter have a role in sexual adventures without great sentimental or intellectual implication. They are significant enough, however, to be degraded too. By its plot, the novel is quite audacious in the erotic domain, as not only does the protagonist have sexual relations with six different women at more or less the same time, but there is one threesome act and one between two women. However, the evocation of those erotic scenes is of the utmost discretion.

Aku is not shown as a libertine: he does not seek to multiply his amorous adventures as an obsessive seducer. With some schematization, God offers opportunities; women take the initiative; Sulai is always in love. These three

elements (God, women, love) exonerate Sulai from any suspicion of Don-Juanism and immorality. But still it may be in order to absolve him definitely of those suspicions that women are systematically eliminated. Contrary to *War and Flowers*, where elimination tends to be lethal, elimination in *Azalea* is rather a moral and social degradation. There are eight women in the narrative (six lovers plus the two sisters Irma and Joke); four are raped, four abort (one twice), three are sterile, two are killed in an accident, two are married against their will.

These adventures are too many and their ending too tragic not to orientate the reading of the book. The book is not only a novel, it is an unwonted, intriguing, even provocative one, that defies plausibility and common morality, a novel far away from realism, in which it is impossible to distinguish true from false. Romantic adventures occupy a part of the narrative only, maybe half of it; other characters act and talk, they are the narrator's father and brothers, plus others, but are they real or fictitious? What is the narrative link between those two apparently parallel worlds?

I have presented the four books in the (approximative) order of their writing, but it can be seen that the periods of their respective action succeed each other in a totally different order, so that, if one wants to restore chronology, the books should be read in the following order: *Azalea*, *Love*, *War and Flowers*, *Alhamdulillah*. The author never intended to write those four books as a series, and it is possible that he may publish another one in the future.¹⁰

I have paid attention to the elements of the books external to the text itself (the “paratext”) that contribute to define the genre of the text and thus to determine the expectations of the reader. One does not read a book in the same way if it is labelled “novel” or ‘memoirs,’ and if it is entitled *War and Flowers* or *Self-portrait with Family* (such is the title of Sobron Aidit’s last published book: *Potret Diri dan Keluarga*).

Asahan Alham himself, as an author, does not say he is writing memoirs or even memories. He publishes literary texts, the title or subtitle of which sometimes contains the word “*memoar*” and in which the narrator talks in the first person. He never addresses his readers. Through these books, in which he never intervenes directly, he addresses the Indonesian public in general, including the small number of his comrades in exile, including the other victims of the New Order, including the partisans of the New Order, and including—by far the most numerous—the young generation, for the majority totally ignorant of the historical question.

For that generation the books signed Asahan Alham, Asahan Aidit, and Asahan Alham Aidit may a priori be the works of different authors, just as the protagonists bearing the names of Salam (*War and Flowers*), Sulai (*Thank God*),

10. This information comes from Asahan Alham himself in personal communication.

Sulaiman (*Azalea*) and Asahan (*Love, War and Illusions*) are a priori different persons. For the greater number of them (which still is a small number!) the four books are probably read as books independent and of different status.

It is through external factors (the knowledge of Asahan Alham's biography) that the informed reader knows that it is the same author and the same protagonist, and guesses that the four books are in the same degree autofictional and that they complement each other. Let's go back to *War and Flowers*: the part of fiction is probably important (some love adventures, perhaps all of them, are fictitious; part of Salam's work in Haiphong is probably an invention) but the book deals with the same geographical and historical setting as the others, and there is in this "novel" a documentary material that usefully complements the "*memoar*" books. *War and Flowers* must therefore be regarded as a complement to the memoirs. A complement that has peculiarities: Asahan Alham for instance does not give vent to his political opinion (whereas he does so very bluntly in *Love* and above all in *Alhamdulillah*), but he says much more on Vietnam and about his love for the country.

Who is Asahan Alham then? He is the youngest of the five sons of Abdullah Aidit, a ranger (*mantri kehutanan*) on Belitung Island, in the Southeast of Sumatra, at the beginning of the 20th century. We know little of that father: born in 1901, he took part in the creation of the local branch of the association Nurul Islam, of the same orientation as the Muhammadiyah. In 1950, he became a member of the Parliament as a representative of the High Conference of the 1945 Generation.¹¹ Abdullah had two wives successively; the first three sons (Ahmad, Basri and Murad) are children of the first wife, the two others (Sobron and Asahan) children of the second. The latter already had two children from a previous marriage, Rosiah and Mohammad Thaib, who were educated by Abdullah together with his own sons.

Asahan was born in December 1938 in Tanjungpandan (Belitung), where he spent his childhood. At the age of 12 years, in 1950, he accompanied his father, who was settling temporarily in Jakarta in order to fulfill his function as a member of the People's Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat). He did his studies at the college of the Taman Siswa and then in a senior high school (SMA). As early as age 14, he had a few poems published in journals of the capital. At the end of high school, he registered at the Russian Department of the Faculty of Letters of Universitas Indonesia (that choice of the Russian language is nowhere explained), but as soon as 1961 he went to study in Moscow thanks to a fellowship from Lumumba University. He obtained a Master of Humanities five years later, in 1966, from Lomonosov University. He thus was in Moscow when the September 30, 1965, putsch occurred.

What the above-mentioned biographical sketch does not say, is that, at the end

¹¹. Musyawarah Besar Angkatan 45, MBA45. See Sobron Aidit, *Gajah di Pelupuk Mata*, p. 116.

of 1966, when his brother DN Aidit had been assassinated and he himself could not go back to Indonesia, lest to be imprisoned, tortured, or deported, he chose not to return, saw his passport confiscated, and thus found himself, together with several hundred comrades in misfortune, stateless in a situation of exile.

He chose not to stay in the USSR and not to move to China either, in spite of the injunction from the “Delegation,”¹² but to go to Vietnam, whereto he was brought in December 1966. There, together with several dozen comrades, he followed military and ideological instruction for a few years, under the authority of the local Communist Party and the Delegation. It is only much later, in 1974, that he was posted to the university and, as the biographical sketch says, wrote a dissertation on the comparison between Nusantarian and Vietnamese proverbs. He spent several more years in Vietnam, without work or occupation, but with the impossibility to leave the country. It was only in 1984 that he could go to the Netherlands, where, after some judicial tribulations, he obtained the status of refugee, then the right to have his wife and son join him, and finally naturalization, and where he still lives today.

In the light of this new information, the situation of Asahan, Salam and Sulai in Vietnam appears different, and so does the reading of the three books set in Vietnam. The four books constitute a series of memories, an autobiography of some sort, delivered in disorder, mixed with fiction, including inconsistencies, repetitions and even more lacunae.

Asahan Alham is not the only Indonesian exile who has told of his experiences. There is actually a very high number of autobiographical texts written by exiles, about 42, which is much more than those produced by the political prisoners (*tapol*)¹³ of the New Order, even though the *tapol* were far more numerous. There are various reasons for this. Asahan Alham is not the only one among the exiles to define his writings as memoirs mixed with fiction: Ibarruri Putri Alam (his own niece) entitled her autobiography “roman biografis,”¹⁴ while Sobron Aidit (his own brother) labelled his books “stories, short stories, memoirs, memoirs-stories” (*kisah, cerita, cerpen, memoar, cerpen memoar, kisah memoar*), but in fact both Ibarruri and Sobron did intend to write the most authentic stories of their experiences, and Asahan is the only one who does utilize fiction for his own ends.

12. In February 1966, a Delegation of the Central Committee of the PKI (Delegasi CC PKI) was constituted in Beijing; it claimed to act in the name of the Party and thus to have authority on all Party members abroad; it summoned them to gather in China.

13. As the acronym of *tahanan politik* (political prisoners), the word *tapol* has come to specifically designate all people jailed by the New Order, most of them without any kind of legal procedure, as suspected to have been involved in the putsch of September 1965. Most of them were detained in gaols throughout the country; 12.000 were banished to the island of Buru in the Maluku archipelago.

14. See Alam in the bibliography.

The exiles, just like the *ex-tapol*, write an alternative history, in order to balance the official history produced by the New Order. That official history is extremely ponderous: throughout thirty years, by means of the most varied media (publications, school handbooks, seminars, films, museums, monuments, speeches, national festivals), it has imposed a version of events which is deeply engraved in Indonesia's collective consciousness. The alternative discourse, so far, is infinitely weaker as it does not (yet) have access to the most efficient media. Moreover, it is often modest or even shy: several memoirs of exile or *tapol* writers have initially been written for the sake of the author's family only (e.g. the memoirs of N. Syam H., Ali Chanafiah, Umar Said, Hasan Raid). When they formulate their motivations, the exiles and the *tapol* often explain that they write so that such events never happen again, that the experience of the victims be known, that the voice of the weak be heard.

Asahan Alham stands outside that tendency: he does not want to produce an alternative discourse; he does not want to rewrite history; he does not even want to write the history of the exiles. In *Love*, talking about his situation in Moscow at the end of 1966, when DN Aidit already had been assassinated and the Soviet government did not know what to do with an embarrassing brother, he writes: "But this is a matter of past history, which I cannot expose in detail here. I'm going straight to my own story" (p. 130). And about his visit to the (just liberated) town of Nha Trang: "Once again, I am not a journalist, even less a war journalist. I have my own story, which has not much to do with war and peace." (p. 215).

Exile authors face constraints inherent to their status that radically differentiate their production from that of the *tapol*. Those constraints are the duty of secrecy and auto-censorship on their past and present political opinions. Here again Asahan Alham is an exception: he respects secrecy, but he bluntly expresses his opinions. The obligation of secrecy does probably not bother him much, as he does not wish to describe the political situation. About his years in Jakarta which he evokes in *Azalea* with the hindsight of more than fifty years, he does not describe the political situation either: beyond the real persons there are a few allusions to the regime and a few reflections to the national character, but physical, political or social evocations of the country are extremely rare: the setting could almost be another country. As for political opinions, they regard socialism; we will return to it.

Asahan Alham also differs from the exiles on another fundamental point: the exiles write firstly with the aim to recover their Indonesian identity; they have been excluded, they want to go back home and be recognized as citizens again. There is no such thing with Asahan Alham: no claim of identity, no need for recognition. He does not write in order to be acknowledged and accepted by any audience whatsoever; he writes in order to say, to himself as much as to others, who he is

in reality and in imagination, to tell about himself, but also to discover himself, invent himself, to give Asahan the possibility of living the lives that have not been offered to him. It is in *Alhamdulillah* that he has most precisely formulated his conception of autobiography, but it is at the basis of all his writings.

At the start there is a man anxious, vulnerable, conscious of his fragility, wishing to fathom his own being by talking about himself.

I realize how fragile I am as a man, easily damaged, easily destroyed, easily eliminated, easily shattered, easily pulverized, easily humiliated, easily degraded, easily discarded, easily kicked out, easily thrown away. (...) I want to see myself in what I think, I fantasize, I perpetuate, something—because I am writing—that I may not find in one attempt, I may have to write again and again, all my life perhaps, until I do or do not find it. This is important to me as I am racing against time before my fragile self dissolves entirely. I still wish to see myself, who I am, not only the feeling of becoming me. (*Alhamdulillah*, p. 163).

There is also the consciousness that no autobiographical endeavour can reach absolute authenticity. Every autobiography is a reconstruction of past life, informed and distorted by the present. It is as much an act of imagination as an act of recollection. Whatever the author's sincerity and goodwill he will never reach reality.

No autobiography will ever be free of fiction and imagination. Whatever the effort of a biographer or an autobiographer to write down authentic facts and information, he will not free himself more than seventy per cent of fiction and imagination. There is no biography or autobiography which is a hundred per cent free of those elements. (*Alhamdulillah*, p. 221).

Beyond these considerations on the nature of reality and the (im)possibility to reconstruct it, Asahan Alham's true preoccupation is not to catch past reality in its exactitude and its integrity but, on the contrary, to escape it. The reality of facts is constituted by what authorities have imposed on the individual; the reality of the individual is to be found beyond those constraints. Hence the project to rewrite the reality of facts in disregard of those constraints.

Every human life is a film with two scenarios: by oneself and by others. Two thirds of my life have been following the scenario of others with various kinds of cooperation: voluntary, half voluntary, forced, half forced, unconscious, stupid, naive, ignorant, and a mix of adventurism and conviction. I want to complete this two-third-scenario by others with a scenario of my own at an age that is close to half a century, with new adventures at my own cost, not that of a government or a political party. (*Alhamdulillah*, pp. 10-11).

And further in the same novel:

I am the one writing, so I am the one who decides the fate of all my protagonists and other actors. I describe the life I see, then I depict it anew according to my thought and my imagination. I don't want to be dictated by anything, including life, even the most realistic life. Destiny never gave me the life I would have wished, so I now decide myself what I think, I wish, I fantasize. It is life's right to give me whatever it wishes, and it is my right to wish for the life I dream of. The struggle is with me, it is my own, on my own name and on my own responsibility. (*Alhamdulillah*, pp. 162-3).

Fiction has the effect of a mask: it allows outrageous sincerity and indiscretion. But fiction here has another source. Asahan Alham is to be taken

literally: he invents his life, he exploits the autobiographical genre to invent himself, and he does it in a whimsical, flippant, even anarchic way: he does not write an ideal autobiography either, the life he could have had. He confides himself in his books with more sincerity and intimacy than most, perhaps than all other Indonesian authors, but he vandalizes his own writings, he denatures them, maybe partly in order to create confusion, but also to inscribe in writing the impossibility to write.

There are a few possible ways to read Asahan Alham. I have mentioned that of the reader ignorant of the political context, who reads his books as pure fiction, and on the opposite, that of the informed reader, who discards fiction in order to isolate the authentic testimony. But not to read the testimony or to read it alone is reading too little or too much, it is neglecting the work's integrality which is constructed as an autofiction.

It happens that Asahan Alham has been writing (between 1983 and 2009) during a period when self-writing has been the object of an important work of analysis and theorization, when people questioned the relationship between reality and fiction in autobiographical writings. This is the period when appeared the new concept of "autofiction". The term was created by a French novelist, Serge Doubrovsky, about one of his own novels, in 1977. The term was then summarily defined as "fiction of strictly real facts and events". The idea was a success; the word was adopted in several other languages, and the concept gave rise to many articles, books, dissertations and colloquiums—wherefrom new definitions were conceived. Vincent Colonna for instance sees in autofiction an "fictionalization of the self", in the sense that the writer invents a life for himself. His definition of autofiction is: "A literary work through which an author invents a personality and an existence for himself while keeping his real identity".¹⁵ The various writers who intervened on the subject gave divergent definitions, but they agree on attaching to the definition of autofiction the nominal identity between author and protagonist. This excludes Asahan Alham as, among his protagonists, only the one in *Love* (the least fictitious of his books) bears the name Asahan. It does not matter basically whether Asahan Alham's books are defined as autofiction or fictional autobiography, the reflection on autofiction regards them all the same. In a recent contribution, Doubrovsky has exposed that the "modern" autobiographical genre (the texts he quotes are posterior to World War II) are radically different from the "classical" genre for the reason that the subject has changed: "I think that what has changed nowadays is the conception of the relationship with oneself. (...) People do not feel their life as in former times". For authors like Alain Robbe-Grillet, Marguerite Duras, Nathalie Sarraute, George Perec, or Doubrovsky himself, it is impossible to grasp one's life in its entirety, to recapitulate a coherent path, to catch the essence of a life and to

¹⁵. Colonna, "L'Autofiction".

reconstruct its history in a logical fashion. And he concludes: “autofiction is the post-modern form of autobiography”.¹⁶

Asahan Alham certainly does not express himself in those terms, but the idea that life is not a continuous flow leading logically, inescapably, from an origin towards an outcome, that is, fundamentally, the negation of the teleological structure of traditional autobiography, is not foreign to him.

Fiction is much more present in the first and the last books (*War and Flowers*, *Azalea*) than in the second (*Alhamdulillah*), and it is almost absent from the third (*Love*). But this regards evident fiction, not the more subtle or indistinct inventions that are difficult or even impossible to detect. It is impossible to analyze that fiction because it is impossible to inventorise it: many inventions or distortions escape us. Let's just say that fiction proceeds by invention and deformation, and that it affects principally the main protagonist, but also secondary characters. This means that the author does not restrict himself to invent episodes (characters and their actions), which after all is the nature of the novel, but he distorts a reality that in his case has a historical dimension as the relevant characters are known nationwide.

In both *Alhamdulillah* (p. 293) and *Azalea* (p. 159) for instance, he asserts that his father had four wives successively, each one being married after the death of the preceding one, and that he himself and Sobron were born from the fourth. This is a distortion: his father had two wives only, as is said in *War and Flowers* (p. 155).¹⁷ Why invent on so futile a point and in a domain that somehow belongs to history? The answer is: for the sake of inventing, in order to control reality, to assert the creative power of the writer.

It follows that the reader can only believe the information delivered in those texts if it is confirmed by other sources: the father had five sons from two different wives, yes, it is correct. But did he really sell to the PKI, for a derisory price, around 1960, three houses that he owned in Jakarta (*Azalea*, pp. 211, 233, 234, 251)? Did he really own rice fields in Pulo Gadung that he leased, to the annoyance of DN Aidit, who did not like that his father should be a landowner (*Azalea*, pp. 54, 60, 159-160)?

Fiction casts a doubt on the veracity of all information. In that way, it offers a kind of impunity: the narrator can allow himself the most indiscreet confidences as they may be fictitious. He does indeed allow himself (although rarely) to reveal family secrets which would probably not have appeared in a book presented as an authentic document. The fact for example that DN Aidit had frequent quarrels with his wife, wherein she got the better of him and from which he once even ended up with a black eye (*Azalea*, pp. 174-5, 177, 214).

16. Doubrovsky, “Les points sur les ‘i’”.

17. And in various books by his brothers Murad and Sobron; see e.g. Murad Aidit, *Audit Sang Legenda*, pp. 37-39.

Confidence has its limits though. The desire for introspection is at every step restrained by modesty. About a painful episode, which many other authors (and readers) would deem eminently worthy of being related, namely the fact that, in Vietnam, he happened to be quartered in such precarious conditions and been given so little money, that he and his family (his wife and his five year old son) suffered from hunger, the narrator of *Love* refuses to describe this: "Listing all the miseries of my life would be a waste of paper, absolutely useless, no one wants to hear that." (*Cinta*, p. 262).¹⁸

The narrator of the four novels allows himself some confidences on his state of mind, his psychological evolution, his thoughts and emotions, but he is permanently reserved on his intimate life. He relates, with a freedom that probably will appear audacious or even provocative to certain Indonesian readers, his amorous adventures with about ten women in *War and Flowers*, four others in *Alhamdulillah*, and eight others in *Azalea*, but he does not say a word of the real love life of the author. In *War and Flowers* the narrator tells of marrying Kim; he describes their wedding and their honeymoon. During the period covered by the novel, Asahan Alham has married a Vietnamese woman, allusions to whom are found in *Love* and above all in *Alhamdulillah*, but it is almost certain that it is not his real wedding that is described: the latter is beyond limits.

Another domain that modesty keeps beyond limits is religion. In three very succinct allusions in *Alhamdulillah* (p. 91) and *Azalea* (pp. 23, 157) the narrator declares he has stepped away from religion since he left his birth island of Belitung ("I have not been praying for eight years," *Azalea*, p. 25). He dwells on the subject nowhere else. This shyness about love and religious life is not peculiar to Asahan Alham: it is common to Indonesian autobiographies as a whole.¹⁹

At the two poles of the fiction-reality axis in Asahan Alham's four books, amorous adventures on the one hand and information about the author's family on the other can be differentiated from the introspective discourse that, on the psychological and political levels, evokes the psychic and intellectual evolution of the protagonist. In order to follow that evolution, one has to read the novels in an order different from that of their writing, without ignoring however that the introspective tendency is stronger in the last one, that relating to the teenage period, *Azalea*.

During the five years covered by the book (approximatively 1955-1961) the protagonist, Sulai, lives at his elder brother's house. There are in Asahan Alham's four books a series of anecdotes staging Ahmad, alias DN Aidit, which, without ever naming him, sets a praiseful and affectionate portrait of

18. There is, however, a strong page on hunger in another book: *Alhamdulillah*, p. 12.

19. See Watson, *Of Self and Nation*, pp. 109-112.

him. Ahmad and Asahan were respectively the eldest and youngest among the Aidit brothers, with an age difference of fifteen years. In *Azalea*, DN Aidit is systematically called “my elder brother” (*abang sulungku*), and as the other family members are not named either, but designated by kinship links, this produces formulas like: “My elder brother from the same mother and another father came from Banjarmasin to pay a family visit to the house of my elder brother from the same father and another mother” (p. 169); in other words, Thaib paid a visit to Ahmad. The “elder brother” is the head of the political party Pelopor. He accommodates Sulai (who however pays rent thanks to pocket money sent by the father) and provides him with a job (Sulai is responsible for the Party’s library, some 5,000 books, kept in the elder brother’s study) for which he receives a salary. This situation is the source of long evenings spent together, when the elder brother works and Sulai changes one record for another, as the elder brother likes to work while listening to classical music, among others the Symphony no. 3 of “Comrade Beethoven.”²⁰ The elder brother behaves in a fraternal, patient and tolerant way, but he blames Sulai for his lack of maturity, his frivolity and his absence of political commitment.

Another brother, Sobron, the fourth in the family, only four years older than Asahan, was in Jakarta during the same period and he figures in the novel too, occasionally designated as “my youngest elder brother” (“*abangku yang termuda*”) but more generally as “my elder brother at Cikini Raya” (“*Abangku yang di Cikini Raya*”), which is an approximation for Oud Gondangdia Binnen, a street in the same area, where Sobron lived and where Sulai used to go (says the novel) to practice violin several hours every day. Sobron evokes this period in the second part of the collection *Self-portrait with Family*. It is not the place here for comparing the autobiographical writings of the two brothers; let’s just say that they could not be more different. Sobron’s “stories” (hundreds of them) are far from being precise and systematic narratives, but they are resolutely in the field of authenticity. Sobron himself writes in the preface:

Perhaps this is one weakness of my writing, the fact that I always write what I live, what I see, what I feel. Of all I have written until now, not more than five per cent was I able to write according to imagination. Almost all of it is truly what happened to me and my family. (*Self-portrait with Family*, p. v)

Thus the two brothers evoke their respective situations during the same years, even though they only talk very little of each other. The contrast between these two self-portraits is striking: on one side the frivolous, hedonist, lazy, selfish and materially easy life of Sulai; on the other the laborious and fully committed life of Sobron: he has been working several hours a day since childhood, then supporting himself entirely since high school, has dived into

20. “Kawan Beethoven,” *Alhamdulillah*, p. 295.

studies (SMP, SMA, Taman Siswa) with passion and perseverance, and is involved in all sorts of collective activities.

Such a comparison, as well as the identification of DN Aidit and Sobron in Asahan Alham's books, take us back to the reality, or at least what can be perceived as the reality, of those intense years. But that is contrary to the essence of the novels. Asahan Alham has dissimulated the name of the PKI under that of Partai Pelopor and those of his two brothers under terms of kinship because he does not want to write a historical novel and certainly not the novel of DN Aidit. He does not want his book to be a documentary source on the PKI, its head, or Indonesia in the 1950s.

Sulai, in *Azalea*, is an adolescent proud of his talents (he gives violin concerts, takes part in swimming competitions, has poems published in literary journals) and his good looks (women cannot resist him), but fundamentally anxious about his own personality. He has no desire for the future, no ambition; he defines himself negatively only against the ambitions other people have for him. He wishes to be freed from the few authorities and constraints that still weigh upon him, but he has no purpose by himself. To one of his lovers he declares: "My plan is to thwart all plans. To have no aspiration..." (p. 147), and to another he asks: "According to you, who am I?" (p. 281). He is not attracted to associative activities and he refuses any commitment and any authority:

For me, to be a member of an organization is like being a voluntary slave. Organizations have high and low castes, so that people don't have the same rank. (...) I am a free man who will never voluntarily become the slave of castes if not under duress, as it is very difficult to escape the oppression of castes in this world. My eldest brother himself claims that he aims to eradicate all castes in the world, but I see that in his own organization he builds the most rigid castes. (p. 53)

He refuses constraints out of principle, with a certain consistency: he has one passion only, that of the violin, but even in that domain he refuses to let himself be entrapped: "I don't want to be dependent on music; music has to depend on me." (p. 246)

However, he refuses the political commitment that his brother demands of him without being able to oppose any reason, simply by lack of taste and ideal, by lack of reflection and imagination. There is in the whole novel no serious reflection, neither on the political situation in Indonesia at that crucial moment of Soekarno's last years, nor on the ideology his brother is offering him. To the effect that he remains mute before that brother, while suffering from that inferiority:

My elder brother was a brilliant athlete in his young age. He trained in everything, in order to build muscles and all his body, but his favourite sport was boxing. He didn't punch his brother with his fists though. Only with words. Leaving a trauma in the chest. (p. 214)

Sulai experiences moments of happiness, of "paradise." For instance on a blissful day in Belitung he exclaims:

I think this life is beautiful. I don't know how long it will last, but paradise does materialize in this coarse world, even if ephemerally. At least I did experience it, I do now experience it. This is my present day and my present paradise. My elder brother wants to create a paradise as permanent as possible for his labourers, in this world, this coarse world, and not in that distant world he doesn't believe in anymore. Let him do it, and let me be. (p. 270)

But he also knows dismay and a feeling of vacuity: on a less happy day, while he is destabilized by dramatic recent events (Maya's marriage, Mira's and Octaviana's death) he is much less optimistic:

The situation changes ever so quickly, my life also has seen drastic alterations. I feel so isolated, so lonely, and as if I had lost all motivation. I ask myself whether I ever had any. I do everything I wish to do with enthusiasm, with passion, but do I have a motivation? I don't think a lot about the aim of life, I am more heading to a life without aim. (p. 209)

In that context of vacuity women represent repeated successes (conquests), but also the same amount of failures: Sulai is unable to save a single one from death or degradation; no one will reach the stage of the providential (matrimonial) union, which would mean a choice, a commitment and the passing over to adulthood. Those women are imaginary; they are part of the fiction aimed at balancing the emptiness and the dependance that Sulai feels in his private life. But the most important fiction of the novel is not in that invention, but in a distortion. Sulai resists until the end to the pressure of his brother. He applies to a fellowship at Lumumba University in Moscow, even though he knows his brother wants him to stay in Indonesia and become a cadre of the revolution. "But why did I still apply? Maybe I was afraid to be forced to take part in the revolution, so that if there was a possibility to flee abroad as a student, I might escape it." (p. 209)

At that time he is still not a member of the Party: "I was feeling more and more like a foreigner in my elder brother's house. I was not a member of the Party yet. One day, my brother would certainly make that demand on me for being allowed to stay in his house" (p. 211). His brother does not intervene, even though he disagrees; Sulai obtains the fellowship and leaves for Moscow, liberated: he is free of his brother's authority, he is not a member of the Party, he is totally independent.

This is Sulai's reality. But in Asahan Alham's reality he has given in and has become a member of the Party as soon as 1958. In a message posted on a website on April 27, 2010, he writes: "My relationship between me as a younger brother and my elder brother as head of the PKI was a Party relationship. I joined the Party at the age of 18."²¹ He has also stated his belonging to the Party at the time he is excluded from it in *Alhamdulillah* (pp. 274, 287, 298), e.g. "I joined the Party and was excluded from it in Vietnam because

21. <http://sastra-pembebasan.10929.n7.nabble.com/sastra-pembebasan-Fw-E-mail-met-bijlage-attachment-Roman-Cinta-dan-Politik-td39783.html>.

I was supposed to have violated the discipline of the Party” (p. 274). In private correspondence he explains:

In 1956 I joined Pemuda Rakyat and the same year I was sworn in as a candidate to become a Party member. Then in 1958 I was accepted as a full Party member after a trial period of two years. My organization base was in Kampung Galur [Jakarta], where I lived with my elder brother. I joined the Party following my own political conviction of the time but of course there was some pressure from my brother. But the decisive factor was myself. (E-mail, 21/07/15).

Thanks to fiction Sulai has literally liberated himself from Asahan Alham’s adhesion to the Party. This reminds us that fiction invades all fields of the narrative. It is therefore possible that Sulai’s statements about his opinions, feelings and emotions are partially fictitious too.

Life in Moscow during five and a half years (middle of 1961 to end of 1966) is only evoked in the collection *Love*, that is, the volume in which fiction as well as introspection are minimal. The first part of the book relates several episodes of life in the USSR. As a foreign student, the protagonist, who is here named Asahan, receives an extremely comfortable stipend. He lives a dream life: he goes to concerts, operas, plays, follows violin courses at the conservatory, benefits of everything and works moderately. There are in those pages no debate of ideas, no reflection of any kind.

Love does not relate the way the 1965-1966 events were perceived and lived through in Moscow, nor the fact that Asahan’s passport was cancelled, nor the creation of representative organs of the PKI in Moscow and Beijing.²² Here too Asahan Alham does not write the history of the period, and the absence of any information on the events does not allow the ignorant reader to understand what is happening to the protagonist. Most of the Indonesian refugees in the USSR move to China. Asahan, who is embarrassing for the Soviet government as a brother of DN Aidit, cannot go back to Indonesia and cannot stay where he is. As soon as his University diploma is obtained, at the end of 1966, he asks to go to Vietnam (this choice is not explained); he is transported there together with a few dozen comrades selected by the Delegation.

They spend a few weeks in Beijing, where they go through sessions of indoctrination and have a quick sight of the Cultural Revolution. This stay in China may be fictitious, but in that case it is inspired by another stay.²³ As a whole, he only had a superficial view of the country, but which left him with a very negative impression. He notices the peasants’ misery, the extravagant

22. On the situation of the Indonesians living in the USSR at the time, see Hill’s and Supartono’s articles, and the memoirs of Ibarruri Putri Alam, Waloejo Sedjati, Koesalah Soebagyo Toer, and Waruno Mahdi in the bibliography published in the same issue.

23. Asahan Alham in private correspondence says he has visited China twice: in 1965 for one month and in 1972 for six months, as told in *War and Flowers*.

luxury of official receptions, the violence of the Cultural Revolution and the overwhelming omnipresence of the political propaganda. His loathing of communism seems already total: "Stalin killed communists, including his own colleagues, up to millions. Chairman Mao was not inferior to Stalin as the great master and at the same time the great enemy of communism, who killed dozens of millions of people during his reign..." (*Love*, p. 127).

The sojourn in Vietnam, where he arrives in December 1966, is evoked in very different ways in the three books *War and Flowers*, *Love* and *Alhamdulillah*. He and his group are in Vietnam in order to "learn revolution!" (*Love*, p. 136). The reader will not know much more. Immediately after their arrival, they undergo a rain of bombs and realize that the Vietnamese are settled in war with a remarkable placidity: everyday life seems perfectly normal, only interrupted by ceaseless alerts. The protagonist (whose name is Salam, Asahan or Sulai according to the books) will have very often to experience air threats and thus fear and the necessity to rush to a shelter, but he will never be involved in the war. He evokes bombs a few times however with a cynicism that conceals compassion and horror:

It transpires that in war man still thinks of beauty, he chooses esthetic moments, like the pilots of the American bombers who elected crowded markets to drop those fragmentation bombs, and they regarded as beautiful the instant when the master bomb landed on the ground without a sound, then suddenly produced hundreds of small bombs which exploded, propelling tiny nails which penetrated human flesh, up to hundreds in one body. This was all the product of a beautiful culture according to its creators and disseminators. The war of nerves is an art of war with its new inventions like fragmentation bombs and the like. (*Love*, p. 154)²⁴

He is ironic about his own situation: "... we the tourists from Moscow and Beijing," "we the picnic soldiers", "I was just a spectator. Watching people making war" (*Love*, pp. 174, 210, 237). He is an adventurer rather than a true Marxist; has he ever been a Marxist anyway?

It is clear from everything I describe about Hanoi that there was not the slightest trace of Marxism, and I deserve to be called a nominal Marxist, a nominal patriot, a nominal Muslim, a nominal nationalist, and everything that is nominal, all of this perhaps being the result of the actions of my elder brothers who were nominal brothers to me. I was a dissident in my own family.²⁵

The sojourn in Vietnam will last almost eighteen years (1966-1984). During the first years, he and his group are posted to various centres of military and ideological training. They have very little contact with the local population. Aku is very skeptical and disillusioned regarding the utility of

24. See also one page on fragmentation bombs in *War and Flowers*, pp. 185-186, and the description of a district of Hanoi pulverized by bombs in December 1972, in *Love*, pp. 237-238.

25. *Alhamdulillah*, p. 179; the word translated as "nominal" is "abangan" in the original; hence the pun "para abang abangan".

their instruction. The idea of bringing revolution to Indonesia is for him an “illusion” (*Love*, p. 248). He is saturated with indoctrination and sessions of auto-criticism: “But all this is gone for me, or for the time being I am free of the overdose of the anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, anti-bourgeoisie, and anti-modern revisionism political vaccine which I was inoculated with during those four years.” (*Alhamdulillah*, p. 209)

As soon as 1969 he notifies his wish to move abroad. It may be at this time that he is excluded from the Party; this is certainly the conclusion of painful conflicts; he states nevertheless: “I am proud to have been kicked out from the PKI” (*Alhamdulillah*, p. 298). His condemnation of communism is radical: “The dictatorship of the proletariat is indeed an appropriate political term in the real sense of the words: a dictatorship meant to oppress the proletariat and the non-proletariat as well in the name of the proletariat.” (*Alhamdulillah*, p. 198)

He is first isolated from the group then ordered to study at the university, and finally is posted to the navy in Haiphong, where he spends about one and a half years. It is during this sojourn that he has a (probably fictitious) conversation with a young foreign (Bulgarian) woman, to whom he confides a dismay that is much more than a political step back:

I am dependant on something I fear. The fear of being wrong, being cursed, being labelled, and then only doing the most common, the cliché. I force myself to listen to the bombs and to look at the flesh torn to pieces before I am myself ripped up by shrapnel which doesn't look at who is wrong and who is right. Now I can't go forward or backward. And I have no intention to retreat. Even though by staying where I am I will lose everything without leaving any trace or any remains behind. (*War and Flowers*, pp. 285-286)

After Haiphong he is once again settled in Hanoi, without work, then in mid-1974 ordered to resume his studies; that is when he works on a dissertation about Southeast Asian proverbs (and that is also when he gets married). Food is lacking; he and his family suffer from hunger: “The war I am facing now is a war against the hunger and the poverty into which I have fallen. The Party organization is dissolved; the heads have been thrown out by Vietnam on the motive of being regarded as Maoist and oriented toward Beijing” (*Love*, p. 265-266). He defends his dissertation in 1977. The last lines of *Love* (around 1980) are:

My revolution school was crushed to pieces, destroyed by its own teachers, who fled helter-skelter in search of their individual destinies. Everyone was only thinking of his own future and looking for his own way. I was left all by myself, shouting ‘Don't leave me!’ in the midst of a political desert and the desert of poverty. My wife inherited that trauma and gave birth to a child who not only would carry on the trauma of his parents but who was himself a trauma incarnate. (*Love*, p. 266-267)

According to *Alhamdulillah* he is transferred to Nha Trang, without work, without occupation, but at least freed from hunger, while waiting for a problematic departure to a foreign country. Authorities are opposed to his departure because he is regarded as a Maoist at a time when relations between Vietnam and China

have degraded. “Almost like, or maybe like, in my own country: *ideology is a transmitted disease*” (*Alhamdulillah*, p. 25). He eventually leaves Vietnam in mysterious circumstances. Settling in the Netherlands, as told in *Alhamdulillah*, is an epilogue that signals the end and the failure of political illusions:

Dozens of years afterwards, in his old age, everyone is only busy with his trolley at the supermarket, while his grandchildren are cut off from the dreams of their grandfather and grandmother. An illusion is truly sweet; having to discard it is truly bitter. (*Love*, p. 249)

There is a certain gradation in the process of writing. While he still is in Vietnam as a prisoner of a political situation, the outcome of which is unpredictable, Asahan Alham writes a novel about his experience. It is *War and Flowers*. He relates what he is living through together with previous memories, he expresses opinions and feelings, and he adds many fictitious episodes. He talks about himself on two levels: realistic and fictitious, but he does not know yet that he has started writing his autobiography. A few years later, when settled in the Netherlands, he writes a much more realistic text (he reveals more actual experiences and political opinions) which, for that reason perhaps, is literally more elaborated. It is *Alhamdulillah*. The third book, *Love, War and Illusions*, is a collection of stories that may have been written more or less independently from each other and which are the least reflective among his writings. Then comes *Azalea*, the gestation of which seems to have been very long (it is dated “2001-2009”). The author is 70 years old when he finishes the book; his Jakarta years as a teenager are very far back in the past; he looks at the boy he once was and at his eldest brother, who had a crucial role in determining the course of his whole life, with the hindsight of an old man who had spent more than fifty years in exile. He can dig into his own mind without reserve now—it is the most introspective of his books—but he can also play with the past, give it a lesson so to speak.

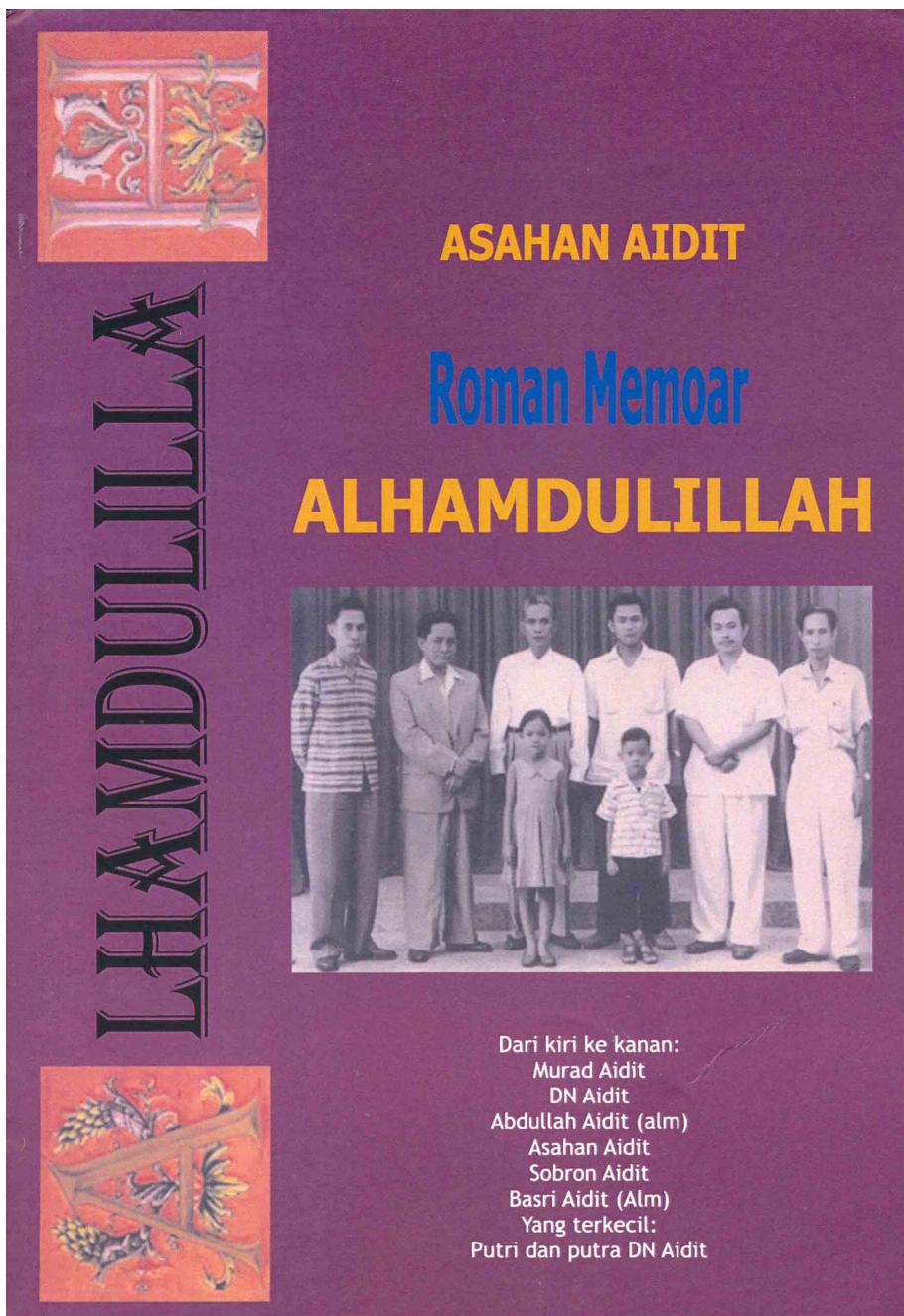
Asahan Alham has introduced fiction into all levels of his texts: his experiences, the external milieu (his family), his feelings and opinions, in other words his biography, the social context and his own introspection. Does this mean that he is not, in fact, writing his autobiography, but a psychological novel about a fictitious character to whom he has lent some of his own features? No, he is at the center of all his writings, he is the main if not the single subject of his “memoirs-stories,” he constantly writes his autobiography, but wearing a mask, dressed up, rigged out in factitious experiences, ideas and feelings. That autobiography is probably the most introspective among its kind in Indonesia and it records not only the factual and authentic experience of the author, but also the imaginary and fantastic world within him.

