Sommaire

Comptes rendus

Résumés – Abstracts

En couverture : Simo Ngali, 45,1 x 54,4 cm (coll. privée, Saint-Rémy-les-Chevreuse).

Archipel 94, Paris, 2017

Third Annual Workshop Philippines Studies

6-7 juillet 2017, SOAS, Londres

Le 6 juillet dernier, la SOAS accueillait le troisième Atelier de travail sur les études philippines (Third Annual Workshop Philippines Studies), un événement destiné à réunir sur deux jours les chercheurs travaillant sur l'archipel. Lancée en 2015 au sein des universités anglaises, l'initiative a rassemblé cette année vingt chercheurs répartis sur huit sessions.

Les deux jours ont été ouverts par Cristina Juan (département des Études sud-est asiatiques, SOAS), instigatrice des journées et William Gervaise Clarence-Smith (département d'histoire, SOAS), lequel a rappelé la volonté du Centre for Southeast Asian Studies d'établir de manière pérenne une équipe de recherche sur le pays. En l'absence de fonds dédiés à cet effet, l'idée reste cependant, pour le moment, à l'état de projet.

Quatre sessions se sont déroulées au cours de la première journée, lesquelles ont été dédiées à la compréhension des cultures dites de crise (Session 1, Understanding Cultures of Crisis), à la représentation des musulmans (Session 2, Representations of the Moro), à l'économie (Session 3, The Economies of Scale) et à l'art dans son contexte social (Session 4, Art and Collectivity). Le deuxième jour s'est ouvert par une séance sur le langage du pouvoir (Session 5, Language of Power), la représentation du président Duterte dans les médias (Session 6, Representing Duterte), le processus de paix à Mindanao (Session 7, Mindanao : Next Steps) et la place de la culture digitale aux Philippines (Session 8, Digital Culture).

Deux thèmes étaient particulièrement présents du fait de l'actualité : Duterte et sa guerre contre la drogue, qui a déjà fait plus de 10 000 morts

– principalement jeunes et pauvres –, et le conflit armé à Mindanao, avec la présence, nouvelle et marquée, de l'idéologie de l'État islamique. Politique des *trapos* (politiciens corrompus), musulmans et processus de paix, il ne manquait plus que les travailleurs émigrés philippins pour compléter le tableau de la trinité des études philippines. Ce fut chose faite avec Diedre McKay (Keele University), auteur de *Global Filipinos* (2012) et *An Archipelago of Care* (2016), qui a présenté une recherche sur les migrants de Londres à l'approche stimulante en se basant sur une étude des médias sociaux et sur les stratégies de représentation de soi qui s'y manifestent. Au nombre des interventions remarquables par les approches renouvelées de thèmes devenus classiques, notons celle sur la bureaucratisation de l'islam. Le sujet de thèse de Fauwaz Abdul Aziz (Max Planck Institute, Halle) s'inscrit dans un projet d'envergure régionale qui concerne l'institutionnalisation de la sharia et en particulier le travail ainsi que le questionnement des acteurs de ce projet, les petites mains des bureaux.

La surprise de ces journées est venue cependant d'autres horizons, d'ordinaire peu représentés, celui de l'histoire de l'art – religieux ou contemporain –, des études théâtrales et de la linguistique. Kathryn Santner (School of Advanced Studies, London) s'est attachée à suivre les formes anthropomorphiques de la Sainte Trinité de chaque côté du Pacifique, et ce, à partir d'iconographies datant de la période espagnole, alors que Rafael Sachtner (University College, London) a plongé l'audience dans l'art contemporain philippin et la manière dont l'un de ses praticiens, Yason Banal, fait de la connexion internet la plus lente du monde, un élément de sa pratique. Cristina Juan (SOAS) a présenté, quant à elle, une représentation de théâtre religieux, le Linambay de Linao, étudiée sur 100 ans, pour en comprendre la forme, les transformations et l'utilisation post-catastrophe. Enfin, Danica Salazar (Oxford University) a pioché dans le stock du *Oxford English Dictionary* pour étudier les innovations lexicales de l'anglais des Philippines, qu'elle a judicieusement replacées dans leur contexte historique et social.

Le format, qui prévoyait un temps de parole égal à celui de la discussion, a invité aux échanges, autre plus-value de ces journées d'études. Cet atelier était loin de rassembler une foule où tout le monde se connaissait. Il a ainsi attiré des chercheurs venus d'horizons divers, notamment deux Indiennes, Sunaina (Banasthali university, Rajasthan) et Mohor Chakraborty (South Calcutta Girls' College, University of Calcutta), travaillant sur Mindanao, Franciszek Czech, un sociologue polonais (Jagiellonian University, Cracow), nombre de jeunes docteurs philippins formés au Royaume-Uni, ou encore Eberhard Crailshem, chercheur autrichien travaillant pour le Conseil National de la Recherche Espagnole (CSIC, Madrid).

On comprend aisément que ces deux journées ont débouché sur le projet d'un répertoire en ligne des philippinistes afin de faciliter la mise en relation

des chercheurs. Le cloisonnement des aires culturelles (mondes hispaniques ou Asie du Sud-Est) devrait ainsi être dépassé. Ce projet ambitieux, dont la mise en place est prévue prochainement, devrait faire l'objet de discussions lors des prochaines journées d'études.

Elsa Clavé

La seconde conférence internationale SEAMEO SPAFA sur l'archéologie d'Asie du Sud-Est

Bangkok (30 mai – 2 juin 2016)

Basé à Bangkok, le Centre Régional pour l'Archéologie et les Beaux-Arts de l'Organisation des Ministres de l'Éducation d'Asie du Sud-Est (SEAMEO SPAFA) a été particulièrement actif en ce qui concerne l'archéologie et la conservation des vestiges archéologiques pendant près d'une décennie entre la fin des années 1970 et la fin des années 1980. En effet, pas moins de quatorze ateliers ont été organisés par cette institution entre 1979 et 1988, que ce soit en Indonésie, aux Philippines ou en Malaisie. Les thèmes de ces ateliers couvraient les recherches sur Srivijaya, sur la navigation maritime et les réseaux marchands, sur les céramiques trouvées sur les sites, sur la préhistoire, ainsi que sur la conservation du mobilier archéologique, des monuments et des sites.

Le SEAMEO SPAFA a relancé la tenue de ces rencontres archéologiques au niveau régional en 2013 avec une première manifestation organisée à Chonburi, conférence au cours de laquelle quelque 70 communications ont été présentées [1]. La seconde conférence internationale s'est tenue à Bangkok du 30 mai au 2 juin 2016, dans les salons de l'hotel Amari Watergate situé dans le quartier de Pratunam. Parfaitement organisée, sous la houlette de M.R. Rujaya Abhakorn, directeur du SEAMEO SPAFA, et de Noel Hidalgo Tan, administrateur de l'événement, elle a connu un grand succès avec quelque 150 communications présentées et un public dépassant certainement 200 personnes lors de chacune

1. Cette conférence a donné lieu à une publication: Noel Hidalgo Tan (ed.). *Advancing Southeast Asian Archaeology 2013. Selected Papers from the First SEAMEO SPAFA International Conference on Southeast Asian Archaeology*. Bangkok, SEAMEO SPAFA, 2015, 478 pages, 37 articles.

des trois journées. À noter la présence de nombreux chercheurs indonésiens. La première journée a été consacrée en matinée à deux « keynote lecture », l'une sur des fouilles conduites sur le site d'U-Thong d'époque pré-Dvaravati (Saritpong Khunsong), l'autre sur l'enseignement de l'archéologie en Indonésie (Mahirta). Trois sessions parallèles se sont déroulées l'après-midi, comportant en particulier la présentation des « Country report » par les représentants des pays concernés. Les communications ont été présentées dans le cadre de quatre sessions parallèles lors des deux journées suivantes.

Une journée supplémentaire a été consacrée à des visites de plusieurs sites archéologiques dans la région de Bangkok.

Nous livrons ci-dessous la liste des quelque 60 communications présentées relatives à l'Asie du Sud-Est insulaire. Comme toujours dans ces grandes conférences, les thèmes sont très variés. On retiendra ici que les centres d'intérêt ayant réuni le plus grand nombre de communications sont les sites d'habitat et nécropoles, le ou les sites dans leur environnement, l'art rupestre, l'anthropologie physique, ainsi que les questions liées à la diffusion des connaissances archéologiques.

Indonésie (30 communications)

- (keynote lecture) *Teaching Archaeology in Indonesia, Sharing Experiences and our Perspectives* – Mahirta, Archaeology Department, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Yogyakarta.
- *Country Report: Archeological Sites in the Context of Heritage Cities in Indonesia* – I Ketut Ardhana, Centre for Bali Studies, Udayana University, Denpasar.
- *Gamelan Musical Instruments of Ancient Java from the Inscriptions* – Timbul Haryono, Graduate School of Research on Performing Arts, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Yogyakarta.
- *Early Iron Working in Indonesian Archipelago* – Anggraeni, Department of Archaeology, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Yogyakarta.
- *Functions of Traditional Irrigation System in Achieving Food Security Program: Lessons Learned from Bali Province, Indonesia* – Gede Sedana, Dwijendra University.
- *Prehistoric Rock Art Painting in Bontocani, South Sulawesi, Indonesia* –Yadi Mulyadi, Archaeology Department, Hasanuddin University, Makassar.
- *Recent Rock Art Research on East Seram, Maluku: A Key Site in the Rock Art of West Papua and South East Maluku* – Adhi Agus, The National Research Centre of Archaeology, Jakarta; Peter Lape, University of Washington; Marlon Ririmasse, Ambon Archaeological Service Office.
- *Prehistoric Cave Hand-Stencils' Design Continuity on South Sulawesi Traditional Homes: An Ethnoarchaeological Study* – Ingrid H.E. Pojoh, Archaeology Department, University of Indonesia, Jakarta; R. Cecep Eka Permana (idem), Karina Arifin (idem).

- *Hermeneutics of Spatial Production of the Somba Opu Fortress Site* – Nur Ihsan D, Abd. Rauf Sulaeman, Sitti Kasmiati, Syahrun, Archaeology Department, Faculty of Humanities, Halu Oleo University, Indonesia.
- *Land Division on Krowe Adat Community: A Phenomenology of Landscape Studies* – Putri Novita Taniardi, Archaeology Research Center, Yogyakarta.
- *Representation of Kettledrums at Several Sites in Indonesia: The Relation with Southeast Asia* – Rr. Triwurjani, The National Research Centre of Archaeology.
- *Mother Concept in Education and Religion in the Majapahit Period: An Overview of Archaeological Heritage and Written Source* – Nainunis Aulia Izza, Department of Archaeology, University of Indonesia, Jakarta.
- *Sharing Knowledge: Archaeology and Education in the Moluccas, Indonesia* – Marlon Ririmasse, Ambon Archaeological Service Office; Muhammad Husni.
- *Communication of Cultural Heritage in Adolescents: Experimental Study* – Agi Ginanjar, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta; Harry Susianto.
- *Physical Activities Reconstruction Based on Entheseal Change from Prehistoric Human Remains, Gilimanuk, Bali* – Dicky Caesario Wibowo; Ingrid H.E. Pojoh.
- *Spatial Transformation from Sala Village to Surakarta, the Capital of Mataram Kingdom (Mid of 18th Century)* – Mimi Savitri, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Yogyakarta.
- *Ancient Ports in East Coast of Southern Sumatra during Sriwijaya Period, Its Role and Connection* – Eka Asih P. Taim, National Archaeology Research Center, Jakarta.
- *Consideration Factors in the Placement of Temple Building in Musi Rawas Region* – Sondang Martini Siregar, The Center of Archaeological Research, Palembang.
- *Glass Beads as One of Heyday and Collapse Indicator for Kampai Island Commerce* – Ery Soedewo, National Research Centre for Archaeology, Medan Bureau.
- *The French-Indonesian Archaeological Project in Kota Cina (North Sumatra): Preliminary Results* – Daniel Perret, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Jakarta; Heddy Surachman, The National Research Centre of Archaeology, Jakarta [avec une courte intervention de Stéphane Frère – INRAP – sur les vestiges de faune du site].
- *Lhok Pancu: Aceh Besar Regency Observations in the Inter-Tidal Zone 1986-2016* – Edmund Edwards Mckinnon, Archaeology Unit, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.
- *A Trace of Ancient Commerce in the Solo River* – Aditya Revianur, Department of Archaeology, University of Indonesia, Jakarta.
- *Karawang Ancient Ports in the North West Java Coast Between the 15th and the 18th Century* – Libra Hari Inagurasi, The National Research Center of Archaeology, Jakarta.

- *Banda Islands. The Last Port of Nutmeg Hunting in East Indonesia Between the 16th and the 19th Century* – Sarjiyanto, The National Research Center of Archaeology.
- *Preserving Underwater Cultural Heritage Sites in Natuna: Multidisciplinary Approach to Utilization Towards Marine Eco-Archaeological Park* – Rainer Arief Troa, Research and Development Center for Marine and Coastal Resources, Agency for Marine and Fishery, Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Indonesia; Ira Dillenia; Eko Triarso; Sugiarta Wirasantosa.
- *Contested Cultural Property: Economic Versus Preservation Interests on Shipwrecks in Indonesia* – Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz, Goethe Universität.
- *(Almost) Two Decades On: What has the Belitung Taught Us about the Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage in Indonesia?* – Natali Pearson, University of Sydney.
- *Gosong Nambi Shipwreck Site: The New Finding in West Sumatera Water, Indonesia* – Nia Naelul Hasanah Ridwan, Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries; Gunardi Kusumah; Ulung Jantama Wisha; Guntur Adhi Rahmawan.
- *Revisiting the Senabi: New Evidence for the Widespread Use of External Stern Lashings on Boats In Southeast Asia* – Daniel G. Dwyer, Charles Darwin University.
- *Competition for Food Resources Among Carnivores and Humans in Southeast Asian Pleistocene* [Indonésie & Philippines] – Rebekka Volmer, Archaeology Studies Program, University of the Philippines, Diliman.

Philippines (23 communications)

- *Philippine Country Report* – Mary Jane Louise A. Bolunia, Senior Museum Researcher, Officer-in-Charge Archaeology Division, National Museum, Manila.
- *Dating, Mortuary and Trade: Significance of Oriental Tradeware Ceramics Excavated from Babo Balukbuk, Porac, Pampanga, Philippines* – Rhayan Melendres, University of the Philippines.
- *Adapting to Terrain: Highland and Lowland Settlements in Northern Luzon* – John A. Peterson, University of Guam.
- *Chop It Up: Faunal Processing Techniques of the Ikiangan People* – Cambria Craig, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- *Living/Dead Interactions in Ifugao Household Necroscapes* – Edward A. Cleofe, Department of Anthropology, Brown University.
- *A Health Status Review of the Fetal and Sub-Adult Population of Old Kiyyangan Village* – Alexis Francois, University of California, Los Angeles; Adam Lauer, University of Hawaii.
- *Jar Burials and Beads: Infant Interment Practices at Old Kiyyangan Village* – Madeleine Yakal, University of California, Los Angeles.
- *The Archaeology of Pericolonialism: Responses of the "Unconquered" to Spanish Conquest and Colonialism in Ifugao, Philippines* – Stephen Acabado, Department of Anthropology, UCLA.

- *Island Adaptation and Maritime Voyages in the Terminal Pleistocene and Early Holocene in Mindoro, Philippines* – Alfred Pawlik, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines [et onze autres co-auteurs]
- *Ancient Goldworking Technology in Butuan, Northeastern Mindanao, Philippines* – Victor P. Estrella, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines, Diliman.
- *The Handi Project: Making Culture, History and Archaeology Accessible* – Llenel de Castro, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.
- *Promoting Heritage Awareness through Archaeology among Schoolchildren in Catanauan, Quezon* – Jeanne C. Ramos, RN, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines, Diliman.
- *Changing Heads: Artificial Cranial Modification in the Philippines* – Catherine Rebecca Crozier, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines, Diliman.
- *Headhunting in the Philippines: Finding Traces of the Vanished Practice in the Archaeological Record* – Marie Louise Antoinette Sioco, University of the Philippines.
- *The Diversity of Archaeological Burials in Northern and Central Philippines in the Context of the Island Southeast Asian Prehistoric Mortuary Record* – Myra Lara, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.
- *Life, Death and Care? In Early Ifugao* – Adam J. Lauer, International Archaeological Research Institute Inc.
- *Applying the Bioarchaeology of Care in the Metal Period Philippines* – Melandri Vlok, Australian National University; Marc Oxenham; Victor Paz; Rebecca Crozier.
- *Reconstructing Physical Activity of Adult Human Remains from 18th Century Burial Sites in the Philippines* – Sarah Agatha Villaluz, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.
- *The Maritime Cultural Landscape of the Philippines* – Mary Jane Louise A. Bolunia, Archaeology Division, National Museum of the Philippines; Sheldon Clyde B. Jago-on; Bobby Orillaneda.
- *Changing Seascapes and the Archaeology of Mindoro and Palawan, Philippines* – Emil Robles, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines; Kate Lim; Jane Carlos.
- *Preliminary Results of Archaeological Investigation in Cagsawa Ruins in Albay: Sacred Space Archaeology* – Angel S. Recto, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.
- *Creation of A Charred Wood Reference Collection* – Jane Carlos, Archaeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines.
- *Visitor Motivation and Destinations with Archaeological Significance in the Philippines* – Jack G.L. Medrana, University of the Philippines; Richard Philip Gonzalo.

Singapour (5 communications)

- *Country Report: Singapore (2013-2015)* – Derek Heng, Yale-NUS College Senior Honorary Fellow, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre, Institute of SEA Studies -Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.
- *Historiography of Singapore Archaeology* – Lim Chen Sian, Archaeology Unit, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.
- *The Archaeology of Bukit Brown* – Foo Shu Tieng, Archaeology Unit, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.
- *Decorated Earthenware of National Art Gallery Site, Singapore* – Aaron Kao Jiun Feng, Archaeology Unit, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.
- *Greenware Porcelain from the National Art Gallery Site* – NG Jian Cheng Michael, Archaeology Unit, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Malaisie (4 communications)

- *Country Report: Malaysia Country Report 2016* – Mokhtar Saidin, Centre for Global Archaeological Research, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang.
- *Gua Bunuh I and Gua Bunuh II: The Archaeological Implications and Conservation of Two Newly-Discovered Rock Art Sites from Sarawak, Malaysian Borneo* – Rachel Hoerman, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa; Mohammad Sherman b. Sauffi, Archaeology Section, Sarawak Museum Dept, Kuching; Bonnie Ak Umpi, Archaeology Section, Sarawak Museum Dept, Kuching.
- *Gua Tambun Prehistoric Rock Art: A Social Perspective* – Saw Chaw Yeh, Centre for Global Archaeological Research, Universiti Sains Malaysia USM; Goh Hsiao Mei, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Penang.
- *Modes of Transportation in Sungai Batu Civilization: Distance between Structural Sites is Ascribed to Transportation Used* – Gooi Liang Jun, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang.

Brunei (une communication)

- *Country Report: The Ceramics of the Brunei Shipwreck: Analysis of their Origin and Types* – Hanapi Haji Maidin, Senior Museum Officer, Brunei Museum Department, Bandar Seri Begawan.

Daniel Perret

Ludvik Kalus[*] *et Claude Guillot*[**]

Cimetières de Sumatra, Varia
[Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 12]

Dans cette dernière livraison qui nous permet d'analyser les ultimes tombes de cet incroyable corpus du sultanat d'Aceh, environ 150 stèles inscrites, toutes antérieures à l'an mil de l'hégire (1591), nous allons prendre la route du retour, celle qui rejoint Banda Aceh à Pasai.

Parmi les stèles éparses que nous avons pu voir, s'en trouvent deux faisant mention d'hommes de religion : une à Sigli, le Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahîm, fils de l'éducateur Sâlih, mort en 1584 [?] et celle de Sa'ba, la fille d'un docteur [?] et imâm [?], morte, elle, en 1583.

On rencontre aussi la tombe d'un sultan, qualifié de « très grand », et appelé Muhammad shâh. Il existe deux sultans de ce nom à Pasai, l'un mort en 1507 (Claude Guillot & Ludvik Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra*, p. 237), l'autre mort en 1495 (*Idem*, p. 220-221), et un autre encore à Lamuri (*Idem*, p. 348) (son fils, sans doute, est mort en 1369 ou 1389). Enfin on a trouvé à Peudada, le nom très voisin d'un sultan puisqu'il s'appelle Muhammad ibn Mahmûd shâh. En l'absence du nom de son père, il est malheureusement impossible de l'identifier.

Quand on arrive à Glumpang Dua, près de Bireuen, les choses changent tout à fait. En effet, deux de quatre tombes, dans deux cimetières différents, sont datées l'une de 1441, celle d'une femme, Tuan Mund, et l'autre de 1437,

*. Université de Paris IV, Sorbonne, Paris.
**. CNRS, Paris.

celle d'un homme, Husayn Karam. Il s'agit de deux tombes du style de Pasai et non de celui, pyramidal, de Lamuri. Cela veut dire que sous le règne de Sît 'Alam, dès la première partie du XV^e^ siècle, Bireuen faisait partie de Pasai et du Pasai suffisamment riche pour se payer une sépulture avec inscription.

Cimetière de Tungku Syeh Aircam, Kampung Langgo, Meunasa Keuteumu.

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe Sjeh Aircham; Kg. Langgo, Meunassa Keuteumoe, Moekim XII. »]

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

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus entre 1999 et 2008.

Deux stèles ayant la forme d'un octogone se terminant par une pointe, sur une base octogonale.

Sur chaque face de la base octogonale, registre rectangulaire (-I- (1)-(2) = fig. 1).

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^os^ 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Tiende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1916).

- ١ - (١) ذو المفاخر معافى فى معارفه ... (٢) و المحاسن فى الوفر فعاسمه (معاسمه ؟) و امراء (٣) و العامل بصالح لعباد ... (٤) الملّة اللّه بسير غفرانه (٥) مصطفا ... من بين العباد إلى (٦) الشيخ الأفخر المحترم (٧) و العارف العالم معظم (٨) و المتحلّى بالأسماء مكرّم

- ٢ - (١) بعد هجرة النبويّة صلّى (٢) اللّه عليه و سلّم ... سنة ثانى [؟] و (٣) تسعين و تسعمائة يوم الجمعة شهر رمضان (٤) توفّى الشيخ العارف الكامل (٥) المتّقى الفقير المغفور (٦) و شيخ عبد الرحيم بن المربّى صالح (٧) تغمّده اللّه بغفران و رحمة (٨) و أسكنه أوساط حبوحة جنّته

Épitaphe :

– II - (1-8) ; - I - (1-8) : Après l'hégire du Prophète - que Dieu le bénisse et le salue ! … année 992 [?], un vendredi du mois de ramadân (2, 9, 16, 23 ou 30 ramadan) / 7, 14, 21, 28 septembre ou 5 octobre 1584 [?], est décédé le shaykh savant, parfait, le dévot, l'humble, digne de pardon, le shaykh 'Abd al-Rahîm, fils de l'éducateur Sâlih - que Dieu le couvre de pardon et de miséricorde et le fasse habiter au milieu des lieux des plus exquis de son Paradis.

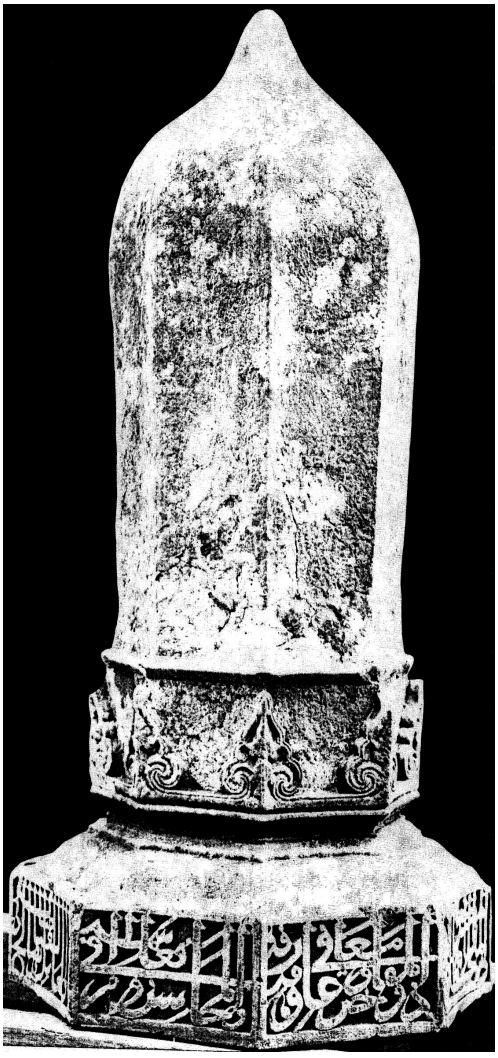


Fig. 1 – Cimetière de Tungku Syeh Aircam, tombe 1, stèle 1, face 2 et 3 (de Vink, vers 1912).

Cimetière situé à Sigli, Langgo.

En 2006, Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus, à la recherche du cimetière de « Tungku Syeh Aircham, Kampung Langgo, Meunassa Keuteumoe, Moekim XII », signalé par De Vink, ont été dirigés par un guide local vers un autre cimetière qui se trouvait à Langgo, non enregistré par De Vink.

TOMBE n° G/K 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006). N'a pas été classée par de Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles cubiques pourvues d'un pinacle.

I- Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 2) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois registres superposés.

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

- ١ - أ - (١) ... (٢) ... و اذكر به لعل (٣) .. الحقّ المبين .. بكلّ

- ب - (١) ... (٢) ... الدنيا (٣) ...

- ت - (١) ... اللّه (٢) ++++ (٣) ++++

- ث - (١) ... فى الدنيا (٢) ... (٣) ...

- ٢ - أ - (١) ++++ (٢) ++++ (٣) ++++

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

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

- ث - (١) ++++ (٢) ++++ (٣) ++++

À déterminer :

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

Fig. 2 – Cimetière de Sigli, tombe G/K 1, stèle sud, face sud (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

Cimetière de Labuhi n° I, Meunasa Gunduk.

TOMBE n° G/K 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Deux petites stèles à accolade polylobée.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A, B et D : motifs décoratifs ; C : deux registres superposés.
II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. B, C et D : motifs décoratifs ; A : deux registres superposés.

- ١ - أ و ب - [زخرفة]
- ت - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه [؟] (٢) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه [؟]
- ث - [زخرفة]
- ٢ - أ - (١) ... (٢) ...
- ب و ت و ث - [زخرفة]

Textes religieux :
– I - C - (1-2) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. [?] Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. [?]

À déterminer :
– I - A - (1-2).

Décor :
– I - A ; - I - B ; - I - D ; - II - B ; - II - C ; - II - D.

Cimetière de Labuhi n° II, Meunasa Gunduk.

Les stèles ont été déplacées dans le périmètre de leur emplacement d'origine.

TOMBE n° G/K 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Deux petites stèles à pinacle et ailes.

I - Stèle sud (fig. 3) : une face seulement a été photographiée : trois registres superposés.
II - Stèle nord : une face seulement a été photographiée : trois registres superposés.

- ١ - أ - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه [؟] (٢) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه [؟] (٣) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه [؟]

- ب - ؟؟؟ <١>

- ٢ - أ - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه (٢) الملك الحقّ المبين ... (٣) ...

- ب - ؟؟؟ <٢>

<1> - I - B - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus.
<2> - II - B - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus.

Textes religieux :

– I - A - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. [?] (répétition).

– II - A - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, le Roi, la Vérité évidente.

À déterminer :

– I - B ; - II - B.

Fig. 3 – Cimetière de Labuhi II, tombe G/K 1, stèle sud (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

TOMBE n° G/K 02 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Stèle rectangulaire à pignon.

Sur les deux faces principales A et C : plusieurs lignes d'une écriture schématisée (?) ou imaginaire (?) (fig. 4). Face B et D : décor.

- أ - (١-٩) ...
- ب - [زخرفة]
- ت - (١-١٤) ...
- ث - [زخرفة]

À déterminer :
A - (1-9) ; C - (1-14).

Décor :
B ; D.

Fig. 4 – Cimetière de Labuhi II, tombe G/K 2, face A (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

TOMBE n° G/K 03 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Deux stèles cubiques à pignon.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 5) ; D- face est. Partout trois registres superposés.

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

- ١ - أ - (١) ؟؟؟ (٢) ؟؟؟ (٣) ؟؟؟

- ب - (١) .؟.؟. (٢) .؟.؟. (٣) .؟.؟.

- ت - (١) لا فتى إلّا عليّ لا سيف إلّا ذ (٢) و الفقار ... (٣) ...

- ث - (١) ؟؟؟ (٢) ؟؟؟ (٣) ؟؟؟

- ٢ - أ - (١) هذا القبر عبيد [؟] اللّه الملك البارئ (٢) ... توفّى [؟] يوم الإثنين شهر (٣) صفر سنة إثنان [؟] و خمسين [؟] و تسعمائة من هجرة النبويّة

- ب - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه لا (٢) لا إله إلّا اللّه لا (٣) لا إله إلّا اللّه

- ت - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه لا إ (٢) له إلّا اللّه لا إله إلّا ا (٣) للّه ...

- ث - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه .. (٢) لا إله إلّا اللّه .. (٣) لا إله إلّا اللّه ..

Épitaphe :

– II - A - (1-3) : Cette tombe est celle du serviteur [?] de Dieu, le Roi Novateur… Il est décédé [?] un lundi du mois de safar de l'année 952 [?] de l'hégire du Prophète (7, 14, 21 ou 28 safar) / 20 ou 27 avril ou 4 ou 11 mai.

Textes religieux :

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

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

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

– II - D - (1-3) : Il n' y a de divinité que Dieu.… (répétition).

À déterminer :

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

Fig. 5 – Cimetière de Labuhi II, tombe G/K 3, stèle sud, face nord (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

Cimetière de Labuhi n° III, Meunasa Gunduk.

TOMBE n° G/K 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Une stèle (à l'origine deux ?) à pignon et ailes. La stèle a été déplacée dans le périmètre de son emplacement d'origine.

Seule une grande face a pu être photographiée (fig. 6) : (a) au sommet de la face, dans un petit cartouche, registre; (b) dans les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre; (c) dans le grand champ, trois registres superposés.

-(أ)- الرحمن الرحيم

-(ب)-(١) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحىّ القيّوم (٢) لا تأخذه سنة و لا نوم

-(ت)-(١) له ما فى السموات (٢) و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى (٣) يشفع عنده إلّا بإذنه (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٥\٢٥٦)

Coran :

(b) - (1-2); (c) - (1-3) : II, 256/255.

Textes religieux :

(a) : Le Clément, le Miséricordieux.

Fig. 6 – Cimetière de Labuhi III, tombe G/K 3, stèle (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

Cimetière de Tungku di Kutang, Kampung et Meunasa Gunduk.

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe, di Koetang; kg. en Meunassa Goendoeëk; Moekim XII ».]

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

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus entre 1999 et 2008.

Deux stèles rectangulaires à pignon.

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

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 7) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois registres superposés.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Tiende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1916).

- ١ - أ - (١) ؟؟؟ (٢) ؟؟؟ (٣) ؟؟؟ <١>

- ب - (١) يا اللّه الحيّ [؟] ... (٢) ... (٣) ...

- ت - (١) سبحان اللّه ... (٢) ... (٣) ...

- ث - (١) الملك ... (٢) ... (٣) قال عليه السلام [؟]

- ٢ - أ - (١) يا اللّه ... (٢) هو لا ... (٣) ...

- ب - (١) ... (٢) مالك الملك ... (٣) ...

- ت - (١) سبحان اللّه ... (٢) ... (٣) ...

- ث - (١) ؟؟؟ (٢) ؟؟؟ (٣) ؟؟؟ <٢>

<1> - I - A - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus.

<1> - II - D - : Pas de photos à la disposition de Guillot/Kalus.

Textes religieux :

– I - B - (1) : Ô Dieu le Vivant [?]. …….

– I - C - (1) : Gloire à Dieu ! …….

– I - D - (3) : (Le Prophète) - le salut soit sur lui ! - a dit.

– II - A - (1-3) : Ô Dieu ! … Lui ……...

– II - B - (2) : Souverain de la Royauté.

– II - C - (1) : Gloire à Dieu.

À déterminer :

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

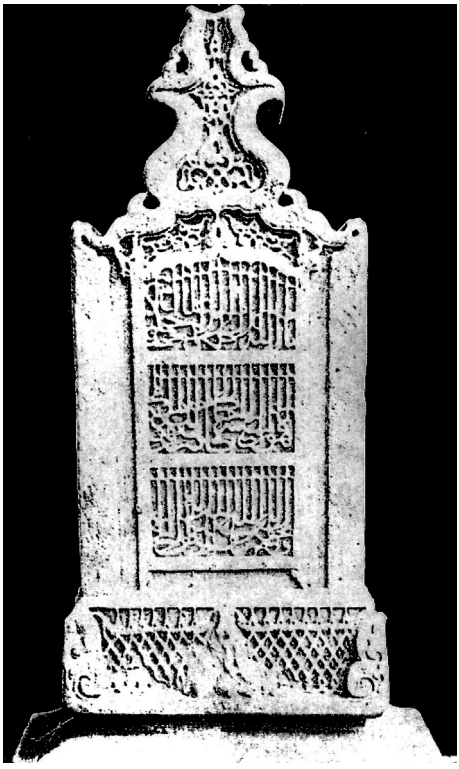


Fig. 7 – Cimetière de Tungku di Kutang, tombe 2, stèle nord, face sud (de Vink, vers 1912).

Cimetière de Tungku Yub Seumira, Meunasa Gunduk.

[D'après de Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe Joeb Seumira; kg. en Meunassa Goendoeëk; Moekim XII. »]

TOMBE n° 01 du cimetière, d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf I.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus entre 1999 et 2008.

Deux stèles à grand pignon et ailes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 8) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet de la face, dans un petit cartouche, registre ; (b) dans les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre ; (c) dans le grand champ, trois registres superposés ; B et D : registre.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet de la face, dans un petit cartouche, registre ; (b) dans

les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre ; (c) dans le grand champ, trois registres superposés; B et D : registre.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Tiende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1916).

- ١ - أ - (أ) اللّه لا إله إلّا

(ب)-(١) هو الحىّ القيّوم لا (٢) تأخذه سنة و لا نوم

(ت)-(١) له ما فى السموات (٢) و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى (٣) يشفع عنده إلّا بإذنه

- ب - يعلم ما بين

- ت - (أ) أيديهم و ما خلفهم

(ب)-(١) و لا يحيطون بشئ (٢) من علمه إلّا بما شاء

(ت)-(١) وسع كرسيّه السموات (٢) و الأرض و لا يؤده حفظهما (٣) و هو العلىّ العظيم (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٥\٢٥٦)

- ث - صدق اللّه

- ٢ - أ - (أ) ما للعبيد إن عقلون سوى الفردوس

(ب)-(١) فاختر لنفسك أىّ الدار تختار (٢) فإن هفوا هفوة فالربّ الغفّار [؟]

(ت)-(١) هذا المرقد المرحومة (٢) السعيدة ... (٣) ابن [ابنت ؟] أحمد توفّيت يوم الأحد

- ب - .+.+.

- ت - (أ) ألا كلّ شئ

(ب)-(١) ما خلا اللّه (٢) باطل و كلّ

(ت)-(١) نعيم لا محالة زائل (٢) الدار جنت عدن إن عملت بما (٣) يرضى الإله (كذا) و إن خالفت فالنار

- ث - ..+++

Épitaphe :

– II - A - (c) - (1-3) : Ceci est le lieu de repos de celle qui est digne de la miséricorde, de la bienheureuse … fils [fille ?] d'Ahmad. Elle est décédée le dimanche.

Coran :

– I - A - (a) ; - I - A - (b) - (1-2) ; - I - A - (c) - (1-3) ; - I - B ; - I - C - (a) ; - I - C - (b) - (1-2) ; - I - C - (c) - (1-3) : II, 256/255.

Textes religieux :

– I - D : Dieu est véridique.

Morceaux poétiques :

– II - A - (b) - (1) ; - II - A - (a) ; - II - A - (b) - (2) : Choisis pour toi-même la demeure que tu préfères. Pour les serviteurs qui ont compris, il n'y a que le Paradis, alors que pour ceux qui s'adonnaient au péché, c'est Dieu l'Absoluteur qui décidera. [?]

– II - C - (a) ; - II - C - (b) - (1-2) ; - II - C - (c) - (1) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine et tout délice, nécessairement, passager ?

– II - C - (c) - (2-3) : La demeure du jardin d'Eden, si j'ai fait ce que Dieu trouve bon, ou alors celle de l'Enfer, si j'ai contré Sa volonté.

À déterminer :

– II - B ; - II - D.

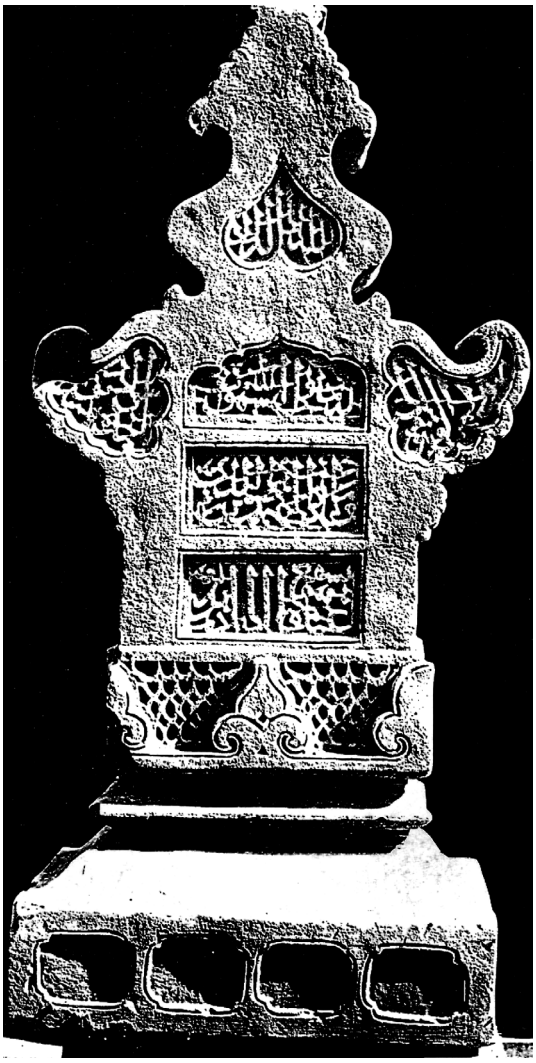


Fig. 8 – Cimetière de Tungku Yub Seumira, tombe 1, stèle sud, face sud (de Vink, vers 1912).

Cimetière du village Cot Gunduk, Meunasa Gunduk.

TOMBE n° 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

La stèle a été déplacée dans le périmètre de son emplacement d'origine.

Stèle (à l'origine deux ?) à pignon et ailes.

(١) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول (٢) اللّه لا إله إلّا الله (٣) محمّد رسول اللّه

Une seule face a été photographiée : trois registres rectangulaires superposés (fig. 9).

Fig. 9 – Cimetière de Cot Gunduk, tombe 1, stèle (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

Textes religieux :

(1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.

Cimetière de Yub Hagu, Kampung et Meunasa Cot Gunduk.

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

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus entre 1999 et 2008.

Deux stèles à grand pignon et ailes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 10) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet de la face, dans deux petits cartouches superposés (1 et 2), registre ; (b) dans les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre ; (c) dans le grand champ, trois registres superposés ; (d) sur la base, dans quatre cartouches juxtaposés, registre. B et D : (a) en haut, à l'intérieur de l'épaule, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, sur l'élargissement de l'épaule, dans un cartouche, registre ; (c) plus bas, sur la face, dans un compartiment, registre ; (d) sur la base, dans trois cartouches juxtaposés, registre.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet de la face, dans deux petits cartouches superposés (1 et 2), registre ; (b) dans les ailes, à droite (1) et à gauche (2), registre ; (c) dans le grand champ, trois registres superposés ; (d) sur la base, dans quatre cartouches juxtaposés, registre. B et D : (a) en haut, à l'intérieur de l'épaule, dans un cartouche, registre ; (b) plus bas, sur l'élargissement de l'épaule, dans un cartouche, registre ; (c) plus bas, sur la face, dans un compartiment, registre ; (d) sur la base, dans trois cartouches juxtaposés, registre.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Tiende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1916).

- ١ - أ - (أ)-(١) اللّه باطل (٢) ألا كلّ شئ ما خلا

(ب)-(١) ألا إنّما الدنيا فناء ليس للدنيا ثبوت (٢) يا من بدنياه اشتغل قد غرّه طول الأمل

(ت)-(١) هذ(ا) القبر صعة [؟] بنت (٢) الفقيه الأشرف [؟] مساحه [؟] (٣) إمام [؟] ...

(ث)-(١) ارحمها [؟] و اجعل (٢) الجنّة مثويها (٣) ... (٤) طويل و

- ب - (أ)- .؟.؟.

(ب)- .؟.؟.

(ت)- إلى رحمة اللّه تعالى

(ث)-(١) فإنّك لا تدرى إذا جنّ ليل [؟] (٢) هل تعيش إلى فجرى [كذا] (٣) فكم من صحيح مات

- ت - (أ)-(١) ألا كلّ شئ ما خلا اللّه باطل [؟] (٢) و كلّ نعيم لا محالة زائل

(ب)-(١) سوى جنّة الفردوس فإن نعيمها دائم (٢) .. يوم الخميس لـ...

(ت)-(١) إلى اللّه فى ليلة الجمعة (٢) مضين [؟] من ذى القعدة (٣) سنة إحدى و تسعين و تسعمائة

(ث)-(١) من غير علة و كم (٢) من سقيم عاش حينا (٣) من الدهر [؟] (٤) ...

- ث - (أ)- .؟.؟.

(ب)- .؟.؟.

(ت)- من الهجرة النبويّة

(ث)-(١) عليه أفضل الصلاة (٢) و أزكى التحيّة (٣) اللهمّ ..++

- ٢ - أ - (أ)-(١) [اللّه لا إله إلّا هو] (٢) الحيّ القيّوم لا تأخذه

(ب)-(١) سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى (٢) الأرض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده إلّا

(ت)-(١) ... هو (٢) العزيز الحكيم (= قرآن، ٣، ١٦ / ١٨) (٣) لا إله إلّا هو ..

(ث)-(١) يسبّح له ما فى (٢) و الأرض و هو العز (٣) يز الحكيم (= قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٤) لا (٤) إله إلّا اللّه

- ب - (أ)- محمّد رسول اللّه

(ب)- لا إله إلّا اللّه

(ت)- العرش العظيم

(ث)-(١) محمّد رسول اللّه (٢) لا فتى إلّا على لا (٣) سيف إلّا ذو الفقار

- ت - (أ)-(١) +++ (٢) السلطان [؟] الرحيم

(ب)-(١) باذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم و (٢) لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه إلّا بما شاء

(ت)-(١) شهد اللّه و كفى باللّه (٢) شهد الله أنّه و لا إ عند [كذا] (٣) له إلّا هو و الملائكة

(ث)-(١) وسع كرسيّه السموات (٢) و الأرض و لا يؤده (٣) حفظهما و هو (٤) و هو العلىّ العظيم (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٥\٢٥٦)

- ث - (أ)- محمّد رسول اللّه [؟]

(ب)- لا إله إلّا اللّه [؟]

(ت)- و أولوا العلم قائما

(ث)-(١) هو اللّه الخالق (٢) البارئ المصوّر (٣) له الأسماء الحسنى

Épitaphe :

– I - A - (c) - (1-3) ; - I - A - (d) - (1-2) ; - I - C - (c) - (1-3) ; - I - D - (c) ; - I - D - (d) - (1-2) : Cette tombe est celle de Sa'ba [?], fille du très noble [?] docteur … [?], l'imâm [?]… - accorde-lui Ta pitié et fais du Paradis le lieu de son repos !

Coran :

– II - A - (a) - (1-2) ; - II - A - (b) - (1-2) ; - II - C - (b) - (1-2) ; - II - C - (d) - (1-4) : II, 256/255.
– II - C - (c) - (2-3) ; - II - D - (c) ; - II - A - (c) - (3, 1-2) : III, 16/18.
– II - D - (d) - (1-3) ; - II - A - (d) - (1-3) : LIX, 24.

Textes religieux :

– I - B - (c) : À la miséricorde de Dieu le Très-Haut.
– II - A - (d) - (4) ; - II - B - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
– II - B - (b) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.
– II - B - (c) : Le Trône magnifique.
– II - B - (d) - (1) : Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu.
– II - B - (d) - (2-3) : Il n'y a de héros que 'Alî, il n'y a de sabre que dhû l-fiqâr.
– II - C - (a) - (2) : Probation [?] (= Dieu?), le Miséricordieux.
– II - C - (c) - (1fin) : Dieu atteste (?), Dieu suffit.
– II - D - (b); - II - D - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu [?], Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu [?].

Prière :

– I - D - (d) - (3) : Ô mon Dieu ! ..xx

Morceaux poétiques :

– I - A - (a) - (2 et 1) : Toute chose, excepté Dieu, n'est-elle pas vaine ?
– I - A - (b) - (1) : Oui, ce bas monde est le néant, ce bas monde est sans constance.
– I - A - (b) - (2) : Ô celui qui était préoccupé par les affaires de ce bas monde, a été aveuglé par l'espoir de sa propre durée.
– I - B - (d) - (1-3) ; - I - C - (d) - (1-3) : (Tu quittes ce bas monde) sans savoir si, quand la nuit t'enveloppera, tu vivras jusqu'à l'aube. Parmi vous, celui qui est en bonne santé, meure sans aucune maladie, parmi vous, celui qui est malade, vit encore un moment.

– I - C - (a) - (1-2) ; - I - C - (b) - (1) : 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 - (d) - (3-4) ; - I - B - (a) ; - I - B - (b) ; - I - C - (b) - (2) ; - I - C - (d) - (4) ; - I - D - (a) ; - I - D - (b) ; - II - C - (a) - (1).

Fig. 10 – Cimetière de Yub Hagu, tombe 4, stèle sud, face sud (de Vink, vers 1912).

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

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus entre 1999 et 2008.

Stèle, à l'origine sans doute deux (une seule stèle a été photographiée par De Vink), à grand pignon et ailes.

Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 11) ; D- face est (la photo manque). A et C : dans le grand champ, trois registres superposés ; B et D : dans un compartiment, registre.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Tiende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1916).

- أ - (١) هذا القبر الذى [؟] (٢) ... (٣) إلى [؟] ...

- ب - ليلة الخميس فى (من ؟)

- ت - (١) من شهر شعبان (٢) سنة إثنين و سبعين (٣) و تسعمائة من

- ث - ؟؟؟

Épitaphe :

A - (1-3) ; B ; C - (1-3) : Cette tombe est à celui qui [?] …….. dans la nuit du (mercredi au) jeudi du mois de sha'bân de l'année 972 de (l'hégire) (5, 12, 19 ou 26 sha'bân) / 8, 15, 22 ou 29 mars 1565.

À déterminer :

D.

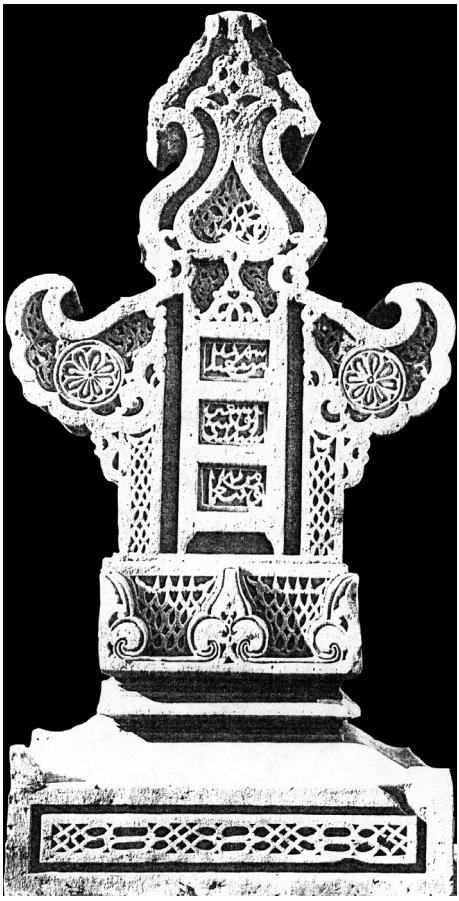


Fig. 11 – Cimetière de Yub Hagu, tombe 6, stèle sud, face nord (de Vink, vers 1912).

Cimetière de Tungku Jurung Abang, Kampung et Meunasa Cot Gunduk.

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe Djoeroeng Abang; kg. en Meunassa Tjot Goendoeëk; Moekim XII. »]

TOMBE n° 03 du cimetière, d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf III.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus entre 1999 et 2008.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408

(signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Tiende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1916).

Il semblerait qu'aucune des photos de cette tombe, prises par de Vink vers 1911, ne se trouve actuellement (en 2009) ni à Djakarta ni à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Leyde.

Cimetière de Tungku Meureuhom, Kampung Kandang, Meunasa Hagu.

[D'après de Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe Meureukom ; kg. Kandang; Meunassa Agoe; Moekim XII ».]

TOMBE n° 10 du cimetière, d'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf X.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus entre 1999 et 2008.

Deux stèles cubiques, à grand pignon.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 12) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord; D- face est. Partout trois registres rectangulaires superposés.
II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout trois registres rectangulaires superposés.

Reproductions :
Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Tiende lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1916).

- ١ - أ - (١) عليهم جزائل [؟] رحمته (٢) و جعلهم من (٣) سكّان جنّة
- ب - (١) هذا القبر (٢) المرحوم (٣) السلطان
- ت - (١) الأعظم (٢) سلطان (٣) محمّد شاه
- ث - (١) إبن سلطان (٢) ... (٣) أفاض اللّه
- ٢ - أ - (١) الملك (٢) القدّوس (٣) السلام (= قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٣)
- ب - (١) هو اللّه (٢) الذى (٣) لا إله
- ت - (١) إلّا هو (٢) عالم (٣) الغيب
- ث - (١) و الشهادة (٢) هو الرحمن (٣) الرحيم (= قرآن، ٥٩، ٢٢)

Épitaphe :

- I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D - (1-3) ; - I - A - (1-3) : Cette tombe est celle de celui qui est digne de la miséricorde, le sultan très grand Muhammad shâh, fils du sultan …. - que Dieu leur prodigue une part considérable de Sa miséricorde et les place parmi les habitants du Paradis!

Coran :

- I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (1-3) ; - I - D - (1-3) ; - I - A - (1-3) : LIX, 22-23.

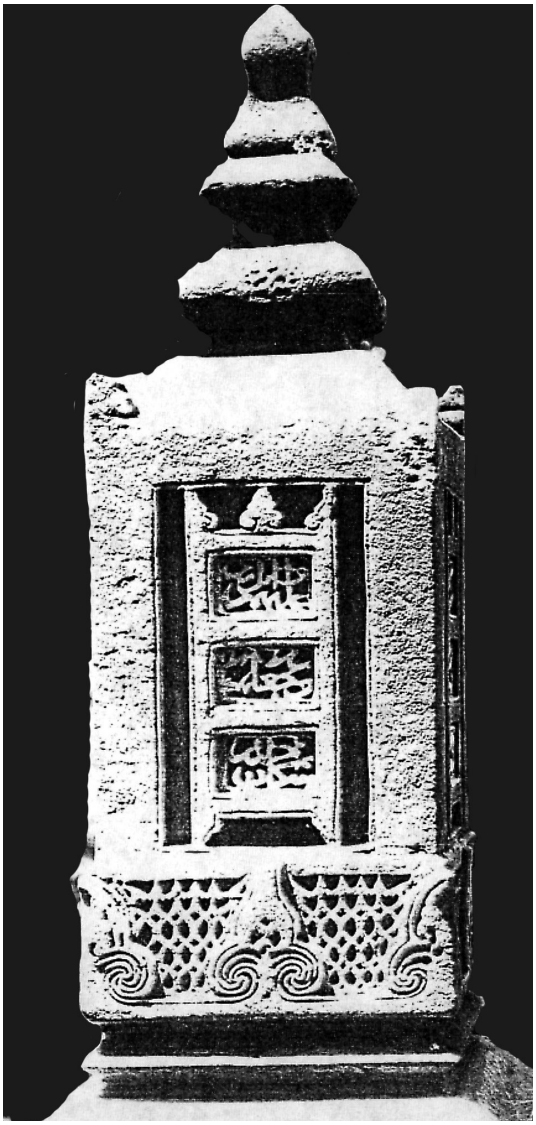


Fig. 12 – Cimetière de Tungku Meureuhom, tombe 10, stèle sud, face sud (de Vink, vers 1912).

Cimetière de Tungku Meugeudong, Kampung Kiran Tunong, Meunasa Me, Samalanga.

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe Meugeudong, kg. Kiran Toenong, Meunathah Me, Moekim Samalanga. »]

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

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus en 2006 et 2008.

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

Une stèle : A- face sud (fig. 13) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : (a) au sommet, dans un cartouche, petit registre décoratif ; (b) plus bas, dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres. B et D : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1917).

- أ - (أ) - لا إله إلّا اللّه

(ب) - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه (٢) الموجود فى كلّ زمان لا (إله) إلّا (٣) اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه هو اللّه الذى

- ب - (١) المذكور فى كلّ (٢) لسان لا (٣) إله إلّا اللّه

- ت - (أ) - لا إله إلّا اللّه

(ب) - (١) لا إله إلّا اللّه (٢) الموجود فى كلّ زمان لا (٣) إله إلّا اللّه

- ث - (١) المعروف فى كلّ [كذا] (٢) الإحسان (٣) لا إله

Textes religieux :

A - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu

A - (b) - (1-3) ; B - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui existe de tout temps. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu, Muhammad est l'Envoyé de Dieu. C'est Lui qui est mentionné par toute langue. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

C - (a) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu.

C - (b) - (1-3) ; D - (1-3) : Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui existe de tout temps. Il n'y a de divinité que Dieu qui est bon par tout bienfait. Il n'y a de divinité (que Dieu).

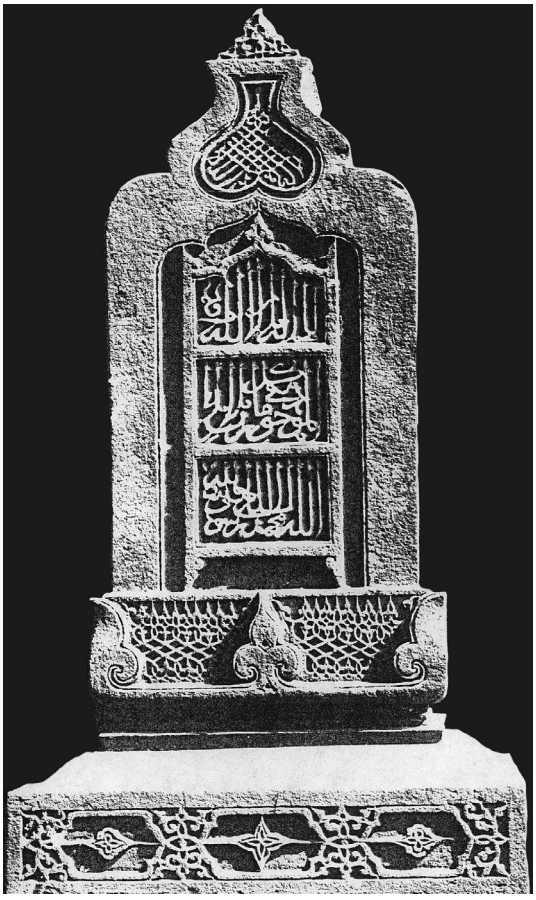


Fig. 13 – Cimetière de Tungku Meugeudong, tombe 5, face sud (de Vink, vers 1912).

TOMBE n° 06 du cimetière, d'après le classement de Vink vers 1911 : Graf VI.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus en 2006 et 2008.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud (fig. 14) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. Partout : dans un champ rectangulaire vertical, trois registres superposés.

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

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1917).

- ١ - أ - (١) شهد اللّه أنّه لا إله (٢) إلّا هو و الملائكة (٣) و أولوا العلم قائما
- ب - (١) بالقسط لا (٢) إله إلّا (٣) هو العزيز
- ت - (١) الحكيم إنّ الدين (٢) عند اللّه الإسلام (= قرآن، ٣، ١٦\١٨-١٧\١٩) (٣) قل اللهمّ مالك
- ث - (١) الملك تؤتى (٢) الملك من تشاء (٣) و تنزع الملك ممّن تشاء (= قرآن، ٣، ٢٥\٢٦)
- ٢ - أ - (١) هذا القبر الذى (٢) المستمّى [؟] ... غفر (٣) اللّه له و لوالديه
- ب - (١) الدنيا فناء (٢) ليس للدنيا (٣) ثبوت لا .. فنا
- ت - (١) ... (٢) ... (٣) ...
- ث - (١) ... (٢) ... الآخرة بقاء (٣) الدنيا ...

Epitaphe :

- II - A - (1-3) : Cette tombe est à celui qui est nommé [?] … que Dieu lui pardonne ainsi qu'à ses père et mère.

Coran :

- I - A - (1-3) ; - I - B - (1-3) ; - I - C - (1-2) : III, 16/18-17/19.
- I - C - (3) ; - I - D - (1-3) : III, 25/26.

Hadîth :

- II - D - (2) : (Ce bas monde est le néant et) la vie future la durée.

Morceaux poétiques :

- II - B - (1-3) : Oui, ce bas monde est le néant, ce bas monde est sans constance. ...

À déterminer :

- II - C - (1-3); - II - D - (1 et 3).

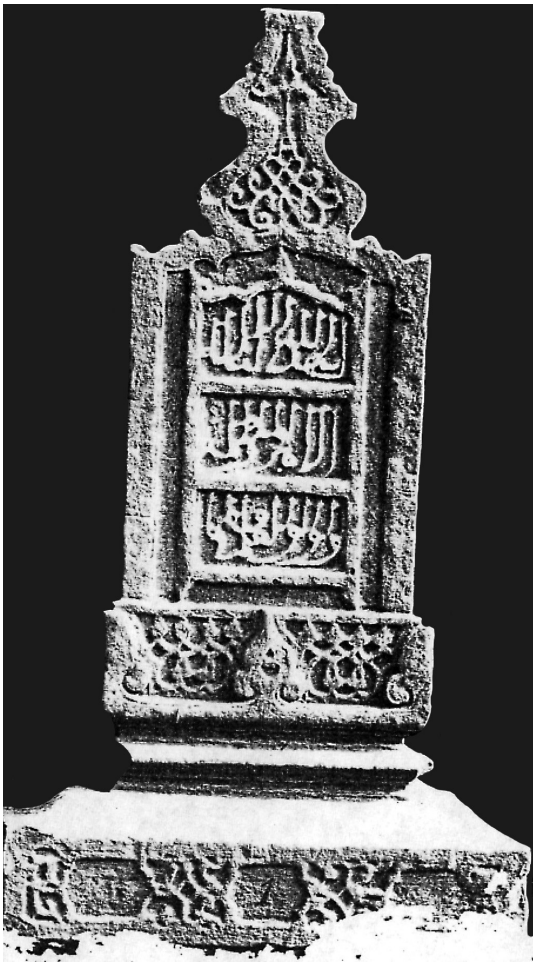


Fig. 14 – Cimetière de Tungku Meugeudong, tombe 6, stèle sud, face sud (de Vink, vers 1912).

Cimetière de Tungku Meurah, Kampung et Meunasa Bireuen, Glumpang Dua (Peusangan).

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe Meurah, kg. en Meunathah Bireuën, Moekim Gloempang Doea (Peusangan). »]

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

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus en 2006 et 2008.

Deux stèles à accolade, à ailes naissantes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 15) ; D- face est. A et C : dans trois compartiments superposés qui couvrent la totalité de la surface, registre. B et D : dans un cartouche rectangulaire vertical, registre orienté verticalement.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud (fig. 16) ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : dans trois compartiments superposés qui couvrent la totalité de la surface, registre. B et D : dans un cartouche rectangulaire vertical, registre orienté verticalement.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1917).

- ١ - أ - (١) سنة أربع و أربعون و ثمانمائة (٢) - - نصّ باللغة الفارسيّة ؟ - (٣) - - نصّ باللغة الفارسيّة ؟ -

- ب - الموت كأس و كلّ الناس شاربهه

- ت - (١) هذ القبر توهن مند (٢) نقلت من الدنيا يوم الخميس إثنا (٣) عشر يوما من شهر ذو [كذا] الحجّة

- ث - الدنيا سجن المؤمن و جنّة الكفّار من [كذا]

- ٢ - أ - (١) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيّوم لا (٢) تأخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده إلّا بإذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم (٣) و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه إلّا بما شاء وسع كرسيّه السموات و الأرض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلىّ العظيم (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٦ / ٢٥٥)

- ب - نصر من اللّه و فتح قريب و بشّر المؤمنين (قرآن، ٦١، ١٣)

- ت - (١) بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم [؟] (٢) كلّ نفس ذائقة الموت و إنّما توفّون أجوركم يوم القيامة (= قرآن، ٣، ١٨٢ / ١٨٥) (٣) الموت باب و كلّ الناس داخلوه [كذا]

- ث - كلّ من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربّك ذو الجلال و الإكرام (= قرآن، ٥٥، ٢٦-٢٧)

Épitaphe :

– I - C - (1-3); - I - A - (1) : Cette tombe est celle de tuan Mund. Elle a été transférée de ce bas monde le jeudi 12 du mois de dhû l-hidjdja de l'année 844 / 4 mai 1441.

D'après les Tableaux de Wüstenfeld, le 12 dhû l-hidjdja 844 tombe effectivement un jeudi.

Coran :

– II - A - (1-3) : II, 256/255.
– II - B : LXI, 13.
– II - C - (2) : III, 182/185.
– II - D : LV, 26-27.

Hadîth :

– I - B : La mort est une coupe dont tout le monde boit.
– I - D : Ce bas monde est une prison pour les croyants et le paradis pour les infidèles.
– II - C - (3) : La tombe est une porte par laquelle tout le monde entre.

Textes religieux :

– II - C - (1) : Au nom de Dieu le Clément, le Miséricordieux. [?]

À déterminer :

– I - A - (2) (texte en persan?); - I - A - (3) (texte en persan?).

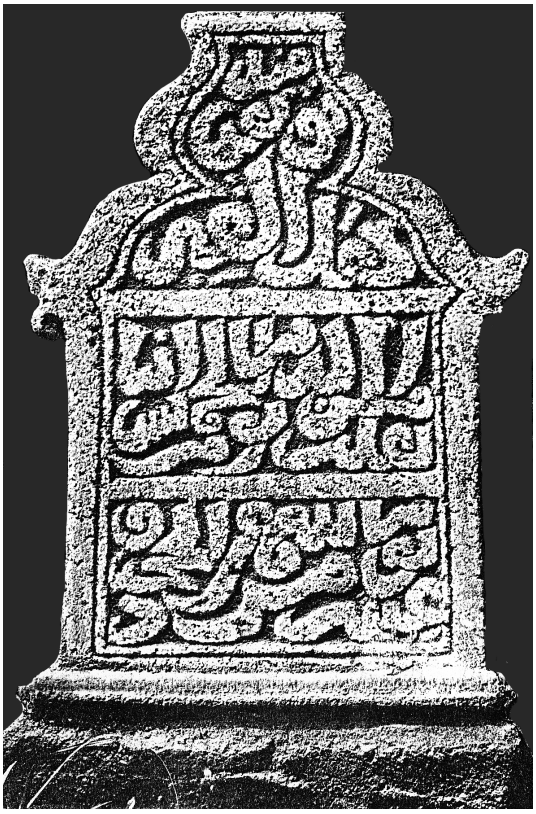


Fig. 15 – Cimetière de Tungku Meurah, tombe 1, stèle sud, face nord (de Vink, vers 1912).

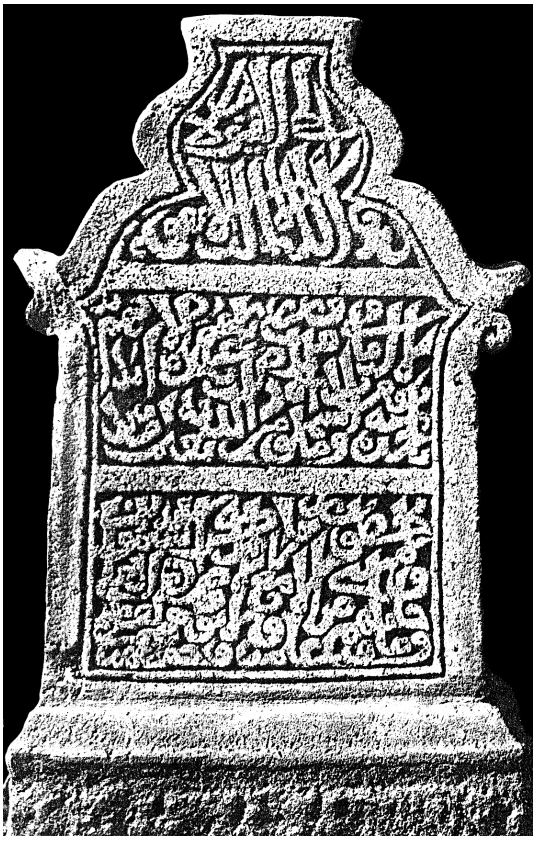


Fig. 16 – Cimetière de Tungku Meurah, tombe 1, stèle nord, face sud (de Vink, vers 1912).

Cimetière de Tungku Batee Betun, Kampung et Meunasa Krueng Juli, Glumpang Dua (Peusangan).

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe Bateë Bethoem, kg. en Meunathah Kroeëng Djoeli, Moekim Gloempang Doea (Peusangan). »]

TOMBE n° 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006). N'a pas été classée par De Vink vers 1911.

Deux stèles à accolade, à ailes naissantes.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est ; E- sommet. Toutes les quatre faces ainsi que le sommet sont recouverts d'un décor à caractères floral stylisé et symétrique.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 17) ; D- face

est; E- sommet. A et C : (a) au sommet de la face, dans un cartouche en forme de cœur renversé, registre ; (b) sur la surface du reste de la face, sept (A) ou six (B) lignes. B et D : décor floral. E : dans un compartiment presque carré, trois lignes en registre.

- ١ - [زخرفة]

- ٢ - أ - (أ) لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه

(ب)-(١) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيّوم لا تأخذه (٢) سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الأرض (٣) من ذى [كذا] الذى يشفع عنده إلّا بإذنه (٤) يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ (٥) من علمه إلّا بما شاء وسع كرسيّه السموات (٦) و الأرض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلىّ (٧) العظيم لا إكراه فى الدين (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٦\٢٥٥- ٢٥٧\٢٥٦)

- ب - [زخرفة]

- ت - (أ) بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم

(ب)-(١) قال القبر باب و كلّ الناس داخلوه [كذا] (٢) وفاة حسين كرم [؟] .. وقت الضحى [؟] .. ثلاثة (٣) من شعبان ثلاثة عشر .. سنة أربعين (٤) و ثمان مائة من الهجرة النبويّة (٥) عليه أفضل الصلوة و أكمل التحيّات (٦) قال المؤمن ...

- ث - [زخرفة]

- ج - (١) يا كريم الذى [؟] ذا (٢) الجلال و (٣) الإكرام

Épitaphe :

– II - C - (b) - (2-5) : Décès de Husayn Karam [?] … au matin [?] … le 3 sha'bân, 13, de l'année 840 de l'hégire du Prophète - sur lui la meilleure bénédiction et les très parfaites salutations ! / 10 février (pour le 3 sha'bân) ou 20 février (pour le 13 sha'bân) 1437.

Coran :

– II - A - (b) - (1-7) : II, 256/255-257/256.

Hadîth :

– II - C - (b) - (1) : Il a dit : La tombe est une porte par laquelle tout le monde entre.

– II - C - (b) - (6) : Il a dit : Le croyant ...

Textes religieux :

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

– II - C - (a) : Au nom de Dieu le Clément le Miséricordieux.

– II - E : Ô Généreux qui détiens la majesté et la magnificence !

Décor : – I - ; - II - B ; - II - D.

Fig. 17 – Cimetière de Tungku Batee Betun, tombe 1, stèle nord, face nord (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

TOMBE n° 03 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006). D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf III.

Deux stèles à accolade polylobée, à ailes naissantes. La stèle sud (I) est cassée au sommet.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est ; E- sommet (disparu). A- face abîmée, de cinq (?) registres ne reste que trois registres inférieurs détériorés à droite, dont le premier est très fragmentaire ; B- face abîmée, ce qui reste est entièrement inscrit de six (?) lignes ; C- face abîmée, de cinq (?) registres ne reste que trois registres inférieurs dont le premier est fragmentaire ; D- face abîmée, ne reste qu'une partie du registre inférieur.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest; C- face nord (fig. 18) ; D- face est ; E- sommet. A - cinq registres; B- huit (?) lignes ; C- cinq registres ; D- huit (?) lignes ; E- probablement non inscrit.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n^{os} 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1917).

- ١ - أ - (١) ++++ (٢) ++++ (٣) ++++ (٤) ++.... (٥) .....