Introspection of a man that fate placed in a unique situation: to refuse any political involvement when one is the brother of the head of a revolutionary party:

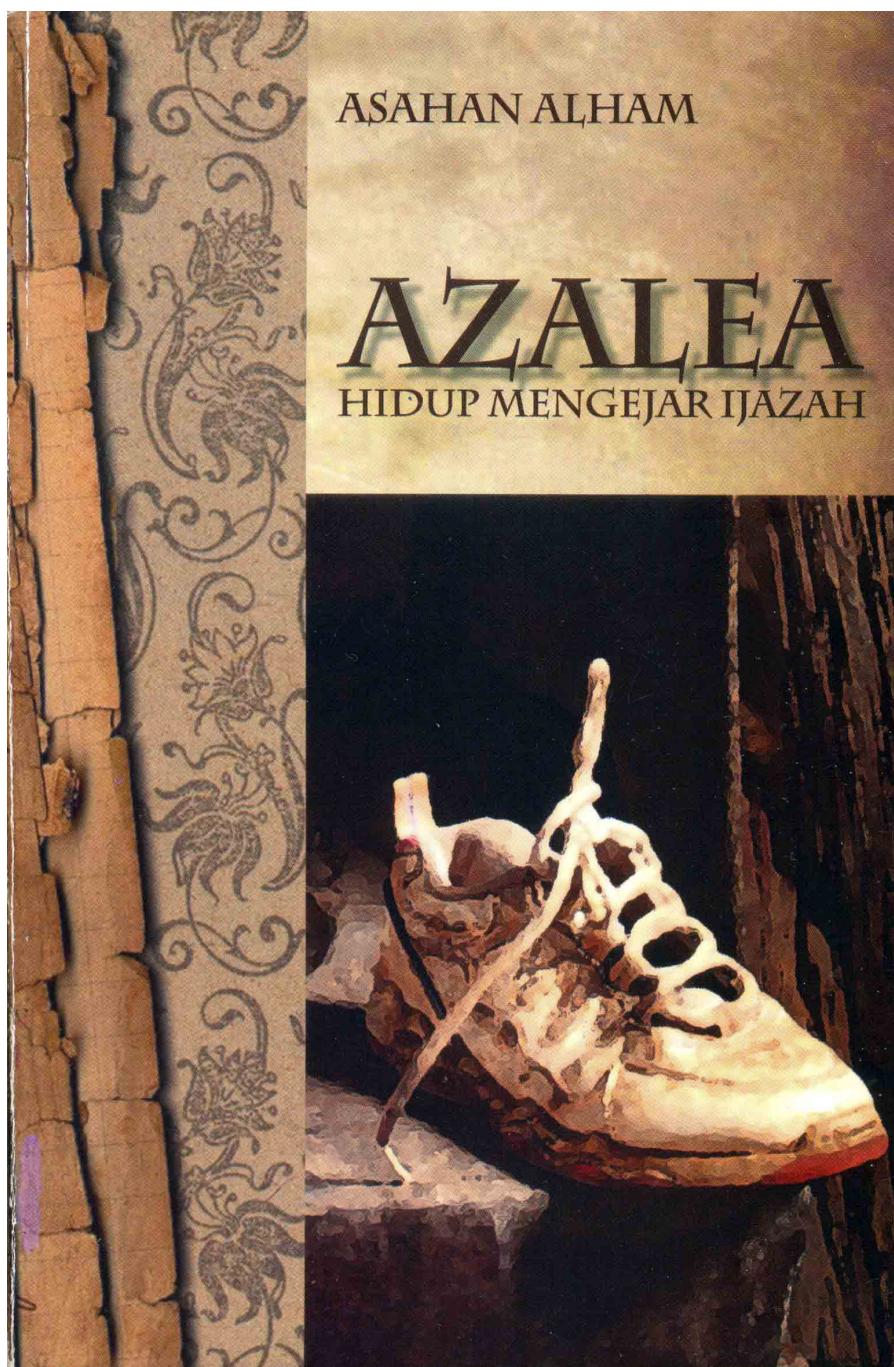
If only I had not had an older brother, perhaps I would never have anything to do with the revolution, either to talk about it or to make it for good. How tedious, how nauseating is this life. History cannot be repaired. (*Alhamdulillah*, p. 231)

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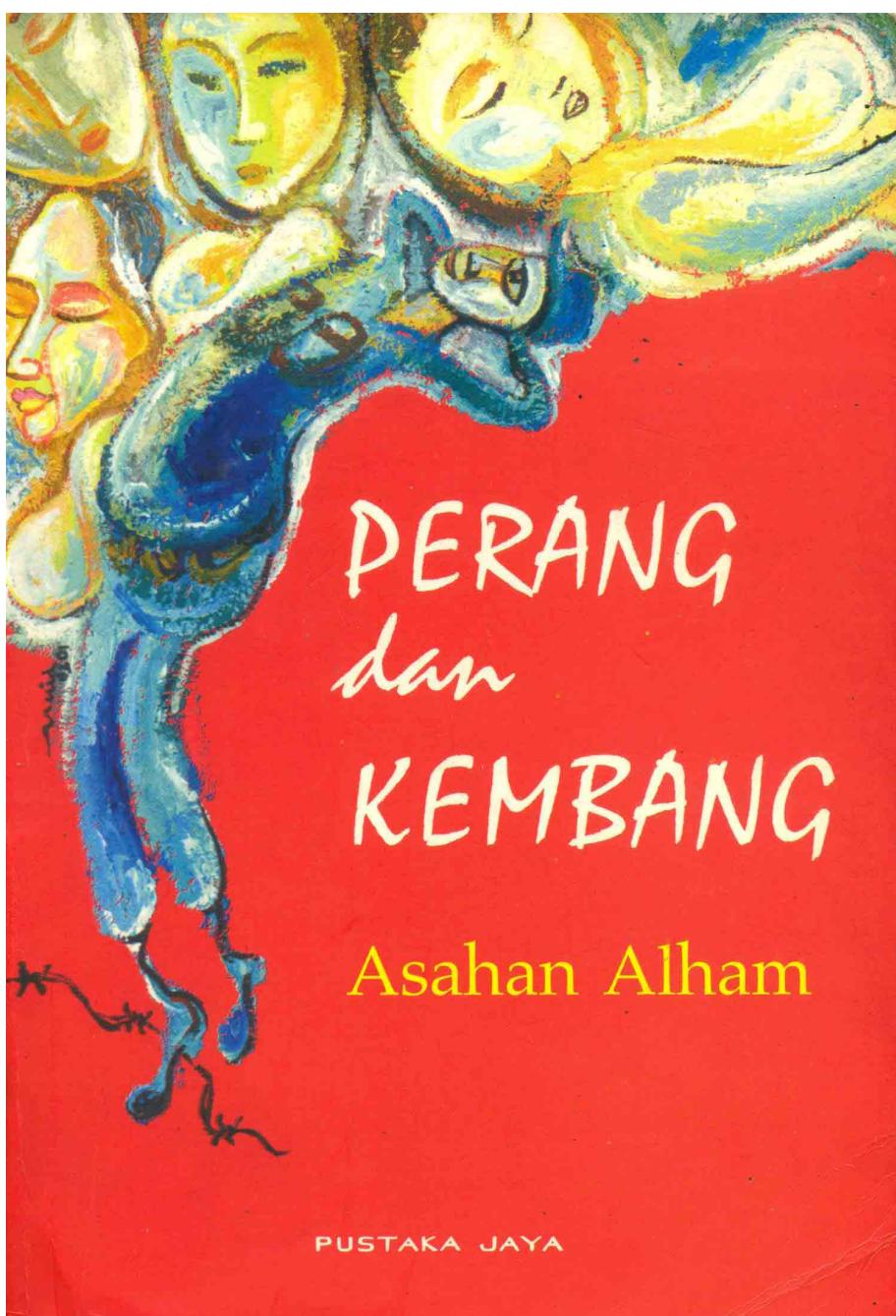
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Bibliography of Exile Literature (*Sastra Eksil*)

This is a tentative bibliography of the writings produced by the Indonesian exiles post-1965. It registers books only (with one exception) and includes a few yet unpublished manuscripts. Titles are classified in six categories: essays, poetry, plays, short stories, novels and self-writing. Translations (the exiles produced many translations from many languages into Indonesian while in Asia) are not referenced. Number of pages is mentioned (when known) as it varies considerably from one book to the other, to the point of challenging the definition of a book. The print-run of the books varies too, from ten to 3,000 copies.

An even more tentative list of journals published in exile is given at the end. Use has been made of the list published in John McGlynn & A. Kohar Ibrahim (eds.), *Menagerie* 6, Jakarta: The Lontar Foundation, 2004, pp. 232-3.

I wish to thank Ibarruri Putri Alam in Paris, Waruno Mahdi in Berlin, and Asahan Alham in Hoofddorp for providing information, especially about the journals published in the 1980s and 1990s.

N.B. Asahan Alham is the new name of Asahan Aidit; Astama and I Sartika are pen-names of Aziz Akbar; Az Andreas, Magusig O. Bungai and JJ. Kusni are pen-names of Kusni Sulang; Alan Hogeland is a pen-name of Kamaludin Rangkuti; Nurdiana a pen-name of Suar Suroso; Agrar Sudrajat a pen-name of Suparna Sastradiredja; Supriadi a pen-name of Soeprijadi Tomodihardjo; and D. Tanaera a pen-name of A. Kohar Ibrahim.

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JIRÍ JAKL¹

The Loincloth, Trousers, and Horse-riders in Pre-Islamic Java: Notes on the Old Javanese Term Lañciñan

The main purpose of this contribution² is to take a fresh look at the Old Javanese term *lañciñan* and to discuss literary evidence on trousers as an item of dress in pre-Islamic Java. I explore the possibility that the Old Javanese term *lañciñan*,³ commonly rendered “trousers,” may have originally denoted a type of loincloth used in the context of warfare. Furthermore, I propose to dissociate the introduction of trousers to Java from the cultural and religious influences of Islam, arguing that a bifurcated lower garment was first adopted in the military context, at the latest by the 14th century CE. This contribution also aims to reopen discussion on the relevance of Old Javanese court poetry (*kakavin*) as a source of cultural history of premodern Java. Representing literary fiction, the relationship of Old Javanese *kakavins* to the realities of Javanese life has always been contentious.⁴ On the one hand, *kakavins* have been used as a rich

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2. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Arlo Griffiths (Lyon), Tom Hoogervorst (Leiden), Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (Leiden), and Jaroslav Strnad (Prague) during the process of writing this study. Among the *Archipel* reviewers, I would like to thank especially Dana Rappoport and Arlo Griffiths for their constructive comments that helped to improve the arguments advanced here.

3. I transcribe Old Javanese and Middle Javanese according to the system proposed by Acri and Griffiths (2014). In order to avoid any confusion, I have also standardized the spelling of quoted primary sources according to these conventions. Modern Javanese words are transcribed in accordance with the standard modern convention.

4. Recently, Worsley (2012: 167) has suggested that rather than fiction, *kakavins* represented for ancient audiences a world of “hyper-reality,” in which “reality” and “fantasy” elements join

source – at times, the only source – for a number of aspects of life in pre-Islamic Java (Ras 1976; Wisseman Christie 1993). On the other hand, some scholars have been inclined to dismiss this poetry as a viable source for history (Berg 1951, 1969). In what seems to be a current trend, scholars are admitting the value of *kakavins* as a rich source for the cultural history of premodern Java, though methodological problems are widely acknowledged (Supomo 2001; Creese 2004; Acri 2010; Worsley 2012). To extract historical evidence from *kakavins*, we need, as suggested recently by Worsley (2012: 148), to ascertain “what is Indian in epic *kakawin* and what authentically Javanese and then query what is ‘fictional’ about them.” In my view, the use of Old Javanese literary representations of dress to draw conclusions about the pre-Islamic dress culture should follow, wherever possible, this research strategy. In what follows, I demonstrate that by investing high-status literary figures (in all cases represented in the context of warfare) with the *lañciñan*, Javanese poets give us an important hint about the character of this premodern element of dress.

To make my arguments easy to follow and check, I list here the Javanese textile terms discussed in this article: *cavat* (OJ: a type of lower garment; MJ, MdJ: loincloth); *calana* (OJ: a type of lower garment); *clana* (MdJ: long trousers); *gadag* (OJ, MJ: trousers); *griñiñ* (OJ, MJ, MdJ: double-ikat textile); *kañok* (MdJ: knee-length trousers; archaism for modesty plaque); *kirivili* (OJ: sash, or apron of loincloth); *kupina* (OJ, MJ: ascetic’s loincloth); *lañciñan* (OJ, MJ: loincloth; trousers); *lancingan* (MdJ: knee-length trousers; archaism for loincloth, especially as a form of underwear); *sruwal* (MdJ: knee-length trousers). The abbreviations refer to: OJ (Old Javanese), MJ (Middle Javanese), MdJ (Modern Javanese).

Old Javanese *Lañciñan*: Loincloth or Trousers?

Old Javanese *lañciñan* is commonly translated “trousers;” judging from lack of any comments on this term, it is considered unproblematic (Zoetmulder 1982; Teeuw and Robson 2005:161; Worsley et al. 2013: 151, 373). This attribution is apparently derived from the meaning of the word *lancingan* in Modern Javanese, where it indeed denotes (men’s) trousers (Robson and Singgih Wibisono 2002).⁵ The word is attested in the *Bhomāntaka*, a *kakavin* composed by an anonymous poet in the second half of the 12th century CE (Teeuw and Robson 2005), and in the *Sumanasāntaka*, a *kakavin* composed around 1200 CE by Mpu Monaguña (Worsley et al. 2013). Apart from these two Old Javanese texts, the term *lañciñan* is also known from a number of texts composed in Middle Javanese, such as the *Rāṅga Lave* and *Kiduñ Sunda*.

to represent Java’s past. This approach may explain a number of archaisms used in the *kakavin* poetry, including several terms pertaining to the literary representations of dress.

5. The same meaning of this word is attested also in Modern Sundanese. Eringa (1984: 444) renders Modern Sundanese *lancingan* simply “trousers” (Dutch: “broek”).

The form of the word, interestingly, has remained unchanged for more than eight hundred years, a rare fact in the Javanese dress and textile lexicon. The attestation of the Javanese term for trousers in the literary texts composed at the Hindu-Buddhist courts of pre-Islamic Java has, to date, attracted no attention of textile historians, who generally associate the introduction of trousers to Indonesia with the process of Islamisation and its novel perception of the human body. Maxwell (2003: 313), for one, claims that wherever Islam spread, men have adopted short pants, while women have accepted trousers as part of their daily dress only in Aceh and in some parts of Sumbawa. In the non-Islamic areas where trousers became part of dress, such as in the Toraja highlands, their introduction is ascribed to the cultural influence of Islamic clothing practices (Maxwell 2003: 314).

Beside *lañciñan*, there is another Old Javanese term, *calana*, an early form of Modern Javanese *clana*, that is commonly interpreted as denoting “trousers.”⁶ Unlike *lañciñan*, Old Javanese *calana* is a loanword. The term *calana* is a rare lexical item in Old Javanese, found only in two places in the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*, an Old Javanese version of the Indian epic, and the earliest known specimen of the *kakavin* genre, datable according to current scholarly opinion to the 9th century CE (Acri 2011: xv).⁷ Gonda (1973: 39), for one, derives *calana*, as well as related forms, such as Old Buginese *cəlana*, from Hindī *carṇā* (“trousers reaching to the knees”).⁸ This author, however, nowhere mentions his source for the word *carṇā*, and in view of the fact that the earliest textual attestation of Old Hindī postdates by several centuries the composition of the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*, Gonda’s attribution must remain speculative.⁹ To reassess the meaning of Old Javanese *calana* in the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*, it is necessary to analyse the literary context of the pertinent passages. In the first occurrence of this term, found in stanza 21.201, *calana* denotes an element of battle dress worn by the soldiers of Rāvaṇa’s

6. For a discussion of yet another Javanese term for trousers, *gadag*, attested in the *Śivarātrikalpa* and a number of Middle Javanese texts, see the second part of this article.

7. Apart from the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*, Old Javanese *calana* is found in a small number of *kakavin* composed in Bali (Zoetmulder 1982). Interestingly, in most cases the term *calana* is used in these texts in the context of warfare. According to the current scholarly opinion, none of the Old Javanese *kakavins* authored in Bali predates the 16th century CE (Creese 1999, 2004) so that these occurrences have no relevance for my analysis.

8. Russell Jones (2007: 48) has also proposed to derive the Old Javanese term *calana* from Old Hindī, but lists *colnā* as an original Old Hindī form. According to Jaroslav Strnad, an archaic word form *colnā* is found in some Old Hindī texts composed by Kabīr, where the term, however, denotes an element of women’s dress, most probably some form of jacket (email communication 23/10/2014).

9. Interestingly, in Hindī *Śabdsāgar* (III: 1489), a lexicon of Old and archaic Hindī word forms, we find a word *calanaka*, used here for a “short women’s skirt.” Jaroslav Strnad has suggested that a more plausible source of Old Javanese term may be found among the Prakrit languages (email communication 23/10/2014).

general Prahasta.¹⁰ It is mentioned alongside *kirivili*, an enigmatic element of dress, usually rendered as “sash, belt.”¹¹ The identification of *calana* in this passage, however, remains tentative; the term may denote either a variety of trousers, or some form of unstitched lower garment. The rendering of *calana* as “trousers” is further complicated by the second occurrence of this term, found in stanza 25.78, where it refers to an element of dress worn by young women. Hooykaas, for one, renders *calana* in stanza 25.78 as “pantaloons” (1958: 375). Yet, the context of the passage in which *calana* is found clearly suggests that the garment depicted here represents in fact an element of women’s underwear. First, let me quote Hooykaas’s translation of the stanza that depicts young girls amusing themselves at the bank of the river Sarayū:

Yonder there is one who climbs in the *campaka* and shakes down the flowers;
others carry them in their sling at their backs;
some enlist the aid of their kains to take them all,
whispering because they are not wearing their pantaloons.

We may imagine that the girls, wishing to carry away as many blossoms as they could handle, tucked up their skirt-like dresses (*kain*) to accommodate the *campaka* blossoms. Apparently, the *kain* was short, so that the lower part of the body, typically covered by some kind of underwear as the text seems to suggest, became visible.¹² This sight of the girls, naked waist down, made an impression on the young men, who were peeping from behind the trees at the bank of the river, as we gather from a couple of following stanzas.¹³ I suggest, contrary to Hooykaas (1958), that the evidence we have is not detailed enough to claim that in the 9th century CE the Old Javanese term *calana* denoted trousers, a form of stitched bifurcated lower garment. Furthermore, the fact that apart from the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa* the term *calana* is unattested in other *kakavins* authored on Java further emphasizes the specificity of the language environment in which the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*, the single *kakavin* known from the Central Javanese period (732–928 CE), was composed. Old Javanese *calana* may thus represent a loanword from Old Malay, or another Nusantaran language. It may be of etymological relevance that among the four words used to denote one or other form of trousers in Modern Javanese (*clana*, *katok*, *lancingan*, *sruwal*), it is only *clana* that refers specifically to long, ankle-length trousers rather than to short, knee-length trousers as do the other three

10. We may presume that *calanas* were among the items rewarded to warriors by Prahasta before the battle, as we gather from stanza 21.199, where we learn that Prahasta distributed to his soldiers numerous “gifts,” among others “*luñsir* silk textiles [and other] cloth” (*luñsir devāṅga dodot*).

11. For a discussion of *kirivili*, see note 22.

12. Interestingly, Soewito Santoso (1975: 274) has rendered Old Javanese word *patələsan*, a single piece of garment worn by a celestial nymph sporting in water, depicted in vivid detail in *Sutasoma* 48.7, as “loincloth.”

13. See *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa* 25.80–82.

terms. Aichele (1943) has pointed to a number of Malay loanwords found in the *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*, but since Aichele's pioneering study the subject of Old Javanese–Old Malay lexical exchange has remained little studied.¹⁴

The finding that Old Javanese *calana* in *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa* 25.78 probably does not denote trousers but rather a simple, most likely unstitched, element of women's underwear, should make us suspicious about the exact meaning of Old Javanese *lañciñan*. Although in contemporary Javanese *lancingan* denotes men's knee-length trousers, as recently as in 1938 Pigeaud still knew about two other meanings of this word: "loincloth" (Dutch: *lendendoek*), and "underpants" (Dutch: *onderbroek*).¹⁵ Apparently, in the 1930s the word *lancingan* still carried three different meanings, used for three distinct kinds of lower garment, even though other dictionaries of Modern Javanese, such as Jansz (1913), list under *lancingan* only the meaning "trousers."¹⁶ In view of this fact, it is not unreasonable to presume that the same semantic flexibility pertained as well to the use of the Old Javanese form *lañciñan*. Even though Teeuw and Robson (2005: 160) render *lañciñan* as "soldier's trousers," all we can say with certainty is that in Old Javanese *kakavins* the word denotes a form of warrior's lower garment, an element of battle dress.¹⁷

Before I discuss in detail the attestations of *lañciñan* in *kakavins*, let me briefly summarize current knowledge of what soldiers wore on the lower torso of the body. In spite of extensive descriptions of warfare in the Old Javanese literature, we have only a very rudimentary knowledge of the dress of Javanese soldiers and their military leaders. From a number of *kakavins* we infer that various protective elements of battle dress, such as scaled jackets (*sipiñ-sipiñ*) and helmets (*rukuh*), were used.¹⁸ We hear, however, almost nothing about the elements of the dress soldiers wore to cover and protect the lower torso of the body; the Old Javanese literary record is surprisingly silent on this issue. On the other hand, there are a number of visual representations of battle dress on

14. For a recent study in which Old Javanese literary and inscriptional material is discussed alongside Old Malay epigraphical texts, see Griffiths (2014), especially p. 215–217.

15. Pigeaud (1989: 231).

16. Jansz (1913: 352), for one, defines the word *lancingan* as a Krama Inggil version of *kañok* and *sruwal*. *Kañok* and *sruwal*, according to Jansz (1913: 276, 875), denote trousers in both the Ngoko and Kromo speech registers, where *kañok* designates more specifically knee-length trousers secured by button(s).

17. To the best of my knowledge, the term *lañciñan* is not attested in (published) Old Javanese inscriptions, another important source of knowledge about the Javanese pre-Islamic dress culture.

18. In his *Old Javanese-English dictionary*, Zoetmulder (1982: 1784) reconstructs the appearance of a *sipiñ-sipiñ* jacket in a lengthy entry: "part. of warrior's attire, prob. a kind of short jacket without sleeves, covering the upper part of the chest (see KBW s.v. *simping*); apparently of scaled metal plates and worn by those who have distinguished themselves." In my view, Old Javanese *sipiñ-sipiñ*, as well as Middle Javanese *sisimpiñ*, designate a protective jacket worn by the infantry. Fashioned from the buffalo hide rather than from metal, the jacket was reinforced and embellished by numerous small discs cut from *sipiñ-sipiñ* shells.

the reliefs of Javanese religious monuments. While most of the reliefs depict warriors wearing a short, skirt-like lower garment, some depictions show them dressed in a loincloth.¹⁹

Consisting in its simplest variety of a long and narrow strip of cloth which is passed between the legs and then around the waist, the main purpose of the loincloth is to cover the male genitals.²⁰ Although the loincloth was culturally important in many parts of premodern Indonesia, relatively little attention has been paid to its history. Apart from its humble variety, there was also an elaborate one, used mostly at festive occasions, with patterned ends that hang down front and back (Nooy-Palm 1969: 169; Steinmayer 1991). The loincloth represents an ancient form of clothing; Maxwell (2003: 40) observes that the patterns on the end sections of loin cloths produced during the last century often resemble those on some of the earliest stone statues found in the region. During the last one hundred years the loincloth has disappeared not only from Java, but also from many other parts of Southeast Asia (Steinmayer 1991). Interestingly, in some modern societies the use of the loincloth has survived but its function has been changed. Maxwell (2003: 40), for one, reports that heirloom Toraja loin cloths (*pio*) are nowadays used mainly as ceremonial banners, and in Bali loin cloths may be used as shawls around the necks of male participants in the context of ritual.

The history of the loincloth in Java, one of the islands most intensely exposed to cultural and religious influences of India, remains only poorly documented. Yet, literary and visual evidence suggest that the loincloth represented a common element of Javanese premodern dress. By the early 20th century CE, however, the loincloth had disappeared from all but the most isolated parts of Java; according to Carey (2008: 46), it continued to be used only by impoverished mountain dwellers in remote districts of hill regions. Even though the study of the history of Javanese dress is still in its infancy, and we have only a very limited knowledge of the dress culture in Hindu-Buddhist Java (Barnes et al. 2010), we may presume that the loincloth represented an important article of men's, and probably children's, dress.²¹ Visual representations from pre-Islamic Java suggest that the loincloth was the main element of daily dress of farmers, porters, craftsmen, and ambulant traders.²² In fact, there is no other type of premodern garment more suitable for

19. Some of the earliest of these representations are found at Borobudur and Prambanan (8th-9th centuries CE), Central Java. See, for example, Degroot (2013: 46).

20. The loincloth, however, did not always prevent the genitals from being exposed: in a vigorous combat scene, depicted at one of the reliefs in Prambanan, we see a wrestler with his loincloth already loosened, and with his penis dangling down (Degroot 2013: 36).

21. Teeuw and Robson (2005: 606) suggest tentatively that the obscure term *kañcur*, attested only in *Bhomāntaka* 4.3 where it denotes wet clothes of young boys who work as cattle-herders, could denote a variety of loincloth.

22. For a man ploughing with a team of oxen, see Nou & Frédéric (1996: 69). For porters, see

vigorous physical activities, such as hunting, fishing, hand-to-hand combat, and wrestling, than the loincloth. The Indian *kaupīna* (Alter 1992), and the Japanese *mawashi* worn by the sumo wrestlers, are probably the best known examples of the continued popularity of the loincloth in the martial context. In the past, it is in the context of warfare that we encounter the most elaborate variety of loincloth in Java. In the reliefs depicting the *Kṛṣṇāyana* on the main temple of Panataran (14th century CE), some warriors use a very elaborate variety of the loincloth (Klokke 2000: 26-28). The clearly visible front end hangs down, forming an apron. The fashion of wearing a long and billowing apron (and tail) to one's loincloth is attested from ethnographic evidence and may have been rooted in apotropaic qualities ascribed to the front and tail of the loincloth (Steinmayer 1991).²³ Bhīma, a literary character representing a model of powerful but unrefined warrior, is depicted in a number of statues dated to the 14-15th centuries CE, wearing an elaborate loincloth (Duijker 2010: 43-44). The loincloth used in the martial context is known also from other parts of ancient Southeast Asia: some soldiers depicted on Angkor temple reliefs wear what Green calls "hipcloth," a loincloth with prominent ends hanging down loosely (2000: 283).

We must admit that Javanese premodern evidence on trousers and the loincloth represents a paradox: though the loincloth is depicted on a number of reliefs and statues spanning the period between the 8th and 16th centuries CE, there is, to the best of my knowledge, no explicit visual representation of trousers in Hindu-Javanese art. Furthermore, while it is presumed that Old Javanese term *lañciñan* denotes trousers, the actual Old Javanese name of the loincloth remains unclear. The term *kupina*, which represents a loanword from Sanskrit, is attested specifically in the religious context where it refers to a type of loincloth used by ascetics as part of their garb.²⁴ Made typically,

Miksic et al. (2011: 165). For musicians wearing a form of loincloth, with their uncovered buttocks clearly visible, see Miksic et al. (2011: 172). Small boys may have used the loincloth as a predominant form of garment in ancient Java; I gather this from the visual representation of Lava, one of the sons of Rāma, at Prambanan (Levin 2011: 173). I am grateful for the reference to the depiction of a ploughing man to Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (email communication January 2015).

23. It is tempting to speculate that the enigmatic Old Javanese word *kirivili* denotes the (decorated) front part of the loincloth ("apron"). Zoetmulder (1982: 878) renders *kirivili* as "a part, article of dress, prob. a sash hanging down from the waist." Representing an element of the battle dress of the *vil* demons depicted in the *Bhomāntaka*, *kirivili* is translated by Teeuw and Robson (2005: 141) as "sash." Rubinstein (2000: 163) renders *kirivili* as "sash that hangs from the waist", and gives the word as listed among the examples of the category of *dīrgha* ("long") characteristics in Old Javanese prosody as explained in the *Canda*, an Old Javanese treatise on prosody. In my view, this means that the *kirivili* was still a clear and probably well-known term by the time the *Canda* was composed. Tom Hoogervorst has suggested that the first segment of the Old Javanese term *kirivili* may be related in one or other way to Tamil *kili*, a strip of cloth tied round the waist of a mendicant, a variety of mendicant's loincloth (email communication 15/1/2015).

24. Zoetmulder (1982: 929), for one, renders Old Javanese *kupina*: "the pudenda; a small piece

if not exclusively, from bark-cloth, the *kupina* became one of the symbols of hermits and ascetics in Old Javanese literature, along with a vessel made of a gourd.²⁵ The ascetic's loincloth is also represented on a number of narrative reliefs and statuary from the Hindu-Buddhist period.²⁶ It is possible, however, that *cavat*, a term known from at least two Old Javanese inscriptions and from a number of texts composed in Middle Javanese, has denoted specifically the loincloth.²⁷ The same word is still used to denote the loincloth in Modern Javanese (Pigeaud 1989: 576). The single Old Javanese attestation of the word *cavat* known to me is found in *Bhomāntaka* 81.41, in a difficult passage full of erotic overtones, where, however, it seems to refer to some kind of (talking?) bird, rather than to a type of garment.²⁸ Teeuw and Robson (2005: 445), editors of the *Bhomāntaka*, leave *cavat* in stanza 81.41 untranslated.²⁹

I offer the hypothesis that along with the *kupina* (ascetic's loincloth), and *cavat* (known with certainty only from Middle Javanese texts), Old Javanese *lañciñan* may have originally denoted the loincloth. By the 14th century CE, at the latest, the term was applied also on the trousers, while *cavat* denoted exclusively the loincloth. This proposal is supported by the finding that the terms *cavat* and *lañciñan* occur side by side in the military context of a few Middle Javanese texts that may be plausibly dated to the 14th century CE (*Raṅga Lave* and *Kiduṇ Sunda*).³⁰ Furthermore, the term *palalañciñan*, attested in the Middle Javanese *Koravāśrama*, explicitly denotes the “waist”, and points thus

of cloth worn over the privities.”

25. It is attested in Old Javanese, as well as Middle Javanese texts. See, for example, *Pārthyajña* 12.16; *Koravāśrama* 188.18; *Tantu Paṅgəlaran* 58.9 and 60.24.

26. From several detailed representations of ascetic's loincloth in Javanese statuary we may presume that, at least during the Majapahit period, the loincloth was further secured by way of a string or belt. For a very detailed, though rather late (16th century CE), visual representation of ascetic's loincloth, see the statue of the so-called “Berlin hermit”, discussed and depicted in Lunsingh Scheurleer (2011: 11, figures 1a and 1b). For other, less detailed visual representations of ascetic's loincloth, see Stutterheim (1925), and Stutterheim (1937).

27. The term is attested in at least two inscriptions: in the Tuhanaru inscription (VIIIb, II.4), dated to 1323 CE, and in the Sanga inscription dated to the 13th century CE. I am grateful for the reference to these epigraphic attestations to Arlo Griffiths, email communication September 2015. For the attestations in the Middle Javanese texts, see, for example, *Raṅga Lave* 1.57 and 8.29; *Kiduṇ Sunda* 2.172 and 2.85.

28. Compare, however, an interesting possible parallel in a passage in *Smaradahana* 26.9, where the term *kupina* (“ascetic's loincloth”) seems likewise to have erotic connotations. Griffiths and Lunsingh Scheurleer (2014: 141, note 106) render the pertinent passage *kupinanirātahən juga maśabda lanāñukulan*: “His stout member just (?) stood up strongly, continuously making the sound of a slit gong (*kukulan*).”

29. Zoetmulder (1982: 317) renders *cavat* “short loin-cloth.”

30. See Damais (1958: 55-57); Robson (1979).

to the identity of the *lañciñan* as a piece of cloth wrapped around the waist, hence not a form of trousers.³¹

The three passages in which Old Javanese *lañciñan* occurs suggest that *lañciñan* represented a distinct symbol of military leadership, at least in the epic world of *kakavin*. The earliest attestation of *lañciñan* is found in the mocking scene in *Bhomāntaka* 12.10, in which an aging head of a hermitage (*devaguru*), a venerable religious figure, behaves rather like a warlord. Full of the fighting spirit, he sends his disciples to combat willful demons:

sañ devaguru añadu śisya marək manonton
ambək malañciñan aniñsəti baddha ruñcud³²

The *devaguru* urged on his disciples who had drawn near to watch.
He was in the mood to put on a *lañciñan*, tightening his loosened headband.³³

The passage suggests, albeit in the form of a literary hyperbole, that in the late 12th century CE *lañciñan* denoted an element of battle dress, apparently associated with the military leadership. In *Sumanasāntaka* 29.5, Mpu Monaguna singles out prince Aja, who acts in this scene as a military leader, as a man who wears a *lañciñan*:

ñhiñ mañkat sañ ajākəmul-kəmul alañciñan añarahakən sakeñ ratha³⁴

Only [Prince] Aja set forth, clad in a cloak, wearing a *lañciñan*, giving orders from his chariot.³⁵

The passage illustrates how items of dress mark military leaders in Old Javanese literature: like the *lañciñan*, the *kəmul* cloak is nowhere represented as an element of battle dress worn by rank and file soldiers. But contrary to the *lañciñan*, the *kəmul* is described in Old Javanese literature in remarkable detail. By no means limited to the military context, the *kəmul* is depicted as an item of dress that is imbued with particularly strong apotropaic powers. In fact, in a number of passages the *kəmul* is represented as a “cloak of invisibility,” protecting those who wish to remain unrecognized.³⁶ We may presume that the

31. See *Koravāśrama* 132.8.

32. *Bhomāntaka* 12.10. Old Javanese text taken from Teeuw and Robson (2005: 160).

33. Teeuw and Robson (2005: 161) render this passage: “The *dewaguru* urged on his pupils who had drawn near to watch, He was in the mood to put on soldier’s trousers and tightened his loosened headband.”

34. *Sumanasāntaka* 29.5. Old Javanese text taken from Worsley et al. (2013: 150).

35. Worsley et al. (2013:151) translate this passage: “Only Prince Aja set forth, wearing trousers and a cloak round his shoulders, giving orders from his chariot.”

36. To demonstrate this claim, let me give three examples from the *Arjunavivāha*, a *kakavin* composed by Mpu Kanva in the first half of the 11th century CE (Robson 2008). Stanza 15.4 depicts a celestial nymph, Suprabhā, who accompanies Arjuna during his airborne spying mission to Nivātakavaca’s residence, wearing a *kəmul* cloak that covers her *tapiñ* skirt. Arjuna, using a “flying jacket” and magical sandals, follows behind, protected by Suprabhā’s cloak.

lañciñan and the *kəmul* worn by Aja in the *Sumanasāntaka* represent a literary reflection of a premodern belief that dress used in the context of warfare should be imbued with particularly strong apotropaic properties.

This finding is further supported by the fact that in a number of Middle Javanese texts the *lañciñan*, as well as the *cavət*, are represented as made from *grīñsiñ*, a textile that has been viewed in Java and Bali as magically potent.³⁷ The term is plausibly first mentioned in the *Deśavarṇana*, an Old Javanese *kakavin* composed by Mpu Prapañca in 1365 CE, where it denotes a fabric from which the curtains of a box of the royal carriage of Hayam Vuruk were fashioned (Robson 1995: 38). Even though textile scholars differ in their opinion on the character of Old Javanese (and Middle Javanese) *grīñsiñ*, it is widely accepted that *grīñsiñ* cloth was valued for its apotropaic qualities (Nabholz-Kartaschoff 1999).³⁸ Made now only in Tenganan in Bali, Modern Balinese *grīñsiñ* denotes textiles produced by the complex double ikat technique. All stages of the production are constrained by a number of rules to ensure the ritual purity and magical potency of the finished product (Hauser-Schäublin et al. 1991). While the antiquity of the Balinese production of *grīñsiñ* remains unknown, the specimens known from ethnographic collections display influence of Indian *patola* double ikat silks produced in Gujarat (Bühler 1959; Bühler and Fisher 1979; Guy 2009: 13). Wisseman Christie (1993: 194), for one, claims that Old Javanese *grīñsiñ* therefore denotes also cloth made by the double ikat technique, and that the numerous named *grīñsiñ* patterns, known mostly from Middle Javanese literature, refer to the “wayang scenes” depicted on the textiles.³⁹ Based on his reading of *Deśavarṇana* 17.4, Hall (2000: 74) has suggested that due to the belief in magical properties of *grīñsiñ*, the Majapahit court adopted this textile (Hall uses the term “pattern”) as the royal symbol.

A number of Middle Javanese texts support the view that there was a close association between the king, his personal military retinue, and the *grīñsiñ* cloth that was vested (in the form of *lañciñan* and *cavət*) to the men who proved themselves in battle. The *Pararaton*, a Middle Javanese historical text composed sometime in the late 15th or early 16th century CE, informs us that

In stanza 31.7, Arjuna, trying to woo Tilottamā, another celestial nymph, by his sweet words, desires to be reborn as her *kəmul*, to be worn “as a blanket when she slips out secretly by the light of the moon.” Intimacy provided by the *kəmul* cloak is alluded to also in stanza 31.2, in which two handmaidens (*varacetika*), enamoured of Arjuna, engage in love-play, fancying that their bedcover serves as a *kəmul* (*akəmul-kəmul huləs*).

37. For the *cavət* loincloth made from *grīñsiñ*, see *Raṅga Lave* 1.57 (*vineh cavət grīñsiñ*).

38. For a different opinion, see Hooykaas (1978: 357), who suggests that the *gringsing* textile patterns convey offensive, aggressive elements rather than protective elements. To support his views, Hooykaas introduces a poisonous species of crab called *yuyu gringsing*, and the mantra called “Gringsing Wayang,” an offensive device employed to kill an opponent.

39. See, for example, *Kiduñ Sunda* 5.81b *alañciñan grīñsiñ ramayana*; *Kiduñ Sunda* 5.85a *alañciñan grīñsiñ virata*; *Kiduñ Harṣa Vijaya* 1.45a *asabuk grīñsiñ krṣṇayana*; *Kiduñ Harṣa Vijaya* 4.88b *sabuk grīñsiñ smarantaka*.

after the defeat of Singasari by Kediri in 1293 CE, Raden Vijaya rewarded his soldiers with *lañciñan* made from *griñsin* cloth (Brandes 1920). The *Raṅga Lave*, a Middle Javanese text composed probably in the 14th century CE (Robson 1979), refers to the *lañciñan* made from *griñsin* cloth, awarded by the king to the soldiers fighting for him.⁴⁰ In this context, the claim by Maxwell (2003: 314) that in the court circles in Central Java ceremonial trousers were until recently made from imported Indian double ikat *patola* textiles, gains particular interest.

In the second passage from the *Sumanasāntaka* where the *lañciñan* is mentioned, the word denotes a piece of lower garment worn by the king of Awaṅga, a formidable epic warrior and military chief. Similar to the passage quoted above, the *lañciñan* here represents an attribute of the military leadership. Another attribute, marking the king of Awaṅga in the world of Old Javanese poetry as a military leader of the highest order, is the chariot on which he rides into battle:

*muntab kroḍha sañ aṅganātha kadi bahni mañaraman i puñcak iñ vukir
ñkāne kūvara niñ rathāmahayu lañciñan ira pinisit siniñsətan
hrū lāvan laras advitīya sinamādhy amijilakəna sarvasañjata⁴¹*

The King of Aṅga's wrath flared like a fire burning fiercely on the top of the mountain.
There on the chariot-pole he put his *lañciñan* to right, holding it up and tightening it.
He concentrated his mind on his unique bow and arrows in order to fire off every manner of missile.⁴²

To summarize our findings so far, the passages in the *Sumanasāntaka* and *Bhomāntaka* represent the *lañciñan* as part of a warrior's dress, and a symbol of military leadership. At the same time, the *lañciñan* is associated with apotropaic power. There is, however, no evidence that the Old Javanese *lañciñan* in these passages denotes specifically a form of trousers, rather than an elaborate variety of loincloth. This remarkable ambiguity of the *lañciñan* pertains also to other word forms used in Javanese to denote a bifurcated lower garment, such as Old Javanese *calana* and Modern Javanese *kaṭok*.⁴³ The semantic shift in Modern Javanese words *clana*, *kaṭok*, and *lancingan*,

40. *Raṅga Lave* 10.22.

41. *Sumanasāntaka* 151.1. Old Javanese text taken from Worsley et al. (2013: 372).

42. Worsley et al. (2013: 373) translate this passage: "The king of Awaṅga's anger flared like a fire burning fiercely on the top of the mountain. There on the chariot's shaft he put his trousers to right, holding them up and tightening them. He concentrated his mind on his unique bow and arrows in order to fire off every manner of weapon."

43. For the ambiguity of Modern Javanese *kaṭok*, see Pigeaud (1989: 172), who lists it, apart from being the Ngoko and Kromo forms for knee-length trousers, also as an archaism for "(metal) modesty plaque" (Dutch: *metalen plaatje, schaamplaat*).

from the non-stitched forms of lower garment to stitched trousers, has been, most probably, very slow and gradual.

Yet, Middle Javanese *kiduñ* literature suggests that by the 14th century CE, a distinction was made, at least in the military context, between the loincloth (*cavat*) and trousers (*lañciñan*). We may thus presume that by this time the Old Javanese *lañciñan* had ceased to denote exclusively an elaborate form of loincloth and started to refer, plausibly in a specific social context, to soldier's trousers. Looking for a possible source of this innovation, we should realize that during the late Kediri period Java witnessed an increased use of horses for war, and, in my view, the establishment of cavalry may well have been accompanied by the introduction of trousers as part of a riding dress. In fact, this development has its historical parallels in Campā and Cambodia, where, during the second half of the 12th century CE, the first true units of cavalry were established (Wade 2009: 168-174). It is also in this period that we have the first visual evidence of trousers being used by Cam soldiers.

Horse-riding, Trousers, and Mounted Warfare in Pre-Islamic Java

Horses were never common in premodern Java. Introduced probably from mainland Southeast Asia at an unknown date, the Javanese breed was traditionally represented by stout, small, and short-legged, dun-coloured horses (Wade 2009: 165). Used mainly in hunt and in the context of royal pomp, the military use of horses before the 12th century CE is a shadowy issue. Boomgaard (2007: 40) observes that in premodern Java only men of noble origin could have afforded to keep, train and use horses. As a result of these social and cultural constraints, early Javanese cavalry was almost certainly composed exclusively of members of gentry. The available evidence, difficult to interpret, suggest that until the 12th century CE horses were employed as mounts on which noble warriors rode to battle where they dismounted to fight as infantry (Charney 2004). Far from being rare, the phenomenon of "mounted infantry" is attested from many parts of the premodern world (Sidnell 2006: 90). Since the 12th century CE, however, we have increasing evidence suggesting that horses became more common as riding animals.⁴⁴ The first true cavalry, an organized unit of cooperative horse-riders, may have appeared in Java during the 12th century CE, similar to the historical trends documented for this period from Campā and Cambodia (Wade 2009). In several *kakavins* composed

44. Improved knowledge of horses is attested by a number of passages in the *Bhāratayuddha*, a *kakavin* completed in 1157 CE (Supomo 1993). Horses are designated in the text by the word *ajaran* (literally: "trained animal"), a term used previously to denote a pet bird trained to talk (Zoetmulder 1982). This Old Javanese term gave rise to *jaran*, a standard Modern Javanese word for the horse. The *Bhāratayuddha* is also the earliest Old Javanese text in which the term for the horse saddle, *palana*, is attested. Unlike the word *rəṅga* that designates any kind of "seat", such as an elephant howdah and a low seat in a chariot, *palana* is used specifically to denote the horse saddle.

during the 12th century CE we encounter descriptions, presented mostly in the form of literary metaphors, in which horse-riders operate as cavalry rather than as uncoordinated individuals. Recently, Teeuw and Robson (2005: 436) have called attention to the special value of the *Bhomāntaka* for the study of early Javanese horse lore and horsemanship. In the 14th century CE, Java became an important breeder of horses and the island is even listed among suppliers of horses to China (Ptak 1999: 208). During the Majapahit period (1293-1520s CE), horse numbers and quality of Javanese breeds steadily grew so that in 1515 CE Tomé Pires, usually a reliable witness, praised the richly caparisoned horses of the Javanese gentry, equipped with stirrups inlaid with gold and lavishly decorated saddles, such as were “not found anywhere else in the world” (Cortesão 1944: 175).

It is in this historical context that we should try to understand the introduction of trousers in the Javanese dress. Neither the loincloth, nor any skirt-like garment, would have been suitable for horse-riding. Trousers, on the other hand, cover the underbody and the legs against bruising by two connected trouser-legs. While we lack direct evidence, trousers, related to mounted warfare and greater mobility, may have been introduced as an element of Javanese battle dress sometime during the 12th century CE, as part of a complex process of the elaboration of horse-riding techniques and specialized equipment, such as improved horse saddles. As we have seen, in the 14th century CE, Javanese authors already distinguished between *cavat*, the loincloth, and *lañciñan*, trousers. Further evidence that trousers were first introduced, and used, in the context of warfare, is the attestation of the word *gadag*, an early form of Modern Javanese *katok*, in the *Śivarātrikalpa*, a *kakavin* composed in or around the third quarter of the 15th century CE (Teeuw et al. 1969: 65; Zoetmulder 1974: 365).⁴⁵ In a humorous scene, Mpu Tanakun, the author of the text, explores the distinction between soldier’s (male) trousers and woman’s lower garment when he describes slain soldiers of Yama, revived by Śiva:

45. The precise dating of the *Śivarātrikalpa* remains, however, contested. Teeuw et al. (1969: 65) have identified Mpu Tanakun’s literary patron, Sri Adisuraprabhāva, who is mentioned in *Śivarātrikalpa* 1.2, with the king Suraprabhāva, known to the editors of the *Śivarātrikalpa* from the Pamintihan inscription (1473 CE), and have suggested that “the time in which the poem was written was the third quarter of the 15th century.” In his detailed analysis of the Waringin Pitu inscription (1447 CE), Noorduyn (1978: 225-226) has demonstrated that Suraprabhāva is the same man as Bhre Pandan Salas of the *Pararaton*, and Prince Siñhavikramavardhana of the Waringin Pitu charter. Based on these identifications, Noorduyn (1972: 264, n. 13) has concluded that “it remains uncertain until further evidence is forthcoming whether the earliest date of the *Śivarātrikalpa* is 1466 as Teeuw et al. (1969: 18) assert, and ought not to be put back to at least 1447.”

*tapvan meñat dahat citta niki n agulin iñ vešma lāvan kasihnya
lolyāminkis gaðag niñ vahu-vahu matutur kagyat arvan salah lvir⁴⁶*

They were not yet altogether conscious, and imagined that they were lying in bed at home with their loved ones;
Absentely they rolled up the trousers of those who had just come to, but were surprised to see they had the wrong one.⁴⁷

Apparently, bewildered soldiers mistook their comrades, dressed in trousers (*gaðag*), for their own wives or lovers. While this image may be classed as a cliché in Old Javanese battle depictions, the opposition between trousers, represented here as a typical element of soldier's dress, and an unspecified article of woman's lower dress, is innovative.⁴⁸ In fact, the image proves beyond any doubt that *gaðag*, used in the martial context, denoted by the 15th century trousers, not the loincloth. Apart from the *Śivarātrikalpa*, the word *gaðag* is found, again in the military context, in the Middle Javanese *Pararaton*: Tohjaya, one of the rulers of the Singhasari kingdom (1222–1292 CE), wounded in his back by a spear, is carried away (*pinikul*) from the royal residence under siege of enemies by one of his personal guards who wears a *gaðag*. The *Pararaton*, generally a reliable source, would thus suggest that trousers were known in Java by the early 13th century CE. Conspicuously, the earliest depictions of trousers in Khmer art are known from the war scenes found on the reliefs of the Bayon and Banteay Chmar monuments, dating to the 12th century CE. Jacq-Hergoualc'h (2007: 106) observes that the men depicted wearing short trousers represent Cham soldiers.

According to the traditional view, the bifurcated lower garment was introduced to Java only during the process of Islamisation. Scholars have long recognized that one of the consequences of the introduction of Islam has been a novel perception of the human body and accompanying changes in the way people dressed (Reid 1988). Ma Huan, writing in 1433 CE, reported that by that time Javanese men living in the port cities on the northern coast of Java, in the area most exposed to Islamic influences, adopted dress covering the upper part of the body, typically left uncovered in Hindu-Buddhist Java (Mills 1970).⁴⁹ As part of this re-configuration of dress, according to traditional scholarship, Javanese Muslims, both men and women, slowly adopted elements of tailored clothing, such as jackets and trousers.⁵⁰ In fact, trousers are typically seen

46. *Śivarātrikalpa* 35.2. Old Javanese text taken from Teeuw et al. (1969: 138).

47. *Śivarātrikalpa* 35.2. Translation taken from Teeuw et al. (1969: 139).

48. See note 41 above. When we consider that still in 1930s the word *kajok* referred, apart from trousers, to the woman's modesty plaque (although this meaning represented an archaism), the passage in the *Śivarātrikalpa* may have been, for premodern audiences, indeed very rich in humorous overtones.

49. For covering and uncovering the chest in premodern Java, see Kees van Dijk (1997: 49).

50. This view is, however, not entirely correct. Most items of female and male dress typically associated with Islamic clothing practices, such as tailored jackets, trousers, and long-sleeved

as one of the signs of the acceptance of new norms (Maxwell 2003: 313). I have tried to demonstrate that the way in which trousers were perceived and incorporated by Javanese may not necessarily have reflected the ideas of a new morality, but may rather have involved the investment of existing indigenous preoccupations into new forms of dress: Old Javanese and Middle Javanese texts suggest that the *lañciñan* retained some of the apotropaic properties associated with battle dress in premodern Java.

Conclusion

The Old Javanese word *lañciñan*, traditionally rendered “trousers,” has been analysed in detail. It has been argued that available evidence does not preclude the possibility that in Hindu-Buddhist Java *lañciñan* originally denoted an elaborate variety of loin cloth used in the context of warfare. It is only in the Middle Javanese sources composed in the 14th century CE that a distinction is made for the first time between the loin cloth (*cavat*) and trousers (*lañciñan*). Made oftentimes from *grinśin*, a prestigious cloth endowed with apotropaic qualities, *lañciñan* was awarded to soldiers who proved themselves in battle, or who demonstrated their bravery in personal service to the king. This specific function of *grinśin* is not attested from modern Bali, where *gringsing* textiles still enjoy popularity as magically potent objects. Finally, I have argued for the dissociation of the introduction of the bifurcated lower garment to Java from cultural and religious influences of Islam. The hypothesis has been offered that trousers, related to mounted warfare and greater mobility, were accepted as an element of Javanese battle dress between the 12th and 15th centuries CE as part of a complex process of the elaboration of horse-riding techniques and specialized equipment, such as improved horse saddles.

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dress, were known in the elite segments of Javanese society already by the 12th century CE. The tailored garment is also known from contemporary Angkorian Cambodia. Since the 12th century CE visual representations show soldiers wearing a specific long jacket, partially covering the hips, assembled from front and back panels and stitched sleeves (Green 2000: 283).

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SUNARWOTO¹

Salafi *Dakwah* Radio: A Contest for Religious Authority

Introduction²

One important phenomenon which has captured the public attention in post-New Order Indonesia is the public prominence of Salafi groups.³ They successfully spread their *dakwah* (Islamic proselytization) by, among other things, extensively using modern technological media like television, radio, books, magazines, and the Internet. A number of studies on Salafism in Indonesia have focused on modern media usage by Salafis. Virtually all of them deal with the role of the Internet in the Salafi movement (for instance, Hefner 2003: 158-179; Bräuchler 2004: 267-285; Lim 2005: 10-27; Nisa 2013: 241-255; Iqbal 2014: 81-105). However, media other than the Internet have been equally crucial in the spread of the Salafi movement. Among those important media are radio, television, and other newer electronic media such as CD/VCD. They need to be studied separately. In this article, I shall particularly concentrate on radio. Two studies, by Hasan (2006; 2010) and Wahid (2014) respectively, have underlined the role of radio in the Salafi movement. In his book, *Laskar Jihad*, Hasan (2006: 201-203) discusses the importance of

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3. I will explain about these groups in the next section.

media in the dissemination of the *jihad* messages in the Moluccas conflict (1999-2002). Elsewhere, he makes a brief mention of the role of radio in Salafi *dakwah*; according to him, this is because they were unsuccessful in campaigning Salafism door-to-door (2010: 697). Wahid (2014), who wrote a dissertation on Salafi *pesantrens* (traditional Islamic boarding schools) in Indonesia, discusses two radio stations in West Java, Rodja in Bogor, and Assunnah FM in Cirebon, very briefly. He asserts that radio is one of the means that Salafis used to get a hold on public thought (Wahid 2014: 102-5).

In this article, I shall discuss Salafi radio stations in Surakarta,⁴ Central Java. I shall focus on three stations, including Suara Quran FM, Al-Madinah FM and Darussalaf FM. While both Hasan and Wahid only very concisely clarify why radio is important for Salafi *dakwah*, I shall specifically investigate the ways in which Salafi radio stations played a role in the (internal) dynamics of the Salafi movement. The central issue I hope to address here is that of religious authority. Some scholars (e.g., Wiktorowicz 2004: 154-177 & 2005: 135-150; Meijer 2011: 375-399; and Wagemakers 2014: 111-125) have discussed this issue at length. Wicktorowicz (2005: 135-150) points out that the religious authority of a Salafi scholar is based on his right knowledge, character, and personality. In contesting authority, Salafi scholars have derived much legitimacy from classical disciplines of the *hadith* sciences such as *al-Jarh wa al-Ta‘dil* (refutation and rectification) (Meijer 2011: 375-399) and theological labels such as *Murji‘ah* and *Khawarij* (Wagemakers 2014: 111-125). In this article, I shall analyse how this contestation of religious authority has taken place in Indonesia as represented in the Salafi *dakwah* radio stations. I argue that the establishment of these radio stations is not only for spreading Salafi teaching in society, but also to attain religious authority. Focusing on the internal dynamics of the Salafi movement, I shall demonstrate that the Salafi radio stations play a significant role in the contestation of religious authority among the existing Salafi groups.

A current map of the Salafi movement

I start this section with an explanation of the term “Salafi.” Taken from Arabic *salaf* (also pl. *aslaf*), it means “predecessors, forbears, ancestors, forefathers” (Wehr 1976: 423). In this article, the term “Salafi,” and thus “Salafism,” refers to a specific group and movement characterised by its strict adherence to the *al-Salaf al-Salih* (the pious ancestors of the Muslim community of the first three generations) and to the literal interpretation of the Qur'an and the *hadith*. Salafis aspire to emulate the way of life of the prophet as literally as possible. Salafism in this sense is different from the Salafism established by Muhammad ‘Abduh (d. 1905) and Rashid Rida (d. 1935) in Egypt, which gives priority to the rational interpretation of the Qur'an and the

4. Surakarta is the other name of Solo, Central Java.

hadith, and accommodates contemporary needs. The intellectual genealogy of the Salafism discussed here may reach back to Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855) (founder of the Hanbali school) down to Ibn al-Taimiyah (d. 1328), to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah (d. 1350) to Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792) (founder of Wahhabism), to contemporary Middle Eastern Muslim scholars like ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ibn Baz (d. 1999), Nasir al-Din al-Albani (d. 1999), Muhammad Salih al-‘Uthaimin (d. 2001), Muqbil ibn Hadi al-Wadi‘i (d. 2001) and others.

Although genealogically similar, Salafism is conceptually and historically different from Wahhabism, the official ideology of Saudi Arabia. Conceptually, Salafism is broader and historically much older than Wahhabism. While the latter emerged in the eighteenth century, the former already existed in early years of Islam. Salafism is applied not only to Wahhabism but also to other Islamic movements whose main aim is to bring Islam back to its origins.

In Indonesia, the Salafi movement emerged in the mid-1980s as a consequence of the transnational Salafi *dakwah* movement, and gained public attention after the fall of the New Order in 1998. Wahid (2014: 39) divides Salafi groups in Indonesia into three: purist (quietist, apolitical), *haraki*, and jihadist. In this article, we are dealing with the purist. (On the history of Salafism in Indonesia, see, i.e., Hasan 2006 [chap. two], 2007, and Wahid 2014 [chap. two]).

The Salafi *dakwah* movement in Indonesia began to grow in the mid-1980s and intensified along with the return of a vast number of LIPIA (Institute for the Study of Islam and Arabic) graduates from universities in the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia.⁵ They spread Wahhabism under the banner of the Salafi *dakwah*. Abu Nida⁶ was the first to initiate this Salafi *dakwah* by organising *daurah* (workshop) and *halaqah* (study circles) for university students in Yogyakarta. Like Abu Nida, other Salafi activists developed *dakwah* centres in various places. The flourishing of Salafi *dakwah* led to the emergence of Salafi foundations: As-Sunnah Foundation, As-Sofwa Foundation, Lajnah Khairiyah Musyarakah and

5. LIPIA was initially established as LPBA (Institute of Arabic Teaching) in 1980, and transformed into the current LIPIA since 1986. It is a branch of the Islamic University of Imam Muhammad ibn Saud in Riyadh. For a brief account of LIPIA, see <http://www.lipia.org/index.php/ct-menu-item-3/ct-menu-item-17>; also Hasan (2006: 47-51), and Wahid (2014: 86-88).

6. His real name is Chomsaha Sofwan. He was born in Lamongan, East Java in 1954. After finishing his secondary school at PGA (Teacher Training School) Muhammadiyah in Karangasem, Lamongan, he joined a *dakwah* course held by DII (Indonesian Council for Islamic Propagation) in Pesantren Darul Falah in Bogor, West Java, under the transmigration Muslim preachers programme. He was sent to the hinterland of West Kalimantan. Muhammad Natsir, leader of DII, recommended him for study at Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud, Saudi Arabia. For preparation, he studied Arabic at LIPIA Jakarta. Having finished his study in Saudi Arabia, he lived in Yogyakarta to spread Salafi *dakwah* by establishing *halaqahs* and *daurahs* among university students. In 1993, together with other Salafi preachers, he founded the Majelis At-Turots Al-Islamy foundation to serve *dakwah* and other social activities. For further information on him, see http://abunida.atturots.or.id/?page_id=2 and Hasan 2006: 52-53.

others. In addition, Salafi *pesantrens* (Islamic boarding schools) were established everywhere. These *pesantrens* are different from those traditional ones attached to the NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), and resemble the modernist ones organised by organisations like Al-Irsyad, Persis (Islamic Union) and Muhammadiyah. Along with these developments, conflicts and tensions flared up between Salafi leaders, each claiming to be representative of the “true” Salafi.

The Salafi movement entered Indonesia’s political scene when Laskar Jihad was formed in 2000, in response to the failure of the state to end the religious conflicts in Ambon, Moluccas.⁷ This development brought the commander of Laskar Jihad, Ja’far Umar Thalib, to the top rank in the movement’s leadership. Hasan (2006) demonstrated that the increasing influence of Thalib challenged the authority of other Salafi figures like Abu Nida. Thalib was in conflict with his fellow leaders of Pesantren Al-Irsyad Tengaran, Salatiga, Central Java. In 2002, Laskar Jihad was disbanded following the *fatwa* of Rabi’ ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, a respected Salafi scholar in Saudi Arabia. This *fatwa* came at the request of a number of Thalib’s colleagues and students who considered him as having deviated from the true Salafi method. Since that time, the Salafis within Thalib’s network have splintered into factions.

At least three groups, or networks, emerged from the conflicts (see fig. 1). I would prefer to call the first group the Luqman Baabduh network, to name it after its most influential leader, Luqman Baabduh, former vice-commander of Laskar Jihad.⁸ Other important figures in this network are Muhammad as-Sewwed and Ayip Syafruddin. The second group can be called the Dzulqarnain network, since its most influential figure is Dzulqarnain, former head of the *fatwa* section of Laskar Jihad.⁹ Both the Luqman Baabduh and Dzulqarnain groups were

7. Laskar Jihad was a paramilitary division of FKAJW (Forum Komunikasi Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah, Communication Forum of the People of the Sunnah and the Islamic Community). FKAJW was established in 1998, while Laskar Jihad was formed in 2000. On Laskar Jihad, see Hasan (2006), Sirozi (2005: 81-120), and Umam (2006: 1-26).

8. Luqman Baabduh was born in Bondowoso, East Java, in 1971. He studied in Pesantren Al-Irsyad, Tengaran, Salatiga, Central Java. He also studied in Ihyaus Sunnah in Yogyakarta led by Ja’far Umar Thalib. In 1994, he was sent to Yemen to study with Muqbil ibn Hadi al-Wadi’i (d. 2001), founder of the Dar al-Hadith school in Dammaj, and a respected Salafi leader (see Hasan 2006: 87). In Yemen, he studied a number of canonical *hadith* books like *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*, and *tafsir* (Qur’anic exegesis). In 2000, he returned to Indonesia, and started Salafi *dakwah* activities. In the same year, he joined Laskar Jihad and was appointed as its vice-commander. In 2002, he started his position as a *mudir* (director) of Ma’had As Salafy in Jember, East Java. In the same year, he was appointed to the advisory board of a Salafi magazine, *As Syari’ah*. His short biography is available at <http://tukpencarihaq.blogspot.nl/2013/12/biografi-ustluqman-baabduh.html> (accessed 16 April 2015).

9. Dzulqarnain was born in 1976 in Makassar, South Sulawesi. In 1994, he travelled to Java to study Arabic and other Islamic disciplines. Like Baabduh, he was among the students of Ihyaussunnah sent to Yemen (see Hasan 2006: 87). He went to Yemen in 1995. Back in Indonesia in 1999, he began serving as *mudir* (director) of Ma’had As Sunnah Makassar. In 2004, he studied in Saudi Arabia with Salafi scholars including Abd al-Muhsin al-‘Abbad, Rabi

previously categorised by writers (for instance, Hasan 2006; Bulabo et al. 2011) as the Yemeni network. This network consisted of those former students of the Dar al-Hadith school in Dammaj, Yemen. Under its founder, Muqbil ibn Hadi al-Wadi'i (d. 2001), the school became one of the most important study centres for Salafis throughout the world, including Indonesia. The dynamics of the school saliently affected the development of the Yemeni network in Indonesia. Since the demise of its founder, patronage within the Yemeni network has changed considerably. The absence of such a central figure as al-Wadi'i has resulted in its becoming fractured into groups. The Dar al-Hadith school is now led by Yahya al-Hajuri, whose leadership has been contested by other leading students of al-Wadi'i in Yemen, such as Abd al-Rahman al-Mar'i al-Adeni.¹⁰

From the Yemeni network, there is also a third group, led by Abu Turob al-Jawi, a former member of Laskar Jihad. It consists of those who are loyal to al-Hajuri (Bulabo et al. 2011: 38-44). Some of them are still studying at the Dar al-Hadith school.

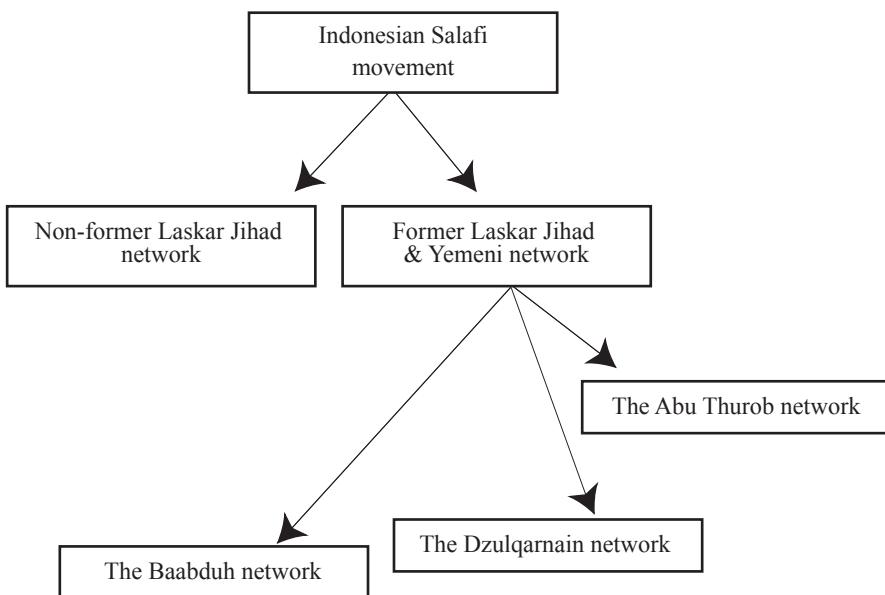


Fig. 1 – Current Salafi networks after Laskar Jihad

ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, Salih al-Fauzan, and others. In the *hajj* (pilgrimage) season in 1999, he attended lectures delivered by 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Baz and Salih al-'Uthaimin in Saudi Arabia. His short biography is available at <http://jihadbukankenistaan.com/tentang-penulis> (accessed 16 April 2015).

10. Bonnefoy (2009: 325) has noted that there are three main figures after al-Wadi'i, including Muhammad al-Imam in Ma'bar, Yahya al-Hajuri in Dammaj, and Abu Hasan al-Ma'ribi in Ma'rib.

Salafi contest for authority

Contesting religious authority is, no doubt, one of the driving forces behind the internal conflicts of Salafis. Each group tried to be representative of the “true Salafi” as I said earlier. They framed this contest through “crediting” their own legitimacy and “discrediting” the legitimacy of the others (Wiktorowicz 2005: 163). Therefore, it is of importance to discuss some issues instrumental in this contest for religious authority. One of them is the *sururi* issue that played a significant role in the development of the Salafi movement. It refers to an issue aggravated by Ja’far Umar Thalib when confronting his rivals, whom he accused of being followers of Muhammad Surur Zain al-‘Abidin, a Salafi figure critical of the Saudi government (Hasan 2006: 80-4).¹¹ The *sururi* issue also inflamed conflicts between Salafis and other non-Salafi Muslim activists like in PKS (Islamic Party of Justice and Prosperity), HTI (Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir), and others. According to Hasan, Thalib used the *sururi* issue mainly to strengthen his relationship with prominent Salafi authorities in Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. At the same time, by doing so, Thalib tried to gain support from funding organisations in those countries. However, he failed to realise this ambition fully (Hasan 2006: 80-3). After the dissolution of Laskar Jihad, the *sururi* issue remained significant in Salafi rivalries. The label *sururi* has been applied not only to those rivals of Thalib. Thalib himself faced (and still faces) the accusation of being a *sururi*.

Currently issues other than *sururi* have become prevalent in the rivalry among Salafis of the Yemeni network. Of the most important is *tahdhir*, which refers to a warning given by a Salafi authority (*shaikh*) in the Middle East to those Salafis considered to have gone astray from the right way of the Salaf. Other similar terms are also used, like *jarh* (critique), *hajr* (abandonment, boycott), and *tabdi‘* (making forbidden innovation [*bid‘ah*]). Rabi‘ ibn Hadi al-Madkhali is the authority most frequently invoked in a *tahdhir*. This is not without reason. He himself is known to Salafis as *hamil liwa’ al-jarh wa-l-ta‘dil* (bearer of the banner of [the science] of refutation and rectification [of *hadith* transmitters]). He wrote a book entitled *Manhaj Ahl al-Sunnah fi Naqd al-Rijal wa-l Kutub wa-l Tawa’if* (Method of People of the Sunnah in Criticism of Narrators, Books, and Sects). He is well known for his critical stance toward Salafi rivals such as Sayyid Qutb, Ikhwan al-Muslimin, and *sururis*.¹² For this reason, he received the praise of great Salafi scholars, and many of his followers tried to get his support for excluding their fellow Salafis. He has issued many *tahdhirs* against other Salafi and non-Salafi authorities as well.

11. On Muhammad Surur Zain al-‘Abidin, see further Stéphane Lacroix (2009: 435-36).

12. Roel Meijer has studied the critical stance of al-Madkhali that is rooted in *al-Jarh wa-l Ta‘dil*, a branch of hadith sciences (*‘ulum al-hadith*), which is concerned with the evaluation of the credibility of a hadith transmitter. See Meijer (2011: 375-399).

Because of this, he was accused by other Salafi scholars like Salih al-Fauzan, a respected Salafi scholar in Saudi Arabia, of being preoccupied with *tahdhir*.

A Salafi *shaikh* gives a Salafi teacher a *tahdhir* based on information given to him. It is subject to change after new information (about a Salafi who received a *tahdhir*) is given. The issuance of a *tahdhir* is much dependent on the extent to which an informant can provide a Salafi *shaikh* with sufficient convincing information. Consequently, a *tahdhir* is often contested by those involved in conflicts. Salafi groups of the Yemen network have competed in convincing Salafi *shaikhs* to issue a *tahdhir* against their rivals. A *tahdhir* can take various forms of criticism. Both Luqman Baabduh and Dzulqarnain once received a *tahdhir* from Rabi' ibn Hadi al-Madkhali. Baabduh was given a *tahdhir* from three great *ulamas* ('ulama kibar), including Rabi' ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, Muhammad ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, and Muqbil ibn Hadi al-Wadi'i. Rabi ibn Hadi al-Madkhali also gave a *tahdhir* to Baabduh, by saying, "I am afraid that this Luqman (Baabduh) is actually an *ikhwani* (a Muslim Brotherhood follower) with the Salafi robe." Muhammad ibn Hadi al-Madkhali suspected Baabduh of being a *sururi*. Al-Wadi'i erased Baabduh's name from the list of his students.

Like Baabduh, Dzulqarnain is also said to have received a *tahdhir* from Rabi' ibn Hadi al-Madkhali through a letter sent by Hani ibn Buraik, a Yemeni Salafi teacher, to Salafis in Indonesia. The letter anticipated the planned visit of a number of Yemeni *ulamas* to Indonesia. The context of the incident was that the visit was supposed to be arranged by Dzulqarnain and his colleagues. The letter, however, made it clear that for some reason Dzulqarnain was not considered the right person to accomplish this task. In the letter, Buraik cited Shaikh Rabi' ibn Hadi al-Madkhali who said, "Tell *shaikhs* in Yemen not to attend his (Dzulqarnain's) invitation. This man loves much to make fun [of *shaikhs*], and imitates the Halabi ways in making deception (*makar*)."¹³ According to the letter, Rabi ibn Hadi al-Madkhali also referred to Dzulqarnain as "*mutalawwin la "ab"*" (a chameleon, and fond of making fun of the Salafi *shaikhs*). Considering all this, Rabi ibn Hadi al-Madkhali recommended that Baabduh and his colleagues, instead of Dzulqarnain and his group, welcome the Yemeni *ulamas*.¹³

In the same way, Luqman Baabduh and his allies also used certain other terms to delegitimise their rivals. In his *daurah* in Balikpapan,¹⁴ Baabduh labelled a Salafi teacher, Asnur, in Kendari, Kalimantan, as *hajuri* or *hajawuri*, meaning follower of al-Hajuri, director of the Dar al-Hadith school in

13. The Arabic text and the translation of the letter are available at <http://tukpencarialhaq.com/2013/12/14/tahdzir-asy-syaikh-robi-bin-hady-al-madkhaly-terhadap-dzulqarnain/> (accessed 24 November 2014).

14. The summary of the recordings of Baabduh's question-answer session in the *daurah* is available at <http://forumsalafy.net/?p=119> (accessed 3 December 2014).

Dammaj. Baabduh himself had received a *tahdhir* from al-Hajuri.¹⁵ From this perspective, it is understandable that Luqman Baabduh would be very critical towards al-Hajuri. Indonesian Salafi students who were still in the Dar al-Hadith school opposed the moves by Luqman Baabduh to undermine al-Hajuri.¹⁶ In defence of al-Hajuri, one of his students, Abu Fairuz Abdurrohman bin Sukaya al-Qudsi, wrote a book to uncover the *hizbi* orientation of Luqman Baabduh.¹⁷ Al-Qudsi also wrote two books in defence of al-Hajuri against Abd Allah al-Mar'i al-Adeni and his followers.¹⁸

Luqman Baabduh also used the term *al-halabi* to discredit his rivals. The term refers to Ali Hasan al-Halabi, a Salafi leader in Jordan, student of Nasir al-Din al-Albani (d. 1999), a respected Salafi scholar. It then is used to label those who follow the thinking method of al-Halabi. Al-Lajnah al-Da'imah li-l-Buhuth al-'Ilmiyah wa-l-Ifta' (Permanent Council of Scientific Research and Fatwa) in Saudi Arabia issued a *fatwa* on al-Halabi's books, regarding them as teaching the Murji'ah ideology. According to this ideology, action on the part of the believer is not among the requirements of Islamic faith.¹⁹ Al-Halabi supported Rodja Radio. He once appeared on Rodja TV and on a national television station, in an interview regarding radicalism in Islam.²⁰ As noted above, Rabi ibn Hadi al-Madkhali had also castigated Dzulqarnain as a follower of the Halabi way.

Salafi radio stations: features and networks

General features

The general features of Salafi radio can be recognised from, among others, its jingles or slogans, which contain such special words as *salaf*

15. The recording of al-Hajuri's *tahdhir* to Baabduh can be found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=vARVDnM3vI0 (accessed 3 December 2014).

16. They established a blog called Ashabul Hadits (the students of hadith) at <https://ashhabulhadits.wordpress.com/profile/>

17. The book is entitle *Bangkitnya Kesadaran Penuh dengan Terbongkarnya Hisbiyyah Luqman Baabduh*. Unfortunately I have not yet consulted this book. A small part of it can be found at <http://aloloom.net/vb/showthread.php?t=2730> (accessed 3 December 2014).

18. They are *Kasr Ulwiyat Uli al-Idrar bi Dahr Hujumihim 'ala al-Abrar* and *Tanbih al-Nuqqad al-Abrar 'ala Ittihad al-Muslih bi al-Ghuluw wa-l-Idrar*. Both can be downloaded from <https://thaifahalmanshurah.wordpress.com/author/thaifahalmanshurah/page/7/> (accessed 3 December 2014).

19. See the *fatwa* and its Indonesian translation at <http://www.salafybpp.com/index.php/manhaj-salaf/127-fatwa-lajnah-daimah-tentang-buku-karya-ali-hasan-al-halabi> (accessed 3 December 2014).

20. The recording of his advice to the supporters of *takfir* ideology (declaring a person to be an unbeliever) can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y07RWWaew8Q> (accessed 3 December 2014); and his interview with a national TV station can be viewed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D-fnhDGEFoY> (accessed 3 December 2014).

and *sunnah*. Three Salafi radio stations under discussion here have their respective special slogans. Suara Quran FM is known for the phrase ‘*Media Kalam Ilahi*’ (Medium for God’s Words). This refers to a common idea of the Qur’an as *kalam Allah* (verbal Words of Allah) rather than to a specific term related to Salafis. This is different from the slogans of the other two Salafi radio stations, which explicitly display a Salafi character. Darussalaf FM proclaims ‘*Istiqamah memperjuangkan Sunnah di atas manhaj salaful ummah*’ (Consistent in Struggling for the Sunnah based on the Method of the *Salaf*). Similarly, Al-Madinah FM says: “*Menebar Dakwah Di Atas Sunnah*” (Spreading Dakwah Based on the Sunnah). Both use the word “Sunnah.” This stronger identification with the Sunnah was always emphasised by the Salafi radio activists I interviewed, by adding a phrase such as “*menurut pemahaman salaf*” (in accordance with the understanding of the *Salaf*). Thus, the next feature is that all programmes played on a Salafi radio are assumed to present Islam as understood by the *salaf*. To keep them in line with the Salaf method, a special team is created in charge of monitoring the programmes being presented.

The third feature is the absence of commercial breaks and advertisements. This is in line with the claim that Salafi radio is purely for *dakwah* purposes. With this in mind, non-commercial breaks called public service announcements (*iklan layanan masyarakat*) are broadcast. Rodja Radio (as well as Rodja TV), for instance, has several segments of non-commercial breaks, containing short pieces on Islamic themes like “Ahmadiyah is not Islam,” “What is *bid’ah*,” and “Suicide bombing is not *jihad*.²¹

In addition, Salafi radio stations have no music programmes of any kind, religious or non-religious. This is in line with the Salafis’ stance toward music. I have discussed this topic elsewhere (Sunarwoto 2013). Suffice it to say, however, that this excludes Qur’anic recitation in rhythm (*qira’at*), which is permitted. What must be noted in this regard is how the concept of entertainment (*hiburan* in Indonesian language) is formulated. Three radio stations discussed here give no explanation of this concept, but in practice they follow a specific concept they consider to be in line with Islam. A Salafi station in Cirebon, called Assunnah FM (which has now become KITA FM)²² provides us with an interesting concept of entertainment programming, called *program hiburan Qur’ani* (Qur’anic-based entertainment programme), described as follows: “A programme which entertains and calms the heart of listeners with various

21. See, for instance, <http://www.kajiansunnah.net/2011/12/audio-jeda-rodja-download.html> (accessed 17 November 2014).

22. The abbreviation KITA seems to have nothing to do with Islam, since KITA in Indonesian language means ‘we’. However, it stands for *Kajian Islam dan Tilawah Al-Qur’an* (Islamic Study and Recitation of the Qur’an).

forms of *murattal al-Qur'an* (Qur'anic recitation) and *hadith* and prayers...”²³ Explicit in this conceptualisation is that the entertainment itself is not forbidden, and that it is the content of the entertainment – in this context, the Qur'an or *hadith* or prayer – which matters. In other words, as long as the entertainment is in accordance with Islam (as understood by the Salaf), it is allowed. In some respects, this is similar to the principle that other non-Salafi radio stations hold. It is nevertheless different from these others as a result of the different interpretations that Salafis ascribe to the meaning of entertainment.

One final characteristic of Salafi radio is the inclusion of *daurah* programmes on all stations. This is very important programming. *Daurah* is a sort of workshop organised at a certain time and place. In a *daurah*, a prominent Salafi teacher is invited to chair the workshop, to help the participants study a certain theme more deeply. It seems to me that it is part of Salafi indoctrination. It is not infrequent that a Middle Eastern Salafi scholar(s) is invited to give a lecture (*muhadarah*). The *daurah* lecture is recorded and distributed on CDs. The *daurah* is also frequently broadcast live on radio, including streaming radio channels. Aired on the radio and the Internet, *daurah* reaches beyond its initial audience.

Three radio stations and their networks

Salafi radio stations have very wide networks throughout Indonesia, characterised by the ideological nexus among different Salafi groups. This networking plays a significant role both in sharing information and in mobilising their *dakwah* activities. Through these networks, Salafi teachers can easily build their careers as religious personalities widely known to Salafis throughout the country. They are often invited to give sermons and talks in such events as *daurah* (workshop) and *kajian ilmiah* (scholarly discussion). These sermons and talks became part of the important broadcasting materials of Salafi radio. “Networking” also has to do with certain media business “networks.” The media business here is not confined to electronic media but also includes print (books, magazines, and the like). In short, this media business has become of the utmost importance, both for mobilisation for *dakwah* and for making money.

Referring back to the fracture of the Salafi groups as described above, Salafi radio stations can be classified into three different types in terms of their management and networks (see fig. 2 and table 1). The first type is represented by radio stations managed by non-former members of Laskar Jihad. At the national level, the representative of this type is Rodja Radio based in Bogor, West Java. The two other types are run by former Laskar Jihad members. Some radio stations were established by those affiliated to the Baabduh network,

23. <http://www.radioassunnah.com/profil-radio-sunnah-kita-fm/> (accessed 6 November 2014).

while others are managed by those linked to the Dzulqarnain network.²⁴ In Surakarta, these three types are represented by three radio stations, including Suara Quran FM, Al-Madinah FM, and Darussalaf FM.

Suara Quran FM

Suara Quran FM belongs to Ma'had Al-Ukhuwah, Sukoharjo. The director (*mudir*) of this Ma'had is Aris Sugiantoro, former student of Muhammad ibn Salih al-'Uthaimin (d. 2001), a leading Salafi figure in Saudi Arabia. The establishment of the Ma'had was funded by a Saudi charitable foundation, Idarat al-Masajid wa-l Mashari' al-Khairiya, based in Unaizah, al-'Uthaimin's hometown.²⁵ Thus, the Ma'had buildings and other facilities are quite luxurious, complete with basketball and volleyball courts. The Ma'had follows the national education system, and conducts education from elementary to senior high schools.

Suara Quran FM was established in 2008, and began broadcasting on 17 February. It was first based in the house of a certain Pak Eko Pramono, alias Abu Ibrahim, and then moved in May 2008 into the complex of Ma'had Al-Ukhuwah. In May 2013, it stopped broadcasting temporarily because of licence issues, until it became SQ Abror FM. Under this new name, it is legally allowed to broadcast only in the area of Karanganyar district.²⁶ The studio is still based in the complex of the Ma'had. The Internet online radio station (www.suaraquran.com), which existed previously, is utilized to deal with this issue of the zone restriction. It is from this online radio station that the religious programmes of Suara Quran FM are currently broadcast in the Karanganyar area. Suara Quran FM is part of the *dakwah* division of Ma'had Al-Ukhuwah. The Ma'had and the radio station have connections with Salafi *pesantrens* and with radio stations organised by non-former Laskar Jihad Salafis. In fact, Rodja Radio is one of the most important Salafi radio stations from which Suara Quran FM imports recordings of sermons.

Suara Quran FM is part of a broad network with other Salafi radio stations within the Rodja network. Its umbrella institution, Ma'had Al-Ukhuwah, owns a local branch of Insan TV. The central Insan TV is under the management of the non-profit Insan Media Dakwah Foundation, based in Jakarta.²⁷ The foundation itself is part of a bigger institution called *Komunitas Pengusaha Muslim Indonesia* (KPMI, Community of Indonesian Muslim Entrepreneurs). This community was born from a mailing list community, Milis Pengusaha

24. It should be added that, to the best of my knowledge, the third network of the former members of Laskar Jihad led by Abu Turob al-Jawi does not have any radio station or streaming radio. For this reason, I do not discuss it here.

25. <http://www.alukhuwah.com/tentang-kami/> (accessed 5 November 2014).

26. <http://www.alukhuwah.com/2014/02/radio-sq-abror-fm/> (accessed 29 October 2014).

27. <http://www.insantv.com/statis-1-profil.html> (accessed 7 November 2014).

Muslim²⁸, from which a foundation named *Yayasan Bina Pengusaha Muslim Indonesia* (Foundation of Indonesian Muslim Entrepreneurs' Management) was also established.

These two institutions emerged from the deep concern of a number of Muslim entrepreneurs about the poor economic conditions of Muslims compared to non-Muslims. KPMI has three aims: (1) to be true in practicing religion, in order to open the doors of God's sustenance and achieve success in the hereafter; (2) to be true in working, in order (for Muslims) to manage their enterprises well, for improving the outcome of the work; and (3) to be true in their social lives, in order not to break Islamic *syariah* law in conducting their affairs.²⁹ KPMI operates in 26 coordinating areas (*Korwil*), one of them in Cairo, Egypt.³⁰ Surakarta (or Solo) is also one of those areas.

Also under KPMI management are other *dakwah* media such as Rodja Radio, Rodja TV, and Yufid TV. The recorded sermons of Salafi teachers within this network are regularly broadcast on Suara Quran FM. We cannot draw a direct connection between Suara Quran FM and this business network in terms of its economic profit. What is clear is that many broadcasting materials aired on Suara Quran FM are derived from this network. A teacher of Ma'had Al-Ukhudah, Kholid Syamhudi, gives regular sermons on Yufid TV and Rodja TV. *Fatawa Mukhtarah* (Selected *fatwas*) programme at Suara Quran FM originates from Rodja Radio. All these factors certainly imply that Suara Quran FM benefits from the Rodja network.

Al-Madinah FM

Al-Madinah FM belongs to Ma'had Al-Madinah, Surakarta. Neither the head of the *dakwah* division nor the director of the Ma'had I interviewed³¹ could provide an exact date for when Al-Madinah FM was founded. My own experience listening to *dakwah* radio indicates that Al-Madinah FM existed prior to 2010 (but beginning much later than Suara Quran FM). This station is part of the *dakwah* division of Ma'had Al-Madinah, which was established on 30 September 1996, and is instrumental in these endeavours of Ma'had Al-Madinah. The radio station and the Ma'had are led by former members of Laskar Jihad and former students of Ja'far Umar Thalib. Jauhari, one of the key teachers at Al-Madinah, was on the advisory board of Laskar Jihad, and

28. The mailing list address is <http://finance.groups.yahoo.com/group/pengusaha-muslim>.

29. <http://www.kpmi.or.id/tentang-kami.shtml> (accessed 7 November 2014).

30. These 26 coordinating areas are: Jakarta, Depok, Kepulauan Riau, Priatim, Bulukumba, Sumbawa, Pekan Baru, Bogor, Karawang, Solo (Surakarta), Magelang, Surabaya, Palembang, Tangerang Raya, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Balikpapan, Mojokerto, Banyumas, Bekasi, Kalimantan Selatan, Semarang, Makassar, Malang, Medan, and Egypt. <http://www.kpmi.or.id/korwil> (accessed 7 November 2014).

31. Interviews with Mardiyanto, Surakarta, 25 September 2013 and with Abu Ahmad Rahmat, Surakarta, 27 March 2014.

Muhammad Naim was a member. Abu Ahmad Rahmat, the director of Ma'had Al-Madinah, was a student of Thalib, studying with him for three and half years in Pesantren Ihyaussunnah Dogelan, Yogyakarta. Ma'had Al-Madinah is engaged in education and *dakwah*. It operates both formal and informal education, including *ma'had (pesantren)*, schools, and *majlis taklim* (places where public lectures are held).

Al-Madinah FM is quite well managed, as attested by its regular broadcast programmes, despite the fact that it is facing a broadcasting permit issue. According to the director of Ma'had Al-Madinah, effort is being made to follow the procedures to gain legal recognition from the government. This initiative follows the sweeping operation launched by Balai Monitoring (Monitoring Bureau), an agency under the Ministry of Communication and Information in charge of monitoring radio and television airwaves.

Under the management of Ma'had Al-Madinah, Al-Madinah FM has close ties with Salafi radio stations run by the Salafis of the Dzulqarnain network. In 2013, when I visited Ma'had Al-Madinah in Surakarta, a member of the staff advised me to listen to the online radio station An-Nash (www.annashradio.com). This online radio is run by Dzulqarnain, who also owns the website www.dzulqarnain.net. Dzulqarnain himself is one of the important Salafi teachers whose sermons are aired by Al-Madinah FM. In addition, he also teaches at Ma'had Al-Madinah. He is a prolific writer, having already authored many books and articles. He is very active in doing *dakwah*, through the Internet (on his website) and other media. Many of his sermons have been recorded on CDs by some *tasjilat* (audio-recording) enterprises (including Tasjilat As-Sunnah Makassar, Tasjilat Al-Atsariyyah Samarinda, and Tasjilat Al-Madinah Surakarta). It is clear that Ma'had Al-Madinah is one of the important purveyors of Dzulqarnain's sermon recordings. These *tasjilat* are sold commercially, and Al-Madinah FM profits much from them for its sermon programmes.³² Other Salafi radio stations that benefit from the Dzulqarnain network are Radio An-Nashihah (online radio, www.annashihah.com, Makassar), Radio Syiar Tauhid (online radio, www.syriatauhid.info), Radio Adh-Dhiya' FM Cirebon, and Radio Al-Barokah Semarang (online radio).

Darussalaf FM

Darussalaf FM belongs to Ma'had Darussalaf (also called Ma'had Ibnu Taimiyah), Sukoharjo. It already existed before 2010. Its studio was located at the Ibnu Taimiyah mosque (Ciptonegaran, Sanggrahan, Grogol, Cemani, Sukoharjo), and in 2013, it moved, together with the mosque, to Jalan Pandawa (Karang 4/7 Sanggrahan, Sukoharjo). Ma'had Darussalaf was established on

32. As an example, see the catalogue of *tasjilat* with their prices at <http://atsary.wordpress.com/2008/04/02/katalog-tasjilat-al-madinah-surakarta/> (accessed 19 November 2014).

a piece of land voluntarily endowed by a rich local man sympathetic to the Salafi *dakwah* (possibly Ja'far Umar Thalib). Through Thalib, the land was then entrusted to a number of his colleagues, who founded Ma'had Darussalaf, among them Ayip Syafruddin, Idral Harits, Abu Nashim Mukhtar, Abu Almass Al-Ausathi and Abu Sholih Fauzan al-Maidani. Conflicts among Salafis over Thalib's leadership, which occurred after the dissolution of Laskar Jihad, led to the withdrawal of the land endowment by the owner.

Darussalaf FM, and Ma'had Darussalaf, are among the important media for the Luqman Baabduh network. Besides giving lectures, Baabduh often used Ma'had Ibn Taimiyah as a place for criticising his rivals who were associated with the Dzulqarnain network. This is somehow surprising, since Baabduh himself is not directly connected to Ma'had Ibn Taimiyah. He is the director of Ma'had As-Salafy in Jember, East Java. However, this is understandable, since leaders of Ma'had Ibn Taimiyah are former core members of Laskar Jihad and FKAJW (Communication Forum of the Followers of the Prophetic Sunnah and the Muslim Community) who backed him.

It is interesting to note that all radio stations within the Baaduh network have connections with "Miratsul Anbiya Indonesia" (<http://miratsul-anbiya.net/>), a Salafi website formerly called Dammaj Al-Habibah (<http://dammajhabibah.net>). The name Dammaj Al-Habibah (the beloved Dammaj) refers to Dammaj, a small village in Yemen, where Muqbil ibn Hadi al-Wadi'i opened his study centre named Dar al-Hadith. There are a number of Salafi personalities behind the website "Miratsul Anbiya Indonesia": Qomar Su'aidi, Usamah Mahri, Ayip Syafruddin, Askari bin Jamal, Luqman Baabduh, Muhammad Sarbini, Muhammad Afifuddin As-Sidawi, and Ruwaifi bin Sulaimi. All of them are within the Luqman Baabduh network.

On the website of Miratsul Anbiya Indonesia, it was stated that the name change from Dammaj Habibah to Miratsul Anbiya Indonesia did not alter the essential substance of Dammaj Al-Habibah. However, it is clear that this new name was linked to the Arabic website named "Miraath al-Anbiya" (miraath.net), a Salafi website based in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Part of Miraath Publications,³³ this website is an online radio station, broadcasting audio recordings of live sermons and lectures by principal Salafi *ulamas* including Rabi ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, Muhammad ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, Ubaid Abdulllah al-Jabiri, Hani ibn Buraik, Zaid ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, Abdullah al-Bukhari, Khalid al-Zhafiri, Muhammad Bazmul, Muhammad al-Anjari, and Khalid Abd al-Rahman.³⁴ Most of them are in Saudi Arabia. This change is related to attempts to broaden the scope of the network. Unlike "Miratsul Anbiya Indonesia", "Miraath Anbiya" does not contain the Dammaj Al-Habibah link.

33. <http://www.miraathpublications.net>.

34. <http://miratsul-anbiya.net/muqaddimah/> (accessed 1 December 2014).

This indicates the changing orientation of Yemeni graduates of the Luqman Baabduh network, from Yemen to Saudi Arabia.

Later on, the website of Miratsul Anbiya Indonesia was changed to Manhajul Anbiya (<http://www.manhajul-anbiya.net/>). A number of Salafi radio stations can be traced back to the Baabduh network and Miratsul Anbiya Indonesia: Darussalaf FM (Surakarta), Radio Bismillah (online radio, Surabaya), Ibnu Qoyyim (online radio, Balikpapan), Radio Al-Manshuroh FM (and online) in Cilacap, Radio Rosyid (online radio), Radio Salafi (www.salafy.or.id) (online radio, Cileungsi, Sorowaka, Makassar, and Magelang). It is on these radio stations that it is possible to find the broadcasting of sermons by the Salafi preachers of the Baabduh network.