- ب - +++ (١) ..... (٢) ..... (٣) ..... (٤) ..... (٥) ..... (٦) .....

- ت - (١) +++++ (٢) +++++ (٣) ..+.. (٤) ..... (٥) .....

- ث - ++++ // .+.+.

- ٢ - أ - (١) ..... (٢) ..... (٣) ..... (٤) ..... (٥) .....

- ب - (١) ..... (٢) +++++ (٣) ++...++ (٤) ++... (٥) ..... (٦) ..... (٧) ..... (٨) .....

- ت - (١) بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم (٢-٤) نصر من اللّه و فتح قريب و بشّر المؤمنين (= قرآن، ٦١، ١٣) اللّه لا إله إلّا هو الحيّ القيّوم لا تأخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الأرض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده إلّا بإذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه إلّا بما شاء وسع كرسيّه السموات و الأرض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلىّ العظيم (= قرآن، ٢، ٢٥٦ / ٢٥٥) ... (٥) ...

- ث - (١) .... (٢) ... (٣) .+.+. (٤) ... (٥) ... (٦) ... (٧) ... (٨) ...

Coran :

– II - C - (2) : LXI, 13.
– II - C - (2-4) : II, 256/255.

Textes religieux :

– II - C : Au nom de Dieu le Clément le Miséricordieux.

À déterminer :

– I - A - (1-5) ; - I - B - (1-6) ; - I - C - (1-5) ; - I - D ; - II - A - (1-5) ; - II - B - (1-8) ; - II - C - (5) ; - II - D - (1-8).

Il n'est pas certain que toutes les inscriptions soient en arabe.

Fig. 18 – Cimetière de Tungku Batee Betun, tombe 3, stèle nord, face nord (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

TOMBE n° 04 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006). D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf VI.

La tombe n'a pas été retrouvée par Claude Guillot et Ludvik Kalus en 2006 et 2008.

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1460, 1461 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1917).

Il semblerait qu'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.

Tungku Bintara Biang, Kampung Kota Meuse, Meunasa Meuse, Garugu (Peusangan).

[D'après De Vink vers 1911 : « Teungkoe Bintara Biang, kg. Koeta Meusé, Meunathah Meusé, Moekim Garoegoe (Peusangan). »]

TOMBE n° 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006). D'après le classement De Vink vers 1911 : Graf I.

Tombe à deux stèles en cône polyédrique à huit facettes, placées aux deux extrémités d'une dalle rectangulaire posée au sol.

I et II : sur chaque deuxième facette, un registre placé verticalement (-I-A = fig. 19)

Reproductions :

Coll. De Vink n°s 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470 (signalé dans « [Lijst der photographische opnamen], Elfde en Twaalfde lijst van foto's uit Atjèh », dans Oudheidkundige Dienst, Nederlandsch Indie, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1917).

- ١ - أ - و يسبّح الرعد (بحمده) و الملائكة من خيفته (= قرآن، ١٣، ١٤ / ١٣)
- ب - إنّا فتحنا لك فتحا مبينا (= قرآن، ٤٨، ١)
- ت - و بذكرك ايدنا [لدنّا ؟] أجرا عظيما
- ث - اللهمّ افتح قلوبنا
- ٢ - أ - و اوسع مكانته
- ب - اللهمّ (اجعل الجنّة) نزلا و ارحمه ..
- ت - لا إله إلّا اللّه محمّد رسول اللّه
- ث - و اغسلهم (بالماء ؟) و الثلج البرد

Coran :

– I - A : XIII, 14/13.

– I - B : XLVIII, 1.

Textes religieux :

– I - C : Par Ton invocation de notre part (donne-nous) une immense rétribution!

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

Prière :

– I - C -; - II - A : Ô mon Dieu ! Ouvre nos cœurs et rends spacieuse sa place !

– II - B, - II - C : Ô mon Dieu ! Fais du Paradis le lieu de sa halte et accorde-lui Ta miséricorde…. et lave-le (par l'eau ?) et la neige froide !

Fig. 19 – Cimetière Bintara Biang, tombe 1, stèle I, face A (Guillot/Kalus 2006).

Cimetière de Simpang Keuramat, Keude, dans la région de Lheuksemawe.

TOMBE n° 01 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Deux stèles à accolade polylobée.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord (fig. 20) ; D- face est. A et C : trois registres superposés; B et D : un grand registre vertical.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : trois registres superposés ; B et D : un grand registre vertical.

- ١ - أ - (١) مضى الدهر و الأيّام و الذنب حاصل و جاء (٢) رسول الموة [كذا] و القلب غافل (٣) تعتمل فى الدنيا غرور و حسرة

- ب - ... المؤمن ...

- ت - (١) و عيشك فى الدنيا محال و باطل (٢) ألا إنّما الدنيا كمنزل راكب (٣) أراح عشيّا و هو فى الصبح راحل

- ث - ...

- ٢ - أ - (١) شهد اللّه أنّه لا إله إلّا (٢) هو و الملائكة و أولوا العلم قا (٣) ئما (قائما) بالقسط لا إله إلّا

- ب - ...

- ت - (١) هو العزيز الحكيم إنّ الدين (٢) عند اللّه الإسلام (= قرآن، ٣، ١٦\١٨ - ١٧\١٩) (٣) اللهمّ مالك الملك

- ث - ...

Coran :

– II - A - (1-3); - II - D - (1-2) : III, 16/18-17/19.

Textes religieux :

– II - D - (3) : O mon Dieu, Souverain de la Royauté!

Morceaux poétiques :

– I - A - (1-3); - I - C - (1) : Le temps et les jours se sont écoulés et tu n'en as tiré que péché. A la venue de l'envoyé de la mort, ton coeur reste insouciant. Tu t'abandonnes, dans ce bas monde, aux vanités et aux repentirs et ta vie ici-bas est absurde et vaine.

– I - C - (2-3) : Ce bas monde n'est-il pas comme un logis pour le voyageur : il s'y installe le soir et en repart le matin.

À déterminer :

– I - B ; - I - D ; - II - B ; - II - D.

TOMBE n° 02 du cimetière (classement Guillot/Kalus en 2006).

Deux petites stèles à accolade polylobée. La stèle est déplacée dans le périmètre de son emplacement d'origine.

I - Stèle sud : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : deux registres superposés ; B et D : un grand registre vertical.

II - Stèle nord : A- face sud ; B- face ouest ; C- face nord ; D- face est. A et C : deux registres superposés ; B et D : un grand registre vertical.

- ١ - أ - (١) ... (٢) ... الدنيا

- ب - ...

- ت - (١) ... (٢) ...

- ث - ...

- ٢ - أ - (١) و أولوا العلم (= قرآن، ٣، ١٦ / ١٨) (٢) ... السلطان

- ب - ... شهيد

- ت - (١) شهد اللّه أنّه لا (٢) إله إلّا هو و الملائكة

- ث - ...

Épitaphe (?) :

– II - A - (2) ; - II - B : … le sultan… témoin de la foi.

Coran :

– II - C - (1-2) ; - II - A - (1) : III, 16/18.

À déterminer :

– I - A - (1-2) ; - I - B ; - I - C - (1-2) ; - I - D.

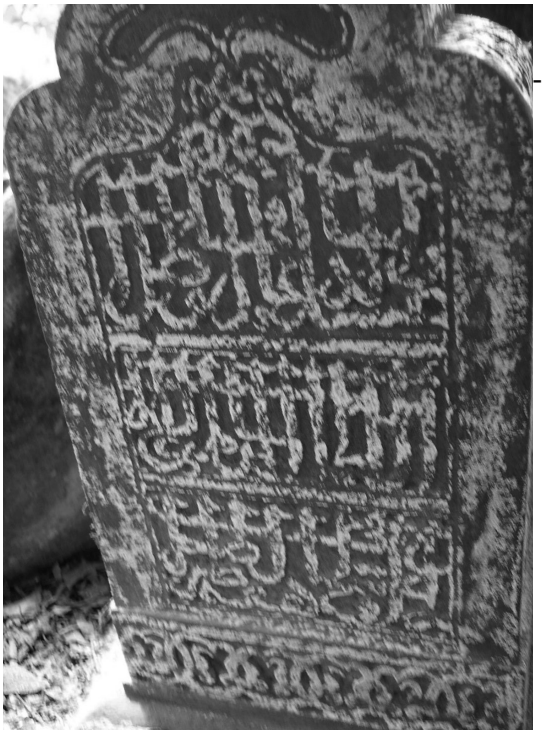


Fig. 20 – Cimetière de Simpang Keuramat, tombe 1, stèle sud, face nord (Guillot/ Kalus 2006).

Henri Chambert-Loir[1]

Islamic Law in 17th Century Aceh

The sharia in Aceh

The implementation of Islamic law (sharia) in Indonesia is an issue that has raised numerous controversies since independence, as the decision had been taken not to inscribe Islam as the religion of the state as early as 1950. Aceh province, reputed to be particularly rigorous in terms of religion and which has shown strong separatist tendencies for a long time, raised that issue with a special virulence. The decision to authorize that province alone to enforce sharia is the fruit of recent unpredictable events.[2]

The presidential mandate of B.J. Habibie, which occurred unexpectedly (as a result of the fall of Soeharto's governement, in May 1998) and lasted only a year (1998-1999), provoked reforms of disproportionate dimensions. These included the independence of Timor Leste, a regional decentralisation process and the decision to grant sharia to Aceh. At the same time, Aceh province, newly baptised Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (henceforth, Aceh) was granted a status of special autonomy (as already enjoyed by Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Papua) which confered it a greater autonomy than enjoyed by the other provinces. The granting of sharia, in 1998, was not a response to any special pressure of the moment; it was conceived as a gesture to smooth the relationship between the central government and the province.

1. Director of Studies emeritus, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.

2. The following outline is based on the following sources: the books by Feener (2013), Afrianty (2015) and Salim (2015), and the articles by Bush (2008) and Buehler (2008).

The 2004 tsunami caused not only casualties and material damage of considerable proportions, but also a social trauma, one consequence of which was a surge for greater religious rigour. The tsunami also contributed to speed up the negociations between the Indonesian government and the separatist movement (GAM, Movement for Aceh's Independence), which led to the Helsinki Agreement of August 2005. Later on, the leaders of GAM, who were not a priori in favour of the implementation of sharia, were elected at the head of the province.

Since that time the definition, organisation and enforcing of sharia has been very slow and problematic. Sharia is not a code that could be adopted once and for all to replace the whole of Indonesian law. The sharing of judicial jurisdictions between the province and the central government makes the process complex. The population of the province (four and a half million in 2010) is divided about the principle and the mode of implementation of sharia. The ongoing debate on the subject is linked with power struggle and the structure of Indonesian judiciary; it is also influenced by the way Acehnese perceive sharia and conceive the identity of their province. The issue, in fact, is more political than religious.

The process of decentralisation has transferred a number of jurisdictions from the central government to the "regions" (provinces, districts [*kabupaten*] and municipalities [*kotamadya*]); these three administrative units became autonomous in certain administrative and economic domains, which caused an upheaval of local political life and consequently of certain aspects of social life. Many "regions" started to issue regional Islamic by-laws (Perda SI, Peraturan Daerah Syariat Islam) ruling over social practices in the religious field that are not governed by the national law codes, such as wearing a veil, consuming alcohol, collecting ritual alms (*zakat*), performing the fast and the ritual prayers, and so on. In 2008, 160 Perda SI had already been issued in 24 of the 33 provinces. Aceh province has five *kotapraja* and 18 *kabupaten*, some of which have also issued by-laws independently of the province.

Aceh province undertook to organise sharia, beside national law that remains in force in a general way, by issuing little by little a series of punctual codes (*qanun*): 58 of them have been enacted between 1999 and 2008. They regard the above mentioned issues as well as the operation of religious courts, the creation of a religious police force (Wilayatul Hisbab), the rules of decency in the relationship between unmarried men and women, and many others. The Qanun Junayat (criminal code) of 2009, which stipulated corporal punishments, raised many controversies.

In this rather tumultuous context, it is in the interest of the proponents of sharia to demonstrate that Islamic law is deep-rooted in the history of the province. There is no lack of local academics to assert that sharia was implemented in Aceh as soon as Islam was introduced, long before the 17th century and that that practice was only interrupted by Dutch colonial rule, in

1874. Henceforth, ancient documents that seem to testify to the implementation of sharia at the time of the sultanate meet with new interest. The publication, almost simultaneously, in Aceh itself, of two bulky compendiums of *fiqh*, that is, treatises detailing the implementation of sharia, dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, implicitely reinforces the idea of the age-old presence of sharia in the province.

These two compendiums are not published as sources of Islamic law that could eventually inspire today magistrates. About one of them (the *Safinat al-Hukkam*), M. Feener remarks that its contents have practically no resemblance with modern Islamic legislation (2013: 158). One of the peculiarities of sharia implementation in Aceh today, even more surprising because it differs from the judicial practice in the other Indonesian provinces, is that judges of the religious courts very rarely quote texts of *fiqh*, but on the contrary refer to the codes of Indonesian national law, notably the 1989 Religious Judicature Act and the 1991 Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI, Kompilasi Hukum Islam) (Feener, 2013: 168).

Islamic Law Books in Malay

Two academics from Aceh have published in 2015, with a small local publisher, the transcription of three major compendiums of Islamic law written in Aceh and Borneo, in the 17th and 18th centuries. They are the *Mir'at al-Tullab* (The Mirror of Seekers) by Abdurrauf bin Ali al-Singkili[3], the *Safinat al-Hukkam* (The Vessel of Judges) by Jalaluddin al-Tarusani, and the *Sabil al-Muhtadin* (The Path of the Rightly Guided) by Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (see al-Singkili, 2015; al-Tarusani, 2015; al-Banjari, 2015-2017, in the References below). I will only talk of the first two, as I was unable to see the third, of which suffice it to say that the author, Muhammad Arsyad, who is believed to have lived more than a hundred years (1710-1812), studied many years in Mekkah at the same time as Abdul Samad al-Palimbani, Abdul Wahab Bugis and Abdul Rahman al-Misri. Upon returning to Banjar in South Borneo, he wrote the *Sabil al-Muhtadin* (around 1780), which is an elaborated adaptation of Nuruddin al-Raniri's *Sirat al-Mustaqim* (written in Aceh in 1644), by order of Sultan Tahmidullah. The *Sabil al-Muhtadin*, restricted to ritual obligations (*hukum ibadah*), has been very popular in Indonesia and Malaysia until recent times and was several times published in Jawi (i.e. in Arabic characters).

The four above-mentioned titles are not the only *fiqh* compendiums written in Malay between the 17th and the 19th centuries. Other titles are known, for instance the numerous manuscripts devoted to laws pertaining to marriage (*Bab al-Nikah*), several works by Daud bin Abdullah al-Patani (d. ca. 1845) such as

3. Abdurrauf is known under three names (*nisba*): al-Singkili, al-Fansuri, and al-Jawi. I will use the first.

Bughyat al-Tullab and *Furu' al-Masa'il* (see Matheson & Hooker, 1988), or the *Al-Qawanin al-Syar'iyah* (1881) by Sayyid Uthman al-'Alawi (which has been recently published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jakarta).

Still, in the corpus of Malay texts of the 'classical' period (say, prior to the 20th century), works pertaining to Islamic law are rather rare. The four texts mentioned earlier are quoted everywhere, but the information on them, tirelessly copied out from one book or one article to another, is vague and uncertain. Thus, only a handful of law digests, as opposed to hundreds of pamphlets related to other fields of the religious domain, as theology, sufism, Koran exegesis, hadith collections, morality, etc.

Books about Islamic law (*fiqh*, *fikih*, *fikah*) have always circulated in manuscript form (the manuscripts of some of them were numerous all over the Indonesian archipelago), beside a few editions in Jawi made for Koranic schools. The word *fiqh* is commonly translated as "jurisprudence" because *fiqh* is not the law (sacred law, *shari'a*, is contained in the Koran and the Sunna), but the interpretation of the law. Accordingly, the above books expound the law according to the Shafi'i school, but in some cases give also the advice of the three other Sunni schools (Hanafi, Maliki, Hanbali) and deliver the principles of the law as they are formulated by such and such an author. In that regard, they fundamentally differ from the codes of law of modern states.

Jalaluddin declares in his introduction (2015, p. 11) that it is cautious, in specific cases, to respect the prescriptions of various schools in order to be sure to be in the right path. On many issues, indeed, he exposes the point of view of other schools than the Shafi'i one, judges being free, it seems, to choose one or the other according to circumstances. In the chapter on court decisions (*Baht kitab al-aqdiyah*), Jalaluddin quotes Shaykh Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani: "I hate the judge who sticks to the law school (*mazhab*) of his father or his shaykh in delivering a verdict whereas he knows that this verdict is not to the interest of Muhammad's people in his own time and that he could switch to a different school.[4] " Follows a long list of examples of differences of opinion between the four schools.

The number of works on Islamic law in Malay is meagre in comparison to that of Arabic treatises on the subject known to have circulated in Indonesia, either in religious courts or in Koranic schools.[5] The law books studied in those schools have been well recorded and studied (mainly by L.W.C. van

4. This passage is incomplete in the 2015 edition (p. 178), because of a three-line lacunae caused by a "saut du même au même"; the complete text is found in the 2004 transcription, p. 146, i.e. "*aku benci akan orang yang tetap ia pada madhhab bapaknya dan shaykhnya pada suatu hukum serta diketahuinya hukum itu tiada maslahat bagi ummat Muhammad pada masanya, lagi dapat ia berpindah kepada yang lain daripada madhhab bapaknya dan shaykhnya…*"

5. I use the phrase "Koranic schools" to designate all sorts of schools for the teaching of the religious sciences (*pondok*, *dayah*, *meunasah*, *surau*, *madrasah*, *pesantren*). Some were limited to basic teaching, while others encompassed all domains of Islam as a religion.

den Berg, 1886, and M. van Bruinessen, 1995; see also Steenbrink, 1984), but the books used by Islamic courts are much more obscure. It seems that even Arabic books may have been rare. G.W.J. Drewes devoted a study to the texts known to come from one region of Indonesia, viz Palembang, on the basis of the manuscripts, mostly from the 19th century, kept today in public libraries. Among other conclusions he remarked: "the complete absence of books on Islamic law (*fiqh*) is most conspicuous. After all, books of this kind cannot have been lacking in Palembang; the less so because this town, a Muslim centre for centuries, was the seat of a religious court coming under the authority of the Panghulu-in-chief (Drewes 1977: 217). "Considering this dearth of documentation, the simultaneous publication of the *Mir'at al-Tullab* and the *Safinat al-Hukkam* is quite an exceptional event.

The *Mir'at al-tullab* in perspective

Most of Malay religious books bear Arabic titles made of two rhyming distiches. The full title of the *Mir'at al-tullab* is *Mir'at al-Tullab fi tashil ma'rifat ahkam al-shar'iyya li'l-malik al-wahhab*,[6] which the author himself translates as "the mirror of law students devised to facilitate knowledge of divine law." The author, Abdurrauf bin Ali al-Singkili, is one of the most famous ulemas in Indonesian history. His life covers most of the 17th century (ca.1620–1693).[7] Born in Aceh, he studied twenty years (1642–ca.1661) in Arabia, Yemen and Cairo, then came back to Aceh, where he held a high position at the court, opened a school, spread the *tarekat* Shattariyya, and wrote several books, including the first Malay exegesis of the Qur'an.

The *Mir'at al-Tullab* is quoted everywhere, so that its title is known to everyone interested in Malay-Indonesian intellectual life across the centuries,

6. One word needs to be said about the system of transcription used in this article. In the Malay-Indonesian field, authors (local and foreigners alike) speaking of religion tend to spell certain words of Arabic origin as if they were Arabic (e.g. *qāḍī* instead of *kadi*). I follow, on the contrary, the principle of spelling Indonesian words as such and to limit transliterations and diacritics to words typically foreign. The distinction is not always an easy one: was the word *fiqh* already Malay (under the form *fikih* or *fikah*) in 1672 or 1740 (when Abdurrauf and Jalaluddin were writing)? Another question is raised by names: "Abdurrauf" and "Jalaluddin" refer to a typically modern way to write these two names; in the 17th and 18th centuries they were uniquely written in Arabic characters; the question of their spelling in Latin characters only arose at the end of the 19th century and it gave rise to variants, among others due to the evolution of the official spelling of Malay and Indonesian. Abdurrauf and Jalaluddin (and a hundred others) are names of Arabic origin, but names of Indonesian people; I can't see any reason to treat those names as if they were those of Arab people; what is the signification of the lettering 'Abd al-Ra'ūf in Indonesia? A third point concerns the transcription of Arabic book titles. As this article is not intended for Arabicists, I am using a simplified transcription, without diacritics. I am following illustrious examples here, like Azyumardi Azra (1994) and M. van Bruinessen (1995), as I am sure that it will not prevent anyone from understanding them.

7. All dates in Abdurrauf's life are conjectural. D.O. Rinkes, in 1909, roughly calculated that he might be born in 1615, and the date has been accepted ever since, even though P. Voorhoeve (1952: 88) established that he was probably born "a bit later."

but the text is easily available to nobody: a Jawi edition (in Arabic script) published in Cairo, has circulated in the circle of Koranic schools, but no transcription has ever reached a wider public and it seems that, during the last fifty years, it has been read by only a very few people. Already in 1989, M. van Bruinessen (1995: 119) noted that it was not studied in Koranic schools anymore and that even its title was not widely known. The 2015 publication of the Lembaga Naskah Aceh is not easily accessible on the market, but it exists and every interested individual or institution is now able to acquire it.

The *Mir'at al-Tullab* is supposed to have had a prominent influence on local justice in a great part of the Indonesian world, from Patani to Mindanao. An interesting testimony in this regard is that of Raja Ali Haji in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* regarding Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Jafar (Riau's viceroy), who was named to that office in 1805: "He liked religious scholars and was dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge. He read books in Malay like the *Fundamentals of Religion* [*Usul al-Din*] and the *Mir'at al-Tullab* with his teacher, Haji Abd al-Wahab, a prominent religious scholar of the time.[8]" Another sign of the extensive distribution of the book is the fact that one copy was given by the Raja of Gorontalo, in Northern Sulawesi, to a distinguished Dutch visitor around 1820.[9]

The first Malay *fiqh* book known to us, i.e. Nuruddin's *Sirat al-Mustaqim*, has been in some way very popular, as it may have been the most copied Malay manuscript ever, with more than 175 extant copies (see Wormser, 2012: 47-48), probably because pupils of Aceh *dayah* (Koranic schools) had to copy it as an exercise. It was also published several times, both separately and in the margins of Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari's *Sabil al-Muhtadin*. However, it was restricted to ritual obligations (*hukum ibadah*) and thus represented only a small portion of the *fiqh* apparatus.

The *Mir'at al-Tullab* was the first extensive Malay treatise of *fiqh* written in the Malay world. It was not, however, for Aceh people the first introduction to *fiqh*: before the rise of Abdurrauf, there had been a score of foreign and domestic scholars teaching and writing about the various domains of Islamic sciences in Aceh. The *Bustan al-Salatin*, in a short chapter about the history of Aceh written (or rather completed) ca.1680 (Nuru'd-din, 1966: 32-35), mentions by name eight scholars, mostly foreign, who had a position in Aceh from the reign of Sultan Ali Riayat Syah (1571-1579) to that of Sultana Tajul Alam Safiatuddin (1641–1675). Most of those scholars were teaching, some of them specifically about *fiqh*, but this does not mean that teaching institutions as we know them (*meunasah*, *dayah*, *madrasah*) already existed. The English

8. See Ali Haji 1982: 221. The *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, in fact, is not the work of Raja Ali Haji, but of his father, Raja Ahmad. The son edited and expanded (up to 40%) the work after his father's death, but it is not easy to distinguish what belongs to whom in the final work (see Matheson 1971).

9. The visitor was C.G.C. Reinwardt; see Wieringa, 1998: 27.

navigator John Davis, who visited Aceh in 1602, states that the Acehnese of the capital "bring up their Children in Learning, and have many Schooles" (Reid, 1995: 26). If we choose to take this testimony (unique of its kind) at face value, it means that some kind of *meunasah* existed, that is, places where children were taught to read the Koran, not places of high learning. The education of Iskandar Muda, as it is retold in the *Hikayat Aceh*, lasts 'a few months' at the age of 13 and its evocation holds in one sentence: "With God's will, after some time Pancagah knew to read the Koran and religious books" (Iskandar, 1958: 150). The above-mentioned scholars may have been teaching in the royal mosque. And the eighteen sufi tracts from the early 17th century published by A. Johns (1957) could be the texts of such lectures.

Among those foreign scholars was Shaykh Abu'l-Khair bin Shaykh Ibn Hajar, the son of the famous Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (1504-66), who was among the models of both Abdurrauf and Jalaluddin. Another one was Shaykh Muhammad Jailani al-Hamid, who came from Ranir in Gujarat; he was the uncle of Nuruddin al-Raniri, and he stayed twice in Bandar Aceh, during two different reigns, and taught *fiqh* and mysticism. Another again was a shaykh of Syrian origin, Ibrahim ibn Abdullah al-Shami al-Shafi'i, who died in 1630, six months after the illustrious Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Samatrani. There were many more scholars not mentioned in the *Bustan* (Abdurrauf is not); about Sultana Tajul Alam the text simply says: "she revered and appreciated the ulemas and the descendants of the Prophet who came to Bandar Daru's-Salam"(Nur'd-din, 1966: 59).

Long before that, we know from Ibn Battuta, that there were several jurists in Pasai in the middle of the 14th century. The Maroccan traveller mentions the names of two Persians: Amir Sayyid al-Shirazi and Taj al-Din al-Isbahani, and he relates that he had a discussion about Shafi'i jurisprudence with the sultan himself (Ibn Battuta, 1995: 966, 968). This testimony corroborates the fact that Pasai writers, either Persians versed in Malay or Malays fluent in Persian, translated several famous Persian texts into Malay: *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (The story of the wise parrot, translated by one Qadi Hasan in 1371), while in 1603, in Aceh, Bukhari al-Johori would compile the *Taj al-Salatin* from Persian sources. Later on, we know from the *Sulalat al-Salatin* that many ulamas from the Middle-East visited Malacca in the 15th century.

We cannot expect all the above mentioned foreign scholars to know Malay, while they were only spending a relatively short time in Aceh. Nuruddin was an exception, not the rule. Therefore, they must have been teaching in Arabic, which supposes that there were enough people to understand that language. A few documents attest that, in Pasai, Malacca and Aceh, in the 14th-16th centuries, educated people could speak Arabic. The *Sulalat al-Salatin* tells us, when recording the origins of the sultanate of Pasai, that "at that time all

the people of Pasai knew Arabic" (Brown 1970: 36; on Arabic in Pasai see Braginsky 2004: 116-18).

Towards the end of the sultanate, shortly before 1511, it is said of a Malacca noble: "Tun Muhammad was, for a Malay, a learned man; he had a smattering of Arabic grammar and syntax and canon law and some slight knowledge of doctrinal theology (Brown, 1970: 112)." *Fiqh* is thus regarded as a relatively familiar domain.

Therefore, the *Mir'at al-Tullab* does not mark the discovery of *fiqh* by the Malays, but the beginning of writing about *fiqh* in an extensive way in the Malay language. It is somewhat surprising that we have to wait until the middle of the 17th century to see *fiqh* books written in Malay in Bandar Aceh, viz the *Sirat al-Mustaqim* (1644) and the *Mir'at al-Tullab* (1672). Beside the fact that other books may have disappeared without a trace, there may be several reasons for this, among others the importance of orality in teaching and the role of Malay in the implementation of justice: deliberations in courts were most probably conducted in Acehnese and so was the pronounciation of verdicts, while source books were in Arabic: Malay may have taken time to become one of the languages of the law.

Contents of the *Mir'at al-Tullab*

In his preface (pp. xxxiv-xxxvi of the 2015 edition), Abdurrauf explains that he wrote the text on order of the sultana Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Syah (1641-75) and that he was helped by two assistants ("two of my colleagues, very pious and distinguished, and fluent in written Malay"[10]) because he had lost his mastering of Malay after some twenty years spent in the Middle-East ("because I spent a long time as a student in Yemen, Mekkah and Medina"). This statement curiously echoes Nuruddin's own acknowledgement that, when he was ordered by Sultan Iskandar Thani, in 1638, to write the *Bustan al-Salatin*, he felt embarrassed because his mastery of Malay was deficient ("*kurang fahamnya pada bahasa Jawi*," Nuruddin, 2004: 3), but this is probably a mere coincidence, as Nuruddin, as a foreigner, had good reasons not to master Jawi perfectly.

Abdurrauf's preface is written in both Arabic and Malay; interestingly, the Jawi language is qualified as "the Jawi of Sumatra" in Arabic, but as 'the Jawi of Pasai' in Malay. Syamsuddin Pasai was already saying that he was writing in "bahasa Pasai" in 1601 (Iskandar, 1995: 389), and one of the sufi tracts published by A, Johns (1957: 74) is written "dengan bahasa orang Pasai."

Abdurrauf named his book "*Mir'at al-Tullab, artinya Cermin segala mereka yang menuntut ilmu fikih pada memudahkan mengenal segala hukum*

10. One manuscript of the *Mir'at* gives the names, real or fictitious, of these two men (see Voorhoeve, 1952: 89).

syara' Allah." A colophon in Arabic (pp. 605-606) specifies that he finished writing it on the 8 Jumadilakhir 1083 [1st of October 1672].

In his introduction Abdurrauf quotes only one source (p. xxxvi): the *Fath al-Wahhab*, that is, the commentary by Zakariya ibn Muhammad al-Anshari (d. 1520 EC) of a summary of the *Minhaj al-Thalibin* by Al-Imam Muhyi al-Din al-Nawawi (d. 1277 EC). In the body of the *Mir'at*, Abdurrauf refers to several other sources, the most often quoted being the *Fath al-Jawwad* by Sheikh Ibnu Hajar Al-Haytami (d. 1566 EC). According to P. Voorhoeve (1952: 107) and M. van Bruinessen (1995: 119) the *Mir'at* is, mainly or merely, a translation of the *Fath al-Wahhab*. It cannot actually be a mere translation as it refers to posterior works like the *Nihayat al-Muhtaj* by Shams al-Din al-Ramli (d. 1595), but to what extent Abdurrauf's work is an original compilation still needs to be established.

The book is intended for cadis and judges. The first paragraph (pp. 1-3) addresses them and promises them the most severe punishments if they were to be unjust. The text is divided into 71 paragraphs (numbered in the edition, but not in the original manuscript), half of which concern commercial transactions (*hukum muamalah*), fifteen criminal law (*hukum jinayat*), and the rest various topics, including inheritance law (*hukum faraid*). The text is for a great part expounded in the form of questions and answers (*soal jawab*). The body of the text is preceded by two so-called prefaces (*mukadimah*) which in fact belong to the text, the first of which is published in Jawi, but is no less exempt of mistakes than the Latin transcription of the body of the text.

The 2015 edition is the transcription of a manuscript kept in the Ali Hasjmy collection, in Banda Aceh, which is not actually a manuscript, but a photocopy. It happens that a facsimile of that (photocopy of) manuscript has been reproduced in 1971 (see al-Singkili, 1971, in the References). That reproduction shows a difficult manuscript. It contains a host of marginal annotations, which the 2015 editors say nothing about. Marginal notes are a common feature of manuscripts related to Islam. Their interest, in a case like this one, is to show how readers glossed over, interpreted or questioned the text in the 19th century.

The *Safinat al-Hukkam*

The *Safinat al-Hukkam* has been famous in Aceh for decades (at least Islamic scholars knew its title); perhaps it has remained famous since the time of its writing until now, but it seems clear that in recent times very few people ever read it, the main reason being that it was unpublished. Three manuscripts are known in Aceh, while it seems that no other manuscript has ever been known outside the province. These three manuscripts have actually been transcribed decades ago, but only distributed as a limited number of photocopies. Those three transcriptions had their origin at the University Syiah Kuala in Banda Aceh; they date from 1982, 2001 and 2004. Therefore, the publication of this

text in Latin transcription, in 2015, is an important event for the knowledge of Indonesian law and more generally of Aceh's intellectual history.

In contrast to Abdurrauf, Jalaluddin, the author of the *Safinat al-hukkam*, is totally unknown and his work is mentioned in none of the solid studies about Indonesian ulemas, Malay religious books or Malay literature. His complete name, as given by himself (p. 3), viz Jalaluddin ibn Sheikh Muhammad Kamaluddin ibn al-Kadi al-Tarusani, indicates that his father was a man of religion and his grand-father cadi of the region of Tarusan, on the southwest coast of the Minangkabau country.[11]

At the beginning of the text, he explains that, on Friday the 4 Muharram 1153 [Friday 1st of April 1740] he was ordered by Sultan Alaiddin Johan Syah (r. 1735-60), son of Sultan Alaiddin Ahmad Syah, to compile a short treatise (*risalah yang simpan*) about canonic law (*hukum syara'*), "because there are few specialists and no student." Indeed, he adds, Abdurrauf has written the *Mirat al-Tullab*, but it is enormous and difficult to memorise; thus, the author has composed this text and named it *Safinat al-Hukkam*, "meaning the vessel of judges, intended to resolve controversies between people." The fact that the book was commissionned by the sultan probably indicates that Jalaluddin, like Nuruddin and Abdurrauf before him, had a position at the court of the reigning sultan.

The *Safinat al-Hukkam*, like the *Mir'at al-Tullab*, is intended for the professionals of the law: cadis and judges, and it insists in its preliminaries on the necessity for judges to be knowledgable and honest.

The text tackles, in a superficial way, a great number of topics, for instance by listing the major and minor sins (*dosa besar dan kecil*), but essentially from the viewpoint of procedure (accusation, defense, representation, oath, attestation, denial, testimony, proof, doubt, sentence): how to establish the certainty of a fact?

There are a few specific sections: *hukum muamalah*, pp. 256-320 (commerce, contracts, profit, power of attorney, promise, leasing, employment contract, *waqaf*, donation, property right, loan), *hukum nikah*, pp. 320-378 ("There is among us no act of devotion (*ibadah*) that has been accomplished since Adam's era until now and will still be valid in paradise, except faith and marriage," p. 130). *Hukum jinayah* (criminal law) is extremely limited: a short section on pp. 381-407 and a few paragraphs here and there: assassination, murder, physical injuries, theft, banditry. There is also a short section on inheritance (*hukum faraid*), and nothing on *hukum ibadah* (ritual obligations). Other articles about civil law (marriage, inheritance), commercial law ("commerce

11. Ali Hasjmy's allegation (1987: 266-7) that in his youth Jalaluddin first studied with his father and then in India and in Mecca, is mere fiction. Hasjmy and other authors attribute to Jalaluddin or to his son a work on theology: *Mudharul Ajla Ila Rutbatil A'la*. Teuku Iskandar (2011: 61) has the puzzling statement that, among the many authors of religious texts in 18th century Aceh, Jalaluddin al-Tarusani was "the most prolific."

is called *muamalah*," p. 227) and many other issues are found elsewhere. The texts ends on a long lesson in arithmetic (*ilmu hisab*, pp. 453-473), which has no place in a law handbook, but is useful for the calculation of the amounts of some transactions, especially in cases of inheritance.

In his preface, Jalaluddin refers to a dozen of known Arabic *fiqh* treatises; in the text he quotes half a dozen more. Thus the book seems to be an original compilation drawn upon a great number of sources. If such is the case, it probably implies that Jalaluddin studied in the Middle East, as such a wide range of sources would have been unavailable in Aceh at the time. We have seen that the *Mir'at al-Tullab* is not among his sources. The *Safinat al-Hukkam* is in no way an adaptation of the *Mir'at al-Tullab*; it does not even seem to be influenced by it (as it has sometimes been asserted); it is a new treatise, written in new circumstances and aiming at being more practical—unless, of course, it is the translation of an Arabic treatise: here again, the degree of originality of this work needs to be established. Jalaluddin does not refer to Abdurrauf: this is typical of Indonesian ulamas who produced the Malay religious books we know: until the 20th century, they virtually never refer to their fellow Indonesian ulamas (except when one Nuruddin fights one Hamzah); the source of religious sciences cannot be in the archipelago, it is far away in the Middle East.

Fiqh books are commonly organised in a systematic way, exploring the law in a few domains (religious practice, commerce, family life, crime), one after the other. The *Safinat al-Hukkam* is not structured in that way, and it cannot be used to immediately show all articles pertaining to one topic—and this might be an indication that the book is indeed original. The only way to make it usable is to learn it by heart. But this was no real problem for the scholars of the time.

The Language of the Law

Both the *Mir'at* and the *Safinat* are written in a very specific register of Malay, commonly called "Kitab Malay" (the Malay of religious books), which Anthony Johns (1998: 146) has coined "a religious register of Malay" and Peter Riddell (2012: 281) "a kind of Malay religious dialect." Malay, as all languages of the Islamic world, has adopted a religious terminology almost entirely made of Arabic terms, meaning that most of the essential notions are not translated into the local language: Arabic terms are used as such, more or less adapted to local phonology. Moreover, a special idiom has developed from the time of Islamisation to talk about religion and more particularly to translate the Koran as well as Arabic handbooks in that field. That idiom, "Kitab Malay," is the unholy mixture of Arabic syntax and Malay vocabulary.

Kitab Malay produced texts that are difficult to read. The *Mir'at* and the *Safinat*, like many other ancient *fiqh* books, are only comprehensible to people who have been trained to that idiom and who master the Arabic terminology pertaining to

fiqh. Talking about another book by Abdurrauf, the *Tarjuman al-Mustafid*, written ca. 1675, P. Riddell comments: "It can be seen that the Malay rendering is faithfull to the content of the Qur'anic original. At times, such fidelity borders on the incomprehensible, with the result that the reader must at times refer to the Arabic in order to understand the Malay" (1990: 61), and he quotes (p. 76) P. Voorhoeve on Abdurrauf's works: "His translations from the Arabic are so literal that they are unintelligible without a knowledge of that language."

Curiously, Abdurrauf, writing in 1672 and complaining that his mastery of Malay was deficient, used a rather more rigorous and more easily comprehensible Malay than Jalaluddin, of Minangkabau origin, writing eighty years later, in 1740. In the middle of the *Safinat al-Hukkam*, Jalaluddin devotes a short chapter (*Mathlab qawa'id bahasa Jawi*, On the fundamentals of Jawi) to the use of several Malay key-words (*bagi*, *atas*, *kami*, etc.) in the context of the judicial idiom, but he does not make any comment about Kitab Malay as a specific idiom; it is not even possible to guess whether he was aware of using a specific idiom.

It is true that the contrast between Kitab Malay and classical Malay is striking when a number of texts written in these two idioms are put side by side, but the experience of writers and readers in ancient times was totally different: each text was read in a specific context and its register was not submitted to comparison. The student of a Koranic school in Aceh in the past had to study, under the supervision of a teacher, religious texts written in Kitab Malay, whereas he most probably never in his life read a book written in classical Malay: he may have heard some of the stories we now know as printed texts, but he never saw them in written form, while professional story-tellers used another idiom again, much different from classical Malay. In other words, for such a student, classical Malay simply did not exist.

Translating Islam

One of the first tasks of the ulamas who carried out the transmission of the fundamentals of the religion of Islam in Aceh was to translate: translate the basic texts, translate the tenets, notions and analyses formulated in Arabic, and translate the contents of the Holy Book, whereas it was conceived as inseparable from the language of the revelation. Basically, Kitab Malay is the result of the utmost literal translation of Arabic texts or a discourse thought in Arabic.

Kitab Malay has been little studied so far.[12] Its three main characteristics are: the use of Arabic syntaxic constructions, the translation of Arabic words and locutions, particularly prepositions, by Malay equivalents deviating from their common sense, and the use of an overabundant Arabic vocabulary.

12. Articles that broach the subject are many, but we are far from any exhaustive study: see Ronkel, 1899; Fokker, 1909; Drewes, 1950; Skinner, n.d.; Riddell, 1979; Riddell, 1990: 70-113; Kaptein, 1995; Johns, 1998; Johns, 1999; Riddell, 2002.

The borrowing of Arabic technical terms was unavoidable: Malay simply did not have the vocabulary corresponding to the extremely numerous and sophisticated notions of Islamic sciences. The importance of this Arabic vocabulary is thus one of the characteristics of Kitab Malay, but it is not what defines it. Hamzah Fansuri uses the same vocabulary, while he writes in classical Malay. The above features, and some minor ones, do not constitute a coherent 'grammar'; they intervene in various proportions from one text to another and affect in various ways the feeling of strangeness and intellegibility of each text.

A sentence from the tracts published by A. Johns (1957: 38) may serve as an example of an extreme, most "baffling" (to borrow Johns's term) form of Kitab Malay: "*Apabila ditanyai orang engkau, adakah keluar daripada-nya segala kuyud yang ada dzahir berbagai bagai sekarang atau tiada? … Kata olehmu pada jawabnya: sa-kali-kali tiada keluar daripada-nya sa-suatu jua pun, tetapi sakalian 'ibarat terbuni ia dalam perbendaharaan wujud-nya, maka tatkala berkehendak Hakk s.w.t. mendzahirkan huwiat keadaan ke-esa-annya yang terbuni ia dalam batin perbendaharaan-nya, maka di-bukakan-nya-lah tirai kenyataan sakalian nama hadrat-nya yang maha mulia itu…*" (Johns's translation is: "If then you are asked whether the exterior and plural determinations which exist now issue forth from God or not, say that none of them issues from Him, but that all the names by which we know Him are hidden in the treasure-chest of His being. And when God wished to manifest His most inner self in its unity which was thus hidden He lifted the veils concealing the names of His Godhead," p. 48.)

Another example comes from Abdurrauf's *Tarjuman al-Mustafid* (Riddell, 1990: 107): "*Mereka itulah segala mereka itu yang telah diberi Allah nikmat atas mereka itu*" (These are they on whom God bestowed favours).

Kitab Malay has been vilipended by foreign scholars as a corrupt and hybrid form of language. Talking about the *Taj al-Salatin*, a mirror for princes written in Aceh, and mostly translated from the Persian, in the first years of the 17th century,[13] R.O. Winstedt flayed its "atrocious Malay idiom." Of the translators of religious books he had to say: 'most of them were foreigners or at best Achinese, who in their difficult task of translation murdered Malay idiom and introduced for Arabic theological terms Malay synonyms as unintelligible as those employed by some British translators of Hegel and Kant. Arabic terms were employed not only perforce but from pride of scholarship' (1969: 137-138). Winstedt belonged to a generation of scholars preoccupied to define

13. People commonly talk about *the* Taj al-Salatin, but there is not one Taj, there are several versions of the same text. No-one yet has ever analysed the different versions of that text and tried to figure what the original text was like. Three editions have been published: Roorda van Eijsinga (1827, reproduced and transcribed in Bukhari, 1999), Bukhair (1966), Tajussalatin (1979); they are significantly different.

and to impose a linguistic norm: which Malay should become the common language? It was his professional concern to determine what was "good Malay."

Naguib al-Attas is no less critical towards a variety of religious Malay (that he doesn't name) specific to mystical writings after Hamzah Fansuri—except perhaps, so he says, Syamsuddin, Nuruddin and Abdurrauf. He qualifies those texts as "rigid, awkward, unintelligible to the uninitiated, as the subject matter is usually couched in a language that is forced into an Arabic crucible" (1970: xvi).

The use of Kitab Malay extended to modern times: "In effect, Kitab Malay is alive and well" (Riddell, 2002: 22). The Minangkabau writer Muhammad Rajab in his famous memoirs (*Semasa Kecil di Kampung*, 1950) complained about the style of religious texts he had to study: "...why was the translation into Indonesian so long-winded and repetitive, with the vocabulary half Indonesian and half Arabic, and the grammar completely Arabic?" (quoted by Riddell, 2002: 22). Riddell (*ibid*.) quotes another author, Oemar Bakry, who remarked, in 1981, that most religious texts were written in an idiom, the vocabulary of which alone was Indonesian, while its grammar was Arabic.

A non judgemental appreciation has been formulated by Anthony Johns about Sufi tracts from Aceh, from the beginning of the 17th century: "The style is enough to baffle anyone accustomed to the balance and polish of traditional classical Malay. The reason for this lies in the fact that all these religious authors thought in Arabic; and when they translated their versions were slavishly literal (1957: 10)."

Some forty years later, A. Johns, commenting upon an extract of Abdurrauf's *Tarjuman al-Mustafid*, praised his use of this very idiom, qualified as "a register that is a skilfully devised and precise medium of religious experience with a literary dimension in its own right." For Johns, Kitab Malay should not be evaluated—negatively—by comparison with classical Malay, but should be regarded as a special register created for a specific purpose, "by recognizing how positively Malay had responded to the 'Language of the Divine,' and how effectively the sense, style and aura of the Arabic has been transposed into Malay, making it an effective medium to communicate its subtleties and diversities of meaning" (1999: 132).

For A. Johns, "The term 'kitab Malay' is unnecessarily pejorative and in any case is now démodé. It is a form of language often thought of as characterized by an unthinking, mind-numbingly painful literalness, without any literary dimension or appeal. With an author such as 'Abd al-Ra'ūf nothing could be further from the case. He is writing in what is better referred to as a religious register of Malay, a register to which he is making his own considerable contribution. It is a register that is distinctive and legitimate, even though its norms do not always coincide with those of other registers of the language. The Arabisms in vocabulary and syntax have given it depths and resonances in a manner analogous to that in which the King James Bible, with its studied

Hebraisms, has contributed to the development of a style, features of syntax, and vocabulary immediately recognized as constituting a religious register in English. It is evocative, powerful, and effective for those within the tradition to which it gives voice (1998: 146)."

This point of view implies that Kitab Malay is an idiom conceived deliberately, skilfully, with a certain purpose. There are in fact several possible reasons for using a literal translation to render a foreign language. The most evident is the will to be faithful to the source text: to depart from it as little as possible; in a way, to translate as little as possible, in order not to betray it. Such is the thesis of P. Riddell (1990; 2002), who recalls that literal translations are frequent in the translations of holy scriptures, in Islam as well as in Christianity and Buddhism, aiming at a rendition as faithful as possible of sacred texts. "Thus it was a well-established practice within diverse religious traditions to use literal techniques as the primary method in translating sacred texts from the original language to a target language."

This is true of all scriptures, but even more in Islam because Arabic is the language chosen by Allah to deliver His message. Even when the sense of the message is rendered with perfect accuracy, something is lost with the loss of the Arabic language.

Therefore, in the case of the rendition into Malay of Islam's fundamental texts, literal translation not only aims at replicating the meaning of the text, it also serves to give access to the language of the original. "Abd al-Ra'ūf was probably similarly inspired to impart to his readers not only the doctrinal content of the Qur'anic passages he was translating, but also the syntactic format of the holy language of revelation, namely Arabic (Riddell, 1990: 78)."

Literary translation stems from the idea that the target language is inadequate, it is unable to express, exactly and exhaustively, what the original says. Words are inaccurate (and the original Arabic terms are maintained), syntax too is inappropriate (and Arabic word order and syntactic devices are maintained too). To paraphrase James Siegel (1995: 157), this is as far as Arabic can penetrate into Malay.

According to this point of view, Kitab Malay is not a device empirically created by some Malay authors when confronted with the task of rendering foreign texts into Malay, it is the implementation of a type of translation learned in the Middle East, together with Islamic sciences. When Abdurrauf was studying in Arabia, a tradition existed of literal translation (notably from the Greek) beside a "semantic" one (Riddell, 1990: 77-78). According to Riddell, Abdurrauf has applied to Malay a translation technique he has learned at that time. "So when Malay Islamic scholars went to study in Arabia from the 16th century onwards, they would have encountered a variety of methods of translation. Furthermore, they would have been aware of the earlier debate surrounding translation of the Qur'an into languages other than Arabic. At this time, the only acceptable technique among Muslim orthodoxy of rendering

the Qur'an into other languages was the interlinear method. (Riddell, 2002: 11)" This, however, remains a hypothesis, as there is no obvious reason why Abdurrauf would have been confronted with theories of translation while he was in the Middle East, where he had to deal with Arabic alone.

Kitab Malay, as we have seen, has been subjected to criticism because of its linguistic "impropriety," but it was certainly not perceived as such by the authors who used it. Beside the various justifications that may have been put forward, it is necessary to mention the possibility, in the case of ancient texts written in Aceh, that their authors had a perception, and even a mastering, of Malay totally different from what it would be centuries afterwards.

The first texts translated from the Arabic that we know come from Aceh in the 16th and 17th centuries. They have been written by Acehnese for whom Malay was a second language learned in Koranic schools, or by foreigners who did not all master Malay as Nuruddin did. It is worth remembering W.G. Shellabear's hypothesis about the origin of writing in Jawi: basing himself on the "the remarkable uniformity in the spelling of the MSS. of the 17th century," he remarked that "it is quite probable that for many years, perhaps for centuries, the art of writing may have been almost entirely confined to those Arabs who had learned the Malay" (1901: 77). This sounds rather extreme, but it is probably true that several "Arabs" authored some of the first religious books (as Nuruddin would do three centuries later) and that might explain partly the literal type of translation.

Even 'Malays' (in this case, Acehnese) could master Malay imperfectly. Let's recall Abdurrauf's statement, at the beginning of the *Mir'at al-Tullab*, that his Malay was deficient, due to his long stay in Arab countries. O. Fathurahman extends this eventuality: "a number of those ulamas-translators spent a long time in Arab countries, so that their mastering of Malay was not perfect any more. They may even have lost the aptitude to differentiate which words had, or had not yet, entered Malay vocabulary (2009: 1053-54)."

The Pondok Method

Beside the fidelity principle, which seems to be the rationale of Kitab Malay, a social fact may have greatly contributed to its birth and its retention across the centuries: the fact that literal translation, strictly word by word, is the method employed in Koranic schools for explaining Arabic texts; it is a didactic tool. Prabowo & Guillot (1997: 194-6) and Yahya (2009: 363-7) describe the way Arabic texts are studied in Koranic schools (*pesantren*), in the areas of Javanese and Sundanese culture respectively, until the present, following an immemorial tradition: the master or tutor gives the meaning of each word, together with its syntactic function; the pupil inscribes both information in his/her copy of the printed text (a cheap edition on yellowish paper) under the relevant word: he/she writes down the Malay word and one

or two letters symbolising the Arabic grammatical function. The purpose of this method is to explain the meaning of the Arabic text and simultaneaously to teach Arabic grammar (see Azra, 2009: 440). This tradition has such an importance in the pedagogical system that in modern times publishers in Java and even in Cairo started publishing Arabic texts with interlinear translation of this type (see an example in Yahya, 2009: 371).

Admittedly, millions of children across the world have scribbled words between the lines or in the margins of their school books. The particularity of the Koranic schools system is that it is institutionalised, organised, codified and systematised.

The words inscribed between the lines are called an 'interlinear translation', but it is rather a gloss than a translation: it does not replace the Arabic text; it makes it understandable. The aim is not to offer quality translations, but rather to give access to Arabic texts through a Malay vocabulary. A. Johns has pointed to this oral and didactic aspect of Kitab Malay, as used by Abdurrauf (Johns, 1998). P. Riddell even suggests that Abdurrauf may have used this "Malay translationese" in order to allow students to translate back into Arabic (1990: 79). This does not mean that religious treatises like the *Mir'at* were intended as tools to learn Arabic, but it is certainly possible that the teaching method of Koranic schools has produced a mode of translation that became perpetuated in books.

Furthermore, Kitab Malay has an additional dimension that could be seen as an advantage: that of making Malay closer to Arabic, Arabising the Malay language, in a way comparable to the Arabisation of the Malay script, i.e. the adoption of the Arabic script in replacement of the Indic script that had been used for writing Malay until then. Arabic script is indeed sacralised as much as the language. According to the chronicles of the sultanate of Bima, in Sumbawa Island, the palace archives anterior to the 17th century were written in the local language and script, until the second sultan, Abi'l-Khair Sirajuddin, ordered, in 1645, that they be henceforth written "in Malay, in the script permitted by Allah" ("*dengan memakai bahasa Melayu dengan rupa tulisan yang diridlai Allah ta'ala*"; Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin, 1999: xii). The analogy between Jawi alphabet and Kitab Malay is not a metaphor: the similarity between these two processes of the Arabisation of two elements of the local languages (Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, etc.) is obvious in the activity of the *pesantren* pupils who inscribe, in their local language but in Arabic characters (Jawi or Pegon), the word by word translation of the Arabic text they are studying (see Yahya, 2009: 363).

V. Braginsky foregrounds this argument: the use of the Kitab Malay idiom outside the religious field "can sometimes be explained by a conscious effort of stylisation, so that the text 'becomes Arabic,' with the intention to show off the scientific level of the author and in that way enhance the convincing force

of his work' (1998: 276)." Beside any idea of boasting oneself or convincing, here is again the idea that Malay is inadequate: Arabic is the language of the Book and that which embodies truth and all sciences. Malay is by nature inferior; any effort to modify it by some kind of Arabisation can only better it.

The idea of the inferiority of the Malay language has been documented by Abdullah Munsyi in his memoirs: he remarks several times that Malay is not taught, is badly known and is deliberately neglected: "since our forefathers" time nobody had ever started a school for teaching the Malay language; only for studying the Koran. It was right to learn Arabic, because of its value for purposes of religion and theology and this language alone was regarded as important by Muslims' (Abdullah, 1970: 53). And further: "It is a matter of wonder and astonishment to me to see how the Malays remain unaware of themselves, living in ignorance because they will not learn their own language or have schools where it may be taught. It is an insult to the intelligence to suppose that a man with no education can become clever by his own effort. Is it not a fact that all races of this world, except the Malays, do learn their own language? (p. 56)."

A little later, in the 1880s, C. Snouck Hurgronje (1970: 264) notes that the Jawah (Southeast Asia Moslems) abandon with a sense of relief their mother tongue (Malay, Javanese) as soon as they master Arabic—and by doing so contribute to kindle the disdain of the Arabs towards them. Malay had a high status in Aceh in the 17th century, at least in the fields of politics and culture, where it was regarded as superior to Acehnese. But in the religious domain, Malay could not compare with Arabic and had to be improved.

The ulamas, particularly the *fuqaha* (plural of *fakih*, the specialists of *fiqh*), who used Kitab Malay may have been proud to possess an idiom that was intellectually superior to the written classical Malay of the court. Riddell suggests "that the use of Arabicized Malay was a status symbol in the 17th century Malay world" (1990: 79). No indication of status is really to be seen, but it is indeed possible that the *fuqaha* regarded themselves as a specific social group[14] and maintained a variety of Malay that distinguished them from other groups, an idiom that made their texts somehow cryptic and thus enhanced the prestige of their science inasmuch as it was not accessible to the common man.

Kitab Malay as an Alternative

The numerous studies on Malay religious texts, especially texts about mysticism from Aceh in the 16th-17th centuries, sometimes give the impression that all Malay texts in the religious field are written in the same idiom heavily

14. Mahmood Kooria introduces the notion of a "fuqaha-estate": a scholarly order, as a "parallel society," a "textual community" that "operated autonomously in the Islamic world since the tenth century" (2016: 33, 42 and passim).

influenced by Arabic vocabulary and grammar, that is, Kitab Malay. See e.g. Johns (1955: 72), who covers in one sentence the language used by Hamzah, Syamsuddin, Nuruddin and Abdurrauf as if it were the same: 'their prose, if lacking balance and polish, is often clear and vigorous', or again Fathurahman (2004). Religious writers, in fact, use very different registers. Kitab Malay is one of the idioms used to talk about religion in Malay, but it is not the only one.

It would be necessary to define the different varieties of Kitab Malay by authors, by genres and by periods. This is not the place for such an analysis, but a few benchmarks can easily be marked. The Malay written corpus (commonly called "Malay literature"), part of which is still unpublished and another part available in low quality editions, is characterised by the absence of old manuscripts: those of the 18th century, let alone the 17th, are rare. It is thus common to regard as ancient texts those contained in the few manuscripts collected by European travellers aound 1600. But in fact we do have much more ancient texts: those of Hamzah Fansuri, even though their datation is a matter of debate. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the community of scholars has considered Hamzah's life and work as part of the sixteenth century, and that he died around 1590, or even at the beginning of the 17th century. Then, in 2000, C. Guillot & L. Kalus published the inscription of the grave marker of one Hamzah bin Abdullah al-Fansuri, who died in Mecca in 933 [1527], and they tried to demonstrate that that inscription actually is that of "our" Hamzah, who then would have died 60, if not 90, years before the date commonly accepted until then. This new date certainly disrupts our knowledge of Acehnese Sufism. It has been accepted by a number of historians and Islamic scholars, but certainly not all of them. A. Johns and P. Riddell, for instance, both think that the most plausible date for Hamzah's death still is 1590 (see Riddell, 2017: xii, 10, 21, 24). Teuku Iskandar (in what is probably his last published article) chose not to decide: between the old and the new theses, "whatever the case may be" (2011: 53). For V.I. Braginsky (2004: 617, 744), Hamzah was still alive in 1621. For that reason it is necessary to stress that Guillot & Kalus (2000, 2001) have not only unearthed a tombstone inscribed with Hamzah's name; they have also demonstrated, first, that Hamzah was anterior to Syamsuddin by two (spiritual) generations; second, that Hamzah doesn't quote any Islamic author posterior to the 15th century; and third, that he was known after his death as Tuan di Mekkah, i.e. 'the master burried in Mecca'. It has been stated repeatedly (e.g. in Johns, 1955; 1957: 34-35; Drewes, 1986; Braginsky, 2006: 442-3), albeit for the following period, that Aceh writers were constantly aware of the developments of Islamic thinking in the Middle East as well as in India, and there is every reason to think that this was the case with Hamzah too, so that the fact that he doesn't quote any author posterior to Nur al-Din Abdul Rahman Jami (d. 1492, quoted in the *Muntahi*) is extremely meaningful. Nobody has yet tried to answer Guillot & Kalus's question: "the dates traditionally attributed to Hamzah would reveal

in his references a gap of nearly a hundred years which would be difficult to justify" (2000: 19).

Therefore, it should be admitted that Hamzah's texts have been written in the second half of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th. And it transpires that his three prose texts, namely *Asrar al-Arifin*, *Sharab al-Ashiqin*, and *Al-Muntahi* (Doorenbos, 1933: 120-204; Al-Attas, 1970: 233-353) are a model of classical Malay. Those three texts, similarly with Hamzah's poems, are extremely difficult to understand (e.g. for today's average Indonesian or Malay readers) due to the enormous proportion of Arabic vocabulary, but the syntax is Malay and the style perfectly idiomatic.

Talking about religious texts in general, A. Johns has underscored the novelty of this prose compared with that of the literary narratives (epic, fictitious, historical) of the period: "actually the coming of Islam brought a kind of literary emancipation. For with the religious literature that developed as a consequence of the coming of Islam, a conscious attempt was made, for the first time, to make the language express something new, and there was a systematic effort to fashion Malay into a genuine intellectual currency in its own right (1955: 71)."

Naguib al-Attas developed this idea by distinguishing two distinct forms of classical idioms: on the one hand, old court Malay exemplified by the *Sulalat al-Salatin* (aka *Sejarah Melayu*), which produced "folklore, romance, epic and quasi-historical literature, still reflecting traces of the old world view," and on the other hand, a new stream, originating in Barus, which was the "result of its being employed as the vehicle for philosophical discourse." "The new stream is characterized by its terse, clear style, its Islamic vocabulary; it reveals a language of logical reasoning and scientific analysis" (al-Attas, 1969: 28; see also 1972: 44-47). In other words, a rational, logical, intellectual and analytical Malay, initiated by Hamzah Fansuri and which is at the origin of modern Malay, as opposed to a narrative, esthetical and emotional Malay, regarded so far as the "classical Malay" (see al-Attas, 1970: 178). It is true that modern Malay can be said to be rational and analytical as was Hamzah's idiom, but it is doubtful that the second would have generated the first, as there is no continuity between the two. The rational aspect of modern Malay is rather the product of the cultural revolution of the 19th century, notably the development of education and the rise of printing and newspapers. However that may be, Al-Attas's distinction between two brands of Malay, one discursive and one narrative, is indeed interesting, although it is a matter of style rather than idioms or dialects. Al-Attas's argument has been misinterpreted (e.g. Braginsky, 1998: 276; Fathurahman, 2004: 376-7) as if it regarded Kitab Malay, whereas what Al-Attas has in mind is the "rational" classical Malay of Hamzah, certainly not the Arabicised idiom of Kitab Malay, for which, as we have seen, he had no consideration.

Thus, the first religious prose texts are in classical Malay; Kitab Malay has not yet been invented. Even prior to Hamzah, but outside the religious field, a number of literary texts had been adapted from Arabic and Persian, probably in Pasai in the 14th c., viz *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*, *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*, *Qisas al-Anbiya*, *Hikayat Seribu Masail*, *Hikayat Mi'raj Nabi Muhammad*, *Hikayat Tamim al-Dari*, all of them, generally speaking, written in a fluid and idiomatic classical Malay.

The following religious prose texts after Hamzah probably are Syamsuddin Pasai's Malay texts, who was actually mainly writing in Arabic. Only a very few of his Malay texts are available. Judging by the short *Sharh Ruba'i Hamzah al-Fansuri* (Drewes & Brakel, 1986: 194-208, see also the three following texts, pp. 208-225, which however may not be by him) Syamsuddin was writing in Kitab Malay.

The following texts chronologically are contained in manuscripts coming from Aceh, around 1600 or shortly after. They are the *'Aqa'id* of al-Nasafi (dated 1590; see Al-Attas, 1988), the *Burda* of al-Busiri (from ca.1595; see Drewes, 1955), an exegetical comment on the 18th Sura of the Koran (*Surat al-Kahf*, ca. 1600; see Riddell, 2017: 128-260), and the eighteen Sufi tracts from early 17th century published by A. Johns (1957). The first of them, i.e. the *'Aqa'id* of al-Nasafi, is written in Kitab Malay. Its editor, Naguib al-Attas, comments that: "What is remarkable about the Malay translation accomplished 400 years ago is its compact, easy flowing, good style characterized by a distinctive clarity of expression" (1988: 46; this appreciation is confirmed by Azra, 2009: 437), but in fact the text is clumsy, unidiomatic and heavily influenced by Arabic syntax. This text is the first interlinear translation we know, i.e. its main text is Arabic, while the Malay translation is written in a slanting way between the lines. One could assume that interlinear translations are literal by nature, but it happens that the following text, only a few years posterior to the *'Aqa'id* (probably the last decade of the 16th c.), i.e. the *Burda* of al-Busiri, is also an interlinear translation but it is syntactically correct or at least much less heavily influenced by Arabic grammar than the preceding one.

The next text, chronologically, is the exegetical comment on the 18th Sura of the Koran; it is in classical Malay. The next text again, the Sufi tracts from early 17e c., are in heavy Kitab Malay.

Then comes the work, enormous, produced by Nuruddin al-Raniri around the 1640s. A cursory examination of four of them, namely *Bustan al-Salatin*, books I–IV (Nuruddin, 2004, 2008; Grinter, 1979), *Asrar al-Insan* (Tudjimah, 1961), *Hujjat al-Siddiq* (al-Attas, 1966, 1986), and *Khabar Akhirat dalam hal kiamat* (Nuruddin, 1983), shows that they are all written, generally speaking, in excellent classical Malay (even if some passages of the *Bustan*, probably translated by someone else, are in clumsy Malay, see Wormser, 2012: 165-172).

The following author is Abdurrauf al-Singkili, who, judging from his *Safinat al-Hukkam* and *Tarjuman al-Mustafid* (Riddell, 1990; 2017: 101, 264-324), writes systematically in Kitab Malay. The next author is Jalaluddin al-Tarusani, who, as we have seen, also uses Kitab Malay.

After the middle of the 18th century, authors and texts start being numerous. A glance at some of them only shows that Kitab Malay, in more or less soft or hard versions, seems to be more and more in use: it is indeed used in the *Kitab Mukhtasar* by Kemas Fakhruddin (second half of the 18th century in Palembang), as well as in the *Hidayat al-Salikin* and the *Siar al-Salikin* by Abdul Samad al-Palimbani (also second half of the 18th century; see Hidayatu s-Salikin, 1992; Fathurahman, 2009: 1049, 1052); it is used in both the *Wasayat al-abrar wa mawaizh al-akhyar* and the *Manhal al-Shafi fi bayan ramzi ahli al-sufi* by Daud bin Abdullah al-Jawi al-Fatani (second half of the 19th century; see Daud, 1990; Wan Mohd. Shaghir, 1992), and the *Kashf al-Ghaibiyah* by Zainal Abidin bin Muhammad Patani (Kasyfu l-Gaibiyah, 1995). However, V. Matheson & M.B. Hooker (1988: 1) note that Shaykh Daud Patani 'wrote in easily intelligible language', so that either that author has used two different idioms in his works or, more probably, the concept of Kitab Malay is so unclear yet that people may differ in their appreciation of what is Kitab Malay and what classical Malay. Interestingly, the 130 fatwas issued by various muftis in Mecca at the very end of the 19th century also are in heavy Kitab Malay (the author of nearly 70% of the fatwas is Ahmad ibn Zaini Dahlan; the fatwas were written or dictated in Arabic and then translated into Malay; see Kaptein, 1997).

We thus have the extremely fluctuating picture of an idiom that appears at the end of the 16th century, is used from time to time during the two following centuries, beside a considerable amount of other religious texts written in classical Malay, and then seems to be more and more in use in the 19th century. We see that the formulation of Islamic sciences in a special mixed idiom heavily influenced by Arabic syntax is not a necessity; Kitab Malay is not inescapable, and it is not the choice of every author; it is the choice of individual authors at certain times. Therefore, it must be admitted that the eccentric aspect of Kitab Malay is the result of a deliberate choice, or at least an accepted one.

We have seen that the birth of Kitab Malay was probably linked with Koranic schools. It seems likely that the difference between religious books written in Kitab Malay or in classical Malay corresponds to the distinction between books intended for collective study in schools and those meant to be read. This is to say that Hamzah and Nuruddin were writing books to be read, whereas Abdurrauf and Jalaluddin were writing books to be studied.

Kitab Malay is not always used in the religious domain, neither is it limited to it. The *Adat Meukuta Alam*, a collection of royal edicts, a number of

which were allegedly issued by Iskandar Muda (r. 1607-1636), that has been published by van Langen (1888), is written in a difficult idiom that seems influenced by Kitab Malay. So is also the *Taj al-Salatin*, which provoked Winstedt's derogatory remarks: it is heavily influenced by a foreign syntax which seems to be Arabic even though the text is mainly adapted from Persian texts. About the *Adat Aceh*, the language of which is much closer to classical Malay than the *Mir'at al-Tullab*, Drewes & Voorhoeve remark: "The kind of Malay in which this Regulation for Kings is written reminds one of a work like *Taj al-Salatin*, but is even worse. The author (or a copyist) evidently thought in Arabic"—even though a translation from the Arabic is 'out of the question' (1958: 15).

Much later, in the middle of the 19th century, Raja Ali Haji used an idiom, which perhaps may not be called Kitab Malay, but is heavily influenced by Arabic grammar in his *Bustan al-Katibin* (1850; see Ali Haji, 2005) as well as his *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* (1858; see Ali Haji, 2010). (One example from the second work is: "*Bermula badal itu yakni berganti perkataan, iaitu mengikut yang dimaksud dengan dibangsakan dengan tiada berantara. Maka tatkala demikian itu keluarlah sifat dan keluarlah tu'akīd dan 'aṭaf bayan. Maka sekaliannya itu menyempurnakan bagi maksud dengan dibangsakan. Dan keluar pula yang mengantarai*, etc.," p. 26; this sentence is also found, with insignificant variations, in the *Bustan al-Katibin*, pp. 45-46). Such a characteristic has been noted by Teuku Iskandar ("Cumbersome sentences are found in it [*Bustan al-Katibin*], as if Arabic sentences with Malay words"), by Mohd. Taib Osman ("a Malay language that is not Malay but malaicised Arabic") and by Hashim bin Musa ("his weakness in making Malay phrases with following the structure of Arabic phrases") (Ali Haji, 2005: xxv-xxviii). In other works, Raja Ali Haji is renowned for his use of a brand of classical Malay. This stresses once more the opposition between classical Malay and Kitab Malay in terms of reading books as opposed to study books.

The Kitab Malay idiom has indeed perfused various areas of the Malay written corpus. In the cases just mentioned the reason why the Malay utilised is influenced by Kitab Malay is that the authors were *santri* (students in Islamic sciences) educated in religious schools or even in the Middle East. This "*santri* culture" of the scribes can also be observed in the fact that, in the *Adat Meukuta Alam*, blood money is paid in camels (van Langen, 1888: 440) or the fact that, in the margin of the *Adat Aceh*, the beginning of paragraphs is indicated by the words *matlab* and *bahth* (Drewes & Voorhoeve, 1958: 8).