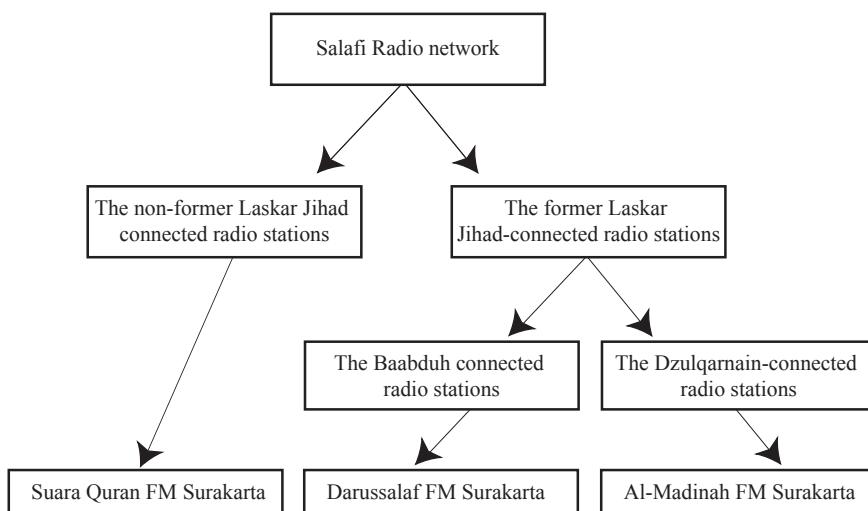


Fig. 2 – Salafi radio network in Surakarta

Suara Quran FM	
Director(s)	Abdurrahman, Aris Sugiyantoro
Affiliated institution	Ma'had Al-Ukhuwah Sukoharjo
Programmes	Islamic sermons and lectures, Qur'anic recitation, recorded <i>fatwas</i> , Islamic question-answers through SMS, Islamic remembrance of God (<i>adhkar</i>)
Partners or networks	KPMI (Community of Indonesian Muslim Entrepreneurs), Rodja radio and TV, Yufid TV, Radio Hang FM (Batam), and other stations run by non-former Laskar Jihad
Al-Madinah FM	
Director(s)	Abu Ahmad Rahmat, Jauhari, Muhammad Naim
Affiliated institution	Ma'had Al-Madinah Surakarta
Programmes	Islamic sermons, Quranic recitation, <i>daurah</i>
Partners or networks	All Salafi <i>pesantrens</i> and radio stations within the Dzulqarnain networks, wwwldzulqarnain.com, www.annashihah.com, www.syiartauhid.info, www.annashradio.com; Radio Adh-Dhiya' FM Cirebon, and Radio Al-Barokah Semarang (online radio)
Darussalaf FM	
Director(s)	Ayip Syafruddin, Idral Harits, Abu Nashim Mukhtar
Affiliated institution	Ma'had Darussalaf (Ibnu Taimiyah)
Programmes	Islamic sermons, Quranic recitation, <i>daurah</i>
Partners or networks	All Salafi <i>pesantrens</i> and radio stations within the Baabduh networks like Radio Bismillah (online radio, Surabaya), Ibnu Qoyyim (online radio, Balikpapan), Radio Al-Manshuroh FM (and online) in Cilacap, Radio Rosyid (online radio), Radio Salafi (www.salafy.or.id) (online radio, Cileungsi, Sorowaka, Makassar, and Magelang), and others

Table 1 – Profiles of Salafi radio

“Salafi radio” in contest

Let me start with a brief comment made by Abu Ahmad Rahmat, director of Ma'had Al-Madinah, whom I interviewed in 2014.³⁵ I asked him about the position of his radio station (Al-Madinah FM) among the many *dakwah* radio stations present in Surakarta. He mentioned various types of *dakwah* radio stations in the city, including *Sufi*, *khawarij*, and *mu'tazili* or *'aqilani* (rationalist)

³⁵. Personal communication with Abu Ahmad Rahmat, Surakarta, 27 March 2014.

radio stations. The establishment of Al-Madinah FM was aimed at “straightening the *dakwah* (*meluruskan dakwah*) based on the Salafi method (*manhaj*).”

Although he did not mention the actual name of each radio station, it is clear, at least for me, which groups and radio stations he had in mind. By Sufi radio stations, he was probably referring to Al-Hidayah FM, Pitutur Luhur FM, and Assunnah FM, which broadcast *shalawat* songs and the like. By the *Khawarij*, he probably meant those radio stations linked to the Jihadist leaders like Abu Bakar Baasyir. There are at least two stations of this kind, including RDS FM (which became HIZ FM) and Isy Karima FM. Two sons of Baasyir are among the top figures of RDS FM, one as programme director and the other on the *shari'a* board.³⁶ Isy Karima FM belongs to Ma'had Isy Karima, run by former students of Pondok Al-Mukmin Ngruki, led by Baasyir. Finally, by '*aqlani* or *mu'tazili* he was referring indirectly to MTA FM (which belongs to the MTA foundation). For Salafis in Surakarta, MTA (Majelis Tafsir Al-Qur'an) has an '*aqlani* (rationalist) or *mu'tazili* orientation, because of its dependence on human reason over the divine text (*dalil*). Such an assessment is clearly found in *Antara Akal Sehat dan Hawa Nafsu (Tinjauan Syar'i Terhadap MTA)* (Between Healthy Reason and Bad Desire: An Islamic Assessment of MTA) (2012), a book by Abu Ibrahim Abdul Malik, a Salafi teacher, particularly criticising MTA.

The above comment by Abu Ahmad Rahmat is a clear example of how *dakwah* radio stations have been identified according to their ideological orientations. In this section, I focus on the ideological differences between Salafi radio stations. In the same way the above described fracture of Salafi groups, Salafi radio stations have also been fragmented in terms of their ideological differences. For Salafi listeners, ideological similarities have become a reason to listen only to particular Salafi radio stations. By contrast, differences have become a reason not to listen to certain stations. This is reflected in a comment made by Tri, a Salafi listener I met in 2013. Asked which of Al-Madinah FM or Darussalaf FM he would recommend me to listen to, he provided a paradoxical answer: Al-Madinah would be okay for me, but he himself would not listen to them. He is a former student of Ma'had Darussalaf. He once received a *tahdhir* from his friends at Ma'had Darussalaf because he befriended Salafis from other groups. Since then, he decided to distance himself from Ma'had Darussalaf, and preferred to listen to Suara Quran FM. He is also a keen listener of Rodja Radio. He did not explain why he himself would not listen to Al-Madinah FM, whereas he recommended me to do so. However, it can be understood that this is because both Darussalaf FM and Al-Madinah FM have some similarities. Both are run by former members

36. See <http://www.radiohizfm.com/2014/05/about-hizfm.html> (accessed 27 January 2015).

of Laskar Jihad. They use such issues as *sururi* and *hizbi* (partisanship) to criticise and attack each other.

In what follows, I shall discuss a number of *fatwas* concerning the existing Salafi radio stations in Indonesia. This is crucial to demonstrate how Salafis have responded to modern media and to locate the points of debate especially on religious authority.

Some fatwas on listening to the Salafi radio

The use of radio broadcasting as a medium for the Salafi *dakwah* is actually less problematic than television. This is because radio only broadcasts sounds and noises. In contrast, television provides both sounds and images. Moving images have been contested by both Salafis and non-Salafis.

Referring to the list of the official Salafi *fatwas*, Larsson (2011: 104-5) emphasizes two main points of dispute regarding radio broadcasting and listening to it. One is related to the problem of music, and the other to the presence of female announcers or presenters. Criticism about the use of the radio medium is focused on its impact rather than on the medium itself. Therefore, the Islamic ruling on listening to the radio depends on when and for what purposes the radio is used. As an example, the late Bin Baz (d. 2001), a Saudi *mufti* of the highest ranking in the Lajnah al-Da’imah li al-Buhuth al-‘Ilmiyah wa-l Ifta’ (the Permanent Committee for Islamic Research and Fatwa), was asked about the Islamic ruling on listening to the radio “*if there is nothing forbidden (haram) in what is being heard or viewed*” (my emphasis).³⁷ The answer to this question depends on that condition. He answered as follows: “There is no harm in listening to the [radio] programmes that air the Qur’an or the useful *hadiths* or important news. And also there is no harm in recording (the recitation of) the noble Qur’an, the useful *hadiths*, the admonitions and the like...” (al-Musnid 1994/1414: 373-4).

It is of importance to look at *fatwas* or, more precisely, *tahdhirs* related to the existing Salafi radio stations in Indonesia. These *fatwas* were produced by Salafi *ulamas* in the Middle East upon request of a number of Indonesian Salafi teachers. At least three Salafi *ulamas* received such specific questions, including ‘Ubaid al-Jabiri, Rabi’ ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, both from Saudi Arabia, and Abdullah Mar’i al-Adeni from Yemen. On 5 May 2012, ‘Ubaid al-Jabiri received a question concerning the Islamic ruling on listening to a radio station run by “followers of *Turathiyun* like Abu Hasan ‘Ali al-Halabi” (the questioners did not mention a specific radio station). Al-Jabiri’s answer included the following two points:

Firstly, it is sufficient for them to listen to “Salafi radio” (*al-idha’ah al-salafiyyah*) ... I do not recommend you to listen to “the corrupt radio” (*al-idha’ah al-munharifah*), be it

³⁷ “*Idha kana ma tusmi’uhu aw tushahiduh laisa fihi amr haram.*”

turathiyah, *halabiyah*, or *ma'ribiyah*. Secondly, there is no problem for those who have the knowledge to listen to the programmes of that [deviating] radio in order to reject them.

It is interesting to note that al-Jabiri makes a distinction between “the Salafi radio” and the “corrupt radio”. This distinction is not based on the contents of the radio programmes, but upon the “ideological differences” pertaining to the owners or managers of the radio stations. Here *Turathiyah* refers to a radio station run by those receiving financial support from Ihya' al-Turath, a charitable foundation based in Kuwait. *Halabiyah* refers to a radio station run by followers of Ali Hasan al-Halabi. *Ma'ribiyah* means that the owner(s) of the radio station is a follower of Abu al-Hasan al-Ma'rabi. In the *tahdhir* above, al-Jabiri does not mention any specific Salafi radio station. Baabduh and his allies interpret this as applicable to other Salafi radio stations characterised by “*turathiyah*”, “*halabiyah*”, and “*ma'ribiyah*”. It is a general *tahdhir*.³⁸ This interpretation is actually a shift from the actual context in which the request for *fatwas* or *tahdhirs* was made. That context was the presence of Rodja Radio, a Salafi radio station based in Cileungsi, Bogor, West Java. It fuelled disputes among Salafis, since it is run by Salafis receiving financial support from Ihya' al-Turath.

In Ramadan 1433 (August 2012), a number of Salafi teachers led by Luqman Baabduh had a meeting with Rabi' ibn al-Hadi al-Madkhali. One of the questions they raised to him was about Rodja Radio. Muqbil ibn Hadi Al-Madkhali answered the question by issuing a *tahdhir*, which contained a number of advices and recommendations. He said, “Whoever honours his *manhaj* [method] and *'aqidah* [faith] should not listen to it, and whoever does not honour his *manhaj* and *'aqidah* are pleased to listen to it.” He also said, “I advised the Salafis (in Indonesia) not to listen to Rodja Radio.” He maintained that it is more important for Salafis to read Salafi books than to listen to Rodja Radio. According to him, Rodja Radio has been at the centre of disputes among Salafis, and therefore he advised them to ignore it. His advices and recommendations are not applicable to Salafis only, but also to other listeners.

In 2012, Abdullah al-Mar'i al-Adeni received a question concerning Rodja Radio and the disputes over it. The question was raised by his Indonesian students who were still studying at his school in Yemen.³⁹ In raising the question, they provided two contrasting opinions concerning Rodja Radio. Some held that preachers of Rodja Radio were *hizbiyin*. For this reason, they maintained that it is not allowed to listen to it. Others were of the opinion that Rodja Radio has more advantages than disadvantages. Al-Adeni gave an

38. <http://www.darussalaf.or.id/audio-tasjilat/rekaman-dan-terjemahan-fatwa-larangan-syaikh-ubaid-untuk-mendengarkan-radio-turotsiyah-halabiyah-maribiyah-semisal-rodja-dll/> (accessed 29 January 2015).

39. <https://syababpetarukan.wordpress.com/2012/02/17/perkataan-syaikh-abdullah-al-mari-ketika-ditanya-tentang-rodja/> (accessed 29 January 2015).

answer (*fatwa*), which is very general and softer than the previous two *fatwas*. He did not point to Rodja Radio specifically. Regarding the contrasting opinions, he stated that proponents of both opinions should respect and have regard for each other. Al-Adeni asserted that if a Salafi radio station calls for “*takfir* (declaring a Muslim infidel) and rebellion against the government and spreading *fitnah* (libel), like *bid’ah* and deviations, then it is not allowed to promote it (to the public).” He then underlined that the disputes (over Rodja Radio) should not have happened if both sides in conflict had followed “ethics of disputation” (*adab al-ikhtilaf*).

It is important to note that the Indonesian translation of al-Adeni’s *fatwa* was first posted by Ja’far Sholeh on his Facebook account. Ja’far Sholeh is the director of Pesantren Salafiyah in Depok, West Java. He is an opponent of Luqman Baabduh, and is closely related to Dzulqarnain. Baabduh and his allies criticised him for having connections with the Ihya’ al-Turath foundation, and praised the owners of Rodja as “*Salafi murni*” (pristine Salafi).⁴⁰

From the three *fatwas* above, we can see different positions that three Salafi scholars took in regard to Rodja Radio. The first two scholars made negative comments about it, and they were clearly in favour of its opponents. In contrast, the last scholar clearly defended the position of Rodja Radio.

Some important points drawn from the three *fatwas* above can clarify why listening to a particular Salafi radio station is a matter of dispute among Salafis. One point is the question of authority, that is, to whom a listener must refer when searching for religious guidance. For Salafis, the correct knowledge of Islam must be taken from the true authority.⁴¹ After the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the true authority is that of the Salafi *ulamas*, since they have the correct knowledge of Islam. In Saudi Arabia, the Salafi authority is hierarchical so that its higher authority has more power than the lower (cf. Meijer 2011: 378). Thus, in order to be representatives of the true Salafi in Indonesia, they compete for support from the highest authority of the Salafi *ulamas* by requesting *fatwas*. Luqman Ba’abduh and his group have claimed to gain support from both al-Jabiri and al-Madkhali. Similarly, Dzulqarnain and his group invited Salafi *ulamas* like Al-‘Umairi to give lectures in Islamic gatherings they organised, including in Ma’had Al-Madinah, Surakarta. The second point is about the Salafi method. Although the above *fatwas* pointed out that Rodja Radio does not use the “right” Salafi method, there was no explanation of why its method was not correct. The *fatwas* only emphasised the necessity to exclude or to stay away from those considered as rivals. Given the absence of explanation, the *fatwas* clearly functioned as a *tahdhir* to Rodja Radio rather

40. The recording of Baabduh’s criticism of Ja’far Sholeh is available at <http://forumsalafy.net/?p=119> (accessed 19 January 2015).

41. This principle refers to several authorities. Among them, Muhammad ibn Sirin (d. 653) said, “look at whom you are taking your religion from” (*unzhuru ‘amman ta’khudhu dinakum*).

than to demonstrate the mistake of its method. Thirdly and most clearly, the *fatwas* supported the interest of their questioners against Rodja Radio.

In the subsection below, I provide an example of how Salafi debates on what constitutes a ‘true Salafi’ are aired on Salafi radio stations in Surakarta.

An on-air debate about the “true” Salafi

Debates about how is the “true Salafi” were aired on Salafi radio stations in Surakarta. Here I focus on Al-Madinah FM and Darussalaf FM as representatives of, respectively, the Dzulqarnain network and the Luqman Baabduh network which I have described earlier.

Both the Luqman Baabduh and Dzulqarnain factions had already conflicted and competed with each other immediately before the dissolution of Laskar Jihad in 2002. Dzulqarnain, together with his colleague Dzul Akmal, took the initiative of sending a letter to Rabi‘ ibn Hadi al-Madkhali to request a *fatwa* related to the planned dissolution of Laskar Jihad. After the issuance of the *fatwa*, Luqman Baabduh and Usamah Faisal Mahri were sent to meet al-Madkhali personally. As Hasan (2006: 212) notes, the delegation of Baabduh and Mahri was to clarify the situation related to Ja’far Umar Thalib, whom they considered as deviating from the true Salafi method. Unfortunately, Hasan does not explain why they needed to give more clarification to al-Madkhali only after the *fatwa* had been issued. This gives the strong impression that the initiative both Dzulqarnain and Dzul Akmal took was not convincing enough to some members of Laskar Jihad.

Whatever the reason, the fact was that Baabduh (together with Mahri and others) was (and is still) in conflict with Dzulqarnain and his allies. Both formed their own groups. According to a source, in 2003 Baabduh sent a *tahdhir* to a number of Salafi teachers living in Riau (Sumatra), Makassar (South Sulawesi), and Solo or Surakarta (Central Java). Baabduh and his group labelled them as RMS, an abbreviation for Riau, Makassar, and Solo. The label was intended to equate those teachers with exponents of the Indonesian separatist movement RMS (Republic of South Maluku). Riau was represented by Dzul Akmal, Makassar by Dzulqarnain, and Solo by Jauhari and Muhammad Naim (both teachers at Ma‘had Al-Madinah).⁴²

In 2005, both the Dzulqarnain and Luqman Baabduh factions made an agreement of reconciliation (*islah*). This agreement was written in Arabic, dated 26 Jumada al-Ula 1426 (2 July 2005). Some points of the agreement were specifically related to Ma‘had Al-Madinah Surakarta.⁴³ However, it could not stop the conflicts between the two sides. This can be vividly seen from various

42. <http://luqmanbaabduh.blogspot.nl/2013/12/kejahanan-luqman-baabduh-di-dunia.html> (accessed 17 April 2015).

43. The text of the agreement is available at <http://pelita-sunnah.blogspot.nl/2013/12/naskah-islah-dai2-salaf-tahun-2005-m.html> (accessed 20 November 2014).

religious gatherings, blogs, Facebook discussions, and radio programmes. A number of religious lectures organised by both sides are mentioned here as examples. In a *daurah* (Salafi workshop) held in Balikpapan, Kalimantan, Luqman Baabduh was asked if it was allowed to send children to study at Ma'had Al-Madinah Solo. His answer was in the negative. He did not give the reason explicitly. Instead, he warned the audience about the danger of a teacher attending a *daurah* organised by *sururis*. The recording of Baabduh's lecture was aired by the Salafi radio stations within his network, one of which was Darussalaf FM.⁴⁴ In his *daurah* lecture broadcast on Darussalaf FM, Muhammad Afifuddin As-Sidawi was asked about the *hukm* (Islamic ruling) of learning with a Salafi teacher who teaches '*ilm al-kalam*' (Islamic theology). In reply, he said that this was forbidden.⁴⁵ Abu Nashim Mukhtar, one of the important teachers of Ma'had Darussalaf, strongly criticised Al-Madinah schools in his lecture delivered on 27 September 2014 in Banyumas, Central Java. In a lecture entitled "Romantika Muda-Mudi dalam Thalabul Ilmi" (Various Challenges Facing Youth in Pursuit of knowledge),⁴⁶ Mukhtar presented considerable (or "much") evidence regarding the deviations from the true Salafi *manhaj* by Al-Madinah schools.

So far, I have never heard a direct response from Ma'had Al-Madinah to the critique of Ma'had Darussalaf which was broadcast on Al-Madinah FM. During my visit to Ma'had Al-Madinah, one teacher explained that the conflicts between Salafis should not be made known to the public. That is why Al-Madinah FM did not air a special sermon in order to counteract those critiques. This was also the answer given by the head of the communication and *dakwah* division of Ma'had Al-Madinah, and the director of the Ma'had.

However, this does not mean that there was no reaction. On 15-16 July 2009, a *daurah* held in Masjid Jajar Surakarta, in which Ma'had Al-Madinah organised most of its religious lectures, featured Dzulqarnain. The theme of the *daurah* was *zakat* (Islamic obligatory charity), and it was aired by Al-Madinah FM.

On the first day, Jauhari, one of the main leaders of Ma'had Al-Madinah, held a special session to deliver religious advices to the participants of the *daurah*. He used this session to speak especially about critiques of the formal schools of Ma'had Al-Madinah, an issue heatedly debated by Salafis, in

44. Baabduh's sermons broadcast on Darussalaf FM at its website, <http://www.darussalafsolo.com/kajian-ustadz-luqman-baabduh> (accessed 20 November 2014).

45. The *daurah* was held on 26-27 January 2013 at the Ibnu Taimiyah mosque, Ma'had Darussalaf, Sukoharjo, and broadcast on Darussalaf FM. The recording of As-Sidawi's lecture can be downloaded from its website: <http://www.darussalafsolo.com/kajian-ustadz-afiffuddin-as-sidawy/> (accessed 20 November 2014).

46. The recording of this lecture can be downloaded from <http://www.mahad-alfaruq.com/audio-kajian-islam-ilmiyah-romantika-muda-mudi-dalam-tholabul-ilmi/> (accessed 24 November 2014).

Surakarta in particular and in other cities. To explore the issue, he started by reading a tiny treatise entitled *Al-Farq bain al-Nasihah wa-l Ta'yir* (The Difference between Advice and Blaming) (1988) by Ibn Rajab al-Hanbali (d. 1393). As its title suggests, the book deals with how to give advices to Muslims based on Islamic teaching. He tried to contextualise the book in terms of the criticism facing Ma'had Al-Madinah and its public schools. He avoided mentioning the names of those criticising the formal education provided by Ma'had Al-Madinah. However, from his talk it is clear that he was pointing to, among other things, the critical sermons broadcast on Darussalaf FM. This became clearer in his further explanation of *Al-Farq*. In *Al-Farq*, Ibn Rajab refers to the explanation of al-Fudail (ibn 'Iyyad) about the signs of *nasiyah* (advice) and *ta'yir* (blaming). According to al-Fudail, an advice is accompanied with *sitr* (covering the shames of others), while *ta'yir* is accompanied with *i'lān* (uncovering or publicising the mistakes of others) (al-Hanbali 1988: 17). Contextualising this explanation, Jauhari reminded his audience of the broken agreement of the 2005 reconciliation. According to the agreement, the Salafis involved in conflict were not allowed to publicise the past matters of disputes through media such as magazines, radio stations and the Internet. The agreement urged them to stop making *tahdhir* against their fellow Salafis. Jauhari commented further as follows:

Every time a conflict occurs, it is publicised through the radio. As a consequence, common people ... wonder whose radio station it is. Maybe they hear *announcements in Sundanese language, for instance, and in Javanese, and perhaps in Indonesian...* (Italic is mine).

As we can see from the above quotation, Jauhari mentioned a certain FM radio station without giving its exact name. As I highlighted in italic, he also mentioned three languages (Sundanese, Javanese, and Indonesian) used in announcements. To the best of my knowledge, no Salafi radio station in Surakarta has such kind of public service announcement (*iklan layanan masyarakat*) in several languages other than Darussalaf FM. From this, we can understand that the station Jauhari was talking about must be Darussalaf FM.

In some *kajians* (lectures) that Ma'had Al-Madinah organised and broadcast on Al-Madinah FM, tacit answers to the criticism appeared. A most recent *kajian*, for instance, dealing with acquiring honor by pursuing Islamic knowledge, was delivered by Abdul Mu'thi al-Maidany. It was broadcast on Al-Madinah FM, on 23 November 2014. The last part of the *kajian* was a question and answer session. Before this session, al-Maidany explained ten ethical rules for the pursuit of knowledge according to Salih al-'Uthaimin, a Saudi Salafi scholar. The seventh of these rules is to teach the knowledge by way of *hikmah* (wisdom). To explain this, al-Maidany cited Q. 16: 125.⁴⁷ He then said, "Do not cause others

47. It says, "Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious..." The Quranic translation is from Ali (2001).

to go away from the prophet's Sunnah. Many of our *ikhwan* (friends) met a new friend, and they talked to him about *fitnah* (libel)."

To explain this point further, Al-Maidany narrated the story of a Hindu in Kalimantan who wanted to become Muslim but failed. The Hindu became increasingly interested in Islam as he often listened to a *dakwah* radio station. The station was not purely *ahl al-sunnah*. Some founders or managers of the station were criticised for this. The Hindu then consulted a religious teacher (*ustadz*) about his intention to become a Muslim. The Hindu, a company boss, had an employee who claimed to be a true Salafi (*Salafi sejati*). Knowing that his boss wanted to become Muslim by the fact that he listened to that "not-true" Salafi radio, this Salafi employee explained the deviations of this radio station to him. Thereafter the Hindu failed to convert to Islam.

This story is important as it relates to the situation Ma'had Al-Madinah is facing presently: *fitnah*. The questions raised and the answers given in the session were linked to this situation. Among the questions were how to be consistent in the pursuit of religious knowledge and how to behave toward those preoccupied with making *fitnah*. To these questions, al-Maidany advised his audiences to stay away from *fitnah* and to focus on study. He encouraged them to invite these *fitnah* makers to *pengajian* sessions. Another question concerned the Islamic ruling about the pursuit of an academic degree from a university in order to fulfil the requirements for a higher career if the individual is already academically qualified even without that degree. Answering the question, al-Maidany emphasised the intention and method of pursuing a diploma or academic degree. According to him, this is a worldly matter (*masalah duniawi*). Therefore, as long as the intention and method are good, there is no problem with such pursuit of an academic degree. This question was linked to the fact that some teachers of Ma'had Al-Madinah were pursuing higher academic degrees to advance their careers. Abu Ahmad Rahmat, for instance, is pursuing a bachelor's degree to fulfil the requirement for teaching by attending courses at *Universitas Terbuka* (UT, Open University).⁴⁸ UT was established following the presidential decree No. 41 of 1984. One of its purposes is "to provide higher education services for those who, because of their work or due to other reasons, are not able to further their studies in face-to-face prominent higher education institutions."⁴⁹ The UT provides distance and open learning systems, meaning that learning is not held face-to-face and that no age limitation is applied.

It is interesting to note the attempts of Ma'had Al-Madinah to gain support from the high Salafi authorities in the Middle East. One of these attempts was through invitations to come to Ma'had Al-Madinah. In June 2013, two *ulamas* from Yemen, Abdullah al-Mar'i (al-Adeni) and 'Uthman al-Salimi,

48. Interview with Abu Ahmad Rahmat, Surakarta, 27 March 2014.

49. <http://www.ut.ac.id/en/ut-in-brief.html> (accessed 24 November 2014).

gave lectures in the programme *Daurah Ulama Yaman*, broadcast live on Al-Madinah FM. Al-Salimi gave some advices to Salafi preachers related to how to confront enemies of the Salafi *dakwah*.⁵⁰ He once gave a *tahdhir* to Baabduh, who was then defended by Hani ibn Buraik. Hanik ibn Buraik himself received a *tahdhir* from a number of *ulamas* in Yemen, including al-Salimi.⁵¹ In June 2014, Sayyaf al-Radda'i attended *Tabligh Akbar Bersama Ulama Timur Tengah* (Great Preaching with the Middle Eastern Ulama). Al-Radda'i is the director of the Dar al-Hadith school, Dhammar, Yemen. Their presence can be interpreted as a way to strengthen the legitimacy of Ma'had Al-Madinah vis-à-vis its rivals. On a previous occasion, Ma'had Al-Madinah had failed to receive a visit from them. One of the reasons for this failure was, as mentioned above, the warning (*tahdhir*) by Rabi' ibn Hadi al-Madkhali, who discouraged the Yemeni *ulamas* from coming to Indonesia at the invitation of Dzulqarnain and his colleagues. Luqman Baabduh and his group then used this *tahdhir* to delegitimise Dzulqarnain and his group.

Two later *daurahs* organised by Ma'had Al-Madinah and Ma'had Darussalam show more clearly how the contest for authority has been taking place. On 18 January 2015, Abd al-Hadi al-'Umairi, a Salafi *shaikh* from Saudi Arabia, gave a lecture in a *daurah* held by Dzulqarnain and his allies at Ma'had Al-Madinah. The lecture was broadcast live on Al-Madinah FM.⁵² Al-'Umairi has been criticised by Luqman Baabduh who labelled him as *majhul* (unknown). On the same day, Baabduh and his allies organised a *muhadarah* (lecture) on Kajian Islam Ilmiyyah (scientific discussion of Islam) at Ma'had Darussalam. The topic was "Menyingkap Kedustaan dan Kebohongan Sang Pengusung Fitnah" (unveiling the falsehood of the libel maker).⁵³ Baabduh gave a lecture entitled "Sekelumit Mengenal Pemateri Dauroh di Masjid Karanganyar Abdul Hadi al-Umairy" (A brief profile of the speaker at *daurah* at the mosque of Karanganyar, Abdul Hadi al-'Umairi). He was specifically speaking about the falsehood of al-'Umairi and his followers in Indonesia.⁵⁴ Two other Salafi teachers, Abu Nashim Mukhtar and Ayip Syafruddin

50. The summarised advices are available in Indonesian translation at <http://almadinah.or.id/572-ringkasan-nasihat-akhir-dauroh-asatidzah-duat-ahlus-sunnah-bersama-asy-syaikh-utsman-as-saalimi-hafizhahullah.html> (accessed 22 January 2015).

51. The letter of *tahdhir* to him is available at <http://www.sh-emam.com/uploads/books/167.jpg> (accessed 24 January 2015).

52. <http://almadinah.or.id/654-daurah-syaikh-di-karanganyar-18-januari-2015.html> (accessed 23 January 2015).

53. <http://salafy.or.id/blog/2015/01/14/kajian-ilmiyah-islamiyah-menyingkap-kedustaan-dan-kebodohan-sang-pengusung-fitnah-18012015/> (accessed 23 January 2015).

54. The recordings of Baabduh's lecture are available at https://archive.org/details/Sesi1_MenyikapKedustaanDanKebodohanPengusungFitnah_201501 (accessed 23 January 2015); and https://archive.org/details/04.Sesi2.MenyikapKedustaanDanPengusungFitnah_201501 (accessed 23 January 2015).

of Ma'had Darussalaf, also gave lectures during this *daurah*.⁵⁵ Mukhtar recounted the story of a meeting between Abdullah al-Bukhari, a Salafi *shaikh* from Saudi Arabia, with representatives of both Ma'had Darussalaf (Mukhtar himself and Idral Harits) and Ma'had Al-Madinah (Jauhari and Muhammad Na'im). Mukhtar specifically pointed out a piece of writing by Abd al-Hadi al-'Umairi on Baabduh's *dakwah* in Indonesia.⁵⁶ Syafruddin presented the story of the fracture of Salafi preachers in Surakarta into several groups. In defence of Luqman Baabduh, Syafruddin maintained that Baabduh was not to blame for it, as claimed by other Salafis associated with Ma'had Al-Madinah.

The whole story of the competition between Luqman Baabduh and Dzulqarnain is not over yet. However, a teleconference with Abd al-Hadi al-'Umairi, organised by teachers of Ma'had Al-Madinah, gives clearer evidence of how the struggle for authority will be finally validated. The teleconference presented a clarification by al-'Umairi about several issues. One of them concerned his relations with Indonesian Salafis of the Dzulqarnain network. Al-'Umairi tried to convince al-Madkhali about their true Salafi *manhaj*. More importantly, the case of Ma'had Al-Madinah has been sent to the al-Lajnah al-Da'imah li-l Buhuth al-'Ilmiyah wa-l Ifta' in order to decide its position within the Salafi *dakwah* in Indonesia. This is an important step for Ma'had al-Madinah to obtain legitimacy from the highest authority of the Salafi movement. While "Miratsul Anbiya Indonesia" became "Manhaj al-Anbiya," an Indonesian version of Salih al-Fauzan's website (www.alfawzan.net) was officially launched in December together with the handwritten welcoming statement of al-Fauzan. The website is managed by Dzulqarnain and his group. This seems to be a sign of victory in a struggle for legitimacy.

Concluding remarks

There is no central authority in Islam, and thus no single person or group may claim universal hegemony over Islam. Similarly, there is no single authority for Salafis. Their movement has never been homogeneous. They have been constantly fractured into groups. I have described how they have been divided into groups and how three Salafi radio stations in Surakarta represent each group. Suara Quran FM is linked to Salafis outside the circle of former Laskar Jihad members. Both Al-Madinah FM and Darussalaf FM belong to former members of Laskar Jihad. I have demonstrated that three major Salafi networks played a significant role in the current Salafi movement, including

55. The recordings of the lectures of both Mukhtar and Syafruddin are available at <https://archive.org/details/PenjelasanUstadzAyipSyafrudinTentangPerjalananDakwahSalafiyahDiSolo> (accessed 23 January 2015).

56. Its Indonesian translation is available at <http://almaidan.net/dakwah-luqman-baabduh-di-indonesia/> (accessed 23 January 2015).

the Rodja network, the Baabduh network, and the Dzulqarnain network. From these networks, we can see that such dichotomies as *sururi* and non-*sururi*, Yemeni and *haraki*, as offered by previous studies (Hasan 2006; Bulabo et al. 2011; Wahid 2014) need some modification. Within the Yemeni network, two groups (the Baabduh network and the Dzulqarnain network) are competing. Both groups criticised other groups of non-former Laskar Jihad members. Apparently, the Dzulqarnain network became closer to these non-former Laskar Jihad members, who were more cooperative. This can be seen in their willingness to adopt the national curriculum, something that never happened before. As Wahid (2014: 209) has analysed, former members of Laskar Jihad are ‘rejectionist’. They rejected, among other things, adopting the national curriculum. However, as shown in this article, Ma‘had Al-Madinah is open to the national curriculum, and it is cooperative with others.

The Salafi fracture was fuelled partly by their competition for authority. In its attempts to become representative of the “true Salafi”, each group used strategies for delegitimising and discrediting other fellow Salafis. Recently, the use of *tahdhir* has been an important device to attack each other. Deriving its legitimacy from the *hadith* science, *tahdhir* acquires a religious power. I have tried to show how Salafi radio stations played a role in the dispute. Their emergence has become the subject of debates among Salafis. As in the case of Rodja Radio, *fatwas* played a significant role in the dispute. Both proponents and opponents requested *fatwas* from Salafi authorities in the Middle East related to listening to Salafi radio stations. Although the case has been specific to Rodja Radio in Bogor, the scope of those *fatwas* covers all the existing Salafi radio stations. The case study of two Salafi radio stations, Al-Madinah FM and Darussalaf FM, gives an example of how religious authority has been contested on air by two opposing Salafi groups. We can see in the example that both stations attacked each other through their Islamic programmes. As it is clear, the contest was driven not only by different interpretations of Islam but was also motivated by their attempts to influence society, and, to a certain extent, to sustain economic interests connected with media broadcasting and educational institutions. In this article, I hope I have provided a vivid example of the important role of such modern media as radio, both in religious practices and in Islamic movements or Islamic activism such as Salafism.

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STANISLAUS SANDARUPA¹

“The Voice of a Child”: Constructing a Moral Community through *Retteng* Poetic Argumentation in Toraja²

Introduction³

This article addresses the use of poetry in ritual and sociopolitical life in an Indonesian hinterland society. As has been well documented, Austronesian societies are known for their elaborate poetic forms and draw on poetry

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At the time we were preparing this article for publication, *Archipel*’s board was greatly saddened to learn of the unexpected death of Stanislaus Sandarupa, on January 17, 2016, in Makassar. Only 59 years old, he had recently been appointed Professor (*Guru Besar*) at his university. His long-term collaborations with national and international colleagues were exceptionally generous and fruitful, and he was an equally generous and inspiring mentor for his students. Having defended his thesis in linguistic anthropology at the University of Chicago in 2004 (Sandarupa 2004), he contributed a new perspective on Toraja speech, by analyzing poetry in its social and linguistic contexts. The final version presented here was edited by Elizabeth Coville and Kathleen Adams.

2. This paper develops ideas first presented in my dissertation (2004) supervised by Michael Silverstein, the late Valeri Valerio, and Danilyn Rutherford, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago. Both Kathleen Adams and Elizabeth Coville were also members of the dissertation committee. Versions of this project have been presented at various conferences, including the Third International Conference on Language Education at Menara Phinisi UNM Makassar (6-7 December 2013). That conference paper was subsequently included in the Proceedings of the Conference. Herewith, it is reanalyzed for the purpose of this publication.

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in ritual and on formal occasions as well as in daily interaction (Sweeney 1987, Fox ed. 1988, Bowen 1991). These practices are not unique to the Austronesian world. For instance, Lila Abu Lughod (1988) has demonstrated Bedouin poetry's association with honor as well as how Bedouins use poetry in interactions to covertly and overtly express various sentiments. Likewise, Steven Caton (1990) has shown the centrality of poetry to the sociopolitical and cultural system in Yemen. The use of poetry is similarly central to the Torajan ritual and sociopolitical system, which is the focus of this article. This article uses a functional semiotics approach to shed light on the sociocultural dynamics of Torajan ritual poetics. The present study is in line with the recent ethnographic work on Toraja that considers art as politics (Adams 2006). In short, this article addresses the relationship between poetics and politics.

Research methodology

The following data are drawn from two years of field work (1994-1996) in the villages of Randan Batu, in northern Toraja, and Balik, in southern Toraja, using the method of participant observation and employing the techniques of field notes, interviews, audiorecording, and videotaping. The interviews conducted were informal. The interviewees consisted of the three men involved in the *retteng* performance (labeled A, B, and C) and three traditional religious priests or *tominaa* (Pong Jen, Ne' Rimma' and Tato' Dena') with whom I discussed the performance after it was completed. These particular *tominaa* were known to have extensive knowledge and to be well-versed in interpreting ritual speech. I also interviewed other village elders, including Pabisa and Luther Bala. As someone of Torajan heritage and a community member, I sometimes take things for granted. With the help of these experts, I gained a richer understanding of the *retteng* performance and was ultimately able to access the hidden meanings of *retteng* poems and the social relationships to which they refer. In this fashion, as a scholar, I was able to obtain a more objective understanding of "what was going on," enabling me to present the local perspectives.

In analyzing these data, I focus on the interactive quality of the poetic argumentation. In the performance, the first singer recites a poem directed to an addressee without giving any explicit signal or mentioning the addressee's name. Moreover, the poem is composed in metaphoric riddle form, thereby concealing the poem's target. As an interaction that requires a response, one puzzling thing strikes the observer: given the ambiguity of the situation, how does someone in the group decide to become a respondent and take up the role of speaker? What indexical cues are used to infer that the poem is directed to him? And furthermore, how does the ritual speaker turning the role over to a respondent exert an effect on the community?

These are some of the themes that will be developed here. Although there are different ways to analyze poetry, in this article, I find it useful to understand

it as a phenomenon of textual performance. Understanding it in this way requires striking a balance between text and context. Bauman and Briggs (1990) have nicely summarized this problem, citing on the one hand scholars who say that “performance studies seem too much concerned with context and too little concerned with textual detail” and, on the other hand, those who argue that “performance approaches are too caught up in poetics to be able to discern broader social and political contexts” (Bauman and Briggs 1990: 67). However both views separate text and context, treating them as self-contained and bounded objects, whereas I draw on ethnographic data pertaining to *retteng* performances in order to highlight the interconnectedness between text and context. By adopting the general view that speaking (including composing poetry in performance) involves how one sign points to “the spatial, temporal, or causal co-presence of another [sign]” (Silverstein 2001:73), the analysis begins with linguistic data. In other words, different from the approach that starts from context that affects the selection of poem to be recited in interaction (Abu-Lughod 1988), this approach begins with textual analysis of language.⁴ As Bauman and Briggs (1990:68) say “communicative contexts are not dictated by the social and the physical environment but emerge in negotiations between participants in social interaction.”

My analysis focuses on extracting the “texts” from this cohesive poetry. Using the perspective of functional semiotics, this whole poetic discourse constitutes an “ensemble of texts” (see Geertz 1973) that further need specification. In order to show the richness of Torajan culture, I follow Silverstein in making a distinction of three levels of text: the denotational text (saying something), the interactional text (what’s happening socially) and the meditational text (how the structure of cohesive signs indexes the interactional text) (see Silverstein 1976, 1992, 1993).

In the performance, speakers display the art of speaking both to each other and to the audience. Poetic discourse illustrates what Roman Jakobson (1960) calls poetic function, or message that is focused on its own form, a form characterized in this case by parallelism. Like all systems of signification, poetry can also become an object of metalinguistic focus. Thus such artful acts of speaking can be objectified, scrutinized, and evaluated by others. This allows the performers to create, comment on, and discuss the ongoing discourse. This evaluation relates to rhetorical strategies and the construction of power in performance. In considering the Toraja *retteng*, it is also important to note the dialectic relation between what linguists term contextualization and entextualization. Contextualization allows a performer to anchor the performance in context and in so doing, the poetic discourse is brought closer to social reality. It becomes an index of its situational surroundings, including

4. This is not to deny that a given performance is related to a number of other speech events that precede and succeed it (cf. Bauman and Briggs 1990: 60).

participants' competence and the relation of performance to other events. The reverse of this is entextualization, in which power is built by taking a unit of text from others' authoritative voice through quotation to support the functional goal of the performance.

A key aim here is to extract the cohesive and coherent topic or central idea being debated during the interaction. In this particular *retteng* below, the topic is "the voice of a child" which emerges as a structure of cohesive signs. It emerges as "text" that indexes the "context" of how social relations among the interlocutors are transformed, how they construct social boundaries, and how they identify relevant voices. Some utterances are associated with certain speakers, an association which is related to Bakhtin's voice (Bakhtin 1981 [1935]).

This article is organized as follows: I begin by examining the elements of ritual speech/poetry. I then focus on the genre of *retteng* and offer one specific illustrative example. Finally, I offer a semiotic interpretation, showing how this theoretical approach offers rich insights into the relationship of text and context, thus deepening our understanding of Torajan culture as an "ensemble of texts."

Research Setting

Located in the northern interior of South Sulawesi province, the Toraja homeland has a population of approximately 600,000 people.⁵ Torajans are traditionally wet-rice farmers with an elaborate ritual system, and within Indonesia they are famous for their funeral rituals. As has been reported by other ethnographers, Torajan society is hierarchically arranged into several ranks, the highest being referred to as "gold stake" (*tana' bulaan*), middle as "iron stake" (*tana' bassi*), commoners as "skin of palm-tree stake" (*tana' karurung*), and the lowest rank as "reed plant stake" (Nooy-Palm 1979, 1986, Volkman 1985, Waterson 2009).⁶

Toraja culture is rich with ritual and ritual speech. In general Torajans classify speech style into two types: "straight talk" (*kada-kada dipamalolo*) is used in daily interaction and "paired words" (*kada-kada dipasilopak*) are used in ritual. This latter style of speaking uses metaphor, metonymy,

5. It is estimated that an additional 2 million Torajans live outside Toraja, spread across the big islands of Indonesia, such as Java, Kalimantan, and Papua. The local religion is called *Aluk To Dolo*, "The Religion of the Ancestors." Torajans believe that performance of a death ritual accompanied by animal sacrifices such as buffalo and pig will facilitate the spirit's travel to the next world, called *Puya*, "Land of Spirit" (a temporary place of spirits). Only after the death ritual is complete and a subsequent (optional) life ritual is staged can the spirit travel up to heaven to become a god. According to the 2014 statistics, only 5% of Torajans still follow the *Aluk To Dolo* religion: 90% have converted to Christianity and 5% have become Moslem. The research was conducted in 1994-1996 and at that time conversion statistics were similar. Although most Torajans are Christians, they continue to use local concepts drawn from *Aluk To Dolo* religion in their conversation and ritual speech.

6. This hierarchical division derives from the south Toraja regency, which is slightly different from the hierarchical division practiced in northern Toraja.

indirection, and parallelism. Parallelism refers to poetic verbal constructions that correspond to one another in sound, meter, meaning and grammatical structure. Many ethnographers have analyzed and documented the widespread use of this poetic ritual speech (Coville 1988, Rappoport 2009, Koubi 1982, Lebang 2006, Nooy-Palm 1979, Nooy-Palm 1986, Sandarupa 1989, 2004, Sandarupa, Assagaf, and Husain 2015, Sarira 2000, Veen 1965, Veen 1966, Zerner and Volkman 1988).

It is in ritual contexts that speaking expertise is displayed by skilled speakers, those known as the “ones who have extensive knowledge” (*tominaa*). When *tominaa* perform their poetic speech in various rituals, they adjust their words in accordance with the rank of the person being mourned (for funerals) and the level of ritual being enacted. Various Toraja rituals are enacted in pairs and in sequences. For instance, death-rituals (*rambu solo*) and life-rituals (*rambu tuka*) are sequentially arranged from lowest to highest level rituals, as various ethnographers have detailed (Nooy-Palm 1986, Sandarupa 2012). One feature that differentiates these hierarchical performances is the use of various genres of ritual speech or sung poetry. Rappoport (2009) has shown that the paired sung poetry used in the paired rituals is systematic. In general, we can say that the higher the order of rituals, the more elaborate and varied the poetry used. For example, Torajan ritual speakers use less elaborate poetic verse in middle-ranking (“seven nights” *pitung bongi*) than in high-ranking (*rapasan*) funerals. The most elaborate rituals employ the most distinctive and elaborate poetry.

Despite many recent changes in Torajan society, today’s funerals continue to be key events that are pregnant with poetry. As illustration, consider the case of the death of a chief: his demise risks causing competition, political struggles or even physical fights between his potential replacements. The funeral ritual dramatizes this “war” (*rari*) characterized by tension, struggle, and contestation between the realm of life represented by the living and the realm of darkness represented by the black spirit of the deceased (*bombo*) which is being transformed by the funeral.⁷ The elaborate funerals, then, function to transform the potential real fight into a symbolic fight. One can observe this in the structure of the performance of poetic speech which follows the Torajan cultural logic of movement from unity, to chaos, back to unity. The high level funeral begins with “laments” (*badong*) sung by a group of men and their leader. These laments are followed by “poetic argumentation” (*retteng*). Finally, the ritual ends with a rite referred to as to “flooring the earth” (*massali padang*),⁸ which entails physically and metaphorically reconstructing the

7. At the completion of a death ritual, it is believed that the “dark spirit” is transformed into a god who ascends to heaven accompanied by the pigs and water buffalo sacrificed during the ritual.

8. The expression “to floor the earth” is a metaphor which means to divide and distribute pieces of buffalo meat to people in the community. The piece of meat received reflects the rank of the receiver.

values of unity and orderliness (Sandarupa 2004). Through his monologue, the *tominaa* addresses members of a village *tongkonan*⁹ with a eulogy for the deceased. He then distributes pieces of buffalo meat to them according to rank. In so doing, the *tominaa* encourages listeners to recover from sadness and return to their normal social roles and positions. People receive different parts of meat but from the same buffalo. Parts of the meat, then, metaphorically represent individuals and the pieces in totality represent the whole of society.

The *Retteng* Performance

While the final rite is performed as a monologue by a single ritual speaker, the preceding two are performed interactively, although in contrasting ways. In the *badong* laments, performers hold hands and follow the leader's cues, developing their many voices into one single voice, thereby marking the value of unity (Rappoport 2009, Sandarupa 2004, Sandarupa 2013, Veen 1966). In the *retteng*, which follows or emerges from the *badong* sung laments, in contrast, one speaker composes a poem which elicits a response from a second speaker who creates another poem in opposition (*bali*). The *retteng* performance has not been extensively analyzed, despite the fact that various ethnographers have recorded or mentioned these performances (Rappoport 2009, Sandarupa 2004, Tammu & Veen 1972). Veen (1966) includes twelve *retteng* texts, ten of which are from funerals. In general, his collections of funeral *retteng* can be classified as *retteng malolo lako to mate* "poems directed to the deceased" recited by a single speaker. Even though he includes one *retteng* that constitutes a reply to another, he does not show the interactive quality of the performance. My data, on the other hand, show the dynamics and the interactive quality of the performance and facilitate a better understanding of how Torajans use poetic argumentation in symbolic battles in an effort to resolve sociopolitical conflicts and construct a moral community.

In general, *retteng* can be classified as life ritual-*retteng* or funeral *retteng*. For the latter, the word *retteng* is associated with the expression of sad feelings and lamentations.¹⁰ Since the ritual is interactive in form, involving performers who argue with each other, the performance is called *siretteng* where /si-/ is a marker of reciprocal action. As I previously documented (Sandarupa 2004: 229-235), the *retteng*, "poetic argumentation" may be performed as a part of

9. The word *tongkonan* refers to Torajans' ranked ancestral houses with arched horn-shaped roofs. Some anthropologists have gone so far as to label Toraja a "house society" as these structures are especially important in Toraja social organization, both in the past and today (Waterson 2003, Adams 2006).

10. In the northern and western regions of Toraja, the word *retteng* is used in life rituals. Veen includes two samples of such *retteng* in his collection R11 and R12 (Veen 1966: 86-87, see also Rappoport 2009). Rappoport's collection is available via internet (<http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/>).

the *badong* round dance ritual.¹¹ Thus, all *badong* round dance performers potentially become participants in the *retteng*.¹²

There are several formal characteristics associated with this genre. The participants are all men of varying ranks (high and low ranking), both young and old. The most significant feature is that, except in some special cases, prior to the performance no one knows who will be participants, and who will be the initial speaker. Even if the performance begins and someone embraces the role of the initial speaker, it is not known publicly to whom the poetic argumentation is addressed. Unlike interaction characterized by an adjacency pair structure¹³ in which the speaker makes the addressee explicit, in this ritual the addressee emerges via self-selection. According to the local view, this is due to his "awareness" (*nasa'dingan*) and to experiencing the feeling of being "hit" (*nakanna*) by the words of the initial speaker. The first chanter may or may not have a particular addressee in mind. The target may be revealed as the performance unfolds without any explicit reference to him. In this performance, avoiding or at least concealing direct reference to an addressee is a part of the strategy presupposed by norms prohibiting direct reference to the targeted individual.¹⁴

The ritual requires at least three participants (*pa'retteng* "singer of *retteng*"), and three individuals are considered the ideal number. The first participant is called *pa'retteng*, "the singer of *retteng*." The person who voluntarily initiates the interaction is called *to ma'bungka'*, "the person who opens," and the next self-selecting speaker, hereafter, the respondent is *to umbali*, "person who answers." In the case where the debate becomes heated, a third person mediates between the first and the second and is referred to as *to ussamboi retteng*, "the person who covers the poetic argumentation." When someone starts the *retteng*, he picks up a stick (*lidi*), sometimes tipped with goat hair, to signal the beginning of his poetic performance.¹⁵ This is usually accompanied by the expression *le, le, le*, "here I am, here I am" to get the attention of others. When he ends his performance he uses the same expression, but in this case it is an invitation to someone to respond (see below). These features underscore the interactive quality of performance.

11. Nowadays, we regularly witness the decontextualization and recontextualization of *retteng*. For example, rather than being performed as part of *badong*, it is performed on the reception day of a funeral ritual (*allo karampoan*) when groups of guests arrive and are ritually greeted. The representative of the group can perform a *retteng* while entering a reception hall (*lantang karampoan*) to affirm social ties among participants and to reveal their social identities.

12. Veen (1966) explains the context in which they are used and emphasizes the improvised character and says it can be recited at "an arbitrary point" in the *badong*.

13. Such as "thank you, you're welcome" or "how are you? fine and you?"

14. These norms are captured in the saying *tae'nama'din untosok mata bale* ("it is forbidden to pierce the eyes of fish").

15. See also Veen (1966) about the use of the stick, which he calls *bandangan*.

Informants agree that from the point of view of content, *retteng* can be divided into “*retteng* that is addressed to the deceased” (*retteng malolo lako to mate*), which is sometimes described as a eulogy, and “*retteng* that generates an opposed view” (*retteng sindung*). As we will see later, even though the former is said to be an expression of grief for the deceased, it always touches on sociopolitical and cultural problems as well. Hence, they can both be classed as *retteng sindung*.¹⁶ The term *sindung* refers to “a deep and wide hole” (Tammu and Veen 1972), and the verb *massindung* means to dig a hole which becomes wider the deeper it goes, thus while it gives the impression of being narrow, in fact it is large inside. This metaphor beautifully compares the performing of *retteng* debate to constructing a pit and a tomb for the deceased. In *retteng* performance, the chanters are always advised not to perform *retteng sindung* because it contains severe criticism. As will be shown below, people who become participants in this ritual bring larger social and political problems that have arisen in village life into the performance. While the ritual leader always suggests that participants direct their poetic speech to the deceased as a eulogy, it is the dialogue between several interlocutors about the event at hand and other aspects of daily life that dominates. As a result the *retteng* may develop into a heated debate that takes the form of symbolic violence through verbal display, which may lead to real fighting.

The individual *retteng* has the following general four-part structure: the opening which greets everyone present (*mekatabe'*); the disclaimer (called “the fencing of the neck”, *mebala kollong*), the main content (*lise'na*) and the closing (*dipalele*). Openings, disclaimers, and closing all constitute framing devices. Although the opening varies according to contextual features such as who the participants are, their different ranks and so forth, it is a formulaic greeting to everyone present, a polite way of asking permission to talk before the public. For example:

<i>Tabe' kupadolo lamban siman mintu'sola nasang</i>	Excuse me first of all pardon me to all who are present
<i>Tabe' kayu kalandoki sola lamba'paongan</i>	Excuse me those of tall trees [noble chiefs] ¹⁸ pardon me those who are like the sheltering <i>lamba'</i> tree

16. In introducing the *retteng* he collected, Veen (1966) lists a variety of different “subjects”: “The deceased can be praised; those against whom he had a grievance can be criticized; satirical reference can be made to a person with whom he was associated in life; matters concerning the deceased can be alluded to; and people may also make verses referring covertly to each other.” See also comments made by Nooy-Palm (1979: 16; 1986: 234, 318).

17. Here the speaker addresses the local noble chiefs who are metaphorically compared with *kayu kalandoki*, “tall trees” whose numerous branches and large leaves give protection called *lamba'paongan*.

Like the opening, the disclaimer (*mebala kollong*, “fencing the neck”) that follows is also formulaic. Its purpose is to protect the speaker from any dangerous effects of his words, such as curses (*tula*).¹⁸ A typical example is:

<i>pia'-pia'pa dadingku</i>	I am just a child ²⁰
<i>baitti'pa garagangku</i>	my shape is still small

The closing of the *retteng* is also prescribed. In ending his *retteng* the chanter sometimes repeats the last line as a cue to the audience to say the final line again with him. This also indicates that he has finished. As mentioned above, it is then followed by the repeated syllable *le... le... le...* as an abbreviation of *dipalele* meaning “the turn to speak is now moved to another.”

Thus we see that unlike the first phase of the funeral (i.e., *badong* round dance) and unlike the last phase (i.e., “the flooring of the earth”), this optional genre is interactive in the sense that it is crucial that different individuals take on the roles of speaker and respondent. The concept of *dipalele* reminds us that the genre depends on responses which are not fixed ahead of time. This is reflected in the word translated as respondent (*to umbali* “person who answers”), which is based on the same word as the “pair” of a verse of parallel lines. Thus we see that the idea of parallelism is not only relevant to an understanding of the denotational text but also is a key feature of the interactive text.²⁰

At the same time, this ritual speech practice is strongly characterized by concealment and ambiguity at various linguistic levels from the phonological to the pragmatic. One example of this is phonological transformation. It is also poetically structured and dominated by metapragmatic talk, since it focuses and comments on verbal use itself. As a poetic genre, rhythm, meter, and the use of key tropes such as metaphors and metonyms also pervade this ritual speech practice. Game-playing and contestation, tension and expression of anger are other major characteristics that occur at various linguistic levels, from the phonological to the pragmatic.

In this ritual, the speaker’s ability to create such ambiguous speech is itself an index of his skill as a speaker and his stature as a leader, and it is precisely

18. A related idea is *pemali ullutu tombang panda dibolong* “it is taboo to create chaos in the funeral ceremony.”

19. The term *pia*, “child” and its synonym *baitti*, “small one” also occurs in one of Veen’s (1966, 85) collection, R10, lines 12.

20. One of the late author’s important contributions to the study of ritual speech was to see that parallelism was not just at the level of the message (“denotational text”) but also at the level of social interaction (“interactional text”), that is, across speakers. Another related contribution was his emphasis on the complementarity of the lines of poetic speech. Others had seen the paired lines as mostly synonyms conveying the same or similar or opposite meanings, but he argued they provided complementary meanings. As he wrote, referring the title of James Fox’s well-known collection, it is not so much “speaking in pairs” as it is “speaking in complements.”

this that threatens and challenges the respondent to defend his own honor by using his right to speak and answer, while exercising his ability to create a “pairing” to the previous speaker’s poetry. The assumption of the right to occupy the respondent role is itself a dangerous tactic because the first speaker is never explicit about the intended addressee. The respondent’s decision to embrace the role and his creation of a fitting pair (*bali*) will be perceived as an index of his own ability to interpret ambiguous signs, a dangerous game. One kind of concealment is a marked form of phonological play with words.²¹ In addition, there is also some morphosyntactic ambiguity in which the speaker’s use of unknown lexical items and special morphosyntactic construction prevent the clear reading of lines, or allows multiple readings. This is so because the lines employ figures of speech such as grammatical parallelism, metaphor, metonymy, and irony.

In short, to be a participant in a *retteng* performance, one must have the ability to chant, must have mastered the complex knowledge entailed in creating paired lines, and must be able to interpret the most ambiguous signs. Because of these characteristics, the exegetical aspect is crucial, and we can say that within Toraja culture it is in this kind of performance that the tradition of interpretation or exegesis is elaborated. A speaker’s ability to read his interlocutor’s signs is crucial, as misunderstanding may lead the interpreter to fall into a dangerous pit dug by the initial speaker (*massindung*). The whole game here is the ability to create and interpret another speaker’s signs. In this respect, *retteng* is similar to the genre of riddles (*karrume*)²². According to local belief, if one becomes recognized as adept at this art via multiple performances in public events, he may enjoy a rise in social rank. He can be

21. The sung poetic text comprises poetically compact discourse expressed in parallel lines. The rule is that each line consists of eight syllables but the speaker sings only seven syllables and drops the last one and finishes with the insertion of various syllables /-am/, /-ma/ and /-um/. The result is that the form of the last word becomes obscure since the last word appears to be a new word that needs guessing, a metapragmatic phonological transformation as figuration, the trope of concealment (Conklin 1964). For example:

<i>kita angga to ma'bam-</i> <i>adong le ... ee anggaki' mario-rio</i>	: we (incl.) all the <i>badong</i> chanters : we (incl.) all the mourners
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In the first line, the last syllable of the word *to ma'badong* is not sung and it ends with vowel /a/ which then gets the additional consonant /m/ so the whole line becomes seven (7) syllables ending with *toma'bam-*. Then the pause occurs and the last vowel of the syllable of the previous word (*toma'bam-*) is chanted and repeated again in the next line (-*adong*) which is then continued with the insertion /le ee.../. Since in the next line *anggaki' mario-rio* consists of eight syllables we can say that even though the last syllable of the previous line is sung in the next line, it should be counted as a syllabic part of the previous line so that each of the lines is composed of eight syllables. This is a regular pattern of phonological transformation.

22. The performance of *retteng* is the creative work of adults and the elderly. Indeed young people and sometimes primary school aged children use riddles for fun and to ask questions of one another. However the use of *karrume* in *retteng* is the domain of adults and especially old people. See Sandarupa (2004: 242).

promoted from ordinary *retteng* chanter (*pa'retteng*) to a higher rank as an authoritative speaker known as "sitting throat" (*gora-gora tongkon*), who is a decision-maker in conflict resolution, or to a ritual priest, *tominaa*, who can invoke the flow of fertility and prevent death.

The following *siretteng* - poetic argumentation shows clearly both the interactive quality of the performance and the way in which denotational meaning is concealed through the use of metaphors:

Performer, Singer or Speaker A

<i>eeeeeee.....eeee</i>	heee.....heeee
(1) <i>tabe'kupadolo lam-amban siman mata lam-alan le eeee lako</i>	(1) excuse me, to those who are present pardon me to
(2) <i>tounno'ko'massali am-alang tasikma'kambuno sam-aane'le leleeee</i>	(2) those sitting on the rice barn floor, those sitting under the protruded ceiling of the rice barn
(3) <i>tang marendengna'manim-indi tang ganna'massai lam-aanangko leeee...</i>	(3) just in case I am not protected and do not live for a long time
(4) <i>bendanna'te umbating ke'de'na'te ma'rio-ri-mrio le eeeeeee</i>	(4) standing up here I lament; rising up here I express this mourning
(5) <i>nakua aku batim-iingku pangngo'tonan mariom... ooku leee... leee...</i>	(5) my lament says my mourning says
(6) <i>unno'ko'na'membungku'sam-ambu'leee bintin massalungku'luam-aangan leee</i>	(6) I was sitting, wearing a sarong, sitting, covered by a blanket
(7) <i>denri pia'-pia'len-eendu'baitti'untuleram-aana'leee</i>	(7) it is only because of a child who passed by, a small one, who told me a story, again
(8) <i>to umpennampa'duri bam-anga to umpennallon duu-uuri leee</i>	(8) someone using palm tree thorns as his mat, someone using thorns as a pillow
(9) <i>tang malanapa ampa'-aa'na tang solongpa allonam-</i>	(9) his mat is still not (yet) smooth his pillow is still not (yet) flat
(10) <i>tang solongpa allonanna ole</i>	(10) his pillow is still not (yet) flat

Performer, Singer or Speaker B

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>em lee</i> | heee.....heeee |
| (11) <i>langngan kutongan tom-ooda' ee</i> | (11) I assert it as true |
| <i>endek kutundu malem-eeso lee...</i> | I make it clearly |
| (12) <i>kendek masapi medium-uuku' eee</i> | (12) the big eel is rising out of the water |
| <i>puarang mantaa pam-adang leee....</i> | to search for meat
the big lizard is dividing
the meat |
| (13) <i>pasapu-sapu ikko' oo'na pasulilang saresem-eena lelele</i> | (13) its tail is striking us
its sharp dorsal fins are piercing
eeleee |
| (14) <i>ulunna pakadakean ulunna pakadakean</i> | (14) his head is causing damage
their heads are causing damage |

Performer, Singer or Speaker A

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>em lee</i> | heee.....heeee |
| (15) <i>buda londong lan te tom-oondok</i> | (15) many are the roosters in the village |
| <i>saungan lan te panglim-ionlee</i> | fighting cocks in this hamlet |
| (16) <i>sisonda-sonda unnom-ooni sisolon ma'kua kum-</i> | (16) crowing one after another
interchangeably producing sound |
| (17) <i>uua lee...eee.. iaku te akum-unna</i> | (17) lee ... with regards to me |
| <i>tu kale misa-misam-angku lee</i> | that myself alone |
| (18) <i>indara manarang pam-aandetu tau rangga inam-aaya lee...</i> | 18) who on earth is clever like an expert?
who on earth has such an extensive knowledge? |
| (19) <i>ungkitta 'simpona mam-aanuk tangke isinna pa 'kum-urungleee...</i> | (19) can see the missing teeth of the chicken
the branches of the rooster's teeth |
| (20) <i>ubanna koro'-koro'</i> | (20) the gray hairs of egrets |
| <i>ubanna koro'-koro'</i> | the gray hairs of egrets |
| <i>olelele...</i> | |

Performer, Singer or Speaker C

<i>ee.eee...eeee</i>	heeee.....heeee
(21) <i>kita mentu' te to tom-oongkon mairi' ma'rio-rim-riole..le...</i>	(21) all of us who come to mourn all who are lamenting lamenting
(22) <i>tontong meloi bam-aati tadende'maya-mayam-aai lee lee</i>	(22) make the lament good make mourning in a good way
(23) <i>dendika lindona sem-eng'a' le'ke' ri pa'todingan-aanta le leeee</i>	(23) are there other faces? different marks?
(24) <i>den o upa' tapoum-upa' paraya tapoparam-ayana le..eee...eee</i>	(24) hopefully we will have blessings the favor be with us
(25) <i>tamasakke'solanam-asang madadinding sola mentu'</i>	(25) so that we will all be cool all will be well protected
(26) <i>madadinding sola mentu'</i>	(26) all will be well protected

Three people are involved in the above poetic interaction, henceforth labeled A, B, and C. Combined together, their poetic totality is a discourse that is divided into four segments: A1, B, A2, and C. Speaker A (a *to minaa* priest) begins his *retteng*, which is then self-selectively answered by B (an elder, but not a *to minaa*). A answers back and C intervenes and mediates the tension between A and B, ending the poetic argumentation (*sambo retteng*). Here is the synopsis of the text. Speaker A makes an indirect reference to a problem of some kind (i.e., "thorns"). But he doesn't just use the metaphor, he also quotes the speech of a child, herewith the voice of a child. Speaker B (not a *tominaa* priest, but a village elder) responds with a metaphor about destructive poisonous eels and lizards. Here B denies that A's words are "the words of a child" and insists that instead they are A's own words and that they are destructive. Then A says there is too much conflict among experts (using the metaphor of roosters) and claims that B's so-called knowledge is false. Then speaker C (a senior *tominaa* priest or *indo'tondok*, "mother of the village") steps in and brings metaphors of coolness to counteract the hot *retteng* of A and B. The *retteng* has come to center on the question of what constitutes true knowledge, which, as we will see, is linked to the "voice of a child."

As a denotational text, this four-part *retteng* does not display a transparent meaning. We have a series of metaphors – e.g., thorny bedding, flailing eels, fighting cocks, toothless chickens – whose very meanings let alone their social significance are obscure. To understand what is being said, however, we need to see the topic that emerges in the course of the performance and the fashion in which it emerges in and through the interaction among the three speakers. In what follows I detail actions the performers are engaged in and show the interactional order of poetic argumentation. Since *retteng* performances present a problem of interpretation, I will discuss this matter relating it to contextualization, which is defined as an active process of performers using some linguistic cues (Gumperz 1982) to index features of the settings in order to produce interpretive frameworks. We will see that a key element is the use of reported speech, namely, quoting the voice of a child. It is by paying attention to this double-voicing that we come to see that this *retteng* is talking not (just) about past events but, more importantly, about culturally-shared ideas about authoritative knowledge and community values.

A's poem and speaker B's response

A's poem (lines 1-10 above) is characterized by two events: the narrating event and the narrated event. The narrating event involves the on-going speech event (lines 1-5 and lines 8-10); the narrated event is the reported speech event (lines 6-7). In the narrating event A composes his poem in the normal pattern discussed above of greeting (lines 1-2), disclaimer (lines 3-4), content (lines 5-9), and closing (line 10). The narrated event is contained within the narrating event.

The structure of this poem ties the performance to the speaker's competence as an expert speaker. The performativity of A's poem is also anchored in its context through contextualization both in the narrating and the narrated events. Two such poetic cues indexing the feature of the setting used to produce an interpretive framework are the use of pronouns and the deictic²³ demonstrative. In line 4, the speaker contextualizes the performance by using the deictic suffix first person singular /-na'/, "I" in *bendanna*', "I stand up" and its parallel *ke'de'na'*, "I rise up". He also uses the referential index or duplex sign that has two functional modes, *te*, "this closer to the speaker". Here the "I" is constructed as an active identity.

In the narrated event, the contextualization can be observed by both participants and analysts, in A's description of his interaction with a child. He again uses the deictic suffix /-na'/ or "I," (in line 6), referring to the same person in a different role. He describes a situation when he was sitting, wearing a sarong or covered by a blanket. Contrary to line 4 above, the "I" in line 6 is a passive identity. The important thing here is that in such a construction, this

²³. Deixis or deictic words are words used to point or indicate the context of utterances such as demonstratives, first and second person pronouns, tense and so on.

"I" becomes the theme or subtopic. The two "I"s are different because they contain different voices and strategies for evaluating the truth of the coming story. Such contextualization is also found in line 7 in the cleft construction where he presents an interaction with the child in the narrated event.

A related aspect of contextualization is the use of metapragmatic descriptors, i.e., verbs for "saying." Such verbs are used whenever speakers engage in direct or indirect quotation.²⁴ Like the word "say" in English, the word *kua*, "say" and *untule*, "tell a story again" are neutral. Other words are associated only with death rituals (lines 4-7), such as "to lament" (*umbating*), "to mourn" (*ma'rio-rio*), and "to press down" (*o-ton*), which are nominalized in the next line (line 5) as "my lament" (*batingku*) and "my mourning" (*marioku*), where the suffix */-ku/* is the possessive first person.²⁵ Such a transformation signals the boundary of the "I" in general from the "I" who is doing the current lamenting. By uttering "my lament says," A urges the audience to pay attention to the content and not the speaking "I." This cue, however, is precisely what the next respondent (B) fails to pay attention to.

The verb "to tell a story again" (line 7) can be used as a contextualization cue for how to evaluate the modality of truth of the upcoming child's story. Since A does not mention the name of the addressee, one may wonder what cues are picked up by the next respondent to interpret that he has now become the target. Later when discussing the incident with me, singer B used the terms *nakanna* and *nasa'dingan* in explaining the interpretive process (see also above). The *tominaa Ne' Rimma'* of Balik village, an expert on *retteng*, also uses the same terms to explain the cues. Words are sharp like a spear that hits the target (*nakanna*), and thus the addressee becomes conscious (*nasa'dingan*). The term *nasa'dingan* is derived from the root *sa'ding*, which has several meanings, of which the most relevant are "to feel" and "to be conscious of the self"; there is also the sense of "recovering consciousness" and being "shocked" (Tammu and Veen 1972). This singer A quotes the story of a child using sharp metaphors. In Morris' terms (1971 [1938]), these utterances, expressed in metaphors (lines 8-10), are characterizing signs that contribute some indexical effects on the next respondent.

Once B surfaces as respondent, he faces a choice between commenting on the interaction between singer A and the child or developing an interaction between himself and singer A. It becomes clear that he opts for the latter. B, immediately agrees to A's metaphors (in lines 8-10), using the prefix deictic */ku-/* first person singular, "I" (line 11). The second contextualization cue is

24. These metapragmatic descriptors are sometimes called *verbum discendi*. It describes instances of language use (Silverstein 1976: 11-55; Silverstein 1993). He uses it to characterize his own way of "saying" versus someone else's way of "saying." The use of these metapragmatic verbs to characterize another's speech is an indexical cue and a powerful means of voicing and ventriloquism (Bakhtin 1981 [1935]).

25. For more metapragmatic descriptors associated with death, see Sandarupa (2004: 144-147).

the use of the metapragmatic descriptor “to say as true” (*untongan*) and its parallel, “to make it clear” (*untundu maleso*) (line 11).

Instead of composing a poem that comments on the child’s story, B’s poem characterizes A himself, using the eel and lizard metaphors in lines 12-14. Thus, A’s narrated event – his interaction with the child – is transformed into an interaction between A and B.

A’s song in response to B

A then answers B’s poem (lines 14-15) using metaphors which compare the verbal conflict to roosters fighting, thereby evaluating it indexically in the here and now of the narrating event. He uses as contextualization cues the referential index *te*, “this” to refer to the village in which the performance is taking place. And he uses the metapragmatic descriptor *unnoni*, “to produce sound” (line 16) as a sign of a symbolic fight in which the two speakers are engaged.

In line 17, Singer A contextualizes by defining himself using strategic deictics, saying “I, this very I” (*ia aku te akunna*) and, in the second part of the line, “that myself alone” (*tu kale misa-misangku*). The use of the referential index “this” (*te*) indexes the “I-ness” of the speaker. In the second part of the line, Singer A uses deictic *tu*, which conveys a “closer” relationship to the addressee. In this case, while speaking, he is indexing himself as if he were speaking from the perspective of the addressee. This is a strategic use of deictics in defining the boundary of “I” from two perspectives: one, from the speaker’s perspective, and the other, from the addressee’s perspective. It is a claim of total difference from the addressee. It may index his creativity. He then poses rhetorical questions (in lines 18-20) introducing the agentive subject and using the enclitic *-ra* to mark such questions.

Singer C’s intervention

Up to this point, the *retteng* seems to be leading towards a heated debate, and the performance may move from symbolic conflict into a real fight. Singer C then intercedes and mediates the emerging conflict.²⁶ He begins his *sambo retteng* by using the inclusive “we” (*kita*), which includes everyone present, defining the community with its members as “those who assist in the funeral ritual” (*to tongkon*) and “those who are in the period of mourning” (*to mario-rio* in line 21). He also uses the deictic *te*, “this” to index members of the community.

Singer C assumes a moral stance, as can be observed in the contextualization cues of the metapragmatic descriptors in line 22, such as “make good or say a good lament” (*meloi baiting*) and “make it in a good way” (*dende’ maya-maya*). This means there are no others present; they are one group in contrast

²⁶. The power of this semiotic mediation lies in the performative force of C’s ritual. His *retteng* presupposes the cultural norms of *pemali ullutu tombang panda dibolong*, “it is taboo to create riot in the funeral ritual.”

to the “fighting cocks” of lines 15-16. His argument is that all who are present are none other than family members. This argument is expressed in line 23: “are there other faces?” (*dendika lindona senga?*) and its synonym, “are there other different marks?” (*le'ke'ri pa todinganna?*). These rhetorical questions imply the unity of the performers as a corporate group and as family members.²⁷

Discussion

From the performance above, we have seen that there is an institutionalized order of interaction in which the performers construct their respective identities via poetic speech. The question is how the participant, in this case performer A, introduces the topic that subsequently lends coherence to what is being said? Let us look more closely at how this topic becomes the center of information being debated, which then constitutes the structure of the text.

Singer A introduces the topic in the narrated event in line 6 by describing himself as someone wearing a *sarong* (a wrapped, tube-like cloth). Then he introduces a child, the addressee in the narrated event, by employing the topic marker in the special cleft-construction in line 7. As has been shown above, lines 6-7 are important because they provide us with two important events at two levels of text: the narrated event and the narrating events. Line 6 of the narrated event introduces the relevant participants-singer A (depicted as wrapped in a *sarong*) and the child.

After introducing the interaction between the two, singer A frames what comes next as a cleft construction, “It is only because of a child who passed by” (*denri pia'-pia' lendu'*) and its parallel, “it is only because of a small one” (*baitti' untileranna'*) with two predicates “who passed by” and the metapragmatic descriptor “to tell again” (*untule'*). The most important cleft-construction is *denri pia'-pia' or baitti' untileranna'*, “it is only because of a child who told me a story again” (in line 7).

The child is described using the word *untileran*, where the root is *tule'* and the prefix is the active transitive /*un-*/, whose agentive subject is the child. It therefore means, “to tell a story again or to narrate again,” and the benefactive /-na'/, “me,” indexes the present singer A. So, the clause means, “the child narrates again to me.” The telling of the story extends beyond the moment of telling. A keeps this in mind until he brings it into the present performance, a sign of its importance.

The word *den* (“it is” or “once upon a time”) is the story frame; the enclitic *-ri* means “only because”. In Toraja culture, this expression is a conventional narrative opening. Singer A introduces a child as an agentive subject, who

27. If *lindo*, “face” is the metonym of the whole body, the reference to face marks the individual performer with respect to the body of the corporate group—be it the performers’ troop (*sang pa'badongan*), family group, locally labeled *sang rapu*, “one ramage,” or village group (*sang tondok*).

becomes the focus of information. Compare this with the text sentence, “a child told me a story again” (*pia'-pia' untuleranna'*). In this text sentence, *a child* is the topical referring noun phrase and *told me a story again* is the maximal domain information focus. The order of the relationship that the topic comes first, and the focal information comes second.²⁸

The two have different text segmental relevance. In the cleft text sentence, its proposition is introduced as a focus of information. We have the following message structure: *it* (theme) *was only because of a child* (rheme),²⁹ *who* (theme) *told me a story again* (rheme). But we can also have the following message structure: *it was only because of a child* (theme), *who told me a story again* (rheme). Interpretation of the predicated theme is understood. In the first interpretation, we have implicit meta-talk, where “I am going to tell you about a child” is a focus of information. This story of a child becomes the focus of information.

In this narrated event we detect another aspect of performativity, the process of entextualization, which is characterized by several features. First, the use of the verb “say,” that is, “to tell again” (*untule’*) in line 7 indexes the original context in which the story was told, in a narrative style. This piece of text is now recontextualized in poetic form in the present performance. However, because it is in the new poetic context, its forms are indexically shaped by this new context, namely, it must comprise eight syllables, be expressed in parallelism, and use social metaphor. In other words, the child said something in ordinary speech in the past and in conveying this story, performer A has edited and transformed it by making it fill the formal pattern of eight syllables and parallelism. He has condensed, heightened, and transformed it into short poeticized parallel lines that contain no easily interpreted ordinary words but rather metaphors whose meanings are puzzles. Thus, in the process of recontextualization, the transformation that occurs is from a narrative genre into another genre called *karrume* “riddle.” Indirect discourse is now used by performer A to express his own voice. Such decontextualization from its originary context and recontextualization of it in the present performance transforms the voice of a child into the voice of an elder inviting dialogue (see Sandarupa 2004: 241-242).

Furthermore, the neutral metapragmatic descriptor “tell a story again” (*untule’*) indexes a minimizing intertextual gap between A’s poem and the child’s story. From this perspective, the two voices becomes very close to each other; the voice of a child merges and becomes one with the voice of

28. Abstracting from the text into grammatical form, both of the sentences above have the same grammar. They relate the predicate *untuleran* in exactly the same way to the agentive subject and benefactive suffix */-na’/*.

29. The Prague linguists use the terms *theme* that which the clause is concerned and the *rheme*, the remainder of the message in which the theme is developed.

singer A (see Bakhtin 1981 [1935]). By representing the child's voice in this way, speaker A takes a positive attitude toward the child's words. Through entextualization, he speaks powerfully, adopting – rather than simply reporting at a distance – the voice of a child.

Speaker A can do this in part because of the local understandings of childhood and children. The meaning of "child" is open to different possible interpretations. In Toraja culture, seniority³⁰ is considered especially important for the status and quality of talk. Child-talk (*ulelean pia*) has the qualities of being unserious, untrue, and lacking in attention to etiquette, as it is expressed in the norm *dau' ma'kada pia bang*, "avoid talking like a child." In this interpretation, a story framed as a child's is not to be taken seriously. This interpretation is supported by the shared cultural knowledge that Torajan culture emphasizes seniority.

The second interpretation is precisely the reverse of the first, that child-talk is serious, true, and full of etiquette. This is suggested by the fact that a common disclaimer (see above) protecting the speaker from the danger of misspeaking is *sang tintipa' to mangla tedong*, "I am just like the buffalo boy" and its parallel *sang tandapa' to mangla karambau*, "I am of the same level as the water buffalo boy" or *mane tali-tali bannu'*, "I just wear a headband of bamboo strips" and its parallel, *songko' peladaran*, "a learning hat." Expert speakers also use the disclaimer, *pia'-pia'pa dadingku*, meaning, "I am just a child," and its parallel, *baitti'pa garagangku*, "my shape is still small." Thus when singer A mentions a child, he is using an expression usually used by expert speakers to index themselves. The very fact that *pia'-pia'*, "child," and *baitti'*, "a small one," become the subject of metapragmatic descriptor *untule'*, "to tell again" is the reason we associate this child with this disclaimer. In a broader, cultural sense, children are considered to be impartial and honest (*malambu'*). Thus traditionally, when a meeting organized to solve certain sociopolitical matters comes to a dead end, participants usually agree to ask a buffalo boy to make a decision.³¹

But we must look to the next respondent to see how the topic introduced by speaker A is treated. Singer B's answer gives us a feeling of coherence when he uses the verbs "say," i.e. "to assert it as true" and "to make clear" in line 11 preceding his metaphors in lines 12-14. A closer study shows that B's metaphors comment on A's metaphors in lines 8-10. In other words, singer B takes A's metaphors as a contextualization cue for an interpretive framework.

An analysis of singer A's metaphors in lines 8-10 has shown us that "someone" (*to*) is in a certain condition. These metaphorical characterizations are "using thorns of palm tree as his mat" (*umpennampa' duri banga*) and

30. We could perhaps distinguish chronological, developmental and psychological age, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

31. For more ethnographic material on children and childhood in Toraja culture, see Koubi (2003).

“using thorns as pillow” (*uppennallon duri*) (line 8). The ritual speaker asks us to imagine a person “who sleeps on a mat and pillow of thorns puncturing stick his back and head.” This person we are asked to imagine will never sleep and, thus, will die slowly. The metaphors involve sharp, piercing objects, describing a situation that kills slowly and painfully. After further interviews, I learned that informants understand the metaphors as alluding to a well-known, unresolved murder that haunts the community because the victim’s various mortuary rituals have not yet been done.³² This unresolved murder has become the burden of the local Torajan community. The problems posed by the murder center on how to find the criminal, the proper way of ritually delivering the spirit of the deceased to the “land of spirits” (*Puya*) and the proper way of reestablishing social relations with the killer and his family members, whether it is in the form of revenge or of carrying out “a ritual that will bury all revenge in order to produce a peaceful life” (*ditambuntanai*).

The child’s voice continues (in lines 9-10) through a negative construction *tang ... pa*, “not...yet.” The “mat and the pillow are not yet smooth,” meaning that this criminal problem has ruptured society for a long time but remains unsolved. All agree that the child’s story expresses the idea that conflict resolution is necessary for the (re)construction of a moral society. To recap, A’s metaphors are as follows:

A person who sleeps on thorns of a palm tree as a mat
 A person who sleeps on thorns as a pillow
 His mat is still not yet smooth

Upon closer examination we find that singer B’s metaphors constitute a comment on singer A’s metaphors. B composes poetic lines that attribute some characterizations to the singer A, which can be seen in lines 12-14 that introduce the subject of his next characterizations (lines 13-14) in the object position. These metaphors liken the previous singer, A, to animals namely a big eel, and its parallel a large lizard. This is an inversion of reality: the enormous eel lives in a river and it is edible. But when this animal comes on land searching for meat, it becomes a bad animal. In contrast, the large lizard lives on land and it is not edible. When this animal is on land and divides meat for others then it becomes a good animal. But when it eats farmers’ plants, it is a bad animal, representing a bad person. This destructive person is further characterized by the metaphors (lines 13-14). The enormous eel has such tail strength that it can dive and swim in the river against the current. The large lizard has a sharp dorsal fin that tickles. Ultimately, both cause bad results, and this is expressed through the repetition (line 14). Several further observations show us that while A uses plants as metaphors, B uses animals.

32. These metaphors are characterizing signs that index the analogy with social problem a person has faced without defining the content of it. In order to understand the social problem referred to, I needed further ethnographic research.

And A's metaphors imagine the "thorns" of the plants as agents that stick someone's back and head to death, while B's metaphors use the tails, backs, and heads of animals as agents that stick someone to death. In other words, B reverses A's metaphors which provides a feeling of cotextuality, or the way a text comments on and resonates with an earlier one.

Singer B takes up the metaphors of sharpness, but he ignores the fact that A's poem is framed as a child's quoted story. In so doing he rejects A's claim to have transformed child's speech into ritual speech. Indeed B asserts that the purported re-voicing of a child's voice is not a child's voice but rather a destructive and dangerous voice that is itself causing death. Thus singer A's metaphorical words about thorny sleeping mats and pillows turn into the eel's strong tail, the lizard's sharp dorsal fin, and both their heads – all of which cause death. These characterizations suggest that singer A is an "agitator, provoker" (*to pakadakean*). According to Tato' Dena' these words must have come out of a mouth that produces crooked speech (*tomalute puduk*).

To recap we can compare the two sets of metaphors and see the feeling of coherence that links them:

A

a person who sleeps on thorns
of a palm tree as a mat
a person who sleeps on thorns
as a pillow

B

a big eel is striking us
a big lizard's dorsal fins pierce
the heads cause damage

Singer A responds by posing the subsequent question, another cleft-construction, where the agentive subject is sought in the question (line 18) and the restrictive relative clause in metaphors (lines 19-20). By posing this question, A problematizes B's characterization about him. Without explicit accusation, A criticizes B's poem by implying that such metaphors come from a person who is not knowledgeable. The evidence of his lack of expertise is that he produces a *retteng* that misreads A's.³³ With this, B becomes a person who is unwilling to solve the problem and, therefore, he represents the "bad" type of person in the community, a person who produces crooked speech (*to malute puduk*). He becomes a person who embodies the evils of society (*to pakadakean*).

Such criticism shows that B's attempted challenge has been deflected. Although he has tried to speak as an expert, he comes across instead as rejecting the voice of a child which undermines his authority. Speaker A attacks B's expertise using the expression "person who is as clever as the expert" (*to manarang pande*)³⁴ and its paired line "a person who has extensive knowledge" (*to rangga inawa*) (line 18). In contrast, false knowledge is implied

33. This concern about misreading other people and about knowledge that is false is related to the fact that people say that no one can read another's mind or their intentions.

34. *Pande* is the general term that means "expert" and *manarang* means "clever".

by the phrases “can see the missing teeth of the chicken” (*ungkitta’ simpona manuk*) or “the branches of rooster’s teeth” (*tangke isinna pa’kurung*) and, “the gray hair of egrets” (*ubanna koro’-koro’*) repeated twice (lines 18-19). Here performer A introduces the category of expert speakers in Torajan society. All my informants, such as Tato’ Dena’, Luter Bala, and Pabisa, agree that these speakers have the expertise of knowing all things. Culturally performer B’s speaking and knowledge are challenged on several grounds. First, chickens do not even have teeth, so anyone who claims to see them has no true knowledge, only false knowledge. Second, egrets have only white feathers. Someone who maintains they can see the grayish-white “hair” of egrets possess self-evident knowledge, the knowledge of the obvious, known by all.³⁵ Therefore, such knowledge is not true knowledge (*tang tongan*).

With this it can be certain that what was originally an interaction between a child and A has been transformed into an interaction between A and B. An interaction between a child and a mature person has been transformed into an interaction between knowledgeable and unknowledgeable leaders. The emergent structure is now reversed.

C’s covering *retteng*

C’s metaphors underscore the values of a moral society. He suggests building a solid *retteng* community, in which everyone is on good terms with one another, thus invoking again the voice of a child – that the child’s urgings, to build up a moral community, be enacted. Only via this path will the *retteng* community society become a moral society and, more broadly, only via this path will Toraja become a moral society. Only within such a community can life ensue with blessings and health, as opposed to a thorn-based life. Thus good poetic argumentation becomes the model of a moral society. When *retteng* is performed in a good way, that is the only way to get the flowing of blessing, coolness, protection and wealth into the community (Zerner and Volkman 1988, Waterson 2012).

Performer C’s *retteng* is a metapragmatic evaluation of the *retteng* of the previous two performers. He made this metapragmatic judgement by offering direct advice “to always make the lament good” (*tontong meloi bating*) and its synonym “to mourn in good way” (*tadendei’ maya-maya*) in line 22. These two metapragmatic descriptors *meloi*, “make well” and *dendei’ maya-maya*, “mourn in a good way,” have effects on social relations among participants, inducing and inciting them to be on good terms with each other.

^{35.} Cf. Sandarupa (2004:248-249) observes that grayish-white feathers of egrets do not exist and therefore the argument is the same as with the chickens’ teeth. Either way, the point is to define how true knowledge can be compromised.

There must be a single voice (*misa' kada*) which contrasts with those of "many roosters" (*buda londong*) and "many interchangeable voices" (*sisondasonda unnoni*) in lines 15-16. To achieve a single voice through ritual, *aluk*, and by observing taboo, *pemali*, is the realization of one of the ancestors "exemplary models" (*sangka'*). When things happen along the lines described above, Torajans call this being on the right track or following "the river's course" (*salunna*).

Thus we see that what Silverstein calls "the poetic chunk" or "the emergent structure" (Silverstein 1992, 1993, 1998) in this performance is the voice of a child. As has been shown, it is the child that becomes the current topic or the focus of information, and it is this topic that is debated for the duration of time of the performance expressed through poetic lines. The larger question raised by this poetic dueling is who are the types or categories of persons who are involved. For instance, Pak Lande' characterizes speaker A as a leader-type person. How has such a characterization emerged in the course of this 4-part *retteng*? After A replies to B, he is transformed from the voice of a child to a *to malambu'*, an "honest person," which is the same as *to manarang pande*, "expert speaker," personalized as A and C, as opposed with *to malute puduk*, "fake speaker," as personalized by B. In short, the emergent structure is A:B :: expert speaker : fake speaker. Thus we see that in the poetic interaction, the participants enact certain roles and relationships which are related to ways of talking about categories of persons. Through such interaction, we can identify how their roles vary as the relationships unfold. The emergent structure has "social effectiveness" (Agha 2007). The text indexes the social relations among kinds or types of participants: expert speaker: fake speaker which in turn indexes the interactional positioning of singers in the narrating event. We have moved from child : adult, to good person : bad person, to expert speaker : fake speaker.

Several points can now be considered as evidence of language use and its association with types of speakers. A's disclaimer, his use of complicated deictics of first person and place, the dialectic between entextualization and contextualization, and vivid metaphors index *to manarang pande*, "expert speakers." With this observation we can say that A and C represent the child type associated with expert speakers as opposed to bad speakers who are not willing to problem-solve. My consultants Tato' Dena', Pabis, and Luter Bala elaborated on the meaning of communicative expertise. They explained to me that in Torajan culture, expert speakers are called *to manarang pande*. The word *manarang* means "clever" and *pande* means "extensive knowledge" so literally this expression means "expert who has extensive knowledge." This culture distinguishes two types of expert speakers. The first type has expertise on solving sociopolitical conflicts. The second category is that of ritual expert. The following outlines local classifications of types of expert speakers in Toraja society:

*To manarang pande***Sociopolitical Matters**

anak pare-pare nangka'
gora-gora tongkon

Ritual Matters

tomenani
tominaa
toburake

Two expressions, “hard inedible bits of the jackfruit” (*anak pare-pare nangka’*) and its synonym, the “kind of rush used for braiding mats and handbags” (*anak passasaran tuyu*) (Nooy-Palm 1979: 48-52) refer to expert speakers skilled at conflict resolution and settling of disputes. The “sitting throat” (*gora-gora tongkon*) is an expert speaker in meetings regarding “*adat*-regulations and sacrificial ritual” (Ibid. 52). Nowadays they function at rituals to welcome guests. The “singers” (*tomenani*) are the ritual speakers in the *bua’* ritual that involves the whole community. The “ritual speaker with extensive knowledge” (*tominaa*) has expertise in the death and life rituals (*rambu solo’, rambu tuka’*). Finally, the *toburake*, in the southern part of Toraja, is a ritual priest and ritual speaker who has expertise in life rituals (*rambu tuka’*), for fertility (*lolo*).³⁶

Singers A and C represent both categories of expert speakers with honesty and willingness to solve sociopolitical and ritual conflicts using shared values and local wisdom. On the other hand, B represents a type of speaker known as *to malute puduk*, where *malute* suggests verbal facility, and *puduk* is “lips” so what he says from his mouth is different from what is in his heart. This makes him a “fake speaker”; he is dishonest and unwilling to solve the problem. One might say he merely “pays lip service.” He is only interested in verbal argumentation for its own sake. In short, he is someone who acts as an agitator or provoker.