Judicial Practice in Aceh

The *fiqh* compendiums written in Aceh in the 17th and 18th centuries are handbooks on the way to apply sharia considered as one of the sources of the law. In the first preface (*mukadimah*) of the *Safinat*, Jalaluddin defines the

notions of *'urf*, *adat* and *resam* (which designate various forms of custom) by comparison with *hukum syara'* (sharia): *'urf* is defined as "practices prescribed by Islamic scholars to govern the Muslims with the agreement of the wise" ("*sekalian pekerjaan yang telah ditetapkan oleh segala ulama pada memerintahkan sekalian Islam dan kabullah segala budiman menerima dia*," p. 12); *hukum adat* is first defined as natural law, the laws of nature (p. 10), then as "the repetition of law as a transient character of previous times" ('*yaitu mengulang hukum seperti tabiat yang dahulu kala tiada berkekalan dalamnya*," p. 12); and *resam* is "the rules that apply to the whole country and that do not need to be discussed because of their very existence and acceptation" ("*yaitu bekas yang berlaku hukumnya pada sekalian isi negeri, tiada berkehendak kepada bicara lagi sebab kerana zahirnya dan masyhurnya*," p. 12).

Jalaluddin does not enter the fundamental debate about the relationship between customary and religious law. Nevertheless, it is important that he gives to the first a place among the elements that will allow judges to take decisions: "The judge who implements Islamic law has to know natural laws as well as usage and custom, so that he can solve the disputes between Moslems, because they cannot possibly abandon those three principles, which Islamic law treats according to the rule of actions that are not forbidden by Allah and the Prophet.[15]"

H. Djajadiningrat (1934, I: 8-11) has an encyclopedic article about *adat*, which details the various types of law: *adat*, *hukom*, *reusam* and *kanun*, that is, institutions of kings of yore, religious law, custom of the land, edicts of the ruling king. The word *adat* has three different meanings in Aceh: custom, edicts of sultans of the past and certain taxes (the text *Adat Aceh* describes religious practices elected as customs as well as harbour taxes).

Jalaluddin formulates a concept of the law that may have prevailed in Aceh since the beginning of the Islamic period: Islamic law does not replace traditional law; *adat* and *fiqh* do not necessarily oppose each other; none is exclusive; they can be complementary (see Hadi, 2004: 168, 183). This attitude is expressed in a famous maxim, quoted by Djajadiningrat (1934: 9): *hoekōm ngòn adat* h*an djeuët tjré, lagèë dat ngòn sipheuët*: "religious law and custom are inseparable, just as the essence and the attributes [of Allah]."

Both the *Mir'at* and the *Safinat*, as well as the *Sirat al-Mustaqim* previously, have been ordered by the respective reigning sultans. Their very existence could thus be an indication that sharia was enforced in Aceh at that time. And this is precisely what says the Malay historical text regarding that period to which is ascribed a certain degree of reliability, the *Bustan al-Salatin* (book

15. ("*Maka seyogianya bahwa diketahui oleh hakim yang taklid itu segala uruf dan adat dan resam negeri, supaya dapatlah ia menyelesaikan perbantahan segala Islam karena ketiganya itu tiadalah dapat tanggal daripada mereka itu sekali-kali, lagi ditetapkan oleh syara' akan dia dengan hukum pada jenis yang tiada dalamnya dilarangkan Allah dan Rasulullah*" (p. 12). For a different interpretation of this quote, see Mohammad Hannan, 2014: 190.

II, chap. 13). Of Sultan Alauddin Perak (1579-86) it says that he 'observed the sharia of the Prophet Muhammad', while Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-36) 'enforced the religion of Islam', Iskandar Thani (1636-1641) 'observed the law of Allah and enforced the sharia of the Prophet Muhammad', and Safiatuddin (1641-1675) was extremely devout and 'ordered people to do good actions and forbade them to do evil ones as prescribed by Allah to our Prophet Muhammad'.[16] We know, however, that the eulogy of kings in Malay historical texts reflects an ideal rather than a reality. Therefore, it is useful to see whether historical sources at our disposal, local as well as foreign, confirm such a situation.

Sources about the enforcement of Islamic law, in Aceh in particular and in Indonesia at large, are extremely rare. Information on this topic in Banten during the same period are even more scarce (see Bruinessen, 1995a: 168-172). Records of fatwa from the period are all but non-existent, while copies of pre-modern judicial decisions are very few: the three collections of cases recorded by the cadi of Banten (the Pakih Najmuddin), relating to the periods 1754-1756, 1774-1780 and 1809-1811, are very precious exceptions; the collection for the 1750s, thus contemporary with the *Safinat al-Hukkam*, has been transcribed, translated and commented upon by Ayang Utriza Yakin (2015, 2016).

This document is in Javanese. A similar Malay source, but infinitely more modest, in which is found information about judicial procedure as well as some verdicts, is represented by a manuscript coming from the religious court in Pontianak (West Borneo) in the 1870s and 1880s (see Chambert-Loir, 1994).

Studies about Indonesian Islam and about Islamic law are innumerable, but what we know about the way law was implemented in places like Aceh in the 17th century is extremely meagre. We lack information about the way law—Islamic, traditional or royal—was used. Snouck Hurgronje is extremely dismissive about Islamic law, both fundamentally (Islamic law is not applicable anyway) and circumstancially (unwritten custom was much more influential than written law during the period of the sultanate). He writes: "… we should be wandering altogether off the right track in seeking for the laws and institutions of countries such as Acheh in lawbooks of foreign (e.g. Arabic) origin. Such works are it is true, translated, compiled and studied in the country, but their contents have only a limited influence on the life of its people. (…) In vain shall we seek for any period in the history of Acheh in which we should be justified in surmising the existence of a different state of things. All that we know further of that history makes it patent that neither the efforts of the ulamas to extend the influence of the Mohammedan law, nor the

16. See Nur'd-din (1966), respectively, "*memeliharakan syariat Nabi Muhammad s.m.*" (p. 33), "*mengeraskan agama Islam*" (p. 36), "*melakukan hukum Allah dan mengeraskan syariat Nabi Muhammad Rasul Allah s.m.*" (p. 44), "*menyuruhkan orang berbuat kebajikan-kebajikan dan melarangkan orang berbuat kejahatan yang diturunkan Allah ta'ala kepada Nabi kita Muhammad s.m.*" (73).

edicts of certain princes whose authority over the interior was very limited and of short duration, were able to exercise more than a partial or passing influence on the genuinely national and really living unwritten laws (1906, I: 12, 15)."

Snouck was writting in the 1890s. Almost a hundred years later a Japanese scholar made a thorough analysis of all sources related to Aceh in the 16th and 17th centuries (Ito, 1984). One of his chapters (pp. 152-205) is devoted to "The Administration of Law and Justice." The author first states that many signs concur to give Aceh "the appearance of one of the major centres of Islamic studies in the Malay-Indonesian world from where Islamic influence spread throughout the archipelago" (pp. 153-4), and concludes: "Thus there is every reason to believe that by the end of the 16th century, at the latest, Islamic Law had become an established force in Aceh, and as a consequence the prescriptions of Islamic Law had begun to exert their influence on the Acehnese, particularly on those belonging to the ruling class in the capital. (p. 154)." Then, he proceeds to scrutinize every single testimony we have about the organisation and the implementation of justice. Unfortunately, that is actually very little: all testimonies about judicial verdicts come from the observations of foreign travellers in the first half of the 17th century; they are no more than twenty, and they are limited to criminal law.

Not only are these testimonies rare and parsimonious, they also have to be considered with some caution (how did foreigners acquire information about a subject as sensitive and complex as justice?). Furthermore, they cover several reigns, whereas they also suggest that situation may have changed considerably from one sultan to another. Lastly, they only concern the capital, outside of which some judicial system must have existed too. "Among Ito's conclusions, we see that "The punishment in Aceh, however, can be said to have been savage to a degree far beyond that provided by Islamic Law" (p. 173), "and more generally that the ruler was omnipotent in the judicial field: "… although we do not know much of the personal commitment of the Acehnese rulers to Islamic values in their private lives, it is clear that in practice they were heads of the religious institution in all its ramifications (pp. 256-7)."

Amirul Hadi, in a chapter about "Islamic institutions and the state" (2004: 147-184), revisits in some detail some of the judicial cases evoked by foreign visitors, but his conclusions about the legal system and the foundations of the law remain vague. Some authors have summed up the situation by asserting that law was based on sharia, even though sentences were heavier. P. Riddell, for instance, states that: "During his first three years in power, Iskandar Muda amplified and strengthened the legal system, which was based on Shafi'ite law and centered upon the ruler as the head of an Islamic state (2006: 42), "while quoting at the same time a number of sentences that differ from sharia (strangulation, pouring molten lead down the throat, enslavement), qualified as showing "some variation" from sharia's prescriptions (p. 44). This

statement by P. Riddell is quoted, without the nuances, by another author: "The establishment of the sharia court in Aceh has historical precedence from the time when Sultan Iskandar Muda (1706-1636) ruled the kingdom of Aceh under Islamic law (Riddell 2006, 40-42) (Afrianty, 2015: 71)."

Merchants and diplomats visiting Aceh have noted the extreme severity of some verdicts, particularly under Iskandar Muda, as well as their similarity with Islamic verdicts, notably the amputation of hands and feet in case of repeated theft. Thus it is important to remark that, on the one hand, the amputation of limbs as a punishment for theft may have been in use in Malay countries before the advent of Islam (according to N.J. Krom [1931: 67], in an Indonesian kingdom that could be Bali, "Murder and theft were punished with the amputation of hands"); and on the other hand, the amputation of limbs in the early 17th century widely exceeded *fiqh* prescriptions: Frederick de Houtman, ca.1600, was threatened with amputation if he did not convert to Islam (Reid, 1995: 48); under Alauddin Riayat Syah (r. 1589–1604), according to François Martin in 1602, "Notwithstanding this system of justice, the King dispenses it as he likes, and for minor matters has arms and legs cut off," (Reid, 1995: 60); under Iskandar Muda, not only hands and feet were amputated but also noses, ears, eyes, lips and genitals. That sultan, who brought Aceh to the peak of its greatness, demonstrated, according to several testimonies, a terrifying cruelty and sadism, and it is clear that the punishments he inflicted, and the instruments of torture he invented, had nothing to do with law. People were executed without any kind of trial, some were sawn apart, strangulated, beheaded, disembowelled, immersed in boiling oil, trampled upon by elephants, or impaled (see Chambert-Loir, 2011). It seems that, after Iskandar Muda, some progress was made towards a more rigorous legal system, but we have testimonies much later (for instance, Dampier in 1688-89) showing that sentences still were extremely severe.

An image that has been reproduced several times shows a quadruple amputee (he has no hands and no feet left) standing on crutches. This image is much older than it is generally assumed: it is not originally from Thomas Bowrey, who was in Aceh in 1675, at the very end of the reign of the first queen, Sultanah Tajul Alam Safiatuddin (see its reproduction in Reid, 1995: 105); it actually first appeared in the voyage of Wybrandt van Waerwijck, whose ships were in Aceh en 1603, during the reign of Alauddin Riayat Shah (see Commelin, 1646, vol. I, 11th relation, ill. facing p. 14). The caption in subsequent publications reads: "A thief punished according to sharia law in Aceh," but from the above mentioned testimonies, it can be concluded that what is illustrated has nothing to do with Islamic law (see Feener, 2013: 156).

The *Bustan al-Salatin* claims that Aceh sultans in the 16th-17th centuries, respected sharia, whereas foreigners describe a system of punishments widely exceeding Islamic law. The confrontation is somewhat embarrassing. We are

lucky to have a non-European testimony, in this case Indian, in a Persian text of the early years of the 17th century, the *Rauzat ut-Tāhirīn* (The Immaculate Garden), written, during the reigns of the emperors Akbar and Jahangir, by one Tahir Muhammad ibn "Imad-ud-Din Hasan ibn Sultan 'Ali ibn Haji Muhammad Husain Sabzwari, a migrant from Iran to Mughal India. This text, still unpublished, is discussed by Muzaffar Alam & S. Subrahmanyam (2005); it is an encyclopaedic text, a tentative universal history, including a paragraph on 'the island of Achin'. This passage, most imprecise, probably reflects clichés only: 'lore and oral materials that circulated in the ports of the Indian Ocean world" (p. 237); nevertheless, it is interesting that the *Rauzat* notes, about Aceh around 1600, "a high degree of surveillance in matters of sexual behaviour and that punishments are severe" (p. 226).

Malay texts do not provide any description of the administration of justice or any picture of a hierarchy of religious functionaries. In a section of the *Adat Aceh* (Drewes & Voorhoeve, 1958: 104-110) is found a list of more than 150 high officials of the kingdom at the time of Sultana Tajul Alam, among which two Hakim Pidie and twelve *fakih* (Fakih Seri Raja Fakih, Fakih Raja Indera Perba, Fakih Seri Raja Indera, etc.), which seems a rather high proportion. The *Hikayat Aceh* also mentions a *khatib* and a *hakim* (Iskandar, 1958: 115, 118). However, a number of those designations were honorific titles granted to high officials who had no juridicial function. As examples, the chiefs of the three *sagi* (territorial divisions that were probably created by Sultana Nuralam Naqiyatuddin) bear the title Kali Rabon Jali, i.e. Qadi Rabb al-Jalil (Iskandar, 2011: 48), while in 1641, first year of the reign of Tajul Alam, the most powerful member of the court council was Lebe Kita Kali (Kadi Malik al-Adil), who was no jurist but an illegitimate son of Iskandar Muda and thus a half brother of the sultana (Ito 1984: 162; Sher Banu 2011: 147).

We thus come across the title *kadi* and *faqih* time and again, without knowing the real function or position of those who bear them. However, two titles were certainly those of important figures: Shaykh al-Islam (see below) and Kadi Malik al-Adil (the Jurist of the Just King). The *Adat Aceh* describes in detail the role of the latter in certain religious ceremonies. He seems to have been an "important religious figure of the realm representing and administering more or less the legal aspect of Islam" (Ito, 1984: 259), although we have no idea of his concrete authority.

The travellers of the 17th century who wrote about their experience were remarkable observers. The depiction of what they saw and learned during the time they were in Aceh, when put together, results in a vivid and penetrating picture of the city and its institutions. A. Reid has collected such stories in *Witnesses to Sumatra: A travelers' anthology*, 1995; most had been published separately before, the most detailed of all being that of the French merchant Augustin de Beaulieu, who was in Aceh in 1621 (see Beaulieu, 1996).

The administration of law, however, is not an easy matter to observe or to

investigate. The visitors noted down a few cases of punishments, as mentioned above, but evocations of justice as an institution are rare. François Martin, in Aceh in 1602, writes that "There are some judges called Poullo cauaillo [Penghulu kawal], which means judge of the prisoners. They are concerned with justice, and study all the arguments and complaints on both sides, the parties presenting their own cases themselves. The judges are assisted by a few officers, like sergeants who are distinguished by a stripe that they wear. All their judgments are usually pronounced orally, with nothing put in writing. They hold court under some tree" (Reid, 1995: 60 ; the Penghulu kawal is not "judge of the prisoners," but head of security or police chief; see Ito, 1984: 287 and passim.).

Beaulieu (1996: 201-3) is the only writer who gives a description of the whole judicial system. Talking about the situation in 1621, he notes that there are four courts of justice: a civil one sits every morning, except Fridays, in a large open pavilion near the great mosque, presided by one of the main *orangkaya* (nobles). In another pavilion close to the palace gate sits the criminal court, presided in turns by several high *orangkaya*; appearance in court and judgement are immediate; corruption is usual. A religious court is presided by the cadi. In a pavilion of the customs office, the commercial court is presided by the Laksamana.

Thus, according to that description there was a religious court, which, we may suppose, handled offences in the religious domain in accordance with Islamic law, while there is no indication about what law was enforced in the other courts. One of the main conclusions of Beaulieu's testimony seems to be that sharia was exclusively applied in the religious court (that presided by the *cadi*), while the other courts, presided by officials foreign to religion, resorted to other laws. Even family law was not regulated by sharia, as the relevant court was presided by an *orangkaya*, not a religious official. According to Jacob Compostel, some fifteen years later (in 1636), the "great bishop" "held a lawcourt once a week to judge thefts, drunkenness, and breaches of etiquette in the presence of the ruler or in contravention of royal commands" (Ito, 1984: 159).

It happens that Beaulieu's description of justice divided in four categories is expressed in a famous Acehnese maxim which is quoted by numerous modern authors (e.a. Salim 2015: 23), but the antiquity of which is not known: "*Adat bak poteu meureuhom / Huköm bak syiah ulama / Kanun bak Putroë Phang / Reusam bak lakseumana*," that is, "Laws of the past come from rulers of yore, Religious law from the ulamas, Current legislation from the Pahang Princess, Customary law from the prime minister." Some variants tend to personalise those agents of the law: *poteu mereuhom* is often intepreted as Iskandar Muda; The Pahang Princess is his queen; and a variant in the second line (*Huköm bak Syiah Kuala*) attributes religious law to Abdurauf al-Singkili.

If we rely on the (single) testimony of Beaulieu, there was in Aceh under Iskandar Muda at least one tribunal in which Islamic law as recorded in *fiqh*

books must have been applied. It remains to be seen what was the context of the redaction of such books.

The theatre state

A. Reid (1989: 5) suggests to apply to Aceh in the 17th century the concept of theatre state, that is, C. Geertz's theory of power devised about Bali in the 19th century, but enlarged to the more general idea of what Reid calls 'the theatre of kingship' (p. 33) and "the ongoing theatre of the court" (p. 35). Aceh sultanate, at its apogee and more particularly in the first half of the 17th century, constructed at great expense the image of an Islamic kingdom of the same rank as the greatest powers of the Islamic world.

This display of power manifests itself firstly in the religious ceremonies. These are lenghtily described in the *Adat Aceh* and the *Bustan al-Salatin*. In the latter, the relation of the installation of Iskandar Thani's tombstone (Nur'd-din, 1966: 60-73) fills thirty one times more space than the conquest of seven countries by Iskandar Muda (p. 35). The core of the ceremony is the procession, the main elements of which are wealth, number and noise. These ceremonies have fascinated foreign visitors, who fully confirm their pomp and munificence. The Dutch emissary Nicolaus de Graaf describes the astonishing festivities that accompanied Iskandar Thani's funeral, in 1641: the procession included 260 elephants caparisoned in gold, rhinoceros, Persian horses, and thousands of men.

The main ceremonies are the annual religious festivals: eve of Ramadhan, Idulfitri, Iduladha, Lailatukadar, (the Maulud is not celebrated yet), Friday prayers and rites related to the royal family: circumcision, marriage, enthronement, funeral. Other occasions are also a pretext to festivities and processions: the king's ritual bath in the month of Safar (*mandi Safar*), the uleebalangs' audience on Saturdays, the day of pledging allegiance (*hari raya junjung duli*), or again the reception of foreign ambassadors.

Ralph Croft (Ito, pp. 211-2) described, in the year 1613, the weekly procession that leads the sultan to the mosque for the Friday prayer: he is accompanied by hundreds of elephants and thousands of armed men. Another visitor, Peter Mundy, described the festival of Idul Adha in 1637, with the sacrifice of 500 buffaloes (Reid, 1995: 81-85).

This royal theatre has a public: the *Adat Aceh* describes, in the comic mode, the crowd that throngs the path of a procession, over-awed and fascinated by so much beauty and wealth, by the extraordinary animals and the dance and theater performances of all nations. This was a cliché in Malay literature, but there certainly was some truth to it. Common people rush in from all directions, in disregard of all conventions: "several pregnant women who have come to see His Majesty go to the festival gave birth in the street or in the market" (Harun, 1985: 62). The power and majesty that the ruler manifests

on these occasions designate him as superhuman. About the two ceremonies that open and close the fasting month, A. Reid remarks: "In all of this, once again, the cult of the king appears to be the central aim of an elaborate theatre, even if its occasion is an orthodox Islamic feast" (1989: 32).

Luxury associated with Islam is also manifest in royal tombs: those of Pasai, at the beginning of the 15th century, were partly sumptuous marble monuments imported from Gujarat (Lambourn, 2003; Guillot & Kalus, 2008); those of Aceh, in the 16th century, are covered with bronze and later, precisely at the beginning of the 17th century, with gold (Kalus & Guillot, 2010). John Davis, who was at the court of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah al-Mukammil, in 1599, reports: "in the place of the Kings Burials, every grave hath a piece of Gold at the head, and another at the foot, weighing at the least five hundred pound weight, cunningly imbossed and wrought. This King hath two such Peeces in making and almost finished, which wee saw, that are a thousand pound weight a piece and shall be richly set with stones" (Reid, 1995: 26). Some fifteen years later, in a letter—an exceptional piece of art by itself—that Iskandar Muda addresses, in 1615, to the King of England James I, he describes his own grandeur, his power and his riches, and he boasts, amongst other matters, of having had a golden funerary monument built for himself (Gallop, 2011: 245).

This extravagant splendor was not intended for the people of Aceh alone: it was meant for the world. Aceh wanted to be on equal standing with the greatest sultanates of the time. As was already the case with Pasai in the 14th-15th centuries, in its efforts to integrate the Dar al-Islam by conforming to the ideal of the Islamic state (see Guillot-Kalus, 2008: 105-116), Aceh took as a model the court of Constantinople. Aceh's contacts with the Ottoman empire lasted only a few decades at the end of the 16th century, but the fascination for it is much older. It was intensified by the appropriation of the caliphate by Selim Ist in 1516 and the seizure of the holy cities the following year (see Lombard, 1990, II: 49-50; Reid, 2014: 87).[17]

It is inscribed at the beginning of several Malay dynastic histories as a legend according to which power over the world was shared between the king of Rum (Constantinople) and the king of China. The *Hikayat Aceh* (middle of the 17th century) reports another legend situated during the reign of Iskandar Muda: the sultan of Rum himself tells his courtiers that, as in former times Allah had made two great kings in the world, Salomon and Iskandar Zulkarnain, today also, He had made two great kings: himself in the West and Aceh's sultan in the East.[18]

---

17. V. Braginsky (2015) offers an exhaustive study of all representations (myths, legends, history) of Turkish people and the Ottoman empire in Malay literature.

18. "*Maka yang daripada pihak maghrib kitalah raja yang besar dan daripada pihak masyrik itu seri sultan Perkasa Alam, raja yang besar dan raja yang mengeraskan agama Allah dan*

This episode describes the great mosque of Bandar Aceh as the most beautiful in the world, thronged by a crowd of devouts, second only to the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca. The comparison with Mecca is also found in the expression "Serambi Mekkah" (Mecca's verandah), which has become a common qualitative of Banda Aceh. This expression has been interpreted since the 19th century as an allusion to the role of Banda Aceh as a starting point for Indonesian pilgrims to Mecca (see Snouck, 1906, II: 19), but its original meaning was different: it comes from the *Bustan al-Salatin*, where it designates Bandar Aceh as second only to Mecca (Nur'd-din, 1966: 68). One is reminded of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca (r. 1488-1511) boasting that "Malacca was to be made into Mecca" (Pires, 1944, vol. 2: 253) or that 'Malaca was the right Méca' (Albuquerque, 1880: 82).

In another work, the *Adat Aceh*, Iskandar Muda is compared to Sultan Suleiman (The Magnificent) leaving for the battle field (Harun, 1985: 50).

Aceh assimilates by imitation. "Aceh demonstrated its Islamic cosmopolitanism by adhering to the latest religious and secular fashions from the Islamic world" (Andaya, 2001: 38). Borrowings from the Ottoman court have been identified in the most ancient seal known to us (seal of Alauddin Riayat Syah, ca. 1602; see Gallop, 2004) and in royal epistolary art, as we know it through three diplomatic missives of the 17th century (see Gallop, 2011). But the Moslem court that was Aceh's main model in that period was the Moghul court.

Several authors have inventorized Acehnese cultural features that may have been borrowed from the Mughal court[19]. According to Schrieke (1957: 251-3) such features comprise the gardens described by both the *Bustan al-Salatin* (for the beginning of the 1640s) and the Dutch emissary Nicolaus de Graaf (in 1641), palace architecture, processions with elephants, festive river trips, the royal harem, the role of eunuchs, the pitting of animals, the presenting of royal garments, the king giving audience from a window or a balcony, and the royal orchestra with eight instruments—although for Brakel (1975: 58), many of these examples are "either too general or incorrect".

The influence of Persian culture via India is reflected in the language of the court. Persian vocabulary has invaded court language, especially in the *Bustan* chapter (II, 13) devoted to Aceh, to designate carpets, fabrics, clothing, precious stones, weapons, seals, musical instruments, palaces, and names of functions (see Wormser, 2009: 70-72). Whether real or fictitious, the menu of a banquet given at a princely wedding in the palace around 1580 (according to the *Hikayat Aceh*; Iskandar, 1958: 112), every dish of which evokes Mughal cuisine, shows the power of this fashion (Wormser, 2009: 70).

---

agama Rasul Allah" (Iskandar, 1958:167).

19. See Schrieke (1957), Brakel (1975), Wessing (1988), Andaya (2001), Braginsky (2006), Wormser (2009).

Persian vocabulary has even permeated toponymy: the name of the capital (Bandar Aceh) is formed on the Persian word *bandar*, and the names of two localities of North Sumatra (perhaps Pariaman and Aru) are replaced by those of two Indian dynasties: Mughal and Ghuri (Wormser, 2009: 76). This fashion of India continued for a long time, since the chapter (II, 11) of the *Bustan* devoted to the history of the Delhi sultanate ends with a eulogy of Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) which alludes to a fact of his reign dating back to 1679 (see Wormser, 2012: 63).

However, "Indic vestiges" have also been identified in other—or the same (see Brakel, 1975: 58-62)—elements of Aceh's court culture, as well as in the Gunongan (Wessing, 1988) and in the famous 1615 letter from Iskandar Muda (Gallop, 2011: 111). These elements suggest, on the one hand, that the history of Aceh has experienced a pre-Islamic period of which we know practically nothing (see Edwards McKinnon, 2006), on the other hand that the cultural elements borrowed from abroad were not copied slavishly, but were adapted to local tastes and traditions.

The most prominent borrowing, because it seems obvious, is the ninefold seal (*cap sikureuëng*): a large seal representing nine small circles contained in a large one: one in the center, containing the name of the reigning sultan, and eight on the periphery containing the names of eight previous sultans. This seal, coined "the orbital genealogical seal" by A. Gallop (1999), was discussed in detail by Rouffaer (1906), Brakel (1975), Siegel (1979) and Gallop (1999). It seems undeniable that it was drawn in imitation of the seal of the Mughal emperors, more particularly that of Jahangir (r. 1605-1627). However, these various authors have highlighted the numerous and significant differences between the Acehnese seal and its Mughal model, differences that Brakel attributes to the survival of Hindu-Buddhist models.

In the case of the seal of Alauddin Riayat Syah and diplomatic missives, as in that of the ninefold seal, the products of Aceh are distinguished by a high artistic quality and a high standard craftmanship, as well as a strong creativity. The sultans surrounded themselves with an army of craftsmen (Iskandar Muda employed more than 300 goldsmiths), they spent fortunes in luxurious objects (Iskandar Thani largely contributed to empty the coffers of the state by the purchase of precious stones, see Sher Banu 2011: 144) and they displayed their riches before the people as well as foreign visitors.

As stated above, Malay sources mention two figures who are at the head of the religious power: the Shaykh al-Islam (the Grand Mufti) and the Kadi Malik al-Adil (the head *cadi*). It is sometimes asserted that the function of Shaykh al-Islam existed for approximately a century. According to L. Andaya, for instance, Syamsuddin, Nuruddin, Saiful Rijal and Abdurrauf filled that function and all had a leading political role: "All of Aceh's Shaikhs al-Islam in the seventeenth century exercised considerable religious and secular

influence in the kingdom" (2001: 51). It seems, in fact, that only Syamsuddin ever was Shaykh al-Islam, which means that the institution was created by Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah al-Mukammil and then disappeared with the death of Syamsuddin. (In the list already quoted of 150 officials of Sultanah Tajul Alam's reign, no Shaykh al-Islam is mentioned.) The institution was copied from the Ottoman court of Sulaiman I (1520-1566), where the Shaykh al-Islam not only had authority on the Moslem community and the religious hierarchy, but also had a function of advising on political matters (Ito, 1984: 259). This, however, does not mean that the man bearing this title in Bandar Aceh had the same powers.

The *Bustan al-Salatin* and the *Hikayat Aceh* mention the name of Syekh Syamsuddin, that is, Syamsuddin Pasai (or al-Samatra'i), who is known otherwise as the author of religious essays written in both Arabic and Malay. Concomitantly, European visitors note the presence of a character who has a prominent position at the court. Thus, Syamsuddin has quite naturally been identified with the 'bishop' mentioned by Europeans, and he was ascribed a considerable role at the head of the state. According to Ito: "In the field of politics, Syams al-Din was, as we have seen, the ruler's chief advisor and next to him in rank. It is difficult to exaggerate Syams al-Din's role. He appears to have had control both of the secular and religious association with other Muslim countries. As religious thinker in court circle, he must have been one of the most outstanding intellectuals and administrators of his day (1984: 260)."

The unanimous tendency is to identify the great cleric described by the foreigners with the (almost) unique character we know at that time: Syamsuddin. All the texts and all the testimonies converge towards a single person. Syamsuddin was not only Shaykh al-Islam, he was also "confidant, senior court officer, foreign minister and spiritual guide to three sultans" *(Johns, 2009: 149)*. He is even ascribed the authorship of the *Hikayat Aceh* (Iskandar, 1995: 395; Andaya, 2001: 47-48, 51; Iskandar, 2011: 59).

There seems to be many hasty deductions and conjectures here. It would be necessary, on the one hand, to put together all the testimonies relating to 'bishops' and other religious dignitaries in Malay and foreign sources, in order to see whether it is reasonable to see the person of Syamsuddin in them so often; on the other hand, to reconsider the role and power of this character. Some foreign testimonies attest to the role of a "bishop" in negotiations with foreign traders; others mention one or several eminent clerics with no clearly defined authority. John Davis, at the court of Alauddin Riayat Syah in 1599, only mentions religious figures after fifteen people to whom he attributes all the power, and he distinguishes between a "bishop" and a "prophet": "They have an Archbishop and Spiritual Dignities. Here is a Prophet in Achien, whom they greatly honour; they say that hee hath the spirit of Pophesie, as the Ancients have had" (Reid, 1995: 26). Schrieke (1957: 393) proposed to identify the Archbishop as the *qadi* and the prophet as Syamsuddin, but later

historians tended to identify the Archbishop as Syamsuddin (e.g. Gallop, 2011: 112).

Beaulieu also, during the reign of Iskandar Muda, in 1620, speaks of two characters, the first of which is about 80 years old, which could be the age of Syamsuddin, and the second is a "prophet." The first is the object of "veneration" which is no sign of power, of which the second is obviously lacking: the prophet "called himself Xerif Nepueu of Jesus Christ. He was an Arab or from hereabouts and great doctor in the law of Mahomat. He bore the character of a prophet and came to the king of Achen, who was so little moved with his remonstrances that he ordered him to keep within doors and not to meddle with his deportment, so that the oracle was struck dumb all of a sudden. … And certainly although this man is a pandita or great teacher, I do not find him more pious than other people … this pandita or sherif is nonetheless almoner. (quoted by Schrieke, 1957: 393)."

Syamsuddin is supposed to have been responsible for the diplomatic correspondence of the rulers (Gallop, 2011: 112), but he cannot be responsible for the two letters in Arabic that Alauddin Riayat Syah al-Mukammil sent, in 1602 and 1603, to two European rulers as their text is marred by "mistakes, provincialisms, and infelicities" (Peacock, 2016: 197). Teuku Iskandar, in his last published article, had a very mild appreciation of Syamsuddin's political role: "He was not the chief qadi or mufti (scholar of Islamic law) as many researchers suppose, but a learned man and religious advisor to the court, who would sometimes also comment on political matters. (2011: 55)."

The *Adat Aceh* mentions Syekh Syamsuddin four times for his participation in the rites of the Iduladha ceremony: he certainly had a high position in the symbolic representation of power, but this does not say anything about his eventual role in the political life of the kingdom. The *Bustan al-Salatin* (book II, chapter 13), probably written some ten years after the death of Syamsuddin, is extremely elliptical on the period preceding the reign of Iskandar Thani; we cannot therefore expect to find in it information on his activity. However, his death is reported (12 Rajab 1039, i.e. 25 Feb. 1630; it is the date accepted by historians) without any clarification on his function. The *Hikayat Aceh*, on the other hand, probably written a dozen or fifteen years after his death, is a text written to the glory of Iskandar Muda, but which ends abruptly when this character is not yet on the throne, so that most of the text actually deals with the reign of Alauddin Riayat Syah al-Mukammil, who was Syamsuddin's sovereign for twenty or thirty years. Syamsuddin is mentioned three times (only) in the text, for absolutely futile reasons, which give no idea of any role in the court or in the life of Iskandar Muda. Syamsuddin has no role in the childhood of the prince, not even in his religious education.

If Syamsuddin had any political or administrative function, contemporary Malay texts have done their best to conceal it. The factual information scattered in these texts and in European testimonies do not allow to affirm that

Syamsuddin had any kind of authority. He had a role in the negotiations with foreigners, perhaps because he was among the most learned men of the court about the outside world, but did he really have a political and administrative role, we have no idea.

Even if he had responsibilities, they probably varied considerably over the years and according to the temperament of each sultan (he served three). Moreover, it should be considered that Syamsuddin was not the only religious cleric at court. It happens we know another Muslim scholar contemporaneous with him: Ibrahim ibn Abdullah al-Shami al-Shafi'i, whom the *Bustan* deems important enough to tell us that he died six months after Syamsuddin, but to which historians assign no role. Finally, as we have seen, the highest religious functions could be purely honorific.

The supposed power of Syamsuddin is later attributed to Nuruddin (e.g. Riddell, 2006: 42; Gallop, 2011: 122-3). In the *Bustan* (II, 13), in the long passage devoted to the reigns of Iskandar Thani and Tajul Alam (pp. 44-74, more than two-thirds of the text), Nuruddin is mentioned once only ("Shaykh Nuruddin," p. 63), in the enumeration of twelve dignitaries at a religious ceremony, while six elephants are also mentioned by name (p. 60).

There is a great deal of speculation in historians' assessments of Syamsuddin's role, let alone his successors, as high-ranking religious officials who also had an important political role. Perhaps some clerics did have some authority, at least as advisers of the sultan, at certain times, but the waltz of the clerics of the court, which sometimes succeeded each other very quickly and some of which were expelled (Nuruddin, and perhaps his uncle before him) or put to death (Kamaluddin, Saiful Rijal), rather gives the impression that these men were the toys of the political struggles between factions of Acehnese nobles. Saiful Rijal was allegedly involved in a plot to usurp power, but we do not know anything about this plot, of which he was perhaps the victim rather than the instigator. The role of these shaykhs in Malay texts suggests that they had above all an iconic function in the legitimation and representation of royal power.

Islam is an essential component of the culture of the sultanate. It is one of the driving forces of foreign policy (war of Islamization against the Batak, holy war against the Portuguese, alliance with the Ottoman Empire), it is at the center of public life (religious ceremonies are the most important manifestations of royal grandeur; Iskandar Muda is said to have built mosques and imposed rules of Islamic way of life). Of the practice of Islam, however, we know only two aspects, which are in some way at the two ends of religious life: on the one hand, the grandiose ceremonies, by which the court staged itself in front of the dazzled common people; on the other hand, the extremely erudite and sophisticated analyzes of several authors on the theory of mysticism. Otherwise, nothing is known about the practice of Islam by the common people or even the nobility.

Nothing is known either about the piety of the sultans: their knowledge of religion, their faith and their belonging to a brotherhood are known to us only through short passages in local sources, that is to say they are part of a panegyric-type discourse, while foreign testimonies describe feast and luxury, without ever evoking piety and devotion.

Aceh sultanate, in the 16th and 17th centuries, is famous for having produced a large number of Muslim mystic treatises, which gave rise to a fierce debate (men were executed, books were burned). Reflection and debate are constantly linked with political life in a way that remains enigmatic. The theological dispute over monism (*wahdat al-wujud*) is punctuated by the succession of sovereigns; the reversals for or against monism in the name of orthodoxy decide on the election or repudiation of the great clerics that are Syamsuddin, Kamaluddin[20], Nuruddin, Saiful Rijal and Abdurrauf. They conducted a scholastic debate for perhaps a century, but it is the fight between political factions at the top of the state that decided its outcome.

Religion is at the center of the image of the kingdom, or rather of the regime, as it is expressed in the texts (especially the *Bustan*), in ceremonies and in various aspects of court life. Must we conclude, like Ito and many others, that the king is pious, versed in Muslim sciences and a member of a brotherhood? This is certainly not the image that John Davis gives of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah al-Mukammil, in 1599 (Reid, 1995: 16-26), or Beaulieu (1996) of Iskandar Muda, in 1620. In hundreds and hundreds of pages, be it in Malay, English, Dutch or French, we never see a sultan reading a book, studying a document or even discussing any intellectual or religious matter. There may be exceptions. One is found in the *Hikayat Aceh*, about Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah Sayyid al-Mukammil: "he constantly devises with people knowledgable about sufism" (*netiasa sultan itu berbahath dengan segala orang yang tahu-tahu pada ilmu hakikat*; Iskandar, 1958: 100). This one line sentence is followed by 500 lines describing the protocol and festivities of his daughter's wedding, the mother-to-be of Iskandar Muda (p. 100-115). One to five hundred looks like the right proportion indeed. Of the twenty or so foreign visitors who recounted their visit to the sultans and sultanas of Aceh in the 17th century (all entered the palace), not one ever heard of a library. The *Sulalat al-Salatin* insists on the piety of several sultans of Malacca; we see them studying and following the advice of spiritual masters. This is not the case in Aceh. Iskandar Muda's education as described in the *Hikayat Aceh* lasts a few months. There is, in the three court texts of the 17th century, an obsession for pomp, luxury and prestige, together with a radical disdain for anything spiritual or intellectual.

Ito has reached the conclusion that Syamsuddin was Iskandar Muda's master in Sufism (1984: 249), but this is much more a hypothesis than an established

20. About the enigmatic figure of Kamaluddin al-Jawi, see Ito 1978: 490; Laffan, 2009.

fact. To that idea one might oppose the anecdote related by the Dutch emissary Pieter Sourij, who was at the court of the Sultana Tajul Alam Safiatuddin in 1643: 'The joint Councillors of the Realm and all the Bentaras requested that the case between the aforesaid two Bishops be settled by Her Majesty's authority, whereat the Queen replied that (as) she did not know the first thing about religious problems, and still less could understand their conflict, the matter should be left to the attention of the Uleebalangs' (Ito, 1978: 490).

There was an audience to listen to the ulamas, mostly foreigners, who taught in the capital. The anecdote of the *Bustan* telling that Muhammad Jailani al-Hamid was teaching logic, rhetoric, theology and jurisprudence in the capital, but students wanted to learn mysticism (Iskandar, 1966: 33-34)—this anecdote may be accurate. These men thirsty of science, however, were certainly not many and there were probably a number of strangers among them.

Snouck Hurgronje has a cynical judgment on this subject: 'The fact that such an extraordinary number of Malay writings on the teaching of Islam appeared in Acheh during the 16th and 17th centuries was merely the result of the political condition of the country, as that period embraces the zenith of the prosperity of the port-kings. Among the authors of these works or among the most celebrated mystics, heretical or orthodox, we do not find a single Achehnese name, but only those of foreign teachers. Learned Mohammedans have at all times sought countries where their attainments commanded solid advantages in addition to honour and respect. The activity of these champions, who fought their learned battles in the capital, had but little significance in regard to the scholarly or religious development of the people of Acheh' (1906, II: 21). Snouck is known for his categorical and utterly negative judgments, but it is true that the debates on mysticism, which seem to have begun as soon as the late 16th century, long before Nuruddin's stay in Aceh (see Wormser 2012a), were certainly not within the reach of the sultan and his ministers. These debates were always conducted in the name of orthodoxy, and that indeed was worthy of concern for a court that wanted to embody a model of Islamic state.

It is in this context of a political mise-en-scène of Islam that the writing of the two *fiqh* treatises by Abdurrauf and Jalaluddin is inscribed. They come after the *Taj al-Salatin*, which may have been written in 1603 for Sultan Alauddin (Iskandar, 2011: 54); after the *Hikayat Aceh*, which was probably commissioned by the sultana Tajul Alam Safiatuddin in imitation of the Persian panegyric chronicles composed for the Mughal emperors, for example the *Akbar-nama* by Abu'l-Fazl, composed around 1602 for emperor Akbar, or much more likely the 'autobiography' of a Mughal emperor (Timur, Babur or Jahangir), especially the *Timuri Malfuzat-i*, "Autobiography of Timur [Tamerlane]," by Abu Talib al-Husayni, which was presented to the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658) (see Braginsky, 2006); after the *Bustan al-Salatin*, commissioned to

Nuruddin in 1638 by Iskandar Thani, a foreign prince in Aceh: "To command a work of the magnitude of *Bustan al-Salatin* was surely a way of establishing his legitimacy, justifying its accession to the throne of Aceh and inscribing the history of Aceh in the history of the Muslim world. (...) Writing a mirror of princes in addition to a universal history was probably a way to compete with the Mughal rulers of northern India (Wormser, 2014: 132)."

The fact that three among the most famous Acehnese ulamas of the period (Nuruddin, Abdurrauf, Jalaluddin) have written a handbook of *fiqh* on order of their respective sultan shows that Islamic law was a concern of the successive rulers. By ordering the compilation of a book of *fiqh*, the sultan was conforming to an ideal Islamic model. Islamic texts must have had an emblematic role. Whatever their utility and their usage in judicial practice, those texts certainly had a function of prestige. Having a Malay text of *fiqh* written at a sultan's court enhanced the status of the said Sultan as an Islamic sovereign. This is somehow confirmed by the fact that Sultan Alaiddin Johan Syah (1735-60), at the beginning of his reign, ordered the redaction of a new *fiqh* digest, while he already had the excellent *Mir'at al-Tullab*, and Jalaluddin's off-hand, almost derisive, way to dismiss that book ("Indeed, our master, the guardian of the faith (Aminuddin) Abdurrauf, may Allah be pleased with him, has already written the book *Mir'at al-Tullab*, but it is very big, students don't have the courage to learn it," p. 4) suggests that there may have been some political or social reason behind the project.

Conclusion

Justice in Aceh in the 16th and 17th centuries was probably influenced in some way by sharia law. The *fiqh* was known, had its specialists and students. The court was interested in it, to the point that three sultans successively ordered ulamas to write treatises on the subject. However, the existence of these treatises is in no way a proof, or even a clue, that justice was based, or mainly based, on sharia law. By ordering *fiqh* books, the sultans followed the example of the Ottoman and Mughal courts; they acted in conformity with the ideal of a Muslim sovereign.

The manuscript of the *Safinat* transcribed in the 2015 edition is the one that belongs today to the Museum Negeri Aceh. I saw this manuscript in 1976 while it still was in private hands. This manuscript presents a rare singularity: one of its former owners noticed the existence of a blank page in the middle of the book (p. 191) and filled it with a text unrelated to the subject of the book. This text describes in detail the circumstances of the birth of Iskandar Muda; it is signed Tengku Di Mulek Sayyid ibn Abdullah ibn Ahmad Jamalullail Aceh, during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Mansur Syah Johan Berdaulat, in 1288 [1871/72], in Kampung Kedah Ketapang Dua, Aceh Bandar Darussalam. This same Di Mulek (or Di Meulek) has left other notes on several pages of

the manuscript, none of which is transcribed or even mentioned in the 2015 edition. Di Mulek is also the author of a large number of documents, including a small book entitled *Qanun Meukuta Alam*, which was recently published by Syiah Kuala University. This book tends to prove the preeminence of Islam in Acehnese society of the 17th and 18th centuries, and it brings us back to our point of departure: these academic publications are works of great scientific interest, but they are to be read in a specific political and social context. The texts of Di Mulek will be the subject of another article.

Acknowledgements

I thank heartily Oman Fathurahman for providing me with a digital copy of the Ali Hasjmy manuscript of the *Safinat al-hukkam*, as well as, ten years ago, a copy of the 2004 edition of the same text. Thank you also to Ayang Utriza Yakin, Ade Pristie Wisandhani, James Siegel, Hélène Poitevin, Rémy Madinier, Muliadi Kurdi, Mahmood Kooria, and Nico Kaptein for sharing various information and documents. I am most indebted to R. Michael Feener for his most valuable remarks and suggestions on a draft of this article. Ernest Thrimbe offered valuable editorial suggestions.

References

Abbreviations

BKI : *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*

JMBRAS : *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*

Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir. 1970. *The Hikayat Abdullah*, transl. by A.H. Hill. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Afrianty, Dina. 2015. *Women and Sharia Law in Northern Indonesia: Local women's NGOs and the reform of Islamic law in Aceh*. London: Routledge.

Albuquerque, Afonso de. 1880. *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India*, edited and translated by Walter de Gray Birch. London: Hakluyt Society, vol. III.

Ali Haji, Raja. 1982. *Tuhfat al-Nafis oleh Raja Haji Ahmad dan Raja Ali Haji* (diselenggarakan oleh V. Matheson). Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti.

Ali Haji, Raja. 2005. *Bustan al-Katibin*, dikaji oleh Hashim bin Musa. Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan.

Ali Haji, Raja. 2010. *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa*, dikaji oleh Hashim bin Musa. Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan.

Andaya, Leonard Y. 2001. "Aceh's Contribution to Standards of Malayness," *Archipel* 61, pp. 29-68.

al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naguib. 1966. *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Aceh*. Singapore: MBRAS.

al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naguib. 1969. *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naguib. 1970. *The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naguib. 1972. *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*. Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naguib. 1986. *A Commentary on the Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture.

al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naguib. 1988. *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th century Malay translation of the 'Aqā'id of al-Nasafī*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

Azra, Azyumardi. 1994. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.

Azra, Azyumardi. 2009. "Naskah terjemahan antarbaris: Kontribusi kreatif dunia Islam Melayu-Indonesia," *in* H. Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, Jakarta: KPG – EFEO, pp. 435-443.

al-Banjari, Muhammad Arsyad. 2015, 2017. *Sabil al-Muhtadi, alih aksara Muliadi Kurdi & Jamaluddin Thaib*. Banda Aceh: Naskah Aceh, 2 vols.

Beaulieu, Augustin de. 1996. *Mémoires d'un voyage aux Indes Orientales, 1619-1622: Un marchand normand à Sumatra*, D. Lombard ed., Paris: EFEO – Maisonneuve & Larose.

Berg, L.W.C. van den. 1886. "Het Mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte Arabische boeken," *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* 31, pp. 519-55.

Braginsky, Vladimir I. 1998. *Yang Indah, Berfaedah dan Kamal: Sejarah Sastra Melayu Abad 7-19*. Jakarta: INIS.

Braginsky, Vladimir. 2004. *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A historical survey of genres, writings and literary views*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Braginsky, Vladimir I. 2006. "Structure, date and sources of Hikayat Aceh revisited: The problem of Mughal-Malay literary ties," *BKI* 162-4, pp. 441-467.

Braginsky, Vladimir. *The Turkic-Turkish Theme in Traditional Malay Literature: Imagining the other to empower the self*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Brakel, L.F. 1975. "State and statecraft in 17th century Aceh," *in* Lance Castles & Anthony Reid (eds.), *Pre-Colonial State Systems in South-East Asia*, Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, pp. 56-66.

Brown, C.C. 1970. *Sějarah Mělayu or Malay Annals*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Bruinessen, Martin van. 1995. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.

Bruinessen, M. van. 1995a. "Shari'a court, tarekat and pesantren: religious institutions in Banten," *Archipel* 50, pp. 165-197.

Buehler, Michael. 2008. "The rise of shari'a by-laws in Indonesian districts: An indication for changing patterns of power accumulation and political corruption," *South East Asia Research*, 16-2, pp. 255-285.

Bukhair Al-Jauhari [sic]. 1966. *Taj us-Salatin*, di-usahakan oleh Khalid Hussain. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Bukhari al-Jauhari. 1999. *Taju'ssalatin Mahkota Raja-Raja: Naskah Melayu lengkap dalam huruf Melayu-Arab beserta alih hurufnya dalam huruf Latin* [diselenggarakan oleh Asdi S. Dipodjojo & Endang Daruni Asdi]. Yogyakarta: Lukman Offset.

Bush, Robin. 2008. "Regional Sharia regulations in Indonesia: Anomaly or sympton?," *in* Greg Fealy and Sally White (eds.), *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, Singapore: ISEAS, pp. 174-191.

Chambert-Loir, Henri. 1994. "Some aspects of Islamic justice in the sultanate of Pontianak c. 1880," *in* W. Marschall (ed.), *Texts from the Islands: Oral and Written Traditions of Indonesia and the Malay World*, Berne: The University of Bern (Ethnologica Bernensia 4), pp. 159-173.

Chambert-Loir, Henri. 2011. "Sebuah sumber Prancis tentang masa pemerintahan Sultan

Iskandar Muda: Cerita perjalanan Augustin de Beaulieu," *in* Aprinus Salam et al. (eds.), *Jejak Sastra & Budaya: Prosiding Seminar Internasional Persembahan untuk 70 Tahun Prof. Dr. Siti Chamamah Soeratno*, Yogyakarta: Elmatera, pp. 175-208.

Chambert-Loir, H. & Siti Maryam Salahuddin. 1999. *Bo' Sangaji Kai: Catatan Kerajaan Bima*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

Commelin, Isaac (ed.). 1646. *Begin ende voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, vervatende de voornaemste reysen by de inwoonderen der selver provincien derwaerts gedaen*. Amsterdam, 2 vols.

Daud al-Fatani, Syeikh. 1990. *Wasiat Abrar Peringatan Akhyar*, disunting oleh H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah. Shah Alam (Malaysia): Hizbi.

Djajadiningrat, R.A Hoesein. 1934. *Atjèsch-Nederlandsch woordenbooek*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 2 vols.

Doorenbos, J. 1933. *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri, uitgegeven en toegelischt*. Leiden: Batteljee & Terpstra.

Drewes, G.W.J. 1950. "De herkomst van het voegwoord *bahwasanja*; bijdrage tot de kennis van het Kitab-Maleis," in *Bingkisan Budi: Een bundel opstellen aan Dr Philippus Samuel van Ronkel*, Leiden: Sijthoff, pp. 104-116.

Drewes, G.W.J. 1955. *Een 16de eeuwse Maleise vertaling van de Burda van al-Būṣīrī (Arabisch lofdicht op Mohammad)*. 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.

Drewes, G.W.J. 1977. *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

Drewes, G.W.J. 1986. "Nur al-Din al-Raniri's charge of heresy against Hamzah and Shamsuddin from an international point of view," *in* C.D. Grijns and S.O. Robson (eds.), *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation*, Dordrecht: Foris, pp. 54-59.

Drewes, G.W.J. & L.F. Brakel. 1986. *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*. Dordrecht: Floris.

Drewes, G.W.J. & P. Voorhoeve. 1958. *Adat Atjèh, reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript in the India Office Library*. 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.

Edwards McKinnon, E. 2006. "Indian and Indonesian elements in early North Sumatra," *in* A. Reid (ed.), *Verandah of Violence: The background to the Aceh problem*, Singapore University Press – University of Washington Press (Seattle), pp. 22-37.

Fathurahman, Oman. 2004. "Sastra kitab," *in* Edi Sedyawati dkk. (eds.), *Sastra Melayu Lintas Daerah*, Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, pp. 371-382.

Fathurahman, Oman. 2009. "Penulis dan penerjemah ulama Palembang: Menghubungkan dua dunia," *in* H. Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, Jakarta: KPG – EFEO, pp. 1045-1056.

Fathurahman, Oman. 2010. *Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh Besar*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu.

Feener, R. Michael. 2013. *Sharī'a and Social Engineering: The implementation of Islamic law in contemporary Aceh, Indonesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fokker, A. A. 1909. "Arabic and Malay," *Le Monde Oriental*, III, pp. 178-236.

Gallop, Annabel Teh. 1999. "The genealogical seal of the Mughal emperors of India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, 9, pp. 77-140.

Gallop, Annabel Teh. 2004. "Ottoman influences in the seal of Alauddin Riayat Syah of Aceh (r.1589–1604)," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32 (93), pp. 176-190.

Gallop, Annabel Teh. 2011. "Gold, silver and lapis lazuli: royal letters from Aceh in the seventeenth century," *in* R. Michael Feener, Patrick Daly and Anthony Reid (eds.), *Mapping the Acehnese Past*, Leiden: KITLV Press, pp. 105-139.

Grinter, Catherine Anne. 1979. "Book Four of the *Bustan Us-Salatin*: A study from the manuscripts of a 17th century Malay work written in North Sumatra." Dissertation (unpublished), University of London, SOAS.

Guillot, Claude & Ludvik Kalus. 2000. "La stèle funéraire de Hamzah Fansuri," *Archipel* 60, pp. 3-24.

Guillot, Claude & Ludvik Kalus. 2001. "En réponse à Vladimir I. Braginsky," *Archipel* 62, pp. 34-38.

Guillot, Claude & Ludvik Kalus. 2008. *Les Monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra*. Paris: Archipel, Cahier d'Archipel 37.

Hadi, Amirul. 2004. *Islam and State in Sumatra: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Aceh*. Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts. Leiden: Brill.

(Harun). 1985. *Adat Aceh, dialihaksarakan oleh Ramli Harun & Tjut Rahma M.A. Gani*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Hasjmy, Ali. 1987. "Naskah-naskah tua menyimpan alam fikiran Melayu lama: Sebuah studi tentang Safinatul Hukkam," *in* Siti Hawa Haji Saleh (ed.), *Cendekia Kesusasteraan Melayu Tradisional*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp. 254-279.

Hidayatu s-Salikin. 1992. [karangan Abdul Samad al-Palimbani], dialihaksarakan oleh Abu Hanifah & Adnan Rais. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.

Ibn Battuta. 1995. *Voyages et périples (rihla)*, *in* Paule Charles-Dominique (ed. & transl.), *Voyageurs arabes: Ibn Fadlan, Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Battuta et un auteur anonyme*, Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, pp. 369-1050, 1130-1205.

Iskandar, Teuku. 1958. *De Hikajat Atjeh*. 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.

Iskandar, Teuku. 1995. *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad*. Brunei: Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

Iskandar, Teuku. 2011. "Aceh as crucible of Muslim-Malay literature," *in* Feener et al. (eds.), *Mapping the Acehnese Past*, Leiden: KITLV Press, pp. 39-64.

Ito, Takeshi. 1978. 'Why did Nuruddin al-Raniri leave Aceh in 1054 A. H.?', *BKI* 134, pp. 489-491.

Ito Takeshi. 1984. "The World of the Adat Aceh: A historical study of the sultanate of Aceh." Canberra: ANU dissertation.

Johns, A. 1955. "Aspects of Sufi thought in India and Indonesia in the first half of the 17th century," *JMBRAS* 28 (1), pp. 70-77.

Johns, A.H. 1957. "Malay sufism as illustrated in an anonymous collection of 17th century tracts," *JMBRAS* 30 (2), pp. 1-111.

Johns, A.H. 1998. "The qur'ān in the Malay world: Reflections on 'Abd al-ra'ūf of Singkel (1615-1693)," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9 (2), pp. 120-145.

Johns, Anthony H. 1999. "'She desired him and he desired her' (Qur'an 12:24): 'Abd al-Ra'ûf's treatment of an episode of the Joseph story in Tarjumân al-Mustafîd," *Archipel* 57, pp. 109-134.

Johns, A.H. 2009. "Reflections on the mysticism of Shams al-Din al-Samatra'i (1559?-1630)," *in* Jan van der Putten & Mary Kilcline Cody (eds.), *Lost Times and Untold Tales from the Malay World*, Singapore: NUS Press, pp. 148-163.

Kalus, Ludvik & Claude Guillot. 2010. "Bayt al-rijâl : premier cimetière royal du sultanat d'Aceh," *Archipel* 80, pp. 211-255.

Kaptein, N. 1995. "The word setengah in Kitab-Malay," *in* Connie Baak et al. (eds.), *Tales from a Concave World: Liber amicorum Bert Voorhoeve*, Leiden University: Department of Languages and Cultures of South-East Asia and Oceania, pp. 542-552.

Kaptein, Nico. 1997. *The Muhimmât al-Nafâ'is: A bilingual Meccan fatwa collection for Indonesian Muslims from the end of the nineteenth century*. Jakarta: INIS.

Kasyfu l-Gaibiyah. 1995. [karya Zainal Abidin bin Muhammad Patani], dialihaksarakan oleh Abu Hanifah, Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Kooria, Mahmood. 2016. "Cosmopolis of Law: Islamic legal ideas and texts across the Indian Ocean and Eastern Mediterranean worlds." Leiden University dissertation.

Krom, N.J. 1931. *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis (tweede, herziene druk)*. ‘s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.

Laffan, Michael. 2009. “When is a Jawi Jawi? A short note on Pieter Soutij’s „Maldin“ and his Minang student „Sayf al-Rijal“,” *in* Jan van der Putten & Mary Kilcline Cody (eds.), *Lost Times and Untold Tales from the Malay World*, Singapore: NUS Press, pp. 139-147.

Lambourn, Elizabeth. 2003. “From Cambay to Samudera-Pasai and Gresik: The export of Gujarati grave memorials to Sumatra and Java in the fifteenth century C.E.,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31 (90), pp. 221-289.

Langen, K.F.H. van. 1888. “De Inrichting van het Atjehsche Staatsbestuur onder het Sultanaat,” *BKI* 37, pp. 463-471.

Lombard, Denys. 1990. *Le Carrefour javanais: Essai d’histoire globale*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 3 vols.

Matheson, Virginia. 1971. “The Tuhfat al-Nafis: Structure and sources,” *BKI* 127 (3), pp. 375-392.

Matheson, Virginia & M.B. Hooker, “Jawi literature in Patani: The maintenance of an Islamic tradition,” *JMBRAS* 61 (1), 1988, pp. 1-86.

Mohammad Hannan Hassan. 2014. “Islamic Legal Thought and Practices of Seventeenth Century Aceh: Treating the Others.” PhD dissertation, McGill University.

Muzaffar Alam & Sanjay Subrahmanyam. 2005. “Southeast Asia as seen from Mughal India: Tahir Muhammad’s ‘Immaculate garden’ (ca. 1600),” *Archipel* 70, pp. 209-237. (Also in the book by the same autors: *Writing the Mughal World: Studies in Culture and Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.)

Nur’d-din ar-Raniri. 1966. *Bustanu’s-Salatin, Bab II, Fasal 13, di-susun oleh T. Iskandar*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Nuruddin Ar-Raniri. 1983. *Khabar Akhirat dalam Hal Kiamat* (ditransliterasi oleh Edwar Djamaris). Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri. 2004. *Bustan al-Salatin (Bab Pertama dan Kedua)*, diselenggarakan oleh Jelani Harun. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Nuruddin ar-Raniri. 2008. *Bustan al-Salatin (Bab Ketiga)*, diselenggarakan oleh Jelani Harun. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Peacock, A.C.S. 2016. “Three Arabic letters from North Sumatra of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,” *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 44, pp. 129.

Pires, Tomé. 1944. *The Suma Oriental*, edited and translated by Armando Cortesao. London: Hakluyt Society, 2 vols.

Prabowo, Taufiq & Claude Guillot. 1997. “Les pesantrèn ou centres d’enseignement de l’islam à Java,” *in* Nicole Grandin & Marc Gaborieau (eds.), *Madrasa: La transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman*, Paris: Arguments, pp. 185-198.

Reid, Anthony. 1989. “Elephants and water in the feasting of seventeenth century Aceh,” *JMBRAS* 62(2), pp. 25-44.

Reid, Anthony. 1995. *Witnesses to Sumatra: A travelers’ anthology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Reid, Anthony, 2014. “Turkey as Aceh’s alternative imperium,” *Archipel* 87, pp. 81-102.

Riddell, P. G. 1979. “Semantic Change in Malay/Indonesian: A diachronic analysis of some examples of semantic change occuring during the period of development of literary Indonesian from Kitab Malay.” Unpublished MA dissertation. Australian National University.

Riddell, Peter G. 1990. *Transferring a Tradition: ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī’s rendering into Malay of the Jalālayn commentary*. Berkeley: University of California.

Riddell, Peter G. 2002. “Literal translation, sacred scripture and Kitab Malay,” *Studia Islamika* (Jakarta), 9 (1), pp. 1-26.

Riddell, Peter G. 2006. "Aceh in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: 'Serambi Mekkah'and identity," *in* Anthony Reid (ed.), *Verandah of Violence: The background of the Aceh problem*, Singapore University Press – University of Washington Press (Seattle), pp. 38-51.

Riddell, Peter G. 2012. "From Kitab Malay to Literary Indonesian: A case study in semantic change," *Studia Islamika* 19 (2), pp. 277-312.

Riddell, Peter G. 2017. *Malay Court Religion, Culture, and Language: Interpreting the Qur'an in 17th Century Aceh*. Leiden: Brill.

Rouffaer, G.P. 1906. "De Hindoestansche oorsprong van het 'negenvoudig' sultans-zegel van Atjeh," *BKI* 59, pp. 349-383.

Ronkel, Ph.S. van. 1899. "Over de invloed der Arabische syntaxis op de Maleische," *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* 41, pp. 498-529.

Roorda van Eijsinga. P.P. 1827. *De kroon aller koningen*. Batavia: Lands Drukkerij.

Salim, Arskal. 2015. *Contemporary Islamic Law in Indonesia: Sharia and legal pluralism*. Edinburgh University Press – The Aga Khan University.

Schrieke, B. 1957. *Indonesian Sociological Studies*. The Hague – Bandung: Van Hoeve, vol. II, *Ruler and Realm in Early Java*.

Shellabear, W.G. 1901. "The Evolution of Malay Spelling," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 36 (July 1901), pp. 75-135.

Sher Banu A.L. Khan, 2011. "The jewel affair: The sultana, her orang kaya and the Dutch foreign envoys," *in* Feener et al. (eds.), *Mapping the Acehnese Past*, Leiden: KITLV Press, pp. 141-162.

Siegel, James. 1979. *Shadow and Sound: The historical thought of a Sumatran people*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Siegel, James. 1995. "Comment profiter de la bêtise? Or, modernizing the dictionaries of Indonesian languages," *Indonesia* 60, pp. 55-161.

(al-Singkili). Teungku Sjeikh Abdurrauf alias Teungku Tjhik Sjiah Kuala (1615-1693). 1971. *Mir'at at-Thullab fi tashil ma'rifat ahkam ash-Syar'iyyah lil' Malik al-Wahhab (Tjermin bagi mereka jang menuntut Ilmu Fiqih pada memudahkan mengenal segala Hukum Sjara' Allah)*. Diperbanjak oleh Universitas Sjiah Kuala, Darussalam Banda Atjeh, 2 September 1971.

(al-Singkili). Asy-Syeikh 'Abdurrauf as-Singkily. 2015. *Miratuth Thullab fii tashiili ma'rifati ahkaamisy syar'iyati lil malikil wahhab, alih aksara Muliadi Kurdi & Jamaluddin Thaib*. Banda Aceh: Naskah Aceh.

Skinner, C. n.d. "The Influence of Arabic upon Malay," *Intisari* 2 (1), pp. 34-47.

Snouck Hurgronje, C. 1906. *The Achehnese*. Leiden: Brill, 2 vols.

Snouck Hurgronje, C. 1970. *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily life, customs and learning of the Moslims of the East-Indian-archipelago*. Leiden: Brill.

Steenbrink, Karel A. 1984. "Lembaga-lembaga pendidikan Islam abad ke-19," in *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, pp. 151-164.

Tajussalatin. 1979. *Tajussalatin* [oleh] Jumsari Jusuf. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

al-Tarusani, Jalaluddin. 1982. *Safinatul Hukkam fi Takhlisil Khassam, disalin oleh T. Mohd. Juned*. Banda Aceh: Universitas Syiah Kuala, Fakultas Hukum dan Pengetahuan Masyarakat, Pusat Studi Hukum Adat dan Islam, typescript.

al-Tarūsānī, Jalaluddin. 2001. *Safīnat al-Ḥukkām fī Takhlīṣ al-Khaṣṣām*, ed. Alyasa Abu Bakar, Aceh: IAIN Ar-Raniry Darussalam.

at-Tarusani, Jalaluddin. 2004. *Safinat al-hukkam fi takhlish al-khashsham, oleh Tim transliterasi Fakultas Syaria'ah*. Banda Aceh: Dinas Syariat Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam & Fakultas Syari'ah IAIN Ar-Raniry, typescript. (Saleh 2012: 392 has a different reference, which might be a second printing of the 2004 edition: Jalaluddin al-Tarusani, *Safinat al-*

hukkam fî Takhlîs al-Khussâm, Banda Aceh: Pusat Penelitian dan Penerjemahan IAIN Ar-Raniry, 2005.)

at-Tarusani, Jalaluddin. 2015. *Safinat al-hukkam fi takhlish al-khashsham, alih aksara Muliadi Kurdi & Jamaluddin Thaib*. Banda Aceh: Naskah Aceh.

Tudjimah. 1961. *Asrār al-insān fī ma'rifa al-rūh wa 'l-raḥmān* [karya Nuruddin al-Raniri]. Djakarta: Penerbitan Universitas.

Voorhoeve, P. 1952. "Bajan Tadjalli," *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* 85 (1), pp. 87-117.

Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah. 1992. *Manhalush Shafi Syeikh Daud al-Fathani: Membicarakan Rumus-Rumus Shufi dan Istilah-Istilah Tasawuf*. Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah – Imatera Publishers.

Wessing, Robert. 1988. "The Gunongan in Banda Aceh, Indonesia: Agni's Fire in Allah's Paradise?," *Archipel* 35, pp. 157-194.

Wieringa, E.P. 1998. *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands. Vol. I, Comprising the Acquisitions of Malay Manuscripts in Leiden University up to the Year 1896*. Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum in Leiden University Library.

Winstedt, R.O. 1969. *A History of Classical Malay Literature*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Wormser Paul. 2009. "Un modèle moghol à Aceh au XVIIe siècle?," *Archipel* 77, pp. 9-82.

Wormser, Paul. 2012. *Le Bustan al-Salatin de Nuruddin ar-Raniri: Réflexions sur le rôle culturel d'un étranger dans le monde malais au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Archipel, Cahier d'Archipel 41.

Wormser, Paul. 2012a. "The religious debates of Aceh in the 16th and 17th century: An invisible cultural dialogue?," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2-3), pp. 369-382.

Wormser, Paul. 2014. "La place des oulémas dans la société acihaise du XVI^{e} au XX^{e} siècle," *Archipel* 87, pp. 7-28.

Yahya, Iip Dzulfikli. 2009. "*Ngalogat* di pesantren Sunda: Menghadirkan yang dimangkirkan," *in* H. Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, Jakarta: KPG – EFEO, pp. 363-378.

Yakin, Ayang Utriza. 2015. "The Register of the Qadi Court Kiyahi Pĕqih Najmuddi of the Sultanate of Banten, 1754-1756 CE," *Studia Islamika* (Jakarta), 22 (3), pp. 443-486.

Yakin, Ayang Utriza. 2016. "The transliteration and translation of the Leiden manuscript Cod. Or. 5626 on the sijil of the qadi of Banten, 1754-1756 CE," *Heritage of Nusantara* (Jakarta), 5 (1), pp. 23-76.

Joseph M. Fernando[1] *and Shanthiah Rajagopal*[2]

Politics, Security and Early Ideas of 'Greater Malaysia', 1945-1961

The Federation of Malaysia was formed in September 1963 after years of backroom discussions, planning and, finally, very intense and delicate negotiations between late 1961 and 1963. The origins of the federation, however, remain a contentious issue among scholars. The idea of a wider political entity, encompassing the Federation of Malaya, the British-controlled territories of Sarawak, North Borneo, Singapore, and Brunei, was formally announced by Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of the independent Federation of Malaya, at a speech given to the Foreign Correspondents Association of Southeast Asia in Singapore on 27 May 1961. In his speech, Tunku suggested the desirability of a "closer association" of the territories of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei to strengthen political and economic cooperation.[3] The announcement was a major departure from the previous position of his Alliance Party government vis-à-vis the merger with

1. Dr. Joseph M. Fernando is an Associate Professor in the Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur.

2. Dr. Shanthiah Rajagopal is a graduate of the Department of History, University of Malaya, and an independent researcher.

3. Selkirk to Secretary of State, 27 May 1961, DO (Dominion Office) 169/25 (210), The National Archives, Kew, London. The Tunku noted in his speech: "Malaya today as a nation realises that she cannot stand alone and in isolation. Outside of international politics the national one must be broad based. Sooner or later she should have an understanding with Britain and the peoples of the territories of Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak. It is premature for me to say now how this closer understanding can be brought about but it is inevitable that we should look ahead to this objective and think of a plan whereby these territories can be brought closer together in a political and economic cooperation.' See also *Straits Times*, 28 May 1961.