The preceding analysis offers a way to interpret cultural phenomena. In his interpretive account of the Balinese cockfight, Clifford Geertz (1973) demonstrated the insights to be gained by approaching people’s culture as an “ensemble of texts.” In his approach, he defines text as “saying something of something” (Ibid. 448), thus emphasizing the denotational aspect of text. But such an analysis is at the expense of the interactive and meditational dimensions of texts. Instead, I have used the approach of functional semiotics, which Silverstein has further refined into the relation between denotational and interactional texts, mediated by indexicality (Silverstein 1993, 2001). In addition, Torajan local wisdom holds that it is difficult to read people’s minds suggesting that this semiotic approach to the interpretation of social life is also more consistent with their own views of language.³⁷

The local model of interpretive process uses indexical cues to have effects on emotion and cognition that cause someone to take up the role of respondent. Thus, it is the effect of poetry on the hearer’s side that is important. In this

36. Cf. Sandarupa (2004).

37. Thus, in this article I avoid using the interpretive approaches of intention or implicature, approaches which are exemplified by Grice (1971).

analysis, this model is broadened by combining it with the speaker's side. The speaker constructs the power of poetic speech that involves expertise in composing interactive parallelism, the ability to interpret others' poetry and the capacity to advance poetic argumentation using a combination of appropriate metapragmatic descriptors, the dialectic between entextualization and contextualization, complicated deictics of first person and place, the special use of cleft-construction, and good metaphors. They are all indexical cues that provide us with interpretive frameworks. From the analysis above, it is clear that the force and power of this performance is the merging of the cohesive structure of signs and the definition of the relationship among interlocutors.

As in many cultures, Torajan poetry is an exchange or an interactional event. Torajans enjoy using poetry in rituals to construct their social relations. In such interactional settings, meaning becomes the contested terrain, something co-constructed in the performance. The question of what it says about Toraja culture emerges in the poetic structure (A: B :: expert speaker : fake speaker). It is this poetic structure that constitutes a text mediational indexing the context of performance populated by expert speakers (interactional). It is the semiotic indexicality that gives us empirical evidence of the validation of our interpretations.

From this micro-poetic argumentation above we can observe that functional semiotics also helps us to relate this particular performance to other performances and wider events. Through the tools of indexicals, this particular performance can be tied to beyond the present performance of poetic argumentation, the criminal event and the associated rituals that need be performed and the values of the society at large. The strength of this approach is that it gives us empirical evidence for local processes of interpretation and avoids mystical interpretation of a single event.

Conclusion

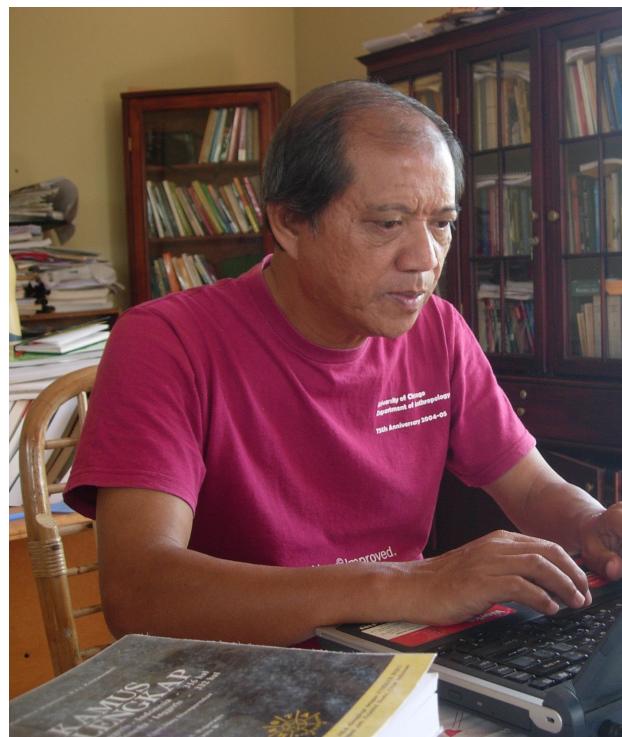
We have seen that the *siretteng* is a form of death ritual poetry containing riddles (*karrume*) and "hidden things" (*kambunni*). This kind of ritual poetry involves the use of interactive parallelisms concerning sociopolitical matters with the ultimate objective of building a moral community. It is in the *retteng* - poetic argumentation that we see displays of highly valued poetic speaking skills. Such expertise shows the richness of this culture in the arena of speaking, as exemplified by A. It is through performances of verbal arts that one constructs the self as "expert speaker" and becomes authoritative. Displaying authoritative speaking through multiple public performances may improve a speaker's social standing. Having examined the text and sociopolitical context of this ritual poetry, we can finally arrive at an understanding of the significance of the voice of a child. The child's voice indicates "the capacity to express one's extensive knowledge via expertise in speaking" (*to manarang pande*). Moreover it also alludes to "honesty" (*malambu*) and the "ability to

connect what is in one's heart with what one says" (*sa'iti*). We also see how the interlocutors are busy indexing the characteristics of a good moral society by defining and redefining the voice of a child. The voice of the child of a good moral society is shown in the performance as a "single voice" (*misa'kada*) where people are on good terms with each other (*kasiuluran*), leading to the immediate solution of the sociopolitical and ritual conflicts. Only through the power of such speech in performance can life and wealth, blessing and health flow to the community. Thus, not only is a moral community constructed through performance, but it also becomes a model for the moral society at large. As we have seen, it is an example of poetic argumentation that heavily relies on the cultural values of unity and brotherhood.

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Stanislaus Sandarupa, Makassar, 2008 (Photo: Dana Rappoport)

Archipel 91, Paris, 2016

L'ARCHIPEL AU PRÉSENT

RÉMY MADINIER¹

Jokowi, un trublion dans la *Reformasi* des oligarques

Aux yeux de la plupart des observateurs – qu'ils soient indonésiens ou étrangers, journalistes ou universitaires – les élections présidentielles de 2014 en Indonésie donnèrent lieu à un affrontement homérique, opposant des candidats représentant deux versions radicalement différentes d'une même critique de l'évolution politique de l'Archipel. Alors que se dessinait, depuis déjà plusieurs années, l'enlisement de la *Reformasi* indonésienne, le scrutin proposa aux électeurs un choix clair entre le retour revendiqué à un populisme autocratique, incarné par Prabowo Subianto (Gerindra) et un nouvel élan démocratique, porté par le candidat du PDI-P, Joko Widodo (Jokowi)². Ce contraste redonna à la scène politique indonésienne vigueur et intérêt en mettant aux prises, dans une opposition presque caricaturale, l'humble entrepreneur issu du petit peuple et l'ancien nervi de l'Ordre nouveau, mué en oligarque ultranationaliste. À l'heure de l'échec des printemps arabes, au moment où la Thaïlande renouait avec ses vieux démons militaristes et où la Malaisie se débattait dans une crise ethnique, religieuse et politique existentielle avec la contestation de plus en plus virulente de la mainmise de l'UMNO³ sur le pouvoir, l'enjeu de cette élection dépassa largement les rivages de l'Archipel.

1. Centre Asie-du Sud-Est, CNRS/EHESS/INaLCO, Paris.

2. Le Gerindra (Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Mouvement de la grande Indonésie) est un parti ultranationaliste né en 2008. Le PDI-P (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan, Parti démocratique indonésien de combat, nationaliste modéré) a été fondé en 1998, première année de la *Reformasi* qui a suivi la chute de Suharto.

3. Au pouvoir depuis l'indépendance de la Malaisie en 1957, l'UMNO (United Malays National Organisation) incarne un communautarisme politique de plus en plus critiqué.

L'ascension politique spectaculaire de Jokowi constitua le fidèle reflet des réussites et des limites de la transition politique indonésienne amorcée en 1998. Parvenue au bout de ses contradictions – une démocratie institutionnellement irréprochable mais largement confisquée par un népotisme empreint de la culture politique du régime Suharto – la *Reformasi* semblait prête, en 2014, à s'abandonner aux vertiges d'un populisme rétrograde. Cependant, la croissance économique, les acquis de la liberté d'expression et surtout l'émergence, dans le cadre de la décentralisation, d'une génération capable de construire un nouveau lien avec le peuple offrirent, à point nommé, une alternative progressiste à cette désillusion. L'irruption de Jokowi sur la scène politique nationale bouscula les rapports de force mais ne les renversa pas totalement. Avant même son entrée en campagne, l'ancien maire de Solo et gouverneur de Jakarta dut apprendre à composer avec les représentants d'une caste dont il ne faisait pas partie. Après sa victoire, prenant acte de sa très étroite marge de manœuvre politique, il opéra une hiérarchisation de ses objectifs qui déçut une majorité de ses partisans.

La geste d'un représentant méritant des *wong cilik* (« petites gens »)

Chacune des étapes de l'irrésistible ascension de Joko Widodo vers la magistrature suprême fut accompagnée de la narration quelque peu théâtrale de la précédente⁴. Parfois déformé – mais jamais véritablement contesté malgré la violence des attaques qu'il eut à subir – le parcours atypique et exemplaire de ce Javanais d'origine modeste a fait, très tôt, l'objet d'une édifiante mise en récit. Né en 1961 dans une famille pauvre de Solo – son père était collecteur de bois – Jokowi connut l'inconfort et l'insécurité qui caractérisent les *wong cilik*, socle de l'imagination politique indonésien⁵. Les épreuves qu'il traversa, mais aussi les solidarités familiales et de voisinage qui lui permirent de les surmonter, esquissent une épopee imprégnée de valeurs morales rassurantes pour un ordre social que jamais il ne contesta. Lorsque sa famille fut expulsée de l'habitat informel qu'elle occupait sur les flancs de la rivière Anyar à Solo et trouva refuge chez un oncle, les parents de Jokowi ne céderont pas au découragement et repritrent leur dur labeur avec fatalisme et abnégation. À force de sacrifices, ils parvinrent à acheter un petit terrain sur lequel ils édifièrent une maison de planches, sans électricité. Refusant l'aide

4. Parmi l'abondante littérature consacrée à Jokowi, l'auteur de ces lignes s'est inspiré plus particulièrement des ouvrages suivants : Watiek Ideo, *Jokowi, Anak Desa Jadi Presiden*, Jakarta, Bhiana Ilmu Populer, Kelompok Gramedia, 2015 ; Sandhy Aditya Budiraharso, *Jokowi: Orang Desa yang Luar Biasa Pemimpin Super Unik dan Inspirasional*, Yogyakarta, Sinar Kejora, 2014 ; Zaenuddin H. M., *Jokowi, Dari Jualan Kursi Hingga Dua Kali Mendapatkan Kursi: Kisah Walikota yang Inspiratif*, Jakarta, Ufuk Press, 2012 ; Alberthiene Endah, *Jokowi: Memimpin Kota Menyentuh Jakarta*, Jakarta, PT Tiga Serangkai Pustaka Mandiri, 2012.

5. Hilmar Farid et Muhammad Fauzi, « Le *wong tjilik* : une histoire politique du petit peuple indonésien », in Rémy Madinier (éd.), *Indonésie contemporaine*, Bangkok, Irasec – Les Indes savantes, 2016, p. 239-250.

que leur proposait leur fils aîné, ils l'encouragèrent à se concentrer sur son travail scolaire. Remarqué et soutenu par ses professeurs, Jokowi parvint à entrer au lycée, puis, la situation financière de sa famille s'étant stabilisée, il réussit à rejoindre l'Université Gadjah Mada de Yogyakarta, où il s'inscrivit dans une filière technique consacrée au bois.

À tout point de vue, la jeunesse de Jokowi apparaît comme exemplaire : travailleur (au point de renoncer aux flirts de l'adolescence), honnête et incorruptible (il refusait de tricher en classe pour aider ses camarades qui n'avaient pas préparé l'examen), il se montrait toujours prévenant et protecteur à l'égard de ses trois petites sœurs et respectueux envers ses parents. Ses biographes nous décrivent une enfance heureuse où même la pauvreté semblait parée de vertus. À sa plus jeune sœur, qui se plaignait de ne pas avoir de jouets, il confectionna une poupée avec des feuilles de manioc – poliment demandées au paysan voisin – lui prouvant ainsi qu'accomplir les choses par soi-même était « plus passionnant » (*lebih asyik*)⁶. Dès son entrée à l'université, le jeune homme exprima son intérêt pour l'engagement collectif et sa préférence pour les actions concrètes : il soumit au doyen un programme de développement villageois, visant à permettre aux collecteurs de bois de mieux valoriser leurs connaissances empiriques de la forêt. L'université soutint le projet et une petite coopérative de fabrique de meubles vit le jour. En 1985, après l'obtention de son diplôme, Jokowi quitta Java en compagnie de sa toute jeune épouse, Iriana, pour aller travailler à Aceh dans une papeterie. Deux années plus tard, il revint s'installer à Solo. Employé d'une fabrique de mobilier, il fonda ensuite sa propre entreprise. Les débuts furent difficiles et le défaut de paiement d'un important client de Jakarta constitua pour le jeune entrepreneur, une nouvelle épreuve formatrice, l'incitant à monter en gamme pour se tourner vers l'export. Cette nouvelle étape lui ouvrit de nouveaux horizons : fréquentant des acheteurs étrangers qu'il questionnait sur leurs pays (c'est d'ailleurs l'un d'eux, un Français, qui lui donna le nom de Jokowi), il se mit à voyager et visita plusieurs villes d'Europe qui devinrent pour lui des modèles de développement urbain⁷. Mais la prospérité de son entreprise ne lui suffisait pas et le futur chef de l'État se disait travaillé par la « culpabilité » (*merasa bersalah*) de ne pas œuvrer plus activement pour la prospérité de ceux qui l'entouraient⁸. Il fonda alors successivement un collectif d'artisans puis la section de Surakarta de l'Association des entrepreneurs de mobilier d'Indonésie (Asosiasi Penghusaha Mebel Indonesia, Asmindo) dont il devint président. Cette organisation lui servit de tremplin politique et, en 2005, il fut élu maire de Solo sous les couleurs du PDI-P.

6. Watiek Ideo, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

7. Alberthiene Endah, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

8. Watiek Ideo, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

La figure emblématique d'une nouvelle génération de politiciens

Adoptée en 2004, mise en œuvre pour la première fois en 2005, l'élection au suffrage universel direct des responsables d'exécutifs locaux (gouverneurs de provinces, *bupatis* et maires) permit l'émergence, en marge des habituelles manœuvres d'appareil, d'une nouvelle génération de politiciens dont Jokowi devint le représentant le plus emblématique. Dès son entrée en fonction, il imposa un nouveau mode de gouvernance, fort éloigné de l'habitus politique indonésien. En terme de style, l'homme se distinguait avant tout par un mélange d'humilité, d'ouverture et de politesse respectueuse envers ses administrés qui le situait aux antipodes du notable républicain indonésien traditionnel. S'habillant simplement, s'exprimant dans un langage accessible et sur un ton sans emphase, parfois hésitant, Jokowi semblait souvent n'être qu'un simple citoyen égaré au milieu des cérémonies qu'il présidait. Incarnant avec une aisance et une authenticité rares, ce petit peuple dont il était originaire, il mit sa capacité à dialoguer au service d'une profonde transformation du centre historique de Solo. À force de visites répétées et de patientes explications délivrées lors de « déjeuners partagés » (cinquante-quatre en sept mois !) il parvint à déplacer, sans heurts, petits brocanteurs de rue et vendeurs ambulants qui encombraient les rues, vers des locaux plus adaptés⁹. Cette rénovation des quartiers historiques ainsi que la création d'un véritable réseau de transports publics, lui permirent de redonner à Surakarta son lustre d'antan et de la promouvoir comme ville culturelle et « capitale du batik » afin de revivifier son tourisme. Soucieux de préserver le commerce traditionnel, il encadra strictement la construction des centres commerciaux, bousculant ainsi de puissants intérêts politico-financiers : son refus d'autoriser un nouveau *mall* à l'emplacement de l'ancienne fabrique de glace Saripetojo, lui valut par exemple l'hostilité du gouverneur de Java-centre qui le traita publiquement de « crétin » (*bodooh*)¹⁰.

Les deux piliers de la politique sociale qu'il mit en œuvre plus tard dans la capitale, puis au niveau national, furent d'abord appliqués à Solo : un programme d'accès aux soins distribua des cartes « gold » (offrant une gratuité totale pour les populations les plus pauvres) et « silver » (prise en charge partielle des dépenses) à tous les habitants ne bénéficiant d'aucune assurance santé¹¹. Selon le même principe, un programme d'aide à l'éducation permit une prise en charge modulée des frais d'éducation. Cette politique de réalisations très concrètes, suppléant aux carences de l'État et au

^{9.} Sur cet épisode, fondateur de la « méthode Jokowi » voir Gautama Amizar, Strategi komunikasi pemerintah kota Solo dalam pemindahan pedagang kaki lima, Thèse de Master, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, 2011.

^{10.} *Detik*, 3 juin 2014.

^{11.} Le programme toucha une grande partie de la population de Solo : plus de 220 000 « Silver cards » et 14 000 « Gold cards » furent distribuées, *Jakarta Post*, 10 octobre 2012.

plus près des besoins des administrés, fut accompagnée d'une pratique qui allait devenir l'un des symboles forts de sa manière d'envisager la politique. Les *blusukan*, visites impromptues destinées soit à rencontrer les communautés locales sans intermédiaires ni programme figé, soit à vérifier la bonne marche des services municipaux, eurent des effets immédiats sur l'identification des besoins des populations ainsi que sur l'absentéisme et l'implication au travail des employés municipaux¹². Fort éloignée du cérémonial habituel de l'exercice du pouvoir, cette pratique figurait également une sorte de revanche symbolique des administrés à l'égard d'une fonction publique, très largement perçue comme inefficace et corrompue¹³.

Les résultats obtenus à Solo valurent à Jokowi une réélection triomphale en 2010 (il rassembla 90 % des suffrages) et surtout une reconnaissance nationale et internationale : il fut distingué en 2012 comme troisième meilleur maire du monde juste derrière ses homologues de Bilbao et de Perth¹⁴. Le PDI-P, dont il ne fréquentait que rarement les cénacles, le convainquit alors de se présenter à Jakarta : Fauzi Bowo, le gouverneur en poste semblait assuré de sa réélection et les candidats n'étaient pas légion. Cette initiative fut soutenue, au sein du parti, par l'ancienne présidente Megawati Soekarnoputri. Elle reçut également l'appui du président du Gerindra, Prabowo Subianto, qui espérait sans doute profiter de la réputation sans tache de ce candidat méritant pour polir son image de « relique de l'Ordre nouveau »¹⁵. Jokowi s'associa pour l'occasion avec un politicien un peu marginal, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), un chrétien originaire de Sumatra et d'ascendance chinoise qui se présenta au poste de vice-gouverneur. Leur campagne, originale, fondée sur une large utilisation des réseaux sociaux, renvoya une image de modernité et de renouveau politique qui souligna, en creux, le caractère très classique, voire désuet, de celle de leurs concurrents.

Après sa victoire, en octobre 2012, Jokowi entreprit de transformer la capitale suivant les méthodes qui avaient fait leurs preuves à Solo. En quelques mois, il mit en place un système d'accès aux soins pour tous, des aides pour l'éducation des enfants des familles démunies et s'attaqua aux deux plaies de l'agglomération de la capitale : les inondations et les

12. *Blusukan* est un substantif javanais tiré du verbe *blusuk* (« entrer – et sortir – pour chercher quelqu'un ou quelque chose, s'informer »). Il désigne plus spécifiquement le fait de se rendre dans des endroits généralement peu fréquentés par les gens de passage comme les rizières boueuses, les villages éloignés... Il a pris, en indonésien, un sens que Jokowi a largement contribué à populariser : celui de tournées d'inspection dans des endroits où les officiels se rendent très rarement (tels que les décharges, les bidonvilles, les services techniques de la ville...).

13. Ce que le candidat au gouvernorat de Jakarta, dont la campagne reposa largement sur cette pratique, sous-entendit, à plusieurs reprises. « Jokowi: Gaya Saya, Gaya "Blusukan" », *Kompas*, 19 novembre 2012

14. *Jakarta Post*, 9 janvier 2013.

15. Marcus Mietzner, « Jokowi: Rise of a Polite Populist », *Inside Indonesia* 116 (April–June 2014).

embouteillages. Ces réformes furent mises en œuvre avec la même volonté et le même pragmatisme qu'à Surakarta, en particulier par une savante mise en scène des désormais célèbres *blusukan*. Journaux et surtout télévisions devinrent vite friands de ces plongées dans le quotidien des Jakartanais en compagnie du maire et lui assurèrent – l'audience étant garantie – une très large couverture médiatique¹⁶. En de nombreuses occasions, celle-ci permit à Jokowi de surmonter les résistances auxquelles se heurtait son action. Mais elle lui assura également une notoriété sans équivalent dans tout l'Archipel : au début de l'année 2013, son nom apparut dans les sondages consacrés aux possibles candidats à l'élection présidentielle et, en décembre, près de 45 % des Indonésiens se déclaraient prêts à voter pour lui. Dans un pays où un destin national semblait inimaginable sans le contrôle direct de médias de premier plan, cette ascension météoritique bousculait les habitus politiques¹⁷. Elle signalait surtout l'épuisement d'une transition démocratique et l'appétence des électeurs pour un renouveau radical.

L'enlisement de la *Reformasi* et la tentation populiste.

Malgré sa réélection triomphale en 2009, le second mandat de Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) montra les limites de la mutation à bas bruit qui caractérisait l'Indonésie depuis 1998. La classe politique indonésienne pouvait certes se féliciter de réussites majeures. Les conflits horizontaux et les tensions régionalistes s'étaient largement épousés sous le double effet de la décentralisation et de la croissance économique. L'Islam politique, divisé et apaisé, était désormais bien intégré dans le jeu parlementaire et marginalisait une mince frange radicale dont les atteintes renouvelées à la liberté religieuse ne pouvaient plus prétendre constituer une alternative crédible à l'État Pancasila. Cependant, l'absence de renouvellement du personnel politique –ou du moins sa reproduction à l'identique – témoignait de l'emprise d'une petite minorité sur un système dont le caractère oligarchique a largement été débattu ces dernières années¹⁸. Les liens étroits entre les grands conglomérats et les partis politiques, le rôle de l'argent dans l'obtention des investitures et ses corollaires en termes de médiocrité du personnel politique et de corruption, semblaient condamner toute nouvelle avancée réformiste, particulièrement en matière économique.

16. Ross Tapsell, « Indonesia's Media Oligarchy and the "Jokowi Phenomenon" », *Indonesia*, n°99 (April 2015), p. 29-50.

17. Une grande partie de l'audiovisuel est ainsi contrôlé par des personnalités politiques de premier plan : Aburizal Bakrie, président du Golkar, possède TVOne et Viva News ; Harry Tanoeoedibjo, dont le groupe MNC réalise 42% des audiences télévisées, a été candidat à la vice-présidence sous la bannière d'Hanura (Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat, Parti de la conscience du peuple) ; Surya Paloh, propriétaire de Metro TV, est le fondateur du Nasdem (Parti national démocrate) et brigua la présidence, *ibid.*

18. Sur ces débats, voir Michele Ford et Tom Pepinsky (eds), *Beyond Oligarchy : Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics*, Ithaca, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2014.

Lors de son second mandat, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono était devenu le symbole de cette calcification confiscatoire et s'était montré incapable de profiter du poids politique que lui avait conféré une victoire sans appel (60% des suffrages dès le premier tour) pour (re)lancer les vigoureuses réformes à même d'assurer la pérennité du pacte social. Le Président s'était assoupi dans une prudence douillette, faite de négociations d'appareils pour maintenir une coalition bien trop large (six des neufs Partis siégeant au Parlement étaient représentés au gouvernement), de discours pompeux et de chansons de crooner vieillissant qu'il aimait infliger à ses invités lors des cérémonies officielles (il enregistra même plusieurs albums durant sa présidence)¹⁹. Le Parti démocrate (Partai Demokrat, PD) qu'il avait fondé en 2001 pour s'émanciper avec succès de l'encombrante tutelle de Megawati avait sombré dans tous les travers d'un népotisme au petit-pied. Ses proches avaient avidement négocié leur proximité avec le palais pour se lancer en politique : les noms de son épouse, Kristiani Herrawati, et de son fils, Edhie Baskoro, étaient régulièrement cités comme candidats à sa succession et lors des législatives de 2014 pas moins de quinze membres de la famille Yudhoyono figuraient sur les listes du parti²⁰. Quant à ses autres héritiers putatifs (Anas Urbaningrum et Andi Mallarangeng), dirigeants du Parti démocrate, ils avaient été impliqués dans des scandales majeurs de corruption et purgeaient de longues peines de prison à la fin de son mandat²¹.

La déception à l'égard de SBY avait été à la hauteur des espérances qu'il avait suscitées à la fin de son premier mandat : sa popularité avait plongé de 75% en novembre 2009 à 30% en mai 2013²². Mais au-delà du Président et du Parti démocrate, c'est l'ensemble de la classe politique qui était désormais discrédiée, du fait de son incapacité à offrir une alternative crédible à cette faillite morale : l'ensemble des Partis – y compris le Parti de la justice prospère (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS), parangon d'une vertu islamiste désormais caduque – était désormais impliqué au plus haut niveau dans des scandales majeurs. L'activisme tous azimuts de la célèbre Commission d'éradication de la corruption (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, KPK) et le courageux travail d'investigation de la presse indépendante semblaient incapables de contenir l'avidité sans borne de la classe politique. Alors qu'en 2004 près de 50% des électeurs déclaraient, dans les enquêtes d'opinion, se sentir proches d'un

19. Marcus Mietzner, « Jokowi: Rise of a Polite Populist », *op. cit.*

20. Marcus Mietzner, « Indonesia's 2014 Elections. How Jokowi Won and Democracy Survived », *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 25, n°4, Octobre 2014, p. 111-125.

21. Anas Urbaningrum et Andi Mallarangeng ont été condamnés respectivement à quatorze et quatre années d'emprisonnement.

22. Kikue Hamayotsu, « Indonesia in 2014. The Year of Electing the “People’s President” », *Asian Survey*, Volume 55, n°1, 2015, p. 174-183.

parti, ils n'étaient plus que 15 % en mars 2014²³. À ce désenchantement quant au fonctionnement du système politique venait s'ajouter une grogne sociale liée aux flagrantes inégalités dans la répartition des fruits de la remarquable croissance que le pays avait connu depuis une dizaine d'années.

Cette désillusion populaire à l'égard d'une *Reformasi* inachevée constitua le terreau fertile de l'émergence d'un populisme rétrograde porté par Prabowo Subianto. Paré des attributs de la figure salvatrice d'un système bloqué, l'ancien gendre de Suharto en constituait pourtant l'archétype. Né en 1951, issu d'un puissant clan politique puisant ses racines dans l'aristocratie javanaise du début du XIX^e siècle, Prabowo était le petit-fils du fondateur de la Banque nationale d'Indonésie et le fils de Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, économiste reconnu, membre du Parti socialiste indonésien (Partai Socialis Indonesia, PSI) et plusieurs fois ministre des Finances dans les années 1950²⁴. Ce dernier avait vu sa carrière politique brutalement interrompue en 1958, lorsque sa participation à la rébellion régionaliste du PRRI (Pemerintahan Revolucioner Republik Indonesia, « Gouvernement révolutionnaire de la république d'Indonésie ») l'avait conduit à l'exil pour échapper à la prison. Élevé à Singapour, Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong et Londres, Prabowo fut encouragé par son père, à leur retour en Indonésie en 1967, à s'engager dans une armée qui, à l'aube de l'Ordre nouveau, paraissait comme la voie la plus prometteuse pour une carrière politique. Son frère, Hashim Djojohadikusumo fut, quant à lui, incité à se lancer dans les affaires pour faire prospérer la fortune familiale. Sous la protection de leur père – qui siégea à nouveau au gouvernement de 1968 à 1978 – les deux frères connurent une ascension d'autant plus rapide qu'en 1983 Prabowo épousa l'une des filles de Suharto, Titiek. Commandant des Forces spéciales (Kopasus) en 1995, puis de la Réserve stratégique (Kosrad) en 1998, Prabowo fut au cœur des ultimes manœuvres du clan présidentiel pour conserver le pouvoir. Le 22 mai 1998, au lendemain de la démission de son beau-père, il tenta d'intimider le nouveau Président Habibie en faisant converger ses troupes vers le palais présidentiel. Ce coup de force qui visait à obtenir pour lui et ses proches la direction de l'armée échoua et Prabowo dut accepter sa mutation à la tête de l'Académie militaire de Bandung²⁵. Reconnu coupable par un « jury d'honneur » de l'enlèvement et du meurtre de plusieurs activistes anti-Suharto en 1997-1998, il dut s'exiler en Jordanie. Hashim trouva, lui, refuge à Londres et les deux frères, pleins d'amertume, se firent les contempteurs zélés de la *Reformasi*. De retour en Indonésie, au début des

23. Marcus Mietzner, *op. cit.*

24. Emma Purdey, « The Myth and Making of a Political Dynasty », *Melbourne University Election Watch Indonesia*, 4 juillet 2014, <http://electionwatch.edu.au/indonesia-2014/myth-and-making-political-dynasty>.

25. Jamais avare de provocations, il affirma quelques années plus tard avoir regretté de ne pas avoir organisé de véritable coup d'État « Prabowo Menyesal Tidak Jadi Kudeta Habibie », *Merdeka*, 2 mars 2014.

années 2000, désormais divorcé de Titiek mais sans doute détenteur d'une partie des fonds détournés par la famille Suharto, Prabowo bâtit un nouvel empire financier dans le secteur des ressources naturelles. Hashim, quant à lui, après avoir obtenu des arbitrages très favorables lors de la restructuration du secteur bancaire indonésien, investit dans une compagnie de pétrole au Kazakhstan : en 2013 sa fortune était estimée à 700 millions de dollars, celle de Prabowo à 150 millions. Rêvant d'un destin présidentiel, ce dernier se tourna naturellement vers le Golkar et tenta de se faire nommer comme candidat pour l'élection de 2004. Mais ses ennemis d'hier, au premier rang desquels le général Wiranto, l'ancien chef d'État-Major responsable de sa disgrâce, firent échouer la manœuvre. Cette nouvelle déconvenueacheva de convaincre Prabowo d'investir une posture populiste en dénonçant la confiscation du pouvoir par une classe politique à la solde de l'étranger. Conscient de la nécessité d'ancrer sa candidature au sein des masses rurales pauvres, il prit la direction de l'Association pour l'harmonie des fermiers indonésiens (*Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia*, un important syndicat agricole). En 2008, il fonda son propre parti, le Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra), mouvement ultranationaliste qui puisait ses références dans l'expansionnisme fascinant du Parti de la Grande Indonésie (Parindra), fondé par le Dr Soetomo dans les années 1930²⁶. Dans un style grandiloquent – mêlant la nostalgie de l'Ordre nouveau aux accents mussoliniens du Soekarno de la Démocratie dirigée – Prabowo recycla le vieil anti-parlementarisme indonésien en reprenant les critiques des deux premiers présidents indonésiens à l'égard d'une démocratie présentée comme inadaptée aux conditions locales. À l'instar de ceux qu'il considérait comme ses illustres prédécesseurs, il souhaitait un retour à la version originale de la Constitution de 1945 et l'abandon de la série d'amendements adoptés entre 1999 et 2002²⁷.

En 2009, les conditions n'étaient pas réunies pour voir cette violente critique de la démocratie mobiliser une majorité d'électeurs et le Gerindra n'obtint que 4,5 % des votes aux législatives ce qui coupa court aux ambitions présidentielles de Prabowo. Il dut alors se résoudre à se présenter comme vice-président de Megawati, dans un curieux attelage qui disait beaucoup de la déshérence idéologique de la scène politique indonésienne et de l'importance des questions financières (Prabowo fut le principal contributeur de la campagne). Face à un Président sortant au sommet de sa popularité, le duo subit une cuisante défaite. Dans les années qui suivirent, l'immobilisme de Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono ouvrit un nouvel espace politique au président du Gerindra, d'autant que les deux autres candidats pressentis – Megawati

26. Aboeprijadi Santoso, « Gerindra and "Greater Indonesia" », *Inside Indonesia* 98, Octobre 2009.

27. La première constitution indonésienne, adoptée au moment de la proclamation de l'indépendance, en août 1945, instituait un régime présidentiel fort. Elle fut remplacée en 1950, dans l'attente d'élections, par une constitution provisoire qui réduisait les pouvoirs du Président. Élue en 1955, l'Assemblée constituante fut dissoute en 1960 (ou 1959) par Soekarno qui remit en vigueur le texte de 1945.

et Aburizal Bakrie – incarnaient les travers d'un système qu'ils semblaient incapables de réformer. Entre 2011 et le début de l'année 2013, l'ancien gendre de Suharto était le grand favori des sondages²⁸.

Une campagne difficile, une victoire plus étriquée que prévue

L'irruption du gouverneur de Jakarta sur la scène politique nationale ne bouscula pas seulement les ambitions de Prabowo. Sa candidature à l'élection présidentielle – si évidente au regard des enquêtes d'opinion – suscita également de fortes résistances au sein de son propre parti, le PDI-P. Megawati, sa présidente avait longtemps caressé l'espoir de se présenter une nouvelle fois mais semblait s'être résignée à un changement de génération. Sa fille, Puan Maharani, était depuis lors convaincue de pouvoir devenir le troisième président de la dynastie Soekarno²⁹. Elle bénéficiait du soutien sans faille de son père, Taufiq Kiemas, président du MPR, très influent au sein du PDI-P. Le décès de ce dernier, en juin 2013, éclaircit quelque peu l'horizon politique de Jokowi mais Megawati, comme souvent, tergiversa sous l'effet d'influences contradictoires³⁰. Jokowi était en effet peu en cour auprès de la plupart des caciques du PDI-P : n'ayant que peu de prises sur celui qu'ils percevaient comme un intrus dans le monde clos de leurs petits arrangements, ces derniers doutaient de l'intérêt qu'ils pourraient tirer de son élection³¹. Plus proches des réalités du terrain, les responsables des sections locales firent cependant part à Megawati, en septembre 2013, du désarroi que susciterait, auprès de leurs électeurs, le choix de tout autre candidat. En février 2014, un comité d'experts nommé par la présidente du PDI-P trancha en faveur de Jokowi. Mais contre toute logique politique, Megawati déclara alors qu'elle ne rendrait sa décision qu'à l'issue des législatives du mois d'avril, avant de revenir – sous la pression de la base du parti – sur sa décision. En mars, à moins de trois semaines des législatives, elle annonça enfin que Jokowi représenterait bien le PDI-P lors de l'élection présidentielle de juillet. Le gouverneur de Jakarta avait fait preuve, durant cette longue période d'atermoiements, d'une patience et d'une humilité toute javanaise. Ignorant les conseils de ses proches qui lui recommandaient de fonder son propre parti, il demeura fidèle au PDI-P et manifesta un respect quasi-familial envers Megawati. Mais cette valse-hésitation eut un coût politique important : son entrée tardive dans une campagne législative – durant laquelle il fut maintenu dans un rôle symbolique – priva le parti de l'essentiel de cet « effet Jokowi » que beaucoup escomptaient. Alors que l'objectif annoncé était de dépasser le score obtenu en 1999 (33 % des voix), le PDI-P ne rassembla

28. Marcus Mietzner, "Reinventing Asian Populism Jokowi's Rise, Democracy, and Political Contestation in Indonesia", *Policy Studies* 72, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaï'i, p. 29.

29. « Mega dan Puan Capres dari PDI-Perjuangan », *Kompas*, 12 décembre 2011.

30. « Puan Maharani Dinilai Belum Pantas Jadi Capres », *Kompas*, 31 octobre 2013.

31. Marcus Mietzner, « Jokowi: Rise of a Polite Populist », *op. cit.*

que 19 % des suffrages ce qui fut, malgré la première place du parti, interprété comme un échec.

La campagne présidentielle s'ouvrit donc dans une atmosphère beaucoup moins favorable que celle que Jokowi pouvait espérer quelques mois plus tôt. Les responsables des Partis concurrents du PDI-P avaient demandé aux chaînes de télévision qu'ils contrôlaient de corriger l'image très positive qu'elles donnaient du candidat et les attaques de Prabowo, le présentant comme la marionnette de Megawati, trouvèrent un certain écho au sein du public³². Le président du Gerindra était parvenu à rassembler autour de sa candidature une très large coalition (PAN, Golkar, PPP, PKS et finalement le Parti démocrate) en profitant des réticences de son principal concurrent à entrer dans l'habituel marchandage de maroquins qui précédait les élections présidentielles. Plus resserrée – le PDI-P, le PKB, Hanura et le Nasdem ne contrôlaient, ensemble, que 40 % des sièges au sein du nouveau Parlement – la coalition soutenant Jokowi n'en était pas pour autant idéologiquement homogène. Mais elle eut au moins le mérite de permettre au gouverneur de Jakarta de bénéficier du soutien sans faille des médias du groupe de Surya Paloh, le président du Nasdem.

Les deux mois de la campagne présidentielle officielle furent harassants pour Jokowi. La confortable avance dans les sondages (près de 40 % !) dont il jouissait en décembre 2013 avait été, on l'a dit, largement entamée durant la préparation des législatives. Elle se réduisit encore drastiquement dans les semaines qui précédèrent le scrutin de juillet, passant de 16 % à moins de 2 % à quelques jours de la présidentielle³³. Le candidat donna l'impression de subir cette campagne à laquelle il était mal préparé : l'appareil du PDI-P ne se mobilisa pas efficacement et les fonds prévus pour soutenir sa candidature demeurèrent bloqués à Jakarta. Les responsables des sections locales qui avaient poussé sa candidature en septembre firent montre de bien moins d'enthousiasme, après les législatives³⁴. Une fois assurée leur rente de situation – rappelons que le Parlement, du fait de l'absence de discipline de vote et du caractère flottant des coalitions, est l'institution la plus corrompue en Indonésie – de nombreux députés ne s'engagèrent que très mollement dans la campagne présidentielle.

32. Et ce d'autant que Megawati, ne manquait jamais de marquer publiquement son ascendant sur le candidat. En mai, elle déclarait ainsi publiquement à Jokowi : « J'ai fait de vous un candidat à la présidence. Mais vous devez vous souvenir que vous êtes un cadre du parti avec pour fonction de mettre en œuvre son programme et son idéologie », *Jakarta Post*, 16 mai 2014.

33. Pour une présentation complète de ces enquêtes d'opinion, voir Marcus Mietzner, *Reinventing Asian Populism*, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

34. Aspinall 2014 « Indonesia's 2014 Elections: Parliament and Patronage », *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 25, n°4, p. 96-110.

Le paysage politique indonésien laissait peu de place au volontarisme pragmatique que prônait Jokowi. Très réticent à l'égard d'un système dont il était l'antithèse, habitué à mettre en avant ses réalisations concrètes à Solo et Jakarta, il ne sembla pas prendre la mesure de l'enjeu politicien du moment. Entouré d'intellectuels n'ayant aucune expérience d'une campagne présidentielle, il apporta des contributions nourries et plutôt convaincantes aux débats télévisés qui précédèrent le scrutin mais se montra incapable de les transformer en slogans accessibles à tous³⁵. À l'inverse, Prabowo bénéficia d'une campagne parfaitement organisée, très bien financée et servie par de redoutables professionnels, à l'image de Rob Allyn, un consultant américain qui avait travaillé pour Georges W. Bush au début des années 2000³⁶. Aux manifestations officielles, qui campaient l'ancien gendre de Suharto en héros grandiloquent d'une splendeur passée de l'Indonésie, s'ajouta une « campagne noire » (*kampanye hitam*) distillant sur les réseaux sociaux d'improbables rumeurs sur son adversaire. Jokowi fut ainsi présenté comme le fils caché d'un millionnaire, Chinois de Singapour, chrétien de surcroît : trois tares infamantes aux yeux de ses ennemis et sans doute d'une bonne partie de la population. Que le géniteur imaginaire du candidat, un certain Oey Hong Liang, n'ait que douze ans de plus que le gouverneur de Jakarta ne gêna nullement la rapide propagation de la rumeur et participa sans doute à l'érosion de sa popularité, en particulier dans les milieux musulmans pieux. Ne souhaitant pas s'abaisser à répondre à ces accusations fantaisistes, Jokowi tarda à réagir³⁷. Mais il fut finalement contraint de publier les photos de ses pèlerinages à La Mecque pour preuve de sa bonne moralité religieuse. D'autres rumeurs présentèrent le père de Jokowi comme un ancien communiste. Les « preuves » avancées à l'appui de cette accusation reposaient sur le fait que ce dernier était originaire d'un ancien bastion du PKI, le village de Giriroto, dans l'arrondissement de Boyolali, qu'il avait quitté pour Solo en changeant de nom³⁸. L'intention des auteurs de cette « campagne noire » était claire : discréder la politique sociale du candidat du PDI-P en le présentant comme porteur d'une tare héréditaire, incompatible avec l'exercice de toute responsabilité politique³⁹.

L'impréparation de Jokowi, sa candeur face au cynisme roublard de Prabowo plaça les deux candidats dans une situation paradoxale : alors que

35. Le résumé en neuf points de son programme (*Nawa Cita*) ne fut publié qu'à peine plus d'un mois avant le scrutin et demeura sans doute quelque peu abscons pour une grande partie des électeurs, *Kompas*, 21 mai 2014.

36. Marcus Mietzner, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

37. « Smear Campaign Impacts Jokowi Approval Rating Survey », *Jakarta Post*, 18 juin 2014.

38. <https://indonesianote.wordpress.com/2014/07/07/misteri-ayah-jokowi-akhirnya-terkuak/> consulté le 21-12-2015.

39. Par la suite, Jokowi fut lui-même présenté comme un cadre d'un PKI pourtant éradiqué cinquante ans plus tôt, <https://indonesianote.wordpress.com/2014/09/16/hasil-investigasi-jokowi-terbukti-kader-pki/>, consulté le 21-12-2015.

le second ne semblait nullement affecté par les rappels d'un passé trouble dont il se vantait ouvertement, les calomnies dont fut l'objet le gouverneur de Jakarta – et peut-être plus encore la tiédeur de ses réactions – érodèrent sa popularité auprès des classes moyennes éduquées qui auraient dû constituer le cœur de son électoralat. À l'inverse, Jokowi conserva le soutien d'une majorité d'Indonésiens modestes, en particulier dans les campagnes. Sans doute par identification au destin de cet homme issu du petit peuple, ces derniers ne céderent que marginalement aux sirènes du populisme viril de Prabowo qui avait pourtant investi largement ces milieux⁴⁰.

Un Président minoritaire, sous la tutelle étroite de son parti

Le 9 juillet 2014, Jokowi et Jusuf Kalla (ancien président du Golkar), son colistier pour la vice-présidence, rassemblèrent 53 % des suffrages contre 47 % à leurs rivaux Prabowo Subianto et Hatta Rajasa (président du Parti du mandat, PAN). Les semaines qui suivirent l'élection apportèrent un cinglant démenti à ceux qui s'affirmaient convaincus de la sincérité de la « conversion » de Prabowo Subianto à une compétition démocratique apaisée. Dès la clôture du scrutin, ses affidés publièrent des sondages fantaisistes « sortis des urnes » plaçant leur champion en tête, puis tentèrent de s'immiscer dans le décompte officiel des voix. Craignant des manipulations dans le processus de collecte des résultats locaux, un réseau citoyen doubla celui de la Commission électorale (KPU) en publiant sur internet tous les procès-verbaux de dépouillements par bureau de vote. Une fois les résultats officiellement proclamés, le 20 juillet, Prabowo refusa de reconnaître sa défaite : il qualifia le scrutin « d'illégitime » et déposa un recours devant la Cour constitutionnelle. Le 21 août 2014, lorsque cette dernière confirma l'élection de Jokowi, ce fut sous la protection d'un imposant dispositif policier : plusieurs centaines de partisans de Prabowo s'étaient rassemblés dans la capitale avec l'intention annoncée, en cas de décision défavorable, de prendre d'assaut le bâtiment où siégeaient les sages⁴¹.

Malgré sa défaite, l'ancien gendre de Suharto demeurait un personnage-clé de la vie politique indonésienne : la coalition (majoritaire) qu'il dirigeait avait imposé ses candidats à la présidence du MPR (le Conseil consultatif du peuple, la Haute assemblée compétente, entre autre en matière d'*impeachment*) et le DPR (la Chambre des députés). L'ensemble des commissions parlementaires étaient également sous son contrôle. En septembre, profitant des derniers mois de la présidence de Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, il tenta de faire passer une nouvelle législation abolissant l'élection au suffrage universel direct des chefs d'exécutifs locaux (gouverneurs de province, responsables de districts

40. C'est ce que révélèrent les enquêtes conduites à la sortie des bureaux de vote. Marcus Mietzner, *Reinventing Asian Populism*, op.cit. p. 44-45.

41. *Tempo*, 21 août 2014.

et maires) qui avait permis l'émergence de son rival. L'abolition de ce système pour les élections locales préfigurait surtout une réforme semblable au niveau national et annonçait le retour à la désignation du Président par le Parlement. La proposition de Prabowo – négation de l'un des acquis majeurs de la *Reformasi* – fut finalement repoussée grâce au sursaut quelque peu tardif du Président SBY qui menaça de rejoindre la coalition soutenant Jokowi⁴².