Singapore and surprised many political observers —including the governors of the British-controlled Borneo states— because Malayan leaders had been turning down proposals by Singapore leaders for a direct merger with Malaya for some time.[4]

The formation of a broader federation between Malaya and Singapore, which was separated from Malaya in 1946, was contentious for several reasons. First, was the Malayan government's concern over the racial demographic balance. A merger between Malaya and Singapore and the inclusion of one million Chinese from the city-state would upset the political balance held by the Malay majority in Malaya.[5] Second, an equally pressing issue was that of the perceived communist threat emanating from Singapore. There was a fear among Singapore leaders, particularly the ruling People's Action Party (PAP) that, after the split in the party in 1961 and the formation of the Barisan Sosialis (which opposed the merger) communists could come to power in Singapore. Barisan Sosialis was viewed as being dominated by the pro-Communists.[6] Parties in Malaya such as the ruling Alliance Party and the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) were also concerned about the communist influence from Singapore.[7] In addition, Singapore leaders had approached Malayan leaders several times before 1961, seeking a direct merger as they felt the small city-state was not economically viable. The inclusion of the Borneo territories raised their own peculiar issues of integration such as questions of political and economic autonomy in these territories. These states were politically backward and there was some concern regarding the potential dominance of the Malayan state in the proposed wider federation.[8] Nevertheless, Tunku's statement started a process of intense discussions and, later, constitutional negotiations that led to the formation of the Federation of Malaysia on 16 September 1963, comprising the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo (later known as Sabah). Brunei, which was involved in the final negotiations, opted out of the new federation at the last minute.

The formation of the federation of Malaysia has received much attention from scholars in recent years with the availability of declassified documents related to its formation. There are, however, considerable disagreements among scholars on the origins of the idea of the wider federation and the underlying reasons for the creation of such an odd entity. Sometimes the

4. Tan Tai Yong, *Creating* "*Greater Malaysia,*" Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009, pp. 33-48. See also Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story*, Singapore, Times Editions, 1998, pp. 363-364.

5. Tan Tai Yong, *Creating* "*Greater Malaysia,*" p. 30.

6. Ibid., p. 31.

7. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

8. Ibid., pp. 16-18.

origin of the federation is attributed to Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman's statement of 27 May 1961 urging a closer association of these territories. This is viewed as a starting point for a serious consideration of the federation idea as the formal talks began after this announcement. A closer examination of the primary documents on the formation of the federation, however, indicates that the origin of the idea of a wider federation has much deeper roots and Tunku's statement coincided with substantive high level discussions that were taking place in the Colonial Office and in Southeast Asia on the future of the British-controlled territories in the region at that time. In fact, British Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia Malcolm MacDonald[9] had conducted serious discussions on the subject of closer relations among the British-controlled territories in Borneo and Malaya as early as 1951. Existing studies have not discussed adequately the deeper origins of the idea of the federation, focusing mainly on the formal discussions in the post-1961 period. This article traces the formation of the federation to more varied and complex origins in the post-war period when a convergence of interests of the various parties provided a new impetus for the establishment of the broader federation. We show that the idea of a wider federation, although it dates back to the pre-World War II period, was taken up most seriously in the early 1950s, and again between 1960 and 1961 when new developments in the region required a reconsideration of the idea and prompted Tunku to formally propose it.

Ideas of closer association

Existing works provide an inadequate picture of the developments which led to the formation of the federation of Malaysia in 1963. Matthew Jones, for example, notes that the initiative for the formation of the Malaysian federation "came from different sources" but does not deal substantively with these sources and alludes to Tunku's primary role in the process. His study is focused largely on the intense process of negotiations which took place in the later stages leading to the formation of the federation.[10] A.J. Stockwell's volume of British Documents on the formation of the federation of Malaysia is a selective compilation of related documents and does not reflect the earlier discussions adequately.[11] While his introductory section contains a useful

9. Malcolm MacDonald was the son of British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald who became a Labour Member of Parliament in 1929. He was Secretary of State for Colonies in 1935 and between 1938 and 1940. He served as British Governor-General for Southeast Asia in 1946-1948 and as Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia from 1948-1955. Between 1955 and 1960 he served as British High Commissioner in India. See A.J. Stockwell, *British policy and Malay politics, 1942-1948*, Kuala Lumpur, Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1979, p. 180.

10. Matthew Jones, "Creating Malaysia: Singapore Security, the Borneo Territories and the Contours of the British Policy, 1961-1963," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2000, pp. 85-109.

11. A.J. Stockwell, *Malaysia*, London, The Stationary Office (RSO), 2004.

discussion, it does not deal sufficiently with the pre-May 1961 discussions, rather focusing largely on the formal process of negotiations leading to the establishment of the federation in September 1963. Karl Hack has contended that the formation of Malaysia had "much to do with local developments, little to do with British plotting," and concluded that while Britain had long pressed Malaya to associate with Singapore this had been ignored.[12] This is not entirely reflective of the chain of events that led to the formation of the federation. Tan Tai Yong's book, *Creating* "*Greater Malaysia,*" provides a more substantive discussion of the formation of the federation but treats the pre-1961 period summarily.[13] Tan merely observes that the new state was the outcome of a series of decisions made by British policy-makers and local political elites between 1960 and 1963.[14] Other earlier works, based largely on secondary sources, provide interesting theories on the formation of Malaysia but do not shed much light on the early origins of the federation as these scholars did not have access to important official documents on the formation of the federation. These include works by Mohamed Nordin Sopiee and G.P. Means.[15] Sopiee notes that while most accounts of the developments leading to the formation of Malaysia begin in May 1961, a case could be made for starting the analysis in 1960.[16] In addition, while they hint at the earlier origins of the idea of the federation, the biographical accounts of the two main figures involved in the formation of Malaysia, i.e. the Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew[17] and Ghazali Shafie[18] –later the Foreign Minister of Malaysia– do not discuss in any depth the developments leading up to 1961. Invariably, the existing studies do not sufficiently discuss the earlier origins of the federation.

Ideas for a closer association between the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei, all of which were under the formal or informal control of the British since the 19th century, were put forward from a very early period. The earliest suggestion of the possibility of closer association between the Malayan states and the Borneo territories was made by Lord Brassey who suggested that these territories be merged 'into one large colony' in the House of Lords in 1887.[19] Following this, senior British officials

12. Karl Hack, *Defence and Decolonisation in Southeast Asia: Britain, Malaya and Singapore, 1941-1968*, Richmond, Curzon, 2001, p. 275.

13. Tan Tai Yong, *Creating* "*Greater Malaysia,*" p. 2.

14. Ibid.

15. Mohamed Nordin Sopiee, *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1976, pp. 91-124; G.P. Means, *Malaysian Politics*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1970, pp. 292-312.

16. Mohamed Nordin Sopiee, *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation,* p. 135.

17. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story*, 1998.

18. Ghazalie Shafie, *Memoir on the Formation of Malaysia*, Bangi, Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1998, pp. 16-17. He claims he had ideas on the federation as early as 1948.

19. Mohamed Nordin Sopiee, *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation*, p. 127. See also

in the region and some Colonial Office officials remarked from time to time on the potential benefit of a closer association of these territories. These suggestions, however, remained mere ideas without any clear formula or plan of action and were not taken up seriously. British planning in London during the conflict over post-war Malaya did envision the possibility of Singapore being part of Malaya, but the 1946 Malayan Union scheme left Singapore out because of the importance of the city-state as a strategic British naval base. It is really in the immediate post-war Second World War period that serious thought and attention was given to the idea of a wider federation as the pace of decolonisation increased.

There was a general feeling among British administrators in London and in Southeast Asia in the post-war period that a closer political and economic union between the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories would make the smaller territories in particular more viable entities. The Borneo territories of Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei collectively had a population of about one million and British officials felt that they would not be able to survive on their own amid the larger states of Indonesia, the Philippines and China. In the immediate post-war period some important British policy documents make references intimating that Her Majesty's Government (HMG) and the Colonial Office favourably viewed the possibility of a merger between the Malayan federation and Singapore. In others, there were suggestions of the potential benefit of a closer association between the British territories in Borneo initially, and over the longer term some kind of cooperation between all these British-controlled territories. However, Colonial Office officials as well as senior administrators in these territories recognised that numerous obstacles remained in pursuing such a goal and that these objectives could only be brought about over a longer period and with the support of the peoples in these states.

HMG also made some public pronouncements about the possibility of closer association between the British territories in the post-war period. A minute of the Governor-General's conference held in Penang on 20 August 1946, for example, refers to closer association between the Malayan Union and Singapore amid concerns that they may be drifting apart, stating the need:

> "to consider the situation in relation to the possibility of the Malayan Union and Singapore being more closely associated constitutionally at a not too distant date."[20]

A brief prepared for the Secretary of State in October 1951, reinforced this early attitude:

Tan Tai Yong, *Creating 'Greater Malaysia,'* pp. 1-25.

20. A.J. Stockwell, *Malaya,* Part I, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1995, pp. 256-257.

> "Public pronouncements by HMG have to date been confined to two statements of policy in the 1946-47 White Paper on the Malayan Constitution. The 1946 White Paper (CMD6724) stated that it was no part of HMG's policy 'to preclude or prejudice in any way the fusion of Singapore and the Malayan Union in a wider union at a later date should it be considered that such a course were desirable.'"

In the 1947 White Paper (CMD7171) it was stated that HMG still held this view and believed "that the question of Singapore joining the Federation should be considered on its merits and in the light of local opinion at an appropriate time.[21]" Thus in the immediate period after the war there was a strong feeling among British officials that the tiny island of Singapore should eventually merge with Malaya. Nevertheless, very little progress was made on these statements of intent until the British Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia Malcolm MacDonald initiated serious discussions with local political leaders, at times against the advice of the Colonial Office. Thus it is important to consider MacDonald's role in the early origins of the federation.

MacDonald's "Grand Design"

MacDonald was attracted to the idea of a wider entity encompassing all the British controlled territories in Southeast Asia to create a larger economic and political entity that could compete with its neighbours and facilitate eventual decolonisation and he therefore initiated several high-level discussions in the early 1950s. MacDonald's particular interest in the broader federation can in part be credited to the general British post-war decolonisation policy of "unite and quit" which intended to create viable broader territorial units and nation-states.[22] Further, as the most senior British officer in Southeast Asia, he was very familiar with local conditions and personally felt a broader federation would be beneficial to the otherwise smaller existing entities and strongly promoted the federation despite some reservations in the Colonial Office. He was also aware of the potential broader threat to the Southeast Asian states from the spread of communism.[23] In 1951, MacDonald held several discussions with the leading Malayan political leader Dato' Onn Jaafar, the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) chief and member of the Federal Legislative Council, on the idea of a 'closer association' between Malaya and Singapore on the one hand and the Borneo territories on the other. The primary records indicate that MacDonald discussed this idea of a closer association with Onn on 29 October 1951 and then wrote to the Colonial Office of the positive response he received and the need to pursue the issue. He noted that Onn showed a readiness to "consider ways and means of gradually

21. Brief for the Secretary of State's Visit [to the Federation and Singapore], undated (c. October 1951), CO (Colonial Office) 1022/61 (230).

22. Karl Hack, *Defence and Decolonisation in Southeast Asia*, pp. 131-133.

23. Ibid., pp. 137-143. See also Tan Tai Yong, *Creating* "*Greater Malaysia,*" pp. 17-18.

bringing the Federation and Singapore closer together."[24] It was agreed that a small group of officials from the federation and Singapore would have a preliminary meeting on the proposal at Bukit Serene (MacDonald's residence in Johore Bahru) and then hold another meeting under the auspices of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to further discuss the idea. The Colonial Office, however, felt there was no public demand for closer political association in the federation or Singapore.[25] MacDonald and the Singapore Governor F. Gimson discussed the matter with some unofficial members of the Singapore legislature on 18 December 1951. A little later, MacDonald realised that Onn's influence in Malayan politics began to wane after he formed the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP)[26] and informed the Colonial Office that there was a need to include "important shades of Malay opinion which Dato' Onn and his IMP colleagues no longer fully represent."[27] This was a reference to the UMNO under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman who succeeded Onn. MacDonald also noted that the Borneo territories favoured a closer association if it also involved closer association with Singapore.

The Colonial Office, however, had reservations about MacDonald's idea of closer political association and felt it was a bit premature.[28] Gimson discussed this matter with the federation's High Commissioner, Sir Gerald Templer, in February 1952, and noted that closer association should be achieved at "the earliest possible date."[29] A further meeting on the idea was held on 18 May 1953 and the consensus reached was that local opinion was less in favour of the idea. Templer observed that while a year earlier he had felt it was possible to make some progress towards the goal of a closer association, "during the last year feeling in both territories had become more opposed to the idea."[30] Singapore Governor Sir J. Nicoll agreed with Templer's views, noting that constitutional advance "would make it even more difficult."[31] The meeting nevertheless concluded that their continued objective "should still be the closest political association between Singapore and the Federation that we

24. MacDonald to Colonial Office, 29 Oct. 1951, CO 1022/61 (232).

25. Brief for Secretary of State's Visit [to Federation and Singapore], undated (c. October 1951), CO 1022/61 (230).

26. Dato' Onn Jaafar had left the UMNO and formed the Independence of Malaya (IMP) party in September 1951 after the UMNO refused to open its membership to non-Malays. Interestingly, it was Tunku Abdul Rahman who replaced Onn as the UMNO president in 1951, and who was later to play a prominent role in the formation of the federation of Malaysia.

27. MacDonald to Colonial Office, 29 Jan. 1952, CO 1022/61 (220).

28. Minute by J.D. Higham, 6 Feb. 1952, CO 1022/61.

29. Gimson to MacDonald, 29 Feb.1952, CO 1022/61.

30. Minute of meeting to discuss closer association between Federation and Singapore held on 18 May 1953, CO 1022/61 (128).

31. Ibid.

can get local opinion to accept."[32] It was felt that the setting up of a Joint Federation/Singapore Co-ordination Committee under the chairmanship of MacDonald would assist in reaching this objective. In a briefing to the Cabinet in April 1954, the Secretary of State noted that constitutional changes in Singapore "need not prove an obstacle to the objective of closer association between the Federation and Singapore."[33]

MacDonald continued to pursue his idea despite reservations expressed by Templer and Nicoll. He began to market the idea further in the Borneo states. Preliminary discussions were held in 1954 between MacDonald and the governors of Sabah and Sarawak. On 28 October 1954 a high-level discussion was held in Kuching, the capital of Sarawak, between MacDonald, the Governor of Sarawak (Sir Anthony Abell), the Governor of North Borneo (R.E. Turnbull), Sir John Martin (Assistant Undersecretary of State in the Colonial Office) and R.W. Jakeman (Assistant Commissioner-General for Colonial Affairs). At this meeting MacDonald emphasised the importance of a closer association, noting that "the ultimate aim, if it proved practicable and if it met with the approval of the people concerned was a federation of all five Malaya/Borneo Territories."[34] As a first step, he suggested, there should be a closer association of the three Borneo territories, which would then be followed by an association between this group and the Malayan territories.[35] This was the first real push, initiated by MacDonald, for a wider federation of all five territories. The governors of Sarawak and North Borneo, however, were somewhat hesitant and noted that there would be some reluctance on the part of the Borneo states. Those present at the meeting nevertheless agreed "the ultimate aim was some sort of Confederation between all five Territories."[36] It was also agreed that the Borneo territories should be brought together first before attempting a "constitutional partnership" with Malaya.[37] The plan for a wider confederation thus took a firmer shape at this meeting.

MacDonald continued to pursue this idea of a wider federation during his remaining time in office in Southeast Asia. For example, the Joint Co-ordination Committee formed in 1954 between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore to discuss bilateral matters was also asked to discuss the issue of closer association between the Federation, Singapore and the Borneo Territories. Leaving nothing to chance, when it appeared that he may be posted

32. Minute of meeting to discuss closer association between Federation and Singapore held on 18 May 1953, CO 1022/61 (130).

33. Paper on Constitutional Changes in Singapore, CO 1030/78 (49), April 1954.

34. Note of Meeting in Kuching to discuss closer association between Borneo Territories, 28 Oct. 1954, CO 1030/164 (178).

35. Ibid.

36. Note of Meeting in Kuching to discuss closer association between Borneo Territories, 28 Oct. 1954, CO 1030/164 (181).

37. MacDonald to John Martin, 7 Jan. 1955, CO 1030/164 (169).

elsewhere after the first federal elections in Malaya in July 1955, MacDonald began to more earnestly push his idea with the Secretary of State for Colonies, arguing the benefits of such a federation. On 2 April 1955, shortly before the first federal elections in the Federation, MacDonald wrote to the Secretary of State, Alan Lennox-Boyd, of the possibility of closer association between the Federation and Singapore. MacDonald wrote:

> "But I hope that, whatever the (July 1955) Election results, the reformed Committee [Joint Co-ordination Committee] will confirm the impression given at the Committee's last meeting that leaders in all parties in both countries are ready to make the Committee the instrument for planning closer political association. I think the prospects of this are quite good, and that if the Committee is prudently and yet boldly guided, all the difficulties can be overcome and a satisfactory accord reached."[38]

MacDonald reiterated that Britain's ultimate objective

> "... is a Confederation between the five present territories of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei," explicitly stating the long-term intentions of the British government. It was agreed that this would be done in two stages: first, the combination of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore; and then the three Borneo Territories as separate entities; and, second, these two groups were to be brought together under one appropriate constitutional government."[39]

He admitted that he had been "planting the idea" in the minds of political leaders in the Federation and Singapore for the last few years, adding:

> "Because of the political 'backwardness' of the Borneo Territories, we have not initiated similar private discussion on the subject there, and the Bornean leaders are perhaps less aware than those in Malaya of our grand design. Possibly we should begin to propagate the idea in Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei."[40]

This letter by MacDonald in April 1955 is the first mention of what later became known as the "Grand Design," in all Colonial Office references to the formation of a wider federation among the British controlled territories. (Later on, it was replaced by the term 'Greater Malaysia'.) Thus between 1951 and 1955 it was MacDonald who personally pursued high-level discussions on the idea of a wider federation of British-controlled territories in Southeast Asia, even though he faced considerable resistance from the Colonial Office on the timing for the discussion of the scheme. These discussions were quite advanced at the time. His persistence in pushing the idea, it can be argued, led to a basic acceptance among the senior officials both in the Colonial Office and the British territories in Southeast Asia of the idea of a "Grand Design"

38. MacDonald to Secretary of State, 2 April 1955, CO 1030/163 (20).

39. Ibid.

40. MacDonald to Secretary of State, 2 April 1955, CO 1030/163 (25).

incorporating all these territories in some form of constitutional relationship and this was more evident when the Colonial Office resurrected the idea subsequently, well before Tunku made his statement in May 1961.

The Secretary of State Alan Lennox-Boyd's response was not very enthusiastic. He felt that it would not be possible for the Committee to do much work until after the first federal elections in the Federation of Malaya scheduled to be held in July 1955.[41] The lukewarm attitude of the Colonial Office towards MacDonald's efforts was influenced in part by the fact that MacDonald's tenure as Commissioner-General was up for reconsideration around this time and it seemed likely that he would be replaced and given another posting. Nevertheless a Joint Coordinating Committee (JCC) of officials from Malaya and Singapore in a meeting held on 13 June 1955 made some interesting conclusions on the issue of closer association. The JCC felt that closer association between the two territories was "desirable" but recognised that it would be difficult to overcome "some practical difficulties and the matter should not be rushed."[42] The JCC agreed that "a complete unitary state might be the ultimate aim but it is not practicable in the foreseeable future" and that some form of federation between the two territories would be easier to attain.[43] MacDonald's idea of a federation clearly had gained considerable support among the elites in Malaya and Singapore. MacDonald's term of office as Commissioner-General, however, ended in July 1955 and in the wake of the Alliance victory in the July elections the idea of a closer association lost some momentum temporarily although it was to be revived by his successors. His immediate successor, R. H. Scott, while recognising the importance of a merger with Singapore did not push for the idea as enthusiastically. The initiative to pursue the idea of a wider federation was taken up by the Singapore leaders who had been involved in the discussions held by MacDonald.

Internal discussions at the Colonial Office

Following MacDonald's departure the Chief Minister of Singapore David Marshall and other leaders from the colony such as Lim Yew Hock and Lee Kuan Yew, some of whom had been involved in the discussions with

41. Lennox-Boyd to MacDonald, 2 June 1955, CO 1030/163 (10). MacKintosh of the Colonial Office noted: "... Mr. MacDonald is again being too sanguine in his estimate of the prospects of the J.C.C."

42. Note on Meeting of Joint Co-ordination Committee, 13 June 1955, CO 1030/161 (146).

43. Ibid. The JCC comprised D.C. Watherston (Chief Secretary), J.P. Hogan (Attorney-General), Dato Onn Jaafar (Member for Home Affairs), R.B. Carey (Works), H.S. Lee (Transport), V.M.N Menon (Posts and Telecommunications), Panglima Bukit Gantang (*Mentri Besar*, Perak), Tunku Abdul Rahman and Yong Shook Lin (Malayan representatives); W.A.C. Goode (Colonial Secretary), E.J. Davies (Attorney-General), Thio Chan Bee, Sir Ewen Ferguson, C.C. Tan, Lim Yew Hock, N.A. Mallal and Ahmad bin Mohamed Ibrahim (Singapore representatives).

MacDonald, began to push for the idea of a merger between Singapore and the federation as Malayan independence neared.[44] They felt that a separate Singapore island nation would not be sustainable economically. Lee Kuan Yew, for instance, argued that "the logic of geography and the force of historical, ethnic and economic forces all point to the inevitability of merger."[45] On 29 February 1956, the Singapore Chief Minister David Marshall asked for an urgent meeting with the Federation government to discuss "the question of future relations between the two territories." But Malaya's Chief Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, who had just returned after successful Independence talks in London, did not wish to hold a meeting "on such an important subject" on short notice, and sought additional information. Marshall then requested that the federation government agree to formal talks on closer relations. The Tunku, however, was not keen to discuss the subject matter as he felt that it could jeopardise the federation's claim to Independence.[46] Marshall, Lim Yew Hock and Lee Kuan Yew nevertheless met Tunku informally on 3 March 1956, requesting that the terms of the Constitutional Commission for the Federation be broadened "to permit consideration of the problem of closer political association with Singapore."[47] Tunku rejected their demands stating that any attempt to establish a closer political relationship between the two countries "must be deferred until after the constitutional commission had reported."[48] Marshall told the Singapore Legislative Assembly on 7 March 1956 that he and Tunku had agreed to commence official discussions of a merger after the new federation constitution had been finalised.[49] Commissioner-General R. H. Scott criticised Marshall's view that the issue at stake was a choice between "Singapore's independence and chaos."[50] Rather, he felt, it was a choice between Singapore's independence and some form of association with Malaya. Scott was against independence for Singapore in the near future:

> "My own view is that we should decide definitely against independence and in favour of association with Malaya as the goal; that meanwhile we should go on governing Singapore as long as we can."[51]

On 14 June 1956, Singapore's new Chief Minister Lim Yew Hock travelled to Kuala Lumpur for two days of informal exploratory talks on a merger

---

44. Tan Tai Yong, *Creating 'Greater Malaysia,'* pp. 34-41.

45. Ibid., p. 37.

46. Sir R. Black to Secretary of State for Colonies, CO 1030/161 (82), 1 March 1956.

47. High Commissioner Sir Donald MacGillivray to Secretary of State for Colonies, CO 1030/161, 9 March 1956.

48. Ibid.

49. Statement by Chief Minister David Marshall, CO 1030/161, 7 March 1956.

50. R.H. Scott to British Prime Minister, 8 March 1956, CO 1030/161 (78).

51. Ibid.

between the Federation and Singapore.[52]

In spite of the lack of progress with regard to the idea of a broader federation after MacDonald's departure, the British government was nevertheless committed to the idea over the longer term because of the perceived lack of economic viability of the smaller territories as independent entities and the potential for these territories to fall to communist influence in the context of the on-going Cold War in Southeast Asia. Britain's position is clear from an explanatory note written by a senior Colonial Office official, J.B. Johnston, dated 19 November 1956, in response to queries from Washington on the matter:

> All the logic of history, geography and economics points to union with the Federation as Singapore's obvious political destiny. We do not believe Singapore could sustain a truly independent existence – it is a city rather than a country. If it were left on its own, it would be extremely vulnerable to the domination of some outside power, and if that power were not ourselves or the Federation, it would be most likely to be Communist China. We would therefore welcome a reunion of Singapore and the Federation, but this is not something we can effect ourselves. If it is successful it must spring from mutual interest and agreement of the two parties to the deal. At the moment one party –Singapore– is very keen on merger, chiefly as the door to complete political independence. The other party –or at least the Government at present in power– are strongly opposed to the merger on both racial and political grounds.[53]

It is clear thus that after MacDonald had left Malaya the idea of a wider federation was pursued by Singapore's leaders and British officials. While 'substantive' discussions on the wider federation had been held in the 1950s[54], the matter took on a greater degree of importance and urgency in 1960. As Malaya achieved Independence in 1957, the British government began to give more thought to the future of the smaller British-controlled territories in Southeast Asia –Singapore, Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei– and there was renewed interest in the idea of a wider federation which again becomes the focus of intense discussions. This idea, often referred to as the "Grand Design",[55] was in keeping with British policies elsewhere in combining, where possible, smaller territories into bigger units as part of the decolonisation process.

In early 1960, a renewed enthusiasm on the idea of closer association is evident on the heel of some important developments and discussions in late 1959[56]. One of the main sources for this change in attitude appears to be a

52. Reuters report, 14 June 1956, CO 1030/162 (27).

53. J.B. Johnston to F.S. Tomlinson, 19 Nov. 1956, CO 1030/162 (9).

54. See, for example, Bourdillon to Melville, 5 Dec 1959 and enclosed draft of assembly speech by Goh Keng Swee, CO 1030/972 (1), and Bourdillon to Melville, 24 Dec. 1959, CO 1030/971 (6).

55. The term has been used for many years to describe various ideas which from time to time have been put forward for a closer association between British Borneo Territories, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya. See DO 169/27 (210), c. July 1961.

56. Bourdillon to Melville, 24 Dec. 1959, CO 1030/972 (6). Tory had a discussion with Lee Kuan Yew on 24 December 1959 during which he pointed out to Lee the obstacles he would

letter and a report written in January 1960 by Sir Geoffrey Tory, the British High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur, to the Colonial Office on the issue of merger between the federation and Singapore and economic relations between both territories following Singapore's proposal for a common market.[57] Tory had told Lee of the Tunku's opposition to merger and statements by Lee that merger was a 'foreseeable possibility', were politically embarrassing and an encouragement to his opponents.[58]

Following Tory's letters and report on relations between the federation and Singapore, the Colonial Office felt that a general discussion should be held on HMG's policy towards future relations between the federation and Singapore.[59] The Colonial Office suggested that the Commonwealth Prime Minister's conference in June 1960 might serve as an opportunity to attempt to win the Tunku's confidence regarding Singapore.[60] Considerable attention is given in the Colonial Office's correspondence to finding a gentle way of approaching the Tunku during the Prime Minister's Conference in order to raise the question of future relations between Malaya and Singapore.[61] Several attempts were made in 1960 to win over the Tunku's reluctance to consider a possible merger with Singapore.[62] Tory, for example, cautioned the Commonwealth Relations Office in April 1960:

> "My fear is that if we were to urge the Tunku in direction of closer economic cooperation without being able to demonstrate economic gain for federation, he might conclude that we were subordinating federation interests to those of Singapore, or that we were pushing the Federation towards merger."[63]

Selkirk urged that the approach to Tunku should have a "broad political basis," and not mainly underscore economic points; it should also emphasise the importance of positive bilateral relations with the Internal Security Council

face in seeking a more forthcoming attitude from the federation towards Singapore's problems and its battle with the communists. Tory felt that Tunku and Razak's attitude towards closer economic understanding with Singapore was governed by purely political considerations: 'They regarded this simply as a first step towards political merger.'

57. Martin to Hunt, 25 March 1960, CO 1030/972 (15). See also the report by Tory, CO 1030/972 (E/10), dated 7 Jan. 1960, on talks with Lee Kuan Yew during his visit to Singapore from 20-22 Dec 1959.

58. Report by Tory, CO 1030/972 (E/10), dated 7 Jan. 1960, on talks with Lee Kuan Yew during his visit to Singapore from 20-22 Dec 1959.

59. Martin to Hunt, 25 March 1960, CO 1030/972 (15).

60. See Minute by W.I.J. Wallace, 20 Jan. 1960, CO 1030/972. See also the report by Tory, CO 1030/972 (E/10), dated 7 Jan. 1960, on talks with Lee Kuan Yew during his visit to Singapore from 20-22 Dec. 1959, CO 1030/972 (10) and Tory to Hunt, and CO 1030/972 (8), 6 January 1960.

61. Ibid.

62. See, for example, Tory to Commonwealth Relations Office, 6 April 1960, CO 1030/972 (23). See also minute by Wallace, 17 Nov. 1960, CO 1030/972.

63. Tory to Commonwealth Relations Office, 8 April 1960, CO 1030/972 (25).

(ISC) and its work. The ISC discussed security matters in the federation and Singapore and included several Malayan ministers.[64]

The records indicate Tunku's deputy, Abdul Razak, had become more inclined to support the idea of merger and viewed it as a practicable measure in view of the rise of leftist parties in Singapore as the colony edged towards independence.[65] Discussions between Duncan Sandys, the Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, and Tunku in November 1960 made some headway after some careful pre-planning on the part of the Colonial Office in raising the various issues, including the merger with Singapore.[66] British officials were able to convince Razak of the need to pursue the idea of a broader federation. Razak appears to have then persuaded the Tunku of the urgency of the matter.[67] Meanwhile, Lee Kuan Yew, encouraged by the British, proposed a 'wider political association' including the Borneo territories which he felt would be more acceptable to Tunku than a straight merger between the federation and Singapore.[68] He argued that if a merger with Malaya did not take place, it was likely that Singapore, after achieving independence, would become "a Chinese communist base right in the heart of Southeast Asia with incalculable consequences to all territories of the whole region."[69] In his paper, Lee argued that a larger federation of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories would be the most satisfactory solution for the peoples of the three territories, with the added advantage that the British would agree with it.[70] Lee felt that it was imperative that agreement on constitutional arrangements should be reached soon. Singapore was due to re-open constitutional talks with Britain in early 1963, with independence as a possible next step. He felt that if no constitutional advance was achieved, it was likely that the PAP would be replaced by a pro-Malayan Communist Party and a pro-China Singapore government.

---

64. Selkirk to Secretary of State, 13 April 1960, CO 1030/972 (27).

65. Selkirk to Macleod, 30 Jan. 1961, CO 1030/978 (119). See also Selkirk to Colonial Office, 30 Jan. 1961, CO 1030/972 (122).

66. See Brief for Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations Duncan Sandys for visit of Tunku Abdul Rahman, 14 Nov. 1960, CO 1030/972 (98); and meeting with Duncan Sandys scheduled 21 Nov. 1960. CO 1030/972 (57). See also Bourdillon to Eugene, 19 Jan. 1961, CO 1030/972 (121). Bourdillon: "I have now heard from Lord Selkirk that he had not had much opportunity to discuss with Mr. Sandys the talks with the Tengku but that Mr. Sandys had told him that he had put the problem of Singapore/Federation relations very frankly to the Tengku. There had been no unfavourable reaction, but it was not possible to say if the Tengku had accepted the propositions which were put to him."

67. Tan Tai Yong, *Creating* "*Greater Malaysia,*" pp. 55-56.

68. Selkirk to Macleod, 30 Jan. 1961, CO 1030/978 (119).'

69. Paper on the future of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories by Lee Kuan Yew, CO 1030/972 (E203), 9 May 1961.

70. Paper on the future of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories by Lee Kuan Yew, CO 1030/972 (E203), 9 May 1961. See also Selkirk to Macleod, 10 May 1961, CO 1030/972 (30).

Meanwhile, the first substantive renewed discussion of the idea of the broader federation was a meeting of heads of the Borneo Territories chaired by the Deputy Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, Sir Dennis Allen, on 23 January 1960 at Phoenix Park in Singapore.[71] Here MacDonald's "Grand Design" and the possibility of Brunei joining the federation of Malaya separately was discussed. On the issue of closer association, Allen asked the meeting to consider the chances of a wider federation as conceptualised by MacDonald in the "Grand Design"; the existing programmes for closer association and whether any problem would arise for North Borneo and Sarawak if Brunei joined the Federation of Malaya. Mixed reactions emerged from the discussion in the meeting. Firstly, the point was made that the indigenous races of the Borneo territories "would not welcome any transfer of rule from British colonial servants (whom they regarded as their protectors) to Malays or Chinese (whom they traditionally feared)".[72] At the same time, it was felt, a federation of the five territories would have advantages because Brunei's tendency was to lean towards Malaya and away from her two neighbours; thus, the absorption of Singapore could more easily be achieved in this manner than through a bilateral merger.[73] The "Grand Design", it was argued, should not be discounted and could be seen as a potential long-term solution or a short-term tactical move used to offset any disadvantage resulting from Brunei's joining the federation.

Writing to the Colonial Office on 5 February 1960, Allen noted that he was not able to take the discussion of closer association further at the Singapore meeting because of the absence of the representative from North Borneo. There was, however general agreement that it would be desirable to articulate the position to be adopted by Her Majesty's Government towards any move by the Sultan of Brunei in the direction of closer association in Malaya, keeping in mind the impact of this position on closer association between Sarawak and North Borneo as well as the wider confederation which would include Singapore.[74] Following this, an important meeting was held at the Colonial Office chaired by Sir John Martin on 29 March 1960 where the idea of closer association between the Borneo territories and the Federation of Malaya and

71. Record of meeting of Borneo Territories in Singapore chaired by Sir Denis Allen, the Deputy Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, 23 Jan. 1960, CO 1030/977 (1). This meeting was attended by F.D. Jakeway (Governor of Sarawak), D.C. White (Governor of Brunei) and several defence officials (Lt. Gen. Sir W. Oliver (Canberra), Sir L. Fry (Jakarta), J.A. Pilcher (Manila), Col. Cameron (General HQ FARELF), Commander Lee-White (Far East Station) and E.H. Peck). See CO 1030/977 (2) Note on the Future of Borneo Territories (undated, c. Jan-Feb. 1960).

72. Record of meeting of Borneo Territories in Singapore chaired by Sir Denis Allen, 23 Jan. 1960, CO 1030/977 (1).

73. Ibid.

74. Allen to Melville, 5 Feb. 1960, CO 1030/977 (2).

Singapore were discussed at length. This meeting, attended by Sir William Goode (Governor Designate, North Borneo), W.I.J. Wallace (Colonial Office), W.J. Smith (Commonwealth Relations Office) and N. Nield (Colonial Office),[75] considered four potential scenarios in relation to the closer association of the British territories and Malaya: first, the possibility of the closer association of North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei; second, the closer association of North Borneo and Sarawak, leaving Brunei apart; third, a closer alignment between Brunei and the Federation of Malaya; and, fourth, the possibility of a wider Federation including Singapore, the Federation of Malaya and the three Borneo territories.[76] There was general agreement during the meeting that the territories could move towards the idea of a closer association "in varying stages." Martin felt that in the long term, the fourth option, the wider federation of the Borneo territories with the Federation of Malaya and Singapore "might well offer the best prospect for the three Borneo territories."[77] There was also a consensus, however, that it would be undesirable to move too quickly in the encouragement of a wider Federation. For the present the best course was to encourage the closer association of North Borneo and Sarawak and at the same time "neither encourage nor discourage a closer alignment between Brunei and the Federation of Malaya."[78]

Other developments in the region then hastened the discussions and a new sense of urgency became evident, particularly following the deterioration in relations between the Dutch and the Indonesians over Dutch New Guinea. On 5 May 1960, Lord Selkirk wrote to Selwyn Lloyd of the Foreign Office on the Dutch-Indonesia relations over New Guinea and noted the potential impact of this conflict on the British territories in Southeast Asia.[79] The seriousness of the conflict appears to have motivated the British authorities to hold more intense discussions on the future of the British territories in Southeast Asia, including the closer association. This was well before the Tunku informed Lord Perth of own proposal for a wider federation in June 1960.

Britain's position on the idea of closer association of Malaya and the British-controlled territories in Southeast Asia is further reiterated in a letter by a senior official of the Colonial Office, John Martin, to Dennis Allen on 18 May 1960 confirming support for the original 'Grand Design' envisaged by

75. Note of meeting at Colonial Office chaired by Sir John Martin, 29 March, 1960, CO 1030/977 (3).

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid. Martin noted at the same time that this idea could face numerous difficulties. First, in respect of the relationship between the federation and Singapore and, second, the likely reactions from Indonesia and the Philippines.

78. Ibid. A background paper attached to this note on the meeting of 29 March 1960, states that the idea of a closer association of the Borneo territories had been discussed for some time from 1957 to 1959.

79. Selkirk to Selwyn, 5 May 1960, CO 1030/977 (4).

MacDonald: "HMG was in favour of a close association between the British territories in Borneo and Malaya and Singapore in the long term in line with the 'Grand Design'."[80] Britain felt that the Borneo territories could not survive on their own or in a collective entity of the Borneo states. The fear was that the stronger neighbours, Indonesia, the Philippines and China, could in the longer term pose a serious threat to the political survival of these territories. A brief prepared for the Minister of State Lord Perth's meeting with Tunku on 10 June 1960 was hopeful that the British government could take advantage of the Tunku's presence at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London that month to convince him of the mutual benefit of the closer association.[81]

Tunku's idea of closer association

Interestingly, Tunku had his own 'Grand Design' ideas for closer association of the Malayan Federation with the Borneo territories. Tunku preferred to form a broader federation involving Sarawak and Brunei with the Federation of Malaya and had related this to Lord Perth on 10 June 1960 and Lord Home a little earlier.[82] Tunku expressed some concern over Indonesian intentions towards the Borneo states in his discussions. The Tunku had several potential combinations in mind: one, a federation between Malaya, Sarawak and Brunei with Britain retaining control over North Borneo; and a second which included Malaya, all the Borneo territories and Singapore. In his note on the discussion, Lord Perth remarked he felt the Tunku was keen to add "something more" to the Malayan Federation:

> After the usual courtesies the Tunku plunged into the purpose of his visit, namely the possibility of federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei. He wanted the British government to know that he would be prepared to face such a happening although it would give him a great number of headaches. I replied that this was something which we hadn't really given a great deal of thought to … I pointed out that politically North Borneo and Sarawak were backward and how it was clearly important that they should learn the art of running themselves before they were asked to face decisions on their ultimate future … The Tunku then tried a slightly new line and suggested Brunei and Sarawak joining the Federation while the British Government remained in North Borneo to develop it economically and to use it as a military base.[83]

80. Martin to Allen, 18 May 1960, CO 1030/977 (5).

81. Brief for the Minister of State for talk with Tunku Abdul Rahman, 9 June 1960, CO 1030/977 (6A).

82. Memorandum by Far Eastern Department, Colonial Office, 22 June 1961. See also note by Lord Perth, 10 June 1960, CO 1030/977 (E6B). The Tunku had also related his idea of a federation with the Borneo territories to Lord Home on 3 June 1960, noting that "we must be ready for an Indonesian move against these territories." See Brief for Minister of State for Talk with Tunku, 9 June 1960, CO 1030/977 (6A).

83. Note by Lord Perth, 10 June 1960, CO 1030/977 (E6B).

The Colonial Office, however, felt Tunku's proposal was unrealistic.[84] The Secretary of State noted that it would be odd to think of retaining North Borneo as a Crown Colony after Sarawak had either become self-governing on its own or had merged with the Federation and advised that the Tunku should not be encouraged to pursue this line:

> "Brunei, the wealthiest and most Malay of the three territories, is the plum from the Tunku's point of view and once he had got it his interest in the rest might decline."[85]

The British government was not in favour of Tunku's idea and felt he should be discouraged from pursuing it. There were differences over the composition of the federation at that stage, with Tunku keen on a smaller federation involving Sarawak and Brunei as well as the Malayan Federation, while the British government preferred a broader federation involving all the Borneo states, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya.

Clearly there was considerable discussion at the highest levels of the British administration of the possibility of closer association between the Federation of Malaya and the British-controlled territories of Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei prior to Tunku's intimation to Lord Perth on 10 June 1960. While these discussions were peaking, Tunku's disclosure to Lord Perth about the possibility of a federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei provided a window of opportunity for the Colonial Office to actively pursue the idea with Malayan leaders.[86]

A convergence of interests?

It is from this stage that the idea of a wider federation takes on a life of its own. The Colonial Office came out with a policy paper on the future of the Borneo territories and Singapore, after several discussions and following Tunku's proposal, put to Lord Perth on 10 June 1960 the idea of a "Greater Malaysia" federation. A Colonial Policy Committee paper [CPC(60)(17)] for the British Cabinet was prepared by the Secretary of State in early July 1960 and was discussed on 27 July of the same year; it clearly reflects the convergence of interests of the various parties.[87] This policy paper became the basis for HMG's policy on the subject of closer association of the British territories in Southeast Asia.[88] The CPC paper noted that, during a visit to

84. Draft Cabinet Paper for Colonial Policy Committee (Prepared by Sir John Martin), April 1961, DO 169/25 (311).

85. Ibid.

86. See Note by Lord Perth, 10 June 1960, CO 1030/977 (35, Annex 2).

87. See Draft Cabinet paper, C.P.C (61), 15 February 1961, CO 1030/978 (121) and Draft Cabinet paper, C.P.C (60), 20 Jan. 1961, CO 1030/978 (109).

88. Secretary of State's paper for the Cabinet titled, Colonial Policy Committee – CPC (60), 'Possibility of an association of the British Borneo territories with the Federation of Malaya and Singapore', July 1960, CO 1030/977 (35).

London (June 1960) for the Prime Ministers' Conference, Tunku Abdul Rahman 'raised informally the possibility of a federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei.'[89] The paper observed that 10 years earlier Malcolm MacDonald had put forward the idea that the most favourable plan for Britain's Southeast Asian territories might be some sort of association between the Federation of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories. This idea of closer association had again been given some consideration in recent years but "has not got far because local feeling about it in North Borneo and Sarawak, while mildly favourable, has not developed much enthusiasm and because the Sultan of Brunei is not interested, his eyes being turned towards the Federation of Malaya."[90] The memorandum reiterated that Britain had always had in mind that Singapore and the Federation of Malaya would one day merge and "have publicly blessed this idea on more than one occasion."[91]

In relation to the Borneo territories, North Borneo and Sarawak, it was felt that the states should ultimately achieve self-government although it was recognised that, at the present time, the inhabitants "have no wish other than that the territories should remain with us as Crown Colonies."[92] The Borneo territories were viewed as being in a very vulnerable position because of their geographical position and racial make-up. The paper noted that China, Indonesia and the Philippines all have, or could easily work up, interests of one kind or another:

> "We certainly would not wish to move out so that anyone else might step in. Even an association of North Borneo and Sarawak would not be a very strong state."[93]

The ultimate solution, the paper argued, would be "an association of the Federation of Malaya, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei with, if possible, Singapore in also." Thus it concluded that the Tunku's idea "is not unattractive to us."[94] The Secretary of State felt that the Tunku and Lee Kuan Yew should be consulted, in addition to Australia and New Zealand,

> "Subject to the result of these consultations we should then, as may be seen appropriate, sound out confidentially Tunku Abdul Rahman and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, probably in that order, and possibly also the Sultan of Brunei and, subject to the views of the Governors, selected local notables in Sarawak and North Borneo."[95]

---

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Secretary of State's paper for the Cabinet titled, "Possibility of an association of the British Borneo territories with the Federation of Malaya and Singapore," July 1960, CO 1030/977 (35).

95. Draft Cabinet Paper for Colonial Policy Committee (Prepared by Sir John Martin), April 1961, DO 169/25 (314).

This meeting concluded that the Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, Lord Selkirk, who was present, should discuss the matter with officials in Borneo. This discussion eventually took place in Kuching on 20 October 1960. As a result of the discussion and a further meeting at Eden Hall, Selkirk made several recommendations to the Secretary of State. These recommendations, which were supported by those present at the meeting, wanted HMG to accept "as the ultimate aim of their policy the development of a political association between Malaya, Singapore and the three Borneo territories."[96] But the approach to achieving this goal was to be gradual and "adjusted to the rate of political evolution in the Borneo territories." Selkirk also recommended that the British government should begin discussions in confidence with Tunku Abdul Rahman, Lee Kuan Yew and the Sultan of Brunei.[97]

The meeting clearly indicated that the British government was now more committed to ensuring that the British-controlled territories in Southeast Asia eventually achieve a kind of broader union and was beginning to take a more pro-active role in promoting the idea. The plan was to be kept confidential until a more suitable time for its announcement. Selkirk emphasised that it was important to avoid any appearance that Her Majesty's Government was "making the pace in this matter or seeking to impose the idea upon the peoples concerned."[98] Selkirk's recommendations were fully supported by the Secretary of State, who noted in his report to the Cabinet that a gradual approach was essential:

> "I strongly endorse this (though of course some development outside our control might force our hand). If the plan is to be successful, it cannot be rushed. The parties to it must evolve it as their own plan."[99]

The Secretary of State felt it was not in Britain's interest to rush the matter and that "the present situation suits us."[100] Thus as of April 1960 there was a clear plan, and indeed a potential plan of action, developed by the Colonial Office aimed at working towards closer association of the British-controlled territories in Southeast Asia and the federation of Malaya. This was clear well before 10 June 1960 when Tunku Abdul Rahman first broached the idea of a federation with several of the Borneo states in a secret discussion with Lord Perth, the Minister of State for Colonies, while in London.

96. Draft Cabinet Paper for Colonial Policy Committee, April 1961, DO 169/25 (311).

97. Ibid.

98. Draft Cabinet Paper for Colonial Policy Committee (Prepared by Sir John Martin), April 1961, DO 169/25 (313).

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

A revised memorandum[101] by Sir John Martin was discussed at a meeting of the Colonial Policy Committee on 27 July 1961

> "on the long term possibility of a political association of the British Borneo territories (the Colonies of North Borneo and Sarawak, and the Protected State of Brunei) with the Federation of Malaya and the State of Singapore."[102]

But the Colonial Office wanted to ensure that these efforts did not make it appear that Britain was now beginning to force the pace.[103] Lord Selkirk was quite impatient to get the scheme off the ground in order to give Lee Kuan Yew, who was under considerable pressure from the leftist parties, some encouragement.[104]

It is during this period that the British worked on Tunku and his colleagues (particularly Tun Abdul Razak and Tun Dr Ismail Haji Abdul Rahman) to win them over to the British idea of the "Grand Design." Lee discussed the "Grand Design" with Tunku on 23 April 1961 and while the latter was still opposed to a merger, he invited Lee "to prepare a paper setting out his ideas on how the Grand Design might be achieved."[105] The British had also encouraged Lee to prepare a paper on the 'Grand Design,' which he produced on 9 May and it was quickly forwarded to the federation ministers.[106] It was circulated to Razak and other Malayan Ministers, and it was hoped it would win over the Tunku thereafter.[107] Lee had visited Kuala Lumpur several times to convince the Tunku of the feasibility of the "Grand Design." The British High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur noted that Lee felt Razak was already won over and he consequently relied largely on Razak to "break down Tunku's prejudice."[108]

The role of Duncan Sandys (Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs) in this respect is quite important and the Colonial Office documents indicate that it was Sandys who managed to persuade the Tunku to reconsider his

---

101. This is a revised memorandum, – Colonial Policy Committee [CPC(60)17] on the 'Grand Design' – submitted to the Colonial Policy Committee for consideration by UK Ministers and is titled "Possibility of an Association of the British Borneo Territories with the Federation of Malaya and Singapore." See R. Melville to N. Pritchard, 7 April 1961, DO 169/25. Melville notes that the only point of substance on which it differed from the earlier paper was 'that it comes down definitely against an early public statement by HMG.'

102. Draft Cabinet Paper for Colonial Policy Committee (Prepared by Sir John Martin), April 1961, DO 169/25 (311).

103. Draft Cabinet Paper for Colonial Policy Committee, April 1961, DO 169/25 (311). The governors of Sarawak and North Borneo and the High Commissioner for Brunei and Lord Perth were present at the meeting.

104. Minute by R.C. Ormerod, 26 April 1961, DO 169/25.

105. Selkirk to MacLeod, 4 May 1961, CO 1030/979 (2).

106. Selkirk to MacLeod, 4 May 1961, CO 1030/979 (203).

107. Moore to Iain MacLeod of the Colonial Office, 10 May 1961, DO 169/25 (230).

108. British High Commissioner, Kuala Lumpur, to Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO), 26 May 1961, DO 169/25 (220).

objections to the idea of the greater federation, particularly in view of the political developments in Singapore. Lee told Selkirk that he felt Sandys "had brought the realities of the situation to the Tunku's attention."[109] At this stage there is a clearer crystallizing of Britain's idea of the greater federation modelled on the "Grand Design," developed earlier by MacDonald.[110]

In the meantime, the Tunku made an announcement in Singapore on 27 May 1961, stating his desire for closer association between the British-controlled territories in Southeast Asia and the Federation of Malaya. The political situation in Singapore had deteriorated after the PAP lost in a by-election in April 1961 and it was feared that Lee's government may fall. The Tunku intimated to the British High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur a day before that he felt the Grand Design was a better means of insulating the federation from the political deterioration in Singapore.[111]

The idea of Grand Design or Greater Malaysia took on a life of its own after Tunku Abdul Rahman's announcement. Tunku wrote to Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys on 15 June 1961 and then to the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan on 26 June 1961 giving a more detailed outline of his proposed idea of a wider federation. In the letter to Duncan Sandys he spelt out the steps that should be taken and his ideas of the federation.[112] The Tunku then wrote a three-page memorandum to Macmillan on 26 June explaining his idea of the new federation in hopes that it would serve as a basis for discussion. The Tunku proposed that as a first step, the Borneo territories were to be brought into the federation as units. Following this, a greater federation would be formed with Singapore. In the memorandum the Tunku noted:

> It would not be out of place therefore if these territories were brought together into closer ties with the Federation of Malaya. It is proposed therefore as a first step that the territories of Brunei, Borneo and Sarawak be brought into the Federation as units of the Federation, enjoying the same rights and privileges as the States which presently form the Federation of Malaya … After the merger of these territories with the Federation of Malaya, the next logical step would be to form a greater federation with Singapore. As the present Constitution of Singapore requires to be reviewed in 1963, the most appropriate time for preliminary discussions with Singapore would be before that date.[113]

Following an exchange of letters with the British Prime Minister who was supportive of the idea – which lightened Britain's burden in Southeast

109. Selkirk to MacLeod, 4 May 1961, CO 1030/979 (2).

110. Outward Telegram from Secretary of State for Colonies to Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in Southeast Asia, 21 April 1961 DO 169/25 (297).

111. Tory to Commonwealth Relations Office, 26 May 1961, CO 1030/979 (216).

112. Tunku to Duncan Sandys, 15 June 1961, DO 169/25 (55).

113. Tunku to Macmillan, 26 June 1961, CO 1030/980 (324). See also Tunku to Macmillan, 26 June 1961, DO 169/26 (297).

Asia – the process of formal negotiations began. It took two years before the Federation of Malaysia as visualised earlier by MacDonald came into being on 16 September 1963.

Conclusion

The idea of a wider federation between Malaya and the British territories in Southeast Asia was a subject of much discussion in the immediate post-Second World War period and various ideas emerged. The British Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia Malcolm MacDonald clearly played a prominent role in the evolution of the idea in the early 1950s. He pushed for substantive high-level discussion of the idea of a "greater federation" both in Malaya and Singapore on the one hand and in the Borneo territories on the other, as well as in the Colonial Office. MacDonald felt that a wider entity encompassing Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories would create a stronger nation-state which could compete ably with its larger neighbours. His persistence in pushing the idea led to more substantive talks and its acceptance in the Colonial Office. Although MacDonald left Malaya in 1955 the idea was revived by the Colonial Office in the subsequent years, and in particular in 1960 serious discussions were held in the Colonial Office in response to political developments in Singapore. These developments took place before Tunku Abdul Rahman suggested the idea of a wider federation to Lord Perth in May 1960, and well before Tunku made the announcement of 'closer association' on 27 May 1961. While Tunku's public announcement in 1961 had an impact on the formal negotiations on the formation of the federation of Malaysia, the path to 'Greater Malaysia' had already been laid well before May 1961. A convergence of interests between Britain and the Malayan and Singapore governments in 1960-61 clearly provided the catalyst for formal negotiations to take place. The formation of the federation enabled Britain to speed up the decolonisation process in Southeast Asia and at the same time enabled Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories to address their various political, economic and security concerns.

Note on primary records

The primary Colonial Office records related to the formation of the federation of Malaysia such as the CO 1030, CO 1022 and DO 169 are kept at The National Archives of Britain (TNA) in Kew, London.

Jyh Wee Sew[1]

Watching a Singapore Drag Comedian: A Semiotic Analysis of Kumar in a YouTube Video

"Sir, you can smile…the joke is over"….Kumar 2012 [2]

Introduction[3]

While drag queens as a social group are a part of Singapore society, especially in the 1950s-1980s, research on them reads like a rare report of an odd sibling rediscovered by the press. The memoir of a Singapore drag queen, Milly from Bugis Street[4], who admitted defeat and ended her life in suicide (Eckardt, 2006), represents an initial account of a local drag personality dealing with the politics of everyday life. That the script of Milly's story was written in the 1970s and kept for 30 years before printing testifies to the rarity of documentation on drag in Singapore. Here is an observation of Milly's boyfriend which shows his attitude towards her (Eckardt, 2006, p. 155):

> I felt a piercing stab of sympathy for Milly. No matter how beautiful she looked and how much I adored her, she was always worried about her appearance… She was always aware ─ balls stuffed up her body cavity and dick tucked backward into her crotch by a tight

1. Centre for Language Studies, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, National University of Singapore.

2. This line is a comment Kumar made to the audience (Nur Fasihah, 2012: 01:10-01:12).

3. This analysis is based on Kumar's stand-up comedy performance in *Happily Ever After*, which was recorded and uploaded to YouTube by Nur Fasihah (2012).

4. According to Aaron Ho (2012), Bugis Street is an iconic space where the local drag queens and transsexuals solicited in 1950s-1980s. The area, in southeast Singapore, was popular with sailors and soldiers of the Vietnam War who went there to seek comfort and relaxation.

> elastic G-string ─ that she was a fraud. I simply saw Milly, the beautiful object. She was the tightly constrained subject. The joy was mine, the pain hers.

In his narrative, Jim, her married boyfriend portrays Milly in a way that suggests that a drag personality can be constantly dealing with an awkward existence, even when the person has secured a relationship with a devoted admirer. Below we report that the mainstream heterosexual world, operating on a gender binary of female/yin and male/yang qualities, generates scornful address terms for discriminating against drag.

The use of disparaging terms against cross-dressing indicates a lack of social tolerance, let alone social support, for drag queens in society. The epistemological pragmatics of the condemning words underlines a divisive logic that degrades drag personalities (*them*) as opposed to straight males and females (*us*). Plotting *them* against *us* in terms of gender difference is certainly not an experience unique to Singapore drag queens. The construction of the *Mak Yah* (Malay transsexuals) as a social group is couched in such binary logic (Ng, 2012). Similarly, the cross-gender group *bissu*, shamans of the Bugis community in Sulawesi, are described as *calalai*, a Bugis term denoting *false woman* (Davies, 2010)[5].

Striving for a positive shift towards tolerance and acceptance for personalities who cross-dress, it is timely to celebrate local drag artists who succeed in building their livelihood, and developing self-resilience from performing in a cross-dress mode.[6] As an alternative to the defeatist recounts of social bias against deviant gender expressions, this article examines a celebrated cross-dress artist to identify aspects of cultural semiotics regarding a skillful drag life. This discussion highlights the work of Kumar, who has had a long and illustrious career as a drag comedian in Singapore.

Constant Drag

The brilliant accomplishments of drag comedians throughout the world of show business are in sharp contrast to the attitude of mainstream society on transgenders in Singapore. Evidence of prejudice exists in the local address forms, i.e. the vernacular terms used for addressing a transgender. The pejorative social linguistic signs are examined in an anthology of narratives recorded from non-heteronormative Singaporeans, *I Will Survive: Personal Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender Stories in Singapore*. In particular, the section, *Avoiding Offensive Language* contains personal names deemed insulting

5. Literature on queer studies in Southeast Asia is available in *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* (http://intersections.anu.edu.au/).

6. Among all the non-normative gender groups in Southeast Asia, the Thai male-to-female transgender, or *kathoey* seems to enjoy much more tolerance. According to Saisuvan (2016), a number of Thai films feature *kathoey*s as main characters not least because many *kathoey*s are well-known celebrities and prominent figures.

against homosexuals and transgenders as they perpetuate negative stereotypes of these people in Singapore. The vernacular terms listed include *ah kua*, *bapok, dyke, faggot, homo, kedik, pondan, ren yao* and *tranny* (Leow, 2013: 45). Table 1 contains the address forms invoked by the local speakers as pejorative references for the local gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender (LGBT) community.

Ah Kua	"Effeminate male", used by local Hokkien speakers. The Chinese term connotes gentile demeanor.
Bapok	"Effeminate male", used by local Malay speakers. The term connotes gentile demeanor and vulnerability.
Dyke	"Lesbian", used by local English speakers.
Faggot	"A male homosexual", used by local English speakers.
Homo	This is a simplified form of the term "homosexual".
Kedik	The Malay word originally means "slanted". In comparison to *bengkok* (crooked), this is a less common term.
Pondan	"Males behaving like woman", used by local Malay speakers.
Ren yao	"Transgender", used in local Mandarin by combining the character *ren* (human) and *yao* (evil spirit) to signify "ugly human devil".
Tranny	"A transgender woman or man", used in local English.

Table 1. Elaborations of ridicule names

That *ah kua* is a term of ridicule is precisely the reason in the dispute involving Leona Lo, a transgender woman, and a bus driver from SBS Transit, a local bus company, which erupted in 2012 (Sim, 2012). Demonstrating the nasty impact of *ah kua* further, *SOMEDAY*, an awareness-raising video (Pink Dot 2012), highlights the murmuring of the address form for a transgender woman who seems dazed while she listens from behind the female bathroom door. Riding on the funny impact of *bapok*, however, Kumar exploits the address form to the advantage of his drag performance. Recalling his first ever experience of bra shopping, Kumar informs the audience that he notified the sales person in a whisper that his bra cup is a size 'B', a simplistic guess that he derives from the initial alphabet of *bapok*.

The negative impact of the ridicule addresses in Table 1 has prompted Leow (2013) to propose *gay man*, *transgendered woman*, *lesbian*, and *transgender person* as the alternatives. These onomastic resolutions, however,

seem problematic for naming the gender of the actor in specific cases. For example, the Malay woman who tricked another Malay woman into marrying her by impersonating a male would find the alternative terms meaningless (Maznah, Ng & Tan, 2006). The unique gender complexity at stake is richer than the stereotypical reference of the suggested terms. Notwithstanding, the conformist label *trans* in "transsexual", for instance, encapsulates a reductive and transient understanding of sexuality (cf. Zimman & Hall, 2009). The English terms remain an onomastic dysfunction retaining little discursive currency for the targeted social groups.

The sociolinguistic perspective shows that the first-generation owners of public housing who choose to use such derogatory terms speak limited English. To the local moral vigilantes speaking English, on the other hand, the queerness signified in the suggested terms would be downright offensive (Leong, 2012). Thus, the English terms remain alienating for local vernacular and English speakers when it comes to touting their social intentions. The Mandarin and Cantonese speakers in the LGBT community use the heterosexual address form of *lao gong* [老公] (husband) and *lao po* [老婆] (wife) as the common references for each other. An elderly rumormonger on my block accusingly calls a male who visits a single male's flat everyday *ang* (husband in Hokkien-Chinese).[7] In stark contrast, the morphological-mapping view of a researcher is different from the actual cultural logic of gender address in public housing.

Drag Intelligence

A close-up study of transgender people reveals that one of them exercises tact in his negotiation of physical existence inside his home. Using autophotography as a supplementary tool to a series of interviews, Aurora, a 23 year-old male who lives with his parents, has provided visuals of his separate male and transgender identity oscillating between the family spaces (Lim, 2013). In the living room, Aurora routinely plays conventional male roles while socializing with his parents and relatives, yet in the privacy of his own bedroom, he reverts to his female identity using cosmetics and colorful costumes. The various pieces of digital footage illustrates that Aurora's experience of home is of a multidimensional space, which sets him to alternate between female and an ordinary male. That one expresses and represses the other identity selectively in the different areas of the house illustrates that atypical gender expression is a political contention even in the domestic space.

We now turn to examine Kumar, a drag comedian who has been performing

7. The binary concept of *husband-wife* in same-sex marriage is clearly reflected in the union of two elderly males participating in the so-called symbolic wedding. The visual footage of the gay marriage shows an elderly Chinese male donning a white gown and a veil while the other Chinese male is seen wearing a dark grey suit with a black bow-tie (see the husband and wife role-play in the photograph available in Fan, 2017: http://www.sixthtone.com/news/growing-old-gay).

for more than two decades in Singapore. The comedian's biography, *Kumar: From Rags to Drag* states that Kumar was born in August 1968. Kumar's parents divorced shortly after he turned 4 years old. In the narration, Kumar recounts that his father, who was drunk on most nights, would beat him; then he experienced sexual abuse from a male family friend who took advantage of Kumar's desire for affection from a male parent (Lim, 2011: 26). In spite of his turbulent childhood and subsequent rise to celebrity status, it is remarkable that Kumar remains down-to-earth. In his own words, *being a celebrity is also about work…Pure, hard work is what actually got me to where I am today* (ibid. 28).

In hindsight, Kumar's work ethics might have developed out of his experience as a waiter and performer at Haw Par Villa, a rock garden located in the west of Singapore in 1989. In 1992, Kumar had a stint as a part-time stand-up comedian and the job came with an opportunity to open for a drag cabaret show at the *Boom Boom Room*. In a tongue-in cheek remark, Kumar equates the transition of his career to evolution as he changes *from ape to Homo sapiens to homosexual* (Lim, 2011: 37).

Sharing his personal experience wisely, Kumar makes a distinction between living an ordinary life and becoming the drag queen of the hour (Lim, 2011: 48):

> It is for me very important to dress up, but it is also important to dress down, and that is what many entertainers fail to do. Like drag queens, when [they] dress up, they want to stay dressed up. They don't know how to dress down. They don't know how to switch on when it is required for them to be switched on and to switch off when the show is over. So they want to stay on all the time, and that leads to their downfall because it is important to know how the public or your audience wants to look at you.

In 2012, Kumar became the ambassador of the fourth annual LGBT event *Pink Dot*, which is the first time ever that a transgender has had the chance to represent an event as a member of its regular staff in Singapore (Lim 2013). The footage of Kumar speaking at *Pink Dot 2012*, symbolically in a pink sari, is available on *YouTube* (Chor, 2012).

Drag Madness

Delivering a fatal blow, the World Health Organization (WHO) initiates the epistemology of social hate by characterizing transgenderism as a mental illness (Worley, 2016). The medical pronouncement creates a view of transgenderism as pathological, a view which resonates well with the discrimination against Chinese, Indian and Malay transgender people recounted inter alia in Ng (2006), Lim (2013), Lim (2011), Noriah Mohamed and Norma Baharom (2006), Tan (2012), Teh (2001), Zainon Shamsudin and Kamila Ghazali (2011). In contrast to the scorn for transgender as a social malaise, ordinary males and females enjoy a limitless capacity to self-express.

In one *YouTube* video-clip, for instance, a female Asian American vibrates her head via heavy breathing while applying mascara to her eyelashes (Chen, 2010). Despite her behavior, she received positive feedback online with little suspicion of insanity. Playing by the conventional gender dichotomy allows a person to create powerful self-expressions and challenge the human norm with little social suspicion regarding one's mental health.

Some of the male and female characteristics found in Table 2 inform our dichotomous understanding of the gender matrix. Consequently, the gender matrix based on the corporeal binaries of masculinity and femininity informs the common sense of the masses.

Common Male Features	Common Female Features
Adventurous	Fearless
Brawny	Curvaceous
Charming	Pretty
Gentle	Loving/Caring
Handsome	Beautiful
Hoarse	Smooth/Soft
Hot	Sexy
Muscular	Voluptuous
Sensitive	Tender
Tough	Sweet
Fit	Slim

Table 2. Descriptors of common gender logic

Aligning onto the binary gender matrix, Malay researchers, for example, classify transgender subjects displaying deviant gender behavior and linguistic expressions as the third gender (Noriah Mohamed and Norma Baharom, 2006). The classification implies that the baseline for interpreting one's identity is a dichotomy of masculinity and femininity. Embodying a hybridity of male and female persona, a transgender goes against the restrictions of the binary gender matrix. Indeed, confined within the restrictive framework of the binary gender matrix, a perplex transgender would find little motivation to align with the common gender logic of the masses.

However, contrary to the social prejudice against the transgender group as discussed above (Constant Drag), Kumar secures celebrity status through his drag career, standing as solid landmark. In a typical performance, Kumar

appears in sequined women's-wear, heavy make-up with jewelry dangling from his ears and neck. His long, black and silky hair is his trademark on stage. An image of Kumar in drag, complete with sparkling diadem, striking earrings and diamond necklace, is available on SAUCEink.com (2015). Kumar's appearance challenges the common logic that defines gender as a socially learned behavior. The binary gender logic is further observable in the four types of gender behavior - masculine men, masculine women, feminine women, and feminine men (Carver, 1998).

The sub-categorizations of the binary gender logic contain an empirical appeal not the least because they are observable throughout the macrocosm. Transcending gender subsets, however, Kumar's drag performances oscillate between a male body and a near-female persona. Kumar's drag act is by default an external projection of female gender on stage because he does not share physical female traits, namely the somatic experiences of menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation (cf. Grosz, 1994). Kumar's external projection of femininity is equally atypical because in Kumar's drag performance, one can see a masculine feature incorporated into the design of the female persona.

Cross-dressing in a hoarse male voice, Kumar's act exposes a contradiction between what is *given* and what is *given away* (Goffman, 2001). A paradox is at play not the least because Kumar projects a feminine demeanor, unabashedly conveying his preference for male companionship (see footage of Kumar's performing gig in Pandiyan, 2015); yet by speaking with a hoarse voice Kumar preserves a masculine quality. Such paradoxical gender-representation is similar to that of the American drag comedian, Bianca del Rio, the winner of the 2014 *RuPaul Drag Race* (cf. Rivers, 2014), and Nong Toom, the beautiful boxer (Sew, 2006). In this drag queen with a hoarse voice, who does not quite conform to axiomatic gender binaries, a new gender subcategory, transcending the four subcategories of common gender logic, emerges.

With masculine voices and husky laughter permeating the entire stage, Kumar and Bianca del Rio are drag comedians that have an impressive presence. Their drag acts appropriate a special type of *gender femaling* (Ekins, 2002), which sets them apart from contemporaries such as Jack Neo and Dennis Chew. Current efforts to theorize transgenderism may benefit from the family resemblance model to (re)conceptualize it along a male-female gender polarity (cf. Goertz, 2006; Gerring, 1999). By illustrating that the hoarse voice feature may become a significant criterion in the drag design, this discussion expands the breath of conceptualization on gender in general and transgenderism in particular. In turn, the gender subcategorizations may expand to include a classificatory system for transgenderism, which manifests a hybridity of identity by preserving the male voice within the female persona as a new addition to the gender matrix.

Mediating Drag

Observing Kumar's act enables this discussion to ascribe the etic and emic gender views in drag design to the distinctive variations of performativity. An emic gender approach to drag performance would incorporate the original voice of the male performer. The male voice in Kumar's drag persona is a core gender he was born with, and which is sanctioned in the logic of the binary gender matrix. Preserving the male voice as an identifiable baseline within this matrix positions the emic drag actor on par with the 507 Malay male transsexuals in a study by Teh (2001).

A mere 19, or 4%, of the subjects had had sex-change operations and these transsexuals share the wish to have a male burial as sanctioned in Islam. That many Malay transsexuals had returned to wearing men's clothing as they grew older (as discovered in the study) correlates with a second study of four Malay male homosexuals between the ages of 19 and 21 years old (Zainon Shamsudin & Kamila Ghazali, 2011). The interviewees of the latter study reveal that there is a possibility for queer Malay male undergraduates return to heterosexual normativity and assimilate back into mainstream society when they are in their forties, or fifties. Similarly, Kumar makes it clear in his autobiography that his drag identity is task-based, not least because he dresses down after the performance. Dressing down is important for many drag actors, such as Jack Neo and Glen Goei to pursue their directing careers, and Denis Chew to resume his job as a disc jockey for a radio station.

The two studies on Malay transgenderism and Kumar's emic drag approach collectively suggest that the inclination among the local males to maintain a drag persona lessens with increasing age. The drag persona may be task-based because the actor dresses down to blend in with looming heterosexual normalcy. Kumar dresses down as a host for a television program that provides an overview of specific jobs such as a pest controller, high-rise window cleaner, firefighter and crane operator. At the micro level, the plight of Leona Lo, harassed with the ridicule term in public, highlights the fact that males who go against dominant heterosexual society face sociolinguistic coercion. At the macro level, pro-family policies are constant reminders to any transgender of the social discriminations they suffer. For instance, the pro-family public housing scheme in Singapore offers subsidies that offset the price of the properties for married heterosexual couples. Another scheme, which focuses on procreation as the priority in Singapore is the graduate mother scheme that offers tax incentives, reduced hospital charges and school registration priority for the children of graduate mothers (Leong, 2010). Finally the Penal Code section 377A, which provides a legal means to punish acts of gross indecency between males in public or private with up to 2 years imprisonment, constitutes a concrete deterrent to any male attempting to go against the heterosexual norm (Hor, 2012).