Officiellement intronisé le 20 octobre 2014, le nouveau chef de l'État annonça, le 26, la formation d'un gouvernement qui révélait l'ampleur des pressions exercées par ses alliés politiques et l'étendue des concessions qu'il avait dû faire. Loin de l'idéal d'une équipe resserrée de professionnels qualifiés et réformateurs, défendu durant la campagne, le cabinet comprenait trente-quatre ministres et laissait une large place aux nominations politiques de personnalités parfois controversées : Megawati imposa sa fille, Puan Maharani, comme ministre de la Culture et du Développement humain ainsi que Ryamizard Ryacudu un ancien général ultra-conservateur au passé trouble, à la Défense ; Jusuf Kalla obtint la nomination de Sofyan Djalil, l'un de ses protégés, comme ministre de l'Économie ; Surya Paloh enfin plaça plusieurs cadres du Nasdem dont Tedjo Edhy Purdijatno, à l'Intérieur et, quelques jours plus tard, Prasetyo comme procureur général. Ces compromis semèrent le trouble parmi les partisans de Jokowi, car ils auguraient mal de sa capacité à conduire les réformes annoncées⁴³. Ils annonçaient en réalité une gouvernance marquée par une appréciation très pragmatique des rapports de force : en butte à l'hostilité ouverte des tenants d'une *Reformasi* étroitement contrôlée par une caste dirigeante, minoritaire au Parlement et surveillé de près par son propre camp politique, Jokowi semble avoir très tôt établi une hiérarchie précise de ses objectifs, n'engageant de lutte frontale que pour ce qu'il considérait être le cœur de son projet et faisant preuve d'une grande prudence sur les autres dossiers, fussent-ils emblématiques de la mobilisation citoyenne l'ayant porté au pouvoir.

Une priorité accordée à une politique économique volontariste

Considérant avoir été élu avant tout pour améliorer le sort de ces *wong cilik* dont il était l'émanation, la priorité de Jokowi a toujours été le développement d'une économie au service du plus grand nombre et il sut, très tôt, se montrer en ce domaine d'une grande fermeté à l'égard de la classe politique. L'économie indonésienne souffrait, au moment de son accession au pouvoir, de deux faiblesses principales. La première était liée à la fragilité de sa remarquable croissance durant les deux mandats de SBY : ayant largement profité du boom des matières premières, l'Indonésie n'avait pas su mettre à profit cet enrichissement pour fonder les bases d'un développement durable.

42. *Kompas*, 15 septembre 2014.

43. Edward Aspinall, « Jokowi Fails his First Test », *New Mandala*, 27 octobre 2014.

L'augmentation moyenne annuelle du PIB, de près de 6 % depuis 10 ans, avait certes permis l'émergence d'une classe moyenne qui avait à son tour tiré la consommation mais, dans le même temps, la part du secteur manufacturier avait régressé de 28 % à 24 % du PIB⁴⁴. Surtout, les gouvernements précédents avaient été incapables d'orienter la dépense publique vers des investissements porteurs d'avenir. Alors que sous l'Ordre nouveau, au milieu des années 1990, les dépenses d'infrastructures représentaient environ 8 % du PIB, ce taux était tombé à 3 % après la crise de 1998, puis s'était stabilisé autour de 4 % soit nettement moins que celui de ses voisins et concurrents (autour de 7 % pour la Chine, la Thaïlande ou le Vietnam)⁴⁵. Ce manque criant de dépenses de long terme affectait également la santé (3 % du PIB indonésien en 2012 contre 5,4 % pour la Chine et 6,3 % pour la Turquie) et l'éducation (3,6 % du PIB indonésien sous SBY contre 5,8 % au Brésil)⁴⁶.

La seconde faiblesse de l'économie indonésienne était son caractère de plus en plus inégalitaire. La confiscation d'une large part de l'enrichissement de la nation par une étroite oligarchie avait limité le développement de la classe moyenne : malgré une baisse officielle du chômage de 10 % à 6 % entre 2004 et 2014, 60 % des Indonésiens demeuraient employés au sein du secteur informel et plus de 40 % de la population restait très proche du seuil de pauvreté établi par la Banque mondiale (2 dollars par jour). Par ailleurs, l'Indonésie était le pays d'Asie dans lequel le nombre de millionnaires avait le plus augmenté au cours de la dernière décennie et le coefficient de Gini – baromètre des inégalités – avait crû de manière spectaculaire, passant de 0,32 à 0,41 sur la même période⁴⁷. Cet enrichissement des oligarques constituait un frein aux investissements étrangers : utilisant leur poids politique pour se prémunir d'une concurrence accrue dans les secteurs qu'ils contrôlaient, ils avaient fait adopter, durant le second mandat de Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, pas moins de cinq lois protectionnistes. En présentant, durant la campagne présidentielle, l'Indonésie comme étant à la solde des intérêts étrangers, c'est avant tout les rentes de la caste des principaux bénéficiaires de la croissance indonésienne qu'entendait préserver Prabowo⁴⁸.

44. Stephen Howes et Robin Davies, « Survey of Recent Developments », *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, Volume 50, n°2, 2014.

45. « The Archipelago Economy: Unleashing Indonesia's Potential », McKinsey Global Institute, 2012.

46. Banque mondiale, 2014, cité par Marcus Mietzner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

47. Stephen Howes et Robin Davies, « Survey of Recent Developments », *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, Volume 50, n°2, 2014. Le coefficient de Gini mesure la distribution des revenus au sein d'une population variant entre 0 (égalité parfaite) et 1 (inégalité totale).

48. Edward Aspinall, « Oligarchic Populism and Economic Nasionalism : Prabowo Subianto's Challenge to Indonesian Democracy », *Indonesia*, Volume 99, April 2015, p. 1-28.

Loin des tergiversations et des compromis que lui reprochèrent, dans d'autres domaines, certains de ses partisans déçus, Jokowi fit preuve sur ces questions économiques d'un volontarisme incontestable. Deux semaines après la formation de son gouvernement, il annonça, sans consulter le Parlement, une mesure devant laquelle ses prédécesseurs avaient toujours reculé : la suppression des subventions aux produits pétroliers (BBM) qui grevaient lourdement le budget indonésien (près de 20 % des dépenses lors de la dernière année de la présidence de SBY). Cette mesure lui permit d'engager des investissements de long terme trop longtemps différés. Il étendit au niveau national l'attribution de cartes d'aides à l'éducation (permettant à 19 millions d'étudiants modestes d'accéder à des études supérieures) et de sécurité sociale qui avaient fait sa popularité à Solo et Jakarta. Le Parlement tenta de s'opposer à ces réalisations, arguant du fait qu'elles devaient recevoir une approbation législative, mais le Président ne tint pas compte de ces réserves et les mit en œuvre par ordonnance. Il lança par ailleurs un important programme d'infrastructures maritimes et terrestres destinées à combler le retard pris par l'Indonésie : treize barrages d'envergure pour l'irrigation, des centaines de kilomètres d'autoroutes et de voies ferrées, vingt-quatre ports en eau profonde, de nouvelles centrales électriques... La mise en œuvre de ce programme se heurta aux lourdeurs habituelles de l'administration indonésienne, en particulier la crainte de nombreux responsables de se voir accusés de mauvaise gestion des deniers publics et de corruption : en octobre 2015 le ministère des Travaux publics n'avait ainsi engagé que 50 % de son budget ce qui amena le Président à limoger plusieurs hauts fonctionnaires⁴⁹. À l'issue de la première année de son mandat, les observateurs s'accordaient à donner à son gouvernement un *satisfecit* global en matière économique : même si son projet d'autoroute maritime semblait encore peu avancé et que seul le quart des nouvelles centrales électriques étaient en cours de construction, les entrepreneurs se montraient sensibles aux mesures fiscales et de simplification administrative destinées à favoriser les investissements⁵⁰.

L'autre domaine dans lequel le pragmatisme de Jokowi se mua en volontarisme affiché fut la politique extérieure. Le Président nouvellement élu avait montré dans un premier temps peu d'appétence pour ce domaine dans lequel son prédécesseur s'était beaucoup investi. Affirmant vouloir se concentrer avant tout sur la vie quotidienne de ces concitoyens, il s'interrogea publiquement, dans les premières semaines de son mandat, sur l'utilité de sa participation aux sommets internationaux⁵¹. Finalement convaincu par ses conseillers de l'importance de contacts directs avec ses homologues étrangers, il marginalisa son ministre des Affaires étrangères Retno Marzudi (imposé par

49. « Langkah Berat Etap Satu », *Koran Tempo*, 26 octobre 2015.

50. Pour un bilan économique complet voir *Tempo*, 27 octobre 2015.

51. *Jakarta Post*, 12 novembre 2015.

Megawati) et adopta un style très direct dans ses échanges avec ses homologues étrangers – en particulier les présidents chinois et américain qui en furent un peu surpris – afin d'obtenir des avantages économiques pour l'Indonésie⁵². Abandonnant la diplomatie très consensuelle de Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (vulgarisée par la maxime « mille amis, aucun ennemi », « 1000 teman, 0 musuh »), il fit preuve d'une fermeté inédite sur certains dossiers comme celui de la pêche : sur ses ordres, plus d'une centaine de navires étrangers (venus principalement de la Thaïlande et du Vietnam) opérant sans autorisation dans les eaux de l'Archipel furent sabordés par la Marine durant la première année de son mandat⁵³.

...au détriment de dossiers politiques plus sensibles

Les militants qui s'étaient mobilisés durant la campagne présidentielle en faveur de Jokowi attendaient de ce dernier une franche rupture avec les conservatismes qui entravaient la poursuite de la *Reformasi*. Plusieurs dossiers avaient, à leurs yeux, valeur de symboles : l'indépendance de la Commission anti-corruption (KPK), la reconnaissance des massacres de 1965-1966, celle des violations des droits de l'homme sous l'Ordre nouveau. Ils attendaient du nouveau Président des paroles fortes, des gestes clairs, ou, en d'autres termes, l'affirmation très nette de la légitimité d'une démocratie pluraliste et ouverte face aux atermoiements d'une classe politique soucieuse avant tout de conserver ses priviléges. Mais Jokowi n'était pas issu du petit milieu des activistes qui avaient fait de lui leur champion, face à la menace réelle que représentait Prabowo. Entrepreneur et humaniste, conscient de la relative faiblesse de son statut politique, le nouveau Président préféra la quête d'une justice sociale de long terme à la défense indignée des valeurs politiques et morales que bafouaient ses adversaires. Il réserva ses colères aux lourdeurs administratives qui entravaient les investissements et, à la grande déception de ses partisans, s'exposa peu sur ces dossiers emblématiques. Vis-à-vis de la communauté internationale qui avait unanimement célébré son élection, la reprise des exécutions des condamnés à mort pour trafic de drogue (suspendue durant le second mandat de SBY) plaça le nouveau Président au cœur d'une tourmente diplomatique à laquelle il n'était pas préparé. Craignant de se voir accusé, comme son prédécesseur, de faiblesse à l'égard des pressions étrangères, Jokowi céda au nationalisme ambiant, soutenu, il est vrai, par une écrasante majorité de ses compatriotes (86 % des Indonésiens approuvent la peine capitale pour les trafiquants de drogue). Les réactions vigoureuses des pays concernés (le Brésil et l'Australie rappelèrent leurs ambassadeurs après l'exécution de plusieurs de leurs ressortissants, la France et la Grande-Bretagne

52. Marcus Mietzner, « Indonesia in 2014: Jokowi and the Repolarization of Post-Suharto Politics », *Southeast Asian Affairs*, Volume 2015, pp. 117-138.

53. *Koran Tempo*, 26 octobre 2015.

exercèrent d'intenses pressions diplomatiques) placèrent l'Indonésie dans une situation très inconfortable à l'heure où elle cherchait à attirer des investisseurs étrangers⁵⁴. Le gouvernement indonésien adopta alors une attitude très pragmatique et suspendit les exécutions de ressortissants étrangers tant que la situation économique du pays ne serait pas consolidée.

Malgré ses appels à la réconciliation nationale durant la campagne, Jokowi ne fit pas progresser l'indispensable travail de mémoire à l'égard des tragiques événements de 1965. Le cinquantième anniversaire du « coup du 30 septembre », à l'origine des massacres, aurait dû pourtant – comme l'espéraient les associations des victimes de la répression – constituer l'occasion d'une reconnaissance officielle des souffrances de ces dernières et de leurs familles. Mais le Président, constatant que le comité formé en mars n'était pas parvenu à un consensus dans la relation des faits et la désignation des responsables, ne prononça aucune excuse officielle et se contenta de présider, comme tous ses prédécesseurs depuis Suharto, une cérémonie tenue à la « fosse aux crocodiles » (Lubang Buaya), au pied du monument érigé à la gloire des officiers assassinés⁵⁵. Devant les très fortes résistances de l'armée et des organisations islamiques, il sembla se désintéresser de la question et n'intervint pas lorsque les membres de son administration (Vice-président, Procureur Général, Ministre de l'Intérieur...) s'en prirent violemment au Tribunal populaire international de la Haye, ou lorsque plusieurs manifestations relevant de cet effort de justice transitionnelle furent interdites par les forces de l'ordre sous de fallacieux prétextes⁵⁶.

La question de la Papouasie a également révélé les difficultés éprouvées par Jokowi pour mettre en œuvre la normalisation promise durant la campagne. Malgré la libération de plusieurs activistes papous et l'ouverture de la région à la presse internationale – une décision encore très mal appliquée –, le Président n'est pour l'heure toujours pas parvenu ni à ralentir la transmigration (dont il avait souhaité l'arrêt) ni à assouplir l'étroit contrôle des forces armées sur la province⁵⁷.

S'agissant des droits sociaux enfin, le monde syndical attendait beaucoup du nouveau chef de l'État mais l'action de ce dernier s'est révélée, là aussi, fort éloignée de ces attentes. La nomination comme ministre du Travail, pour des raisons politiques, de Hanif Dhakiri, secrétaire général du PAN, a déçu : Jokowi avait dans son équipe de campagne d'éminents spécialistes qui,

54. « Indonesia President Jokowi insists Death Penalty “Positive” for Country », *The Straits Times*, 9 mai 2015.

55. Sur ces excuses, un temps envisagées, et les raisons du recul de Jokowi, voir *Tempo*, 25 septembre 2015.

56. Sur les difficultés de cette « justice transitionnelle », voir le dossier consacré à cette question par *Inside Indonesia*, n° 122, octobre-décembre 2015. Sur la déception des activistes, *Kompas*, 11 novembre 2015.

57. « Human Rights under Jokowi », *Inside Indonesia*, n° 123, janvier-mars 2016.

comme Rieke Diah Pitaloka ou Teten Masduki, avaient l'oreille des syndicats. En reprenant en main au niveau de l'État, en octobre 2015, un système de négociation salariale qui avait permis de fortes augmentations dans certaines provinces, le chef de l'État a ensuite clairement repris à son compte l'argument patronal de la compétitivité. Or, souligne le Bureau international du travail, le salaire mensuel moyen indonésien (183 dollars) demeure nettement en deçà de ceux pratiqués dans les pays concurrents (Chine, Thaïlande, Vietnam, Philippines...) et la difficulté de l'Indonésie à attirer les investisseurs tient avant tout aux complexités de sa réglementation et à son administration défaillante et corrompue. En limitant toute possibilité de hausse de salaire, le gouvernement restreint la consommation intérieure et donc les possibilités de relance économique au moment où les prix des matières premières déclinent⁵⁸.

La KPK, lieu d'affrontement et de frustration

La question de la Commission d'éradication de la corruption (KPK) est sans doute celle qui illustre le mieux l'écart entre les attentes de la société civile et la politique très prudente du Président. Cet organisme emblématique de la *Reformasi*, fer de lance d'une lutte intransigeante contre les malversations de l'administration est, depuis plusieurs années, l'objet de violentes attaques émanant des institutions indonésiennes (police, justice et Parlement) les plus souvent impliquées dans des affaires de corruption. Connue sous le nom d'affrontement entre le « lézard et le crocodile », ce conflit dure depuis une dizaine d'années. À plusieurs reprises, il a conduit la police – en représailles à l'arrestation de certains de ses hauts responsables – à impliquer des membres de la Commission dans des affaires montées de toutes pièces, avec la complicité de certains magistrats⁵⁹. Bien qu'ayant été au cœur de la campagne, cette « criminalisation » (*kriminalisasi*, selon le terme consacré par la presse indonésienne) des activités de la Commission s'est poursuivie après l'élection de Jokowi. En mars 2015, la brigade criminelle a ainsi arrêté Bambang Widjodjanto, l'un des vice-présidents de la KPK et inculpé Abraham Samad, son président. Comme le montra la suite de l'enquête, aucune charge crédible ne pesait à l'encontre de ces deux dirigeants, hormis le fait qu'ils avaient eu l'audace de révéler l'implication dans une affaire de corruption, bien réelle celle-là, de Budi Gunawan, alors seul candidat à la direction de la police nationale⁶⁰. Le Parlement ne s'est pas non plus montré en reste dans les offensives

58. Teri L. Caraway et Michele Ford, « United in Disappointment », *Inside Indonesia*, n° 123, janvier-mars 2016.

59. Sur le premier acte de cette bataille homérique au plus haut sommet de l'État – l'arrestation et la condamnation à dix-huit ans de prison de Antasari Azhar, alors président de la KPK, on renverra le lecteur à Rémy Madinier « Indonésie : le lézard et le crocodile », in *L'Asie du Sud-Est 2010*, Benoît de Tréglodé et Arnaud Leveau (éd.), Bangkok, IRASEC- Lignes de repères, 2010, p. 151-177.

60. Le Procureur général a lui-même souligné la vacuité du dossier d'accusation en mettant fin aux poursuites en février 2016. *Kompas*, 25 février 2016.

contre la KPK : après avoir menacé l'institution de paralysie en refusant jusqu'à la dernière minute de se prononcer sur les candidatures qui lui étaient soumises pour son renouvellement, il a entrepris, depuis le mois de septembre 2015 de discuter d'un projet de loi qui amoindrirait considérablement les pouvoirs d'investigation de la commission. Lors de ces affaires, la presse, dans son ensemble très favorable au travail de la KPK, ainsi que les associations de lutte contre la corruption ont, à plusieurs reprises, estimé que Jokowi ne jouait pas son rôle de protecteur de cette institution sans cesse menacée. Bien qu'incarnant une nouvelle manière de faire de la politique, fort éloignée de la prévarication coutumière du milieu, Jokowi semble s'être volontairement placé quelque peu en retrait dans la dénonciation des manœuvres dilatoires de la police et du Parlement, abandonnant à la société civile le registre de la colère et de l'indignation. Le Président n'est pourtant pas resté inactif : s'efforçant de conserver une posture d'arbitre, il a toujours tranché, en dernier recours, en faveur de la KPK : en retirant la candidature de Budi Gunawan après son inculpation puis en limogeant, en septembre, Budi Waseso, le directeur de la brigade criminelle responsable des arrestations de Bambang Widjodjanto et Abraham Samad. Jokowi a également augmenté considérablement le budget de la Commission pour les quatre années à venir et semble désormais décidé à faire obstacle au projet de loi susceptible de consacrer son affaiblissement⁶¹.

Toutes ces décisions, soulignons-le, ont été prises en opposition avec la ligne officielle du PDI-P, contraignant le Président à rechercher des soutiens auprès de l'opposition⁶². Cette situation témoigne de la position inconfortable de Jokowi à l'égard de son propre parti et, au-delà, pointe l'un des dysfonctionnements majeurs de la démocratie indonésienne. La relative faiblesse du Président, les difficultés qu'il rencontre dans la mise en œuvre de son programme et, partant, la déception de ses partisans ne tiennent pas tant aux institutions qu'à leur pratique. Présidentiel, le régime indonésien est relativement équilibré et nécessite, pour une bonne gouvernance, une convergence entre le chef de l'État et la majorité parlementaire. Or le système d'élections proportionnelles oblige à un jeu complexe de coalitions, compliqué par l'absence de lignes de partage idéologique claires entre les différentes organisations politiques. Les Partis indonésiens sont avant tout des machines électoralas pour lesquelles la participation aux élections ne semble avoir d'autre finalité que les avantages économiques immédiats que confère l'exercice du pouvoir. En l'absence de césures programmatiques nettes, la frontière entre pouvoir et opposition demeure largement brouillée : les coalitions gouvernementales ont donc inévitablement vocation à s'étendre à des Partis qui, faute de pouvoir proposer une alternative clairement identifiable en vue des prochains scrutins, souhaitent profiter le plus rapidement possible d'un

61. *Kompas*, 23 février 2016.

62. Ce sont d'ailleurs trois Partis d'opposition (le Gerindra, le PKS et le Partai Demokrat) qui réclament désormais le retrait du projet de loi sur la révision des pouvoirs de la KPK de l'agenda prioritaire du Parlement, *Republika*, 25 février 2016.

rapprochement avec le pouvoir et monnayent sans vergogne leur soutien. À l'inverse, la direction du PDI-P – qui avait une revanche à prendre sur les deux mandats de SBY – entend bien bénéficier des priviléges que devait lui conférer son statut de parti présidentiel et s'est efforcée, depuis octobre 2014, de brider les velléités d'indépendance de Jokowi en cherchant à lui imposer un contrôle étroit.

Une émancipation politique ?

C'est donc face à l'ensemble de la classe politique – y compris les membres de sa propre coalition – que le Président a dû tenter de s'imposer depuis dix-huit mois. Étant parvenu malgré tout, à intégrer quelques figures réformistes dans son gouvernement en octobre 2014 (Anies Baswedan, ancien recteur de l'Université Paramadina, à l'Éducation ; Pratikno, ancien recteur de l'Université Gadjah Mada, au Secrétariat d'État ; Susi Pudjastuti, une femme d'affaire à la forte personnalité, aux Affaires maritimes...), Jokowi s'est efforcé, tout au long de l'année 2015, d'accroître sans heurts l'influence de ses proches et de tenir à distance ses encombrants tuteurs. En février, nous l'avons dit, il s'est opposé à Megawati à propos de la nomination du chef de la police, en renonçant à proposer au Parlement la candidature de Budi Gunawan, mis en examen par la KPK⁶³. Soumis à de fortes pressions de la part du PDI-P qui soutenait Budi Gunawan (ancien aide de camp de Megawati), Jokowi s'était alors tourné vers Prabowo pour s'assurer que ce dernier ne soutiendrait pas une procédure d'*impeachment* autour de cette affaire et signifier ainsi clairement à la présidente du PDI-P que son influence n'était pas sans limites⁶⁴. Le vice-président, Yusuf Kalla, quant à lui, déplora ouvertement le déclin de son autorité, consacré par un décret de février 2015 qui étendait les compétences du chef de cabinet du Président au détriment des siennes et par la nomination à ce poste de Teten Masduki, un ancien activiste anti-corruption à la forte personnalité⁶⁵. En août, Jokowi procéda à un important remaniement de son gouvernement. Sofyan Djalil (un protégé de Kalla) fut rétrogradé au ministère du Plan et céda son poste de Ministre coordinateur de l'Économie à Darmin Nasution, ancien gouverneur de la Banque d'Indonésie. Malgré l'hostilité de Megawati, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, ancien général et l'un des très sûrs alliés du Président, hérita de l'Intérieur, en remplacement de Tedjo Edhy Purdijatno (un proche de Surya Paloh). Prudemment Jokowi laissa cependant en place tous les ministres du PDI-P – y compris Puan Maharani pourtant critiquée pour son maigre bilan – et, à la demande de Megawati, promut Pramono Agung au poste de secrétaire du gouvernement.

À l'égard de l'opposition, les choses ont été paradoxalement plus simples. Le Président a profité du peu d'appétence des formations politiques à se tenir éloignées du pouvoir pour rapidement élargir son assise parlementaire.

63. *Republika*, 3 décembre 2015.

64. Marcus Mietzner, *Reinventing Asian Populism*, op.cit., p. 53.

65. *Tempo*, 7 septembre 2015.

Alors qu'elle était nettement minoritaire lors de l'élection de Jokowi, la Coalition de la formidable Indonésie (Koalisi Indonesia Hebat, KIH) a été rejointe par le Parti de l'unité et du développement (PPP, musulman conservateur) et par le Parti du mandat (PAN, musulman réformiste). Elle bénéficie désormais de la neutralité du Parti démocrate (PD) de l'ancien Président SBY et de la profonde division du Golkar (déchiré entre les partisans d'Aburizal Bakrie et ceux de Agung Laksono), membre de la Coalition rouge et blanche, (Koalisi Merah Putih, KMP, aux couleurs de l'Indonésie) mais dont l'une des factions soutient le gouvernement.

Ce rééquilibrage politique illustre toute l'ambiguïté de la première étape de la présidence Jokowi, contrainte d'élargir son assise parlementaire, au risque de voir sa capacité à conduire le renouveau politique qu'annonçait son élection se diluer dans des manœuvres d'appareil. Le chef de l'État est confronté à un Parlement qui, collectivement, se comporte avec une médiocrité consternante comme l'a illustré, une nouvelle fois, l'affaire Setya Novanto⁶⁶. Mais il doit, aussi et surtout, composer avec la direction de son propre parti, le PDI-P, qui, loin de soutenir son action réformiste semble parfois lui dénier toute légitimité démocratique. Le « dilemme de Jokowi » est donc d'apprécier jusqu'à quel point il peut se compromettre avec un système politique qu'il devra réformer pour mettre en œuvre son programme⁶⁷. Sera-t-il tenté par un appel direct au peuple pour contourner les blocages que lui imposent les élites traditionnelles du monde politique ? Certains de ses partisans, rassemblés dans le réseau informel Projo (Pro-Jokowi) ont évoqué, à plusieurs reprises, la fondation d'un parti présidentiel. Mais, en l'absence de nouvelles élections parlementaires – qu'il ne peut provoquer –, une telle aventure l'exposerait, sans aucun doute, à une procédure d'*impeachment* de la part du PDI-P qui se tient prêt à pousser la candidature de Puan à la vice-présidence, au cas où Yusuf Kalla accéderait à la présidence⁶⁸. Pour l'heure, Jokowi n'a rien laissé transparaître de ce « populisme technocratique » que décrit Marcus Mietzner⁶⁹. Mais, à la fois *administrator* et *solidarity-maker*, il est sans doute le premier dirigeant de l'Archipel à concilier les deux figures traditionnelles de la légitimité politique indonésienne⁷⁰. Sans doute saura-t-il s'en souvenir au terme de son premier mandat.

66. Le président du DPR, impliqué dans une tentative de corruption de la société minière Freeport, a été défendu des semaines durant par une majorité de députés. Il a finalement dû démissionner de cette fonction, en décembre 2015, mais est devenu président du groupe du Golkar à l'Assemblée. Sous sa présidence, le Parlement n'a adopté que trois des quarante projets prioritaires qu'il avait inscrit à son agenda. *Kompas*, 21 janvier 2016.

67. « Le dilemme Jokowi », *Tempo*, 24 octobre 2015.

68. *Merdeka*, 3 février 2015 ; *IndonesianReview.com*, 27 mars 2015.

69. Marcus Mietzner, *Reinventing Asian Populism*, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

70. Selon la célèbre dichotomie établie par Herbert Feith à propos de la première période de démocratie constitutionnelle, entre 1945 et 1957 (*The decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1962, p. 113 et suiv.).

COMPTES RENDUS

Geoffrey BENJAMIN, *Temiar Religion 1964-2012: Enchantment, Disenchantment and Re-enchantment in Malaysia's Uplands*, foreword by James C. Scott, Singapore: NUS Press, 2014, xix+450 pages, index, ISBN 978-9971-69-706-8 (paperback).

I discovered Geoffrey Benjamin's work in the mid-1980s: first, a seminal paper delivered at the 1985 IPPA Conference, and later circulated by the National University of Singapore as a Working Paper titled *Between Isthmus and Islands: Reflections on Malayan Palaeo-Sociology* (1986). At about the same time, I came across his remarkable "In the Long Term: Three Themes in Malayan Cultural Ecology" (1985). Benjamin's way of weaving together various disciplines to make sense of history within a broad regional scope immediately appealed to me, and his later works articulating ethnohistory and archaeology contributed to set me on a track more or less parallel to his (see his studies on Kelantan, 1987 and, more recently, Pahang, 1997).

The volume under review, however, focuses on religion, the religion of the Temiar, an Orang Asli group of the central northern part of the Malay Peninsula. It was constructed upon and around Benjamin's PhD thesis, *Temiar Religion* (Cambridge, 1967), which had remained unpublished, and another important early paper, *Indigenous Religious Systems of the Malay Peninsula* (1974, 1979). The thesis forms the core of the volume (Chapters 3-8, pp. 41-211). Almost fifty years down the road, this thesis had become "truly historical in both content and approach," and the author chose to publish it as it was, "warts and all," and to include a number of extra chapters, some being revised reprints of published articles, such as "Indigenous Religious Systems" (Chapter 11), and others based on lectures or conference papers.

As the volume's main title indicates, Benjamin's aim was to make available the data from fieldwork traversing five decades and to summarize, and at the same time update, a half century of acquaintance with the Temiar people and research on their religion. Despite its heterogeneous construction and overall "slight lack of

tidiness" (p. 384), some degree of redundancy in the chapters, as well as unavoidable, though rather heavy, cross-referencing between chapters, the book is an impressive achievement. It appears to have been meant as the first of a set of two, as another, simply titled *Temiar Society*, is listed as "forthcoming" – yet another volume, also forthcoming, under the title *Between Isthmus and Islands*, is a collection of revised papers focused on the Peninsula's cultural history. Both of these will, of course, be waited for with much interest.

The set of chapters of the original thesis is introduced by a brief discussion of the local physical context of the fieldwork and the general intellectual context of the thesis, including an interesting bout of "how would I write this thesis today." Also preceding the thesis is a twenty-page summary (Chapter 2) on the Temiar and their religion, revisited in the light of later fieldwork and new concepts.

The six chapters are remarkable in themselves: "Preface and Introduction," "The Cosmos," "Species," "Souls," "Spirit-mediumship," and "Theology." While the original text bears witness to the author's very careful and meticulous way of handling the raw data, numerous new footnotes, dated "2014," present updated information or report about shifts in his understanding of the data, as well as on possible new analyses and revised interpretations and conclusions.

The area was rather isolated in the 1960s, and transportation was a serious problem. However, the author took the pains to widely travel around the Temiar territories, and beyond to visit other Orang Asli groups and Malay communities. This allowed him to envision variation – areal, temporal, and individual – as fully constitutive of Temiar religion, and to establish the existence in the Malay Peninsula of three distinctive indigenous religious systems, actually three forms – Temiar, Semang, and Malay (Chapter 11) – of animism ("a label for any religious orientation that sees the world as populated with entities possessing communicable-with subjectivities," pp. 10-11). Most interestingly, Benjamin links these three systems to historical, economic and political patterns.

Benjamin's "long-term" approach of his topic enables him to offer a diachronic view of religious change among Temiar, covering various, if brief, episodes of acquaintance with the Baha'i religion, Islam, and Christianity, and the very recent development of the endogenous 'Aluj Selamad cult (Chapters 13, 14). Here, again, variation is rampant among and within Temiar communities.

Other sections include a correspondence with Edmund Leach touching, among other topics, on the then emergent Lévi-Straussian structuralism (Chapter 9); a study of Temiar mediumship (Chapter 10), and another on Temiar childhood, which appeared in J. Massard & J. Koubi's *Enfants et sociétés d'Asie du Sud-Est* (1994; here, revised as Chapter 12).

Four short appendices "present material that does not fit easily into the main text, but which throws further light on topics discussed there" (p. 14): H.D. Noone's Temiar fieldwork in the 1930s; Temiar dance types and spirit-guide song genres; more on burial practices; and children's accounts of their dreams.

Finally, what of the book's enchanting Weberian subtitle? After becoming disenchanted with rationality and "development," which had failed to lift them above

their low economic condition, (some) Temiar chose to re-enchant their own lives through small-scale revivalist and syncretic religious cults (p. 339).

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Bernard SELLATO

Zhou YUNZHONG, 周运中: *Zhongguo Nanyang gudai jiaotong shi* 中国南洋古代交通史, Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 2015, Series “Haishang sichou zhi lu yanjiu congshu” 海上丝绸之路研究丛书, 4 + 4 + 442 pages, ill., ISBN: 978-7-5615-5415-9 (paperbound)

This ambitious book, in short characters, with a preface by Wang Rigen 王日根, the series editor, can almost be read as a sequel to Zhou Yunzhong’s earlier monograph, *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao* 郑和下西洋新考 (Beijing 2013), reviewed for *Archipel* 89 (2015). While the focus of the earlier work is on Chinese navigation under the Ming dynasty and the so-called Zheng He map, the new monograph investigates the long period from the late Zhou through to the fourteenth century, up to the decades preceding the great Ming expeditions. As in the previous case, the author is mostly interested in the issue of sea routes and the identification of Chinese toponyms found in a multitude of traditional sources. The last point is essential because without an adequate knowledge of geographical names and political entities, just by looking at

thousands of archaeological puzzle pieces, it remains quite difficult to assemble a structured panorama of Southeast Asia's early history and the relations between China and the maritime world during this age. However, old Chinese toponyms raise many questions and in hundreds of cases historians have suggested several choices for the explanation of a particular name. Scholars working with the standard dictionary by Chen Jiarong 陈佳荣 et al., *Gudai Nanhai diming huishi* 古代南海地名汇释 (Beijing 1986), are familiar with these problems. The dilemma with geographical names extends to practically all ancient Chinese records: the compact corpus of pre-Han texts, various sections in the dynastic annals, the "usual" set of ethnographic records, local chronicles, scattered references in poems, anecdotes and other categories, and of course also ancient maps. The difficulties become even worse, if one considers the editorial history of individual works, which is often under debate, and the fact that most sources rely on each other for important information.

Zhou Yunzhong, well aware of these dimensions, has embarked on a fresh reconnaissance tour through the dense jungle of place names and ethnographic data, cutting down not only thorny twigs and branches, but trying to fell huge trees as well. While reading his book, one encounters dozens of passages in which he tells us that x or y would be wrong in his or her conclusions for such and such a reason. Indeed, it may be difficult to find a modern "maritime" book with more "gunfire". One may add, the overall layout of Zhou's study is designed to attract specialists of maritime history, but learned readers with broader interests may also try to use his work. Moreover, in his footnotes, Zhou cites representative Chinese and Japanese secondary sources, besides essential contributions in European languages and a few translations (for example, Chinese versions of the old studies by Ferrand and Pelliot)...

The book starts with a long summary of earlier research. It establishes five categories of Chinese "primary" sources and then lists influential scholars (along with short bio-data) who have substantially contributed to the field of Chinese maritime history. This includes Chinese, Japanese and some "older" European names. That in turn is followed by an outline of the book's agenda. Already in these introductory segments readers will find some critical remarks, for example in regard to the works by G. Coedès, P. Wheatley, and others. It also transpires from these pages that Zhou is not satisfied with a simple summary of the past; rather, he wishes to redraw some parts of Southeast Asia's history, in terms of both spatial categories and time segments, and especially by reconsidering Chinese toponyms and the gradual emergence of international sea routes.

The main body of Zhou's book follows a chronological order and serves to accomplish these aims. For the sake of convenience the results will be outlined first, before we shall then proceed to discuss individual points. Chinese texts of the earliest periods provide very little in regard to the maritime world, but later sources tell us that Funan 扶南 became a major player from the Eastern Han dynasty onwards. Thereafter Linyi 林邑 began to challenge Funan. With the rise of Wu (in the Sanguo period), more Chinese merchants involved themselves in parts of Southeast Asia. Initially, there was overland trade across the Malay peninsula; in the course of time sailing around the peninsula's southern tip became a regular feature. During the Nanbei chao era migrants from northern China reinforced the coastal population of southern China and one also sees the rise of small polities in the Malay world; this constellation,

along with other factors, led to increased exchange, mostly in the form of tribute embassies. Various alterations also concern the position of Funan, Zhenla 真腊 and other continental powers. In the ninth or tenth century, Kalimantan and parts of the Philippines appear on the scene and the so-called eastern route – from Guangdong and Fujian to the world beyond Taiwan – becomes clearly visible. Under the Southern Song, and especially in Mongol times, activities along that corridor expand rapidly. Song vessels also serve on a direct axis between the Vietnam coast and Java, via the Natuna group and northwestern Kalimantan. This goes along with the decline of Srivijaya, which until then exerted control over much of the trade between the Malay world and the Indian Ocean. Taking together these findings, Zhou proposes to define five distinct phases in the history of Sino-Southeast Asian exchange: (1) an early stage, called the “Gulf Period”, in which the sea of Siam was the key zone and Yetiao 叶调 the only major polity on both sides of the Melaka Strait; (2) a “Transit Period”, roughly in line with the Nanbei chao era, marked by the rise of small states in that region, the presence of Zhubu 诸薄 on eastern Sumatra, and a gradual expansion of Chinese trade towards the Malay world; (3) the “Straits period”, with Srivijaya as the principal polity; (4) from the mid-Tang onwards, a “Turning Period”, characterized by the rise of Java; (5) and finally, an “Island Period”, under the Mongols, when new ports and kingdoms along both the eastern and western routes appear on stage.

While this general outline is in part compatible with conventional approaches, there are several points that are not so common, for example the importance of the direct link between Vietnam and Java, which, according to Zhou, was decisive for the decline of Srivijaya. The different models for the internal setting of Srivijaya, easily available through a multitude of scholarly works, do not seem crucial for the discussion. However, one could certainly add some more of the archaeological findings from Natuna to the overall picture; perhaps that would increase the weight to Zhou’s statements. Another issue is the perception of oceans as seen through the eyes of early Chinese authors. Again, there are hundreds of learned works on these questions; basically they agree in stating that one can observe a gradual emergence of two major spatial entities, the Xiyang 西洋 and the Dongyang 东洋 (Western and Eastern Ocean). Both may appear in association with subordinated spaces, while the imagined dividing lines between them vary from one period to the next. Zhou follows these scholarly conventions. But the tripartite arrangement of seas (Nanyang 南洋, Xiyang, Dongyang) suggested for much of the Song period, mainly based on his readings of *Lingwai dai da* 岭外代答 (1178) and *Zhusan zhi* 诸番志 (1225), is not quite as common. That also includes several remarks on the internal arrangement of both these texts (pp. 258, 266-267). By contrast, it seems easier to identify a complex structure underlying the *Daoyi zhilue* 岛夷志略 of the Yuan period, which evokes very early geographical concepts ultimately related to the ideas of Zou Yan 邹衍 (as outlined in *Shi ji* 史记), but Zhou did not get lost in these spheres, and perhaps one ought not bother him with that...

Here we can briefly turn to selected points in the main body of his book. The first chapter, starting with p. 24, is dedicated to very early times. The agenda includes China’s coastal waters and several ethnonyms / toponyms (for example, Nei Yue 内越 / Wai Yue 外越, Baishuilang 白水郎, etc.), old terms for boats and ships, and various conceptual issues. In a number of cases, Zhou takes advantage of his past

research, published in the form of articles, for instance when he explores possible references to Taiwan (see *Guojia hanghai* 国家航海 6 [2014]). In such contexts he frequently draws attention to the *Yuejue shu* 越绝书, besides quoting familiar passages from *Shi ji*, *Zhuangzi* 庄子, and so on. He also considers possible phonetic bridges between the old readings of certain characters and local expressions, and even their Malay equivalents (although we cannot be sure of how non-Han people would then pronounce particular terms). Furthermore, the discussion includes interesting remarks on the Kuroshio and giant whirls (pp. 55 et seq.). Here Zhou briefly jumps to the Manchu period, which provides much material on currents and tides. One may add that Qing chronicles related to Penghu and Taiwan form a treasure box in that regard. Some observations in these sources are indirectly confirmed through modern geographical research on the intrusion of the Kuroshio's waters into the South China Sea. Naturally, one may also look at whirls, currents, fairy islands and other "exotic locations" in distant lands, near the limits of the then known world, from the vantage point of mythology, or literature, because such elements surface in many cultures. An early European study on China, which falls into that category, is Wolfgang Bauer's *China und die Hoffnung auf Glück. Paradiese, Utopien, Idealvorstellungen in der Geistesgeschichte Chinas* (Munich 1974).

Chapter two outlines the role of modern Guangdong in Qin and Han times, the position of Hepu 合浦 in trade to Southeast Asia, and the emergence of the route to India. This entails a discussion of land-based exchange across the Malay peninsula and the location of Huangzhi 黄支. Other parts of that chapter deal with Dunxun 顿逊 (different spellings), Pizong 皮宗 and "related" entities, which are familiar through the works by Paul Wheatley (frequently quoted), Jacq-Hergoualc'h and others. One conclusion is that transisthmic trade contributed to a segmentation of space (similar to the ideas developed by K. N. Chaudhuri) – an assumption which implies that merchants from the Nanyang region rarely moved to the Indian Ocean, while those from the "West" avoided going beyond the Malay peninsula. The final part of chapter two comments on an animal described in the *Shenyi jing* 神异经. Zhou believes the creature in question should be the babirusa (*babirusa*, etc.), now mainly distributed in parts of Sulawesi and some adjacent islands.

Chapter three examines the southbound expansion of Funan, the maritime initiatives of the Wu state, including the Yizhou 夷洲 campaign (Yizhou is identified as Taiwan), the term Kunlun 昆仑 and the ships of Kunlun, the role of Zhu Ying 朱应 and Kang Tai 康泰, the relations between Eastern Jin and Southeast Asia, and a large set of toponyms found in the dynastic annals, fragments collected from *Taiping yulan* 太平御览, the account associated with Fa Xian's 法显 voyage (of the latter there is a huge annotated German translation by Max Deeg), and other works. Regarding these names, Zhou offers several unusual interpretations. One case is Puluo zhong 蒲罗中. The *Shendan jing* 神丹经 says this would be a location full of cannibals; Zhou links the name to Barus, a site familiar to European scholars through the work of Claude Guillot and his colleagues. Another toponym is Mawu zhōu 马五洲. Here, Zhou suggests Bangka Island. As was said in the beginning, for many place names one finds different explanations in earlier research, as for example in the books and articles by Chen Jiarong, Han Zhenhua 韩振华, Su Jiqing 苏继卿, and others.

Chapter four begins with the southern expansion of the Sui state and then turns to the development of maritime trade under the Tang. One highlight is the discussion of

Chinese place names possibly related to the Singapore area. In this context one may also cite a different study with new ideas on the name Singapore: Peter Borschberg's "The Singapore Straits in the Latter Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (c. 13th to 17th Centuries). Facts, Fancy and Historiographical Challenges", *Journal of Asian History* 46.2 (2012). The other parts of chapter four in Zhou's book examine various polities on Java, Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, the shipping route between Java and what is now Myanmar, the role of Arab navigation, and the embassy of Yang Liangyao 杨良瑶, on which Angela Schottenhammer has come out with a small book: *Yang Liangyaos Reise von 785 n.Chr. zum Kalifen von Bagdad. Eine Mission im Zeichen einer frühen sino-arabischen Mächte-Allianz?* (Gossenberg 2014). There is also a long section on Tang ports involved in southbound trade. This is a very useful survey because most historians are only interested in Guangzhou and the Fujianese ports, without thinking of Yangzhou 扬州, Mingzhou 明州, the various anchorages around Hainan, etc.

Chapter five outlines the development of trade under the Song. One part deals with Cengtan 层檀, a site east of Shahr, on the southern shore of the Arabian peninsula, if we follow Zhou's interpretation. Other segments look at the Cholas and various descriptions in *Lingwai dai* and *Zhusan zhi*. Furthermore, Zhou tries to structure the many scattered references to sea routes in both these texts with the aim of drawing an integrated panorama of Song trade across the Indian Ocean and the maritime zones of Southeast Asia. Although the Song chapter is rather compact, it becomes evident, especially through selected citations from *Song huiyao* 宋会要, *Pingzhou ketan* 萍洲可谈 and other sources, that maritime technology and exchange experienced rapid progress during this period.

Chapter six deals with the Mongol era; it summarizes the maritime expeditions ordered by Khublai Khan (mainly to Java) and later diplomatic activities, then briefly comments on Zhou Daguan 周达观 and his work, the role of Hormuz, non-Chinese travellers, diverse ports, especially Quanzhou 泉州, its rise and decline, the merchant communities in that city, as well as other aspects. In the parts on Quanzhou, the author also refers to the Song, often citing Wang Xiangzhi's 王象之 *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 (d. 1221), but he is not so much concerned with secondary sources.

Chapter seven, perhaps the most remarkable part of the book, sketches the emergence of the eastern route. This connects to Taiwan, the Piseye 毗舍耶 problem, and other issues. Zhou believes the Philippines were first in touch with China via the route along northern Kalimantan and Champa. According to some scholars, he adds, Arab merchants planned to open trade from the Philippines via Taiwan to Japan (p. 308), thus trying to avoid China's coastal regions which suffered from unrest during the Tang-Wudai-Song transition. Later, the short direct link across the space between southern Taiwan and Luzon became important, especially from the Song period onwards. Another point of concern is the Pratas group (Dongsha qundao 东沙群岛 in modern texts). Ming and Qing sources call these islands Nan'aoqi 南澳气. But some works, notably the *Haiguo wenjian lu* 海国见闻录, also seem to apply this name to the so-called Taiwan qiantan 台湾浅滩, a shallow area with corals and hidden banks. That in turn is important for our understanding of how geographers perceived the long belt of islands and shoals "in front" of China's southern shore. Here Zhou briefly turns to several old names for the Xisha qundao 西沙群岛 (Paracel Islands) and other

groups; these are familiar topics. He then also draws attention to a route shown on the so-called Selden map (early seventeenth century), which indicates a direct connection between eastern Guangdong and the Philippines, bypassing Nan'aoqi. It is not clear, however, when that corridor first came into use and to what extent it competed with the eastern alley, i.e., with the Fujian-Luzon axis via Penghu and southern Taiwan.

Chapter eight is an effort to integrate two major aspects: the rise of certain sea routes and the segmentation of maritime space into larger zones, mainly as seen through the eyes of Yuan writers. As expected, there is a lengthy discussion of the place names found in Chen Dazhen's 陈大震 *Dade Nanhai zhi* 大德南海志 (1304), a fragmentary chronicle of Guangzhou. One problem with the arrangement of the names in that work concerns the character *guan* 管, which appears in several phrases of the form "country x *guan* ocean y: location a, b, c, etc." Until today it has remained unclear how to read *guan*, whether this verb should imply some kind of political or administrative control over a particular region, whether it indicates commercial predominance, or simply means that x was the leading entity in area y. The next part of that chapter investigates important toponyms in *Daoyi zhilie*. Zhou disagrees with several proposals made by earlier commentators, but I shall only mention one or two examples. He thinks that Malilu 麻里魯 should represent Bolinao on the western shore of Luzon and not the Polillo group on the eastern side of that island; this matters because through such an interpretation one reduces the possibility of trade from the Aparri region down along the Pacific shore. Furthermore, he identifies Xialaiwu 遐來勿 with the Calamian Islands to the northeast of Palawan, and not with the Klabat region on Sulawesi. If correct, we would lose an important landmark near the southern segment of the eastern route, on the way from Sulu through the Celebes Sea to the Moluccan Islands, Banda and eventually Timor. Finally, Zhou also believes that Wang Dayuan 汪大淵, the author of the *Daoyi zhilie*, made no clear distinction between Cape Comorin and Calicut; the name Gulifo 古里佛, he explains, could imply both locations, and not just Calicut as is commonly thought. There are further cases, where Zhou deviates substantially from earlier interpretations, but what matters more, he tries to find out which ports and islands Wang Dayuan had seen himself. The conclusion is that he may not have sailed beyond Cape Comorin and that he only visited the western half of Southeast Asia. Of course, certain assumptions associated with this hypothesis can easily be challenged. Finally, there is a long discussion of the Wakwak problem. Here, the author refers to the famous Ming world map of the late fourteenth century and other cartographic documents. The Chinese toponym in question is Wa'awa 哇阿哇. This involves Madagascar and the adjacent areas, which figure prominently in the huge work by Philippe Beaujard, *Les Mondes de l'Océan Indien...* (Paris 2012). The last parts of chapter eight provide additional details in regard to place names (found on the said map and in the aforementioned sources). There is also a conveniently arranged table, which summarizes the essential results.

It is a pity that a major monograph such as this, full of details and new ideas, some of which do have a good chance of finding general acceptance, does not carry an index. Fortunately the book is clearly structured, finely written and nicely printed; therefore, searching names may not cause too many inconveniences. One should also be grateful for the many modern maps inserted into the text. In sum, this is a broad panorama that combines hundreds of puzzle pieces from a viewpoint dominated by

Chinese material. It is an item that Southeast Asianists should not ignore, even if they may think that some of Zhou's statements are similar to those one can encounter in European and other language works.

Roderich PTAK

Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin & David D. Harnish, eds, *Between Harmony and Discrimination: Negotiating Religious Identities within Majority-Minority Relationships in Bali and Lombok*. Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2014, XV + 385 p., ill., index, ISBN: 9789004271258

Ce gros volume collectif, qui réunit les contributions de 15 spécialistes (dont 5 Indonésiens), est le fruit d'un symposium intitulé *Negotiating Interreligious Relationships in Bali and Lombok*, organisé à l'Université Georg-August de Göttingen en juillet 2011 sous la direction de Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin et Meike Rieger. L'appel à communications invitait les participants pressentis à étudier la manière dont le processus de démocratisation et de décentralisation mis en oeuvre par la *Reformasi* affecte les relations interreligieuses dans chacune de ces îles.

Il n'est pas si courant d'appréhender simultanément Bali et Lombok, une initiative éminemment louable en ce qu'elle permet de mettre en parallèle les relations entre les membres d'une religion majoritaire – hindouisme balinais et islam sasak – et diverses minorités religieuses, qu'il s'agisse des musulmans à Bali ou des Balinais hindous à Lombok, sans parler des chrétiens et des Chinois bouddhistes ou confucéens établis dans l'une et l'autre îles. Le tableau est rendu plus complexe encore par le fait que la majorité des Balinais supposés hindous ne le sont que de nom, tandis que nombre de musulmans sasak sont toujours tenus pour hétérodoxes. Ce qui ne manque pas de provoquer des tensions entre les tenants de mouvements réformateurs à vocation universaliste et les adeptes de traditions locales.

L'introduction du volume, cosignée par Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, professeur d'anthropologie à l'Université de Göttingen, et David Harnish, ethnomusicologue enseignant à l'Université de San Diego, retrace à grands traits la genèse des relations interreligieuses que l'on peut observer aujourd'hui à Bali et à Lombok, lesquelles oscillent entre des situations de fragile harmonie et des cas de discrimination avérée. Alors que les principaux courants religieux – hindouisme et bouddhisme, islam, christianisme – avaient été profondément localisés en s'implantant dans les diverses sociétés de l'Archipel insulindien, ces accommodements de type « syncrétique » ont été altérés à l'époque coloniale, qui a vu s'accentuer les clivages entre groupes ethniques et entre communautés religieuses. D'une part, la politique des autorités coloniales a enclenché des processus de différenciation ethnique en classifiant les communautés coutumières indonésiennes selon leur *adat*. D'autre part, l'appropriation du terme *agama* par l'islam puis par le christianisme, en mettant l'accent sur la foi en une divinité suprême et sur l'impératif de conversion à une doctrine étrangère dont les enseignements sont contenus dans un livre saint, a conduit à dissocier le domaine de la « religion » du pouvoir politique séculier comme des traditions locales, désormais dénoncées comme un ensemble de fausses croyances. Par la suite, l'institutionnalisation de la catégorie normative *agama* par le ministère indonésien des

Religions a primordialisé les identités religieuses et rigidifié les frontières entre les différentes obédiences officiellement agréées.

Cela étant, les relations entre *adat* et *agama* sont différemment agencées d'une île à l'autre, une situation qui résulte des circonstances respectives de l'hindouisation de Bali et de l'islamisation de Lombok. Introduit à Lombok au xv^e siècle, d'abord de Java puis de Makassar, l'islam s'y mêla aux pratiques antérieures, imprégnées de traits hindous et bouddhistes. Les prosélytes javanais semblent avoir été plus tolérants à l'égard des traditions locales que leurs coreligionnaires makassar, et la pénétration différenciée de l'islam a résulté en une tripartition de la population sasak, au sein de laquelle on distingue communément : les Sasak Boda, qui ont conservé l'essentiel de leurs traditions préislamiques ; les Wetu Telu, considérés comme superficiellement islamisés ; et les Waktu Lima, censés observer les cinq obligations de l'islam.

L'annexion de la partie occidentale de Lombok par le royaume de Karangasem au xvii^e siècle y a entraîné une importante présence balinaise, tandis que des Sasak établissaient des *kampung* musulmans à Karangasem. Il semblerait que dans un premier temps les pratiques rituelles des Balinais et des Sasak n'aient pas été perçues comme fondamentalement différentes, les unes et les autres étant conçues comme relevant de l'*adat*, ce dont témoigne leur usage commun de sanctuaires et la participation conjointe aux mêmes rituels. Au cours du xix^e siècle, des aristocrates sasak originaires de l'est de l'île se sont rendus en pèlerinage à La Mecque d'où ils ont rapporté une version plus rigoriste de l'islam, qui devint un marqueur identitaire les différenciant des Balinais hindous. L'appui des Néerlandais à la rébellion des Sasak contre leurs suzerains balinais mettra fin à leur domination en 1894. En appointant des musulmans réformateurs dans l'administration coloniale, les Néerlandais ont favorisé un prosélytisme agressif à l'encontre des Sasak Boda et des Wetu Telu, dont le sort s'est aggravé après l'indépendance et surtout après l'instauration de l'Ordre nouveau, qui a conduit à l'islamisation forcée des minorités religieuses.

À la différence des Sasak, les Balinais n'ont jamais été soumis par une minorité religieuse. Après avoir assuré leur contrôle sur l'ensemble de l'île, en 1908, les Néerlandais ont fait de Bali un « musée vivant » de la civilisation indo-javanaise, le dépositaire de l'héritage hindou balayé de Java par l'irruption de l'islam. À partir des années 1920, la première génération de Balinais éduqués dans les écoles coloniales a engagé un débat sur la « balinité » (*Kebalian*), qui a conduit certains réformateurs à tenter de dissocier ce qui appartient à l'*agama* de ce qui relève de l'*adat*. Cette dissociation est devenue impérative après le rattachement de leur île à la République d'Indonésie, car la religion balinaise n'a pas été reconnue par le ministère des Religions, dans la mesure où ses rites étaient censés relever de l'*adat* et non de l'*agama*. Pour obtenir la reconnaissance de leur religion, les réformateurs balinais ont réinterprété leurs traditions conformément à l'idée qu'ils se font de l'hindouisme, qu'ils ont présenté comme la source de leurs rites. Après des années de lobbying, la religion balinaise fut reconnue en 1958 par le ministère des Religions sous le nom *agama Hindu Bali*. Dans le but de renforcer la position de leur religion vis-à-vis de l'islam et du christianisme, en 1964 les réformateurs balinais ont rejeté le particularisme du nom *agama Hindu Bali* et préconisé le nom *agama Hindu* dans une perspective universaliste.

La décentralisation mise en œuvre par les lois sur l'autonomie régionale de 1999 a libéré les forces centrifuges dans les régions, en y suscitant une réaffirmation des

identités culturelles, ethniques et religieuses, un tournant communautariste qui en vient à subvertir à la fois l'unité nationale et les anciennes solidarités coutumières. On a assisté à un double mouvement : d'un côté, un reflux de l'*agama* sur l'*adat*, et de l'autre, un processus inverse détachant l'*agama* de l'*adat*, avec l'abolition de variantes religieuses locales, condamnées comme hérétiques. C'est ainsi qu'à Bali, le fossé s'est creusé entre les Balinais qui continuent d'adhérer à leurs traditions locales et ceux qui s'efforcent de détacher plus avant l'*agama Hindu* de l'*adat Bali*, en prenant modèle sur un hindouisme supposément universel. Au point qu'en 2007 une faction influente de l'élite religieuse balinaise a décidé d'en revenir à l'*agama Hindu Bali*, refusant ouvertement le processus d'universalisation de leur religion en tentant de la relocaliser. À Lombok, l'islam localisé pratiqué par les Wetu Telu, qui mêle l'*adat* à l'*agama*, est violemment combattu par les réformateurs sasak. De sorte qu'à Bali comme à Lombok, on relève une opposition entre les tenants de traditions locales, qui considèrent à la fois qu'elles se suffisent à elles-mêmes et qu'elles ont droit au titre d'*agama*, et les partisans d'une religion translocale d'origine étrangère à prétention universaliste, qui déniennent aux traditions locales le droit de se prévaloir du titre d'*agama*.

Le volume est divisé en trois parties. La première, intitulée *Sacred sites and the differentiation of belonging*, étudie la manière dont certains sites religieux sont l'objet de contestations plus ou moins conflictuelles de la part de différents groupes : le Pura Sangkareang (Kari Telle) et le Pura Lingsar (David Harnish), deux temples balinais à Lombok traditionnellement partagés par les Balinais et les Sasak, qui sont devenus depuis peu des lieux de confrontation interreligieuse ; le Pura Ulun Danu à Bali (Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin), comportant un autel dédié à une divinité ancestrale chinoise, qui s'est trouvé investi par des Chinois adeptes du Tridharma après la reconnaissance du confucianisme par Abdurrahman Wahid en 2001 ; les tombeaux de saints musulmans à Bali (Wali Pitu), devenus à l'instigation du Nahdlatul Ulama des sites de pèlerinage sur le modèle des Wali Songo à Java (Martin Slama) ; et le village de Bayan à Lombok, où les Wetu Telu sont la cible de la *dakwah* engagée par les prosélytes (*tuan guru*) en vue de purifier leurs pratiques (Erni Budiwanti).

La deuxième partie, *Living together – developing differing identities*, analyse les cas où différentes communautés religieuses ont partagé la vie quotidienne de villages balinais depuis des générations : Sidemen à Karangasem (Lene Pedersen) et Candikuning à Tabanan (Meike Rieger), où cohabitent de moins en moins paisiblement Balinais hindous et musulmans originaires de Lombok ; les tentatives de chrétiens balinais pour faire advenir une « balinité » chrétienne en inscrivant dans le domaine de la culture (*budaya*) des pratiques considérées par les Balinais hindous comme faisant intégralement partie de leur religion (Dustin Wiebe et I Nyoman Dhana) ; la situation de Balinais d'origine chinoise, qui sont diversement intégrés dans l'organisation institutionnelle du village coutumier (*desa pakraman*) en fonction de l'histoire spécifique de leur présence dans le lieu où leurs ancêtres ont élu résidence (Ni Luh Sutjiati Beratha et I Wayan Ardika) ; et le rôle différentiel joué par la référence à l'*adat* et à l'*agama* dans le positionnement respectif de deux factions de Balinais hindous qui s'opposent au sujet d'un projet de développement touristique sur les rives des lacs Buyan et Tamblingan (Sophie Strauss).

La dernière partie, *Everyday practices and the search for commonalities*, s'intéresse à la manière dont des populations relevant de différentes affiliations

religieuses s'efforcent de coexister en mettant l'accent sur ce qui les unit plutôt que sur ce qui les sépare : Mary Ida Bagus montre comment l'intégration d'importantes minorités musulmanes à Jembrana, dans l'ouest de Bali, passe par la nécessité d'une coopération économique avec la majorité hindoue balinaise ; I Nyoman Darma Putra examine le Puja Mandala, un complexe juxtaposant des lieux de culte de chacune des communautés religieuses officiellement reconnues, édifié par le gouvernement indonésien en bordure de la station touristique de Nusa Dua pour promouvoir l'harmonie interreligieuse, et devenu une icône de la tolérance religieuse à Bali alors même qu'il est largement récusé par les Balinais hindous ; enfin, Leo Howe décrit les relations nouées entre Balinais et travailleurs immigrés, musulmans et chrétiens, qui se réunissent régulièrement pour jouer aux échecs à Denpasar, formant ainsi une sorte de club informel en lequel il voit un microcosme de la société indonésienne, avec ses conflits et sa sociabilité.

En dépit d'une certaine hétérogénéité et de quelques redondances entre les différentes contributions, difficile à éviter dans une publication qui résulte des actes d'un colloque, les auteurs nous donnent ici à lire une somme très riche d'expériences et d'analyses, malheureusement déséquilibrée au détriment de Lombok, dont la situation n'est abordée que dans trois chapitres sur les quatorze que compte ce volume.

Michel PICARD

RÉSUMÉS – ABSTRACTS

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The French-Indonesian archaeological project in Kota Cina (North Sumatra): the 2014-2015 excavations

Since 2011, studies have been conducted on the old settlement site of Kota Cina, near Medan, in North Sumatra, in the framework of a French-Indonesian archaeological project. The aims of this article are to introduce the preliminary results of the 2014 and 2015 excavations, to refine comparisons between excavated areas at the site as well as comparisons with other more or less contemporary sites in North Sumatra as regards density of several types of finds, and finally to discuss research prospects based on the progress of the project. Fifty-one excavations covering some 384 m² have been excavated since 2011, including 194 m² in 2014-2015. These last two years of excavation notably yielded some 97,000 earthenware shards, some 32,000 stoneware and porcelain shards, some 89 kilograms of faunal and human remains, and more than 300 coins. This article discusses the density and distribution of religious buildings, midden layers, wood remains, and present intra-site comparisons regarding earthenware, stoneware and porcelain. Based on comparisons with three other old settlement sites in North Sumatra, Kota Cina appears to be the richest site, whether in earthenware, stoneware, porcelain, or in faunal remains.

Le programme archéologique franco-indonésien de Kota Cina (Sumatra-Nord): fouilles 2014-2015

Des recherches sont menées depuis 2011 sur le site d'habitat ancien de Kota Cina, près de Medan, à Sumatra-Nord, dans le cadre d'un programme archéologique franco-indonésien. Cet article a pour objectifs de présenter les résultats préliminaires des fouilles 2014 et 2015, de préciser les comparaisons entre les zones fouillées du site ainsi que les comparaisons avec d'autres sites plus ou moins contemporains fouillés à Sumatra-Nord en ce qui concerne les densités de plusieurs catégories de mobilier archéologique, et enfin de discuter des étapes à venir du programme. Cinquante et un sondages couvrant une superficie de quelque 384 m² ont été fouillés depuis 2011, y compris 194 m² durant les seules années 2014-2015. Ces deux dernières campagnes ont livré notamment quelque 97,000 tessons de poteries, quelque 32,000 tessons de grès et porcelaines, environ 89 kilogrammes de vestiges de faune et de vestiges humains, ainsi que plus de 300 pièces de monnaie. Cet article traite de la densité et de la répartition des bâtiments religieux, des niveaux coquilliers, des vestiges de bois, ainsi que des comparaisons à l'intérieur du site en ce qui concerne les poteries, grès et porcelaines. À partir de comparaisons avec trois autres sites d'habitat ancien du nord de Sumatra, Kota Cina apparaît comme le plus riche, aussi bien en poteries, grès, porcelaines, qu'en vestiges de faune.

Archipel 91, Paris, 2016, p. 293-299

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Étude préliminaire des tessons de céramique de style chinois trouvés à Kota Cina (fouilles franco-indonésiennes de 2011 à 2014)

Cet article présente les résultats de la première mission d'étude consacrée à la céramique chinoise et de l'Asie du Sud-Est provenant du site de Kota Cina. Elle porte sur un corpus de 9218 fragments (soit 2231 NMI) collectés lors des campagnes de fouilles franco-indonésiennes réalisées entre 2011 et 2014. Son objectif principal a été d'identifier un maximum de types existants afin de préparer le travail de typologie. Nous avons privilégié la description par grandes catégories (12) et les comparaisons avec des données provenant de sites de production en Chine. Nous avons tenté également d'y exposer nos méthodes de travail en étant cependant consciente de leurs limites du fait que seule une partie du corpus a pu être étudiée. À ce stade, les tessons datables de la période XII^e-XIII^e siècles prédominent.

Preliminary study of Chinese-style ceramic shards found at Kota Cina (French-Indonesian excavations seasons 2011-2014)

This paper presents the results of the first research mission carried out on Chinese and South-East Asian ceramic shards from the Kota Cina site. The corpus consists of 9,218 fragments (providing 2,231 NMI) found during French-Indonesian excavations conducted between 2011 and 2014. The main goal of this study was to identify as many types as possible in order to prepare the typology. It focuses on a detailed description for each of the main categories (12), and on possible comparisons with data from kiln sites in China. The working methods used are also discussed, being nevertheless aware of their limits due to the fact that only a part of the whole corpus has been examined. At this stage, shards dating to the period twelfth-thirteenth centuries predominate.

Ludvik Kalus, Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, Paris & **Claude Guillot**, CNRS, Paris

Cimetières d'Aceh, Varia I [Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 10]

Dans cette dixième livraison, sont examinées les épitaphes des tombes musulmanes de la ville de Banda Aceh et celles d'Indrapuri.

The cemetery of Aceh, Varia I [Muslim Epigraphy of Aceh. 10]

This tenth article of a series looks at the epitaphs of the Muslim graves of the city of Banda Aceh and those in the vicinity of Indrapuri.

Daniel Perret, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Jakarta, **Ludvik Kalus**, Université de Paris IV Sorbonne, Paris, **Heddy Surachman**, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Jakarta & **Repelita Wahyu Oetomo**, Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, Medan

Deux inscriptions islamiques inédites de Barus, Sumatra-Nord

Barus, sur la côte ouest de Sumatra-Nord, a d'une part livré un ensemble de bagues et de pierres de bagues inscrites sans équivalent dans l'île, d'autre part un nombre de stèles funéraires musulmanes portant des inscriptions anciennes à caractère historique qui place cette région en

troisième position derrière Samudra-Pasai et Banda Aceh pour ce type de source à Sumatra. La présente note livre deux documents inédits qui viennent enrichir ces deux corpus épigraphiques. Le premier est une bague décrite dans un catalogue du musée de la *Société Batavienne des Arts et des Sciences* (1887), précédemment reproduite en facsimilé (1877), mais tombée dans l'oubli depuis. Paléographiquement, cet objet portant une inscription islamique pourrait être daté du xi^e ou du xii^e siècle EC. Le second document est une stèle funéraire musulmane découverte récemment près de Barus. Datée du xv^e siècle EC, elle offre un ancrage chronologique à la fois pour le type de stèle concerné et pour une tombe d'un personnage important dans l'histoire de Barus.

Two previously unpublished Islamic inscriptions from Barus, North Sumatra

Barus, on the west coast of North Sumatra, has yielded on the one hand a unique set of inscribed rings and gems in the island, on the other hand a number of Muslim gravestones bearing ancient inscriptions with historical content bringing this area into third position behind Samudra-Pasai and Banda Aceh for this type of source in Sumatra. This note discusses two previously unpublished documents that enrich both epigraphic corpora. The first is a ring described in a catalogue of the Museum of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences (1887), of which a facsimile was published ten years earlier, but later fell into oblivion. Palaeographically, this object bearing an Islamic inscription could be dated to the eleventh or twelfth century CE. The second document is a Muslim tombstone recently discovered near Barus. Its inscription bears a fifteenth century date which offers a strong chronological indication for both the type of tombstone concerned and for the grave of an important individual in the history of Barus.

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Locked Out: Literature of the Indonesian Exiles Post-1965

Indonesian “exile literature” (*sastra eksil*) refers to the writings of Indonesian authors constrained to live in foreign countries for political reasons following the putsch of September 30, 1965. These exiles, around 500 in number, spent about fifteen years in socialist countries, mainly China, the USSR, Vietnam and Albania, most of them undergoing military and ideological training, and preparing themselves to bring revolution to Soeharto’s New Order, but they ended up moving to Western Europe in the 1980s and settling in capitalist countries like the Netherlands, France and Sweden.

These exiles have produced an important corpus of works (about 130 books), among which are a number of autobiographical texts, which constitute a specific branch of Indonesian autobiography as a literary genre. The exiles write mainly with the aim of recovering their identity; they have been excluded, they want to go back home and be recognized as Indonesian citizens again. Most of them, however, have returned to Indonesia on visits as European nationals, thus remaining forever exiles.

Enfermés dehors: la littérature des exilés indonésiens post-1965

La « littérature d’exil » indonésienne (*sastra eksil*) désigne l’ensemble des écrits d’auteurs indonésiens qui furent contraints de vivre à l’étranger pour des raisons politiques après le putsch du 30 septembre 1965. Ces exilés, au nombre d’environ 500, passèrent une quinzaine d’années dans des pays socialistes, en particulier la Chine, l’URSS, le Vietnam et l’Albanie, suivant pour la plupart une formation militaire et idéologique, et se préparant à porter la révolution contre l’Ordre Nouveau de Soeharto, mais ils partirent finalement pour l’Europe de l’Ouest dans les années 1980 et s’installèrent dans des pays capitalistes comme les Pays-Bas, la France et la Suède.

Ces exilés ont produit un corpus d'ouvrages important, environ 130 livres, parmi lesquels se trouvent un grand nombre de textes autobiographiques, qui constituent une branche particulière de l'autobiographie en tant que genre littéraire. Les exilés écrivent principalement dans le but de recouvrer leur identité ; ils ont été exclus, ils veulent rentrer chez eux et être reconnus à nouveau comme des citoyens indonésiens. La plupart d'entre eux, cependant, sont retournés en Indonésie en visite, comme citoyens européens, demeurant définitivement des exilés.

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Ideology as a Transmitted Disease: The World of Asahan Alham

Asahan Alham is an Indonesian writer who has published, under slightly different names, four books defined as belonging to different genres. Those books can be read in different ways according to the prior knowledge (or total ignorance) that one has of the author's biography and according to the objectives and inclinations of each reader. They are books of adventures and stories of love; they are also documentary sources about various political contexts, in Indonesia, in the USSR, and in Vietnam. This article shows that the four books, beyond considerable formal differences, constitute, above all, the intimate autobiography of a man swept along in the political turmoil of Soekarno's and Soeharto's Indonesia, and that this autobiography is unique with respect to the norms of that genre in Indonesia. Asahan Alham has introduced fiction into all levels of his texts: his biography, the social context and his own feelings and opinions. That autobiography, the most introspective among its kind in Indonesia, records not only the factual and authentic experience of the author, but also the imaginary and fantastic world within him.

L'idéologie comme maladie transmissible : le monde de Asahan Alham

Asahan Alham est un auteur indonésien qui a publié, sous des noms légèrement différents, quatre livres définis comme appartenant à des genres différents. Ces livres peuvent se lire de différentes manières selon la connaissance préalable (ou la totale ignorance) que l'on a de la biographie de l'auteur et selon les buts et les préférences de chaque lecteur. Ce sont des livres d'aventures et des histoires d'amour ; ce sont aussi des sources documentaires sur des contextes politiques divers, en Indonésie, en URSS et au Vietnam. Cet article montre que les quatre livres, au-delà de différences formelles considérables, constituent avant tout l'autobiographie intime d'un homme qui fut balloté dans la tourmente politique de l'Indonésie de Soekarno et de Soeharto, et que cette autobiographie est unique par rapport aux normes du genre en Indonésie. Asahan Alham a introduit de la fiction à tous les niveaux de ses textes : dans sa biographie, dans le contexte social et dans ses propres sentiments et opinions. Cette autobiographie, la plus introspective du genre en Indonésie, rend compte non seulement de l'expérience factuelle et authentique de l'auteur, mais aussi de l'univers de son imagination et de ses fantasmes.

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The Loincloth, Trousers, and Horse-riders in Pre-Islamic Java: Notes on the Old Javanese Term Lañciñan

The Old Javanese term *lañcingan* is analysed in detail. Considered by previous scholars to designate "trousers," it is demonstrated that Old Javanese literary and epigraphical record does not preclude the possibility that in pre-Islamic Java *lañcingan* denoted an elaborate variety of

loincloth, especially the loincloth used in the context of warfare. It is shown that only in the 14th century CE Javanese texts make a distinction between the loincloth (*cavéti*) and trousers (*lañcingan*). Yet another term, *gadag*, denoting exclusively “trousers,” is attested in textual record first in the 14-15th centuries CE. In the second part of the article a hypothesis that the bifurcated lower garment has first been introduced in Java through cultural influences of Islam is questioned. An alternative hypothesis is offered that trousers, related to mounted warfare and increased mobility, were adopted earlier than claimed by previous scholars, already sometime between the 12th-14th centuries CE, as an element of Javanese (battle) dress. The introduction of trousers is seen as part of a complex process of the elaboration of horse-riding techniques and specialized equipment, such as improved saddles.

Pagne, pantalon et cavaliers dans la Java pré-islamique : notes sur le terme javanaise lañciñan

Le mot vieux javanais *lañcingan* est analysé en détail. Considéré jusque là comme désignant le « pantalon », il est démontré que les sources littéraires et épigraphiques en vieux javanais n'excluent pas la possibilité que dans la Java pré-islamique, *lañcingan* faisait référence à une forme élaborée du pagne, en particulier le pagne utilisé dans un contexte guerrier. Il est montré que c'est seulement au XIV^e siècle que les textes javanais distinguent le pagne (*cavéti*) du pantalon (*lañcingan*). En fait, un autre mot, *gadag*, renvoyant exclusivement à « pantalon », est attesté dans les sources écrites des XIV^e-XV^e siècles. Dans la seconde partie de l'article, l'hypothèse selon laquelle le vêtement scindé aux cuisses ait été introduit à Java en relation avec des influences culturelles de l'Islam est mise en question. Une autre hypothèse est offerte, selon laquelle le pantalon, lié à la guerre à cheval et à une mobilité croissante, ait été adopté plus tôt qu'affirmé précédemment, déjà entre les XI^e et XIV^e siècles, comme élément du costume (guerrier) javanais. L'introduction du pantalon est vue comme l'un des aspects du processus complexe d'élaboration des techniques de monte du cheval, telles que les selles améliorées.

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Salafi Dakwah Radio: A Contest for Religious Authority

This article deals with Salafi radio stations in Surakarta, Central Java. It analyses how they have played a role in the Salafi *dakwah* (Islamic proselytization) movement. It focuses on the internal dynamism of the movement. Characterized by the absence of a central authority, the movement has suffered from fracture into groups, as represented by three radio stations, Suara Quran FM, Al-Madinah FM, and Darussalaf FM. They have competed in gaining legitimacy for their position within the Salafi *dakwah* movement. Each group has tried to become representative of the “true Salafi” (*salafi sejati*). Each group has attempted to attract the support of the highest Salafi authorities in the Middle East countries, especially Saudi Arabia and Yemen. This article investigates how Salafi *dakwah* radio stations in Surakarta have become an important medium for such contestation of authority.

Les radios de prosélytisme salafi : une lutte pour l'autorité religieuse

Cet article traite des stations de radios salafies à Surakarta, Java Central. Il analyse le rôle qu'elles ont joué dans le mouvement de prosélytisme salafi. L'accent est mis tout particulièrement sur la dynamique interne du mouvement. Caractérisé par l'absence d'autorité centrale, le mouvement a souffert de dissensions, comme le montrent les trois stations de radio, Suara Quran FM, Al-Madinah FM et Darussalaf FM. Elles ont été en concurrence pour gagner en légitimité sur leur position dans le mouvement prosélytisme salafi. Chaque groupe a cherché à se présenter

comme le représentant du « vrai Salafi » (*salafi sejati*) et s'est efforcé de s'assurer le soutien des plus hautes autorités salafies au Moyen-Orient, tout particulièrement en Arabie Saoudite et au Yémen. Cet article montre comment les stations de radios de prosélytisme salafi de Surakarta sont devenues un support important dans cette lutte pour l'autorité.

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“The Voice of a Child”: Constructing a Moral Community through Retteng Poetic Argumentation in Toraja

The topic of this article is a genre of ritual poetry, *retteng*, or poetic argumentation, performed by the Toraja of Sulawesi (Indonesia) as part of their elaborate funerals. It is interesting to ethnographers and linguistic anthropologists because it is a highly interactive type of verbal contestation. By means of quoted speech and elaborate metaphors, it allows participants to comment on, evaluate, and shape the performance of the ritual as it is unfolding, and thus to (re)affirm the moral values of society. I first describe this genre and the settings in which it occurs, then analyze one particular example from my fieldwork in the southern part of Tana Toraja, and finally discuss some of the broader implications of these findings. The approach I take draws from linguistic anthropology, especially functional semiotics, and treats these data as denotational texts (what is being said), interactional texts (what is happening socially), and mediational texts (how the two are indexically linked). Such an approach enables us to better appreciate how what participants say (i.e., through metaphors and allusions) is best understood by also attending to what they do communicatively and socially (i.e., challenge the authority of a speaker, argue over what is the truth, mediate conflict before it becomes violent). I show how speakers use various strategic cultural linguistic devices (for example, quoted speech, contextualization and entextualization, phonological play and metaphors) to advance their poetic argumentation and indicate the topic under discussion. A thorough analysis of the *retteng* performance shows that the main topic being debated is “the voice of a child,” which is a way of talking about what constitutes verbal expertise and leadership. Ultimately, “the voice of a child” refers to several things: to “honesty” and the “ability to connect what is in someone’s heart with what he says,” “the capacity to express his extensive knowledge with expertise in speaking,” and a good moral society which enables community members to effectively address social problems by means of the performance of ritual speech.

« La voix de l'enfant » : la construction d'une communauté morale à travers le genre retteng, une forme de poésie argumentative toraja

Le sujet de cet article concerne le *retteng*, un genre de poésie rituelle argumentative. Il intéressera les ethnographes et les chercheurs en anthropologie linguistique car il constitue un type d’argumentation verbale hautement dialogique. Par le biais de citations et de métaphores élaborées, il permet aux orateurs de commenter, d’évaluer et de façonner l’exécution du rituel tel qu’il se déroule, et par là-même, de (ré)affirmer les valeurs morales de la société. Après une description du genre et des milieux dans lesquels ce genre poétique est produit, l’analyse porte sur un exemple observé dans la région sud du pays Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonésie) pour finalement révéler les implications plus larges de ces pratiques. L’approche relève de l’anthropologie linguistique et en particulier, de la sémiotique fonctionnelle, ce qui permet de considérer les données comme des « textes dénotationnels » (ce qui est dit), des « textes interactionnels » (ce qui se passe socialement) et des « textes médiationnels » (comment les deux sont reliés de manière indexée). Une telle approche permet de comprendre comment ce

que les orateurs disent (par métaphores et allusions) est mieux compris si on observe ce que cela fait sur le plan de la communication et socialement (défier l'autorité d'un orateur, argumenter sur ce qui est vrai, médiatiser un conflit avant qu'il ne s'envenime). Je montre comment les locuteurs utilisent divers dispositifs linguistiques culturels et stratégiques (par exemple, citation de discours, contextualisation et entextualization, jeu phonologique et métaphores) pour faire évoluer leur argumentation poétique, afin d'indiquer le sujet du débat. Une analyse approfondie de l'exécution du *retteng* montre que le sujet débattu porte sur « la voix de l'enfant », une manière de parler de l'expertise et de l'autorité. En fin de compte, la « voix de l'enfant » fait référence à plusieurs choses : tout d'abord, à « l'honnêteté » et à « la capacité de connecter le sentiment de quelqu'un à ce qu'il dit », « la capacité d'exprimer sa connaissance par l'art de la parole ». Enfin, « la voix de l'enfant » réfère à une société bonne et éthique qui permet à ses membres de parler efficacement de problèmes sociaux par le biais de la parole rituelle.

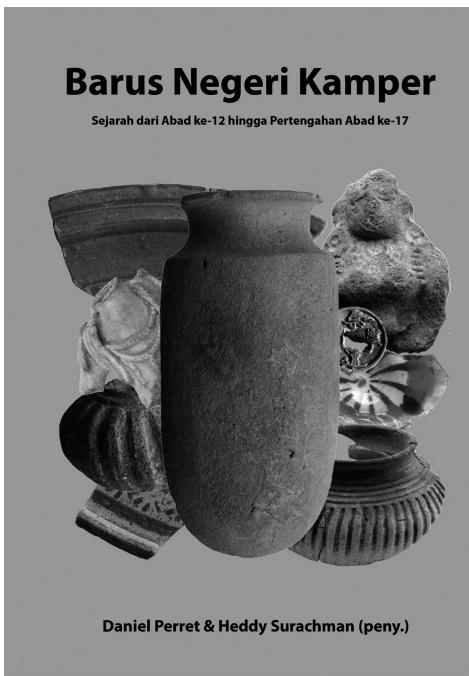
Rémy Madinier, CNRS, Paris

Jokowi, un trublion dans la Reformasi des oligarques

Aux yeux de la plupart des observateurs – qu'ils soient indonésiens ou étrangers, journalistes ou universitaires – les élections présidentielles de 2014 en Indonésie, donnèrent lieu à un affrontement homérique opposant des candidats représentant deux versions radicalement différentes d'une même critique de l'évolution politique de l'Archipel. Parvenue au bout de ses contradictions – une démocratie institutionnellement irréprochable mais largement confisquée par un népotisme tout empreint de la culture politique du régime Suharto – la *Reformasi* semblait prête, en 2014, à s'abandonner aux vertiges du populisme rétrograde qu'incarnait Prabowo Subianto. Cependant, la croissance économique, les acquis de la liberté d'expression et surtout l'émergence, dans le cadre de la décentralisation, d'une génération capable de construire un nouveau lien avec le peuple offrirent, à point nommé, une alternative progressiste à cette désillusion. Joko Widodo dit Jokowi, gouverneur de Jakarta ancien maire de Solo et issu d'un milieu très populaire fut élu, en juillet 2014, septième président de la République d'Indonésie. L'immense espoir soulevé par cette élection a cependant été en partie déçu. Bousculant les habitudes d'une étroite élite politique, Jokowi a du affronter, jusqu'au sein de son propre parti, de puissantes résistances qui l'ont contraint à établir une hiérarchie délicate et contestée dans la mise en œuvre de son programme.

Jokowi, a firebrand in an oligarchic Reformasi

For most observers—both Indonesian and foreigners, journalists and academics—the 2014 Indonesian presidential elections, gave rise to a Homeric battle between two candidates, representing two radically different versions of the same criticism of the political life in the archipelago. Trapped in its contradictions—an institutionally perfect democracy but largely confiscated by a nepotism marked by the political culture of the Suharto regime—the Reformasi seemed poised in 2014 to surrender to a retrograde populism vertigo, embodied by Prabowo Subianto. However, economic growth, freedom of expression and the emergence of a new generation of local politicians offered, timely, a progressive alternative to this disillusionment. Born in a poor family, the charismatic governor of Jakarta, Joko Widodo (Jokowi), became, in July 2014, the seventh President of the Indonesian Republic. The very high expectations raised by his election, however, were partly disappointed. Jostling the habits of the narrow political elite, Jokowi had to face powerful resistances, even within his own party. This forced him to establish a delicate and contested hierarchy in the implementation of his political program.



Daniel PERRET & Heddy SURACHMAN (peny.), *Barus Negeri Kamper: Sejarah dari Abad ke-12 hingga Pertengahan Abad ke 17*, Jakarta, KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia), École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, 2015, 702 hlm + CD, ISBN (Indonesia) 978 979 91 0942 2 ; ISBN (France) : 978 2 85539 186 1.

Sejak dulu popularitas Barus, yang terletak di pantai barat Sumatra Utara, berkaitan dengan perdagangan kamper dari daerah pedalaman serta dengan penyair mistis Hamzah Fansuri. Kedua jilid awal (1998, 2003) seri ini telah memberi tumpuan kepada sejarah Barus di antara abad ke-9 dan abad ke-11. Kali ini, buku ini menyampaikan sumbangan terbaru mengenai sejarah Barus di antara abad ke-12 dan pertengahan abad ke-17.

Publikasi ini memuatkan enam belas studi hasil penelitian yang ditulis berdasarkan data-data arkeologi dan epigrafi, serta berbagai jenis sumber tertulis, baik lokal maupun asing. Duabelas studi hasil penelitian di antaranya berkaitan dengan program penelitian arkeologi yang dijalankan di antara tahun 2001 dan 2005 oleh École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) bersama dengan Pusat Arkeologi Nasional Indonesia.

Buku ini memperkenalkan hasil-hasil utama survei dan penggalian, sebuah esai tentang perkembangan ruang situs permukiman di daerah Barus, serta sebuah katalog temuan yang lengkap. Dia juga memuatkan dua studi yang dijalankan di laboratorium atas sekitar 200 temuan, sebuah esai tentang sejarah seni makam Islam di Barus di antara pertengahan abad ke-14 dan pertengahan abad ke-20 yang dilengkapi dengan kajian epigrafi inskripsi berbahasa Arab yang belum dikenal sebelumnya. Publikasi ini juga memuatkan edisi pertama sebuah teks setempat berkaitan dengan sejarah Barus. Sebuah prasasti Tamil dari abad ke-13, yang berasal dari wilayah Aceh juga dibahas dalam buku ini.

Akhirnya semua data ini dimanfaatkan untuk menulis sebuah sintesis tentang beberapa aspek sejarah Barus, terutamanya identifikasi dan perkembangan permukiman di daerah Barus, struktur umum permukiman utama, berbagai aspek budaya kebendaan dan kehidupan sosial, inti dan perkembangan perdagangan jarak jauh, serta hubungan bukan komersial yang dijalin Barus dengan dunia luar, dari Timur Dekat ke Tiongkok.



Eka KURNIAWAN, *L'Homme-Tigre*,
(trad. de l'indonésien par Etienne
Naveau), Paris: Sabine Wespieser ed.,
2015, 256 p.,
ISBN : 978 284 808 192 5.

Quand, à la fin du premier chapitre de ce roman impeccablement construit, les autorités demandent à Margio, de toute évidence coupable du meurtre d'Anwar Sadat, pourquoi il a sauvagement assassiné ce notable,

il répond : « Ce n'est pas moi, il y a un tigre dans mon corps. »

Ce tigre, « blanc comme un cygne, cruel comme un chien féroce », lui vient de son grand-père. Si, à diverses occasions, il l'a senti pénétrer dans son corps, il a toujours tenté de le réfréner. Personnage à part entière de ce drame qui plonge ses racines dans les croyances animistes, le tigre ne jaillira qu'au moment où le jeune homme ne pourra plus contenir la colère qu'il réprime.

Pour élucider les raisons du meurtre, Eka Kurniawan revient sur le passé de Margio. Rien en effet dans la vie de l'inoffensif Anwar Sadat ne laissait présager une fin aussi violente : peintre amateur, il vivait aux crochets de sa riche épouse, et employait ses heures d'oisiveté à jouer aux échecs, regarder des matches de football et courir les femmes.

Avant que le père de Margio ne se décide à exercer en ville son métier de coiffeur, sa petite famille vivait paisiblement au cœur de la campagne indonésienne. L'arrivée dans la maison des faubourgs marque pour Nuraeni, la mère de Margio, le début de la désillusion. Et, pour Margio, celui de la révolte. Au fil des années et de la mésentente entre ses parents, la colère va croître en lui, envahissant tout, comme les plantes que Nuraeni cultive sur leur misérable lopin de terre. Leur foyer devient une jungle étouffante, à laquelle cette femme, encore jeune et belle, essaye d'échapper en allant effectuer des travaux domestiques chez d'autres. Notamment dans la demeure d'Anwar Sadat...

Dès lors se nouent les fils de la tragédie qui va irrémédiablement lier la destinée des deux familles, et provoquer le surgissement du tigre blanc.

Petualangan Unjung dan Mbui Kuvong

Sastra Lisan dan Kamus Punan Tuvu'
dari Kalimantan



Dikumpulkan dan disunting oleh
Nicolas Césard, Antonio Guerreiro dan Antonia Soriente

Nicolas Césard, Antonio Guerreiro & Antonia Soriente, (peny.). *Petualangan Unjung dan Mbui Kuvong. Sastra Lisan dan Kamus Punan Tuvu' dari Kalimantan*, Jakarta, KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia), École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2016, 380 p.,
ISBN (Indonesia) 978 979 91 0976 7 ;
ISBN (France): 978 2 85539 197 7.

Sembilan kisah yang menjadi bagian dari buku Petualangan Unjung dan Mbui Kuvong, memberikan suatu ringkasan tentang kekayaan sastra lisan suku Punan Tuvu' dari Kalimantan Utara. Seringkali penuh dengan kiasan, kisah-kisah yang disebut mbui ini tergolong dongeng,

legenda, dan mitos, yang dimiliki suku Punan Tuvu' dan diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi sejak dahulu kala. Mbui membicarakan tokoh-tokoh atau tempat-tempat yang merupakan bagian dari kebudayaan Punan. Dengan adanya keprihatinan bahwa bahasa Punan Tuvu', sebagaimana terjadi di tempat lain di Indonesia dan di dunia, akan punah berikut semua pengetahuan, nilai, kearifan lokal yang dikandungnya, maka buku ini merupakan usaha untuk mengumpulkan, merekam dan menulis kembali cerita-cerita tersebut sebagai usaha dokumentasi bahasa dan budaya.

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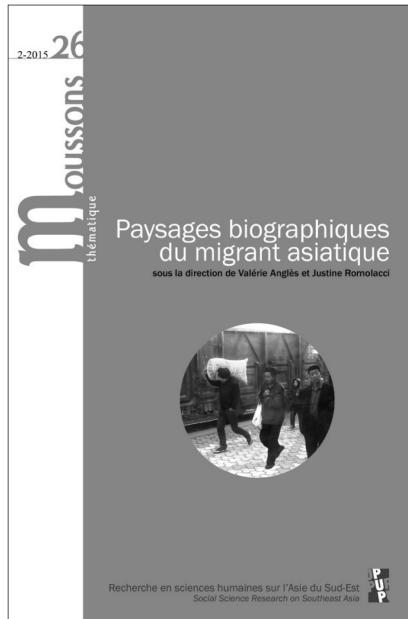
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