An etic gender view on drag, on the other hand, would find the drag performance modulating the male voice in order to establish a complete feminine persona. Dennis Chew, in his portrayal of Auntie Lucy, speaks in a pitchy feminine voice and thereby constitutes an etic approach to drag that he comfortably displays on the television and silver screen. The reason for complete feminine drag is to maintain a relationship with others who solicit one's desire. According to Cameron and Kulick (2003), there are two objects in one's desire, the spoken (object) and the unspoken (relationship). Raising the pitch of one's voice to maximize one's feminine persona is symbolic of femaleness (Ohala, 1994), thus the effort to establish an interaction with the male audience. Feminine tonalities generate attractive speech tones, which may be an intention to uphold an unspoken desire (cf. the analyses of teenage girls in Eckert, 2010), thus Ivan Heng and Jack Neo spoke in fake high-pitched voices when portraying a Peranakan Nyonya and a single mother, respectively. In the same vein of etic drag, Los Angeles drag celebrities, RuPaul, Kimchi, and Naomi Small also communicate with a soft-feminized tone in their voices (Rodriguez, 2016).

Becoming female in Kumar's drag performance (Connell & Pearse, 2015) results in an active redesigning of a binary gender matrix to result in hybridity. The hybridity constituted by the male voice with a feminized appearance actually works to the advantage of drag performers because it generates a comical gender effect – bizarreness (Sew, 2007; 2009a). In *becoming* a political female persona, Kumar's hybridity encompasses mixed modes of gender marking that transgress the common gender matrix (Sew, 2012a). Going against the grain of common sense, Kumar's gender hybridity uses its bizarre appeal to raise social awareness, by embedding in his funny political views into the staging of an impactful performance.

Method

This study analyzes the significance of Kumar's performing semiotics on aging in Singapore, poking fun at Toh Yi Drive residents' initial reactions to a government-proposed nursing home construction in their estate. The selected video clip[8] consists of frames comprising prototypical photo shots in accordance with the atomization approach for yielding a series of base units (cf. Kong, 2013, Bateman, 2008). An advantage of fragmenting the video clip into base units is to accommodate multiple analytical viewpoints (Sew, 2015a). The detailed analysis undertaken in the atomization approach does not warrant a lengthy video as the research operandi. Segmenting the video clip, *Happily*

8. The details of the YouTube video containing Kumar's drag stage performance, examined in this discussion, are available in Nur Fasihah (2012).

Ever Laughter yields fourteen visual frames; each one provides a visual grid for scrutinizing the semiotic hybrid. The transformations from one visual grid to another form the dynamic component in the video-viewing experience, because the transitioning phases between grids introduce repetitive visual progressions viewers recognize (cf. Baldry, 2004). Interestingly, the digital footage translates into atomic content describable through visual analysis aimed at understanding the aging dilemma that is part of Kumar's comedic design.

The visual frames suggest that the collective laughter elicited by watching and listening to Kumar's performance is a shared experience, which leads to awareness of a social issue. Experienced as unique by the local audience, the delivery of the message happened through comedy that utilizes a dynamic visual-audio experience, combining various semiotic modes including language, dress, bodily gestures and loud voices. The power of Kumar's humor is contingent on the enunciative modalities of *different ways in which subjects are accorded the right to speak because of their recognized training and specialization* (Howarth, 2000: 53). The audience's identification with Kumar's story lines runs parallel to the manner in which a particular speech group aligns itself on a collective mythical consciousness such as the Ramayana, Superman, and the Monkey God, among others. This reiteration discursively creates a sense of self, in accordance with one's cultural norms and belief systems (Lakoff, 2008, Sew, 2012b; 2015b). Similar mythic consciousness is observable in the Malays of Kelantan who share a collective memory of semi-mythical icons - Cik Siti Wan Kembang and Puteri Saadong. According to Shakila Abdul Manan (2011: 69), the recounting of folktales about these female rulers, and especially their roles as competent leaders, facilitates "the understanding of Kelantanese men's psychological acceptance of the assertive role of their women, especially in trade and commerce".

Kumar's declamatory performance suppresses self-identification with a visual chain containing exotic displays of direct and indirect signals. The audience's receptivity based on applause and laughter underscores the signification of Kumar's drag act. That the audience watches Kumar until the end is a sign of collaborative dialectics between like-minded social actors (cf. Blackwell, Birnholtz & Abbott, 2015). Visibly, Kumar challenges the binary gender logic by transgressing the existing gender norms with cross-dressing (Butler, 1990). Incorporating an exotic style into his performance, Kumar's drag persona oscillates between masculinity (signaled by the masculine voice) and femininity (indicated by the feminine appearance in the gowns and female accessories he wears). This hybridity of self creates a terra incognita for gender reinterpretation, which, by virtue of Kumar's charisma, makes for a powerful communicative analysis in visual studies. Fans of Kumar who are aware of his sociopolitical subjectivity are prepared for the dialectics generated in his drag comedy. The following subsections provide an analytic breakdown of Kumar's drag performance.

Dress

Dress forms a major part of Kumar's discursive gender performativity. In this particular performance, Kumar wears a sleeveless white dress. The strapless dress has a knee-length skirt designed with a playful cascading form. The revealing design gives a full view of his white-stocking clad legs and the shiny pink shoes accentuate his lanky legs. The white dress symbolically characterizes Kumar's queer stance as that of a *femme extraordinaire* with a body type that is the envy of many females. A queer stance is anything at odds with *the normal, the legitimate, the dominant* (Milani, 2015: 435; see also Halperin, 1995).

Drawing attention to the power of attention-grabbing ornaments, Kumar wears dangling earrings, bangles and a necklace. That is, with a sense of generic realism the viewers' judgment of the communicative object per se is involved in one's experience of watching Kumar (Chandler, 2012). Kumar's every movement onstage is a willful transgression of the common gender logic. Leaving the prototype of a muscular and sturdy male body behind, Kumar's slim body and white dress appropriate the popular expectation of a woman's physical attributes in show business. Gaining weight is a negative behavior for women in popular culture, equivalent to laziness, a lack of discipline and unwillingness to conform (Holmberg, 1998: 249). A skinny body wins half the battle for Kumar, allowing him to focus on perfecting his verbal delivery.

Gesture

The fourteen visual frames affirm that Kumar's persona and body dynamics are indeed a contested site of meaningful messages (cf. Grbich 2004) because the audience constantly reinterprets the meaning of his onstage gestures and bodily movements. The co-speech gestures work well to successively highlight the storyline, thus facilitating the delivery of the drag comedy. The unified responses to Kumar's jokes suggest that the audience is more likely to glean information through the co-speech gestures accompanying the act (Goldin-Meadow, 2014). Kumar uses physical cues to direct the audience's attention to the units of information delivered in his narrative. From holding the microphone with his left hand to raising his right hand as signal for the start of a gag about driving a posh car and moving his hand in circles to signify a rotating wheel chair, Kumar continues to mesmerize the audience with physical expressions and words.

In a different frame, Kumar flexes his left palm to indicate the location of a government initiative that uses an upward-moving right-handed gesture to diagrammatically signify the object of reference - a whole block of nursing home. Kumar exposes his right palm to the audience as a sign of honesty while saying that senior citizens are the beneficiaries of the project. Immediately after that, Kumar lifts his right hand as he broaches the issue of the residents'

negative reaction. In another frame, Kumar's right hand is seen pointing outwards at an alternative location the residents desire. Subsequently, we see Kumar's right palm as he shakes his hand to express the residents' indifference regarding the senior citizens' welfare.

In yet another frame, we see Kumar create suspense when he questions the rationale of blocking the project by raising his right fist. Kumar mimics cluelessness by repeating the same interrogation as his right palm moves upwards, and he immediately responds with a second hyperbolic claim that an old man might break into a house to steal porridge as a second reason for denying the construction of a nursing home. In the final frame, Kumar imitates the action of breaking the window with his right fist. The array of interactive possibilities using the body of the drag comedian is in resonance with the current interest in diverse bodily material as a significant component in communicating meaning (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016).

Visual-affective rhetoric

Refining the analysis of performing semiotics further, this section proposes a table of Kumar's lines verbatim, alongside the visual-affective rhetoric of his performing styles (Howells & Negreiros, 2012). The visual and affective appropriations incorporated by design into the act lend more weight to Kumar's rhetoric, as these intelligent modulations appeal to human intelligence, forming a visual rhetoric act capable of influencing one's beliefs (Sew, 2017). The visuals in the video footage show how Kumar's discourse works collectively through his gesturing and gazing at the audience. In many ways as indicated in Table 3 Kumar is tapping into the Multiple Intelligences (MI) of the audience, namely the linguistic, visual, spatial and rhythmic intelligences in order to get his argumentative messages across as visual-affective rhetoric (Gardner, 1993).

Kumar's comedic turns on stage	**Semiotic Analyses of Kumar's turn**
One minute you're driving your Lamborghini	Kumar's hand gestures suggest a change from turning a steering wheel with both hands to powering a wheel chair with one hand. The up-down bodily movements increase the vividness of haggardly operating the wheel chair. The visual-affective rhetoric reinforces the belief that age is a weak bodily existence.
Next minute you are driving your wheelchair	

That's why nursing homes are very important	Kumar's left hand making up-down movements repetitively towards the audience as Kumar bows, signaling affirmation.
Even our government recently...	Kumar's left hand points outward to the audience before swinging to the left side and subsequently moving pointedly upward then downward. The gestures establish two parties, namely the authority in power and a community. The actions create a visual-affective-rhetoric awareness of the subject and object identified in the act.
… suggested that Toh Yi Drive…	
… they want to build the whole block…	Kumar's right hand rushes upwards from below, indexing a vertical block. The length of the building is in iconic relation to the hand movement.
… just for senior citizens.	Kumar's right palm vibrates into a series of quick chopping moves. Symbolically, this hand movement indexes the populous reference.
What did the residents say?	The audience's attention is captivated by an abrupt move of sudden inward pulling by Kumar's right hand, which comes in from the outer right.
Put your senior citizen somewhere else.	With fingers in a grip lock, Kumar pokes his right thumb downwards before flinging his palm to the far right, creating a jerky rejection gesture as the visual-affective rhetoric expresses the rude treatment the elderly outcast are implied to have suffered.
Is this how we treat our senior citizens?	Kumar's right hand points outward and shakes up and down as though making a visual-rhetoric demand for an answer from the audience.
What are the residents of Toh Yi Drive afraid of?	Kumar shows a series of lifting actions with his right hand as visual-affective rhetoric in synchronizing the flow of thought according to his enunciations.

Too many old people, what, increase in crime rate ah?	Kumar's right hand stretches out before moving upwards to depict a diagrammatic increase of crime rate; the audience laughs in response.
WHAT ARE THEY AFRAID OF? [Upper case indicates loudness in voice]	Kumar's right hand points outwards as though to amplify a point with visual-affective rhetoric.
What? The old man come to your house, break your window, steal your porridge… eh? [sic]	Kumar's right hand thrusts downward and scooping inward to his chest in an attempt to depict the visual-affective rhetoric of breaking and stealing; the audience laughs and claps, signaling a complicit response in return.

Table 3. Visual-affective rhetoric of Kumar's act.
Happily Ever Laughter, Kumar (Nur Fasihah, 2012: 03:33-04:12)

Visual-affectively, Kumar expresses his position on the nursing home in two ways. Firstly, Kumar raises a question, *is this how we treat our senior citizens?* The question reflects a debate that Singapore has been having for many years. In 1984, the Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew exhorted Singaporeans to cultivate a sense of belonging. A strong national foundation is only possible because "active nation building (that) has given Singaporeans a deep sense of personal pride in the progress of Singaporeans as a whole … It is these invisible ties that make for the sense of belonging, a sense of security in life in Singapore" (Wee, 2015: 463 quoting speech excerpts by Lee Kuan Yew).

Secondly, in stating his discontent, Kumar invokes a message of disapproval with verbal repetition, *What are the residents of Toh Yi Drive afraid of?* Paradoxically, this self-repetition generates a pragmatics of persuasive speech that enthralls the flow of thought (Tannen, 1989). In a recent discussion, David Gruber (2016: 38) reminds the readers that, *concise turns of phrase with repetitious words and sounds…appear easier for the brain to absorb and/or provide a kind of pleasurable effect*. The open question raised may possibly invoke self-reflection since a visual-affective rhetoric is never a fixed or complete strategy, but operates as an open contestation and negotiation (cf. Martin, 2014: 120).

Strategic Turns

As a strategic turn, Kumar's right palm is open with fingers pointed outwards as he proposes an antithetical suggestion to the denial – the increasing number of senior citizens may result in a rise in crime rates. In terms of rhetoric, Kumar's nonsensical remarks resemble a form of *strategizing* in speech.

> "Strategizing is thus a distinctively rhetorical activity: it entails formulating interpretations of a situation such that audiences are moved to respond in certain ways rather than others. Sometimes this is done in relatively closed, elite settings; very often it is much more public" (Martin, 2015: 30).

Iteratively, the repetitive speech style captures Kumar's belief that building a nursing home is necessary for the senior citizens. Kumar's jab on the residents' fear is visual-affectively powerful in that it generates political awareness on a heritage issue. The analysis of Kumar's visual-affective rhetoric differentiates speaker meaning from sentence meaning in that the linguistic difference lies between the conceptual and constructional levels of language. Conceptually, there may be a disparate classification of sentence-meaning as the outcome of speaker meaning. Colin McGinn clearly highlights this aspect of sentence meaning in his explication of Grice's theory of speaker meaning:

> Words come to mean what they do in virtue of the fact that we mean various things by them. We confer meaning *on* them by meaning something *by* them. Linguistic meaning thus comes from us − we create it by acts of speaker meaning (McGinn, 2015: 192, original italics).

In communication, we distinguish sentence meaning from speaker meaning in the same way we would distinguish semantics (dictionary reference) from pragmatics (language use). As an accomplished drag performer, Kumar uses visual-affective rhetoric to convince his audience that nursing homes are important and necessary and he does this with humorous hyperbolic propositions. This is a performative speech act *par excellence* (cf. McGinn, 2015: 199).

Rationalizing Kumar

The human body is a useful tool for making a standpoint, especially when the carefully designed body takes to center stage for displaying strategic visual-affective rhetoric. Enfield (2009: 4) reminds us that meaning does not begin with language but with *context-situated composites of multiple signs, part conventional, part non-conventional*. The message delivered is much more enjoyable and convincing when executed with well-rehearsed gestures, as a process of *a body affecting other bodies* **(**Probyn, 2004: 37). Each of Kumar's actions on stage is decodable into a series of semiotic relations involving chained action, visual-linguistic reaction, iconic transaction, or non-transactive composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). A visual grammar of sociopolitical humor is, thus composed from interlinking disparate semiotic modes, signifying that nursing homes do not equate to an increase in crime rates but in increased safety for housing estates. Kumar's use of words such as *afraid*, *crime rate*, *break* and *steal* highlights the ambiguity and contestation of their meanings, not least because *the meaning of a word consists in how the word is used* (Schaffer, 2014: 185-186). Furthermore, the use of select words is

inseparable from the bodily gestures of the speakers and hearers participating in the interactive communication (Blumenthal-Jones, 2004; Enfield, 2009; Lazear, 1999; Sew, 2009b). Naturally, the visual-affective rhetoric of Kumar's sociopolitical repertoire is contingent on the projection of his bodily repertoire in combination with the meaning, thus reminding us that a person *is* his or her body (Schatzki, 1996: 45).

Kumar combines indexical gestures and bizarre statements to express his political displeasure in the drag comedy. Significantly, Kumar's acts constitute a political statement with incisive social significance because his visual-affective rhetoric reinvigorates the collective memory about the possible neglect of filial piety as the society progresses towards prosperity. In fact, the denial that the residents' wishes constitute a meaningful collective action hinges on a Weberian account of rationality reflecting the calculative economics of capitalism without moral values:

> Meaning, rationality and freedom, however, have a different significance in reference to a human life as a whole than they do in reference to a single action. Morally neutral when applied to a single action, they become morally charged when applied to life as a whole. Thus for an individual action to be meaningful, it is sufficient that it be consciously oriented to some purpose, however insignificant. Swatting a fly is every bit as meaningful, in itself, as rescuing children from a burning building. A meaningful action can just as well be morally indifferent or even blameworthy as morally praiseworthy (Brubaker, 1984: 94).

Examining the audience's appreciation of Kumar's drag comedy shows that using humorous lines to address a social issue reveals a clear sociopolitical stance. Certainly, Kumar's reputation as a sharp-tongued comedian who dares to poke fun at local issues precedes him, thus allowing a dissenting voice to speak out against the existing order by appealing to the visual-affective aspect of human intelligence. Suggesting that too many old people might increase crime rates to elicit laughter demonstrates that Kumar uses comedic impression to tackle a modern affliction. Further framing the issue with an illogical equation, Kumar engages in a hyperbolic extension of the paradox that the rising crime rates may be caused by old folks breaking in to steal porridge. The humor lies reflexively in the irrationality of the original denial of the local residents.

Replacing the negative notion of crime by means of collective reassessment is effective visual-affective rhetoric. The reassessment process, framed as metaphorization, differentiates meanings by abstracting the diagrammatic features of our world using conventional modalities, including semiotic signs, gender features, mimetics and gesticulation (Konings, 2015: 55). Kumar undermines Max Weber's notion that rationality leads to capitalist calculations, which are the basis of Toh Yi Drive residents' value systems. Since Weberian rationality does not recognize moral values, the residents' collective decision is a meaningful action toward some purpose, even if this purpose is a mythology (Barthes, 1957/2012; Sew 2016). When collective action reinterprets the

communal notion of home, however, a modern social institution fraught with an individualistic ethos that prioritizes the economization of life emerges. Pressing for introspection, Kumar adopts a visual-affective rhetoric of illogical equation that sets the audience thinking about aging as a current social issue.

Concluding Remarks

Delicate issues concerning human behavior require careful analysis in order to achieve the aim of self-reflection. This discussion shows that creating bizarreness through the transgression of the binary gender logic combined with the visual-affective rhetoric of humorous reasoning is capable of influencing the audience. From staging a daily gender war, as it were, Kumar as a drag comedian shows a command of good tactics for conveying the message on aging, thus creating a political impact on the social issue in Singapore. Kumar demonstrates that well-crafted visual-affective rhetoric makes it possible to enunciate his strategic argument to halt individualization. Indeed, a drag comedian with a mesmerizing effect may increase social awareness in the audience.

Strategic visual rhetoric is significant for harnessing social political awareness in the stand-up performance. Visual-affective rhetoric illustrates that the style in which the information is shared is more important than the content. In Kumar's drag act, visual-affective rhetoric amplifies the words reshaping the content with iconic, indexical, imitative and symbolic gestures. We draw a parallel with the aftermath of Jimmy Fallon and Justin Timberlake's hashtag exchanges on the *Late Night with Jimmy Fallon*, which has garnered 23 million *YouTube* hits (Scheible, 2015). While the audience was already aware of the prevalence of hashtags, it was the celebrities' reactions that kick-started an online furor. While aging has received wide media coverage, a drag comedian such as Kumar may reinitiate self-reflexivity on what it means to be a community. In this respect, drag comedy is a good strategy for achieving political reconciliation.

Framing the issue in a humorous and absurd manner presents a controversial issue in a more palatable light. It is precisely in this manner that Kumar's stand-up act leads to a possible laying bare of the group psyche that was against the idea of building homes for senior citizens. The logic reveals a minimal-self psyche of this very group of naysayers that is similar to Lasch's concept of minimal self (1985), underscoring a new type of individualization. Following Elliot and Lemert (2006), Jeffrey Weeks (2011: 29) argues that the new individualism is a phenomenon related to rampant consumerism that depletes human relationships, leading to the replacement of authentic subjectivities with narcissistic and hedonistic values. As a reconciliatory note to the social issue discussed, the aforementioned housing project planned for the elderly is near to completion (Ho, 2015), and there is a keen interest among senior citizens in Singapore (Chua, 2012).

Acknowledgement

I presented this paper at *Politics of Heritage Conference*, National University of Singapore on Dec. 8, 2015. The constructive suggestions and queries from two anonymous reviewers have sharpened the content. The Editor was most encouraging in the reviewing process although the remaining errors are solely mine.

Photo of Kumar « courtesy of Benjamin Mr. Miyagi Lee »

References

Baldry, A.P. 2004. Phase and transition, type and instance: Patterns in media texts as seen through a multimodal concordancer. In K.L. O'Halloran (Ed.), *Multimodal discourse analysis: Systemic-functional perspectives*. London: Continuum, pp. 83-108.

Barthes, R. 2012/1957. *Mythologies*. Trans. Richard Howard & Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang.

Bateman, J.A. 2008. *Multimodality and genre: A foundation for the systematic analysis of multimodal documents*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blackwell, C., J. Birnholtz, & C. Abbott. 2015. Seeing and being seen: Co-situation and impression formation using Grindr, a location-aware gay dating app. *New Media & Society 17*(7), pp. 1117-1136.

Blumenthal-Jones, D. 2004. Bodily-kinesthetic intelligence and the democratic ideal. In J.L. Kincheloe (Ed.), *Multiple Intelligences reconsidered*. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 119-131.

Brubaker, R. 1984. *The limits of rationality: An essay on the social and moral thought of Max Weber*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2016). Embodied sociolinguistics. In N. Coupland (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics: Theoretical debates*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 173-197.

Butler, J. 1990. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.

Cameron, D, & D. Kulick. 2003. *Language and sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carver, T. 1998. Sexual citizenship: Gender and de-gendered narratives. In T. Carver & V. Mottier (Eds.), *Politics of sexuality: Identity, gender, citizenship*. London: Routledge, pp. 3-24.

Chandler, D. 2012. *Semiotics: The basics* (2nd Ed.). London: Routledge.

Chen, M. 2010. Queer vibrations. *In Media Res*. Retrieved from http://mediacommons.futureofthebook.org/imr/2010/05/06/queer-vibrations

Chor, L. 2012. Kumar talkshow@Pinkdot 2012. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5R_spyxjnJY

Chua, S. 2012. Controversial Toh Yi flats attract strong buyer interest. *iProperty.com*

Retrieved from http://iproperty.com.sg/news/5135/Controversial-Toh-Yi-flats-attract-strong-buyer-interest

Davies, S.G. 2010. *Gender diversity in Indonesia: Sexuality, Islam and queer selves*. London: Routledge.

Eckardt, J. 2006. *Singapore Girl: A memoir*. Singapore: Monsoon Books.

Connell, R., & C. Pearse. 2015. *Gender: In world perspective* (3rd Ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Eckert, P. 2010. Affect, sound symbolism, and variation. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* Vol. 15(2). Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol15/iss2/9

Ekins, R. 2002. On male femaling: A grounded theory approach to cross dressing and sex changing. In K. Plummer (Ed.), *Sexualities: Critical concepts in sociology Vol III: Difference and the diversity of sexualities*. London: Routledge, pp. 272-294.

Elliot, A., & C. Lemert. 2006. *The new individualism: The emotional costs of globalization*. London: Routledge.

Enfield, N.J. 2009. *The anatomy of meaning: Speech, gesture, and composite utterances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fan, Y. 2017. When you are old, Chinese, and gay. *Sixth Tone: Fresh voices from today's China*. Retrieved from http://www.sixthtone.com/news/growing-old-gay

Gardner, H. 1993. *Multiple Intelligences: The theory in practice*. New York: Basic Books.

Gerring, J. 1999. What makes a concept good?: A criterial framework for understanding concept formation in the Social Sciences. *Polity* 31(3), pp. 357-393.

Goertz, G. 2006. *Social science concepts: A user's guide*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Goffman, E. 2001. The presentation of self in everyday life. In A. Branaman (Ed.), *Self and society*. Mass: Blackwell, pp. 175-182.

Goldin-Meadow, S. 2014. Language and the manual modality: The communicative resilience of the human species. In N.J. Enfield, P. Kockelman & J. Sidnell (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 78-101.

Grbich, C. 2004. *New approaches in social research*. London: SAGE.

Grosz, E. 1994. *Volatile bodies: Toward a corporeal feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gruber, D.R. 2016. Suasive speech: A stronger affective defense of rhetoric and the politics of cognitive poetics. *Language & Communication* 49, pp. 36-44.

Halperin, D.M. 1995. *Saint Foucault: Towards a gay hagiography*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ho, A.K.H. 2012. How to bring Singaporeans up straight (1960s-1990s). In A. Yue & J. Zubillaga-Pow (|Eds.), *Queer Singapore: Illiberal citizenship and mediated cultures*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 29-43.

Ho, K.L. 2015. No room for 'not in my backyard' on this tiny island. *Today* 16 January. Retrieved from http://www.todayonline.com/voices/no-room-not-my-backyard-tiny-island

Holmberg, C.B. 1998. *Sexualities and popular culture*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Hor, M. 2012. Enforcement of 377A: Entering the twilight zone. In A. Yue & J. Zubillaga-Pow (|Eds.), *Queer Singapore: Illiberal citizenship and mediated cultures*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 45-58.

Howarth, D. 2000. *Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Howells, R., & Negreiros, J. 2012. *Visual culture*. Cambridge: Polity.

Kong, C.C.K. 2013. A corpus-based study in comparing the multimodality of Chinese-and English-language newspapers. *Visual Communication 12*(2), pp. 173-196.

Konings, M. 2015. *The emotional logic of capitalism: What progressives have missed*. California: Stanford University Press.

Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. 1996. *Reading images*. London: Routledge.

Lakoff, G. 2008. *The political mind: Why you can't understand 21st-century politics with an 18th-century brain*. New York: Viking.

Lasch, C. 1985. *The minimal self: Psychic survival in troubled times*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Lazear, D. 1999. *Eight ways of knowing: Teaching for Multiple Intelligences*. Illinois: SkyLight.

Leong, L.W.T. 2012. Sexual vigilantes invade gender spaces: Religion and sexuality in the AWARE Saga. In A. Yue & J. Zubillaga-Pow (|Eds.), *Queer Singapore: Illiberal citizenship and mediated cultures*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 59-69.

— 2010. Sexual governance and politics of sex in Singapore. In T. Chong (Ed.), *Management of success: Singapore revisited*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 579-593.

Leow, Y. (Ed.) 2013. *I will survive: Personal gay, lesbian, bisexual & transgender stories in Singapore*. Singapore: Math Paper Press.

Lim, I. 2011. *Kumar: From rags to drag*. Singapore: 3-Monkeys Café.

Lim, Z.T. 2013. *Gender/Geographical crossings: Transgender spatialities within Singaporean homes and workplaces*. Unpublished Academic Exercise, Dept. of Geography, National University of Singapore.

Martin, J. 2015. Situating speech: A rhetorical approach to political strategy. *Political Studies* 63, pp. 25–42.

Martin, J. 2014. *Politics and rhetoric: A critical introduction*. London: Routledge.

Maznah Mohamad, C. Ng, & Tan, B.H. 2006. *Feminism and the women's movement in Malaysia: An unsung (r)evolution.* New York: Routledge.

McGinn, C. 2015. *Philosophy of language: The classics explained*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Milani, T.M. 2015. Sexual citizenship: Discourses, spaces and bodies at Joburg Pride 2012. *Journal of Language and Politics* 14(13), pp. 431-454.

Ng, A.H.S. 2012. The politics of reclaiming identity: Representing the *Mak Nyahs* in *Bukak Api*. In C. Pullen (Ed.) *LGBT Transnational Identity and the Media*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 114-128.

Ng, Y.S. 2006. *SQ21: Singapore queers in the 21st century*. Singapore: Oogachaga.

Noriah Mohamed, & Norma Baharom. 2006. Pembentukan kata dalam slanga lelaki gender ketiga. In P.M. Chaiyanara, R. Abdullah, K. Abdullah & M. Sikana (Eds.) *Bahasa: Memeluk akar menyuluh ke langit*. Singapore: Nanyang University of Technology, pp. 126-171.

Nur Fasihah. 2012. *Happily Ever Laughter_Kumar*. Retrieved from http://buttonsinthebread.com/2012/06/29/happy-ever-laughter/

Ohala, J.J. 1994. The frequency code underlies the sound-symbolic use of voice pitch. In L. Hinton, J. Nichols & J.J. Ohala (Eds.), *Sound Symbolism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 325-347.

Pandiyan, V. 2015. *Comedy night with Kumar at Hard Rock Café*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q5VSSTm9OoM

Pink Dot SG. 2012. *SOMEDAY*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LvsZSR_hxJA

Probyn, E. 2004. Teaching bodies. Affects in the classroom. *Body and Society 10*(4), pp. 21-43.

Rivers, J. 2014 (19 Aug.). *In Bed with Joan – Episode 71: Bianca del Rio*. Retrieved from https://www.*YouTube*.com/watch?v=kXg1fM4_ZMQ

Rodriguez, H. 2016. *RuPaul's drag race, season 8 episode 10: Grand finale*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nLUoQopiYoc

Saisuvan, P. 2016. Kathoey and the linguistic construction of gender identity in Thailand. In E. Levon & R.B. Mendes (Eds.), *Language, sexuality, and power: Studies in intersectional sociolinguistics*. Oxford Scholarship Online: Oxford University Press, pp. 189-214.

SAUCEink.com. 2015. *Women's Fashion-Lifestyle Magazine*. Retrieved from http://www.sauceink.com/2015/05/my-masterpiece-adds-kumar-chinnadurai-in-their-lineup

Schaffer, F.C. 2014. Ordinary language interviewing. In D. Yanow & P. Schwartz-Shea (Eds.), *Interpretation and Method: Empirical research methods and interpretive turn*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, pp. 183-193.

Scheible, J. 2015. *Digital shift: The cultural logic of punctuation*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

Schatzki, T. 1996. *Social practices: A Wittgensteinian approach to human activity and the social*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sew, J.W. 2017. *From face to screen*. Kota Samarahan, Sarawak: Universiti Malaysia Sarawak Press.

— 2016. Analisis Kajian Sastera: Semiotik Dalam Novel Anwar Ridhwan. *Akademika: Journal of Southeast Asia Social Sciences and Humanities* 86(2), pp. 53-63.

— 2015a. Semiotics of performing in Najwa Latif's music videos. *Malaysian Journal of Communication* 31, pp. 299-321.

— 2015b. Cultural literacy in Chinese and Malay. *WORD* 61(2), pp. 165-177.

— 2012a. Performing hybrid: A reversal of common sense. *JATI: Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 17, pp. 251-260.

—2012b. Ummi's obedience in marriage: A critical study of Shahnon Ahmad's 'Ummi & Abang Syeikhul'. *Kemanusiaan: The Asian Journal of Humanities* 19: 79-103.

— 2009a. Gin and Tonic and Passing Trains. *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific Issue* 23. Retrieved from http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue23/sew_review.htm

— 2009b. *Semiotik persembahan wacana*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.

— 2007. Eight International Buskers' Festival in Singapore, 13-21 November 2004. *California Linguistic Notes* XXXII(2), pp. 1-7. Retrieved from http://english.fullerton.edu/publications/clnArchives/pdf/sew_busters.pdf

— 2006. Boxing cabaret. *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context* 14. Retrieved from http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue14/jyh_review.html

Shakila Abdul Manan. 2011. Doing gender in literature. In C. Ng, N. Endut & R. Shuib (Eds.), *Our lived realities: Reading gender in Malaysia*. Penang: Universiti Sains Malaysia, pp. 65-79.

Sim, R. 2012. SBS bus driver to be disciplined for gay slur. *The Straits Times* Oct. 6 Retrieved from http://news.asiaone.com/print/News/Latest%2BNews/Singapore/Story/A1Story20121004-375567.html

Tan, R. 2012. Photo essay: A brief history of early gay venues in Singapore. In A. -Yue & J. Zubillaga-Pow (|Eds.), *Queer Singapore: Illiberal citizenship and mediated cultures*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp. 117-148.

Tannen, D. 1989. *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Teh, Y.K. 2001. Mak Nyahs (male transsexuals) in Malaysia: The influence of culture and religion on their identity. *International Journal of Transgenderism* 5(3). Retrieved from http://www.safraproject.org/downloads/Mak_Nyahs-Malaysia.pdf

Wee, L. 2015. The party's over? Singapore politics and the "new normal." *Journal of Language and Politics* 14(13), pp. 455-478.

Weeks, J. 2011. *The languages of sexuality*. London: Routledge.

Worley, W. 2016. Denmark will become first country to no longer define being transgender as a mental illness. *Independent* 14 May. Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/denmark-will-be-the-first-country-to-no-longer-define-being-transgender-as-a-mental-illness-a7029151.html

Yan, X., & Toh, D. 2013. Issues in queer identity. *50 Years of Singapore Television – An Exhibition*. Retrieved from https://sgtv50.wordpress.com/issues-in-queer-identity/

Zainon Shamsudin & Kamila Ghazali. 2011. A discursive construction of homosexual males in a Muslim-dominant community. *Multilingua* 30(3-4), pp. 279-304.

Zimman, L., & Hall, K. 2009. Language, embodiment, and the "third sex". In D. Watt & C. Llamas (Eds.), *Language and Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 166-178.

William L. Gibson[1] *and Paul Bruthiaux*[2]

Alfred Raquez Over Java

On 28 April 1898, a Frenchman boarded the steamer *Giang Seng* in Singapore, bound for Batavia. He disembarked three days later on 1 May, and according to his own account, spent the next month traveling in Java.

The man was born Joseph Gervais, but on 16 June, six weeks after his stay in Batavia, he appeared in My Tho in the Mekong Delta in Cochinchina using the name "Alfred Raquez."[3]

He continued traveling under that name throughout the Far East as far as Guizhou in China, before settling in Hanoi, where he declared himself a publicist.[4] In 1904, he was appointed to organize and lead Mission Raquez, a fifteen-month expedition to collect material in Laos for the upcoming Colonial Exposition in Marseille, where he would act as delegate for the Laotian section.[5] The same year as the Exposition, 1906, he was named an official correspondent for the École Française d'Extrême-Orient.[6] For Mission Raquez, the Ministry of War awarded him a medal of honor at a ceremony in Paris on 18 June.[7] He

1. William L. Gibson is an author, researcher, and sound artist based in Southeast Asia.

2. Paul Bruthiaux is a language consultant based in Thailand.

3. Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer GGI 22425.

4. *Annuaire général Administratif, Commercial et Industriel de l'Indo-Chine,* Première Partie, Commençant le 4 février (Hanoi: F. H. Schneider, 1905), p. 730.

5. *Bulletin officiel de l'Indochine française*, Année 1905, 3 (Hanoi: F. H. Schneider, 1906), p. 192.

6. *Bulletin officiel de l'Indochine française*, Année 1906, 3 (Hanoi: F. H. Schneider, 1907), p. 390.

7. *La Presse* (18 June 1906). For a contemporary account of his confidence scam, see Cognosco [alias], "Les Dessous de L'Affaire Gervais," *L'Égalité,* (24 March 1898), p. 1.

died on the Corniche in Marseille in January 1907, supposedly of the smallpox, though rumors of suicide were in the air.[8] Shortly after this death, his true identity was revealed in the press, stirring a minor controversy, before he faded into oblivion. He is remembered today for the nearly 200 postcards of Laos he created for sale at the 1906 Exposition, which today are highly sought after by collectors. Though it was known that Raquez was a pseudonym, it was not until very recently that his true name was uncovered.[9]

In his brief time as Alfred Raquez, Gervais made a name for himself as a respected journalist and explorer. He wrote three book-length works, the first two travel narratives: *Au Pays des Pagodes,* which details his trip through China in 1899, and *Pages Laotiennes,* which relates the story of his travels through that country in 1899 to 1900.[10] *Entrée Gratuite* is his account, partly collected from articles he published in *La Revue Indochinoise*, of the 1902 Colonial Exposition in Hanoi.[11] In 1904, he would assume the role of Editorial Director at *La Revue Indochinoise*, but he also wrote extensively for other colonial periodicals, including *L'Écho de Chine* (which also published his first book) and *L'Avenir du Tonkin* (owned by F. H. Schneider, the publisher of the *Revue Indochinoise*). He also published in the Parisian press, with articles appearing in *La Dépêche Coloniale* as well as its supplement *La Dépêche Coloniale Illustrée*; he also published in *L'Illustration: Journal Universel,* and wrote a long article about Siam for the *Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie Française*.[12] An avid photographer, Raquez's images were sometimes published without any accompanying text, though he often published them in combination.

Scattered throughout these works are references to his month-long sojourn in Java in 1898. Most of these references are fleeting, though one long article in *La Revue Indochinoise* and an extended anecdote in *Entrée Gratuite* merit reproduction.[13]

---

8. Antoine Brébion, *Dictionnaire de bio-bibliographie générale, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine française* (Paris: Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 1935), p. 319. Brébion's two-paragraph notice constitutes the only biography of Raquez published in the twentieth century.

9. William L. Gibson, "Alfred Raquez*." PHILAO: Bulletin de l'Association Internationale des Collectionneurs de Timbres poste du Laos* 102 (2016), p. 8.

10. *Au Pays des Pagodes. Notes de Voyage, Hongkong, Macao, Shanghai, Le Houpé, Le Hounan.* (Shanghai: La Presse Orientale, 1900); *Pages Laotiennes: Le Haut-Laos, Le Moyen-Laos, Le Bas-Laos* (Hanoi: F. H. Schneider, 1902). See the annotated translations by Paul Bruthiaux and William L. Gibson: *In the Land of Pagodas* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017) and *Laotian Pages*, NIAS Press (forthcoming).

11. *Entrée Gratuite* (Saigon: Claude & Cie, 1903).

12. A full bibliography of Raquez's writings has never been compiled, though one is currently underway.

13. "Java (à suivre)," *La Revue Indochinoise* 180 (31 March 1902), p. 287-290, and *Entrée Gratuite*, pp. 86-87.

Raquez's style is journalistic. His writing is concise, often with single-sentence paragraphs that show him keeping a sharp eye out for the telling detail. In his longer works, Raquez includes snippets of dialogue, transcriptions of song lyrics, even entire menus. There is also an emphasis on the personal experience. He relates his own sensations, including his bodily and emotive reactions to the environment, which give a sense of immediacy and dynamism to his writing that is not found in the works of his contemporaries. He is also fearless, trying new foods, chatting with strangers of all races, and often striking far off the beaten path. All of this makes for a style that is refreshingly modern. Although brief, his observations about Java are worth examining as they add a new perspective on the French experience in colonial Southeast Asia.

There is also the delicious mystery surrounding the man himself.

Much has already been uncovered about Gervais, but the gaps that remain in his narrative are frustrating. Nonetheless, the beginning of a biography can be sketched out.

Gervais was born in Dunkirk in 1863 and later became a lawyer in the city of Lille, where he was also active in secular Catholic societies. He founded and became president of the *Cercle des Étudiants et de la Jeunesse Catholique* de Lille in 1885 and served on the commission for "Press and Propaganda" for the *Assemblées Générales Catholiques du Nord*.[14]

In the mid-1890s, Gervais set up a confidence scam, a sort of investment scheme that went wrong, and quickly found himself in over his head. He fled France in March 1898, and was reportedly in London on the twentieth of that month. On 15 April, an arrest warrant was issued in Paris for fraud and breach of trust, but by then, he was long gone.[15]

He surfaced about a month later, based on his own telling, in Singapore aboard the *Giang Seng*. In his article in the *Revue Indochinoise,* he only tells us the ship's name, but the Singapore newspapers date the ship's clearance for departure to 28 April, so we can confidently place him there. The *Giang Seng* was owned by the Tan Kim Tian and Son Steamship Company, one of the first Chinese-owned shipping companies in Singapore, whose usual route was the trade triangle between Singapore and the ports of Batavia, Cheribon, and Semarang on Java's north coast.[16] The trip from Singapore to Batavia normally

14. *Revue de Lille* 4, May 1896 (Paris: J. Lefert, 1896), p. 161, and *Les Assemblées Générales Catholiques du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais tenues à Lille du 23 au 28 Novembre 1886* (Lille: Victor du Colombier, 1887), p. 353.

15. *Le Journal* (15 April 1898), p. 2.

16. *The Straits Times* (28 April 1898), p. 4. The *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (2 May 1898) confirms the arrival of the ship on the previous day. See also Joseph Norbert Frans Marie à Campo, *Engines of Empire: Steam Shipping and State Formation in Colonial Indonesia* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), p. 331, note 535.

took forty-eight hours to complete, so it would appear that this voyage was briefly delayed, perhaps still in Singaporean waters, which may explain Raquez's grumbling about stomach trouble over the previous "three days."[17]

While the names of arriving and departing passengers were often listed in local newspapers, because the *Giang Seng* was considered a trade ship and not a passenger ship, no list of passengers was printed in either the Singapore or the Batavia newspapers for this sailing. So while we can accept that Gervais was in Java in May of 1898, we do not know what name he used while he was there.

After his arrival in My Tho the following month, Raquez traveled up the Mekong, getting at least as far as southern Laos by July.[18] He then showed up in Saigon on 25 August, where he gave a public presentation about his Java trip to the Society for the Study of Indochina. The notice in the *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indo-Chinoises de Saigon* gives his profession as "avocat du barreau de Paris" and claims he spent a month in Java.[19] The notice also says that Raquez promised to write a brief description of his Java journey for publication in the Society's bulletin, but it would appear he never did. His later writing about Java in the *Revue Indochinoise* may well be a portion of this proposed description of his journey.

Beyond that long article and the anecdote that appears in *Entrée Gratuite*, there are a few other scattered references to his trip.

In *Au Pays des Pagodes*, he boasts that he is a "Java enthusiast" and describes the well-known Tangkuban Perahu volcano north of the city of Bandung.[20]

In *Pages Laotiennes*, he says he visited the famous Borobudur temple and claims to have spent evenings being entertained by the dancers of the Sultans of Jogjakarta and Solo (Surakarta).[21]

These claims are somewhat astounding. While French citizens did not use passports at the time, they would carry government-issued travel documents known as *laissez-passer*, which would have been required by Dutch officials in Java. As the Dutch kept a tight grip on the press and restricted travel, even Dutch citizens required permission to travel overland.[22] Tourists had to register within a few days of arrival, and to travel overland, they had to obtain a *toelatings-kaart*, or admission card, from the local Town Hall.

When such permissions were granted, they were often (though not always) announced in local newspapers. For example, when Joseph Chailley-Bert, the

17. On the timing, see Eliza Ruhama Scidmore, *Java: The Garden of the East* (New York: Century Co., 1898), p. 7.

18. *Pages Laotiennes,* p. 531.

19. *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indo-Chinoises de Saigon* 36 (Saigon: Imprimerie Commerciale Rey, 1898), pp. 91-92.

20. *Au Pays des Pagodes,* p. 258 and 333.

21. *Pages Laotiennes,* p. 522 and 535.

22. The rules can be found in Jan de Louter, *Handleiding tot de kennis van het staats – en administratief recht van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia: H. M. Van Dorp, 1875), pp. 27-30.

founder and secretary general of the Union Coloniale Française made a trip to Java in 1897, his permission to travel was announced in the *De Locomotief* newspaper of 11 May 1897 in the following terms: "Mr. Chailley-Bert, in the interest of his colonial studies, is authorized to travel in Java for three months."[23]

As far as we can ascertain, no announcements of permission to travel for anyone named Gervais or Raquez were printed in 1898 in the Dutch Indies newspapers scanned and uploaded to the Dutch digital library.[24] Perhaps he was using a third name during his transit?

The Dutch colonial apparatus held a special interest for the French, who wanted to study models of administration that could be deployed in their own relatively recent acquisitions in Indochina. As H. L. Wessling has shown, between 1890 and 1914, there were no fewer than twenty-three separate French study missions to the Dutch East Indies.[25] Chailley-Bert's book on the 1897 mission entitled *Java et ses Habitants*, first published in 1900 in Paris, is a polemical tract wrapped up as a textbook, with a didactic tone and a penchant for hectoring the reader while demeaning both the Dutch and the native population.

In addition to such studies, there were commercial travel books published about Java. For instance, *Un Séjour dans l'île de Java*, from the pen of the prolific writer and explorer Jules Le Clercq, was published in Paris the same year as Raquez's journey.

The Dutch in Java were amused – if not annoyed – by all this French attention. In a review of Le Clercq's 1898 book in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, the author opens with outright mocking of what was becoming a sub-genre of French travel writing:

> Marvelous: Another announcement of a piece about Java! There's no end to Java! And again from a Frenchman. This will most certainly go wrong in the worst possible way. Since we can already read from the preface of Le Clercq that our beautiful island is visited so seldom by travelers since it is out of the main sailing route of the mail boats, that there are hardly any written pieces on Java in any of the foreign languages, and that we, like the Russians, do not allow foreigners to set foot in our colonies, then these relative truths are already capable of letting the ever haughty critics think to themselves: "Sure, we'll take care of this."[26]

23. "Aan den Heer Chailley Bert is, in het belang zijner koloniale studien, vergunning verleend voor den tijd van drie maanden over Java te reizen."

24. Available at: www.delpher.nl

25. "The Dutch Colonial Model in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914," *in* Alf Andrew Heggoy & David E. Gardinier (ed.), *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, vol. 2, Milwaukee, WI, April 8-10 1976, Athens, GA., The Society, pp. 107-130, 115.

26. J. G. Doorman, "Jules Le Clercq Over Java," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (4 May 1898): 5. Much appreciation to Freek Olaf de Groot for this translation.

When it comes to questions of style, however, the French writers are differentiated by purpose. While Chailley-Bert's style is bureaucratic, LeClerq writes in a florid mode that seems antique to modern readers.

Here, for instance, is LeClerq's description of the famed Dutch meal of *rijstaffel,* or "rice table," adapted from the local style of serving food known as *padang*:

> The Javanese meal par excellence is the *rijstaffel*, a kind of curry so complicated that I am forced to abandon any attempt at description. The basic element of the dish is an immense mountain of rice cooked in water; but there are so many accessories, so many spices serving as seasoning that it takes several comings and goings by the coolies to bring them all in from the kitchen, so that serving a *rijstaffel* is the work of almost a quarter of an hour. There are chunks of beef or buffalo, poultry, vegetables swimming in broth, small golden fish from Makassar, half a dozen clever curry sauces, salads, chili peppers that leave the most stinging sensations in the mouth, twenty unknown treats arranged on the same dish in distinct compartments: happy is the veteran who knows the name and taste of all of these; but woe to the novice, who can only choose by chance! The *rijstaffel* is followed by a dessert composed of the tastiest fruits of India: mango, mangosteen, rambutan, dukuh, papaya, banana, and especially succulent grapefruit, a kind of orange with purple flesh, larger than a melon, whose name Bernardin de Saint-Pierre spread throughout the world through his immortal poem *Paul et Virginie*. Most of these fruits have an exotic flavor which does not please the newcomer, and which one must get used to.[27]

Chailley-Bert, on the other hand, only notes the *rijstaffel* as a lamentable outcome of the Dutch adopting native habits and tastes:

> Being tenacious colonizers, the Dutch have endeavored in their enterprises to have the odds on their side. The climate was one of their adversaries, so they resolved to defeat it, and they succeeded. After mistakes which lasted only a while, they shed their old European skin and found a way, some only superficially, others deep into the regime of Java. This led to the *rice table*, regrettably counter-balanced by the *bitter* [beer and gin] *table*, then the bath without tub, which forces one to be active and precipitates a reaction, and finally the appropriate costume: loose jacket, wide pants, barefoot in sandals.[28]

Raquez's journalistic writing style presents a voice quite distinct from these mainstream modes. As noted, it creates an immediacy that seems modern when set beside other period texts. His brief writings about Java offer an excellent introduction to his style and sensibilities as well as a unique perspective on late nineteenth century Dutch Indies culture.

The first passage is taken from *La Revue Indochinoise*. While the article was announced as the first in a series, this is the only writing on the subject Raquez published in that periodical. It centers on Batavia and Dutch colonial life, with digressions into "native quarters" and some thumbnail histories of Java. A number of errors were introduced by the typesetter in Hanoi, and while obvious errors have been silently corrected, we present the text as it appears in the original.

---

27. *Un Séjour dans l'île de Java, le Pays, Les Habitants, Le Système Colonial,* second edition (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1898), pp. 19-20.

28. *Java et ses Habitants,* second edition (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1901), p. 72.

The second passage is an anecdote about a night in Bandung, with an emphasis on *angklung* music. Raquez was keenly interested in music. As Gervais, he was a choir director in Lille.[29] In his writing, he frequently mentions classical composers as well as contemporary popular tunes, yet he was also interested in local music and in Laos frequently photographed singers and musicians; he also made the first audio field recordings in that country; unfortunately, these are now lost.[30]

In Bandung, his appreciation of the *angklung* performance leads to a breach of colonial etiquette. The racism inherent in the Dutch colonial reaction to the native population is precisely why he inserts this anecdote into his book about the 1902 Colonial Exposition in Hanoi.

ꕥ ꕥ ꕥ

Java

Dimanche 1er Mai 1898

À bord du paquebot chinois *Giang Seng*, se trouve avec nous un jeune Hollandais, fils d'un colon de Java et qui fut envoyé en Europe, sept ans déjà passés, pour faire son éducation. Il a maintenant 22 ans, parle le français, l'anglais, l'allemand mais il se demande s'il reconnaîtra son père qu'il n'a pas vu depuis si longtemps.

Nous approchons de terre. La côte est basse, sans attrait. Aucune ville ne se montre. Batavia s'étend à l'intérieur. L'on débarque au quai de Tandjoeng Priok et un chemin de fer conduit à la ville.

Quelques navires de guerre battant pavillon de la jeune Reine stationnent dans un beau port artificiel. Voici les grands docks, les quais superbes de Tandjoeng Priok. Tout est calme. C'est jour de dimanche dans un pays protestant. Une foule de parents endimanchés attendant les voyageurs. Le père de notre jeune camarade justement impatient de serrer dans ses bras le fils dont il fût si longtemps privé saute dans un sampan pour venir plus tôt couvrir son revenant de gros baisers sonores.

Et le *Giang Seng* est à quai. Adieu, sale bateau et non certes au revoir !

La douane est peu exigeante. Mais à la gare, déception. Midi dix brillent au ciel en même temps qu'au cadran de l'horloge. Un train vient de partir et le suivant ne se mettra en marche qu'à deux heures. L'estomac soumis à une rude épreuve depuis trois jours fait entendre de violentes protestations contre tout retard, aussi nous décidons-nous à faire prix avec un louage de l'endroit qui nous entraîne ventre-à-terre vers la ville.

---

29. *Les Assemblées Générales Catholiques du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais tenues à Lille du 23 au 28 Novembre 1886,* p. 184.

30. William L. Gibson, "Alfred Raquez and the First Recordings in Laos," *For the Record* 58 (2016), pp. 81-85.

Fort curieuses ces voitures publiques, les seules usitées dans le pays : charrettes légères à deux roues avec double banquette l'une en avant, l'autre face en arrière et séparées par un dossier unique d'où leur nom bien donné de « dos-à-dos » conservé par les Hollandais et les Malais depuis l'occupation française.

Le cocher se plaçant d'ordinaire sur la banquette de devant, son client est peu commodément installé à l'arrière et obligé de prendre des positions anormales pour conserver l'équilibre de la charrette.

Il est bien plus simple de faire passer à l'arrière l'automédon mal blanchi qui trouvera toujours moyen de conduire son vigoureux petit cheval en s'accroupissant au besoin comme un singe.

Pas banal ce Malais avec son *sarong*, pièce de cotonnade à dessins qu'il porte serrée aux hanches et descendant jusqu'aux pieds nus, une courte veste, les cheveux relevés en chignon puis enfermés dans un madras ou parfois un turban. Très respectueux pour recevoir son salaire, l'homme se tient à distance, avance la main droite en soutenant son poignet de l'autre main et s'incline profondément, non sans grâce.

ꕥ

Le dos-à-dos court le long d'un canal. De tous côtés, des marécages d'où déborde une végétation furieuse de bananiers, de palmiers, de cocotiers et d'aréquiers.

Cette partie de l'île était jadis un terrible foyer de pestilence. Bien qu'on ne puisse encore la choisir pour y venir passer une saison, elle a été beaucoup assainie.

Quelques docks et les grands bâtiments de la « Standard's [sic] Oil Company ».

Sur le canal, des Malaises en pirogue s'en vont, pagayant, porter à la ville leurs bananes ou leurs pamplemousses à chair rosée.

Une gare apparaît et un quartier d'anciennes maisons. C'est le vieux Batavia, Kali-besar, comme l'appellent les Malais, quartier des affaires où les grandes maisons de commerce et de banque tiennent leurs bureaux dans les anciens bâtiments et dépendances de la fameuse Compagnie des Indes, quartier délaissé matin et soir où seule règne alors l'activité des petits marchands, surtout des ébénistes et fabricants de meubles de bambou ou de rotin qui sont légion tout le long de la route.

Un tramway électrique s'engage de là dans la ville qui est d'une étendue considérable car pour atteindre le faubourg de Master [sic] Cornelis il nous faudrait parcourir 14 kilomètres.

Trois catégories bien distinctes de voitures dans chacun de ces petits trains. Européens, Malais et Chinois ne voyagent pas ensemble et possèdent chacun des wagons spéciaux.

En suivant la voie du tramway, nous longeons un canal ou plutôt une rivière canalisée, la rivière du Moulin ou Molenvliet. Des escaliers ont été aménagés tous les vingt mètres ; en bas, court un rebord de maçonnerie qui permet aux ménagères de venir s'installer pour faire la lessive, si tant est que ces eaux

jaunes et limoneuses puissant servir à cet usage. Il faut le croire car elles fourmillent, les Malaises de tout âge, qui, épaules, bras et gorge nus lavent des sarongs ou se baignent elles-mêmes dans la rivière. Ces femmes passent presque toute leur journée dans l'eau, dignes de servir de modèle à cette école hollandaise ennemie des formes délicates et graciles !

L'Hôtel des Indes. Mais c'est tout un monde ! Et de fait l'hôtel couvre cinq hectares, me dit l'un des gérants qui parle très correctement notre langue.

Dans la cour d'honneur, véritable parc, un kiosque-bar éclairé le soir par des lampes électriques. Un immense multipliant (*ficus indica*) que les Hollandais appelant *waringeu* étend ses branches sur plus de vingt mètres de diamètre.

Toute une série de bâtiments à rez de chaussée ou à un seul étage et séparés les uns des autres par des pelouses et des jardins.

Devant les chambres, une large vérandah ouverte protège contre les ardeurs du soleil. Chacun de nous a, sous la vérandah, sa table, son service à café, à thé, un rocking chair et un fauteuil à bras articulés. Les chambres éclairées à la lumière électrique, éblouissantes de blancheur et pourvues d'un lit où toute une famille trouverait place. Sur le lit, le boudin de cuir garni de crin ou de paille que les Anglais appellent la « *deutsch wife* » [ou] « la hollandaise » et qui permet la nuit d'éviter le contact des jambes avec le drap en laissant circuler le peu d'air qui passe dans les chambres.

Il fait, en effet, terriblement chaud à Batavia et l'on y craint si peu les courants d'air que dans cette vaste salle à manger où je pénètre, quinze ou vingt grandes baies sont percées et n'ont jamais reçu ni portes ni fenêtres.

Le repas de midi ou *rystaffel* (table de riz), n'est pas encore terminé. J'entre en plein dans la vie coloniale hollandaise, et me trouve face à face, un peu ahuri, avec le plat national.

Du riz comme base, et, tout autour, entassés pêle-mêle par les convives dans leur ou leurs assiettes, des œufs sur le plat ou en omelettes, du poisson frit, bouilli ou au gratin, du poulet rôti, des abatis de poulet nageant avec les pommes de terre dans une sauce au curry, du hachis au piment conservé frais dans des feuilles de bananier, du gâteau de hachis gratiné et doré an four, des légumes de toute espèce confits dans des mixtures au gingembre ou au poivre de Cayenne, des petits poissons séchés, etc, etc.

Non loin de moi un gros capitaine livre assaut à trois grandes et profondes assiettes qu'il a consciencieusement remplies. Il dévore. Je l'admire, n'ayant jamais soupçonné semblable capacité chez un humain. O Gargantua ! O Pantagruel ! Quels repas et festins vous dûtes faire ici en colonisant quelque peu vos facultés dégustatives !

Plus calme et puis timide, j'hésite et use de prudence. En face de moi quelques jeunes gens m'observent du coin de l'œil et le sourire pas méchant que je vois sur leurs lèvres m'engage à leur adresser la parole en français. Ils en sont tout joyeux car, me disent-ils, je leur avais paru de tournure anglaise.

Ils se défiaient. Si je suis Français, vive la France !

Une bonne étoile brille dans notre ciel. A Batavia, aujourd'hui, se donne la fête des fleurs avec « corso carnavale » et veglione tout comme sur la Côte d'Azur.

Je termine donc mon *rystaffel* avec le second service réglementaire : un excellent bifteck aux pommes et, avant de quitter le département de la bouche, je me renseigne sur la vie d'hôtel en ce pays.

Dès le matin le boy vient déposer sur la table, devant la chambre, le café au lait traditionnel. Je devrais plutôt dire le lait au café car le lait seul est chaud. Le café exquis, est obtenu par la distillation lente d'eau froide à travers des grains de café concassé et non moulus. L'on arrive de la sorte à une véritable essence délicieusement parfumée et qui n'a rien de commun avec nos mazagrans-chicorée.

Les cabines de bain avec leurs grandes jarres d'eau et leur baquet ne permettent pas le bain complet mais seulement les ablutions à grande eau répétées soir et matin.

A huit heures, le déjeuner à la fourchette auquel assistent les florissantes hollandaises, pieds nus dans de légères babouches à talons souvent dorés, le corps enveloppé du *sarong*, une ceinture en guise de corset et la *cabaja*, sorte de camisole de mousseline épaisse. Très capiteuses !

Midi voit le *rystaffel* et ses fanatiques. – Quatre heures, le thé servi sous la vérandah des chambres. – Sept heures, le dîner. Les vins très bons et pas chers.

Avant les repas, des carafons de schiedam et de bitter sont à la libre disposition des pensionnaires. Il faudrait qu'un Hollandais fût bien malade pour ne pas prendre son apéritif « *half and half* » dans les grands verres à Madère. C'est le *paï*.

Le service est fait par des Malais qui glissent silencieusement sur les dalles de marbre. Ils ne connaissent que leur langue mais ici tout le monde la parle. Attentifs et soigneux quoique peu emballés, ils ne se départiraient pour rien au monde de leur grave et digne lenteur.

En compagnie de notre aimable voisin de table et d'un jeune Italien, nous nous rendons en voiture au jardin botanique où se donne la Fête des Fleurs mais un crochet fait visiter le quartier ou plutôt l'un des quartiers indigènes.

À Batavia, comme dans toute l'île du reste, indépendamment des colons, trois éléments cohabitent sans se mêler les uns aux autres : les indigènes, les Chinois et les Arabes.

Les indigènes forment eux-mêmes trois races : les Soendanais (de Soenda – Îles de la Sonde) qui se trouvent à Batavia et dans cette partie occidentale de l'île — les Javanais, proprement au centre, sur les terres des sultans — et les Malais dits, plus à l'est.

Races distinctes comme mœurs, comme idoines, comme coutumes. Les Javanais ont une littérature, des caractères spéciaux, deux langues l'une pour le supérieur, l'autre pour l'inférieur. Le Malais au contraire se sert des caractères arabes. Tous sont de religion musulmane, mais de nom bien plutôt

[que] de fait, car le peuple est d'une indifférence absolue et plus que sobre de manifestations extérieures de foi religieuse.

L'on sait que ces îles ont subi l'invasion arabe après l'invasion des Hindous. Les brahmanistes et les bouddhistes avaient bâti les temples merveilleux dont nous aurons l'occasion d'étudier les ruines mais la domination arabe est survenue terrible, faisant abandonner à ce peuple le culte de Brahma de Vishnou, de Bouddha pour le Coran et ses pratiques. Et ce peuple doux, bon, fait pour la servitude, s'est incliné devant le croissant comme il se couchera plus tard, sous la main de fer du maître Hollandais.

Des Arabes sont restés dans le pays, unis entre eux, surveillés par le gouvernement avec soin car on craint le fanatisme de pèlerins retour de la Mecque et le Maître ne veut que le calme, l'obéissance indifférente à tout, de ces 32 millions d'indigènes auxquels commande une poignée d'Européens.

Les Chinois de Batavia sont d'une espèce particulière. Tandis qu'à Singapour, semblables à des oiseaux de passage, ils viennent amasser un pécule pour retourner bien vite au foyer des ancêtres, les Célestes de la colonie hollandaise y sont installés à demeure, y ont fait souche, s'y multiplient comme le chiendent dans nos campagnes et souvent même ont choisi une ou plusieurs Malaises pour partager avec eux les joies et les tristesses de l'existence.

Mais tous ces éléments étrangers sont groupés et menés à la baguette par l'administration.

Les Chinois occupent surtout un quartier de Batavia, peu éloigné du Kali besar [*sic*] et que l'on nomme « Kampoeng tjina ». Ils sont près de cent mille dans la capitale. Comme les Arabes, ils ont un état-major responsable vis-à-vis du gouvernement hollandais. Un major, un capitaine, des lieutenants de leur race, toute une organisation les surveille et répond de l'ordre, de la police, des impôts.

Les indigènes proprement dits habitent dans des groupes de maisons qui forment un *kampoeng* comme celui que nous avons admiré à l'Exposition de 1889. Admirer, c'est bien le mot, car elles sont très belles ces maisons sur pilotis dont les cloisons de bambou natté sont aussi solides qu'agréables à l'œil par la perfection et la régularité de leur assemblage.

Tout comme du chef du *kampoeng*, les indigènes doivent être rentrés à la tombée du jour. Aucun d'eux, homme, femme ou enfant ne peut s'absenter la nuit sans une autorisation ou un motif reconnu valable le lendemain. Les châtiments sont très sévères. Les préposés à la surveillance reçoivent parfois de singuliers billets portant une signature européenne et permettant à telle ou telle agréable enfant de réintégrer le domicile légal.

L'asservissement est absolu et le respect à l'Européen sévèrement exigé. Il en cuirait au Malais qui dans la rue ne céderait point le pas au représentant de la race blanche. Les indigènes n'ont pas le droit d'apprendre la langue hollandaise et, à ce point de vue, la nécessité dans laquelle se trouvent les Européens de parler le langage du pays est excellente pour la colonisation.

Les Hollandais eux-mêmes sont soumis à certaines règles que l'on peut estimer les uns arbitraires et les autres au moins bizarres.

C'est ainsi que vous ne pourriez prendre à Java de domestique européen et que défense expresse vous serait faite de couvrir votre occiput de cet incommode couvre-chef à huit-reflets que d'aucuns dénomment tuyau de poêle.

Le chapeau haute forme que personne n'envie du reste aux colonies est l'apanage exclusif des représentants de sa Gracieuse Majesté Wilhelmine.

ꕥ

Mais pendant que je bavarde, la voiture nous entraîne par la place de Waterloo où le palais désert du Gouverneur Général étend ses colonnes blanchies à la chaux. Le haut fonctionnaire, véritable vice-roi des Indes néerlandaises, peut disposer à son gré des forces de terre et de mer et faire la guerre ou la paix, passer des traités, légiférer, nommer les fonctionnaires sous sa haute responsabilité personnelle, n'ayant à rendre compte de ses actes qu'a la Reine et au Parlement.

Autour du Gouverneur, un Conseil Consultatif de cinq membres, puis les directeurs et commandants des différents services qui forment le Conseil des Directeurs.

Mais son palais de Batavia est en ce moment désert. Le Gouverneur Général réside la plupart du temps sous les frais ombrages de Buitenzorg à deux heures de chemin de fer de la capitale.

Plus loin, l'immense place Royale, véritable esplanade entourée des riches hôtels de Batavia. Il faut, je crois, justifier d'un certain revenu pour habiter sur cette place dont on ne peut faire le tour en une heure de bon pas.

Enfin, le jardin où se promène une foule de curieux et de joyeuses compagnies en costumes frais et pimpants. Fleurs, serpentines, confettis voligent de tous côtés. Le jour tombe. Les globes électriques s'allument dans le feuillage tandis que le cortège s'organise. Chars fantaisistes, voitures élégantes garnies de bouquets, bicyclettes fleuries, un vrai Lundi gras sur la promenade des Anglais à Nice. Rien n'y manque et l'entrain ne fait certes pas défaut.

Au milieu des blondes et corpulentes Hollandaises passent des demi-sang au teint mat, à l'œil de feu, ayant tout le charme des créoles et aussi toute leur nonchalante allure.

Nos bras se fatiguent. On ne s'ennuie pas à Batavia. Mais la fête n'est pas terminée. Des dîners à petites tables sont servis dans une immense salle où nous arrivent les flonflons de l'orchestre annonçant l'ouverture du bal.

Idéale cette salle de fêtes ou plutôt ce hangar de soixante mètres de long sur vingt de large, soutenu par d'élégantes colonnettes et entièrement dallé de marbre blanc. Autour, de larges vérandas permettent au public d'admirer les ébats de la jeunesse tout en dégustant les délicieuses mixtures à la glace que l'artiste buffetier de céans réussit en maître.

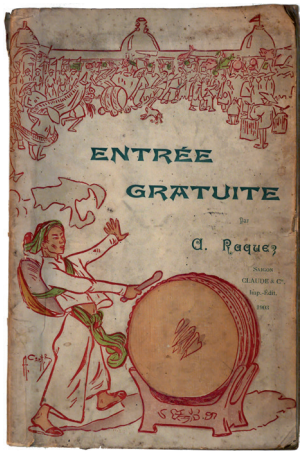
Non moins d'ardeur au bal qu'à la bataille des fleurs, mais ne pas s'engager à la légère, à la française. La société de Batavia est très fermée et sous ces dehors enjoués, se cachent une certaine pruderie et, comment dirai-je, certains calculs tout américains.

Les jeunes gens sont moins nombreux que les jeunes filles. Ces fleurs des tropiques brûlent du désir de convoler en justes noces et s'unissent à leur maman pour tendre des filets à maris. Parfois un bon jeune homme se trouve, sans s'en douter le moins de monde, avoir compromis une blonde enfant qu'il est mis en demeure d'épouser.

J'en parle croyez-moi, par oui dire et sans connaissance de cause car je me suis amusé comme un fou, fatigué comme plusieurs et je ne suis menacé d'épouser aucune de ces jolies filles.

A noter une danse du pays, très gracieuse, rappelant un peu notre pas de quatre, et que l'on ne se lasse pas d'admirer tant elle est menée avec charme pas ces couples élégants.

Entrée Gratuite



— Vous venez, monsieur, de commettre une grosse faute sans le savoir. Si nous agissions comme vous, nous ne pourrions conserver notre prestige vis-à-vis des indigènes.

C'était à Bandoeng, en l'île de Java, voilà tantôt six ans. Par une soirée délicieusement exquise, nous étions quelques-uns étendus dans nos *rocking-chairs* sous la large véranda de l'hôtel Homann. Une troupe de chanteurs vint à passer. Ils répondirent à notre appel.

L'orchestre — un *anglounk* — se composait uniquement de bambous de différents calibres. Suspendus dans un léger cadre de bois qu'agitaient les musiciens, les cylindres heurtaient les montants du cadre et rendaient un son. Choisis toujours avec soin ils sont combinés en vue d'un accord rigoureux.

Les Javanais que nous avions devant nous tenaient chacun en main leur instrument pendant qu'ils dansaient avec des contorsions des jambes, des bras et des mains. De temps à autre, ils se faisaient face comme dans notre quadrille français, se croisaient, se suivaient en cercle ou serpentaient en agitant l'*anglounk*. Ils répétaient sans trêve la même courte phrase musicale, appuyée par une flûte et un tambour, eux aussi de bambou, et dansaient la *tandak*. L'ensemble de la musique très harmonieux et suavement doux.

Or, les danses terminées, le chef de la bande, s'avançant jusqu'au bord de la véranda, avait mis genoux à terre, puis joignant les mains dans l'attitude de la prière, s'était incliné, attendant son obole.

Me levant de ma chaise, je lui remis une pièce de monnaie qu'il reçût en se baissant jusqu'au sol.

Telle était la cause de l'apostrophe de mon voisin de chaise.

J'avais manqué à tous mes devoirs. Il me fallait non me lever, mais jeter sur le marbre de la véranda la piécette que l'homme eût emportée comme un chien emporte un os qu'on lui jette à ronger.

ꕥ ꕥ ꕥ

Java

Sunday 1 May 1898

With us aboard the Chinese mail ship *Giang Seng* is a young Dutchman, the son of a Java colonist sent to Europe seven years ago to receive an education. He is now 22, speaks French, English, and German, but wonders whether he will recognize his father, whom he has not seen for such a long time.

We are nearing land. The coastline is low and without interest. No city is visible. Batavia spreads into the interior. We disembark at the Tanjong Priok quay, and a railway takes passengers into the city.

A few warships flying the young queen's flag are berthed in a fine artificial port. Here are the great docks, the superb quays of Tanjong Priok. Everything is quiet. Today is Sunday in a Protestant country. A crowd of parents in their Sunday's best await the travelers. Our young comrade's father, understandably impatient to hug the son from whom he has been separated for so long, jumps into a sampan the sooner to be able to smother the returning lad with great loud kisses.

The *Giang Seng* is moored. Goodbye, dirty ship, and definitely not *Au revoir*!

The customs are not demanding. But the train station is a disappointment.

ꕥ

It is noon by the sun as well as the face of the clock. A train has just left, and the next one will not leave for two hours. My stomach, which was sorely tried for three days, emits violent protestations against any delay, so we decide to strike a deal with a hired local vehicle, which whisks us toward the city at breakneck speed.

These public conveyances, the only type used in the country, are most peculiar: light carriages with two wheels and a double seat, one in the front, the other facing the rear and separated by a single backrest, hence their apt name of "*dos-à-dos*," or back-to-backs, retained by the Dutch and the Malays since the French occupation.

The driver normally sits in the front seat, with his client uncomfortably

settled at the back and forced to take up abnormal positions to keep the carriage balanced.

It is much simpler to shift the unwashed charioteer to the rear as he will always find a way to steer his vigorous little horse by squatting like a monkey if necessary.

This Malay man cuts a singular figure in his *sarong*, a length of patterned cotton cloth he wears tight about the hips and down to his bare feet, a short coat, his hair raised into a knot and enclosed in a madras bandana or sometimes a turban. Most respectful as he receives his wage, the man stands back, holding out his right hand and supporting his wrist with his other hand and bowing deeply and not without grace.

Here is the *Hôtel des Indes*. This is a world of its own! In fact, the hotel occupies five hectares, one of the managers, who speaks our tongue most correctly, informs me.

ꕥ

The *dos-à-dos* speeds along a canal. On every side are swamps filled to overflowing with an untamed jumble of banana, palm, coconut, and *areca* trees.

This part of the island was once a veritable den of pestilence. Although it has been made much less unhealthful, even today, no one would choose to spend a season here.

Here are a few docks and the large buildings of the "Standard's [sic] Oil Company".

On the canal, Malay women paddling pirogues ferry their bananas or grapefruit with pinkish flesh to the city.

A train station comes into view, then a district with old houses. This is Old Batavia, or Kali Besar, as the Malays call it, the business district, where large trading houses and banks have their offices in the old buildings and dependencies of the famous East Indian Company, a deserted district from morning till evening, where the only activity consists of small traders, especially cabinetmakers and manufacturers of bamboo or rattan furniture, who are legion all along the route.

From this point on, an electric tramway enters the city, which covers a considerable area. To reach the Meester Cornelis suburb, we would have to travel 14 kilometers.

Each of these small trains offers three quite distinct categories of cars. European, Malays, and Chinese do not travel together and each have their own dedicated cars.

Following the tramway track, we travel along a canal, or rather a banked river, the Mill River, or Molenvliet. Stairs have been built every twenty meters. At their base is a concrete edge that enables housewives to do their laundry, to the extent that such yellow, silty waters can be used for such a purpose. It must, though, for Malay women of all ages swarm there with bare

shoulders, arms, and throats, washing sarongs or bathing in the river. These women spend almost all day there, worthy of serving as models for that Dutch school so inimical to delicate and graceful forms!

In the formal courtyard is a veritable park, with a kiosk-cum-bar lit at night by electric lights. An immense prickly pear tree (*ficus indica*), which the Dutch call *waringeu,* spreads its branches more than twenty meters in diameter.

Here is an entire series of single-story buildings separated from one another by lawns and gardens.

At the front of the rooms, a wide open veranda protected from the sun's ardor provides each of us with a table, coffee and tea service, a *rocking chair*, and an armchair with articulated arms. The rooms are lit with electric light of dazzling white and furnished with a bed that could accommodate an entire family. On the bed is the leather roll filled with horsehair or straw the British call "Dutch wife" and which makes it possible at night to keep one's legs from making contact with the sheet while allowing what little air blows through the rooms to circulate.

It is terribly hot in Batavia, and draughts are so little feared that the vast dining room I now enter has fifteen or twenty large openings that have never seen a door or a window.

The midday meal, or *rystaffel* (rice table) is not yet over. I walk straight into Dutch colonial life, and find myself, somewhat astonished, face to face with the national dish.

Rice serves as the base, and all around, piled pell-mell by the guests in their plate (or plates), eggs fried or in omelets, fish fried, boiled, or baked, roast chicken, chicken giblets and potatoes swimming in a curry sauce, minced meat with chili kept fresh inside banana leaves, oven-baked golden minced meat cakes *au gratin*, vegetables of every description cooked in ginger- or chili-based mixed stock, small dried fish, etc., etc.

Not far from me, a fat captain assaults three large, deep plates he filled conscientiously before devouring their content. I admire him, having never suspected such capacity in a human being. O Gargantua! O Pantagruel! What repasts and feasts you might have had here had you allowed your taste buds to go native even a little!

Less excitable and then timid, I hesitate and then proceed cautiously. Opposite me, a few young men observe me from the corner of their eye, and the gentle smile I see on their lips encourages me to address them in French. This makes them very happy, they tell me, as my appearance first suggested an Englishman. They lower their guard. If I am French, Vive la France!

Our lucky star is out in the heavens. Today in Batavia is the occasion of the Flower Festival, with a *corso carnevale* and *veglione*, just as on the Riviera.

I conclude my *rystaffel* with the mandatory second course, an excellent steak and potatoes, and before departing the feeding department, I inquire about hotel life in this country.

Each morning, the boy deposits the traditional *café au lait* on the table outside the room, or rather the *lait au café* as only the milk is hot. The exquisite coffee is made by slowly distilling cold water through coffee beans that are crushed but not ground. The result is a kind of deliciously fragrant essence that has nothing in common with our chicory mazagrans.

With their large jars filled with water and their basin, the bathing cubicles do not permit full baths but only ablutions with a great deal of water, repeated morning and evening.

At eight o'clock, a cooked breakfast is served, attended by Dutch women in bloom, their feet bare inside light babouches with often gilded heels, a sarong wrapped around their body, a gray belt in lieu of corset, and the *kebaya*, a kind of camisole made of thick muslin. All highly intoxicating!

Noon sees the return of the *rystaffel* and its devotees. At four, tea is served on each room's veranda. Dinner is at seven. Wines are very good and not expensive.

After each meal, pitchers of free *Schiedam*[31] and *bitter* are placed at the guests' disposal. It would take a very sick Dutchman to pass up his *half and half* aperitif served in a tall Madeira glass. It is the godhead.[32]

ꕥ

Service is provided by Malays, gliding silently along the marble flagstones. They know only their own language, but everyone speaks it here. Attentive and meticulous though hardly hyperactive, they would not relinquish their grave and dignified slowness for anything in the world.

Accompanied by my friendly dining neighbor and a young Italian, we take a carriage to the Botanic Garden, where the Flower Festival is taking place. But a detour takes us on a visit to the native district, or rather one of the native districts.

ꕥ

In Batavia as in the rest of the island, apart from the colonists, three groups coexist without mixing: natives, Chinese, and Arabs.

The natives themselves consist of three races: the Sundanese (from Sunda, or the Sundanese Islands), who live in Batavia and in the western part of the island, the Javanese proper in the center on the Sultans' land, and the Malays further east.

These races are distinct in mores, sense of what is appropriate, and customs. The Javanese have a literature, special characters, and two languages: one for social superiors, the other for inferiors. The Malays use Arabic characters. All are Muslims, though in name more than in practice, as the people are totally indifferent and excessively moderate when it comes to manifestations of religious faith.

We know that these islands were subjected to an Arab invasion and following that by Hindus. Brahmanists and Buddhists built marvelous temples,

31. City in southern Holland known for its gin.

32. Raquez uses the word *paï*. Playing on "Madeira," he ironically introduces this Portuguese word, which means "father," "progenitor," or "origin"; *Pai do Céu* means "father in heaven."

whose ruins we will have occasion to study. But the Arab domination turned fearsome, forcing these people to abandon the cult of Brahma, Vishnu, and Buddha in favor of the Koran and its practices. Being gentle, kindly, and made for servitude, these people laid down before the Crescent, just as they would submit later to the Dutch master's iron hand.

Some Arabs remained in the country, united among themselves but closely watched by the government, which fears the fanaticism of pilgrims returning from Mecca, while the Master wants only calm and obedience in all circumstances from these 32 million natives commanded by a handful of Europeans.

The Chinese of Batavia form a species unto themselves. Whereas in Singapore they come like migratory birds to accumulate savings before quickly returning to the cradle of their ancestors, the Celestials of the Dutch colony settled here for good, took roots, and multiplied like weeds in our countryside and often even selected one or several Malay women with whom to share the joys and sorrows of existence.

But all these foreign elements are herded and led with an iron hand by the administration.

The Chinese live mostly in a district of Batavia a short distance from Kali Besar called Kampong Cina. There are almost 100,000 of them in the capital. Like the Arabs, they have a military cadre that answers to the Dutch government: a major, a captain, lieutenants of their own race, and an entire organization that keeps an eye on them and is responsible for law and order, policing, and raising taxes.

The natives proper live in clusters of houses forming a *kampong,* like the one we admired at the 1889 Exposition. And admire is the word as it consists of very beautiful houses on stilts whose bamboo partitions are as sturdy as they are easy on the eye thanks to the perfection and regularity of their construction.

Like the *kampong* chief, the natives must be back at nightfall. None, be they men, women, or children, may absent themselves at night without authorization or a motive deemed valid in the morning. Punishments are very severe. Those in charge of monitoring their comings and goings sometimes receive singular notes bearing European signatures and allowing such or such comely young lady to rejoin her legal domicile.

ꕥ

Servitude is absolute and respect for Europeans strictly enforced. Woe betide a Malay who does not give way to a representative of the white race in the street. The natives are not allowed to learn the Dutch tongue, and in this sense, the obligation in which Europeans find themselves to speak the language of the country is excellent for colonization.

The Dutch themselves are subjected to various rules, some of which can be deemed arbitrary while others seem bizarre, at the very least.

For example, you may not hire a European domestic in Java, and you are strictly prohibited from placing on your head that inconvenient headgear of eight reflections[33] some call a stovepipe.

Top hats, which no one in the colonies misses wearing, is the exclusive prerogative of representatives of Her Gracious Majesty Wilhelmine.

ꕥ

But while I prattle, the carriage takes us to Waterlooplein, where the deserted palaces of the Governor General display their tall whitewashed columns. This high-ranking civil servant, in practice the Viceroy of the Dutch East Indies, has both terrestrial and seaborne forces at his disposal and can declare war or peace, conclude treaties, legislate, and appoint functionaries under his personal responsibility with only the Queen and Parliament to answer to.

Around the Governor is a Consultative Council consisting of five members, then the directors and commanders of the various services that form the Council of Directors.

But for now, his Batavia palace is deserted. Most of the time, the Governor General resides among the cool, shady foliage of Buitenzorg, two hours from the capital by railway.

Further on is the immense Koningsplein, a veritable esplanade surrounded by Batavia's wealthy private residences. I believe it is necessary to demonstrate a certain income level before being allowed to reside in this square, around which it is not possible to walk in less than one hour even at a brisk pace.

Finally, we come to the park, where a crowd of curious onlookers and joyful groups in clean, fresh costumes wander about. Flowers, streamers, and confetti fly on every side. Night is falling. Electric globes come on as the procession is being organized. Fantastic floats, elegant carriages decorated with bouquets, bicycles adorned with flowers: this might as well be *Lundi Gras* on the Promenade des Anglais in Nice. Nothing is missing, and there is no shortage of high spirits.

Women of mixed blood mingle among blonde, corpulent Dutch women, with their olive skin and fiery eyes and all the charm and nonchalant demeanor of creoles.

Our arms are getting tired. Life is not dull in Batavia. But the festivities are not over. Suppers are served at private tables in an immense hall where the orchestra's *oompah*s announcing the start of the ball reach our ears.

This meeting hall is perfect, or rather this hangar sixty meters long by twenty wide, its roof supported by elegant slim columns and paved entirely in white marble. All around are wide verandas that allow the public to admire the young people's exertions while enjoying delicious iced concoctions the master confectioner of the house creates to great levels of artistry.

33. French slang: *huit-reflets*, or "eight reflections," due to the shininess of the silk material of the top hat.

The dancing is no less energetic than the flower fight, but it cannot be joined lightly in the French manner. Batavia society is very closed, and beneath those cheerful exteriors hides a certain prudery, even certain American calculations, so to speak.

The young men are less numerous than the young women. These flowers of the tropics burn with the desire to enter into rightful matrimony and team up with their mothers in spreading husband-catching nets. Sometimes, a nice young man discovers without seeing it coming in the slightest that he has compromised a blonde child, whom he is now obligated to marry.

Please believe me then I say that I know of what I speak only from hearsay and without direct experience as I had tremendous fun, I am as tired as six, and I am not threatened with having to marry any of these pretty girls.

I particularly note a very graceful local dance, which recalls our own *pas de quatre* and which one never tires of admiring, such is the charm of its execution by elegant couples.

Entrée Gratuite

"Come sir, you commit a great fault without knowing it. If we act like you, we cannot preserve our prestige vis-à-vis the natives."

It happened in Bandung, Java Island, almost six years ago. One deliciously enjoyable evening, several of us were lying back in our *rocking chairs* on the veranda of the Hôtel Homann.

A troupe of singers happened to come by. They responded to our call.

The orchestra, an *anklung*, consisted entirely of bamboos of various calibers. Held inside a light wooden frame shaken by the musicians, the cylinders strike the uprights of the frame and emit a sound. Invariably selected with care, they combine to form a rigorous harmony.

The Javanese musicians standing before us each held their instrument in their hands while their dance involved contortions of legs, arms, and hands. From time to time, they faced each other as in our French quadrille, crossed over, or followed each other in a circle or line, shaking their *anklung* all the while. Again and again, they repeated the same short musical phrase supported by a flute and a drum, also made of bamboo, and danced the *tandak*. The musical ensemble was highly harmonious and deliciously gentle.

The dances over, the head musician stepped up to the edge of the veranda, kneeled, joined hands in the attitude of prayer and bowed, awaiting his meager reward.

I rose and gave him a coin, which he accepted while bowing down to the ground.

This was the source of a reprimand from my nearest neighbor.

I had failed in my duty. I was supposed not to rise but to throw the small coin onto the marble floor of the veranda for the man to pick up, just as a dog carries off a bone tossed in its direction.

À PROPOS DE

Véronique Degroot[1]

The Liangan Temple Site in Central Java

Novida Abbas (ed.) (2016), *Liangan. Mozaik Peradaban Mataram Kuno di Lereng Sindoro*. Second Edition. Yogyakarta: Kepel Press. xi + 357 p., bibliographie. ISBN 978-602-1228-72-2

Candi Liangan was accidentally discovered in 2008 by inhabitants of the nearby village of Liangan, Temanggung, Central Java. The site was buried beneath meters of volcanic debris deposited by *lahar*s, pyroclastic flows and ash falls. Organic materials had been burnt but at the same time the site had been sealed and preserved, waiting for archaeologists to unearth it. It is thus no wonder that Candi Liangan has yielded a wide range of archaeological material, from earthenware to plant remains and *in situ* wooden structures. Because of its exceptional state of preservation, Candi Liangan provides a unique perspective on the life of a religious community of 9th-century Central Java.

In a field where scientific monographs are few and far between, we commend Novida Abbas, the Balai Arkeologi Yogyakarta and Kepel Press for presenting us with a useful volume about a site that is essential for Javanese archaeologists but widely unknown to the public. *Liangan: Mozaik Peradaban Mataram Kuno di Lereng Sindoro* was first published in 2014. Whereas the first edition was not intended for sale, the 2016 version is distributed nationwide through Gramedia bookstores. Those outside Indonesia will be pleased to know that the first edition can be downloaded from the book repository of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (http://repositori.perpustakaan.kemdikbud.go.id/).

The volume is a compilation of eleven papers covering almost every aspect of the site. It includes studies in archaeology, geology, epigraphy, ceramology,

1. Senior lecturer in Southeast Asian history at the École française d'Extrême-Orient.

architecture, paleobotany and paleoanthropology. Although it is overall a good book, *Liangan: Mozaik Peradaban Mataram Kuno di Lereng Sindoro* would have benefited from a more thorough editing process. The essays have been written as stand-alone papers and not as book chapters. Hence the reader encounters many unnecessary repetitions. For example, each essay begins with a general introduction about Candi Liangan, its location and discovery. Similarly, the two (very short) essays on local geology could easily have been merged into a single, more coherent chapter. Editing a book is a thankless task and the devil lies in the details. We note that the editor has not been able to ensure consistent spelling. Some reference lists are incomplete, while others contain works that are not mentioned in the text. The use of the copy and paste method in the architecture chapter has led to irritating repetitions of identical phrases within a single page. Although illustrations are plentiful, the print size is too small for the plans to be legible.

Having said this, we may turn to the content of the book. I am hardly qualified to review all the papers, but I would like to comment on a few issues raised in this volume. In his essay entitled "Menggali Peradaban Mataram Kuno di Liangan Tahap Demi Tahap," Sugeng Riyanto presents a history of the archaeological research at Candi Liangan, from the discovery of the site in 2008 until mid-2014. Besides giving a chronology of the excavation process, Sugeng Riyanto also explains the successive hypotheses proposed by himself and his colleagues from the Balai Arkeologi Yogyakarta regarding the function of the different areas of the site. Because of the amount and variety of the material unearthed, Liangan was first identified as a settlement site. Nevertheless, as excavations went on, it became clear that it was most likely a religious site: all three courtyards housed sacred buildings. The relative richness of the site compared to most Central Javanese temples was actually due to its exceptional state of preservation and not to a difference in original function. Whether or not the temple was coupled with a settlement is a question that deserves further research. Hence, it is slightly confusing that the authors of the book seem sometimes to forget their own conclusion and refer to Liangan as a *kampung* and to certain structures as *houses*, without any argumentation. Sugeng Riyanto interestingly compares the structure of Candi Liangan to that of a Balinese *pura* and associates its courtyards with the *jaba pisan*, *jaba tengah* and *jeroan* of Balinese architecture. As Balinese temples most often include a kitchen, this would of course explain the cooking utensils and remains of food found during the excavation.

Sugeng Riyanto also presents the results of a survey of *kecamatan* Ngadirejo, identifying 13 sites dating back to the Hindu-Buddhist period.[2]

2. Both the text and the table (p. 56-57) mention 13 sites. Strangely enough, the pictures on p. 55 show sites that do not appear in Sugeng Riyanto's list, namely Piyudan, Kramat and Limbangan. In the absence of information regarding *desa* and *kecamatan*, I was not able to plot the latter on a map.

Although the author does not state this explicitly, we suppose that he only lists the sites that are still visible today. To try to reconstruct the ancient religious landscape as completely as possible, it would however be interesting to mention all the known sites, including those that have vanished. If one credits N.J. Krom's 1914 inventory, it appears that at least seven Hindu-Buddhist temples once stood within 10 km of Candi Liangan, and that twenty-five other sites have yielded archaeological material[3] (see table below and fig. 1). The distribution of archaeological remains within the landscape suggests that Liangan was a few kilometers away from a road linking the Progo Valley to the region of Weleri, on Java's north coast. Sugeng Riyanto's remark that "Liangan did not stand alone" is thus an understatement.[4] As often in Java, the chronology – either absolute or relative – of these archaeological sites has yet to be established. Nevertheless, the inscriptions discovered so far in the *kabupaten* of Temanggung point towards the 9th – early 10th century as the apex of the Hindu-Buddhist culture in the region.[5] However, the Hindu-Buddhist presence in Temanggung is documented – although indirectly – as early as the middle of the 8th century. Indeed, the Wanua Tengah III inscription (dated 908 CE) tells us that, in 746 CE, *rake* Panangkaran gave land to the Buddhist monastery of Pikatan. The findspot of the inscription (*dusun* Kedunglo, *desa* Gandulan, *kecamatan* Kaloran, *kabupaten* Temanggung), as well as the toponyms mentioned in it, suggest that the monastery was located in the Temanggung area.

Data from the colonial period should not be overlooked. They can be quite useful to monitor potential archaeological sites. Contrary to what is said in the book under review (p. 165), Liangan did not suddenly appear in the archaeological literature in the 2000s. The village name is actually mentioned as early as 1911, in the *Notulen*.[6] At that time, the *Bataviaasch Genootschap*

3. Stone sculptures, pedestals, bricks and/or stone blocks have been found in 19 of these sites. The other sites have yielded only small finds, such as metal objects, jewelry and/or ceramics. The amount of stones apparently found in Jamus, Nglarangan, Traji and Kentengsari suggest that those sites used to be temples as well.

4. In his list of 13 sites, Sugeng Riyanto mentions locations that are as far as 20 km from Liangan. In the present review article, I have limited the indexing to a radius of 10 km. For those wishing to know more about sites reported in the district of Temanggung during colonial times, see Krom 1914. Temples and presumed temple sites are also listed in Degroot 2009: 416-423.

5. To my knowledge, some 30 inscriptions are thought to come from the Temanggung area. The earliest is probably the Gondosuli I inscription (early 9th c.?), the latest the Wanua Tengah III inscription (908 CE) or, possibly, the Taji Gunung inscription (910 CE). For complete references, see Nakada 1982: I-9, 13, 15, 19, 21, 22, 31, 32, 49, 51, 52, 53, 61, 62, 64, 76, 95, 96, 97, 100, 104; Krom 1914, no 980; Sarkar 1971-1972 : cxi; Boechari 1985-1986: 52-57; Titi Surti Nastiti *et al.* 1982: 23-40; Wisseman Christie 2001. Note that the inscriptions of Mandang, Mulak, Kwak, Ra Tawun and Ra Mwi, mentioned by Nakada (1982) as coming from Magelang, actually come from the Temanggung area.

6. *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van*

received a letter from the Resident of Kedoe, reporting the discovery, in a dry field in *dusun* Liangan, *desa* Poerbesari, of a few objects made of copper alloy – namely a pot with a lid, three pairs of bracelets and one pair of rings (Quarles de Quarles & Wettum 1911: 48). The pot was bought for the Batavia Museum, while the bracelets and rings were sent to Leiden (ibid. 1911: 61; *Notulen* 1911: lxxix).[7]

Findspots of archaeological remains and objects from Hindu-Buddhist culture within a 10 km radius of Candi Liangan[8]

Site/*dusun*	*Desa*[9]	*Kecamatan*	*Distance*[10]	*Description*[11]	*References*[12]
Kramat*	Tegalrejo	Ngadirejo	0.6 km	A statue of a bull with a sleeping woman, 1 bull, 4 pedestals, a heap of temple stones	No 961
Gedegan	Giripurno	Ngadirejo	0.8 km	5 metal platters found in the ground	No 957
Cepoko	Canggal	Candiroto	1 km	A bull	No 999
Gembyang	Kentengsari	Candiroto	1.1 km	A bull	No 998
Jumprit	Tegalrejo	Ngadirejo	1.1 km	A few temple stones	No 962
Perot */ Candi	Pringapus	Ngadirejo	2.5 km	Hindu temple, 2 inscriptions[13]	No 958
Pringapus* / Candi	Pringapus	Ngadirejo	2.8 km	Hindu temple	No 959
Muggangsari	Munggansari	Ngadirejo	2.8 km	A gargoyle with a monkey, a small votive temple (?), a pilaster capital	No 955

Kunsten en Wetenschappen. It is replicated in Krom 1914: no 960.

7. Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta (MNI), Inv. no 1672b (5164) and 1672c (5165), for the pot and the lid respectively.

8. Based on Krom 1914. Unless specified, all the sites are in the *kabupaten* of Temanggung. Spelling and administrative localization have been modernized and may vary compared with the names given in Krom 1914.

9. Spelling and administrative divisions according to the *Peta Rupa Bumi Digital Indonesia Seri I* published by BAKOSURTANAL in 2000–2001.

10. Distance from Liangan, as the crow flies. When the exact location of the findspot is not known, the point of reference is the centre of the *dusun*.

11. When the site is a temple, sculptures are not listed individually. A site is identified as a temple if remains of a stone/brick structure were found *in situ*. "Hindu temple" means that a *yoni*, a bull or another element of clearly Hindu iconography was discovered on the site as well.

12. Unless specified, references are to Krom 1914.

13. Inscriptions of Tulang Air I & II (850 CE). For references, see Nakada 1982: I/21.

Site/*dusun*	*Desa*	*Kecamatan*	*Distance*	*Description*	*References*
Nglaruk	Katakan	Ngadirejo	3.2 km	Bronze objects found in the ground: a kettle, a pot fragment, 3 small containers (one with a śrī), one lid	No 956
Nglarangan	Katakan	Ngadirejo	3.2 km	A Gaṇeśa, two stone bases, a bull, fragments of a doorjamb, two *linggas*, numerous loose bricks	No 835; Dwiyanto e.a. 1981: 10-12.
Butuh	Banjarsari	Ngadirejo	3.2 km	Several temple stones, two *linggas*	Dwiyanto e.a. 1981: 12.
Bongkol*	Candisari	Parakan	3.5 km	A Hindu temple atop a hill. Nearby: bull, Gaṇeśa, an inscription[14]	No 954
Candi*	Candisari	Parakan	3.5 km	A *kāla*, a pedestal, a relief with a male figure, two pilaster bases with atlantes	No 952
Kebumen*[15]	Candisari	Parakan	3.7 km	A dilapidated temple, on a plateau, with a staircase on the east side, a pedestal	No 953
Ngadirejo	Ngadirejo	Ngadirejo	4 km	Inscribed copper plate[16]	No 964

14. The Alih Tinghal inscription would have been found near Candi Bongkol and transferred to Magelang before being sent to Batavia. It is now in the Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no D. 83. It is dated to the third quarter of the 9th century. See Stutterheim 1932: 294; Damais 1970: no 107; Sarkar 1971-1972: no cxi.

15. Bongkol, Candi and Kebumen are possibly listed as Situs Candi, Batu Lapik Candi and Yoni Candi by Sugeng Riyanto, but the differences between the Dutch descriptions and what is still visible today make it difficult to identify which is which. Knowing their geographical coordinates would have helped.

16. The Mantyasih III inscription is part of a series of three inscriptions recording a *sīma* grant made by Balitung in 907 CE. The exact findspot of the inscriptions is unknown. The Mantyasih I inscription was in the collection of the *pangeran* of Solo. The Mantyasih II plate was said to have been found in East Java. About the Mantyasih III inscription, Brandes said that it comes from "Li Djok Ban, Ngadirejo, Kedu" (Brandes 1913: no cviii). Since the place names in the three inscriptions seem to refer to the Temanggung area, a Ngadirejo origin is assigned to the whole series – but the plates might have been found anywhere in the district of Ngadirejo. The Mantyasih III inscription was sent to Batavia and is now in the collection of the MNI, inv. no E. 19. For references, see Nakada 1982: I/97 and Boechari 1985-86: 57-59.

Site/*dusun*	*Desa*	*Kecamatan*	*Distance*	*Description*	*References*
Petirejo	Petirejo	Ngadirejo	4.3 km	A Gaṇeśa	No 965
Krawitan	Krawitan	Candiroto	4.4 km	A pedestal	No 997
Mangunsari	Mangunsari	Ngadirejo	4.4 km	Small gold objects[17]	No 963
Tloyo	Karanggedong	Ngadirejo	5.5 km	15 large cut stones	No 966
Traji	Traji	Ngadirejo	5.6 km	A pedestal, a *lingga*, ornamented temple stones, Buddhist inscription[18]	No 967
Tanurejo	Tanurejo	Parakan	6.1 km	Tympanum of a Dongson style drum, gold jewels, silver bowl, found in the ground[19]	No 949
Gg Pertapan*[20]	Bagusan	Ngadirejo	6.6 km	Temple	No 971
Karangbendo	Tegalroso	Parakan	6.6 km	Niche with kneeling *ṛṣi*	No 969
Ketitang	Ketitang	Jumo	7.3 km	Female statue with gargoyle	No 993
Jetis kulon	Jetis	Parakan	8.2 km	Stone figure	No 948
Petarangan	Petarangan	Bulu	8.2 km	Inscription[21]	Titi Surti Nastiti *et al*. 1982.
Piyudan*	Padureso	Jumo	8.5 km	A Gaṇeśa	No 995

17. A series of eleven gold leaves and four gold beads were sent to Batavia (MNI, inv. nos 5480 and 5481); a string of gold beads was sent to Leiden (Coenen & Krom 1914: 97).

18. The inscription in question is a fragment of the Kayumwungan/Karang Tengah inscription, dated 824 CE (MNI, inv. no D27 and D34). For further references, see Nakada 1982: I/13. Two of the place names mentioned in the inscription, namely Trihaji and Ptir, may most probably be matched with the modern villages of Traji and Petirejo, located some 4 km to the northwest of Parakan, along the Parakan-Ngadirejo road.

19. Sent to Batavia. MNI inv. nos 5151-5160 and 5172.

20. Listed as "Situs Bagusan" by Sugeng Riyanto.

21. Findspot of the Rukam inscription. See Titi Surti Nastiti et al. 1982: 23-28 and 36-40; Agni Sesaria Muchtar 2016: 149-164.

Site/*dusun*	*Desa*	*Kecamatan*	*Distance*	*Description*	*References*
Situs Watu Ambal*	Telahap	Parakan	8.8 km	Ancient stone staircase, 2 *linggas*, a small stone statue and a stone inscription[22]	No 950
Tretep	Tretep	Tretep	8.9 km	Two stone *caityas* (?), 3 pedestals, a Gaṇeśa, a *makara* and a bull, everything "from Mt Prahu"	No 988
Argopuro / Sigedong[23]	Sigedong	Tretep	9 km	Hindu temple, 2 inscriptions	No 989
Kentengsari	Purwosari	Sukorejo[24]	9.7 km	Numerous temple stones, an Agastya, *makara* gargoyles	Baskoro Tjahjono e.a. 2015: 333
Gondosuli*	Gondosuli	Bulu	10 km	Temple and two inscriptions[25]	No 983

Table 1 – Temples are in **bold**. Sites marked by an asterisk* are also listed by Sugeng Riyanto[26]

The position of Candi Liangan on the northeastern slope of Mt Sundoro compels us to consider the possibility that it used to be a stop along a pilgrimage path to the Dieng Plateau. From Liangan, it is indeed possible to reach Dieng – which lies less than 25 km away – by taking the pass between Mt Sundoro and Mt Telerejo. Regarding the question of the relationship between Liangan and the surrounding landscape, we must in addition stress that the temple is located close to two significant landmarks: the source of the Progo River and Mt Sundoro. In the village of Jumprit, 1.5 km to the west-southwest of Liangan, there is a small cave called Umbul Jumprit, which is considered by Javanese people to be the source of the Progo River, the most prominent river of the Magelang-Yogyakarta area. The cave is held sacred by

22. Hoepermans (1913: 167) reports that an inscription was discovered in Telahap, slightly north of Parakan-Wonosobo road. He saw the inscription, broken into two fragments, in 1865 in front of the house of the *Controleur* in Magelang. It was already reported as lost by Verbeek (1891: no 235). For references, see Nakada 192: I/76.

23. I would like to seize the opportunity to correct a mistake. In Degroot 2009: 417, I misread Verbeek's report and wrongly listed Candi Argopuro as being in *desa* Lempuyang, *kecamatan* Candiroto. It should be *desa* Sigedong, *kecamatan* Tretep.

24. *Kabupaten* Kendal.

25. The Gondosuli II inscription (early 9th c.?) is carved on a large boulder and is still *in situ*. The Gondosuli I inscription, dated 827 CE, was carved on a stele and was already reported as lost by Brandes (1913: no iii). About Gondosuli II, see De Casparis 1950: 50–73. For references concerning Gondosuli I, see Nakada 1982: I/15.

26. Sugeng Riyanto gives a brief description of what remains of these sites. The state of preservation of the others in this list is unknown.

the *kejawen* and Buddhists alike.[27] As for Mt Sundoro, we know from the Kuṭi inscription that it was thought to be the abode of holy spirits (Sarkar 1971–1972: no xii). Liangan was thus certainly an ideal spot to establish a religious community. Whether or not the site supported a large population is another question. Liangan actually lies on an agricultural border: the area below the village is suited for wet-rice cultivation, but the ground located higher up on Mt Sundoro is not.

For ease of reading, I will give a short description of the site. Candi Liangan is a terrace sanctuary composed of at least four successive courtyards spread out over a northeast-southwest line. Its general plan follows the contours of the natural terrain but its axis is slightly offset from Mt Sundoro (fig. 2). The sanctuary has not been fully excavated yet and its northwest limit has yet to be identified.[28] Within the first – and highest – courtyard, six structures have been discovered: a row of five small stone terraces – probably remains of temples – in the southeastern half, and the foundation of a large *pendopo* in the northwestern half (fig. 3). Excavations in the second courtyard have brought to light the vestiges of two low stone terraces (fig. 2). A temple was found in the third courtyard (fig. 5) and a bathing place on the lowest terrace.[29] The two first courtyards are enclosed within a wall. A path, paved with river stones hugs the southeastern side of the sanctuary. To the southwest and southeast, several other structures have been discovered, mainly segments of retaining walls and remains of wooden buildings.

In his paper, Sugeng Riyanto briefly notes (p. 58) that the outline of the temples at Liangan fits the "classical Central Javanese profile – composed of a plinth, a torus and a *cyma* – which suggests that the sanctuary dates from the 9th c. CE." Caution is advised before making such general statements. First of all, Central Javanese temples show a variety of profiles, some with a torus – like Liangan –, some without.[30] Second, given that we know very little of 10th–12th-c. temples, as well as of 8th-c. architecture, we should refrain from jumping too quickly to the conclusion that everything Central Javanese dates back to the 9th c.

Later in his text, Sugeng Riyanto notices that the majority of the coarse earthenware from Liangan was shaped using a potter's wheel. This remark is not

27. Since the 1980s, Buddhist monks come to Umbul Jumprit to collect its sacred waters and used them during the large *waisak* ceremony at Candi Borobudur.

28. Today this part of the site is cut through by a small ravine where a streamlet flows.

29. This bath – or, more probably, water temple – was excavated after 2014 and is thus not mentioned in the book under review. It is a small but complex structure that underwent several modifications and repairs. It is hoped that the Balai Arkeologi Yogyakarta soon publishes a report about its excavation.

30. Candi Arjuna, Barong, Gebang, Gedong Songo, Kedulan, Ngempon, Semar, Kimpulan and Losari, for example, do not have a torus, even though they are located in Central Java and date back to the Central Javanese period. On the other hand, Candi Gunung Gangsir (East Java) and Candi Padang Roco (West Sumatra) also have a torus. For a short study on the profile of Central Javanese temples, see Degroot 2009: 193-203.

as self-evident as it seems. To my knowledge, for the Central Javanese period, unequivocal proof of the use of this technique for producing coarse ware is lacking: most of the horizontal traces seen on pots and potsherds could also be smoothing marks. We hope that the next book on Liangan will include the ceramological analysis of local earthenware that is sorely lacking in this one.

The second and third chapters of the book are dedicated to geology. Isa Nurnusanto's six-page paper ends with the conclusion that the temples were built atop a layer of pyroclastic fall and were buried under a sediment layer made of material from a pyroclastic flow that occurred some 1720 years ago.[31] In the second essay about geology, Fadhlan confirms the presence of ancient *lahar*s. Unfortunately, neither Isa Nurnusanto nor Fadhlan provides a stratigraphy. Hence, the relationship between the archaeological structures and the geological features remains unclear. In a paper published in 2016 (Oktory Prambada *et al*.), Oktory Prambada suggested that Liangan was covered by at least two different pyroclastic flows and one *lahar*. But the discovery of wooden structures burned in place also points to a massive pyroclastic fall. Further research is obviously necessary to fully understand the process through which Candi Liangan became submerged.

In "Wanua I Rukam, Nama Asli Situs Liangan?", Agni Sesaria Muchtar defends the theory that Liangan is the village destroyed by a *guntur* (debris flow, pyroclastic flow) mentioned in the 907 CE Rukam inscription. This is indeed a possibility, but the evidence is weak: pyroclastic flows and *lahar*s are not rare phenomena on the slopes of Javanese volcanoes. The area located within an 8 km radius from Mt Sumbing's summit is considered prone to ash fall; river beds all the way down to Ngadirejo and Parakan are classified as "hazard zone II," i.e. potentially affected by lava flows, *lahar*s and pyroclastic flows.[32] Under these conditions, Liangan is unlikely to be the only village of the region destroyed by volcanic activity. The Rukam inscription – the findspot of which is located between Mts Sumbing and Sundoro – could refer to any village on the slopes of one of these two volcanoes.[33] Although associating Rukam and Liangan seems slightly far-fetched, Agni Seseria Muchtar convincingly identifies two other villages mentioned in the Rukam inscription as modern-day Wunut (*kecamatan* Bulu, *kabupaten* Temanggung)

31. This early date shows how careful we need to be when using C^{14} results in a geologically unstable environment. In this case, only the eruption that produced the pyroclastic material has been dated. The landslide that brought the debris to the Liangan area is obviously of a later date.

32. As the crow flies. See Mulyana *et al*. 2007.

33. In 1865, a landslide in the village of Telahap revealed an ancient staircase that, in all likelihood, had laid buried under volcanic material. Two *lingga*-shaped boundary stones, a statue and fragments of an inscription were found nearby. The inscription – now lost – was only partly legible; it apparently recorded a *sīma* grant made by Balitung in 899 CE. Telahap might as well be the village destroyed by *guntur* from the Rukam inscription. And Telahap is much closer to Petarongan, the findspot of the inscription, than Liangan. On Telahap, see Krom 1914: no 950; Damais 1955: 117-118.

and Kedu (*kecamatan* Kedu, *kabupaten* Temanggung). The name Wunut is rare enough and the modern village is quite close – *c*. 3 km – to Petarongan, where the Rukam inscription was discovered. Regarding Kedu, one must however note that it is also the name of a river flowing from Mt Sumbing down to the modern district of Kedu.[34] It is thus possible that ancient Kḍu was located on the mountain, close to Wunut.[35]

The volume includes a lengthy chapter on architecture, written by Hery Priswanto and entitled "Struktur dan bangunan batu di situs Liangan." When the book was written – in 2014 – excavations were still in progress and we understand that *Liangan: Mozaik Peradaban Mataram Kuno di Lereng Sindoro* is an interim report and not a definitive book on Candi Liangan. Still, Hery Priswanto's essay could have been a bit less descriptive and a bit more analytical. All the more so as his description of the buildings abounds in gross errors. For example, one would expect the author not to confuse linear with square meters.[36] Besides, some measurements are obviously incorrect. According to Hery Priswanto, the raised platform at the centre of the *pendopo* of the second courtyard is "16.5 x 2.09 m^2," while the *pendopo* itself is only 8.40 x 8.45 m.[37] The same type of discrepancy is found in the description of *batur 2a*: its base supposedly measures 6.09 x 7.03 m and its upper surface 6.57 x 6.58 m – which is mathematically impossible. The description of *candi nomor 2* displays a misunderstanding of architectural principles: the author states that the pilasters (on the outer wall of the *cella*) are meant to reinforce the wall. Such pilasters are simply carved in the wall and have no load-bearing function in and of themselves – the wall in its entirety bears the structure. Pilasters give an appearance of supporting pillars, but are purely ornamental.

For a paper on architecture, too little thought has been given to building techniques. Stereotomy, for example, is only briefly mentioned for *candi nomor 2*. It is however clear from pictures that, besides notches, other systems were used to ensure cohesion between stone courses – such as stones cut at an angle, mortises and wedges (fig. 4). Stereotomy is especially important since its evolution is relatively well-known; it can thus help to confirm – or reject – a proposed chronology for the site. *Candi nomor 1*, for example, is built in a different way than *batur 2a*. Stones from *Candi nomor 1* have a uniform

34. The modern village of Kedu is located some 11 km away from Petarongan.

35. Mt Sumbing was sometimes referred to as Gunung Kedu. The Rukam inscription also mentions a *wanua i* Galuh. The name "Galuh" is still found in the area: it is the name of the river flowing southwestwards from the Reco Pass to the Serayu River basin. A river with a quite similar name – *sungai* Galeh – flows northeastwards from the Reco Pass to the Progo water system – the Reco Pass being on the watershed divide between the Serayu and Progo valleys.

36. Dimensions of all the buildings are given in the following format: "475 x 480 cm^2".

37. The small raised platform appears square on the plans in Sugeng Riyanto's paper and on the picture published by Hery Priswanto, so that we cannot conclude straightaway that the mistake is just a typo and that the measurement should therefore be read 1.65 x 2.09 m.

format and are mostly likely laid in stretcher (fig. 5 and 6).[38] By contrast, stones from *batur 2a* have widely varying sizes and most are laid in shiner (fig. 7). In Central Java, the latter position is seen in structures dating from the mid 9th c. onwards (Dumarçay 1993: 19). This detail could thus suggest that *Candi nomor 1* and *batur 2a* belong to two different building stages. Moreover, the stones of *batur 2a* are roughly hewn and present traces of point or pick.[39] In Central Java, coarse blocks are often used in foundation but not in elevation. Their presence here might indicate that the building has never been completed.[40]

The enclosure wall and the *pagar lempeng batu* are built according to a technique similar to that of *batur 2a*: a double cladding made of stones laid in shiner holds an infill of natural stones and dirt (fig. 8 and 9). This way of building seems to have become popular in Java from 830 CE onwards (Dumarçay 1993: 19). Even though they are built using the same principle, these two walls are different structures: the enclosure wall is thicker, shorter and does not have the same outline as the *pagar lempeng batu*. They might have been planned at different times. That Liangan was not conceived as an integrated whole is also suggested by its orientation. The orientation of *Candi nomor 1* – as well as that of the retaining wall marking the limit between the second and the third terraces – differs from the orientation of the upper terraces. Interestingly, the *pagar lempeng batu* was not built in one phase either. The southwest and northwest sections were built first, while the northeast section was constructed later, as it leans on the earlier sections and is not anchored into them (fig. 10).[41] The building history of Candi Liangan is probably more complex than it looks at first sight.

The retaining wall in the southern part of the site is quite heterogeneous (fig. 11): some stones, mostly in the lower part of the wall, are laid in shiner, while others are placed in stretcher. Furthermore, the blocks that composed this wall present varied surface finishes: some have been smoothened, while others are only roughly hewn. Several stone blocks have even been re-used.[42] A possible explanation is that the site was partially destroyed – due to a *lahar* or a landslide – while it was still in use and that it was repaired with the means

38. Possibly header. In order to determine the exact position of the stone (stretcher or header), one would have to partly dismantle the wall.

39. Tool-mark traces are visible on many stones – and not only at *batur 2a*. A close study might give interesting insights into the organization of the building site.

40. The fact that the buildings are plain and that excavations have not yielded ornamented stones could strengthen this hypothesis. But it might be that most of the buildings – except for the shrine of the third courtyard – had wooden superstructures.

41. The outline of the northeast section is also slightly different from the profile of the rest of the *pagar lempeng batu*.

42. Some stones have notches and were initially meant to be laid in shiner. Stones in reuse are mainly visible in the upper part of the wall. A few river stones have been used as well.

available.[43] A thorough architectural study of Candi Liangan, including newly excavated structures, will surely yield more interesting data.

Rita Istari's contribution[44] and Yusmaini Eriawati's paper[45] are lists of small finds rather than essays. Both of them have the merit of presenting the kind of material that is rarely published. But analytical work still needs to be done. As for Cristina Castillo's[46] and Katsunori Tanaka's[47] careful studies in paleobotany, comparative data are still too scarce for their conclusions to be placed within the broader Central Javanese historical context. The volume further includes a thorough anthropological study by Sofwan Noerwidi on human remains discovered in what appears to be a 9th–10th-c. grave[48]. It ends with a general paper by Hari Lelono on the involvement of the local community in the research process and preservation of the site.[49]

In conclusion, Novida Abbas' *Liangan: Mozaik Peradaban Mataram Kuno di Lereng Sindoro* is an important contribution to Southeast Asian archaeology. We hope that the Balai Arkeologi Yogyakarta soon publishes a second monograph on Liangan, in a larger format, supplemented by stratigraphic cross sections and presenting the work they have carried out since 2014.

References

Agni Seseria Muchtar (2016). "Wanua i Rukam, Nama Asli Situs Liangan? (Kajian terhadap Prasasti Rukam 907 M sebagai data pendukung penelitian Situs Liangan)," *in* Novida Abbas (ed.), *Liangan. Mozaik Peradaban Mataram Kuno di Lereng Sundoro*: 149-163.

Bakosurtanal *Peta Rupa Bumi Digital Indonesia Seri I* (2000-2001). Scale 1: 25 000. Bogor: Badan Koordinasi Survey dan Pemetaan Nasional.

Baskoro D. Tjahjono, Agustijanto Indrajaya & V. Degroot (2015). "Prospection archéologique de la côte nord de Java Centre : le district de Kendal," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 101: 327-356.

Boechari (1985-1986). *Prasasti Koleksi Museum Nasional. Jilid 1*, Jakarta: Museum Nasional.

Brandes, J.L.A. (1913) *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden. Nagelaten Transscripties*, Batavia – 's Hage: Albrecht – M. Nijhoff. (Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen LX).

de Casparis, J.G. (1950). *Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd*, Bandung: Pjawatan Purbakala Republik Indonesia (Prasasti Indonesia I).

43. The retaining wall made of boulders that fences in the site on the southwest side might date from after this first destruction. Although its height is impressive, its construction does not require mastery of stone masonry techniques. Finding a wall with such a rough appearance in such a visible place is surprising since it contrasts with the quality of other retaining walls.

44. "Pendataan Temuan Lepas Tinggalan Arkeologi Situs Liangan dan Sekitarnya".

45. "Keramik Cina Dinasti Tang Abad IX Masehi dari Situs Liangan, Temanggung, Jawa Tengah".

46. "The rice remains from Temanggung. First evidence of tropical japonica in Indonesia".

47. "Report of DNA analysis for rice remains at Javanese settlement site, Indonesia".

48. "Sisa Rangka Manusia dari Situs Permukiman Mataram Kuna – Liangan, Temanggung, Jawa Tengah".

49. "Situs Liangan dan Masyarakat".

Coenen W.J. & N.J. Krom (1914). "Notulen der zevende Directievergadering, gehouden op Maandag 17 Augustus 1914," *Notulen van het Bataviaasch genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen* 52: 91-107.

Damais, L.-C. (1955). « Études d'épigraphie indonésienne IV. Discussion de la date des inscriptions », *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 47: 7-290.

— (1970). *Répertoire onomastique de l'épigraphie javanaise (jusqu'à Pu Siṇḍok śrī Īśānawikrama Dharmmotungadewa) : étude d'épigraphie indonésienne*, Paris: EFEO (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 66).

Degroot, V. (2009). *Candi, Space and Landscape. A study on the distribution, orientation and spatial organization of Central Javanese temple remains*, Leiden: Sidestone Press (Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 38).

Dumarçay, J. (1993). *Histoire de l'architecture de Java*, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient (Mémoires archéologiques 19).

Dwiyanto, D., G. Nitihaminoto, S. Pinardi (1981). *Laporan penjagan lokasi Candi Perot*, Prambanan: Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala (unpublished report).

Hoepermans, N.W. (1913). "Hindoe-oudheden van Java," *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*: 73-372.

Krom, N.J. (1914). "Inventaris der Hindoe-oudheden op den grondslag van Dr. R.D.M. Verbeek's Oudheden van Java. Eerste deel," *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*: 1-358.

Mulyana, A.R., A. Martono, A.D. Sumpena, Riyadi & W. Suherman (2007). *Peta Kawasan Rawan Bencana Gunungapi Sundoro, Provinsi Jawa Tengah. Volcanic Hazard Map of Sundoro Volcano, Central Java Province*, Scale 1: 50 000. Bandung: Pusat Vulkanologi dan Mitigasi Bencana Geologi.

Nakada, Kōzō (1982). *An Inventory of the Dated Inscriptions in Java*, Tokyo: Tokyo Bunko.

Notulen (1911). "Lijst der voorwerpen, die in het jaar 1911 voor de Archeologische Verzameling zijn verkregen," *Notulen van het Bataviaasch genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen* 49: lxxv–lxxxii.

Oktory Prambada, Yoji Arakawa, Kei Ikehata, Ryuta Furukawa, Akira Takada, Haryo Edi Wibowo, Mitsuhiro Nakagawa, M. Nugraha Kartadinata (2006) "Eruptive history of Sundoro volcano, Central Java, Indonesia since 34 ka," *Bulletin of Volcanology* 78 (11): article id. 81, 19 pp. DOI: 10.1007/s00445-016-1079-3

Quarles de Quarles, A.J. & B.A.J. van Wettum (1911). "Notulen van de zesde Directievergadering, gehouden op Maandag 4 September 1911," *Notulen van het Bataviaasch genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen* 49: 72-97.

Sarkar, H.B. (1971-1972). *Corpus of the inscriptions of Java. Corpus inscriptionum Javanicarum, Up to 928 A.D*. Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay.

Stutterheim, W.F. (1932). "Van een tjaṇḍi, een grottempel en een oorkonde," in *Djåwå. Tijdschrift van het Java-instituut* 12: 292-301.

Titi Surti Nastiti, Dyah Wijaya Dewi & Richardiana Kartakusuma (1982). *Tiga Prasasti dari Masa Balitung*, Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional.

Verbeek, R.D.M. (1891). *Ouheden van Java. Lijst der voornaamste overblijfselen uit den hindoetijd op Java met eene oudheidkundige kaart*, 's Gravenhage – Batavia: Nijhoff – Landsdrukkerij.

Wisseman Christie, J. (2001). "Revisiting Early Mataram," *in* M.J. Klokke & K.R. van Kooij (eds), *Fruits of inspiration. Studies in honour of Prof. J.G. de Casparis*, Groningen: Forsten : 25-55.

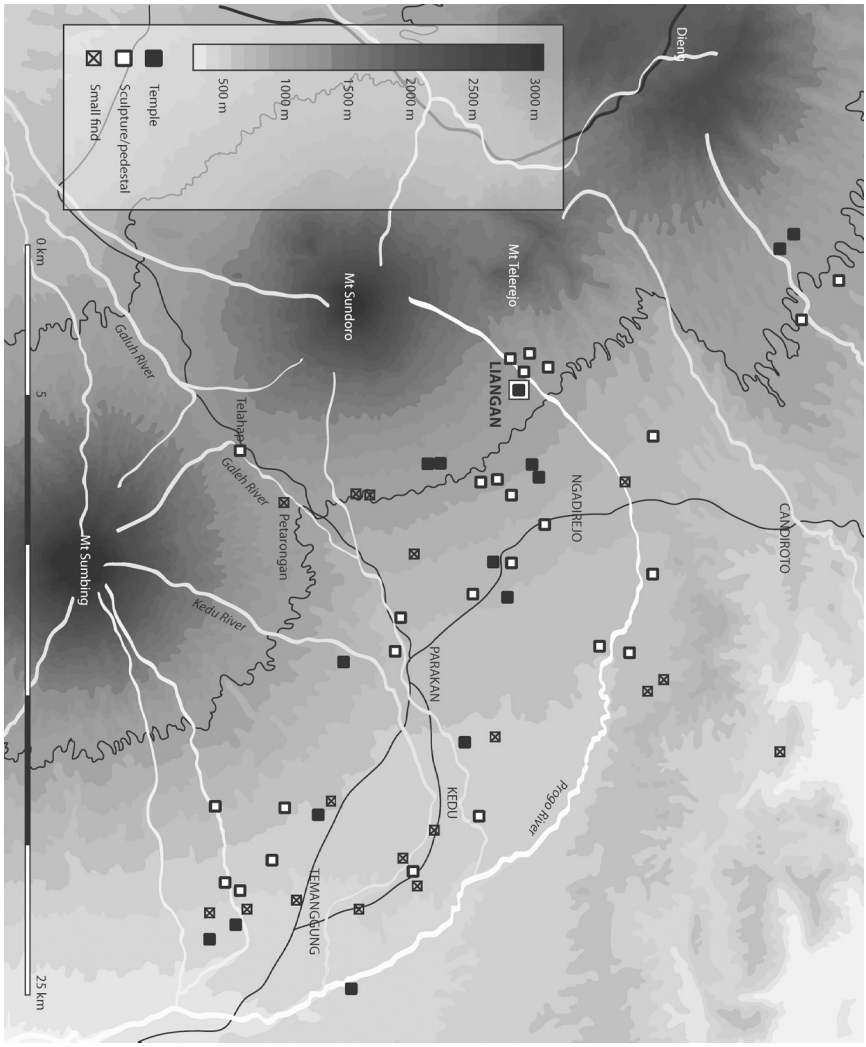


Fig. 1 – Places of archaeological interest in *kabupaten* Temanggung. (V. Degroot)

Fig. 2 – Candi Liangan. Overview from the northeast (looking uphill). In the foreground, the *pendopo* of the second courtyard. In the background, *Candi nomor 2*. In the distance, Mt Sundoro. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 3 – Candi Liangan. Overview of the first courtyard from the south (looking downhill). To the right, the row of *batur* and *Candi nomor 1*. To the left, remains of a large *pendopo*. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 4 – Candi Liangan, first courtyard. *Batur 2b*.
Detail of the wall: stone block cut at an angle and wedges. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 5 – Candi Liangan, first courtyard. *Candi nomor 1*, seen from the southeast.
(Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 6 – Candi Liangan, first courtyard. *Candi nomor 1*.
Detail of the wall: stone blocks placed in stretcher. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 7 – Candi Liangan, first courtyard. *Batur 2a.*
Detail of the wall: stone blocks placed in shiner, infill of river stones and dirt. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 8 – Candi Liangan, enclosure wall along the south-eastern side of the first and second courtyard. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 9 – Candi Liangan, border of the second and third courtyard. *Pagar lempeng batu*, seen from the inside. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 10 – Candi Liangan, border of the second and third courtyard. *Pagar lempeng batu*, seen from the outside. Note the oblique junction between the first (to the left) and second (to the right) segments. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Fig. 11 – Candi Liangan, retaining wall to the south of the first courtyard. At the bottom left, blocks placed in shiner. Elsewhere, stones placed in stretcher. Note the river stone (top right) and the blocks in reuse (top left), as well as the difference in surface finish. (Photography: V. Degroot)

Henri Chambert-Loir[1]

One More Version of the *Sejarah Melayu*

The *Sulalat al-Salatin* is the object of constant debate in Malaysia today. Conferences and lectures are frequent, publications follow each other, editions of the text keep appearing. During the last twenty years six new editions have been published in Kuala Lumpur and Malacca. This exceptional academic activity (second only to the debate, even more lively, around Hang Tuah, at the expense of all other texts, which tend to be neglected) does not produce a better knowledge of the text, but a political reading that, beyond quarrels of interpretation, rests on a patriotic celebration. It seems that interest for ancient Malay literature has drastically diminished in Malay society during the last thirty years. Today the *Sulalat al-Salatin* is the domain of academics—male ones exclusively—some of whom know the text by heart, so to speak, but approach it with a questioning different from that of their foreign colleagues.

Sulalat al-Salatin is the title inscribed in the text itself: it is the title chosen by the author. However, the text is more frequently quoted with the title *Sejarah Melayu*, translated into English as *Malay Annals*.

The prestigious series Karya Agung, which had already published an edition of the text (by Muhammad Haji Salleh) in 1997, recently published a second edition by Dr. Ahmat Adam (see Ahmat 2016 in the Bibliography below). Ahmat Adam's edition is the eighteenth edition of the *Sulalat al-Salatin* published since the middle of the 19th century.

Ahmat Adam (henceforth A.A.) gives an edition of the "Krusenstern manuscript" (henceforth K), i.e. a manuscript acquired by Commodore

1. Directeur d'études émérite de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.

Krusenstern in Malacca in 1798. We need to consider that date for a moment. Ivan Feodorovich Krusenstern was a Russian of German origin, also known as Adam Johann von Krusenstern. Before being appointed captain in the Russian imperial navy he served for a while on commercial vessels of the British East India Company. This is when, on a travel from India to China, while his ship was under repair in Penang, he spent a few months in Malacca, in the second half of 1798, and took the opportunity to order a copy of the *Sulalat al-Salatin* (A.A., p. xcvi).

The *Sulalat al-Salatin* has been mentioned by Nuruddin al-Raniri, a famous Malay author, in Aceh, around 1640 and by several European authors starting in 1708 (P. van der Vorm, F. Valentijn, etc.). Its contents, however, remained unknown until the publication, in 1821, of John Leyden's translation. This is why Krusenstern's decision to obtain a copy, while he did not know the Malay world and was spending a few months in Malacca by mere chance, is surprising. Krusenstern was probably lucky enough to be advised on the spot by some connoisseur. When back in Russia he presented the manuscript to the Royal Academy of Sciences in St-Petersburg through his friend Fyodor Ivanovich Schubert, who was a member of the Academy and gave the manuscript to it in 1802 (Kulikova, p. 28-29). The manuscript was copied in 1213 A.H., i.e. June 1798 to May 1799. As Krusenstern was already in Canton in November 1798, the manuscript has to date from June to October 1798 (Kulikova). It bears a watermark dated 1794, which fits perfectly with that estimate. This makes K the oldest copy we know of the *Sulalat al-Salatin*, albeit by a few years only: the following oldest manuscript dates from 1808.

Manuscript K is still kept in St Petersburg. It has been described by A.M. Kulikova in 1989 and subsequently published for the first time by E. Revunenkova in 2008. That edition consists in a facsimile (with no transcription) and a 105-page commentary in Russian. This work has remained unknown outside Russia because of its language. A.A., who does not know Russian but obtained an insight into the contents of the book thanks to a Russian colleague, states that Revunenkova's reading and analysis are deficient; she can't read the Jawi script properly (p. xc). I don't read Russian either but E. Revunenkova has published an article in English in 2006 (listed in A.A.'s bibliography but nowhere commented upon) that would rather indicate that she has read and studied the text in a careful and competent way.

A.A. reproduces the facsimile in his own book (as the result of a recent and excellent policy of the Karya Agung series). A.A.'s book therefore consists in a long introduction (120 pages), the annotated edition of the text, and the facsimile of the manuscript. I suppose nobody in the world, even in Malaysia, will choose to read the Jawi text in its original form rather than the Latin transcription any more, but the publication of a facsimile is of great benefit for philologists; it may sometimes also be a devastating element, similarly to bilingual editions, when a punctilious reader sets out to compare facsimile and transcription.

The K manuscript is in excellent condition and the facsimile is of a good quality, even if some pages are sharper than others. A.A. worked on the facsimile without any access to the original. He reproduces the description of that original by A.M. Kulikova (1989), without noticing that, in that description, the "first" pages designate the last and vice versa. This apparent mistake is due to the fact that Kulikova refers to the pagination, added by a librarian and which has disappeared from the facsimile, ordered from left to right, like in a European book, and not from right to left, as it is the norm for manuscripts written in Arabic characters (this is explained by Revunenkova 2006: 63). Therefore that kind of information in A.A.'s book (p. xcii) has to be mentally converted.

In his presentation of the facsimile, A.A. follows three uncommon principles: a) he numbers the folios in Roman numerals; b) he starts with folio ii; c) he considers a folio as made of two facing pages (a double spread). He fortunately preserved the original presentation of the manuscript, the text starting on a verso, the layout of which, together with the following recto, makes a kind of frontispiece. Therefore, his facsimile starts with a verso called f ii, followed by a recto called f ii:2. This is somewhat confusing but has no consequence on the reading or commenting of the text. In the following notes I convert the numbering into Arabic numerals: f lxxxviii and f lxxxviii: 2 become f. 88:1 and f. 88:2 respectively. Furthermore, the facsimile includes one double spread printed twice (the "folio" 400), while the preceding double spread is lacking. One more page is printed twice too—an issue to which we will return below.

The original manuscript is made of two volumes. On the last page of the first is inscribed the date 1213 and an Arabic sentence according to which, in A.A.'s translation (p. xcv), the manuscript has been copied by three men (Al-Haj Muhammad Tahir al-Jawi, Muhammad Zakat Long and Ibrahim Jamrut), who have been paid by the day. A.A. asserts that the name (*nisba*) al-Jawi means that the first is of Javanese origin (p. xcvi), whereas it means from Southeast Asia or more specifically from Sumatra. Ibrahim Jamrut would be of Javanese origin too because his name is the Javanese prononciation of the Malay word *jamrud* (p. xcviii).

A.A. makes no comment on the fact that the copy was made by three scribes. A cursory examination of the facsimile makes me think that the handwritings of three different people (say, K1, K2, K3) can indeed be distinguished: K1 is responsible for two passages: ff. 2:1 – 10:1 and ff. 38:2 – 105:2, that is, the first 17 and last 135 pages of the first volume, with a total of 152 pages; K2 has copied ff. 10:2 – 37:2, that is, 55 pages in the middle of the first volume; K3 has copied the totality of the second volume (ff. 107:1 – 192:1), that is, 171 pages. These conclusions are provisional, but they raise interesting questions. When he reaches the last two pages of his first section (the beginning of the text) K1 enlarges his handwriting considerably, in order not to create a break

with the following section, which is being written by his colleague K2. The latter too, at the end of his own section, enlarges his handwriting, but cannot avoid a blank page between his section and the following one (f. 38:1). There is one more blank page further on (f. 142:2), but that does not seem to be related to a change in handwriting.

It seems thus clear that the three scribes worked simultaneaously. The fact that they shared the task in that way may indicate that they were in a great hurry, which might explain the mediocrity of their work. What models did they use? Four fragments of an unbound manuscript or several manuscripts? The use of several manuscripts could explain that the final text is difficult to classify among the different versions of the *Sulalat al-Salatin*. It would be useful to scrutinize more thoroughly the passages written by the respective scribes because that could perhaps explain spelling inconsistencies and some idiosyncrasies (for instance a few typically Javanese spellings or the alternating final b/p); moreover, it is probable that the quality of the copying, mediocre as a whole, is not the same with one copyist and another.

A.A. asserts a few times that K is a copy of good quality, much better than that of the most famous manuscript of the text, Raffles 18 of the Royal Asiatic Society (henceforth manuscript R18), but the unique criterion of that excellence lies in the claim that Old Javanese words are better preserved (p. xciv, cxix). But A.A. also notes that K is "careless and negligent," as can be seen from spelling inconsistencies and mistakes, repetitions, and lacunae (p. xcvii-xcviii, also p. xxx fll.). A.A. notes a significant number of copying errors, and one discovers more and more of them while reading the text. On the whole, K is a rather careless copy on the literal level (both misreadings and miswritings); on the other hand, one gets the feeling that the scribes followed their models faithfully (in a hurry they had no leisure for improvisation). The consequence of these remarks is that it is not possible to rest the authority of a reading on the spelling of the manuscript (as A.A. frequently does) and that in an edition that claims to be "critical," it is necessary to amend the text wherever it is obviously incorrect.

It may be useful to say a few words about some peculiarities of the manuscript's orthography that have a decisive influence on the reading and the transcription of the text: 1) the *dal* is often written like a *lam* (p. xlvi); 2) two words (*Rabingul-awal* and *saringat*, perhaps others) are written with a *nga* (ꦔ) instead of a *'ayn*, which is typically Javanese; 3) the writing of a final <b> for a <p> (voiced for unvoiced) is frequent (e.g. *adab* for *adap*, *atab* for *atap*, *bercakab*, *genab*, *hidub*, *berlengkab*, etc.), while the reverse (<p> for <b>) appears only once (*takjup* for *takjub*); 4) it is often difficult to distinguish one or two diacritical points; 5) the name Allah, of very frequent occurrence, is systematically written with two <l> so small that they look like one <s>, so that the word seems to be written <ash>, with a <h> reduced to a minuscule slanting stroke; so much so that the same lettering is once transcribed <asih> (p. 14 l. 2).

The Karya Agung series is one among many, worldwide, that aim at publishing a "canon," the major works, of a literature. It is printed with a paper colour and ornementation inspired from the famous "yellow books" (*kitab kuning*) used in Koranic schools, but in a luxurious (and expensive) fashion, like rare and precious objects that one is proud to exhibit in one's personal library. However, since a few years back, each volume is also printed with a soft cover at a much more reasonable price, which allows this series to be the principal publisher of Malay classical texts today. The series' editorial board claims to be extremely rigorous philologically and the recent decision to publish a facsimile of a manuscript in each edition does reinforce this "scientific" aspect. The targeted audience is Malay society at large but some editions, because of their imposing critical apparatus, rather look like academic exercises.

A.A.'s edition of the *Sulalat al-Salatin* definitely belongs to that category. The transcription is congested with a myriad of superfluous signs and annotations: a) in the manuscript the letter *sin* is used to transcribe the phonemes /s/ and /š/ (<sy>), instead of /s/ alone; A.A. transcribes all the words comprising a /š/ written as a *sin* as <s[y]>; we thus have <S[y]ah> a hundred times. This is an unnecessary hyper-correction: Jawi is not Arabic; *sin* transcribes <sy> in a perfectly standard way in many Malay manuscripts; b) A.A. introduces into the text, inside square brackets, the Jawi lettering of difficult words, despite the fact that the whole Jawi text is published in the same book; c) an enormous amount of archaic spellings are followed by "[sic]" ("*menengar [sic], tuha [sic], tahta [sic], ra'na [sic], nentiasa [sic]*," etc.), so that *sic* must be one of the most frequent words of this edition, beside *maka*, *pun*, *yang* or *telah*; d) the text is accompanied by 1,579 footnotes, the majority of which quote P.J. Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese Dictionary*. All this gives the edition an aspect of high learning, but makes it rather indigestible and confusing.

Malay philology is at a critical point of its history, because there is presently no debate on theories and methods, no handbook that would offer more than general considerations, and no individual reflexion that one would be able to find in the edition of a particular text. Even if there have been some debates or pronouncements since then, the sole theoretical synthesis on the subject is a 15-page article by a German scholar published 36 years ago (see Kratz, 1981). In these conditions, each "philologist" deals with "his" text with common sense as only guide.

Let's see some of the choices made by A.A., considering that he has decided to publish a critical edition, as stated in the very title of the book (*disunting dengan kritis*). There will be plenty of opportunities to observe that "critical edition" here means a transcription of a manuscript corrected by the editor according to his taste, his knowledge and his hypotheses, most

often without any consideration for the readings of other editions, other than to declare them faulty.

The first of these choices is the division of the text into chapters: the text of the *Sulalat al-Salatin* is divided into sections that begin with the formula "*Alkisah maka tersebutlah perkataan*" ("Here now is the story of") and end with the formula "*wa'llahu a'lam*" ("God knoweth the truth") in a more or less elaborated form. All editors have regarded these sections as chapters and have given them numbers. So does A.A. "*demi memudahkan pembacaan*" (p. xciii). It is not necessary to number chapters to "facilitate reading". Editors of ancient Malay texts are rarely conscious of the way they manipulate a text even though they claim to reproduce it faithfully.

A second choice regards punctuation: Malay Jawi texts have none; all editors (rightly) add one to their transcription in Latin characters and most tend to create short sentences, particularly by introducing a point before every occurrence of the word *maka*. This is more important than it seems because punctuation structures the text, imposes a reading rhythm and determines an interpretation. A.A. shares the proclivity toward short sentences and it happens that his punctuation hinders the reading instead of guiding it. It can even create misinterpretations. (In order to spare the readers I will quote two examples only, among many others, in each category below.) So, two examples of faulty punctuation: a) p. 9 l. 3, "'*raja Iskandar anak raja Darab Rum, bangsa Makaduniah nama negerinya*" is a mistake for "*Raja Iskandar, anak Raja Darab, Rum bangsa[nya], Makaduniah nama negerinya*"; b) p. 322: "*Maka kata orang Melaka, 'Ini Benggali putih' pada seorang Feringgi itu. Berpuluh-puluh orang Melaka mengharu dia.*", whereas one should read: "*Maka kata orang Melaka, 'Ini Benggali putih'. Pada seorang Feringgi itu berpuluh-puluh orang Melaka mengharu dia.*", which is found in all other editions.

In the third place—but this is certainly not a matter of choice—one finds a certain amount of mistakes in the transcription. Two examples: a) p. 10 l. 8, "*jadi Islam di dalam ukum [hukum] Nabi Ibrahim*" is a mere blunder: the lettering <akm> cannot signify *[h]ukum* and should obviously be read as *agama*; b) p. 38 l. 12-13, the transcription (twice) *panjar-panjar* (followed by "[sic]") is faulty: the manuscript has *panja upanjara*. A reading mistake of a different kind is found on p. 40: A.A. asserts (fn. 353) that a whole page of the manuscript has been copied twice and he comments on the scribe's sloppiness, but in fact, it is not the manuscript that repeats itself, it is merely the facsimile (the comparison of ff. 19:2 and 20:2 leaves no doubt). This means that the facsimile has been established page by page and that, starting on this point, versos have become rectos and vice versa: the whole manuscript and the pagination are from here onward disorganised.

Fourth, as this edition is light-years away from a diplomatic one, evident mistakes—and there are plenty—should have been corrected in one way or

another. Two examples from the same page: a) p. 33, in "*maka baginda pun naik ke atas keinderaan baginda lembu putih*," it is clear that *keinderaan* is a mistake for *kendaraan*; b) p. 33 l. 17, *kembalilah*; the word has no meaning here and should be corrected to *kayalah* (the reading of all other published versions). Not to correct these mistakes, either in the text or in footnotes, will inevitably confuse the reader.

Fifth, and this is the reverse flaw, some corrections are excessive. Two examples: a) the phrase "*Nusyirwan Adil, raja Sarib Maghrib*" crops up several times (e.g. p. 16 twice, p. 31, etc.), and it is each time corrected into "*raja masyrik-maghrib*," which is the reading of Abdullah's edition as well as R18; this would have been justifiable once but not several times; considering the alternate letterings s/sy and b/p, I think *syarif* (descendant of the Prophet) is meant, that is, "king of the syarif of the West"; b) p. 26, l. 22, the text has "*hikayat Hamzah*" (like Abdullah and R18), with a slight spelling error; A.A. corrects into "*hikayat Hamurabi*"; the *Sulalat al-Salatin* is not an erudite text; its authors did not know much about the outside world and even less about history, while copying mistakes are innumerable. Common sense dictates that the *hikayat* mentioned here is the famous *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, which is mentioned in the same way ("*hikayat Hamzah*") elsewhere in this same text (A.A. p. 351), not a fanciful *hikayat Hamurabi*.

Sixth, A.A. introduces into his text, which he claims to represent the most ancient version of the *Sulalat al-Salatin*, passages borrowed from other, more recent, versions of the text (e.g. pp. 24, 39, 184, 337), in order to fill lacunae. It is of course necessary to signal lacunae and to summarize their content, but to integrate into a version several pages of another is to bring about voluntary contamination.

The seventh choice represents one of the major characteristics of this edition; it concerns the allegedly Old Javanese words. A.A. has the theory that many words in the *Sulalat al-Salatin* originate from Old Javanese and that they are particularly numerous in manuscript K, which in turn would prove the antiquity of this version. Winstedt once published a short note on "Sanskrit in Malay Literature" (1957), in which he asserts that in classical Malay texts, and particularly the *Sulalat al-Salatin*, words of Sanskrit origin are four times more numerous than those of Arabic origin. His evidence is scanty but the idea is suggestive. A.A. has been struck by the same phenomenon, but he talks mainly about words of Old Javanese origin, and this amounts to confusing several things: the fact that a word exists in both Malay and Old Javanese does not mean that it has been borrowed by the first from the latter; it may have been borrowed independently by both languages from Sanskrit (or from another language: A.A. also claims that the word *jonk* [*junk*], well-known to be a loanword from Chinese, is of Old Javanese origin, fn. 439). Moreover, even if it were established that a Malay word is of Sanskrit or Old Javanese origin,

it would not necessarily have a spelling identical to that of the original word (not to mention the possibility of spelling variation in the source language itself). What is more, a word of foreign origin does not always have the same meaning in the source and the target languages. Still, in blatant contradiction to all such well-known facts, A.A. wants his readers to believe that "It is only when the origin of each word has been examined etymologically that its correct form can be known" (p. xxxiii).

A.A. draws conclusions from the quantity of those "Old Javanese" words: the author would have borrowed them directly from 'classical' Javanese texts (p. lii), therefore the author of the first version of the *Sulalat al-Salatin*, that at the origin of all others, would have been a man of Javanese ascendency, or a Malay-Javanese mestizo, in any case a man who spoke fluent Javanese or was accustomed to utilizing Old, Middle or Modern Javanese words in writing (p. xl); and he would have been an expert in Old Javanese language and literature (p. li). All this is pure fancy.

On the basis of these convictions, A.A. comments upon all the words supposed to be of Sanskrit or Old Javanese origin. The first footnote to the text reveals that the Malay *keras* is borrowed from Old Javanese; elsewhere, we find notes on the meaning, in Sanskrit or Old Javanese, of the words *adu*, *beta*, *citra*, *demang*, *duli*, *empu*, *mutia*, *niscaya*, *pandai*, etc., etc. This is not only out of place (why not a commentary on words of Arabic or Chinese origin?) but highly ambiguous: it suggests that those words in the *Sulalat al-Salatin* have the meaning of their equivalent in Monier-Williams' or Zoetmulder's dictionaries. A.A. is proud to have "preserved" so-called "classical" spellings (p. xxxii) like *karunya* (for *kurnia*), *nityasa* (for *senantiasa*), *prastawa* (*peristiwa*), *pramuka* (*permuka*), *karana* (*kerana*/*karena*), and we also stumble in the text across *tepramanai* (*tepermanai*), *sambrani* (*semberani*), *pramadani* (*permadani*) and more. This does not mark any progress in philology, it is simply barbaric. "*Sekali prastawa*" sounds like a joke.

This obsession with Old Javanese and Sanskrit leads A.A. to correct, often erroneously, the text of the manuscript according to Sanskrit or Old Javanese vocabulary. Two examples: a) pp. 12-13, in the phrase "*dan segala ulama dan hukama meayarkan emas dan perak*," *meayarkan* (an incongruous creation on an Old Javanese base) is a faulty correction; the word should have been corrected to *menaburkan*; b) p. 21 l. 27, the lettering <a-w-ŋ> is corrected to the Old Javanese *wwang* (idem on p. 64), which has nothing to do here, while it is also (and correctly) corrected to *o[r]ang* in the very same line.

This Old Javanese frenzy affects names too: p. 33 last line, Bota: this name has been read Bat or Bath by everybody to this day; the spelling of the manuscript is not as clear as A.A. says in fn. 324: the diacritical sign over the *ta* is not a *fatha* (sign of the vocalisation "a") but a *shadda* (sign of gemination, which is perfectly clear on the facsimile, f. 20: 2, line 2), and there is no reason

to "correct" to Bota. Incidentally, the lettering of the word with a *shadda*, i.e. <bṭṭ>, seems to confirm van Ronkel's hypothesis (1921: 175) that the name Bat comes from the Sanskrit *bhaṭṭa*, "the erudite, the bard," a typical surname for a Brahmin.

The fascination for Old Javanese perverts a famous passage of the *Sulalat al-Salatin*, the *ciri*. It is a text of a few lines that a character of supernatural origin (Bat precisely) delivers during the consecration of a king. The *ciri* seems to have first been a eulogy, in Sanskrit, of the king to be enthroned, that was read by a priest. Then the text became corrupt across the ages, while its use was extended to high officers of the kingdom. From the point of view of the disparity of the versions of the *Sulalat al-Salatin*, the *ciri* is an interesting point of comparison: it is mentioned in all versions, but its text is not quoted in Winstedt's and Abdullah's versions; it is quoted once in recension III, and quoted twice in K and another witness of recension II. A.A. thus transcribes the *ciri* twice and devotes an appendix to it (pp. 373-7), in which every word is commented upon. I am too incompetent myself to discuss these transcriptions and their translation, but it seems exceedingly surreal to try and read, and translate, a text in an unknown language by thumbing up a dictionary, even more so if the dictionary is one for Old Javanese, while the language is believed to be Sanskrit. Several scholars have studied the *ciri* in the past (among others, R.O. Winstedt, W.E. Maxwell, Ph.S. van Ronkel), but AA feels entitled to ignore their work altogether.

A.A.'s voluminous introduction discusses the various questions evoked above and also addresses the genesis of the text. Numerous hypotheses, all of them quite fragile I would think, have been proposed (mainly by R.O. Winstedt, R. Roolvink, O.W. Wolters, Teuku Iskandar and V.I. Braginsky) on the successive stages of the redaction of the *Sulalat al-Salatin* in the course of ages. A.A. adds a stone to this fanciful building: for him, the text has been revised under five Malacca sultans (p. lxiv, lxxvi)—"revised" because a first draft already existed in the 14th century (p. xlvi) or even the 13th (p. xlv, lxxiv). A.A. talks many times of a "standard" text, defined in various contradictory ways and which finally transpires to be Abdullah's edition of 1841. This point of view was current in the 19th century but has long lost all reason to persist. A.A. still has a few more theories on the date when it was decided to draw up the 1612 version of the *Sulalat al-Salatin*, on the personality of the author (a Sufi of Shia tendency…), on the influence of Aceh on the text, and other questionable points of view.

Summing up, this edition does not make the text of manuscript K easy to read. A.A.'s book is obviously a work of love and dedication. Unfortunately, A.A. got carried away with extreme ideas about philology, while a basic and modest transcription would have been much more profitable. Still, we do have a text and it transpires that K is a very interesting version of the *Sulalat*

al-Salatin. There are three recensions of the text (plus a few hybrid versions and editions), that are commonly known as the "Winstedt," the "short," and the "long" recensions. Roolvink (1970: xxii) and Revunenkova (2006: 63) have stated that K belongs to the short recension, but A.A., defying all evidence, asserts, on the basis of only few and shaky arguments, that K belongs to the Winstedt recension: K and manuscript Raffles 18 would have been copied on almost identical models (p. cvi and others) and K would be the most faithful witness of the 1612 version. This thesis is a priori attractive because the "Winstedt" recension is only known through one complete manuscript and another containing half of the text only. But, in reality, a comparison of the available versions of the text shows without any doubt that K belongs to another recension, namely the "short" one, and it represents an original version of that recension by comparison with the two versions known until now. (I intend to publish the results of that comparison in another article.) K is close to Abdullah's text in all major criteria of classification, but it is also close to either one or the other of the two other recensions in minor criteria, and yet shows idiosyncrasies of its own. Despite all its foibles, this edition is therefore extremely useful. It will require a thorough study of the text to determine the place of K in a stemma (still to be built) of all versions of the *Sulalat al-Salatin*, but that is another story.

Acknowledgements

I am most indebted to my colleagues Ernest Thrimbe and Arlo Griffiths for commenting on this article and offering editorial suggestions.

Works quoted

Abdullah b. Abdul Kadir (ed.) 1841. *Sejarah Melayu* [Jawi], Singapore: The Singapore Institution.

Ahmat Adam. 2016. *Sulalat u's-Salatin, yakni per[tu]turan segala raja-raja, dialih aksara dan disunting dengan kritis, serta diberi anotasi dan Pengenalan*, Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan, cxx-412-382 p.

DBP 86: The manuscript 86 at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur. It has been published by A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin (Sejarah Melayu)*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1979.

Kratz, E.U. 1981. "The editing of Malay manuscripts and textual criticism," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 137: 229-243.

Kulikova, A.M. 1989. "Tentang naskhah 'Sejarah Melayu' yang dibawa oleh Krunsenstern," in V.I. Braginsky & M.A. Boldyreva, *Naskah Melayu di Leningrad*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, p. 27-31.

Leyden, John. 1821. *Malay Annals: Translated from the Malay language by the late Dr John Leyden with an introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*, London: Longman etc. (Reprint, Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, 2001.)

R18: The manuscript Raffles 18. It has been published three times, notably by Muhammad Haji Salleh, *Sulalat al-Salatin, ya'ni Perteturun Segala Raja-Raja Karangan Tun Seri Lanang*, Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan & Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1997.

Revunenkova, E. 2006. "*Sulalat-us-Salatin*: the Krusenstern manuscript," *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 12-2, June 2006, p. 58-64. (http://manuscripta-orientalia.kunstkamera.ru/archive/2006_02_12/).

Revunenkova, E. 2008. *Sulalat-us-Salatin: Malayskaya rukopis Kruzenshterna I ee kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie* (The *Sulalat us-Salatin* and Its Cultural and Historical Significance), St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie (Russian Academy of Sciences), 478-105 p.

Ronkel, Ph. S. van. 1921. "De raadselachtige toespraak van den Hindoe-bard in de Maleische kroniken", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 77: 175-181.

W 190: The manuscript W 190 at the National Library, Jakarta. It has been published by Putri Minerva Mutiara, *Sejarah Melayu*, Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (Proyek Pembinaan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah), 1993.

Winstedt, R.O. 1957. "Sanskrit in Malay Literature," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20 (1/3): 599-600.

COMPTES RENDUS

Ruth Barnes, Emma Natalya Stein, Benjamin Diebold (ed.), *Gold in Early Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 2015, 289 p., b/w photog, list of illust., references, index, 15,5 x 23 cm (ISBN: 978-0-9850429-2-9).

Cet ouvrage comporte sept contributions basées sur des présentations faites au symposium *Gold in Southeast Asia*, qui s'est tenu en mai 2011 à la Yale University Art Gallery. Une manifestation organisée à l'occasion de la donation au musée, par Valerie et Hunter Thompson, de leur collection constituée durant les années 1970 et 1980 et tout à fait emblématique du champ de recherche concerné.

En effet, dans sa contribution qui clôt l'ouvrage, Ian C. Glover rappelle le manque d'informations sur les contexte et origine de la plupart sinon de tous les objets constituant cette collection, un problème récurrent pour ce type de mobilier archéologique dans la région. Si l'on ajoute à cela d'une part l'hypothèse d'Andreas Reinecke qui dans sa contribution estime qu'en Asie du Sud-Est 95 % du mobilier archéologique préhistorique (avant le II^{e} siècle EC) en or a disparu par pillage ou recyclage, d'autre part les réflexions d'A.T.N. Bennett sur les problèmes liés aux copies modernes, on a une idée du contexte dans lequel travaille les spécialistes.

Dans l'introduction (p. 1-9), Ruth Barnes rappelle que c'est en 1985 que paraissait le premier catalogue consacré aux objets ethnographiques en or d'Asie du Sud-Est, à savoir ceux de la collection du musée Barbier-Müller de Genève (Susan Rodgers, *Power and Gold*). Cinq ans plus tard, John Miksic publie le catalogue complet de la collection Valerie et Hunter Thompson mentionnée plus haut, l'une des plus importantes collections privées d'ors javanais anciens (*Old Javanese Gold*, Singapore, Ideation). À l'image de celui publié par Rodgers, c'est le premier ouvrage du genre en ce qui concerne l'Asie du Sud-Est (J. Miksic en a publié un catalogue révisé en 2011 à l'occasion du transfert de la collection au musée de l'université

de Yale). Coïncidence étonnante, c'est aussi en 1990 qu'est découvert fortuitement l'assemblage exceptionnel de Wonoboyo, au nord de Yogyakarta à Java central, Exceptionnel non seulement par la quantité et la qualité des pièces, mais aussi parce qu'il s'agit d'une découverte fortuite dont le contexte et l'origine sont connus, par conséquent datée, à savoir entre la fin du IX^{e} siècle et le milieu du X^{e} siècle. Ces trois éléments ayant contribué au lancement d'études approfondies sur le mobilier ancien en or en Asie du Sud-Est, le champ d'étude accumule des résultats depuis une trentaine d'années. Ces résultats comportent notamment la publication récente de plusieurs collections relatives à l'Asie du Sud-Est insulaire, signalées par Ruth Barnes: Musée National d'Indonésie (2010), collection de la Fondation Ayala aux Philippines (2011), coll. indonésienne de la Fondation Mandala de Singapore (2011), collection javanaise du Gemeentemuseum de La Haye (2012).

L'ambition de l'ouvrage est de présenter le champ sous de multiples facettes : histoire de l'art, archéologie et trouvailles en contexte, méthodes d'authentification, sources écrites et données ethnographiques.

L'histoire de l'art est représentée par deux contributions, celle de Helen Ibbitson Jessup (p. 11-74) et celle de Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (p. 89-123). Helen Ibbitson Jessup explore le dialogue entre influences extérieures (Inde, Chine) et spécificités régionales sur les formes, décors et fonctions du mobilier ancien en or de l'archipel indonésien. Elle situe à partir du VIII^{e} siècle l'apparition des traits austronésiens dans l'iconographie javanaise, traits que l'on retrouve dans des représentations anthropomorphes en or contemporaines liées au bouddhisme. L'auteure souligne par ailleurs la permanence de l'usage des objets en or dans les rites de passage en Indonésie depuis l'époque préhistorique. Diverses catégories d'objets sont discutées, amenant parfois de curieuses comparaisons hors du monde asiatique : offrandes funéraires – feuilles d'or couvrant les orifices des cadavres et masques mortuaires – ; cache-sexe – *cupeng* ; bijoux – tel le *mamuli* sans toutefois que l'auteur ne fournisse d'exemple ancien ; objets cérémoniels sacrés ou profanes – récipients et louches ; régalias. Helen Ibbitson Jessup suggère de possibles influences morphologiques et techniques chinoises pour certains d'entre eux dès l'époque de Java central (p. 42). Cet essai a le mérite de présenter un panorama de la variété des objets anciens en or de l'archipel, abondamment illustré à partir de plusieurs collections indonésiennes (mais surtout du Musée National d'Indonésie) et étrangères.

Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer livre une contribution sur l'iconographie des plaques génitales en or de Java oriental. Ces objets, non décrits dans les sources contemporaines, étaient portés aussi bien par des hommes que par des femmes aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles. Ils sont encore visibles aujourd'hui sur certaines marionnettes de princes et guerriers dans les théâtres d'ombres modernes à Java et à Bali, ainsi que sur des costumes de danseurs à Java. L'auteure examine un corpus de 21 objets conservés dans différents musées indonésiens et néerlandais et dans des collections privées. Tous sont de style Majapahit, datées de la seconde moitié du XIV^{e} siècle. Portés cachés sous les vêtements, ces objets étaient probablement destinés à des membres de la cour, qu'il s'agisse de personnages royaux, de nobles ou de religieux, ainsi qu'à des ermites. Les motifs centraux représentent surtout des femmes modèles et héroïques, telles Sri Tanjung, y compris avec des nouveaux nés. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer en déduit une double fonction, d'une part en tant qu'amulette protectrice des parties génitales

à l'occasion de moments dangereux, d'autre part en tant que symbole d'abstinence sexuelle dans diverses circonstances. Cette contribution originale met en lumière le profit qu'on peut tirer d'une analyse iconographique serrée d'objets en l'absence de toute autre source. Elle soulève aussi la question de l'apparition et de la disparition d'une pratique qui aura duré moins d'un siècle.

Le volet concernant l'archéologie et les trouvailles en contexte est représenté par deux contributions : celle d'Andreas Reineke (p. 125-166) et celle de Ian C. Glover (p. 237-251). Après des considérations générales sur l'exploitation du minerai à époque ancienne, en particulier l'importance de l'orpaillage, ainsi que sur les contacts à longue distance, Andreas Reineke décrit le mobilier des sites funéraires de Prohear et de Bit Meas dans le sud-est du Cambodge, deux sites pillés de façon intensive au milieu des années 2000. Les fouilles postérieures menées à Prohear par l'auteur ont néanmoins permis de réunir, dans des contextes bien identifiés, la collection d'ornements en or et en argent la plus diversifiée d'Asie du Sud-Est pour la période IIe siècle AEC – I^{er} siècle EC (corpus dépassant 100 objets), période considérée par l'auteur comme marquant l'apparition du mobilier en or dans la région. Les principales catégories sont décrites et la composition physico-chimique de plupart des objets a été déterminée. Il s'avère que plus de la moitié d'entre eux contiennent plus d'argent que d'or, impliquant l'usage de techniques de dorure. Par ailleurs, l'analyse des éléments traces a permis de diviser le corpus en deux types de métaux provenant de gisements alluviaux, l'un qualifié de régional, l'autre reflétant des échanges à longue distance. Des inventaires de quelque 500 tombes fouillées entre la Haute Birmanie et le sud du Vietnam datées entre le c. 150 AEC et 150 EC, l'auteur déduit que seul un petit nombre ont livré du mobilier en or et avance par ailleurs que c'est à partir de 100 AEC que les orfèvres locaux auraient cherché à imiter les objets importés en utilisant des techniques de production simples. Reineke décrit l'exemple encore trop rare en Asie du Sud-Est d'une fouille ayant livré un abondant mobilier en or sur lequel ont été menées des analyses complètes et systématiques qui feront référence. On manque par ailleurs, en Asie du Sud-Est insulaire, d'un panorama similaire des fouilles ayant livré du mobilier en or, non seulement pour les premiers moments de l'apparition de ce mobilier, mais aussi pour des périodes plus récentes. Il est clair que la combinaison de ces inventaires dans une base de données à l'échelle sud-est asiatique serait une avancée majeure pour ce champ de recherche.

Fort d'une expérience d'archéologue en Asie du Sud-Est dépassant 40 ans, Ian C. Glover livre une réflexion (p. 237-251) sur les relations entre archéologues et collectionneurs. Il met bien sûr l'accent sur la perte irrémédiable d'informations contextuelles en cas de pillage et de vente de mobilier trouvé fortuitement. Il rappelle également l'existence d'opérations de pillage menées entre deux campagnes archéologiques ou conduites sytématiquement des zones côtières vers l'intérieur, anticipant les projets archéologiques. Glover n'offre pas de solution miracle à court terme, que ce soit à propos de la lutte contre les pillages ou de la conduite à tenir par les archéologues en face d'objets archéologiques sans contexte. A long terme, la prise de conscience par l'éducation aux deux extrémités des réseaux de circulation des objets pourrait contribuer à freiner le phénomène.

Autre problème majeur du champ d'étude, lié à l'absence de contexte d'une grande partie du mobilier à la disposition des chercheurs, celui des faux, abordé ici par A.T.N.

Bennett (p. 183-235), qui fait le point sur les méthodes permettant d'identifier les copies récentes d'objets en or. Ces méthodes se divisent en deux catégories : d'une part la détermination physico-chimique du matériau ; d'autre part, les examens visuels minutieux, microscopiques ou radiographiques portant sur les traces d'usage et de patine, ainsi que sur les méthodes de fabrication et de décoration. Elle met en avant les difficultés pour identifier l'origine géographique précise du matériau, d'autant plus s'il s'agit d'or alluvial et recyclé, qui fournit la matière de la majorité des objets en or à époque ancienne. C'est au niveau des contaminants et des traces de raffinage que la détermination physico-chimique est intéressante pour la détection de faux. En effet, une composition jugée authentique ne constitue pas une preuve suffisante pour affirmer l'authenticité d'un objet, puisque les mêmes techniques d'orpaillage sont en usage depuis des siècles dans certaines zone d'Asie du Sud-Est. A.T.N. Bennett souligne que le nombre croissant de copies modernes de qualité rend d'autant plus ardue le travail d'authentification.

Deux contributions traitent de sources écrites ou orales locales et de données ethnographiques pour l'histoire de l'or en Asie du Sud-Est : celle de Jan Wisseman Christie (p. 75-88) et celle de Michael Armand P. Canilao (p. 167-181). Jan Wisseman Christie aborde l'or dans le contexte épigraphique de Java central (déb. VIII^{e}-mi-XI^{e} siècles), rappelant que le terme local ĕ*mas* pour désigner l'or apparaît dans les plus anciennes inscriptions en vieux javanais (début du IX^{e} siècle), en vieux balinais (fin du IX^{e} siècle), ainsi que dans les inscriptions en vieux malais de la fin du VII^{e} siècle à Sumatra Sud. A Java, ces mentions concernent essentiellement deux aspects, d'une part des transactions, qu'il s'agisse de taxes ou de dettes, d'autre part des mesures de poids, le poids d'or faisant office de valeur de référence pour mesurer la richesse matérielle sous diverses formes. Datant de la fin du VIII^{e} siècle, les plus anciennes monnaies d'or de l'île portent un caractère en écriture *nagārī* et et apparaissent dans les inscriptions de l'île un demi-siècle plus tard. Le système monétaire est également organisé à partir de plusieurs unités de poids d'or. Les bagues en or constituent un autre type de trouvailles communes sur les sites archéologiques de Java central. Décrites dans les inscriptions dès la première moitié du IX^{e} siècle sous le nom de *pasāda* ou *prasāda*, nombreuses sont celles gravées soit de symboles auspicieux, soit de mots sanskrit ou pāli. À Java, certains objets en or à caractère religieux sont également inscrits : images de divinités, plaques, feuilles. L'auteur s'interroge également sur l'origine du métal, rappelant les sources possibles à Sumatra, aux Philippines et à Bornéo.

Ce dernier volet fait la transition avec l'étude de Michael Armand P. Canilao, qui s'intéresse aux anciennes pratiques d'exploitation minière des Ibaloi aux Philippines, dans le nord-ouest de Luçon, précisemment dans la région de Benguet, ceci à partir de sources espagnoles datées entre le XVI^{e} et le XIX^{e} siècles, et de sources américaines du XX^{e} siècle. L'outillage rudimentaire constitué de pics en bois à pointe de fer ou de pierre taillée, associé à la combinaison feu-eau froide (technique également documentée en Inde du Sud) évolue peu entre le XVII^{e} et la fin du XIX^{e} siècle. Si l'exploitation de filons est réalisée en saison sèche, l'orpaillage est une activité conduite pendant la saison humide. D'après des résultats de prospections archéologiques et des traditions généalogiques, ces activités minières, qui échapperont toujours au contrôle espagnol, remonteraient au XIV^{e} siècle au moins, les produits étant diffusés par des

réseaux marchands actifs en Asie du Sud-Est et jusqu'en Chine. Michael Armand P. Anilao met ici en lumière l'une des rares régions d'Asie du Sud-Est pour lesquelles la documentation disponible permet de suivre assez bien une activité d'exploitation de gisements aurifères sur plusieurs siècles.

Toutes les références utilisées sont regroupées en fin de volume, ce qui en facilite la consultation.

En somme, un ouvrage abondamment illustré offrant des études exemplaires mettant en lumière le potentiel de plusieurs aspects d'un champ de recherche encore jeune. Des travaux qui soulèvent de nouvelles questions et invitent à la constitution d'outils de comparaison à l'échelle de l'Asie du Sud-Est.

Daniel Perret

Romain Bertrand, *Le long remords de la Conquête. Manille-Mexico-Madrid. L'affaire Diego de Ávila (1577-1580)*, Paris, Seuil, 2015, 566 p., notes, gloss., bibliogr., ill., ISBN 978-2-02-117466-3 (br.)

Romain Bertrand reprend dans son dernier ouvrage l'approche et les thèmes majeurs de ses précédents travaux, *Indonésie : la démocratie invisible. Violence, magie et politique à Java* (Karthala, 2002) et *L'histoire à parts égales. Récits d'une rencontre Orient-Occident (XVI^e^-XVII^e^ siècle)* (Seuil, 2011). Dans ces derniers, il abordait la magie noire en Insulinde ainsi que les situations de contacts, en mariant harmonieusement les sources historiques, archéologiques et linguistiques. L'auteur, qui avait jusqu'à présent travaillé en terrain javanais, s'aventure cette fois aux Philippines, plus exactement à Manille et à Cebu, aux premiers temps de la conquête.

L'histoire ? Un prétexte. Le procès intenté par le gouverneur Francisco de Sande à deux « Indiennes » et un *muchacho* de 11 ans, accompagné de son tuteur, en 1577. Le caractère incongru et tout à fait exceptionnel d'un procès qui n'aurait jamais dû avoir lieu amène l'auteur à résoudre le paradoxe de cette anomalie juridique. Pourquoi le gouverneur Sande, accoutumé aux faits de justice, déroge-t-il à la procédure en incriminant un enfant ? Ce dernier, n'ayant pas atteint la majorité juridique, aurait dû échapper de fait à toute poursuite de type inquisitoriale. Romain Bertrand se saisit de « l'affaire » et en ouvre les tiroirs. Le résultat, remarquable, court sur 300 pages divisées en quatre chapitres, lesquels explorent différents « mondes » sociaux de la colonie espagnole : celui des hommes d'armes de la conquête (chapitre 1), des lettrés et du gouverneur (chapitre 2), des religieux (chapitre 3), et enfin, celui des « ensorceleuses » de Cebu (chapitre 4).

Ces « mondes » se retrouvent enchevêtrés au cœur des visions du jeune Diego de Àvila, lesquelles forment le véritable nœud de l'affaire. Les faits,

présentés dans « Le rêve de l'Enfant » (p. 37-81), sont les suivants. En février 1577, le Frère Alonso Gutiérrez, prieur du couvent augustin de Cebu, se rend chez Andrés de Villalobos, un riche *encomendero* rendu fou avec sa femme et trois de ses esclaves par « ensorcellement » (p. 37). Les « Indiennes » Inés Sinapas et Beatriz, responsables du mal, infligent le même sort au jeune protégé du Frère. Diego de Àvila perd la raison pendant un mois et demi au cours desquels il est pris de visions de l'Au-delà. Outre quantité de démons et de sorcières, il y voit un *alcade*, « ami du gouverneur » et affirme que les créatures y attendaient ce dernier « qui ne respectait ni les Frères ni personne » (p. 49). Ce récit sort du secret de l'instruction pour atteindre Manille où la rumeur de l'âme damnée du gouverneur se répand. La chose est aisée et dangereuse dans « une petite société d'interconnaissance où les effets de réputation jouent à plein » (p. 55), et qui ne comptait pas plus de 500 hommes sur tout l'archipel en 1576. Elle finit par atteindre la salle du Conseil des membres du *cabildo*, le gouvernement municipal séculier de Manille. Autant dire que le nom du gouverneur, ainsi que sa carrière, sont menacés.

« L'honneur du Gouverneur » (p. 83-135) dresse dans les moindres détails le portrait de Francisco de Sande, « professionnel de l'administration de l'empire » qui se forme en droit au collège de San Bartolomé de Salamanque – fabrique castillane des juristes diplômés (*letrado*) – puis à Séville, avant de prendre le large pour la Nouvelle-Espagne. Si pendant huit ans, il « s'occupa d'à peu près tous les désordres et toutes les dissidences, indiennes comme espagnoles, qui ravageaient la Nouvelle-Espagne » (p. 92), sa liberté d'action et de ton lui valent la foudre du vice-roi. Il ne doit son salut qu'à la bienveillance de son protecteur Juan de Ovando, président du Conseil des Indes, qui lui évite l'expulsion dégradante du Mexique et lui attribue le poste de gouverneur des Philippines. De son passage au Mexique et de ses premiers pas à Manille, Sande se forge la réputation d'un homme nourrissant une profonde aversion pour les « enfants gâtés de la conquête » (p. 100), ces hommes d'armes sans nom, qui ne doivent leur fortune qu'à la générosité, considérée comme excessive, des deux premiers gouverneurs, Miguel López de Legazpi et Guido de Lavezaris. Aussi, à peine arrivé aux Philippines, Sande remédie à une situation qu'il juge défavorable aux revenus de la Couronne : il confisque les livres de comptes et demande remboursement. Il fait le tout sans s'encombrer des formes et use allégrement de « l'injure sociale, celle qui ravale au plus bas les prétentions d'étiquette d'un agent au motif de l'irrévocable infériorité de sa condition » (p. 112). Appartenant au monde de l'écrit et non de l'épée, il se met les conquistadores à dos. La chose est courante entre ces deux groupes dans les colonies et le gouverneur n'a que faire des sensibilités. Il se soucie surtout de consolider son honorabilité, adoptant les comportements de « son groupe social de référence, la *hidalguía notoria* ». (p. 134)

Ce monde de la conquête dépeint par l'auteur connaît un troisième groupe – les religieux – pour lesquels le gouverneur ne nourrit pas plus d'amitié. « La

vérité des Frères » (p. 137-214) présente l'ordre des Augustins à travers différentes figures, dont celle de l'oncle défunt de Diego, Frère Alonso Jiménez, et son tuteur au moment des faits, Alonso Gutiérrez. Au premier, Sande reproche un ascétisme extrême caractérisé par de dures pénitences ainsi que par de prétendues visions, qu'il rendait publiques. La chose existait chez les Frères : une partie de l'ordre poussait en effet à l'extrême la pratique de la contemplation. En outre, ces moralisateurs posaient un regard critique sur les modalités de la conquête. Assassinats, spoliation de terres et des biens poussèrent le missionnaire Martín de Rada à menacer les *encomenderos* de les mener « aux portes de l'excommunication en les privant de sacrements » en 1575 (p. 183). Le regard des Frères n'était pas moins critique pour les actes du gouverneur, homme de petite morale absent des bancs de l'église, célibataire entretenant de multiples liaisons et prenant de surcroît part au commerce illégal qui se faisait dans les cales de la *nao de China*, entre Manille et Acapulco. Diego de Àvila grandit dans cette atmosphère de leçons de dénuement et de critique envers les hommes de pouvoir, un monde social et culturel qui nourrit très certainement ses visions, comme le démontre très finement l'auteur.

Arrivé à ce point, au moyen d'archives européennes et américaines, Romain Bertrand a montré de façon tout à fait convaincante que « l'étude serrée non seulement des protagonistes, mais aussi des enjeux mouvants de l'affaire Diego de Ávila [permettait] de dévoiler la grammaire inséparablement sociale et *morale* des relations de pouvoir dans la Manille des débuts de la Conquête » (p. 214).

« Le silence des Sorcières » (p. 217-305), quatrième et dernier mouvement, clôt l'ouvrage sur une note quelque peu différente. Il ouvre une fenêtre sur le « monde » des ensorceleuses dont l'auteur essaie de saisir des bribes à travers « l'archive de la Conquête » (p. 216). Si les documents ne disent rien, seuls, de la vie des villages de Cebu dans les dernières décennies du XVI^{e} siècle, juxtaposés aux données de la linguistique, de l'archéologie et au fameux codex Boxer – document rédigé en 1590 à Manille – le résultat est tout autre. Aussi, les 100 dernières pages forment-elles tout l'intérêt de l'ouvrage, pour qui s'intéresse aux sociétés d'Asie du Sud-Est à la période moderne. Elles traitent non seulement des « Indiennes » et de leur rapport avec les *encomenderos* mais également des pratiques rituelles en divers points des Visayas et de Luçon. L'auteur se saisit des termes vernaculaires, recherche et explique les nuances. Trois mots – *bailan* (rituel/officiante), *diwata* (entité spirituelle) et *tibor* (récipient) – lui servent à reconstruire le monde au sein duquel ces pratiques, croyances et objets, faisaient sens et circulaient. On y retrouve le « petit canard d'étain à peine plus gros qu'un pois chiche » – probablement un poids à opium – et la « petite salière de faïence comme en fabriquent les *sangleys* [*Les Chinois de Cebu et de Manille]* » (p. 37-38) dans laquelle se trouve l'onguent qui ensorcèle la maisonnée d'Andrés de Villalobos. Le récit de ce procès qui dure trois mois se termine par la description des tortures endurées par les deux « Indiennes », dont l'une finit par s'échapper, tandis qu'on ignore

le sort de la seconde. Condamné aux galères pour dix ans, Diego de Ávila voit sa sentence annulée par l'Inquisition au Mexique. Il s'agit là d'un autre paradoxe de cette affaire qui se caractérise par un acharnement et beaucoup de papiers pour un résultat juridique quasi-nul.

Le long remords de la Conquête a le mérite, rare, d'amener les historiens des deux rives sur le même terrain, une fois quitté le galion. Romain Bertrand le dit, et met en garde, le monde des « Indiennes » et celui du gouverneur n'ont pas « la même densité » (p. 309) en raison de la dissymétrie des sources documentaires. Il reste que l'ouvrage, né de leur exploitation, sort de Manille, du négoce et des couvents, pour nous amener sous une maison de Cebu, à fouiller la terre et à déterrer des ossements en compagnie de deux « Indiennes ». Avoir mis cette histoire sur le métier à tisser de l'historien, et en avoir déroulé minutieusement toutes les bobines, montre les possibilités offertes par les « lézardes mal rebouchées par le plâtre crayeux des mots de l'Espagne » (p. 310), les fameuses « fissures dans le rideau de parchemin » selon la formule de l'historien William Henry Scott[1]. Pour cela, l'auteur a non seulement exploité minutieusement les archives, mais il a également mené une recherche très poussée dans les sources secondaires dont l'importante bibliographie livre l'étendue.

L'ouvrage a cependant les défauts de ses qualités. Ainsi, l'argumentation solide et extrêmement fouillée se fait-elle parfois au moyen de très longues digressions qui nuisent à la clarté du propos. Sur les nombreux domaines couverts, on relève également quelques rares erreurs ainsi la carte 13 (p. 240) qui localise un « royaume » indépendant à Palawan au XVI^e^ siècle. Ces détails n'entament cependant en rien l'intérêt d'un ouvrage à la fois livre-roman et livre-outil, comportant un appareil critique important (160 pages de notes, glossaire) et rédigé dans une langue riche aux formulations heureuses. L'auteur affirmait il y a 12 ans : *« le romancier a souvent des bonheurs que le politiste ne peut que lui envier »*[2]. Il faut croire que l'historien s'est arrogé ici quelques-uns de ces droits pour le plus grand plaisir du lecteur.

Elsa Clavé

1. William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and other Essays in Philippine History, Quezon City, New Day Publishers, 1982.*

2. Romain Bertrand, *État colonial, noblesse et nationalisme à Java. La tradition parfaite*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, p. 5.

Frédéric Durand, *Balthazar : Un prince de Timor en Chine, en Amérique et en Europe au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris, Les Indes savantes, 2015, 370 pages, ill., cartes. ISBN 978-2-84654-408-5

"In the streets of Paris, everyone has met a small man with copper-coloured face, who furthermore wears a black *brandebourg*s costume, with his hat under the arm, sword at his side, red-heeled shoes... one is far from thinking that one jostles a sovereign, a Majesty as legitimate as the one sitting on the throne in Versailles: still, this is the truth." The second-hand account of the French journalist G. Touchard-Lafosse testifies to the modest fame that Pascal-Jean-Balthazar Celse (c. 1737-1791), putative Prince of Timor and Solor, enjoyed in the waning days of l'Ancien régime. The picaresque story of the pretender to two distant Southeast Asian islands was virtually forgotten for the most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In modern times, however, a small body of studies on Balthazar has surfaced, notably by Anne Lombard-Jourdan. In the present work, the indefatigable scholar of East Timor, Frédéric Durand has taken up the pen with astonishing results. In fact there exists a substantial amount of sources related to Balthazar, including autobiographical manuscripts and even a lengthy (and since long forgotten) novel. Durand has combed fourteen archives in four countries in order to piece together the life of the prince over more than 300 pages of text.

According to his own accounts, Balthazar was born as the son of Gaspar, king and *tenente general* of Timor and Solor who resided in Animata, a place in the present-day Oecussi enclave in East Timor. A certain Dominican priest, Inácio de São José, persuaded the father to bring the young Balthazar, about twelve years old, to Europe for educational purpose. The prince and his tutor eventually arrived to Lorient in France in 1750; there, however, the Dominican treacherously left with the valuables brought on the journey, leaving Balthazar to his fate. Over the next years the young man survived by tending cattle and serving as a kitchen aid in François Thurot's seaborne expedition during the Seven Years War, at one occasion being nearly sold as a slave. In the 1760s his royal background became known among French persons of standing, eventually including even the Dauphin. While submitting numerous requests and suggestions to the authorities, he was able to live a decent life for periods, and was supported by various aristocrats and celebrities. The outbreak of the Revolution nevertheless reduced him to begging in the streets, and he finally died an obscure death at Hôtel-Dieu in Paris in 1791. All this is described with great verve and detail by Durand, leaving the impression of a well-mannered and persistent, but not always truthful gentleman.

For the student of East Timor, the crucial issue is naturally whether the claims of Balthazar can be substantiated. There were in fact a number of obvious imposters in this period, claiming to be kings or princes of exotic lands such as Angola and Macau. As Durand points out, the accounts he gave

of his life include several contradictions and obvious errors, and towards the end of his life he invented romantic and fabulous stories about his life on Timor, an island little known in Western literature. A Timorese connection is nevertheless likely. There was indeed a "Black Portuguese" leader Gaspar da Costa who dominated politics on Timor until his violent demise in 1749, held the title *tenente general*, and resided in Animata – information unlikely to have been known in Europe. I may add that the name of Balthazar's alleged love interest Inamaï contains the Dawan (West Timorese) word for "Mrs", "mother" (*ina*). Moreover a few traveler's accounts seemed to corroborate Balthazar's claim. On the other hand, an inquiry to the Black Portuguese elite undertaken with the help of the Dutch VOC in 1779 implied that he was rather the son of a Chinese *peranakan* trader and a Timorese slave woman. After weighing the pieces of evidence against each other, Durand finds it more probable that Balthazar was actually the son of Gaspar da Costa.

While his origins remain somewhat enigmatic, his activities in France can be documented in some detail and were in fact not inconsequential. His letter to Voltaire with a bid to support his claim went unheeded since the philosopher doubted the prince's story. However, Durand shows that Balthazar's proposals to the royal government to equip vessels bound for Timor had their effect. Newspapers all around Europe wrote about the Prince of Timor. The French East India Company reacted angrily since it felt its monopoly threatened, not without reason. In fact, Louis XV lifted the monopoly in 1769 since the circumstances – including Balthazar's memoirs – showed that it was detrimental to French trade in the east. Moreover, during the 1770s Balthazar was at the center of ultimately abortive plans by certain politicians to establish French authority on Timor and dispose with the weak Portuguese presence.

In sum, this is a highly captivating piece of historical detective work. It is empirical rather than analytical, and more could certainly have been done in terms of contextualization; postcolonial studies about Western images of race and the exotic Other have abounded in recent years, but have been little used. Nevertheless, while the modest prince remains a marginal figure in the colourful world of the late Ancien régime, the work has an interest in illustrating how a dark-skinned person of somewhat obscure origins was able to interact with a wide range of people in the highest echelons of society and win a great deal of confidence for his cause. Through the detailed account of Durand we get to know a series of political, military, commercial and cultural personalities at close range, whose common denominator was an individual who acted in a world where exoticism could very well be used by the exoticized objects to their advantage.

Hans Hägerdal

Jelani Harun, *Pulo Ka Satu. Warisan Sejarah Awal Persuratan Melayu Pulau Pinang* (*Pulo Ka Satu*. Patrimoine de l'histoire des débuts de la littérature malaise de Penang), Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (Bibliothèque nationale de Malaisie), 2014, 314 p. (bibliographie, index, illustrations). ISBN 978-967-931-255-3.

L'auteur de cet ouvrage, Jelani Harun, est un spécialiste malaisien des manuscrits malais, ayant publié, entre autres, un certain nombre d'ouvrages, comme son édition critique d'une partie du *Bustan al-Salatin* (Le jardin des rois) de Nuruddin Ar-Raniri (2004 et 2008)[3], et son analyse de cette même œuvre (2009)[4], ou celle, comparative, d'*undang-undang* (lois) (2008)[5].

Dans l'ouvrage dont nous donnons ici le compte rendu, l'auteur se penche sur les activités intellectuelles en malais d'une région particulière de Malaisie, Penang, depuis ses origines jusqu'au début du XX^e^ siècle. Dans le présent ouvrage, qu'il dédie à tous les auteurs et copistes de manuscrits malais[6], Jelani Harun étudie les textes en malais produits par divers groupes ethniques de Penang (*Melayu jati* [Malais de souche]), *Jawi Peranakan* [Indiens musulmans nés en Malaisie], *Darah Keturunan Keling* [descendants d'Indiens du sud], *Darah Keturunan Arab* [descendants d'Arabes], etc.), ainsi que par Francis Light, à l'origine de la colonie britannique de Penang. Les textes en question ne sont pas uniquement des manuscrits en *jawi* (malais en caractères arabes). Ils sont aussi imprimés, pour la plupart également en *jawi*, et même oraux. Ils sont de natures diverses (historiques, appartenant aux belles-lettres, traités religieux, lettres, accords, chansons, etc.). L'auteur prend donc le mot *persuratan* « littérature » de son titre dans un sens plus large que celui de belles-lettres en incluant toute production (écrite ou orale) en malais. Il agrémente son ouvrage d'un assez grand nombre d'illustrations (cartes, listes, photos (pour la plupart de manuscrits, de livres et de périodiques), etc.), de même que d'extraits de textes ou, plus rarement, de textes complets, étudiés dans son ouvrage.

Il divise son étude en cinq parties. Dans la première, il examine des documents, aussi bien anglais, chinois que malais, de tous genres (récits de voyage, mémoires, notes, romans, études, etc.) sur Penang, permettant d'éclairer l'histoire ancienne de l'île. Il explique que c'est dans les années 2000 que les recherches sur celle-ci se sont intensifiées, sous l'impulsion d'universitaires, en particulier de l'Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), constatant que le processus de développement de Penang délaissait de plus en plus ses aspects historique et culturel.

3. Jelani Harun, éd., *Bustan al-Salatin (Bab Pertama dan Kedua) Karangan Nuruddin Ar-Raniri* (Le jardin des rois (premier et second chapitres), de Nuruddin Ar-Raniri), Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Siri Warisan Sastera Klasik) (série Patrimoine de la Littérature classique), 2004, 443 p. ; Jelani Harun, éd., *Bustan al-Salatin (Bab Ketiga), Kisah Raja-Raja yang Adil, Nuruddin Ar-Raniri* (Le jardin des rois (troisième chapitre), Histoire des rois justes, de Nuruddin Ar-Raniri), Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Siri Warisan Sastera Klasik), 2008, 349 p.

4. Jelani Harun, *Bustan al-Salatin (The Garden of Kings), A Malay Mirror for Rulers*, Pulau Pinang, Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2009, 352 p.

5. Jelani Harun, *Undang-Undang Kesultanan Melayu dalam Perbandingan* (Les lois des sultanats malais, une comparaison), Pulau Pinang, Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2008, 454 p.

6. « *Memperingati semua pengarang dan penyalin manuskrip Melayu* ».

L'auteur donne, entre autres, des indications sur le nom de l'île, mentionnée pour la première fois sur la fameuse carte de navigation dite de l'amiral Zheng He (XV^e^ siècle), sous l'appellation de Bin Lang Yu ou Pin Lang hsu. Aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles, des voyageurs européens l'ont appelée Pulo Pinaom, Pulo Pinaon, Pulo Panying ou Pulo Pinang. Elle était donc connue bien avant que Francis Light n'en fasse une colonie anglaise en 1786. Les Malais ont, de leur côté, une tradition orale dans laquelle l'île est appelée Pulo Ka Satu, nom que l'auteur indique dans le titre de son ouvrage. Celle-ci concerne Nakhoda (Capitaine) Ragam, un personnage légendaire présent dans la tradition orale de Penang, mais aussi de Perak, de Johor, de Malacca et de Brunei Darussalam. On ne sait pas qui était en réalité Nakhoda Ragam. L'une des hypothèses avancée est qu'il s'agirait du Sultan Bolkiah de Brunei qui portait justement le surnom de Nakhoda Ragam. Il aurait vogué jusqu'à Penang à la fin du XV^e^ ou au début du XVI^e^ siècle et aurait donné à cette île le nom de Pulo Ka Satu.

Quant au nom de Pulau Pinang « L'île de l'aréquier » (*Areca catechu*), sous lequel on la connaît aujourd'hui, il est apparu après qu'y soit plantée cette espèce, bien que l'on ne sache pas très bien dans quelles conditions. Selon Jelani Harun (p. 27), ce toponyme est venu sur le devant de la scène quand le sultan de Kedah, qui avait alors Penang sous son autorité, menacé par le Siam et la Birmanie, signa, dés 1771, avec la Compagnie anglaise des Indes orientales, plusieurs accords commerciaux. Il ajoute que « Le summum de ces accords fut finalement atteint le 11 août 1786 quand Francis Light réussit à obtenir l'autorisation du Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah (1778-1798) d'occuper Penang[7] ».

La signature d'accords en 1771 peut paraître surprenante. Plusieurs études parlent d'une forme de coopération entre la Compagnie et le sultan de Kedah, Muhammad Jiwa (1710-1778), la première cherchant à obtenir certains avantages facilitant ses activités commerciales, le second espérant une aide militaire contre ses ennemis, comme les Bugis de Selangor et de Riau ainsi que le Siam. Il est question, par exemple, de « l'association éphémère entre Kedah et la Compagnie anglaise des Indes orientales en 1770-71 »[8], le sultan ayant « promis la cession de la côte près de Kuala Kedah en échange d'une aide lors d'une attaque contre Selangor »[9]. On explique aussi qu'une attaque de « mercenaires bugis » (*Bugis mercenaries*) en 1771 à Kedah, « mena à un renforcement des relations avec les Anglais dont le sultan recherchait l'aide »[10]. Des accords à cette fin entre les deux parties cette année-là sont rarement évoqués. C'est cependant le cas de Mahani Musa qui fait état d'un accord signé en avril 1771, « considéré comme étant le premier traité de défense signé entre un État

7. « *Kemuncak perjanjian akhirnya terlaksana pada 11 Ogos 1786 apabila Francis Light berjaya mendapatkan kebenaran Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah (1778-1798*) *untuk menduduki Pulau Pinang* ».

8. « *the short-lived association between Kedah and the EIC in 1770-1* » (Barbara Watson Andaya et Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, et Londres, The Macmillan Press, 1982, p. 103).

9. « *promised the cession of the coast near Kuala Kedah in return for support in an attack on Selangor* », *ibid.*

10. « *led to an increase in relations with the British from whom the Sultan sought assistance.* » (Rodolphe de Koninck, « Alor Setar, the Capital of Kedah : a City to Govern Agriculture », *Archipel* 36, 1988. Villes d'Insulinde (I), p. 149 et 150).

malais et les Anglais »[11]. Phillip E. Jones indique, pour sa part, qu'une rencontre entre Francis Light et le sultan Muhammad Jiwa à Kedah a eu lieu en avril 1771, pour lui demander l'autorisation d'y établir un comptoir. Le sultan accepta, à condition que les Anglais lui garantissent une protection contre le Siam, ce qu'ils refusèrent[12].

La deuxième partie est consacrée aux manuscrits malais en *jawi* originaires de Penang. Ces derniers, en majorité des copies, les œuvres de création étant rares, bien souvent, ne comportent ni date, ni nom d'auteur, de copiste et même de nom de lieu. À Penang, qui n'avait pas à sa tête de sultan, la production des manuscrits ne se faisait pas dans le palais du souverain ou chez des notables, mais chez des particuliers ou dans les bureaux de la Compagnie. Il n'existe pas de catalogue des manuscrits de Penang. C'est donc en consultant les catalogues des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Malaisie et de l'étranger, et en allant examiner les manuscrits sur place, aussi bien dans son pays, qu'en Grande-Bretagne, en France, ou encore aux Pays-Bas, que Jelani Harun a pu en identifier comme ayant été produits à Penang.

Les plus anciens sont, selon lui, les lettres de Francis Light, rédigées entre 1786 et 1794, échangées la plupart du temps avec des souverains et des hauts personnages malais. La School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) de Londres possède la plus grande collection de ces lettres. Il en existe aussi en France. La Bibliothèque nationale à Paris en compte une centaine, qui seraient des copies des lettres de Londres réalisées par Édouard Dulaurier (1807-1881), le premier enseignant de malais de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes. La Bibliothèque municipale de Tournus en a trente-huit, que l'auteur étudie plus particulièrement dans un chapitre de cette partie[13]. Il s'agirait de copies de certaines copies de Paris ou de copies d'originaux de Londres, réalisées par un copiste inconnu.

L'auteur consacre un chapitre à un accord de 1791 entre Francis Light et Sayid Hussain Aidid d'Aceh. Y sont fixées les conditions de résidence à Penang de ce dernier et de son groupe. Il termine cette deuxième partie par l'analyse de trois copies, provenant de Penang, de grandes œuvres malaises (*Karya Agung Melayu*), à savoir *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (Histoire de Hang Tuah), *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (Histoire

11. « *considered to be the first defensive agreement ever signed between a Malay state and the British* » (« Early History: Penang Before 1786 », *in* Muhammad Haji Salleh, éd. (traduit par Leelany Ayob et Ng Wai Queen), *Early History of Penang* (USM, 2012, EPUB, 2015), https://books.google.fr/books?id=gPekCgAAQBAJ&pg=PT4&lpg=PT4&dq=Early+History+of+Penang+(USM,+2012,++EPUB,+2015)&source=bl&ots=KF8-3-IyuN&sig=Ujm8tbUuRExYdAjZ2HbSkW7MIKU&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiP_O7dhaTVAhXGHxoKHaa#v=onepage&q=Early%20History%20of%20Penang%20(USM%2C%202012%2C%20%20EPUB%2C%202015)&f=false).

12. Cf. *Mariners, Merchants & The Military too. A History of the British Empire,* P J Publishing, 2011,https://books.google.fr/books?id=2v-UAwAAQBAJ&pg=PT155&lpg=PT155&dq=treaty+between+the+british+india+company+and+the+sultan+of+kedah+in+1771&source=bl&ots=P-DawSyGwqZ&sig=Gjx9_wxBRh4RWZu-jwl5ykNrvNk&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiLjaiR2K-bVAhUKBBoKHbhfB28Q6AEIaDAI#v=onepage&q=treaty%20between%20the%20british%20india%20company%20and%20the%20sultan%20of%20kedah%20in%201771&f=false).

13. Cf. l'article de Jelani Harun, « À la recherche de manuscrits malais en France, avec une mention toute particulière sur les lettres de Francis Light », paru dans *Archipel* 89 (2015, p. 39-61), que nous avons adapté d'une communication en malaisien de l'auteur intitulée « Menjejaki Manuskrip Melayu dan Surat-Surat Francis Light di Perancis » (Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 6 mai 2014. http//myrepositori.pnm.gov.my/xmlui/handle/123456789/1631), communication très proche du chapitre du présent ouvrage relatif aux lettres de Francis Light.

de Merong Mahawangsa) et *Taj al-Salatin* (La couronne des rois) qui, comme l'accord de 1791, sont conservées à Londres.

Si les auteurs ou les copistes d'œuvres malaises identifiés comme originaires de Penang sont rares, il en existe tout de même un certain nombre. Dans la troisième partie, Jelani Harun nous en donne plusieurs exemples.

Il commence par Lebai[14] Mamat, sur lequel on a très peu d'informations. On sait qu'il était illustrateur de pages de manuscrits et qu'à Penang, il a écrit *Syair*[15] *Yusuf* (Poème de Joseph), daté du 24 septembre 1859, manuscrit conservé à la bibliothèque de l'université de Leyde, aux Pays-Bas. Il a rédigé cette œuvre d'après une histoire qu'il aurait entendue, ayant pour héros le prophète Joseph. Par rapport aux œuvres composées ou traduites en malais le concernant, *Syair Yusuf* sort de l'ordinaire. Il raconte, en effet, que la passion que ressentait pour lui Puteri Zulaikha (ou Zuliha) a suscité des calomnies qui l'ont presque conduit en prison.

L'auteur mentionne ensuite Lebai Che' Duh, un *Jawi Peranakan* de Penang, actif comme auteur et copiste vers 1889-1890. Il est à l'origine de trois manuscrits conservés à la bibliothèque de l'université de Leyde, obtenus de Snouck Hurgronje en 1936 : *Hikayat Raja Budiman* (Histoire du roi sage) et *Surat al'-Anbiya* (Les prophètes), en tant que copiste, et *Kitab Fa'al* (Livre des médicaments), semble-t-il, en tant qu'auteur. Ce dernier manuscrit, débute par une section (la plus longue) consacrée notamment aux maladies ordinaires, à celles causées par des esprits, aux rapports entre époux, à la façon de séduire une femme, laissant à penser que Lebai Che' Duh serait un sorcier/guérisseur (*bomoh*) connu de Penang. Vient ensuite une histoire sur le *burung pingai* (oiseau aux plumes jaune clair), puis un *syair* louant la beauté et le caractère d'une femme idyllique.

Jelani Harun poursuit en traitant du copiste Ibrahim bin Hakim Long Fakir Kandu alias Ibrahim Kandu. Né à Kedah en 1780 (p. 136)[16], il est le frère d'Ahmad Rijaluddin bin Hakim Long Fakir Kandu[17], qui a écrit *Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala* (1811), racontant son voyage de Penang au Bengale (p. 131)[18]. Ibrahim Kandu était aussi traducteur et secrétaire de Raffles, pour qui il a fait de nombreuses copies de manuscrits. Lui ayant également enseigné le malais, il est aussi connu sous le nom de Munshi Ibrahim. Il lui aurait même présenté Abdullah Munshi, alors encore jeune. Ibrahim Kandu effectue en particulier des copies pour Raffles, en 1810, d'*undang-undang* (lois), comme *Undang-Undang Laut Melaka* (Lois maritimes de Malacca), conservées à la Royal Asiatic Society de Londres, faisant partie des plus anciennes

14. Titre pour une personne très croyante ou connaissant bien la religion musulmane.

15. Quatrains à monorimes.

16. Selon C. Skinner, dans « The author of the Hikayat Perintah Negeri Benggala » (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 132(2/3), 1976, (http://www.kitlv-journals.nl), on ne connaît pas exactement sa date de naissance puisqu'il dit, p. 201 : « Il est né à Kedah vers 1780 » (*He was born in Kedah about 1780*).

17. Kandu, présent dans leur nom, serait un mot tamoul, laissant penser que ce sont des Chulia, à savoir des « musulmans tamouls de la côte du Coromandel » (*Tamil Muslims from the Coromandel coast*) (C. Skinner, 1976, *ibid.*, p. 196).

18. En réalité, ce texte n'est pas le récit de ce voyage, car presqu'entièrement consacré à « une description de Calcutta et de ses agglomérations adjacentes en 1810 » (*a description of Calcutta and the adjoining settlements in the year 1810*) (C. Skinner, 1976, *ibid*., p. 195).

copies de manuscrits de Penang. On trouve aussi à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, des copies, réalisées par Édouard Dulaurier, de certains de ces manuscrits de Londres.

L'auteur termine cette troisième partie en se penchant sur le copiste Muhammad Naina Marikan (ca. 1904-1990), un *Jawi Peranakan*, qui, comme d'autres, avait transformé sa maison en scriptorium. Il possédait aussi une importante collection de manuscrits et de livres qui furent donnés à des bibliothèques ou à des particuliers, ou achetés par eux. Les trois copies qu'il a réalisées, dont parle Jelani Harun, datent de 1950 (celle de *Hikayat Raja Budiman*), de 1961 (celle de *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* « Histoire du perroquet sage ») et de 1963 (celle de *Hikayat Anak Dara Quraisy* « Histoire de la jeune fille Quraysh »), une époque plus tardive que la grande majorité des textes malais étudiés dans cet ouvrage. Ces copies se trouvent actuellement à l'Universiti Malaya, à Kuala Lumpur.

La quatrième partie de l'ouvrage porte sur l'histoire de l'imprimerie à Penang, l'une des premières régions de Malaisie où elle a été introduite, et où elle a prospéré avec vivacité au moins jusqu'à l'indépendance de 1957. Son histoire commence en 1806 et elle se développe rapidement grâce aux activités de la London Missionary Society. Elle connaît une nouvelle étape à partir de 1880, car ce ne sont plus dès lors les imprimeries européennes qui dominent, mais les imprimeries chinoises, indiennes, *Jawi Peranakan* et malaises.

Cette activité foisonnante de l'imprimerie à Penang, répondant aux demandes d'ouvrages scolaires ainsi qu'aux demandes d'une société avide de modernité, attira journalistes, écrivains et éditeurs expérimentés du pays, mais aussi de Sumatra, comme Muhammad Ali bin Muhammad al-Rawi, propriétaire des United Press. On y imprimait non seulement des livres, mais aussi des journaux et des revues, dans lesquels paraissaient, entre autres, des nouvelles d'écrivains originaires de Penang, tels Muhammad Ariffin Ishak ou Muhammad Nur Ahmad. Pour Jelani Harun, tout ceci fit qu'au début du XX^{e} siècle, l'île devint « le centre du développement de la langue et de la littérature » (*pusat perkembangan bahasa dan sastera*) (p. 159) (sous-entendu « malaise »), laissant ainsi supposer que d'autres centres n'existaient pas à la même époque dans le monde malais. Pourtant une intense activité linguistique et littéraire existait aussi ailleurs, en particulier à Singapour et à Riau. Jelani Harun explique que c'est également à Penang que les *Kaum Muda* (les Modernes), auxquels appartenaient des écrivains comme Syed Syeikh al-Hadi (1867-1934) et Ahmad Rashid Talu (1889-1939), introduisirent les idées progressistes de l'islam. Des revues œuvraient alors pour le progrès des Malais, comme *Al-Ikhwan*, fondée par Syed Syeikh al-Hadi, ou *Suara Malaysia*, publiée non pas en *jawi*, comme c'était généralement le cas à l'époque pour les publications en malais, mais en caractères latins (*rumi*). L'auteur insiste plus loin sur la présence du mot « Malaysia » dans son titre, ce qui est alors nouveau et rare.

Après cette analyse, sans transition, Jelani Harun fait une sorte de catalogue des imprimeries/maisons d'édition, donnant des exemples de leurs publications. Il commence par Criterion Press, fondée en 1883 par un Chinois d'Aceh, venu à Penang quand éclata la guerre entre Aceh et les Néerlandais. Cette maison d'édition publie, entre autres, à partir de 1894[19], le journal en chinois *Pinang Sin Poe*, à partir de 1898,

19. Selon Lee Kuok Tiung et Mohd Safar Hasim (« Peranan Akhbar Cina dalam Artikulasi Isu-Isu Sejarah dan Pembentukan Negara-Bangsa » (Le rôle des journaux chinois dans l'arti-

le journal en malais *Chahyah Pulau Pinang* (Lumière de Penang), en 1905, le livre de E. G. Cullin & W. F. Zehnder, sur les débuts de l'histoire de Penang, *The Early History of Penang (1592-1827)*, ainsi que de nombreuses *hikayat*[20] malaises. Parmi les autres imprimeries/maisons d'édition, il cite Mercantile Press, qui publie, entre autres, la revue *Malaya*, le journal *Idaran Zaman*, le livre de Mohamad Yusof bin Sultan Maidin, *Boria*[21] *dan Benchananya* (Le *boria* et ses dangers) (1922), *Syair Boria* (Le poème du *boria*) (1922) et le roman *Iakah Salmah ?* (Est-ce bien elle Salmah ?) (1928) d'Ahmad Rashid Talu. Il cite aussi Jelutong Press que Syed Syeikh al-Hadi avait pu fonder en 1927, grâce au succès remporté par son célèbre roman *Hikayat Faridah Hanom* (Histoire de Faridah Hanom) (1925-1926)[22]. L'auteur livre également des informations sur Commercial Press, British-Malaya Press, Penang Premier Press, Al-Zainiyah Press, qui publie le journal *Sahabat* (L'ami), comptant Abdullah Hussain parmi ses auteurs[23].

Après ce panorama des nombreuses imprimeries/maisons d'édition pionnières de Penang, l'auteur analyse plus en détail certains genres d'œuvres, en commençant par des *pantun*[24] parus dans des journaux et des revues et écrits par des habitants de Penang, comme celui, nostalgique, qui regrette le temps d'avant Francis Light. C'est ensuite le tour de *Pantun 481* (nombre représentant celui de ses strophes), dont l'original est conservé à la British Library de Londres. Son auteur est un certain Ahmar de Penang et il a été imprimé en *jawi* par United Press, également à Penang, en 1937.

Après avoir analysé des textes parus à l'occasion de la célébration de l'anniversaire des soixante ans (*jubli intan*) du gouvernement de la reine Victoria (par exemple déclarations (*ucapan*), louanges (*puji-pujian*) en *jawi* des habitants de Penang pour la reine, parues dans le *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*JSBRAS*) en 1886), l'auteur étudie tout particulièrement le *Risalah Hayy bin Yaqzan* (Histoire de Hayy bin Yaqzan), une traduction réalisée à partir de l'arabe par un écrivain de Penang, Ahmad Abdul Kadir bin Abdul Rahman, et publiée en *jawi* en 1918. Son auteur est Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Tufail al-Qaisi al-Andalusi, plus connu sous le nom de Ibn Tufail (1105-1185), écrivain, philosophe, médecin et notable de Grenade, en Espagne. Le titre de l'original est, semble-t-il, *Hayy ibn Yaqdhan* (XII^{e} siècle), du nom du héros, titre que Jelani Harun n'indique pas expressément.

Jelani Harun explique que le *Risalah Hayy bin Yaqzan* est différent des œuvres arabes traduites en malais, car il est en quelque sorte un roman se penchant sur « la recherche par les humains de la réalité de leur présence dans ce monde » (*pencarian*

culation des questions historiques et dans la formation de l'État-nation), *Jurnal Komunikasi, Malaysian Journal of Communication*, Vol. 31 (1), 2015, p. 261, www.ukm.my/jkom/journal/pdf_files/2015/V31_1_14.pdf), ce journal, appelé *Penang Sin Poe* (et non pas *Pinang Sin Poe*), est paru de 1895 (non pas 1894) à 1936.

20. Une *hikayat* est une longue histoire en prose.

21. Le *boria* est une forme théâtrale très populaire parmi les Malais de Penang, comprenant des scènes comiques, des chants, des danses, accompagnés de musique.

22. Jusqu'à présent, on ne sait pas s'il s'agit d'un original. Les personnages, les lieux, le contexte étant égyptiens, on pense qu'il pourrait s'agir d'une traduction ou d'une adaptation d'un roman égyptien, dont on n'a pas retrouvé la trace.

23. Après l'indépendance de la Malaisie, il deviendra l'un des *Sasterawan Negara* (Écrivain national), la plus haute distinction littéraire malaisienne.

24. Quatrains à rimes alternées.

manusia tentang hakikat kewujudannya di dunia ini) (p. 220), que cette œuvre célèbre de la littérature arabe, traite aussi de la « philosophie du dévouement des humains à Dieu Le plus Pur et Le plus Haut » (*falsafah keabdian manusia kepada Allah SWT*) (p. 218). Il ajoute que grâce à sa traduction anglaise par Simon Ockley[25], parue en 1708, il s'est rapidement diffusé en Europe[26]. Il ne dit pas cependant à partir de quelle langue elle a été réalisée. Celle-ci est en fait la première traduction anglaise réalisée à partir de l'original arabe et s'intitule *The improvement of human reason exhibited in the life of Hai ebn Yokdhan*[27]. Jelani Harun explique qu'entre le XIVe et le XIXe siècles, cette œuvre a été traduite non seulement en anglais, mais aussi en néerlandais, en allemand, en français et en espagnol, signe de son succès au niveau international, et qu'elle a même inspiré Daniel Defoe pour écrire *Robinson Crusoe* (cf. p. 223)[28]. Signalons que pendant cette période, elle a été aussi traduite en hébreu (la première, réalisée au XIVe siècle)[29], sans doute celle dont veut parler Jelani Harun quand il indique ce siècle, et en latin. Pour ce qui est de l'espagnol, elle n'aurait pas été traduite dans cette langue au XIXe siècle, mais pour la première fois en 1900[30].

L'auteur achève cette quatrième partie en examinant le rôle important des enseignants dans le développement de la langue et de la littérature malaise à Penang, à travers la revue *Panduan Guru* (Guide pour les enseignants), publiée dès 1922 par la Persekutuan Guru-Guru Melayu Pulau Pinang (Association des Enseignants malais de Penang), fondée en 1920. Elle publiait beaucoup de choses concernant la profession d'enseignant, mais aussi des nouvelles, des histoires drôles, des poèmes et des articles sur la défense de la langue et de la littérature. La revue cessa de paraître en 1925 et fut remplacée par *Majalah Guru* (Revue des enseignants).

La cinquième et dernière partie est consacrée aux œuvres produites dans deux régions de Penang : Balik Pulau et Seberang Perai.

Balik Pulau, dont le nom est peut-être lié à sa position derrière les collines le séparant de George Town, fut l'un des premiers lieux d'installation de Malais à Penang.

25. « Ockley » et non pas « Oakley » comme indiqué dans l'ouvrage de Jelani Harun.

26. Il est même devenu un « best-seller influent à travers l'Europe de l'Ouest aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles » (*infuential best-seller through-out Western Europe in the 17th and 18th century*) (Fredrick Kennard, *Thought Experiments: Popular Thought Experiments in Philosophy, Physics, Ethics, Computer, Science & Mathematics,* Lulu.com, 2015, p. 150). https://books.google.fr/books?id=sX-pCQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Fredrick+Kennard,+Thought+-Experiments&hl=fr&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Fredrick%20Kennard%2C%20Thought%20Experiments&f=falsep).

27. *Hayy ben Yaqdhân, Roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofaïl, Texte arabe avec les variantes des manuscrits et de plusieurs éditions et traduction française*, 2e édition, revue, augmentée et complètement remaniée par Léon Gauthier, Beyrouth, Imprimerie Catholique, 1936, p. XXIX-XXX (https://iqbal.hypotheses.org/1372). À noter que la première traduction anglaise de l'œuvre date de 1674. Elle a été réalisée par Georges Keith à partir de la traduction latine d'Edward Pococke de 1671 (*ibid*., p. XXIX).

28. Jelani Harun donne cette information en se basant sur l'ouvrage intitulé *The journey of the soul: the story of Hai bin Yaqzan, as told by Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Tufail* (Londres, Octagon, 1982), qui est une traduction anglaise du *Hayy ibn Yaqdhan*, réalisée par Riad Kocache.

29. « La traduction hébraïque d'auteur inconnu, dont Moïse de Narbonne a donné, en 1349, un commentaire en hébreu » (*Hayy ben Yaqdhân, Roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofaïl*, 1936, *op. cit*., p. XXIX).

30. *Ibid*., p. XXXII.

L'auteur n'en précise pas l'époque. Il dit cependant, plus loin (p. 246) qu'il existait des « implantations » (*kawasan-kawasan*) à Balik Pulau remontant à une époque aussi lointaine que celle de la légende de Nakhoda Ragam, dont on a parlé plus haut. Il explique aussi qu'une tradition intellectuelle, surtout centrée sur l'enseignement de la religion, s'y est développée.

On a peu d'informations sur la présence de manuscrits à Balik Pulau. On sait que *Hikayat Raja Budiman* y a été copié par Dolah (copie conservée à la Royal Asiatic Society). Une copie du *Sabil Al-Muhtadin* (Le chemin des gens correctement guidés), écrit en 1779 par Syeikh Muhammad Arshad bin Abdullah al-Banjari (1710-1812), sur la base du *Sirat al-Mustakim* (Le droit chemin), de Syeikh Nuruddin Al-Raniri de 1634, se trouve dans la collection privée de Haji Mustapa bin Kassim et de Rahilah binti Hamzah. Le nom du copiste et du lieu de production n'y sont pas mentionnés. Il est cependant probable que la copie ait été réalisée à Balik Pulau pour les besoins de l'enseignement de la religion dans les écoles coraniques. Ces mêmes personnes possèdent un manuscrit intitulé *Mir'at al-Asrar*[31], établi par Syeikh Sirajuddin bin Syeikh Jalaluddin à Aceh, recopié par un certain Haji Ismail bin Lebai Ibrahim à Kampung Sungai Rusa (Balik Pulau), en 1887.

À côté de cette tradition écrite subsiste à Balik Pulau une tradition orale (mythes d'origine par exemple), perpétuée par des personnes âgées.

Autrefois connue sous le nom de Province Wellesley, Seberang Perai, en face de l'île sur la péninsule, a été cédée en 1800 par le sultan de Kedah à la Compagnie anglaise des Indes orientales. Pour en retracer l'histoire ancienne, vu le manque de sources écrites, les historiens ont recours, par exemple, à la tradition orale et à l'archéologie. C'est là que se situerait l'origine de l'enseignement islamique à Penang et, aujourd'hui encore, on y trouve un grand nombre d'écoles coraniques ayant modernisé leur enseignement. Cette région a donné naissance à des spécialistes aussi bien traditionalistes que progressistes. Certains enseignants d'écoles coraniques étaient aussi des écrivains, des copistes, produisant des ouvrages destinés non seulement aux étudiants mais aussi à un public plus large. L'art islamique s'y est développé sous la forme de *Hadrah* et *Maulud Jawi*.

Les *Hadrah* sont des chants didactiques, accompagnés par des tambourins (à une face) (*rebana*). Les groupes de *Hadrah* donnent des représentations à l'occasion de fêtes et de mariages. Ces textes n'ayant jamais été mis par écrit, ils n'existent que sous forme orale mémorisée par les chanteurs.

Les *Maulud Jawi* sont des chants à la gloire du prophète Mahomet, interprétés par des femmes à l'occasion de la célébration de la fête de Sa naissance. Ces chants ont été mis par écrit par Imam Mat Saman bin Lebai Kadin, sous le titre de *Kitab Maulud Jawi*. Les représentations de *Maulud Jawi* se déroulent chez des particuliers. Seules les femmes y assistent, alors qu'à l'extérieur les hommes aident à la préparation des

31. Il s'agit sans doute du *Mir'at al-Asrar* de 'Abd al-Rahman Chishti (cf. Richard M. Eaton, Munis D. Faruqui, David Gilmartin, Sunil Kumar, éds., *Expanding Frontiers in South Asian and World History: Essays in Honour of John F. Richards*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 131) (https://books.google.fr/books?id=h0_xhdCScQkC&pg=PA131&lpg=PA131&dq=Mir%E2%80%99at+al-Asrar++de+%E2%80%98Abd+al-Rahman+Chishti&source=bl&ots=1x-HeM16SM&sig=CG-hRbIAVz09H66JOU9zqfK0Qko&hl=fr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiJ4IjRiKrVAhXFMhoKHeU9BW4Q6#v=onepage&q=Mir%E2%80%99at%20al-Asrar%20%20de%20%E2%80%98Abd%20al-Rahman%20Chishti&f=false).

mets destinés au repas cérémoniel. Le *Kitab Maulud Jawi* ressemble au *Kitab Kanz al-'Ula*, écrit par Sayid Muhammad Zain al'Abidin al-'Idrus (1795-1878), plus connu sous le nom de Tok Ku Tuan Besar de Terengganu, et il est très probable qu'il en soit une copie.

Jelani Harun a fait un travail de recherche minutieux, tentant de détecter, dans la mesure du possible, les textes produits à Penang. Une tâche peu aisée, surtout en ce qui concerne les manuscrits qui, bien souvent, ne comportent ni nom d'auteur ou de copiste, ni date, ni lieu de production et dont la grande majorité des textes originaux se trouve à l'étranger. Il a cependant réussi à en trouver un assez grand nombre, en faisant des recherches bibliographiques, en allant les consulter en Malaisie, mais aussi à l'étranger, en les cherchant également chez des particuliers, leurs héritiers, ou des personnes les ayant connus, certains n'étant cependant pas très coopératifs (p. 148 : « mon expérience lors de mes recherches sur Muhammad Naina Marikan a été assez éprouvante et fatigante à cause de l'attitude d'héritiers et de certaines personnes ne voulant pas coopérer comme il le faudrait »[32]).

Cet ouvrage est une contribution importante à l'histoire des débuts de la littérature malaise ancienne et moderne. Il apporte également des informations sur les origines de l'histoire de Penang. Les nombreuses illustrations et les extraits de textes ou, plus rarement, des textes complets, rendent de même plus vivantes les analyses. On peut cependant regretter quelquefois l'aspect inventaire de l'ouvrage, notamment lorsque l'auteur fournit la liste commentée des imprimeries/maisons d'édition de Penang. Il est vrai qu'il pourrait aussi être utilisé comme une sorte de catalogue des textes (manuscrits, imprimés et oraux) en malais produits à Penang depuis ses origines jusqu'au début du XX^{e} siècle.

Cependant, cet ouvrage est beaucoup plus qu'un catalogue, car il comprend, la plupart du temps, des analyses précises et détaillées. Certains passages pourtant manquent de rigueur et donnent une impression de flou, laissant le lecteur dans le doute (par exemple, quand l'auteur parle d'accords entre le sultan de Kedah et la Compagnie anglaise des Indes orientales, signés en 1771, ou des traductions du *Hayy ibn Yaqdhan*).

Le travail de Jelani Harun nous semble novateur. Nous ne connaissons pas, en effet, d'ouvrage traitant de l'histoire d'un centre de production littéraire en malais à la fois sous l'angle de la tradition orale, des textes (manuscrits et imprimés), des auteurs ou des copistes, ainsi que des imprimeries et des maisons d'édition. Sa démarche ressemble à celle de G.W.J. Drewes que signale Henri Chambert-Loir dans son article « La littérature malaise ancienne »[33] : « En annexe à un ouvrage consacré à un

32. « *pengalaman penulis dalam membuat kajian terhadap Muhammad Naina Marikan agak mencabar dan meletihkan, lantaran sikap sesetengah waris dan orang tertentu yang enggan memberikan kerjasama yang diperlukan* ».

33. *In* Henri Chambert-Loir, éd., *La littérature indonésienne. Une introduction*, Cahier d'Archipel 22, Collection Jeanne Cuisinier. INALCO, 1994, p. 9-41.

traité religieux arabe et à ses adaptations indonésiennes, G.W.J. Drewes a tenté une expérience sans précédent, celle de repérer dans les collections de manuscrits malais tous ceux provenant de Palembang »[34] (p. 24). C'est bien ce qu'a tenté de faire Jelani Harun dans le cas de Penang, mais pas uniquement pour ce qui est des manuscrits malais.

Monique Zaini-Lajoubert

Helen M. Creese, *Bali in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Ethnographic Accounts of Pierre Dubois*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 305, Brill, Leiden & Boston, 2016, XIX, 826 p. (26 ill.), cartes, fac. sim. ISBN : 978-90-04-31582-2 ; 90-04-31582-9

Dans cet imposant volume, Helen Creese analyse d'une façon extrêmement minutieuse les modalités de la rencontre entre Néerlandais et Balinais à partir des écrits de Pierre Dubois, qui servit à Bali comme administrateur civil de mars 1828 à mai 1831. Sa mission officielle était de recruter des soldats pour servir dans les troupes coloniales combattant à Java l'insurrection du prince Diponegoro. En dehors des rapports administratifs qu'il devait adresser périodiquement à sa hiérarchie, le comité de direction de la Société batave des arts et des sciences (Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) lui demanda en mai 1829 de rendre compte de ses expériences personnelles à Bali. Il a travaillé à ce projet, demeuré inachevé, jusqu'à son décès en 1838, en rédigeant une série de lettres en français, réunies sous l'intitulé *Légère Idée de Balie en 1830*. Témoignage oculaire original de la vie balinaise dû à un Européen établi dans l'île, ces textes peuvent être considérés comme le premier compte rendu ethnographique de Bali.

Philologue de formation, Helen Creese avait initialement conçu son étude comme un simple travail d'édition et de traduction des lettres de Dubois. Au fil des ans, elle a élargi son propos de façon à y intégrer une histoire des relations entre Néerlandais et Balinais depuis l'ère napoléonienne jusqu'à la première expédition militaire contre Bali en 1846. Si bien que son livre se compose de trois parties : l'édition originale de *Légère Idée de Balie en 1830* et sa traduction annotée en anglais y sont précédées d'une présentation circonstanciée du contexte historique et culturel du séjour de Dubois à Bali qui occupe plus de 300 pages.

Pierre Dubois est né en 1781 à Mouscron, un village wallon dans la province de Hainaut. Après avoir servi comme officier dans la Grande Armée, et

34. L'ouvrage de Drewes est *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path*, La Haye, Nijhoff, 1977 (VKI 81). L'annexe se trouve p. 198-244.

notamment participé à la campagne de Russie, il s'est engagé dans l'armée coloniale des Indes néerlandaises en 1817, qu'il a quittée l'année suivante pour servir dans l'administration civile. Et il n'était encore qu'un simple employé de deuxième classe dans la Résidence de Priangan, à Java-Ouest, lorsque le Conseil des Indes décida en janvier 1828 de l'envoyer à Bali comme administrateur auprès de la cour de Badung, dans le sud de l'île, pour y recruter des soldats. Le déclenchement de la Guerre de Java en 1825 avait en effet suscité une telle demande de combattants que le gouvernement avait décidé d'enrégimenter des troupes auxiliaires indigènes. Avant la venue de Dubois, plusieurs missions avaient déjà été envoyées à Bali dans le but de négocier un traité avec les princes de Badung : le capitaine B.D. van de Wahl en 1809, le commissaire H.A. van den Broek en 1817, le négociant arabe Sayyid Hasan al-Habashi en 1821 et le capitaine J.S. Wetters en 1826. Si ce dernier était finalement parvenu à obtenir un accord pour enrôler des soldats et à établir un comptoir commercial à Kuta, le débouché portuaire de Badung, ces différentes missions diplomatiques avaient surtout eu pour effet d'inquiéter les Balinais en les persuadant que le gouvernement colonial préparait l'invasion de leur île.

Durant toute la période de la Compagnie générale des Indes orientales (Vereenigde Oost-Indisch Compagnie, VOC), Bali avait été une source importante d'esclaves. Ce commerce était pour l'essentiel aux mains de marchands chinois et bugis, et nombre de maisons princières balinaises lui devaient leur richesse et leur pouvoir. Si l'interrègne britannique de 1811-1816 n'a guère affecté les relations entre l'aristocratie balinaise et les puissances européennes, il a suscité un renouveau d'intérêt pour Bali en faisant de cette île voisine de Java un enjeu stratégique dans la compétition que se livraient Anglais et Hollandais dans l'archipel insulindien. Par ailleurs, l'interdiction de la traite esclavagiste imposée par les Britanniques allait bientôt assécher cette source de revenus pour les maisons princières qui la contrôlaient et compliquer d'autant la tâche de Pierre Dubois, car aucun Balinais libre n'acceptait de quitter son île pour s'enrôler comme soldat. De fait, les quelques centaines de Balinais que ce dernier est parvenu à recruter durant son séjour à Kuta étaient pour l'essentiel des prisonniers de guerre, des débiteurs et des criminels, dont le statut s'apparentait à celui d'esclaves. Kuta était à l'époque un lieu d'exil où venaient échouer les Balinais expulsés de leur village pour faute grave, les fugitifs cherchant à échapper aux exactions d'un prince, ou bien encore les individus affligés d'une maladie infamante, comme la lèpre. On conçoit que la présence d'un Européen en ce lieu, en butte à la méfiance de la population et en concurrence avec les négociants chinois et bugis, n'était certainement pas de tout repos. Avec la fin de la Guerre de Java en 1830, la demande de recrues militaires s'est tarie et le gouverneur général a pris la décision de fermer le comptoir de Kuta en mai 1831. À son retour de Bali, Dubois fut nommé employé de première classe dans la Résidence de Besuki, à Java-Est, où il finit ses jours.

À l'époque où Pierre Dubois s'est installé à Bali, l'île était encore virtuellement inconnue des Européens, en dépit de quelques rapports sommaires, dus notamment aux administrateurs et orientalistes britanniques John Crawfurd (1820) et Thomas Stamford Raffles (1817), qui avaient effectué de brefs séjours à Buleleng, dans le nord de l'île, le premier en 1814 et le second en 1815, ainsi qu'à l'administrateur néerlandais Van den Broek (1835). La demande adressée à Dubois par la Bataviaasch Genootschap consistait d'ailleurs à évaluer le rapport rédigé par ce dernier à l'issue de sa mission à Bali en 1817-1818. Considérant que ce rapport était truffé d'erreurs, Dubois décida de rédiger son propre compte-rendu, sous la forme d'une vingtaine de longues missives, qualifiées de « lettres familières » adressées à un correspondant anonyme intitulé « Monsieur », figure rhétorique d'un interlocuteur censé authentifier les choses vues par l'auteur et attester leur crédibilité. Il existe trois versions de ces manuscrits, conservées respectivement aux Archives nationales néerlandaises de La Haye, au KITLV à Leyde et aux Archives nationales indonésiennes à Jakarta.

Compte tenu de leur caractère souvent fragmentaire, fruit de nombreuses corrections et de réécritures successives, Helen Creese a établi son édition des lettres de Dubois en construisant son corpus à partir de choix effectués dans les trois versions disponibles. Et elle en a organisé la présentation selon quatre axes thématiques : les origines mythiques du peuplement de Bali et l'histoire de ses maisons princières, la société et ses castes, les croyances et cérémonies religieuses, et enfin les rites funéraires. Ce qui nous vaut notamment une exposition détaillée des origines de la dynastie de Badung et de ses trois maisons rivales – Pamecutan, Denpasar et Kesiman – avec leur lot d'intrigues, de conflits et de meurtres. C'est qu'aucune position de pouvoir n'était jamais assurée à Bali. La souveraineté y reposait sur la coercition et la pompe, la richesse et l'habileté politique, tout autant que sur la capacité à nouer des alliances militaires et matrimoniales stratégiques. Le *negara* balinais était en effet composé de centres et de satellites comprenant un grand nombre de seigneurs auxquels leurs vassaux prêtaient allégeance. Et chaque seigneur devait à son tour fidélité à son propre suzerain. Dans un tel contexte, le système matrimonial polygame et les rivalités factionnelles aboutissaient constamment à des revendications concurrentes de souveraineté et à des situations politiques instables.

Dans sa première lettre, Dubois soulignait la singularité de Bali et avouait la difficulté où il se trouvait d'en rendre compte, « parce que cette région, qui n'est encore connue des étrangers que très superficiellement, possède en effet une race d'hommes singulière, dont le physique, les moeurs, les usages, les institutions sociales, et surtout les idées religieuses, diffèrent de beaucoup de ceux des autres nations » (p. 318). Dans une autre lettre, il rappelait à son correspondant, comme une évidence : « On sait que la race d'hommes à Balie, est la plus belle de tout cet archipel » (p. 343). Mais il ajoutait peu après : « Quel

dommage qu'une si belle parcelle du globe soit condamnée par le sort à être la plus mal gouvernée des deux hémisphères ! Une politique égoïste et despotique dicte la loi, et des brutes superstitieuses rampent sous un joug d'airain » (p. 344). C'est que les écrits de Dubois témoignent de la vision des Lumières sur la condition humaine et l'état d'avancement des civilisations. On y trouve ainsi les raisons des différences physiques et culturelles entre les peuples, la confiance dans le pouvoir de la raison pour assurer le progrès de l'humanité de l'état sauvage à celui de civilisé, et l'impératif d'une libération des hommes de la double tyrannie des superstitions religieuses et du despotisme arbitraire. À maintes reprises, l'auteur y donne libre cours à la rhétorique coloniale familière d'une aristocratie avide et indolente, lascive et fourbe, opprimant les masses ignorantes avec la complicité intéressée d'une prêtrise qui s'entend pour manipuler la naïveté d'un peuple crédule. Seuls échappent à ses diatribes les paysans, qui sont durs au labeur et parcimonieux, et surtout les femmes de toutes les classes, « actives, industrieuses, soumises et fort réglées dans leur moeurs » (p. 499).

Il est frappant qu'à la différence de Crawfurd et Raffles, ainsi que des orientalistes qui leur ont succédé, tels Rudolph Friederich (1849-50) ou Sylvain Lévi (1933), Dubois ne qualifie pas d'hindouisme la religion balinaise. Ce n'est certes pas faute d'être attentif aux croyances religieuses des Balinais et à leurs foisonnantes pratiques rituelles. Mais il s'en tient à rapporter ce qu'il a vu lors de son séjour dans l'île, sans chercher à référer les cérémonies balinaises à une éventuelle origine exogène. Cela étant, il partage la fascination de ses contemporains pour la crémation et il ne manque pas de décrire en détail l'immolation des veuves sur le bucher funéraire de leur mari. Mais il prend soin d'expliquer également la raison des rites post-crématoires, nécessaires pour libérer l'âme de ses attaches terrestres et permettre la transformation des défunts en ancêtres divinisés. De la même façon, à l'encontre de ses prédécesseurs, Dubois ne renvoie pas à l'Inde pour rendre compte de la présence de « castes » à Bali, mais il présente au contraire la structure sociale en termes spécifiquement balinais, en détaillant avec précision l'agencement complexe des stratifications hiérarchiques au sein de la population, et en soulignant notamment le système matrimonial hypergamique, où le statut d'un aristocrate est déterminé par le rang de sa mère.

On doit savoir gré à Helen Creese d'avoir mis à la disposition du public, anglophone comme francophone, les lettres de Pierre Dubois, avec leur mélange savoureux d'observations judicieuses et de jugements de valeur sur la vie balinaise dans les premières décennies du XIX^{e} siècle. Mais par delà l'intérêt indéniable que présentent ces écrits pour l'historiographie balinaise, il faut surtout rendre hommage au travail d'édition, de présentation et de contextualisation qu'elle leur a consacré, qui s'avère en tous points exemplaire.

Références

Broek, H.A. van den, 1835, « Verslag nopens het eiland Balie : De vorsten, hunne geaardheid en betrekkingen, den handel, de culture, de bevolking, hare zeden en gewoonten, Godsdienst en andere bijzonderheden », *De Osterling. Tijdschrift van Oost-Indië*, 1, p. 158-236.

Crawfurd, John, 1820, « On the existence of the Hindu religion in the island of Bali », *Asiatick Researches*, 13, p. 128-170.

Friederich, Rudolf H.Th., 1849-50, « Voorlopig verslag van het eiland Bali », *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 22, p. 1-63 ; 23, p. 1-57.

Lévi, Sylvain, 1933, *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, Baroda, Oriental Institute.

Raffles, Thomas Stamford, 1817, *The History of Java*, London, Black, Parbury & Allen.

Michel Picard

Matthew Isaac COHEN, *Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2016, 352 p., index, ill., bib., ISBN : 978-0-8248-5556-7; 0-8248-5556-6

Le nouvel ouvrage de Matthew Isaac Cohen vient enrichir ses deux contributions précédentes (l'une publiée en 2006, *The Komedie Stamboel: Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia,* 1891-1903, l'autre en 2010, *Performing Otherness: Java and Bali on International Stages, 1905-1952*), deux livres portant sur l'histoire des arts de la scène. Publié en 2016, *Inventing the Performing Arts: Modernity and Tradition in Colonial Indonesia* ouvre une perspective nouvelle dans l'appréhension des arts du spectacle dans l'archipel indonésien et plus particulièrement à Java. Par une approche historique minutieuse, il met en perspective un siècle et demi de transformations artistiques, de 1800 à 1949, de la dissolution de la Compagnie Néerlandaise des Indes Orientales à l'Indépendance de l'Indonésie.

Fruit d'une recherche méticuleusement informée par des sources historiques et linguistiques plurielles (indonésiennes, malaises, javanaises et néerlandaises), élaboré selon un plan chronologique, l'ouvrage retrace les périodes permettant de comprendre au mieux les enjeux inhérents aux « arts du spectacle » indonésiens. La définition qu'en donne l'auteur précise le champ d'analyse dans lequel il s'inscrit: « *I use "performing arts" here to demarcate a field of activity that is essentially aesthetic or entertaining rather than ritualistic or "magical" in orientation* » (Cohen 2016, p. xiv). L'auteur inclut dans cette acception du terme les arts de la scène (le théâtre, la comédie, la danse et la musique), examinés dans une perspective holistique.

L'ouvrage est divisé en trois parties, chacune présentant une phase déterminante dans l'analyse historique présentée. Dans la première, intitulée « *Common Ground for Arts and Popular Entertainments* », l'auteur s'attache à mon-

trer la vitalité et la grande diversité des pratiques artistiques de l'archipel, à l'époque précoloniale. En outre, il dévoile comment le passage de l'oralité à l'écrit dans le processus de transmission confère le statut de tradition culturelle à des pratiques populaires. À ce titre, ces traditions villageoises trouvent leur légitimité à figurer au sein du palais royal (*keraton*). C'est en effet sous le règne du souverain Mangkunegara IV (r. 1853-1881) que les formes artistiques populaires sont intégrées à la culture de cour de Surakarta. Les arts de la scène se renouvellent ainsi, Solo devenant le foyer de l'innovation artistique au sein de l'archipel. L'entrée de l'Indonésie dans l'ère du capitalisme industriel induit alors un tournant important dans la conception même des arts du spectacle. Sous l'impératif de l'innovation et du progrès, la production artistique indonésienne, rationalisée et médiatisée, s'ouvre au pluralisme culturel avec l'émergence de nouveaux enjeux. Cohen souligne la reconfiguration progressive des formes traditionnelles artistiques sur le mode du divertissement : « *Those who ignored the modern needs for innovation and novelty risked artistic failure and economic demise* » (Cohen 2016, p. 60).

Les transformations qui en découlent sont examinées dans la seconde partie *« The Maesltrom of Modernity* » qui porte sur les réadaptations des formes théâtrales indonésiennes sous l'influence de l'opéra chinois. Le succès de la *komedi stamboel* dans les années 1890 illustre un engouement général pour des formes artistiques hybrides qui combinent des influences pluriculturelles tant sur le fond que sur la forme. Dans la continuité chronologique, l'auteur met en perspective la guerre d'Indépendance (1945-1949) et le sursaut nationaliste qui en résulte. Ce dernier est à l'origine de groupes formés par les élites javanaises tels que *Java Institute* ou *Kridah Beska Wirama*, lesquels œuvrent pour le développement et le partage des valeurs culturelles locales. Cette ambition implique cependant un remaniement des formes artistiques, alors simplifiées et privatisées. Ce phénomène de transformation des pratiques scéniques prend une ampleur nouvelle lors de la mise en place de la République d'Indonésie en 1949 : les arts de la scène rendent désormais manifeste l'unification d'une nation indonésienne en phase avec les exigences du progrès. Fondés autour d'un concept revisité de « tradition », ils mettent notamment en scène une nouvelle lecture du *Mahabârâta* et du *Râmâyana*. L'ambition nationale opère ainsi un renouveau artistique, point de jonction entre une voie unique, celle du peuple indonésien et une identification à la nation : *« The collective voice of the people as a performative discourse of public identification* » (Bhada 1990: 309 cité dans Cohen 2016: 159). Le lien constant établi par l'auteur entre son objet d'étude et les changements politiques, sociaux, économiques et religieux éclaire avec précision la dynamique de ces transformations.

La dernière partie de l'ouvrage « *Occupation and "Greater Asian" Modernity* » expose le tournant des arts indonésiens sous l'occupation japonaise (1942-1945). L'auteur analyse la manière dont les principales formes artistiques traditionnelles (danse, théâtre, théâtre de marionnettes), tout d'abord revitalisées,

sont progressivement mises au service de la propagande japonaise et de l'effort de guerre. Les mesures acharnées de censure, le recensement des artistes et le contrôle de la production artistique qui s'ensuivent n'empêchent cependant pas l'émergence d'un théâtre d'avant-garde indonésien. En réaction à l'occupant nippon, les artistes donnent à leurs productions une tournure politique, utilisant leur art comme outil de diffusion de messages contestataires.

Matthew Isaac Cohen achève son propos sur l'état de la production artistique indonésienne après l'Indépendance. Cette dernière est prise dans une dynamique contradictoire, entre modernité et retour aux sources (« *Rather, excavating and problematizing the colonial past might serve to refurbish the public sphere and provide points of orientation for future creativity through incultating historicity* ») (Cohen 2016: 235).

A la lecture de ce livre, on peut interroger le choix de l'auteur de privilégier l'approche historique plutôt qu'anthropologique. Neutraliser les subjectivités et les affects liés aux pratiques artistiques (pour les producteurs ou les récepteurs) consiste à éviter d'aborder la dimension individuelle et sociale des pratiques étudiées. Si l'auteur ne donne pas la parole aux artistes eux-mêmes, il fournit cependant au lecteur un apport contextuel solide ainsi qu'une analyse chronologique fine des enjeux et dynamiques à l'œuvre. Un apport ethnochoréologique et ethnomusicologique aurait été bienvenu afin d'enrichir la réflexion historique de précisions techniques. De plus, il est peut-être regrettable que l'étude n'évoque pas davantage la situation des arts de la scène dans d'autres îles de l'archipel, l'auteur centrant son propos sur Java. Enfin, un examen plus détaillé des modalités des échanges artistiques et culturels entre l'Indonésie, l'Inde, les pays arabes, le Japon et les Pays-Bas aurait été utile.

Toutefois, le parti pris de M. Cohen apparaît comme particulièrement remarquable. L'auteur considère en effet les arts du spectacle comme le premier vecteur d'invention et d'expérimentation de la modernité, ce qui le mène à une remise en cause de cette catégorie (*« Rather than viewing the performing arts as mirroring or expressing modern ideas already circulating in society, I take artistic practice as a primary mode for inventing and experiencing modernity»* (Cohen 2016: xix). Cohen prolonge en effet les réflexions menées par Giddens[35], Shils[36], Williams[37] et Dirlik[38], anthropologues et sociologues penseurs de la « modernité » et de la « tradition ». Selon ces auteurs, la « tradition » manifeste une continuité entre des temporalités passées et présentes. Leur approche appréhende les pratiques anciennes dans leur capacité

35. Giddens, Anthony, 1990, *The consequences of modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

36. Shils, Edward, 1981, *Tradition*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

37. Williams, Raymond, 1989, *The politics of modernism: Against the new conformists*, Londres, Verso.

38. Dirlik, Arif, 2007, *Global modernity: Modernity in the age of global capitalism*, New York, Paradigm Publishers.

dynamique, sujettes à de constantes transformations. Cohen souligne, en s'appuyant sur Eisenstadt[39], que la notion de « modernité » dont le référent serait le modèle occidental, ne fait pas consensus. Dans la continuité des études citées, l'auteur examine la manière complexe et parfois paradoxale dont sont conciliés legs du passé et créations contemporaines au sein des arts du spectacle en Indonésie. Il cherche à établir le manque de pertinence d'une dichotomie entre héritage traditionnel et modernisme et insiste sur le perpétuel remaniement auquel sont soumises ces catégories. Il élabore sa réflexion à partir des notions de « tradition inventée »[40] et de « modernité multiple »[41]. Ces concepts mettent en évidence deux facteurs majeurs dans la constitution des arts du spectacle indonésiens : une pluralité d'influences culturelles d'une part, et un dialogue entre globalisations et ressources régionales de l'autre. Son analyse dévoile comment les pratiques artistiques participent à l'élaboration de la « modernité », sans laisser en marge les nouvelles formes artistiques nationales et transnationales. De surcroît, la publication ouvre vers une réflexion sur les nouvelles pratiques artistiques et interroge les échos contemporains de la colonisation. Cette étude sur les transformations des arts de la scène à Java, extrêmement riche et pertinemment illustrée, s'impose désormais comme un ouvrage de référence.

Clara Gilbert

Ana Dragojlovic, *Beyond Bali. Subaltern Citizens and Post-Colonial Intimacy*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2016, 204 p. (9 ill.). ISBN: 9789462980648 (hardback) ; ISBN: 9789048530038 (PDF)

Ce livre est tiré d'une thèse de doctorat en anthropologie soutenue en 2008 par Ana Dragojlovic à l'Australian National University de Canberra sous la direction de Margaret Jolly. Il s'agit de la première recherche consacrée à la diaspora balinaise aux Pays-Bas. Telle que formulée par l'auteur, cette étude se veut « an ethnography that explores Balinese subaltern citizens' production of post-colonial intimacy – a complex reification of claims to proximity and mutuality between themselves and the Dutch during colonialism – and its echoing effects in the present » (p. 20). L'argument d'une « intimité postcoloniale » entre Balinais et Néerlandais repose, aux dires mêmes des immigrés balinais, sur l'admiration pour l'exceptionnelle richesse de leur culture témoi-

39. Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah, 1969, « Some observations on the dynamics of traditions », *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11(4), 451-475, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

40. Hobsbawn, Eric & Ranger, Terence, 1983, *The Invention of tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

41. Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah, 2000, « Multiple Modernities », *Daedalus, 129* (1), 1-29.

gnée par les colonisateurs néerlandais, qui ont repris à leur compte la vision idéalisée des premiers orientalistes européens faisant de Bali le dépositaire de l'héritage hindou balayé de Java par l'irruption de l'islam, une image abondamment célébrée depuis lors par la promotion touristique internationale. Fiers de cette flatteuse réputation, les Balinais établis aux Pays-Bas se présentent – et cherchent à se faire reconnaître – comme des citoyens modèles, comme des hindous paisibles et bien intégrés, afin de se différencier des autres populations immigrées, tout particulièrement des musulmans, qu'il s'agisse des Marocains ou des Turcs, ou encore des autres groupes ethniques originaires de l'Indonésie. Loin d'afficher des sentiments anticolonialistes, contrairement par exemple à la communauté moluquoise, les Balinais mettent l'accent sur la pression qu'ils subissent dans leur île de la part des musulmans afin de s'assimiler aux Néerlandais, qui sont soumis tout comme eux à la menace islamiste.

Dans son introduction, Ana Dragojlovic appréhende la confrontation coloniale comme un processus actif d'appropriation, au cours duquel les relations entre Balinais et Néerlandais ont été négociées par les colonisés plutôt que déterminées unilatéralement par leurs colonisateurs. Elle expose la méthodologie de son étude, qu'elle présente comme une ethnographie retraçant les reconfigurations de la « balinité » (*kebalian*) dans la diaspora balinaise aux Pays-Bas – « a notion that encompasses the personal, social, and cultural complexities involved in being persons and collectives of Balinese ethnicity in post-colonial Dutch society » (p. 23). La notion de « balinité » – fondée sur l'unicité de la « religion » (*agama*), de la « tradition » (*adat*) et de la « culture » (*budaya*) – a été élaborée par une élite sociale et intellectuelle durant la période coloniale, lorsque les Balinais ont eu à se définir vis-à-vis des colonisateurs étrangers tout comme des autres peuples des Indes néerlandaises. Loin d'être limités comme à Bali aux membres de l'intelligentsia, en situation de migration postcoloniale les débats sur leur identité agitent, nous dit l'auteur, l'ensemble des Balinais de la diaspora, quels que soient leur niveau d'éducation et leur position socio-économique.

Forte de plus d'un millier de familles, la diaspora balinaise aux Pays-Bas résulte de deux vagues migratoires distinctes. Il s'agit tout d'abord d'anciens étudiants dans les pays du bloc communiste, empêchés de rentrer en Indonésie par le changement d'orientation politique du gouvernement Suharto. La rupture sino-soviétique et la Révolution culturelle en Chine ont rendu leur position difficile et nombre d'entre eux ont demandé l'asile politique aux Pays-Bas (ainsi que dans une moindre mesure en France). La seconde vague migratoire est consécutive au développement du tourisme international à Bali, qui a entraîné la formation de couples mixtes. La plupart des immigrés balinais ont le statut de résident permanent, ayant décidé de conserver leur citoyenneté indonésienne afin de préserver leur droit à l'héritage et la possibilité d'acquérir des terres dans leur île. Les Pays-Bas ont longtemps eu la réputation

d'une nation tolérante, ouverte aux minorités ethniques. Mais cette attitude a commencé à changer avec l'affaiblissement de l'État-providence au tournant des années 2000, qui ont vu le remplacement de l'orientation multiculturaliste par un impératif d'intégration requérant des migrants une participation active dans les institutions civiques.

Chacun des cinq chapitres qui composent l'ouvrage illustre la manière dont les immigrés balinais se sont organisés en situation de diaspora, en décrivant comment ils ont réagi à divers évènements singuliers et comment ils ont reconfiguré leur « balinité » en dialogue avec leurs interlocuteurs néerlandais : la formation d'un *Banjar Suka Duka* en 1995, la célébration des fêtes religieuses de *Galungan* et de *Kuningan*, l'exposition *Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past* en 2005-2006, la production d'un spectacle intitulé *Puputan, Val van Bali* commémorant en 2008 le centenaire de la conquête coloniale de Bali, et les créations d'un artiste balinais moderne. Il s'avère qu'en dépit des efforts des Balinais pour se présenter comme des immigrés modèles, leur situation de minorité ethnique aux Pays-Bas n'est pas aussi assurée qu'ils le voudraient, comme l'attestent leurs débats au sujet de la « balinité », qui témoignent de la fragilité de leur position de citoyens subalternes et même de l'anxiété caractérisant l'expérience de leurs interactions avec les Néerlandais autochtones.

Pour intéressante qu'elle soit, l'étude d'Ana Dragojlovic n'est pas entièrement convaincante. Tout d'abord, si la sophistication intellectuelle de l'auteur est indéniable, le lien entre les matériaux ethnographiques et l'abondant appareil conceptuel n'apparaît pas toujours pertinent, donnant souvent l'impression d'être plaqué de façon artificielle. Ensuite, et surtout, outre de très nombreuses coquilles, on relève nombre d'erreurs factuelles qui dénotent tout autant un manque flagrant d'attention qu'une connaissance manifestement insuffisante du terrain balinais, et ce en dépit de multiples références aux publications des spécialistes. Étant moi-même fréquemment cité – sous le nom de « Michael Picard » (quand ce n'est pas « Pickard ») -, j'ai constaté de sérieuses déformations de ma pensée qui me font douter du bien-fondé de certaines allégations de l'auteur. Par ailleurs, tout en renvoyant à mes propres travaux sur la construction de l'identité balinaise, Ana Dragojlovic prend la notion de *kebalian* comme un donné, sans vraiment expliciter son élaboration ni d'ailleurs sa reconceptualisation en situation postcoloniale. Le lecteur que je suis aurait aimé savoir comment les immigrés balinais conçoivent et pratiquent effectivement leur « balinité », en l'occurrence ce qu'ils considèrent être leur *agama*, leur *adat* et leur *budaya*. Le fait est que l'auteur ne paraît pas consciente des forces qui travaillent l'identité religieuse des Balinais, ou à tout le moins elle n'en fait nullement mention. Comme si l'« hindouisme » était une entité acceptée de toute évidence par l'ensemble des Balinais, qu'ils résident à Bali ou dans la diaspora. Dans le même ordre d'idées, j'aurais aimé en savoir davantage sur les relations entre les Balinais et les autres groupes

ethniques indonésiens établis aux Pays-Bas, relations qui ne sont brièvement mentionnées qu'à propos de la commémoration du *puputan* de 1908. Cette absence de point de vue comparatif risque de faire apparaître la position des immigrés balinais comme plus particulière qu'elle ne l'est peut-être en réalité.

Michel Picard

Acep Zamzam Noor, *Ailleurs des mots*, traduit de l'indonésien et présenté par Étienne Naveau, Paris, Presses Sorbonne nouvelle, Coll. Cahiers de poésie bilingue, N° 5, 2016, 15,5x10,5 cm, 96 pages. ISBN 978-2-87854-687-3.

Ce petit ouvrage est le cinquième de la collection des *Cahiers de poésie bilingue des Presses Sorbonne nouvelle*. Cette collection, dirigée par Christine Raguet, lancée assez récemment (le premier numéro date de 2014), publie des poèmes, avec textes originaux, et traduits pour la première fois en français, de poètes du monde entier, surtout contemporains, mais aussi anciens. Pour le moment, sont parus dans cette collection, à l'exception du N° 2, consacré à de la poésie indienne des débuts de notre ère, des poèmes contemporains, irlandais (le N° 1), grecs (le N° 3), bulgares (le N° 4) et indonésiens (le N° 5).

Comme c'est le cas de tous les volumes de cette collection, les poèmes et leur traduction sont précédés d'une assez longue introduction. Pour ce qui est de ce numéro 5, elle comprend dix-sept pages, y compris deux pages de bibliographie et une page sur la prononciation de l'indonésien. Quant au nombre de poèmes traduits, il s'élève à quarante-cinq.

La poésie indonésienne moderne en traduction française a déjà fait l'objet de quelques publications dont la plus ancienne daterait, à notre connaissance, de 1958[42]. Des poèmes traditionnels (*pantun*, quatrains à rimes alternées, et *syair*, quatrains à monorimes) ont également été traduits en français. Malgré tout, ces traductions sont encore peu nombreuses. Ce cinquième numéro des Cahiers de poésie bilingue, vient donc avec bonheur enrichir ces publications encore rares.

Dans l'introduction, le traducteur, Étienne Naveau, nous donne des informations sur l'auteur et son œuvre, analyse les poèmes de cette anthologie, explique comment il l'a constituée. Il nous fait part également de sa stratégie de traduction.

L'auteur, Acep Zamzam Noor, est né à Tasikmalaya (Java-Ouest), en 1960[43]. Il a été éduqué dans deux écoles musulmanes (*pesantren*), d'abord,

42. Il s'agirait de Ilen Surianegara, *Poèmes et nouvelles : choix de littérature indonésienne contemporaine*, Paris, KBRI (Ambassade d'Indonésie), 1958.

43. Cf. http://seni-acepzamzamnoor.blogspot.fr/2009/07/profil.html. Nous n'avons pas trouvé sa date de naissance dans le présent ouvrage.

semble-t-il, dans celle fondée par son grand-père en 1930, et qu'a hérité son père, à Cipasung, un village non loin de son lieu de naissance, puis dans une autre dans la banlieue de Jakarta. Il fait ensuite des études de peinture à l'Institut technologique de Bandung, puis dans une université pour étrangers en Italie grâce à une bourse reçue du gouvernement de ce pays. Il rentre en Indonésie en 1993 et s'installe à Cipasung où il se consacre uniquement à la peinture et à la poésie, refusant toute activité alimentaire qui serait, pour lui, une forme de trahison à l'égard de son art. Il a exposé ses tableaux, dont l'un d'eux a été choisi comme couverture du présent ouvrage[44], dans divers pays étrangers et a publié une dizaine de recueils de poèmes, écrits, dans leur grande majorité, dans la langue nationale, l'indonésien, mais aussi, plus rarement, en soundanais, la langue régionale de Java-Ouest. Ils ont été traduits dans plusieurs langues. Deux d'entre eux, composés en soundanais, l'ont été en français. Dans la présente anthologie, c'est la première fois que ses poèmes en indonésien sont traduits en français.

Ce poète mystique, vivant à la campagne, est proche de la population locale, et il s'est engagé au niveau de sa région lors de la chute du président Soeharto. Il a ainsi, entre autres, fondé un parti et composé des poèmes polémistes, qu'il ne considère pas comme de la véritable poésie qui, pour lui, est lyrique. C'est pourquoi, le traducteur n'a pas introduit de poème de ce genre dans son anthologie.

Bien qu'il n'ait pas opté pour une carrière religieuse, contrairement à son grand-père et à son père, la religion est très présente dans l'œuvre d'Acep Zamzam Noor. La vision de l'islam qui s'y reflète est celle de l'organisation musulmane traditionaliste Nahdlatul Ulama, un islam teinté de soufisme conciliant envers les coutumes locales et les autres religions.

Dans ses poèmes, il parle de la nature, il oppose la douceur de la campagne à l'agressivité de la ville, lieu de dégradation et de vacarme, ce qui « lui fait aspirer à s'anéantir en Dieu » (p. 13-14). Les éléments de la nature ne sont pas seulement agréables à voir. Certains, comme le papillon, peuvent évoquer « la fragilité et la brièveté de la vie » (p. 14). Le thème de l'amour y est aussi présent. On y retrouve le lien entre érotique et mystique, présent dans la poésie religieuse, énoncé de façon plus ou moins ambiguë dans ces poèmes, certains évoquant l'amour charnel. Dans d'autres, le thème religieux prime, comme la quête ou la soif de Dieu ou bien l'idée, à laquelle beaucoup d'Indonésiens de diverses confessions sont attachés, « d'un dépassement des frontières confessionnelles à partir de l'expérience mystique » (p. 19), faisant « contrepoids aux fondamentalismes et aux intolérances » (*ibid*.).

Étienne Naveau a sélectionné les poèmes de son anthologie dans trois recueils de poèmes d'Acep Zamzam Noor, en ordre chronologique *Tulisan pada Tembok* (Graffitis) (2011), *Bagian dari Kegembiraan* (Part de bonheur)

44. Il s'agit du tableau intitulé « *Two Angels* (2008) ».

(2013) et *Di Luar Kata* (Ailleurs des mots) (2014), ainsi que dans son blog, avec une majorité tirée de *Tulisan pada Tembok*. On remarquera que le titre de l'anthologie, *Ailleurs des mots*, est la traduction de celui du recueil intitulé *Di Luar Kata*. le traducteur a regroupé ces poèmes dans quatre parties : « La voie lyrique », « L'horizon du monde », « Les chemins de l'amour » et « Vers la clarté divine », reflétant le parcours en trois phases de la poésie d'Acep Zamzam Noor, que nous avons évoqué ci-dessus, à savoir, le lyrisme, la réalité de la vie et le mysticisme.

Comme le dit le traducteur vers la fin de son introduction, il s'est efforcé de « présenter une traduction la plus épurée possible, fidèle à la sobriété et au dépouillement des textes originaux » (p. 20). Et tel est bien le cas, en effet. Il est resté proche de l'original, a respecté, dans la mesure du possible, le style du poète. Sa traduction est méticuleuse, soignée, justifiant en note certains de ses choix.

Si l'ouvrage est petit, il contient une grande richesse d'informations. Son introduction très éclairante sur l'auteur et son œuvre et sur les poèmes de l'anthologie, permet d'avoir une meilleure compréhension de ces derniers et de ce fait, de mieux les apprécier et de les lire avec plus de plaisir.

Monique Zaini-Lajoubert

présentés dans « Le rêve de l'Enfant » (p. 37-81), sont les suivants. En février 1577, le Frère Alonso Gutiérrez, prieur du couvent augustin de Cebu, se rend chez Andrés de Villalobos, un riche *encomendero* rendu fou avec sa femme et trois de ses esclaves par « ensorcellement » (p. 37). Les « Indiennes » Inés Sinapas et Beatriz, responsables du mal, infligent le même sort au jeune protégé du Frère. Diego de Àvila perd la raison pendant un mois et demi au cours desquels il est pris de visions de l'Au-delà. Outre quantité de démons et de sorcières, il y voit un *alcade*, « ami du gouverneur » et affirme que les créatures y attendaient ce dernier « qui ne respectait ni les Frères ni personne » (p. 49). Ce récit sort du secret de l'instruction pour atteindre Manille où la rumeur de l'âme damnée du gouverneur se répand. La chose est aisée et dangereuse dans « une petite société d'interconnaissance où les effets de réputation jouent à plein » (p. 55), et qui ne comptait pas plus de 500 hommes sur tout l'archipel en 1576. Elle finit par atteindre la salle du Conseil des membres du *cabildo*, le gouvernement municipal séculier de Manille. Autant dire que le nom du gouverneur, ainsi que sa carrière, sont menacés.

« L'honneur du Gouverneur » (p. 83-135) dresse dans les moindres détails le portrait de Francisco de Sande, « professionnel de l'administration de l'empire » qui se forme en droit au collège de San Bartolomé de Salamanque – fabrique castillane des juristes diplômés (*letrado*) – puis à Séville, avant de prendre le large pour la Nouvelle-Espagne. Si pendant huit ans, il « s'occupa d'à peu près tous les désordres et toutes les dissidences, indiennes comme espagnoles, qui ravageaient la Nouvelle-Espagne » (p. 92), sa liberté d'action et de ton lui valent la foudre du vice-roi. Il ne doit son salut qu'à la bienveillance de son protecteur Juan de Ovando, président du Conseil des Indes, qui lui évite l'expulsion dégradante du Mexique et lui attribue le poste de gouverneur des Philippines. De son passage au Mexique et de ses premiers pas à Manille, Sande se forge la réputation d'un homme nourrissant une profonde aversion pour les « enfants gâtés de la conquête » (p. 100), ces hommes d'armes sans nom, qui ne doivent leur fortune qu'à la générosité, considérée comme excessive, des deux premiers gouverneurs, Miguel López de Legazpi et Guido de Lavezaris. Aussi, à peine arrivé aux Philippines, Sande remédie à une situation qu'il juge défavorable aux revenus de la Couronne : il confisque les livres de comptes et demande remboursement. Il fait le tout sans s'encombrer des formes et use allégrement de « l'injure sociale, celle qui ravale au plus bas les prétentions d'étiquette d'un agent au motif de l'irrévocable infériorité de sa condition » (p. 112). Appartenant au monde de l'écrit et non de l'épée, il se met les conquistadores à dos. La chose est courante entre ces deux groupes dans les colonies et le gouverneur n'a que faire des sensibilités. Il se soucie surtout de consolider son honorabilité, adoptant les comportements de « son groupe social de référence, la *hidalguía notoria* ». (p. 134)

Ce monde de la conquête dépeint par l'auteur connaît un troisième groupe – les religieux – pour lesquels le gouverneur ne nourrit pas plus d'amitié. « La

Résumés – Abstracts

Ludvik Kalus, université de Paris IV Sorbonne, Paris & **Claude Guillot**, CNRS, Paris.

Cimetières de Sumatra, Varia [Épigraphie islamique d'Aceh. 12]

Avec cette douzième et dernière livraison, nous terminons cette longue série de l'épigraphie musulmane d'Aceh antérieure à l'an mil de l'hégire, soit plus de 150 stèles inscrites.

Graveyards of Sumatra. Varia [Muslim Epigraphy of Aceh. 12]

With this twelfth and last delivery, we end this long series on the Muslim epigraphy of Aceh prior to the year 1000 Hegira, that is more than 150 inscribed steles.

Henri Chambert-Loir, Directeur d'études émérite de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.

Islamic Law in 17th Century Aceh

In 1999 Aceh province (renamed Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam), in the north of Sumatra, was granted the exceptional authorization to apply sharia on its territory. The process, however, is slow, difficult and conflictive. In such a context the highlighting of compendiums of Islamic law (*fiqh*) written in Malay at the time of the sultanate tends to confirm the idea, much widespread for a long time, that sharia has always been implemented in Aceh. It happens that a local publisher has released in 2015 two ancient texts: the *Mir'at al-Tullab* by Abdurrauf al-Singkili (1672) and the *Safinat al-Hukkam* by Jalaluddin al-Tarusani (1740). The article examines to what extent historical sources—especially about the law in force and more generally the observance of Islam in Aceh in the 17th century—allow us to evaluate in what conditions and for what purpose those two texts were written.

Loi islamique à Aceh au XVII^e^ siècle

La province d'Aceh (rebaptisée Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam), au nord de Sumatra s'est vue accorder, en 1999, l'autorisation exceptionnelle d'appliquer la sharia sur son territoire. Le processus, cependant, est lent, difficile et conflictuel. Dans ce contexte, la mise en valeur de traités de droit musulman (*fiqh*) écrits en malais à l'époque du sultanat tend à confirmer l'idée, depuis longtemps très répandue, que la sharia a toujours été appliquée à Aceh. Or, un éditeur local a publié en 2015 deux textes anciens : le *Mir'at al-Tullab* de Abdurrauf al-Singkili (1672) et le *Safinat al-Hukkam* de Jalaluddin al-Tarusani (1740). L'article examine dans quelle mesure les sources historiques, notamment sur le droit en vigueur et plus généralement l'observance de l'islam, à Aceh au 17e siècle, nous permettent de juger dans quelle conditions et dans quel but ces deux traités ont été rédigés.

Joseph M. Fernando, Associate Professor in the Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, **Shanthiah Rajagopal**, independent researcher.

Politics, Security and Early Ideas of 'Greater Malaysia', 1945-1961

The formation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 remains a source of much debate among historians. The official announcement by the Prime Minister of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman, on 27 May 1961, urging a closer association of Malaya, Singapore and the three British-controlled Borneo territories is viewed by some studies as the trigger that led to the formation of Malaysia on 16 September 1963. While this study recognizes that Tunku's proposal of May 1961 was a catalyst to the formal negotiations, it shows through a closer scrutiny of Colonial Office documents that the idea of a super-federation or "grand design" had been gradually planted in the minds of the elites in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories, particularly from the early 1950s and that these confidential discussions were crucial to the acceptance of the basic premise of such a grand federation. It argues further that Tunku's suggestion of a broader federation to Lord Perth in June 1960 merely speeded up the formal discussions for the federation that was already being seriously considered at the time by Colonial Office and British officials in the Borneo territories and Singapore. Thus the new federation was not merely a result of 'local developments' in Southeast Asia, but was also a by-product of a concerted effort in the Colonial Office to create a broader entity in Southeast Asia.

Politique, sécurité et premières idées de 'Plus Grande Malaisie', 1945-1961

La formation de la Fédération de Malaisie en 1963 reste un sujet d'âpres débats parmi les historiens. D'après certaines études, c'est l'annonce officielle par le Premier ministre de Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman, le 27 Mai 1961, au cours de laquelle il exhorte à une association plus étroite entre Malaya, Singapore et les trois territoires de Bornéo sous contrôle britannique, qui est perçue comme le déclic conduisant à la formation de la Malaisie le 16 septembre 1963. Si la présente étude reconnaît que la proposition de Tunku de mai 1961 a été un catalyseur pour des négociations formelles, elle montre, grâce à l'examen minutieux des documents du Colonial Office, que l'idée d'une super-fédération ou de « grand design » a été inculquée graduellement dans les esprits des élites de Malaya, Singapore et des territoires de Bornéo, en particulier à partir du début des années 1950, et que ces discussions confidentielles ont été cruciales pour l'acceptation du fondement d'une telle grande fédération. Elle avance également que la suggestion d'une fédération élargie faite par Tunku à Lord Perth en juin 1960 n'a fait qu'accélérer les discussions formelles relatives à la fédération, qui était déjà sérieusement envisagée à l'époque par le Colonial Office et les officiels britanniques des territoires de Bornéo et de Singapore. Ainsi, la nouvelle fédération n'a pas résulté uniquement d' 'évolutions locales' en Asie du Sud-Est, mais a dérivé d'une action concertée du Colonial Office pour créer une entité plus large en Asie du Sud-Est.

Jyh Wee Sew, Centre for Language Studies, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, National University of Singapore, Singapore.

Watching a Singapore Drag Comedian: A Semiotic Analysis of Kumar in a YouTube Video

This visual study of Kumar, a drag comedian from Singapore, examines aspects of political semiotics on aging in Singapore. As a digital record of performing arts, the YouTube-video

(Nur Fasihah 2012, http://buttonsinthebread.com/2012/06/29/happy-ever-laughter/) shows footage of Kumar poking fun at Toh Yi Drive residents' initial reactions to a government-proposed nursing home construction in their estate. The thunderous laughter from the floor suggests that Kumar manages successfully his comedic connection with a primarily English-speaking audience. Based on the audio-visual segment, this discussion identifies the discursive variables underpinning the incisive twists in Kumar's onstage comical repertoire.

En observant un comédien travesti de Singapour: une analyse sémiotique de Kumar dans une vidéo sur YouTube

Cette étude visuelle de Kumar, un comédien travesti de Singapour, s'intéresse à des aspects de sémiotique politique sur le vieillissement à Singapour. La prestation scénique enregistrée sous forme de vidéo YouTube (Nur Fasihah 2012, http://buttonsinthebread.com/2012/06/29/happy-ever-laughter/) montre une séquence dans laquelle Kumar se moque des réactions initiales des habitants de Toh Yi Drive à propos d'un projet de construction par l'administration publique d'une maison de retraite dans leur lotissement. Les éclats de rire des spectateurs laissent à penser que Kumar réussit dans sa relation humoristique avec un public s'exprimant principalement en anglais. A partir de ce segment audio-visuel, cette étude met en lumière les variables discursives qui sous-tendent les rebondissements ironiques dans le répertoire comique de Kumar sur scène.

Jérôme Samuel, Centre Asie-du Sud-Est, CNRS/EHESS/INaLCO, Paris.

À la recherche des ateliers perdus. Peinture sous verre et production en série à Java

On connaît encore assez mal les conditions de production de la peinture sous verre javanaise, alors même qu'il s'agit d'un art si populaire (au sens premier du terme) entre la fin du XIXe siècle et les années 1960, que plusieurs millions de pièces ont probablement été produites.
Cet article s'intéresse à la production de deux petits ateliers de la région de Yogyakarta (Java Centre) actifs au cours des années 1930. Il montre qu'il est possible de les identifier sur la base de critères thématiques, stylistiques et décoratifs et suggère que ce type d'approche pourrait être étendu à d'autres espaces javanais et d'autres centres de production.

Looking for lost workshops. Reverse glass painting and mass production in Java

Conditions for production of reverse glass painting in Java are still poorly known, whereas it has been such a popular art (in the true sens of the word), that probably several millions of pieces have been produced between the late 19th century and the 1960s.
This article looks into production of two small workshops located in the Yogyakarta area (Central Java) which have been active during the 1930s. It shows that it is possible to identify such workshops on the basis of thematic, stylistic and ornamental criteria. It suggests that such an approach could be extended to other regions in Java and other production centres.

William L. Gibson, an author, researcher, and sound artist based in Southeast Asia, & **Paul Bruthiaux**, language consultant based in Thailand.

Alfred Raquez Over Java

The work of fin-de-siècle fugitive writer and explorer Alfred Raquez has long been neglected, though a resurgence in interest is underway. While his book-length works are undergoing

scholarly translation, his journalism remains largely unexplored. Yet within that corpus, there are instances of travel writing that merit examination. Raquez spent a month in Java in 1898. This article presents his writings on Java translated into English as well as the original French and provides an introduction to Raquez that briefly contextualizes his writings with contemporary French commentary. Raquez's concise, dynamic observations about Java are worth studying as they add a new perspective on the French experience in colonial Southeast Asia.

Alfred Raquez sur Java

L'oeuvre de l'écrivain et exploreur fugitif fin-de-siècle Alfred Raquez a été longtemps négligée, bien qu'un regain d'intérêt soit en cours. Tandis que ses textes de la taille d'un livre sont en cours de traduction, ses productions journalistiques restent largement inexplorées. Il y a dans ce corpus des exemples de récits de voyage qui méritent qu'on s'y intéresse. Raquez passa un mois à Java en 1898. Cet article présente ses écrits sur Java traduits en anglais ainsi que les originaux en français et livre une introduction qui situe ses écrits dans leur contexte avec le commentaire contemporain en français. Les observations concises et dynamiques de Raquez sur Java méritent étude dans la mesure où elles ajoutent une perspective nouvelle sur l'expérience française en Asie du Sud-Est coloniale.

Série : Cahiers d'Archipel

N° 1 D. Lombard
Introduction à l'indonésien (3e édition révisée), 1991 — 27,45

N ° 2 R. Jones
Arabic Loan Words in Indonesian, 1978 — épuisé

N° 3 P. Labrousse
Méthode d›indonésien, volume n° 1 (2e édition révisée), 1994 — (voir série : Autres publications)

N° 4 P. Labrousse
Méthode d'indonésien, volume n° 2, 1978 — (voir série : Autres publications)

N° 5 F. Soemargono
Exercices structuraux d'indonésien, 1978 — épuisé

N° 6 Cl. Salmon & D. Lombard
Les Chinois de Jakarta, temples et vie collective, 1977 — (voir série : études insulindiennes n° 1)

N° 7 F. Pecoraro
Essai de dictionnaire taroko-français, 1977 — épuisé

N° 8 G. Hooykaass
Introduction à la littérature balinaise, 1979 — 7,60

N° 9 F. Soemargono
Le « groupe de Yogya » (1945-1960) – Les voies javanaises d'une littérature indonésienne, 1979 — épuisé

N° 10 U. Sirk
La langue bugis (Célèbes-Sud), 1979 — épuisé

N° 11 H. Chambert-Loir
Sastra : introduction à la littérature indonésienne contemporaine, 1980 — épuisé

N° 12 Pramoedya Ananta Toer
Corruption, 1981 — épuisé

N° 13 N. Phillips & Khaidir Anwar (ed.)
Papers on Indonesian Languages and Literatures, 1981 — épuisé

N° 14 G. Moussay
La langue minangkabau, 1981 — épuisé

N° 15 P. Labrousse
Dictionnaire général indonésien-français, 1984 — 59,45

N° 16 P. Labrousse
Dictionnaire de poche indonésien-français, 1985 — 9,15

N° 17 P. Carey (ed.)
Voyage à Djocja-Karta en 1825 de A.A.J. Payen, 1988 — 14,50

N° 18 F. Soemargono & W. Arifin
Dictionnaire général français-indonésien, 1991 — 59,45

N° 19 Cl. Salmon (ed.)
Le Moment « sino malais » de la littérature indonésienne, 1992 — 18,30

N° 20 Chanatip Kesavadhana (ed.)
Chulalongkorn, Roi de Siam. Itinéraire d'un voyage à Java en 1896, 1993 — 22,55

N° 21 M. Bonneff (ed.)
L'Indonésie contemporaine. Un choix d'articles de la revue Prisma (1971-1991), 1994 — 24,40

N° 22 H. Chambert-Loir (ed.)
La littérature indonésienne. Une introduction, 1994 — 18,30

N° 23 M. Abaza
Islamic Education. Perception and Exchanges: Indonesian Students in Cairo, 1994 — 25,60

N° 24 M. Zaini-Lajoubert
L'image de la femme dans les littératures modernes indonésienne et malaise, 1994 25,60

N° 25 Phan Huy Lê, Cl. Salmon & Ta Trong Hiêp
Un émissaire viêtnamien à Batavia. Phan Huy Chú. « Récit sommaire d'un voyage en mer » (1833), 1994 25,60

N° 26 L. Husson
La migration maduraise vers l'Est de Java, 1995 36,60

N° 27 G. Moussay
Dictionnaire minangkabau-indonésien-français, 2 volumes, 1995 94,50

N° 28 A. Feillard
Islam et armée dans l'Indonésie contemporaine, 1995 33,55

N° 29 N. Lancret
La maison balinaise en secteur urbain, 1997 28,20

N° 30 C. Guillot (sous la direction de)
Histoire de Barus. Le site de Lobu Tua, volume n° 1, 1998 30,50
Histoire de Barus. Le site de Lobu Tua, volume n° 2, 2003 30,50
Histoire de Barus. volumes n° 1 & 2, prix spécial 50,00

N° 31 J. Cuisinier
Journal de voyage, Malaisie (1933), Indonésie (1952-55), Extraits Édités par Daniel Perret, 1999 épuisé

N° 32 S. Vignato
Au nom de l'hindouisme. Reconfiguration ethnique chez les Tamouls et les Karo en Indonésie, 2000 38,10

N° 33 J.-M. de Grave
Initiation rituelle et arts martiaux. Trois écoles de kanuragan javanais, 2001 29,70

N° 34 J.-B. Pelon
Description de Timor occidental et des iles sous domination hollandaise (1771-1778)
Texte établi, présenté et annoté par Anne Lombard-Jourdan, 2002 17,00

N° 35 J.-L. Maurer
Les javanais du caillou, 2006 30,00

N° 36 M.-F. Dupoizat
Catalogue of Chinese Style Ceramics of Majapahit. Tentative Inventory, 2007 29,00

N° 37 C. Guillot & L. Kalus (ed.)
Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra, 2008 38,00

N° 38 D. Perret & H. Surachman (ed.)
Histoire de Barus III : Regards sur une place marchande de l'océan Indien (XII^e - mi-XVII^e s.), 2009 38,00

N° 39 Christian Pelras
Explorations dans l'univers des bugis. Un choix de trente-trois rencontres, 2010 35,00

N° 40 Ludvik Kalus & Claude Guillot (traduit et annoté du tchèque par)
Pavel Durdik. Un médecin militaire à Sumatra. Récits de la guerre d'Atjeh, 2010 19,00

N° 41 Paul Wormser
Le Bustan al-Salatin de Nuruddin ar-Raniri, 2011 35,00

N° 42 D. Perret & H. Surachman (ed.)
History of Padang Lawas I. The site of Si Pamutung (9TH century – 13TH century AD), 2014 40,00

N° 43 D. Perret (ed.)
History of Padang Lawas II. Societies of Padang Lawas (mid-9TH – 13TH century CE), 2014 35,00

N° 44 M. Picard
Kebalian, la construction dialogique de l'identité balinaise, 2017 25,00

Série : Études insulindiennes / Archipel

N° 1 Cl. Salmon et D. Lombard
Les Chinois de Jakarta. Temples et vie collective épuisé

N° 2 M. Bonneff et al.
Pancasila. Trente années de débats politiques en Indonésie 16,75

N° 3 Cl. Salmon
Literature in malay by the chinese of indonesia. A provisional annotated bibliography épuisé

N° 4 C. Guillot
L'Affaire Sadrach. Étude sur le Christianisme à Java au xix^e siècle épuisé

N° 5 M. Charras
De la forêt Maléfique à l'Herbe Divine 16,75

N ° 6 F. Raillon
Les Étudiants indonésiens et l'Ordre Nouveau 25,15

N° 7 M. Bonneff
Pérégrinations javanaises. Les voyages de R.M.A. Purwa Lelana 25,15

N° 8 Ch. Vuldy
Pekalongan : Batik et Islam dans une ville du Nord de Java 21,35

N° 9 B. Sellato
Nomades et sédentarisation à Bornéo 27,45

N° 10 M. Franck
Quand la rizière rencontre l'asphalte... 29,00

Série : Autres publications

. D. Lombard
Le Carrefour javanais (3 volumes) 79,00

. C. Guillot
The Sultanate of Banten 14,50

. Ouvrage collectif
Babouin et autres nouvelles de malaisie 14,95

. F. Soemargono et W. Arifin
Dictionnaire de Poche français-indonésien 19,05

. P. Labrousse
Méthode d'Indonésien (Nouvelle édition) 28,20

. Cl. Salmon, W. Franke & A.K. Siu
Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia (Java) Vol. 2 – Part n° 1 & n° 2 (2 volumes) 57,95

. M.O. Scalliet
Antoine Payen : Peintre des Indes orientales – Vie et écrits d'un artiste du xix^e s. 44,20

Prix établis en euros, Frais de poste en plus
Envoi par poste, paiement à réception de la facture

Association Archipel
École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
54 boulevard raspail – 75006 Paris – France
e-mail : archipel@ehess.fr

Recommandations aux auteurs

Nous vous recommandons de bien vouloir nous fournir votre article sous forme d'un document imprimé (en deux exemplaires), accompagné d'un support informatique comportant les polices correspondantes (le document informatique peut également être joint à un message électronique à l'adresse suivante : ARCHIPEL@ehess.fr).
Il est préférable que votre article ne dépasse pas 80 000 signes (Times New Roman), soit 25 pages imprimées. Le nom de l'auteur, son appartenance institutionnelle et l'adresse complète doivent figurer en page de garde.
Il est nécessaire de joindre un résumé de l'article d'une dizaine de lignes. En français, si celui-ci est rédigé en anglais, et en anglais s'il est en français.
Tous les articles proposés à la rédaction seront soumis au comité de lecture d'*Archipel*, le comité de rédaction se réservant le droit d'apporter des modifications mineures aux articles sur l'épreuve définitive, sans consulter à nouveau l'auteur, pour des raisons de délais de fabrication.
La publication des articles fera l'objet d'un contrat avec cession de droits.
L'auteur reçoit un exemplaire du numéro de la revue, et une copie pdf de son article.
Les manuscrits ne seront pas renvoyés aux auteurs.

Recommendations for authors

We recommend that you send us your article in the form of a printed document (two hard copies) along with its soft copy including the corresponding font (the digital document may also be attached to an e-mail to the following address: ARCHIPEL@ehess.fr).
It is preferable that your article not be longer than 80,000 characters (Times New Roman), that is 25 printed pages. The author's name, the institution or organization to which he or she belongs and the complete address should appear on the title page.
The article should be accompanied by an abstract of about 10 lines, in French if the article is in English, in English if the article is in French.
All articles proposed for publication will be submitted to the Archipel editorial board, the editors reserving the right to make small changes in the final proofs of the articles without consulting the author, because of publication deadlines.
Publication of the articles will be the subject of a contract with cession of rights.
The authors will receive a copy of the issue of the review, and a pdf file of their articles.
Manuscripts will not be returned to their authors.

La revue *Archipel* est référencée à **ISI Web of Knowledge Thomson Reuters)**.
Elle figure dans ***Art & Humanities Citation Index et dans Current Contents/Arts & Humanities***.
Elle est également référencée dans **Index to the Study of Religion Online** (**www.brill.nl/isro**).

Archipel is indexed in ***ISI Web of Knowledge (Thomson Reuters): Arts & Humanities Citation Index and Current Contents/Arts & Humanities.***
Archipel is indexed in the ***Index to the Study of Religion Online (www.brill.nl/isro)***.

Assemblée générale

La publication de la revue Archipel est assurée par l'Association Archipel régie par la loi de 1901. Les statuts de celle-ci prévoient le service de la revue aux membres associés qui se sont acquittés de leur cotisation annuelle.

Toutes les personnes ou institutions qui auront réglé leur souscription pour l'année sont inscrites *ipso facto* comme « membre associé », et peuvent participer à l'Assemblée générale de l'Association, avec voix consultative.

La prochaine Assemblée générale aura lieu au France, 190-198 avenue de France, 75013 Paris, le **26 janvier 2017 à 16 h.**

Le présent avis tient lieu de convocation.

Recommandations aux auteurs

Nous vous recommandons de bien vouloir nous fournir votre article sous forme d'un document imprimé (en deux exemplaires), accompagné d'un support informatique comportant les polices correspondantes (le document informatique peut également être joint à un message électronique à l'adresse suivante : ARCHIPEL@ehess.fr).
Il est préférable que votre article ne dépasse pas 80 000 signes (Times New Roman), soit 25 pages imprimées. Le nom de l'auteur, son appartenance institutionnelle et l'adresse complète doivent figurer en page de garde.
Il est nécessaire de joindre un résumé de l'article d'une dizaine de lignes. En français, si celui-ci est rédigé en anglais, et en anglais s'il est en français.
Tous les articles proposés à la rédaction seront soumis au comité de lecture d'*Archipel*, le comité de rédaction se réservant le droit d'apporter des modifications mineures aux articles sur l'épreuve définitive, sans consulter à nouveau l'auteur, pour des raisons de délais de fabrication.
La publication des articles fera l'objet d'un contrat avec cession de droits.
L'auteur reçoit un exemplaire du numéro de la revue, et une copie pdf de son article.
Les manuscrits ne seront pas renvoyés aux auteurs.

Recommendations for authors

We recommend that you send us your article in the form of a printed document (two hard copies) along with its soft copy including the corresponding font (the digital document may also be attached to an e-mail to the following address: ARCHIPEL@ehess.fr).
It is preferable that your article not be longer than 80,000 characters (Times New Roman), that is 25 printed pages. The author's name, the institution or organization to which he or she belongs and the complete address should appear on the title page.
The article should be accompanied by an abstract of about 10 lines, in French if the article is in English, in English if the article is in French.
All articles proposed for publication will be submitted to the Archipel editorial board, the editors reserving the right to make small changes in the final proofs of the articles without consulting the author, because of publication deadlines.
Publication of the articles will be the subject of a contract with cession of rights.
The authors will receive a copy of the issue of the review, and a pdf file of their articles.
Manuscripts will not be returned to their authors.

La revue *Archipel* est référencée à **ISI Web of Knowledge (Thomson Reuters)**.
Elle figure dans ***Art & Humanities Citation Index et dans Current Contents/Arts & Humanities***.
Elle est également référencée dans **Index to the Study of Religion Online** (**www.brill.nl/isro**).

Archipel is indexed in ***ISI Web of Knowledge (Thomson Reuters): Arts & Humanities Citation Index and Current Contents/Arts & Humanities.***
Archipel is indexed in the ***Index to the Study of Religion Online (www.brill.nl/isro)***.

Assemblée générale

La publication de la revue Archipel est assurée par l'Association Archipel régie par la loi de 1901. Les statuts de celle-ci prévoient le service de la revue aux membres associés qui se sont acquittés de leur cotisation annuelle.

Toutes les personnes ou institutions qui auront réglé leur souscription pour l'année sont inscrites *ipso facto* comme « membre associé », et peuvent participer à l'Assemblée générale de l'Association, avec voix consultative.
La prochaine Assemblée générale aura lieu à l'EHESS au 54, boulevard Raspail, 75006 Paris, le **18 janvier 2018 à 16 h.**

Le présent avis tient lieu de convocation.